PART II
HISTORY AND TRADITIONS
African tradition

The practice of translation in Sub-Saharan Africa is virtually as old as communication through the spoken word. Numerous studies have shown that multilingualism is part and parcel of the very make-up of Sub-Saharan Africa (Greenberg 1955). Given the multiplicity of ethnic communities in this region (there are over 100 in Cameroon alone), translation has always been, and still is, the order of the day. The history of translation in Sub-Saharan Africa can be subdivided into three major eras: pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial. In all three eras, translation played a crucial role in the political, economic and cultural survival of the African people.

The pre-colonial era

Research in oral history, particularly the works of oral tradition historians such as Vansina, Bascom, Finnegan and Okpewho, has been instrumental in uncovering information concerning the history of translation in pre-colonial Africa. Also of great help has been the work of some European missionaries and explorers who managed to record aspects of African oral tradition in writing during the period following the initial contacts between Europe and Africa.

The ancient history of Africa was mainly recorded in oral literature and handed down by word of mouth, from generation to generation. In this oral tradition, the closest thing to today’s translator/interpreter is what some scholars have referred to as the ‘professional linguist’: something like an official spokesperson for a village or an ethnic group, who was believed to be endowed with special talents to record and narrate the history and culture of his people. In most African societies, the ‘professional linguist’ belonged to a long line of such gifted linguists of the same family. Many worked in the courts of great kings of ancient African kingdoms, such as the Mali, Zimbabwean and Ghanaian kingdoms. These linguists were often great orators and spokesmen for kings and chiefs, and consequently had a privileged position in society and wielded considerable political power. Referring to the Ashanti ‘linguists’, Danquah (1928: 42) points out that ‘not only were they charged with repeating the words of their patron after him, acting as herald to make it clear to all his audience and to add to his utterances the extra authority of remoteness, but they also expected to “perfect” the speech of a chief who was not sufficiently eloquent, and to elaborate his theme for him. However the “linguist” was not expected to “add any new subject-matter, but … he may extend the phrases and reconstruct the sentences and intersperse the speech with some of the celebrated witty and philosophical reflections for which they are justly celebrated to the credit of both himself and his chief” (ibid.). In French-speaking Africa, linguists were known as ‘griots’. Unfortunately, hardly any griot was identified by name by those who benefited from their knowledge.

The highly esoteric language used by rulers and elders in traditional Africa often required the mediation of an ‘interpreter’ to facilitate communication with the common people. Sometimes, interpreters would be needed to simplify the language used by members of a secret society, or to gloss speeches made during public occasions such as religious injunctions, sermons or solemn marriage transactions. The language used on such occasions often followed strict conventions of style and set phraseology, and was frequently replete with proverbs and wise sayings not known to the non-initiate.
The role of traditional interpreters as mediators between the ruling classes and the common people, in what were often highly organized nations marked by an extreme degree of hierarchy, earned them a great deal of respect. However, since they were a class set apart from those who needed their services, they were also feared, mistrusted and disliked by other members of society.

Another form of ‘translation’ prevalent in many pre-colonial African societies is that associated with ‘drum language.’ African drum literature is a form of communication which involves using instruments to communicate through direct representations of the spoken word. The instruments simulate the tone and rhythm of actual speech. This type of communication is linguistic since the message can be ‘translated’ into words, and it is only then, in fact, that it can be fully appreciated. African drum language can express words through instruments because the African languages involved are highly tonal. The drum language is built on the tonal patterns of the words which are being directly transmitted.

Pre-colonial Africa is also thought to have had a flourishing writing tradition. Scholars of African history are quite divided on this issue, for many believe that writing, or the recording of African oral narrative in writing, only began with the arrival of Arabs around A.D. 800 and Europeans in the fifteenth century. Opponents of this theory point to a plethora of writing conventions employed by Africans before any significant foreign incursions. They point to the advanced literate cultures that thrived in the Nile Valley established by the Nubian, Pharaonic Egyptian, Meroe, Ethiopian and Kush civilizations. This discussion is important because it has been suggested that translated literary and scientific documents had been available in Africa for centuries before the arrival of foreigners. A system of writing based on picture signs was widely used in pre-colonial Africa, and scholars of ancient African history have often relied on the expertise of specialists who can decipher the meaning of this pictorial writing. Much of ancient African history has been constructed through a systematic translation of such pictograms into modern Arabic or Roman script. This kind of translation is highly scholarly and is still practised in certain parts of Africa, where pictorial languages are still used in spite of the presence of Arabic and Roman scripts. Mveng (1980: 90) refers to traces of pictorial writing in Ghana among the Akan, Ashanti, Adinkra and Baoulé, in Cameroon among the Bamileke and the Bamoun, and in Zaire among the Baluba and the Bakuba. The Amharic languages in Ethiopia and the hieroglyphics in Egypt are believed to have existed in written form long before the arrival of foreigners.

The colonial era (fifteenth century – mid-twentieth centuries)

The colonial era begins with the first encounter between Africans and Europeans in the fifteenth century and ends with the period immediately preceding the independence of African nations around the 1950s. The history of translation in this era can be divided into two main periods: (a) the early arrival of Europeans in Africa in the fifteenth century, a period marked by flourishing of the slave trade, and (b) the period from the nineteenth century onwards, referred to as the pre-independence era, marked by the partitioning of Africa.

The arrival of Europeans

The Portuguese are generally credited with establishing the earliest contacts between Europe and Black Africa. Portuguese sailors reached the Senegal River in 1445 in their search for a sea route to India. The Arabs had already been on the continent for some time, and the arrival of the Europeans now gave an impetus to the trading activities that already existed among Africans and between Africans and Arabs. The need for communication among the Africans, Arabs and Europeans led to an unprecedented need for translation/interpreting (African into African; African into Arabic; African into European).

Once the Portuguese established themselves securely on the continent, they proceeded to teach some Africans how to write (in Roman script). Some of the earliest translations of African literature into European languages are in Portuguese, and there is historical evidence that African literature in Portuguese translation flourished in the nineteenth century.
Early Portuguese missionaries were determined to provide Africans with some elementary education. Some schools were established by Jesuits, who taught Portuguese as well as Latin and showed some interest in studying local African languages. The missionaries soon realized that they could spread the Gospel among Africans more effectively in the local languages and thus proceeded to develop written forms of these mainly oral languages, which made it possible to produce catechisms, grammars and dictionaries in two, three and even four languages. It was these early efforts by the Portuguese, and the educational institutions they set up, which later inspired the literary movement known as the 1880 Group (Hamilton 1975). The 1880 movement launched a bilingual Portuguese/Kimbundu journal, *O Echo de Angola* (The Echo of Angola), which published some of the earliest translation works from European into African languages. The 1880 Group produced one of Africa's first translator-terminologists, Joaquin Dias Cordeiro Da Matta (1857–94), who wrote *Philosophia popular em proverbios angolanos* (Popular Philosophy in Angolan Proverbs), a collection of Kimbundu proverbs and riddles in Portuguese. Da Matta also published a Kimbundu–Portuguese dictionary which is considered a 'monument of scholarship' (Hamilton 1975: 15). These linguistic endeavours of the early Catholic missionaries, which could have laid the groundwork for thriving African literatures, were thwarted by the Portuguese authorities' ethnocentric quest to assimilate the natives.

A few Africans who were enslaved and then educated produced works in Latin that were generally thought to be translations from their respective oral traditions. One such case was that of Juan Latino (1516–94), a Negro slave who entered the service of a Spanish general in 1530 and went on to become a professor of Latin at the University of Granada. The panegyric poetry that Latino produced is thought to have been based on merely ‘transposing’ the model of the African praise poem and adapting it to a European setting. He wrote mainly in Latin as was required by the scholarly customs of the time. Although a slave, Juan Latino, like a few other Latinists, contributed a great deal to the literature and thought of the Classic tradition; this historical fact was only documented in the middle of the twentieth century by the African scholar and historian Cheikh Anta Diop (1923–86) (see Diop 1974).

The tradition of African writing in Latin began to die out towards the end of the sixteenth century, as slavery had become even more ruthless and Negroes were increasingly being deprived of education. Some of the Nordic nations had now entered the slave trade, which had become immensely profitable. Dutch merchants were particularly active during this period, and the few scholars of African descent whose works can throw some light on the history of translation at that time were educated mainly in Dutch and German. One such scholar is a Ghanaian by the name of Amo; he was born around 1703 and sent to Holland by a local minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. Amo became the protégé of a German nobleman and was sent to university to study under Christian Wolff, a well-known disciple of Leibniz. This African slave thus became a highly erudite scholar and philosopher and is said to have been familiar with Dutch, German, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. After teaching at the universities of Wittenberg and Jena, and serving as a court councillor for Frederick II of Prussia, he returned to his native Africa.

Apart from works produced by Africans in non-African languages, Gérard (1986) also mentions an African alphabet and a secret language invented by Sultan Njoya (1865–1933) of the Bamun people of Cameroon. The Sultan had found out about Arabic script through Hausa traders and Fulani emirates of a neighbouring territory. When the Germans arrived in 1899, Njoya noticed that the Europeans used a different kind of writing. Full of admiration for this mode of communication, he instructed some of his councillors to create an iconographic script. By 1918, hundreds of original signs had been successfully trimmed and given phonetic significance. Under Njoya’s supervision, a 548-page manuscript on the history and customs of the Bamun was written using this system. However, Sultan Njoya, like most rulers in traditional Africa, craved for a secret language that would be completely esoteric to the people. Having learnt a few German, French and English words from German missionaries of the Basel mission, he created a new language by ascribing entirely arbitrary meanings to the
words, mixing them with local Bamun words whose meanings had also been distorted. The manuscript on the history and customs of the Bamun was then translated into this 'private' language.

Translation of the Bible into African languages began around the seventeenth century. Nama (1993: 420) mentions that by 1658, Ge, an African language spoken by the Ewes (Republic of Benin), was included in a major document, *Doctrina Christiana*, a handbook for missionary purposes. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that large-scale translation of the Bible into African languages began in earnest.

It was in the area of religious translation that Christian, Islamic and traditional Africa vied for predominance. Although Islam had existed in Sub-Saharan Africa since around a.d. 800, it had been spread exclusively in Arabic. In order to win the hearts and minds of local African populations, it became necessary, much later on, to translate Islamic works, particularly the Qur’ān, into some African languages. For instance, the Qur’ān and other religious texts have been translated into Hausa and Yoruba. It is also thought that some Islamic texts were translated into Ajani (Yoruba written in Arabic script) by Yoruba ‘malams’ (teachers/learned men) and that some of the translations were done long before the adoption of the Roman script. A class of Africans fluent in Arabic and one or several African languages had now emerged, and there was a great deal of translation activity in this area.

The partitioning of Africa

The Berlin Conference on Africa (1884–5) triggered the full-scale colonization of the continent. In the 1890s, Africa was carved up into European spheres of influence, without any regard for natural or ethnic boundaries. The development of African literatures in Portuguese, English and French is a by-product of colonial domination by European nations which ensued after this ‘scramble for Africa’.

The history of translation in Africa during this period is closely linked to the policies adopted by the European colonial administrations. While the French and the Portuguese pursued an aggressive policy of assimilation of the natives, the British implemented a policy of indirect rule. These policies determined the ensuing linguistic make-up of the colonies. In the French and Portuguese colonies, vernacular education was virtually non-existent; in the English colonies it was greatly encouraged, albeit for reasons of expedience.

Vernacular literature was mainly encouraged by Protestant missionaries whose main aim was to convert Africans to Christianity. An impressive volume of writing was produced in African languages with the sole aim of spreading the Gospel. Nonetheless, areas that were under British rule developed a bilingual literary tradition at an early stage, creating literature in the vernacular languages and then producing works in English at a later stage.

The French were mainly concerned with creating a sort of ‘France outre-mer’, which meant that the colonial subjects had to be converted into ‘proper’ French citizens by mastering the French language and culture. Attempts made by some Africans to produce creative works in French were unsuccessful; these works were not taken seriously because they were written in imperfect French. This attitude, canonized by the Académie Française, made matters worse for people in French Africa who could not ‘translate’ their oral narratives into French with the same flexibility and ingenuity enjoyed by their Anglophone counterparts. As a result, there were many more creative works in English than in French during this period.

The colonial era also saw a marked decline in the importance of the professional ‘linguist’ (or griot). Once revered and feared for his political clout in the royal courts, the pioneer of African translators and interpreters was reduced to a mere guide to his colonial masters. He was occasionally called upon to join a colonial expedition to ‘translate’, mediate and advise the colonialists. He was expected to have a thorough knowledge of the territory and to have the physical endurance to sustain long, tedious and often dangerous journeys. Though he still enjoyed some respect because of his association with the European colonialists and his (rudimentary) knowledge of a European language, the professional linguist was often despised by the local population and considered a ‘traitor’ for showing colonialists around and helping them gain access to the tribal lore and
secrets of the people. Indeed, the professional linguist had become nothing more than the servant of the European colonialist, and he was generally disposed of as soon as his task was completed, to be called back only if and when he was needed.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a wave of ‘liberal Romanticism’ and a fascination with all forms of symbolism swept across Europe, resulting in increased interest in the oral traditions of non-Western cultures (Horton and Finnegan 1973). Africa, like most pre-industrialized societies, received wave after wave of Western scholars interested in studying its folklore. However, these scholars often relied on inadequate second-hand sources as they collected pieces of African oral tradition. With no access to today’s recording technology, they had to rely on written records of the oral literature they needed to collect. These records were less than adequate as they were unreliable translations carried out by school children and other Africans working for Europeans, with hardly any skill in the artistry of the oral narrative. Quite often, the translations and transcriptions were subjected to a great deal of adaptation to suit the exotic tastes of Western audiences. It was not until the latter years of the colonial era that African oral narrative was made available to the public by a group of African writers who had the advantage of being bilingual and bicultural.

The postcolonial era

The period just before and after independence (the 1950s and 60s) witnessed the emergence of a new stage in the history of translation in Africa. Translation activity during this period can be subdivided into three main categories: religious translation, literary translation and public service translation.

Religious translation, which began in the colonial era, continued well into the postcolonial period. European missionaries continued to learn local languages for purposes of evangelization, and especially for the translation of the Bible and other religious texts. Some of the pioneers of Bible translation in Africa include the Nigerian Bishop Samuel Ajanji Crowther who is highly reputed for translating the Bible into Igbo and Yoruba – S. W. Koealle and J. F. Schon. Today, the Bible has been translated into about 100 African languages. Eugene Nida has personally been involved with Bible translation projects in Africa, working with the American Bible Society, in Edea, Cameroon (Nama 1993: 420) among other areas. Although the majority of Bible translations produced in Africa are into vernacular languages, it is also worth noting that in many parts of West Africa the Gospel has been translated into pidgin English, a hybrid lingua franca resulting from contact between African languages and English.

Literary translation is not a lucrative business in Africa. Occasionally, some publishing houses which specialize in African literature written in European languages may need the services of a translator, but this happens rather infrequently and, when it does, the jobs often go to European rather than African translators. However, there is another type of literary translation between African and European languages which has flourished in Africa.

The late 1950s and early 1960s saw the emergence of a new class of African writers with a good command of both the European language of writing and the language of African oral narrative. African oral texts collected during the colonial era often posed a major paradox for translation, as they were produced via the mediation of colonial scribes in the language of European domination. The efforts of the colonialists to transcribe and translate African oral literature at best produced ‘colonized’ versions of that literature. Anxious to right the wrongs of the past and set the records straight, a new generation of African writers set out to ‘translate’ pieces of African oral literature into European languages. Such writers from Francophone Africa include Birago Diop, the Senegalese poet famous for his collection of short stories entitled *Nouveaux Contes d’Amadou Koumba* (The New Tales of Amadou Koumba, 1961), and Bernard Dadié, the Ivorian known for his *Légendes Africaines* (African Legends, 1973). A similar phenomenon took place in Anglophone Africa. In West Africa, Amos Tutuola’s *The Palm-Wine Drinkard and his Dead Palm-Wine Tapster in the Dead’s Town* (1952) was among the first such African works of fiction to appear; *drinkard* is a modified form of *drunkard*, meant to mimic the language of a semi-literate drunkard. All these works by Francophone and Anglophone writers
are essentially liberal translations of African oral texts. Tutuola, for example, literally translated some Yoruba mythology into English. In an attempt to capture Yoruba syntax in English (and given that he was a public service clerk with just an elementary school education), he produced curious syntactic patterns that endeared him to European readers. Apart from such ‘translations’ of African oral literature, the works of well-known African writers such as Achebe, Soyinka, Okara and Senghor have also been translated into several European languages.

The situation in East Africa is highly influenced by what has been described as East Africa’s triple heritage – African, Islamic and European. While there have been many translations from the ethno-African heritage into European languages, there has been relatively less European language literature translated into African languages, and hardly any translation between African languages. Ethno-African literature reflects the ethnic divisions in East Africa, where the literatures of ethnic groups such as the Kikuyu, Baganda, Chagga, Acholi and Luo have remained separate. The Ugandan Okot p’Biitek is well known for his translation of the poem ‘Song of Lawino’ into English, which he had originally written in his native Acholi. The poem was subsequently translated into French, Spanish and Portuguese; p’Biitek’s work had much more impact through the translation than through the original version in Acholi. p’Biitek is also a very knowledgeable linguist-terminologist. He makes his translations accessible to non-Acholi readers by including an analytical glossary of Acholi words and expressions that do not have English equivalents.

The famous Kenyan author Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, who wrote in English for several years, became frustrated with the inability of the English language to express the essence of his native culture and switched to writing in his native Kikuyu and then translating some of his works, such as his novel Devil on the Cross, into English.

There has also been some translation activity on the Afro-Islamic front. Swahili has been made available in English by scholars such as Lyndon Harries, James de Vere Allen, Ibrahim Shariff, Jan Knappert and others (Gérard 1986: 1049). There have also been translations from English into Swahili. Famous among these are the translations by Julius Nyerere (the founder-president of Tanzania) of Shakespeare’s Julius Caesar and The Merchant of Venice. These translations won critical acclaim since Swahili has become a home-bred lingua franca of East Africa, spoken by over 100 million people.

The significance of Swahili as a lingua franca of such a vast region of Africa has led Mhina (1970) to argue in favour of producing works in Swahili and translating internationally recognized works into Swahili. Unlike the rest of Africa south of the Sahara, where there is no widely used home-grown international language, East Africa has the unique advantage of having Swahili as a viable international language outclassing many foreign languages.

Since independence, public service translation has continued to flourish as the governments of various African states attempt to cope with Western-style bureaucracies left behind as a colonial legacy. When most African countries became independent in the 1960s, they were left with a linguistic situation that was bound to enhance the role of translators and interpreters. Several of these newly-independent African countries already had many indigenous African languages spoken within their borders, to which was added the colonial language(s) which, though foreign, had become the official language(s) of these countries. Ironically, instead of a flourishing translation activity between African languages, as one might have expected in a postcolonial situation, translation evolved mainly in two directions: African into European languages and vice versa, and European to European languages. Faced with the need to cope with world affairs and the international economic market, it became increasingly necessary for African countries to communicate not only with other African nations, but also with other countries of the world, particularly their former colonial masters. In this context, European-to-European language translation thrived in Africa in the field of foreign affairs, as well as in administrative, economic and cultural areas.
The present day

Since independence, many economic and international organizations have been formed to enhance cooperation among African states, thus strengthening the need for European language translators. When the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was founded in 1962, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish and – on a smaller scale – Arabic were declared the official working languages. The decision to use European rather than African languages as a medium of communication among member states has been strongly criticized by many scholars and is said to have been indicative of the fate that awaited Africa.

During the early years of independence, the Western-style governments in various African countries were left with the legacy of colonial languages but without any personnel or infrastructure to carry out the immense translation work that the new linguistic situation entailed. In many instances, government civil servants with barely an elementary education and a smattering of knowledge in two European languages were called upon to provide translations. But as time went by, it became increasingly obvious that, given the amount of work to be done and the need for quality translations, governments had to take an interest in the training of professional translators. For almost two decades after independence many African governments sponsored some of their brightest graduates to study in translation schools in Europe and North America.

Cameroon provides a good example of how translator training has evolved since independence. Having adopted English and French as official languages, Cameroon is the only African country with official bilingualism in European languages. Hence, it is often cited as the centre for European-to-European language translation in Africa; it is also often compared to Canada, where English and French are similarly official languages. Yet, for a very long time, Cameroon's translators were trained in Europe or North America. It was not until the 1980s, that the Advanced School of Translators and Interpreters was established in Buea, Cameroon.

Translator training is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon in most African countries, and for this reason, trained and competent translators are in short supply. Simpson (1985: 107) mentions a study commissioned by UNCTAD on the need for a sub-regional translation, interpretation and staff-language-training support service and to assess the feasibility of setting up such a service if it turned out to be needed. Among the recommendations made is the creation of a sub-regional Translation and Interpretation School.

Political changes in South Africa since the 1990s brought about the need for a massive overhaul of translation training programmes. The ANC's Constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa recognizes eleven official languages, most of which are African languages. Unlike past translation programmes which dealt mainly in English and Afrikaans, current translation programmes must include African languages. It has been recommended that translation training programmes should aim at promoting multilingualism and eliminating the kind of linguistic prejudices and social inequality that have existed in South Africa for so long. In order to achieve this, translators should be trained not only at the postgraduate level, but also at the undergraduate and pre-tertiary levels. Adding a critical language awareness component to the training programme, it is thought, might help fight linguistic prejudice and instil respect for the language rights of all citizens in a post-apartheid democratic society. It is also believed that the enshrining of language rights in the new Constitution will lead to a major expansion and professionalization of language services. Community interpreting and translation are also being actively supported, especially at the level of health care and social services provision, so as to avoid alienating non-English and non-Afrikaans speakers. Terminology research plays an important role, particularly in programmes designed to meet the needs of African language translators (Kruger 1994).

The status of the translator/interpreter has undergone a considerable transformation since the time of the griot. Unlike the griot who was revered and even feared in pre-colonial Africa, today's translator is often perceived as a disenchanted civil servant who toils away without receiving any recognition in his or her country's public service. The only language specialists who seem satisfied with their lot are conference interpreters, who enjoy the glamour...
of criss-crossing the continent to attend international conferences. Translators, irrespective of country, complain about the low status attributed to their profession.

Not surprisingly, many African translators would prefer to work for international organizations, where they are often better paid and sometimes rise to important administrative functions. There are many African translators working in the linguistic services of various agencies of international organizations such as WHO, UNICEF, UNESCO and IMF. Some leave their countries because they are not needed. In Senegal, for instance, there are more professionally trained translators and interpreters than the needs of the country would justify. As a consequence, Senegalese translators often seek work in neighbouring West African countries and in international organizations in Africa and elsewhere.

A certain amount of freelance translation is undertaken in some African countries. Freelance translators often serve the needs of the African branches of multinational companies and of local businesses in the private sector. The governments rarely use freelance agencies as they rely heavily on civil servants as translators. Freelance translation can be quite lucrative, but it is still largely unregulated, and it tends to be a free-for-all type of venture which attracts a great number of unemployed university graduates from fields completely unrelated to translation.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, we are thus faced with a situation where there is a relatively high calibre of translation practice, where some countries have more translators than they need, and where, with a few exceptions, most countries still train their translators abroad.

In October 1982, FIT, in collaboration with UNESCO, organized a consultative meeting of African specialists in Lomé, Togo, with the aim of exploring professional problems in Africa. This meeting took place six years after that of the African Ministers of Education held in Nairobi in 1976, where some recommendations were made regarding the organization of the translation profession, translator training and questions of terminology in Africa (a full list of the recommendations can be found in Simpson 1985: 109–10). These meetings had the positive effect of catapulting the translation profession to a higher sphere by getting various African governments and professional translators involved in establishing a genuine professional status for translation. It was recommended, among other things, 'that encouragement should be given to the creation of associations of translators which should combine to form regional structures so as to intensify their action' and that 'governments grant translators the legal status and protection provided for in the … Nairobi recommendation'.

Further reading

PAUL BANDIA

American tradition

Translation played an essential role in the origins and development of the United States, and it continues to do so, given the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country's more than 255 million inhabitants. English is the dominant language, but it is only one of the many languages that have been spoken in North America. The speech of the native Indian tribes was first encountered during the sixteenth century by Spanish and French explorers in present-day Florida and Louisiana. English expeditions to Virginia and Massachusetts began in earnest during the early seventeenth century, requiring a familiarity with Indian languages that helped to increase the colonists' cultural and economic autonomy from England. The nationalist fervour released by the Revolution brought a new self-awareness that fostered the translation of foreign-language literatures to develop American culture. A distinctly American version of English was recognizable by the 1850s, although characterized by various regional modulations as the country expanded its southern and western borders (Simpson 1983: 3). The great waves of European immigration that started in the mid-nineteenth century created an urgent need for English-language translating and interpreting which has remained constant ever since, with the immigrant pool widening...
to include numerous ethnic groups and nationalities from Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and the Caribbean. Today, more than 31 million inhabitants speak a language other than English at home, ensuring that translation is a fact of daily life for many Americans.

Throughout American history translation has been double-edged in its social functions and effects, serving English-language interests and agendas through exploitative encounters with foreign languages and cultures. On the one hand, translation enabled the United States to grow in size and power: it made possible the colonization, dispossession, and assimilation of peoples whose native language was not English, and it continues to support the political and economic hegemony that the country has enjoyed since World War II. On the other hand, translation contributed to the formation of a definably American identity: it was instrumental in constructing a national literary and political tradition, while simultaneously working to diversify American culture and to precipitate cultural innovation and social change.

**Colonization, expansion, immigration (1607–1920)**

Among the first American translators were Indians who acted as interpreters and assistants to the English colonists struggling to establish a viable existence in the North American wilderness. William Bradford, one of the first governors of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, described the Puritan settlers’ meeting with Samoset, an Algonquian from Maine ‘where some English ships came to fish … amongst whom he had got his language’ (Bradford 1952: 79). Although Samoset spoke ‘broken English,’ Bradford observed that ‘he became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country’ (ibid.). Bradford felt that Squanto, another Indian interpreter, ‘could speak better English than himself’ because he had been kidnapped by an English captain and ‘entertained by a merchant in London’ (ibid.: 80–81). To the pilgrims who landed at Plymouth in 1620, Squanto was essential for survival: he taught them how to grow corn and where to fish, and he negotiated a peace treaty between the colonists and the Wampanoag Indians whereby they agreed to defend each other from warring tribes.

Although these relations benefited both colonists and Indians, they were hardly symmetrical, and translation quickly became a practice by which the English sought to alter an Indian culture they judged to be inferior because it was pagan. The royal charter issued to the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1629 asserted that ‘the principall ende of this plantation [was] to wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savoir of mankinde, and the Christian fayth’ (Morgan 1964: 320). As a result, the first American translators included Puritan ministers who learned Indian languages to convert the natives. With the help of an Indian informant, ‘a pregnant witted young man, who had been a Servant in an English house,’ the minister John Eliot (1604–90) wrote *A Catechism in the Indian Language* (1653) and then translated the Bible and several homiletic tracts into Algonquian (Eliot 1666: 66).

Conversion went hand in hand with conquest, so that translation also facilitated the expropriation of Indian lands. Here translators and interpreters mediated between significant cultural differences that were inscribed in the translating languages. Most of the Algonquian place names, for instance, ‘related not to possession but to use,’ while the English colonists ‘most frequently created arbitrary place names which either recalled localities in their homeland or gave a place the name of its owner’ (Cronon 1983: 65, 66). In the translating that enabled the colonists to purchase land from the Indians, the English concept of private property displaced the Indian understanding of communal ownership (Cheyfitz 1991). The colonists recognized such differences from the start. Yet driven by an imperialist impulse, they rendered Indian language and culture into characteristically English terms – legal, commercial, political. This is even apparent in *A Key to the Language of America* (1643), a dictionary in the Narragansett language written by the dissident Puritan Roger Williams (1603–83). Williams questioned the property rights granted by the royal charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and criticized the ‘sinfull opinion amongst many that Christians have right to Heathens Lands’ (Williams 1973: 167). Nonetheless, his book aimed to translate
Narragansett words and phrases into English equivalents so as to assist the colonist ‘whatever [the] occasion bee either of Travell, Discourse, Trading &c.’ (ibid.: 90).

During the eighteenth century, translation continued to be a crucial cultural practice in submitting the Indians to the colonists’ interests. Conrad Weiser (1696–1760), a German immigrant’s son who lived with the Mohawks for fifteen years, served as the official interpreter of Pennsylvania, arranging conferences in which Indian lands were deeded to the provincial government and Indian trade was extended to the Mississippi River. Simon Girty (1741–1818), an Irish immigrant’s son who was kidnapped as a boy and adopted by the Senecas, learned a variety of Indian languages which he used in the service of the British during the Revolutionary War period. For over forty years, Girty interpreted for British military commanders and enlisted Indian tribes in raids on settlements in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Detroit, gaining a reputation as a ‘renegade’ and a ‘white savage’ (Tharp 1988: II, 560–1). Girty was paid handsomely for his interpreting services, undoubtedly because they performed a military function: in 1778 he was hired at $2 (16 shillings) per day.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, many Indians on the eastern coast of North America had been taught English and converted to Christianity. The newly instituted American republic, however, was pursuing a policy of expansion. The increasing profitability of the Indian trade, combined with the political goal of preventing further French and Spanish colonization on the continent, motivated a redrawing of the western frontier, and this created a demand for interpreters to deal with unfamiliar Indian languages. In 1803, Thomas Jefferson, second president of the United States, commissioned Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the Missouri River as far as the Pacific Ocean in an effort to locate ‘the most direct and practicable water communication . . . for the purposes of commerce’ (Bergon 1989: xxiv). Lewis and Clark’s journals frequently mention Toussaint Charbonneau (c.1759–c.1843), a Canadian employed by the North West Company, and his wife Sacajawea (c.1780/1812–1884), a captured Shosone girl whom he had won through gambling. Charbonneau later became an interpreter for the American Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Upper Missouri area.

This government agency carried out American Indian policy, which assisted settlers and speculators seeking Indian lands by relocating eastern tribes on reservations west of the Mississippi. Agents were also interpreters who persuaded Indians, sometimes by fraud or coercion, to enter into treaties that ceded land to the United States (Satz 1974). By 1850, American Indian policy had achieved remarkable success partly because of the agents’ linguistic proficiency. Lawrence Taliaferro (1794–1871), an agent at Saint Peter’s in Minnesota, spoke over a dozen Indian languages (ibid.:188). The displacement and dispossession of the Indians inevitably caused conflicts, both among the different tribes and with the United States. Yet the agents’ interpreting skills enabled them to act as mediators and occasionally as advocates of the Indians. Taliaferro was called to intervene in a long-standing feud between the Sioux and the Chippewa, and his support of the Indians incurred the opposition of traders, particularly those associated with the American Fur Company, who tried to get him dismissed from the agency. Sarah Winnemucca (1844–91), a Paiute who learned English while living with an American military officer’s family, aided in negotiations between hostile tribes and later became an interpreter at the Malheur reservation in Oregon, earning $40 per month plus lodging (Canfield 1983: 96). Her most significant interpreting, however, may have occurred in the lectures she delivered during the 1880s in eastern cities, where she reported the injustices that the government was inflicting on her people and raised funds to start an Indian school in Nevada. While Indian tribes were gradually being acculturated and sequestered on reservations, increasingly large numbers of Europeans were entering the United States, making English-language translating and interpreting necessary for their assimilation into American society. Between 1851 and 1920, the peak period of
immigration, the total was well over 31 million foreign nationals, mostly from Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Russia, the Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom. Approximately 5,000 immigrants per day passed through Ellis Island in New York harbour, where notices were printed in nine different languages. To process the masses of people, the American government employed a staff of interpreters who were certified by civil service examinations and commanded an average of six languages (Heaps 1967: 68). In 1907, when over 11,000 people were processed in one day, the interpreters included Fiorella La Guardia (1882–1947), an Italian immigrant’s son who had worked in the consular service in Europe and was subsequently elected mayor of New York. For interpreting on Ellis Island, La Guardia was paid $1,200 per year. In so far as the immigrants were mainly agricultural and industrial workers, the diverse kinds of translation they required and performed contributed to the enormous economic growth that the United States witnessed during the twentieth century.

Building a national culture (1640–1954)

Translation has been indispensable to the development of a uniquely American culture, even if the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the country guaranteed that it would consist of various cultural constituencies, each with their own dialects and discourses, values and beliefs.

The first English-language book written and printed in North America was in fact a translation, The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre (1640), commonly known as The Bay Psalm Book. A collaborative work produced by a group of Puritan ministers, this hymnal offered a very literal rendering of the Hebrew text, and since it was intended for singing, the translation was cast in ballad metre. In a preface, translator John Cotton (1584–1652) explained that the literal strategy conformed to a Puritan aesthetic: ‘If therefore the verses are not always so smooth and elegant as some may desire or expect, let them consider that God’s Altar needs not our polishings’ (Haraszti 1956: A4v). The religious values of the translation carried political implications. The Bay Psalm Book expressed the Puritans’ dissent from the liturgy of the Anglican Church and the literature of the royal court. The avowedly ‘plain’ language rejected the ‘poetical license’ that characterized Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins’s verse translation, which had been bound with the Book of Common Prayer since 1562 (ibid.). And the ballad meter linked the new versions to the popular song tradition in opposition to the metrical refinements of aristocratic poetry, including the translations of the Psalms made by such courtiers as Sir Philip Sidney and Thomas Carew.

As translation increased the cultural autonomy of the American colonies from England, it also contributed to the decisive political break by importing revolutionary political ideas from abroad. In this case, the translating took diverse forms. The works of French Enlightenment thinkers such as Voltaire and Rousseau were available in eighteenth-century America, although in French editions and in English-language versions first published in London and Edinburgh (May 1976: 41). Learned politicians such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were able to read these works in French, incorporating the ideas they found there in documents like the Declaration of Independence (1775–6). And during the political crisis that precipitated the Revolutionary War, pamphleteers used their own and others’ translations to disseminate Enlightenment thinking and to sway public sentiment against England. In The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved (1764), James Otis offered a democratic critique of the British monarchy that quoted his own renderings from Rousseau’s Social Contract (Bailyn 1965: II, 436).

While the United States was emerging as an international political power, translation was enlisted in nationalist projects to develop an American culture that could vie with Europe. Perhaps the most ambitious of these projects was Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature, a 14-volume anthology of translations edited by George Ripley (1802–80). The first two volumes consisted of Ripley’s own translations of several French philosophers, Benjamin Constant, Theodore Jouffroy, and Victor Cousin. In subsequent volumes, he relied on the translating skills of the New England Transcendentalists, intellectuals such as Margaret Fuller (1810–50) and John Sullivan Dwight (1813–93) who had
been inspired by French and German literature and whose translations in turn inspired others, notably the quintessential American philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Ripley felt that translation could contribute to the creation of a national culture that respected democratic principles. 'The best productions of foreign genius and study', he argued, 'should not be confined to the few who have access to the original languages, but should be diffused among enlightened readers of every class and condition' (Ripley 1838: xi). Yet the 'standard' that guided his selection of foreign texts conformed to the cultural values of the elite intellectual minority who composed his primary readership as well as his stable of translators. There was indeed a mass audience for translations during the nineteenth century, but its tastes favoured melodrama and romance, not poetry and philosophy. William Dunlap (1766–1839), a New York playwright and theatre manager whose own works failed to draw at the box office, successfully staged numerous translations from the sentimental drama of the German August von Kotzebue. Henry William Herbert (1807–58), an English immigrant who published fiction, history and sports writing, reached many more readers by translating sensationalistic French novels, including six by Eugène Sue. During the 1840s Herbert was earning $3,000 per year.

Such translation patterns point not only to the heterogeneity that lay beneath any notions of a national American culture, but also to the dependence of American cultural developments on encounters with foreign literatures. Even when respected American poets translated the canonical works of Western literature, their strategies reflected translation theories that first emerged in foreign cultural traditions. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), whose early poetry gained him a national reputation, wrote a version of the Iliad (1876) that followed the prescriptions for translating Homer presented by the British critic Matthew Arnold some ten years earlier. Bryant wanted to render precisely those qualities of Homeric verse that Arnold defined as the prevailing scholarly reading of the Greek text: 'simplicity', 'fluent narrative', 'dignity' (Bryant 1876: iv–vi). The result was a strongly domesticating translation that adhered to current English usage, avoided archaic syntax and diction, and employed the Latin names for the Greek gods because, Bryant observed, they 'have been naturalized in our language for centuries' (ibid.: vii). The foreign origins of Bryant's strategy can be detected even in his choice of meter: like the British poet William Cowper, he used blank verse, 'the vehicle of some of the noblest poetry in our language; although unlike Cowper he had in mind Shakespeare rather than Milton (ibid.: vii, v).

Bayard Taylor (1825–78), a journalist and travel writer whose poetry earned his contemporaries' praise but later fell into neglect, produced a version of Goethe's Faust (1871) influenced by the German translation tradition. Following Goethe's view that in the 'highest' translating 'the translator ... attaches himself closely to his original' (Lefevere 1992b: 76), Taylor wrote a 'nearly literal version in the original metres' (Taylor 1871: xi). And just as Goethe felt that 'the taste of the multitude must first be shaped to accept' literal translations, Taylor saw himself issuing a challenge to American readers, whose 'intellectual tendencies', he argued, 'have always been somewhat conservative', making them 'suspicious of new metres and unaccustomed forms of expression' (Lefevere 1992b: 77; Taylor 1871: x). Taylor's German-inspired translation strategy undoubtedly worked to bring about a lasting change in American literary taste, at least as far as translations of Goethe were concerned: his version continued to be reprinted as late as 1950, when the commercial press Random House published it in the noted series of classic works called 'The Modern Library'.

With the advent of the modernist movement, the American translation tradition entered a period of striking innovation that centred on the translation of poetry. The most important figure in this development was Ezra Pound (1885–1972). Pound saw translation as a means of cultivating modernist poetic values, provided that the translator chose certain foreign poetries capable of supporting those values; his greatest successes occurred with the Anglo-Saxon lament The Seafarer (1912), the thirteenth-century Italian poet Guido Cavalcanti (1912, 1932), the Chinese poet Li Po (1915), and the Provencal troubadour Arnaut Daniel (1920). Pound experimented with a range of dialects and discourses, assimilating the foreign texts to pre-existing cultural forms: Anglo-Saxon patterns of accent and alliteration, pre-
Elizabethan English, Pre-Raphaelite medievalism, modernist precision, American colloquialism. This strategy clearly involved a process of domestication, but ultimately the effect was foreignizing: the resulting translation signified the cultural and historical difference of the foreign text because the English-language forms Pound used were so heterogeneous, culled from different moments in British and American culture.

After Pound, American translators began to regard their translations as autonomous literary works, although few were willing to take up his most daring experiments with translation strategies. By the middle of the twentieth century, American translation of both poetry and prose was for the most part modern, not Modernist. It eschewed Pound’s experimentalism for a linguistic homogeneity that produced an illusory effect of transparency, whereby the translation seems to be not a translation, but the foreign original (Venuti 1995a). The transparency, however, actually conceals a thoroughgoing domestication, in which the foreign text is inscribed with cultural values that prevail in contemporary America. Thus Dudley Fitts (1903–68), who established a reputation as a leading translator of ancient Greek poetry and drama, admitted that his modern versions of Greek poems ‘risked a spurious atmosphere of monotheism by writing “God” for “Zeus”’ (Fitts 1956: xviii).

American global hegemony since World War II

Translating and interpreting have served American political and economic interests over the past several decades, enabling the United States to achieve and maintain its pre-eminence in world affairs. The Foreign Service in the State Department has long contained a language section to review translations of diplomatic documents and to provide for interpreting at international conferences. By the mid-1980s, this Language Services Division was providing an annual total of $8 million in translating and interpreting for various government agencies (Obst and Cline 1990: 12). In the State Department, translation has also performed explicitly ideological functions. Throughout the Cold War, the United States Information Agency operated the Voice of America radio broadcasts in thirty-five languages while issuing propagandistic materials in print and electronic media (Roland 1982: 130).

American businesses have increasingly turned to translation as a way of developing overseas markets, relying on firms that specialize in translating contracts, instruction manuals and technical information. These firms have in turn grown and multiplied, creating a translation industry that was valued at $10 billion in the early 1990s (Levy 1991: F5). For example, All-Language Services, a privately owned company founded in 1946 with five translators, employed ninety working in fifty-nine languages by the end of the 1990s. Since the 1980s, the translation division of Berlitz International, a subsidiary of the publisher Macmillan, has acquired six translation companies in the United States and Europe, yielding annual revenues of $30 million.

The American publishing industry has been relatively less interested in investing in translation. Although book production has increased fourfold since the 1940s, the proportion of translations has generally remained between 2 and 4 per cent of the annual total, in contrast to significantly higher percentages in other countries (see Venuti 1995a: 12–13). American publishers sell translation rights for more and more English-language books, including the global best-sellers, but spend disproportionately less on the rights to publish English-language translations of foreign books. As a result, the United States has exercised a hegemony over foreign countries that is not simply political and economic, as the particular case may be, but cultural as well. Publishers have profited from successfully imposing American cultural values on a vast foreign readership, while creating a domestic culture that is aggressively monolingual and receptive to the foreign only when it meets American expectations.

These expectations have decisively influenced the choice of foreign texts for translation. American publishers capitalized on reader curiosity about foreign nations that were allies or antagonists, as well as reader optimism that cultural exchange would facilitate better international understanding and more peaceful political relations. Since World War II, the languages
most frequently translated into English have been French, German, Russian, Italian and Spanish. With Russian literature, publishers appealed to American anti-Communist sentiment by focusing on works that criticized Marxism or the Soviet government, novels like Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* (1958) and Alexander Solzhenitsyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (1962), both of which became best-sellers in translation. In contrast, 'translations of Soviet (that is, nondissident) prose of the 1950s–1970s are relatively few and far between' (May 1994: 47).

Similar patterns of admission and exclusion have occurred with less frequently translated literatures. In the decades after World War II, American publishers emphasized a few modern Japanese novelists, mainly Junichiro Tanizaki, Yasunari Kawabata and Yukio Mishima. Consequently, they created a well-defined stereotype of Japanese culture (elusive, inconclusive, melancholic) which expressed a nostalgia for a less belligerent and more traditional Japan. The novels selected for translation 'provided exactly the right image of Japan at a time when that country was being transformed, almost overnight in historical terms, from a mortal enemy during the Pacific War to an indispensable ally during the Cold War era' (Fowler 1992: 6). A canon of Japanese fiction was established in English, one that was not simply unrepresentative, excluding comic and proletarian novels among other kinds of writing, but also enormously influential, determining readers' tastes for roughly forty years.

Apart from such political motivations, American publishers have generally issued translations for both literary and commercial reasons, and these books have had a diverse impact on American culture. Most of these books have had little or no impact on American culture, although in one instance the literary repercussions were significant. During the 1960s and 1970s, the so-called boom in Latin American literature was fostered by novelists and critics who valued its experimentalism over the realistic narratives that have always dominated American fiction (Payne 1993). Publishers brought out many translations from the work of such authors as the Argentine Julio Cortázar and the Columbian Gabriel García Márquez, forming a new canon of foreign literature in English as well as a more sophisticated American readership. This trend continued partly because the translations were profitable. García Márquez's novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was a notable success in Gregory Rabassa's eminently readable version: when the first paperback edition appeared in 1970, it stayed on *The New York Times* Bestseller List for several weeks (Castro-Klarén and Campos 1983: 326–7). At the same time, the influx of Latin American writing was altering the canon of contemporary American literature, encouraging writers like John Barth to develop various narrative experiments.

American publishers have tended to view translations as risky ventures, likely to sustain a loss. This situation has been most unfavourable to freelance translators. They have typically received work-for-hire contracts that require them to surrender any right in the translation for a flat fee with no royalty or share of the income from subsidiary rights sales (Keeley 1990). In 1965 a translator with a work-for-hire arrangement typically received $15 per thousand English words or roughly $1,200 for a 300-page book; in 1990, the rate varied between $40 and $90 or between $3,000 and $6,000 for a booklength project (Venuti 1995a: 10–11). Given the low volume of translations published in the United States, freelance translators have been forced to undertake several projects a year in order to earn their livelihood. Most supplement their translating with such other work as editing, writing and teaching.

Among the most notable translators of this period are Ralph Manheim (1907–92), whose translations from German and French included the writing of Freud, Brecht, Hitler, Céline, Grass and Handke; Helen R. Lane (1922–2004), whose translations from French, Spanish and Portuguese introduced American readers to a wide range of European and Latin American literature; and Richard Howard (1929– ), who has translated many important French poets, novelists, philosophers, and literary critics, including Baudelaire, Proust, Barthes and Robbe-Grillet. These translators have not only been prolific, but accomplished and award-winning, so that their distinguished reputations have called attention to translation and helped to improve the conditions under which translators generally work.
Nonetheless, these conditions continue to be shaped most forcefully by economic developments. Since the 1980s, the American publishing industry has been transformed by the emergence of multinational conglomerates that pursue larger returns on investments, with the result that potential best-sellers have been favoured over difficult-to-market books such as translations (Whiteside 1981; Feldman 1986). Publishers are most attracted to foreign texts that were blockbusters abroad, hoping to repeat the same performance with American readers; or else they choose to invest in translations that are involved in ‘tie-ins’, film or theatre adaptations that ensure wider reader recognition and greater sales. This publishing strategy has worked quite well with classic foreign novels turned into Broadway musicals. After British composer Andrew Lloyd Webber successfully adapted *The Phantom of the Opera* to the musical theatre, American publishers scrambled to bring out translations of the Gaston Leroux novel. When the show opened in New York during the 1988 season, as many as four English versions were available in cheap paperback editions.

Economic considerations inevitably affect translation strategies, which have been dominated by fluent domestication since the 1940s. The dominance of fluent strategies and the transparency they make possible have undoubtedly limited the recognition of translation as a significant cultural practice. They have also led to the marginalization of experimental translations that seek to broaden the translator’s discursive repertoire beyond the most familiar forms of English. The more radical the experiment, the greater the condemnation and neglect suffered by the translation (Venuti 1995a).

The 1990s brought signs that the dominance of fluency is weakening, at least in the case of certain languages and literatures whose peculiarities resist it. In their inventive translations of Dostoyevsky’s novels, Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky have altered the general reader’s conception of the Russian texts by refusing to assimilate them to the standard dialect of English or to English-language narrative styles. The new translations restore Dostoyevsky’s ‘oddities’ and thereby evoke the polyphony of voices that characterize the Russian texts, as scholars have long recognized (Pevear and Volokhonsky 1990: xv; May 1994: 52–4).

The questioning of fluent translation may well betoken a greater respect for cultural difference, a new American openness towards foreign languages and literatures that will give translation more authority and improve the status of the translator. But American culture continues to exhibit a strong current of what can only be called xenophobia, a fear that multilingualism and the translating that a multilingual population must daily perform will undermine national unity. The 1980s saw the rise of movements that sought to repress translation by successfully making English the official language in states with substantial populations of recent immigrants: Arizona, California, Florida (Muller 1993: 235–7). All the same, translation remains a vital presence in contemporary America, even if it is underinvested, misunderstood and suspected. Perhaps the most visible reminder of its importance is the automated tellers at major banks in every metropolis. At Citibank in New York, the banking programmes render transactions in five languages: Spanish, Greek, Chinese, Korean, and English.

The marginality of translation in American culture is evident in the relative dearth of research, at least until the late 1990s. Commentary from the 1950s to the 1970s was generally belletristic, provocative reflections prompted by a translator’s work with specific foreign texts and literatures. It was casual, occasional, likely to appear in a preface to a literary translation, in an interview, or in an essay for a poetry magazine. Despite this unsystematic presentation, the thinking about translation was often informed by theoretical assumptions that prevailed concurrently in academic literary scholarship and in translation workshops, particularly assumptions about literature that animated the New Criticism (Gentzler 1993). There were also emergent strands of other translation theories based in structural linguistics, cultural anthropology and analytic philosophy. Two pioneering anthologies that survey the range of translation commentary during this period are Brower (1959) and Arrowsmith and Shattuck (1961).

Much of this commentary shared the assumption that translation involves the communication of a fixed meaning located in the foreign-language text. As a result, notions of equivalence guided the research. Throughout
the 1980s, this view was increasingly revised as American translation studies continued to draw on conceptual developments in several disciplines, including a variety of cultural and political discourses that are mostly European in origin: psychoanalysis, phenomenology, Frankfurt School Marxism, French feminism, post-structuralism. In these new lines of research, translation was considered less as communication between languages and cultures than as interpretation that provisionally fixes a meaning in the foreign-language text in accordance with an interpretive theory, cultural agenda and political standpoint in the domestic situation. Less attention was given to notions of equivalence than to the inevitable linguistic and cultural differences negotiated by the translator. The change in the direction of research can be glimpsed in *Translation Perspectives*, a series of occasional papers published since 1982 by the Translation Research and Instruction Program at SUNY (Binghamton) and edited by Marilyn Gaddis Rose. A watershed volume, which also originated in a conference at Binghamton, is Graham (1985), which represents post-structuralist styles of thinking.

Since the 1990s, as translation began to emerge as a scholarly discipline in its own right, two rather different paradigms appear to be driving research. On the one hand is an approach that can generally be called text linguistics, in which notions of equivalence are grounded in the classification of text types and functions. On the other hand is an approach that can generally be called cultural studies, which is concerned with how values, ideologies, and institutions shape practices differently in different historical periods. It is the latter approach that seems to be stimulating the most interest, attracting scholars from disciplines that have hitherto neglected translation – despite its importance in American cultural and political history.

**Further reading**


**Arabic tradition**

Arabic is a southern-central Semitic language spoken by a large population in the Arab and Islamic worlds. It originated in the Arabian Peninsula but spread far beyond the confines of its birthplace with the rise of Islam in the seventh century.

Prior to the rise of Islam and the consolidation of the Arab nation, the various peoples who inhabited different parts of the territory now known as the Arab world were in many cases bilingual, speaking Arabic in everyday contexts and using a variety of languages such as Syriac and Aramaic for trade and learning (Hitti 1937: 70ff.), especially as Arabic did not develop a writing system until almost the time of the rise of Islam. They were of different ethnic backgrounds and followed very different ways of life, varying between a nomadic, tribal existence in the Peninsula (present-day Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Gulf states) and a sedentary, merchant culture in the Fertile Crescent (Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Palestine). The tribes in the Peninsula were not ruled by outside powers, whereas the inhabitants of other parts fell under the rule of either the Byzantine or Sassanian Empire.

The rise of Islam in the seventh century is the most important event in the history of the Arab peoples: it changed the political, cultural and linguistic map of the area forever. The spread of Islam began during the Prophet's lifetime and gathered phenomenal speed after his death in 632. By 698, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and North Africa had become part of the new political and religious order. At the height of its expansion, the Islamic Empire stretched from present-day Pakistan to Spain.

The political history of the Islamic world is rather complex, with the seat of empire moving from one capital to another as different dynasties rose to power, and with several caliphates at times existing in various parts of the world. The most important periods and caliphates are as follows:

- the orthodox period of the early caliphate, starting with the death of Muhammad in 632 and ending with the death of ʿAli, the fourth Guided Caliph, in 661. The seat of
the caliphate during this period moved from Medina, in present-day Saudi Arabia, to al-Kufa and al-Basra in present-day Iraq:
• the Umayyad caliphate (661–750), with its seat in Damascus;
• the Abbasid caliphate (750–1258), with its capital in Baghdad;
• the Fatimid caliphate (909–1171), a Shi‘ite offshoot of the main caliphate, with its capital in Cairo;
• an offshoot of the Umayyad caliphate which was established in Cordoba (929–1031);
• the Ottoman caliphate (c.1517–1924), with its seat in Constantinople. This last great caliphate of Islam was Turkish.

The office of caliph (i.e. leader of the Muslim community) was officially abolished in 1924.

From the point of view of the history of translation into Arabic, the orthodox period, the Fatimid caliphate and the offshoot of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain are of relatively little interest. Although the Arab conquest of Spain is associated with an important period of translation activity, much of this activity involved translation out of rather than into Arabic (see Spanish tradition). The most important periods in the history of translation into Arabic are the Umayyad and Abbasid, which were followed by a long period of intellectual stagnation in the Islamic world from the twelfth to the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.

The widely celebrated flourishing of translation in the Islamic Empire is closely associated with and dependent on the growth of Arabic as a written literary language, which began with the need to standardize the text of the Qur‘an. The status of Arabic as lingua franca was established when the Umayyad Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān (reigned 685–705) declared it the sole administrative language of the Empire. Since then it has been the official language of all Arab countries and continues to play a unifying role in the area, enabling the variety of religious and ethnic groups that make up the population of the Arab world to think of themselves as a ‘nation’.

**Translation in the Arab Islamic Empire (seventh to thirteenth century)**

Some translation activity seems to have taken place on a small scale prior to the rise of Islam. A manuscript dating back to A.D. 513 and written in Greek, Syriac and Arabic was found near Aleppo. It lists, among other things, the names of men involved in building the church where the manuscript was found (‘Ali 1986: 51). Some translation and interpreting activities must also have existed in the very early days of Islam, though we have very few records of such activity. We do know, however, that the Prophet sent messages to various political rulers, such as the Viceroy of Egypt, urging them to adopt the new religion. This type of exchange between the Prophet and non-Arab rulers could not have taken place without some form of linguistic mediation. Moreover, the Qur‘an itself includes many words borrowed from Greek, Persian, Syriac and Hebrew.

The new cultural environment which developed following the rise of Islam and the expansion of the Islamic Empire was infinitely richer and more complex than anything previously experienced by the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula. The new empire lay at the intersection of eastern and western civilizations and brought together the most sophisticated cultural traditions of the period: Greek, Indian, Persian and Egyptian. One of the most important consequences of this development was the shift of Arabic from a mainly oral language, spoken by an ethnically homogeneous community of native speakers, to a written and spoken lingua franca of a vast civilization comprising many ethnic and linguistic groups.

The nomadic Arabs who came out of the desert had a great deal to learn from the nations they conquered; and they were eager learners. Inspired by the richness of the civilizations they were now encountering for the first time, and explicitly encouraged by the Qur‘an to seek knowledge wherever it could be found, they began a huge campaign to acquire the learning of the nations under their rule and naturally turned to translation as the means by which the new sources of knowledge could be accessed. The period from the eighth to the eleventh century
Arabic tradition

in particular witnessed an unprecedented level of translation activity, greatly helped by the availability of paper, which was introduced to the Muslim world shortly after Samarqand was captured in 704 (Stock 1978: 13). With the introduction of paper, the process of transforming the oral Arabic culture into a literate one could proceed in earnest, with translation playing the main role in enabling this process to take shape.

The Arabs are credited with initiating the first organized, large-scale translation activity in history. This activity started during the reign of the Umayyads (661–750) and reached its zenith under the Abbasids (750–1258), particularly during the reign of Al-Ma'mūn (813–33), known as the Golden Era of translation. The centre of this activity was Baghdad, a fabulous city built by the Abbasid caliph al-Mansūr (reigned 754–75) and the scene of many episodes in the famous *Thousand and One Nights*.

This unprecedented commitment to translation can be distinguished from any translation activity the world had known before in terms of three factors (al-Khūry 1988: 24):

(a) Range of source languages: the Arabs translated voraciously from Sanskrit, Persian, Syriac, Greek, Aramaic and other languages.

(b) Range of topics and subjects: all aspects of knowledge interested the Arabs. They translated manuscripts on mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, logic, medicine, chemistry, politics, etc. Literature was of relatively less interest during this period, partly because it often included religious and mythical allusions which conflicted with Islamic teachings, and partly because the Arabs already had a strong literary tradition of their own.

(c) Most importantly, the translation movement which evolved under the Abbasid dynasty was organized and institutionalized. Translation was sponsored and supported by the government, and specific institutions, or translation chambers, were set up to initiate and regulate the flow of translations. The first such translation chamber was set up by al-Mansūr, the second Abbasid caliph (754–75), and expanded considerably by Al-Rashid (786–809) and Al-Ma'mūn (813–33).

The Umayyad period

The first half of the eighth century witnessed a number of developments which laid the long-term foundations of the Empire: the development of a postal service, Arabic coinage and, most importantly, the establishment of Arabic as the official language of administration, replacing Greek in Damascus, Pahlavi in Iraq and the Eastern provinces and Coptic in Egypt.

Translation activity also started in earnest during this period. The most authoritative and comprehensive source for translation and writing activities in the Islamic Empire is *al-Fihrist* (lit. ‘The Index’), compiled by Ibn al-Nadīm in 988. *Al-Fihrist* claims that it was Prince Khālid Ibn Yazid, son of the second Umayyad caliph, who commissioned the first translations from Greek and Coptic (al-Nadīm, in al-Khūry 1988: 31), having turned to the pursuit of knowledge following his failure to acquire the position of caliph. Although the ascription of this activity to Khālid Ibn Yazid is contested in the literature (Hitti 1937: 255), there is general agreement that the first translations were carried out during this period and were from Greek and Coptic. *Al-Fihrist* further suggests that the first treatises to be translated were on alchemy because Khalid ibn Yazid believed it was possible to turn minerals into gold. At any rate, we do know that translations carried out during this period included treatises on medicine, astrology and alchemy. In addition, Arabizing the administration under Ibn Marawān naturally involved a certain amount of translation of official documents in the initial stages.

Byzantine and Persian songs also first began to appear in translation during this period. The translations were carried out by Saʿīd Ibn Misjāh, the first Meccan musician and one of the best known during the Umayyad period (Hitti 1937: 275).

A great deal of Greek gnomologia (wisdom literature) was translated into Arabic towards the end of the Umayyad period, including virtually all gnomologia connected with Aristotle and Alexander (Gutas 1975: 444). These translations were to have a strong influence on Arabic poetry in the ninth and tenth centuries. Two of the most celebrated Arab poets of the period, Abu al-ʿAtāhiya and al-Mutanabbi, used gnomic material in their poems.
The Abbasid period

Whereas the elite of the Umayyad Empire was largely Arab (ethnically speaking), the Abbasid Empire was overall more international in composition and character, with ethnic Arabs forming only one part of the nation and its elite. In due course, the word Arab came to refer to any Arabic-speaking Muslim, irrespective of racial background or affiliation. Thus it must be borne in mind that the many references to the large body of knowledge accumulated during this period as Arab (Arab medicine, Arab philosophy and so on) often apply to work which is not necessarily attributable to ethnic Arabs from the Peninsula. There were certain areas in which the ethnic Arabs excelled (in particular theology, jurisprudence and linguistics), but in almost all other areas it was the Persians, Syriacs and Jews who led the way, both in terms of translation and of original writing. The Persians in particular were instrumental in shaping the intellectual development of Muslim society. The fact that al-Mansūr was keen to maintain the loyalty of Persians to secure the stability of the then nascent Abbasid rule played a major role in the enrichment of Arabo-Islamic culture and the beginning of the translation movement, which lasted for more than two centuries. Many translations from Greek into Arabic were undertaken mainly through Pahlavi (Middle Persian of the Sassanians). By the tenth/eleventh centuries, Arabic had become more ornate under the influence of Persian. The Persian influence on translation activities is evident even in the first known translation institution in the Arabic tradition, Bayt al-Hikma (the House of Wisdom), which, as Gutas (1998: 54) suggests, was modelled on the Sassanian libraries. 'Bayt al-Hikma' itself is a translation of the Persian name of the Sassanian libraries. The first centres of education started to appear in the early eighth century in Egypt and Iraq, and early Abbasid caliphs subsequently began to take an active interest in translation. The second Abbasid caliph, al-Mansūr (reigned 754–75), commissioned a number of translations and set up a translation chamber. Al-Rashid (reigned 786–809) similarly supported translation activity and enlarged the translation chamber set up by al-Mansūr. But it was al-Ma'mūn (reigned 813–33) who founded in 830 the most important institute of higher learning in Islam, which also became the most celebrated centre of translation in Arab history. Bayt al-Hikma (the House of Wisdom), in Baghdad, functioned as an academy, library and translation bureau, and produced translations from Greek, Syriac, Persian, Sanskrit and Nabatean.

A vast range of material was translated under the Abbasids. Ptolemy's Geography was translated into Arabic several times, most notably by Thabit Ibn Qurrah, either directly or through Syriac. Generally speaking, Greek material already available in Syriac was translated from Syriac, which still functioned as the liturgical language of the Nestorians who headed the translation chambers. Greek works which were not available in Syriac were either rendered directly into Arabic or first into Syriac and then into Arabic. Greek works on moral philosophy, starting with Aristotle's Ethics, were among the first to be translated and laid the foundation for the indigenous version of philosophy known as 'ilm al-Akhlāq (lit. science of manners/behaviour). The scientific study of astronomy was inspired by the translation (c. 771) of an Indian treatise, Sindhind, by Muhammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fazari, whose translations of this and other Hindu works also introduced into
the Muslim world, and later Europe, the Hindu numeral system and the zero. The Old and New Testaments, or fragments of them, were translated several times. The most important, full translation of the Old Testament was done by Saʿīd al-Fayyūmi (882–942) in Egypt.

Overall, the Arabs translated essentially scientific and philosophical material from Greek and showed little or no interest in Greek drama and poetry. Even in translating such books as Aristotle’s *Poetics* into Arabic they were not motivated by any perceived aesthetic or literary value, but rather by the need to learn Greek philosophical argumentation. Abū Bishr Matta ibn Yūnis (d. 940), probably the first to produce a full translation of Aristotle’s *Poetics*, was not a man of letters, but a philosopher and logician (ʿĀyyād 1993: 177). The frequent religious debates between Muslims and non-Muslims and between the different sects of Islam during the reign of the Abbasid dynasty created a need for translating Greek works of philosophy and rhetoric. As far as literature was concerned, Persian – rather than Greek – provided most of the source texts during this period. India, on the other hand, was the chief source of wisdom literature and mathematics, though it must be borne in mind that much of Persian literature can be traced back to Indian sources. For example, as in the case of the *Thousand and One Nights*, *Kalilah wa Dimna* (another important work of literature in Arabic) is based on a translation from Pahlavi (Middle Persian), which in turn is based on Sanskrit sources. Sanskrit was also important as a source language for medical treatises, though the translations were often carried out via Persian, as in the case of the great Indian medical treatise *Charaka-Samhita* (Meyerhof 1937: 26).

In addition to Persian translators (for a full list, see al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*), a large number of the translators active during this period were Christian (Rosenthal 1975: 6), and many were scholars in their own right. The most notable was Yuhanna Ibn Māṣāwayh (777–857), who headed Bayt al-Hikma and who wrote *Daghal al-Ayn* (Disorders of the Eye), the oldest systematic work on ophthalmology in Arabic. Other Christian translators included Yuhanna Ibn al-Bitraq, ʿAbd al-Masih Ibn Naʿima al-Himsī, Qusta Ibn Luqa and Yahya Ibn ʿAdi.

One of the most outstanding translators during this period is Hunayn Ibn Ishāq (809–73), known as Joannitius in the western tradition, who was paid by al-Māmūn in gold, matching the weight of the books he translated. Ibn Ishāq is credited with translating some 100 manuscripts into Syriac and 39 into Arabic, including the works of Aristotle, Plato and Ptolemy. A Nestorian Christian from al-Hira (in modern Iraq), Ibn Ishāq was among the most gifted and productive translators during the Abbasid period. Bilingual in Arabic and Syriac, he studied medicine under the renowned physician and translator Yuhanna Ibn Māṣāwayh, went on to learn Greek and then began his career as physician and translator in Baghdad. He headed Bayt al-Hikma under the caliph al-Māmūn, where he took charge of all scientific translation work and, with his son, his nephew and other students and members of his school, translated into Syriac and Arabic the bulk of the Greek medical material known at the time, many of Aristotle’s works (including *Categories*, *Physics* and *Magna Moralia*), Plato’s *Republic*, works by Hippocrates, various treatises on mathematics and physics, as well as the Septuagint.

In the course of producing this enormous translation output, Ibn Ishāq enriched Arabic with a very large number of scientific terms. He was a conscientious and sophisticated translator who took great pains to verify the accuracy of a source text before proceeding with a translation. Ibn Ishāq adopted a sense-for-sense approach which distinguished his work from many crude, literal translations of the time. The most important document he left us is the treatise he wrote on the translations of Galen’s work into Syriac and Arabic, including his own and his students’ translations, known as *Risala*. Besides listing the translations of Galen’s work, Ibn Ishāq comments on the translation practices of his time. This makes *Risala* the most important source for examining the discourse on translation during the Abbasid reign. Ibn Ishāq provides some detailed comments on the linguistic and stylistic qualities of Galen’s translations and the proficiencies of the translators, their patrons and the impact of their work on medical education at the time (Meyerhof 1926).

Another prolific translator of the period was the Sabian Thābit Ibn Qurrah (c.836–901); the Sabians were a community of star worshippers
who naturally had a long-standing interest in astronomy. Ibn Qurrah and his disciples were responsible for translating most of the Greek works on astronomy and mathematics, including the works of Archimedes and Apollonius of Perga (Hitti 1937: 314). As in the case of Ibn Ishāq, other members of Ibn Qurrah’s immediate family followed in his footsteps and distinguished themselves as translators, including his son Sinān, his grandsons Thābit and Ibrāhīm, and his great-grandson Abu al-Faraj (ibid.).

Two methods of translation seem to have been adopted during this period (Rosenthal 1975: 17). The first, associated with Yuhanna Ibn al-Bitrīq and Ibn Nācima al-Himsi, was highly literal and consisted of translating each Greek word with an equivalent Arabic word and, where none existed, borrowing the Greek word into Arabic. This method was not successful overall and many of the translations carried out by al-Bitrīq were later revised under al-Ma’mūn, most notably by Hunayn Ibn Ishāq. The second method, associated with Ibn Ishāq and al-Jawhari, consisted of translating sense for sense, creating fluent target texts which conveyed the meaning of the original without distorting the target language. Ibn Ishāq and his followers thus gave priority to the requirements of the target language and the target reader from the outset, stressing readability and accessibility in a way which suggests that the translations were conceived as having a didactic function: Ibn Ishāq, for instance, explicitly praised his own translations for their ‘pleasant and limpid style which can be understood by the non-expert in the field of medical science or by he who does not know anything of the ways of philosophy’ (cited in Salama-Carr 1996).

In addition to comments concerning the most successful method of translation, there was also some reflection during this period on such issues as whether translation of certain text types was at all possible, whether translated texts in general offered a reliable source of information, and the effect of interference from Greek and Syriac on the structure of Arabic. Al-Jāhiz (d. 869), one of the best known writers of the period, was particularly caustic in his statements about translators and translation, insisting that ‘the translator can never do [the philosopher] justice or express him with fidelity’ (cited in Salama-Carr 1996). But apart from such occasional criticism of their profession, translators generally enjoyed a most enviable position under the Abbasids. Their work was highly valued and they seem to have enjoyed a rather luxurious style of life, at least the more successful among them. Al-Nadīm (988, cited in Hitti 1937: 306) gives a lavish description of the daily routine of Hunayn Ibn Ishāq: he bathed, relaxed in a lounging robe, enjoyed a light drink and a biscuit, had his siesta, and on waking ‘burned perfume to fumigate his person’, had dinner, went back to sleep, woke up again and drank several rotls of wine ‘to which he added quinces and Syrian apples if he felt the desire for fresh fruits’.

This Golden Era of translation under early Abbasid rule was followed by a rich period of original writing in many fields, including astronomy, alchemy, geography, linguistics, theology and philosophy. Here again, the most outstanding contributions came from Arabic-speaking subjects of the Empire (i.e. non-ethnic Arabs), especially Persians such as Ibn Sīna (Avicenna), al-Tabari and al-Rīzi (Rhazes). Much of this original writing included a substantial amount of commentary on Greek sources, such as Aristotle, by writers who often had no knowledge of Greek and who relied on existing Arabic translations in developing their own philosophical positions. This is true, for example, of the works of Ibn Rushd (Averro’s) and the Jewish philosopher (as well as astronomer, theologian and physician) Mūsa Ibn Maymūn (Maimonides). Another interesting feature of the ‘original writing’ which followed the Golden Era of translation is that some of it, though written in Arabic, was either lost and later found only in Hebrew translations or Latin translations from the Hebrew (as in the case of Ibn Rushd’s commentaries) or was written in Hebrew characters from the outset (as in the case of Ibn Maymūn’s works (Hitti 1937/1970: 582ff.).

The flowering of knowledge that took place in the Islamic world during the tenth and eleventh centuries and that later provided the impetus for the development of all branches of knowledge in the West, including natural science and philosophy, could not have taken place had it not been for the intense programme of translation carried out under the Abbasids. Thus translation lay at the centre of the most
important period of intellectual activity in the history of the Islamic World.

Translation under the Ottomans

Starting with the late tenth/early eleventh century, the Islamic Empire began to experience a long period of gradual disintegration, resulting in the establishment of rival caliphates in Egypt and Spain and endless petty dynasties in various parts of the Empire. A series of barbaric onslaughts by the Mongols eventually culminated in the destruction of Baghdad and the slaughter of the caliph and his officials by Hulagu in 1258. For a time, the Islamic world had no caliph to rule it. The Muslim Ottomans, a new power which was to endure well into the twentieth century, eventually took control of the region and claimed the title of caliph for their rulers in 1517.

Under this new political order, Arabic continued to be the language of learning and law, the latter because the Ottomans, being Muslim, had to rule the Empire according to Islamic jurisdiction. In other areas, Arabic began to lose ground to Turkish (now the language of government) and Persian (which became the language of polite letters). As the language of learning, Arabic continued to play a major role in the translation movement, though now it had to share this role with Turkish. As Muslims, the Turks were eager to access the resources of Islamic culture, and therefore more translation was done from Arabic into Turkish than vice versa (Oghli 2006). One of the most prominent translators into Turkish in the early nineteenth century was 'Uthmān Nūr al-Dīn Pasha, who was the first to be sent by Muhammad Ali on an educational mission to Italy in 1809. On his return he embarked on translating books on military arts and industry into Turkish (for a full list of translators into Turkish under Muhammad Ali, see Oghli 2006: 183–5). In addition to books on Islamic religion and culture and military arts, the Turks were interested in history and politics.

The Arab world was largely isolated and deprived of cultural contact during the first few centuries of Ottoman rule. The first major contact with Europe came with the French invasion of Egypt in 1798, which lasted only three years but had a considerable impact on the intellectual development of the area. Napoleon had brought with him a 'scientific expedition' which included a number of orientalists who set up the first Arabic press in the region. Initially, he brought his own translators and interpreters with him, including some Muslim sailors whom he had captured in Malta (al-Shayyāl 1950: 36). These 'foreign' translators prepared the Arabic circular that Napoleon distributed on landing in Alexandria, a circular designed to reassure the Egyptian populace and to incite them to rebel against their rulers. The circular, like much of what these foreign translators produced, was grammatically unsound and stylistically poor (al-Jabarti, cited in al-Shayyāl 1950: 36). The French also relied on foreign interpreters for reading out their decrees, and even for pacifying angry crowds. In addition, interpreters worked in the dīwān, where they interpreted lawsuits and read out letters and statements. Al-Jabarti tells us that these foreign interpreters often used French words while interpreting into Arabic.

Translators and interpreters during this period fell into three main groups: (a) Moroccan, Arab and Turkish sailors captured by the French in Malta and released to work as translators in Egypt; (b) French orientalists who accompanied the scientific expedition, the best known among them being Venture, Jauper and l’Homaca; (c) Christian Syrians who had a good knowledge of both French and Arabic, in addition to sharing the religion of the invaders. Some 500 of these Christian Syrians left with the French in 1801 and settled in Marseilles (al-Shayyāl 1950: 45ff.). Very few Egyptians were involved in the translation effort during this period. The best known was Père Antūn Raphaīl, a Christian priest of Syrian origin who became the only Arab member of Napoleon's Egyptian Academy of Science. Under French rule, Père Raphaīl became important enough to sign his name as Chief Translator on legal decrees and similar official documents. After the departure of the French he stayed in Egypt for two years, but then left for Paris where he was rewarded for his support of Napoleon in 1803 with an assistant professorship at the Oriental Institute in Paris (al-Shayyāl 1951/2000).

The greater part of translation activity under the French focused on official documents and legal decrees. However, a few interesting texts
were also translated during this period, among them a grammar of spoken Arabic printed in a bilingual edition in 1801, and a treatise on smallpox translated by Père Antūn Raphaīl and printed in French and Arabic in 1800.

Translation under Muhammad Ali

In 1805, Muhammad Ali (reigned 1805–48), an Ottoman soldier who was originally sent to take control of Egypt on behalf of the caliph, managed to establish himself as the de facto governor of Egypt and later Syria and Sudan. Muhammad Ali had military ambitions, which he proceeded to support by initiating a substantial programme of foreign education and subsequently of translation, mainly of technical works. He set up professional schools, sponsored groups of students to study in Europe and, on their return, instructed them to translate the texts he required for modernizing his army and administration. Initially, most of the students sent to Europe were Turks or Christians from the Levant, but Egyptian students later began to join these educational missions.

Among the most active translators during this period and the decades that preceded it were the Maronite Christians of Lebanon and Syria, who translated or adapted various works of Catholic theology and who were used by political leaders such as Fakhr al-Dīn as interpreters in negotiations with the courts of Europe (Hourani 1962: 55–6). Under Muhammad Ali and his sons, this group enjoyed more freedom and were able to establish their own schools, where they also translated textbooks and printed them in their own presses. Students of these mission schools were later to act as interpreters for local government and foreign diplomats in the area and to form the first generation of journalists in the Arab World (ibid.: 67). Some of the translations which appeared during this period were done by Europeans, among them the French consul Basili Fakhr, who translated several French books on astronomy and natural science into Arabic.

French was the main source language during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and Muhammad Ali’s sponsored student missions to Europe had France as their main destination. In 1826, one of Muhammad Ali’s student missions to France was accompanied by a religious guide, a graduate of al-Azhar who was to become one of the most important figures in translation during this period and a leading educator of his time. Rifā’a al-Tahtāwi (1801–73) spent five years in Paris, where he acquired an excellent command of French. On his return, he worked as a translator in one of Muhammad Ali’s new specialist schools and later headed al-Alsun (lit. ‘the tongues’), originally called madrasat al-tarjama (school of translation), which was set up by Muhammad Ali in 1835 on al-Tahtāwi’s recommendation. Al-Alsun started out with eighty students, chosen by al-Tahtāwi himself from various regions. Within a few years, this number grew to some 150 students who studied Arabic, French and Turkish (and occasionally English) in addition to technical subjects such as geography and mathematics. Al-Tahtāwi would choose a number of books which he thought required translation and distribute them among the translation students. He would guide them through the translation and then revise each text himself before committing it to print. Al-Tahtāwi and his student translators were instrumental in making a vast range of European sources available in Arabic, covering numerous areas of knowledge. Among their most important translations were various histories of the ancient world and the Middle Ages, histories of various kings and emperors, Montesquieu’s Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence, as well as a large body of texts on medicine, geography, military science and other technical subjects.

Teaching in the various schools set up by Mohammed Ali was initially conducted by foreign instructors in French or Italian. These instructors relied on interpreters in the classroom to communicate with their students. Thus the use of interpreters in the educational context seems to have been fairly common practice at the time.

In 1841, a Translation Chamber was set up and attached to al-Alsun. This comprised four departments, three specializing in translating in a specific field of knowledge and the fourth focusing on Turkish translation. Each department was supervised by a high official, usually a graduate of al-Alsun, helped by a number of students. The translations were later sent to the Ministry of Education for
Arabic tradition

Al-Alsun continued to play a double role of teaching and producing translation until khedive Abbas I (reigned 1848–54) closed it down in 1849 and punished its director, al-Tahtāwi, by sending him to Sudan as headmaster of a primary school. During his years in Sudan al-Tahtāwi translated Fénelon’s *Les aventures de Télémaque*, the first French novel to be translated into Arabic. Al-Tahtāwi’s choice to ‘domesticate’ Fénelon’s text, despite his claim to the opposite in the introduction, set an example that would later be followed by translators during what came to known by cultural historians as *nahda*, literally the revival or renaissance.

Muhammad Ali’s translation programme lasted about twenty years. During this time the circulation of the translated books was restricted to a small group of academics, essentially the students and former students of al-Alsun, and government officials who needed access to specific information. However, the impact of the translation work done during this short period was quite considerable, for the new intellectual leadership in Egypt (which has since been the major cultural influence in the Arab world) came from the ranks of students who had access to translated books. Thanks to these students, Egypt, and with it the rest of the Arab world, started the twentieth century with a wealth of knowledge and an intellectual curiosity that have assured it a place in the modern world.

**Translation and *nahda***

A period known as *nahda* (Arabic for renaissance or revival) followed from the activities initiated by Muhammad Ali and involved, in addition to Egyptians, Syro-Lebanese translators, theatre makers, journalists and writers who had been immigrating to Egypt since the eighteenth century for political and/or economic reasons. Translation was a key factor in initiating this cultural revival, so much so that Badawi refers to the Egyptian *nahda* as ‘the age of translation and adaptation’ (1993: 11).

Muhammad Ali believed that translation could only be a vehicle for the modernization of Egypt, helping to import the knowledge necessary for setting up the reliable infrastructure and societal institutions that would make Egypt a modern nation state. Hence his keen interest in translating books related to medicine, engineering, the structure and organization of the military and the structure and function of the legal system. Unlike Muhammad Ali, most Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese intellectuals associated with *nahda* believed translation could also be instrumental in achieving Arab modernity, in the sense of borrowing and introducing new modes of thinking as well as of literary and artistic expression.

*Nahda* translators focused on literary genres which were lacking in Arabic culture and which they felt were necessary to achieve modernity and cultural revival. Drama and fiction received most attention. Most, if not all, of the drama translations done during *nahda* were taken from French theatre. Even translations from English theatre were done through French. French was also the main language for translations of fiction. Among the few translators who worked direct from English were Ya’qūb Sarruf, Butrus al-Bustāni, translator of the first Arabic version of Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, Farida ‘Attīyya, Muhammad al-Sibā’i and others. It is worth noting that a small number of translators worked direct from Russian during *nahda*, most notably Khalil Baydas (1875–1949), a Palestinian who graduated from the Russian Teachers Higher College in Nazareth and who translated, among many other Russian works, Pushkin’s *The Captain’s Daughter* (Moosa 1983: 76). Other translators who worked directly from Russian included Rafa’īl Sa’ d, Salīm Qub’ayn, Rashīd Haddād, Anton Ballān and Bebbāwi Ghāli al-Dwayri (ibid.: 77).

A number of significant non-literary translations were produced during *nahda*. The first complete modern translation of the Bible into Arabic was produced in the 1850s by missionaries in Cambridge, Britain. This was soon replaced by a version produced in 1865 by American missionaries in Beirut. The 1865 version was the first Arabic translation to be based on the original Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic (Somekh 1995). It took seventeen years to complete. The main translators, Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck, employed three Arab translators to help them with the task. The Jesuit Arabic Bible, published in Beirut between 1876 and 1880, is very closely modelled on the Smith–Van Dyck version. This too was undertaken by a
Western scholar, Augustin Rodet, with the help of an Arab translator, Ibrāhīm al-Yāziji. Some of the most distinguished translators of the period, who were later to form the intellectual leadership of Egypt and Syria in particular, were involved in producing these new versions of the Bible. They included Fāris al-Shidyāq, Butrus al-Bustāni and Nasīf al-Yāziji.

Translation of material from the humanities, social and exact sciences remained marginal. Some scientific articles were translated in journals, especially Yāqūb Sarrūf’s al-Muqtatat and Shibli Shumayyil’s medical journal al-Shifā’l. Shibli Shumayyil translated Buchner’s commentary on Charles Darwin’s work in 1884, followed by a number of authored articles on the theory of evolution, and Ismā’īl Mazher translated Darwin’s The Origin of Species in 1918. In philosophy, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid translated a number of works by Aristotle from French, and Hanna Khabbāz translated Plato’s Republic from English.

The present

The shortage of verifiable data about translation in the Arab world, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, makes it difficult to draw a clear picture of the realities of translation during this period. Statistics offered by the Arab Human Development Report (2003) about the translation output in the Arab world have been widely criticized as unreliable, incomplete, methodologically flawed and, at times, politically biased (Rogan 2004). A notable exception in terms of reliability of data is a report produced by the Next Page Foundation in 2004, entitled ‘Lost or Found in Translation: Translations’ Support Policies in the Arab World’, which is based on field research, including questionnaires and interviews with publishers of translation and coordinators of translation projects in the Arab world.

According to the Next Page Foundation (2004), a total of twenty-two books were translated into Arabic between 1951 and 1998 as part of a UNESCO initiative which was discontinued as a result of the Lebanese civil war, during which the archives and documentation facilities of the project were destroyed. Western authors translated in this project included Aristotle, Descartes, Leibniz, Durkheim, Montesquieu and Voltaire.

A number of translation projects sponsored by Arab governments were launched in the second half of the twentieth century. The One Thousand Book project, initiated by the Cultural Department of the Egyptian Ministry of Education in 1957, did not achieve its target, producing only 287 titles in five years (Klein 2003: 158); it ceased to exist in the early 1970s. A similar project called the Second Thousand Books was started by the General Egyptian Book Organization in 1986. By 2000, it had published a total of 361 books, 286 of which were translations (Next Page Foundation 2004: 18).

The National Translation Project, initiated by the Egyptian Higher Council for Culture in 1995, set out to widen the scope of translated languages. In addition to English, books were translated directly from French, Spanish, German, Russian, Urdu, Greek, Chinese, Hebrew, Polish, Syriac and Hieroglyphic. The translations covered various disciplines, including literature, linguistics, social sciences, history, geography, philosophy and psychology (Next Page Foundation 2004: 19).

The National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature (NCCAL) was established in Kuwait in 1973 with a similar remit of supporting translation work (Next Page Foundation 2004: 20). The most recent translation project to be launched in the Arab world is entitled Kalima (meaning ‘word’ in Arabic). Seeded by a grant from the Abu Dhabi Authority for Culture and Heritage and announced in 2007, Kalima aims to ‘widen access to knowledge in the Arab world by funding the translation, publication, and distribution of high-quality works of classic and contemporary writing from other languages into Arabic’ (Al Bawaba 2007).

Further reading


MONA BAKER AND SAMEH FEKRY HANNA
**Brazilian tradition**

The 180 million inhabitants of Brazil, the largest country in Latin America, are of mixed descent: Brazilian Indian, African, Asian and European. But they share a common language, Portuguese, which is the official language of Brazil. Brazil is therefore part of the Lusophone, or Portuguese-speaking community, which includes Portugal and its former African colonies: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the islands of São Tomé, Cape Verde and Príncipe.

**Early history: sixteenth to eighteenth century**

The history of Brazil is a history of translations and of linguistic change. Its documentation starts with the landing on Brazilian shores of the Portuguese fleet commanded by Admiral Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467–c.1520) on 21 April 1500, the first undisputed visit by Europeans to Brazil. Having claimed these western lands for the Portuguese Crown, Cabral, thinking that they were an island, initially called them *Ilha de Santa Cruz*, or the 'Island of the Holy Cross'. Within a few years, the land had come to be known as Brazil, because of the *pau-brasil*, or 'brazil-wood', that was found there in abundance. Since this wood produced a red dye that was difficult to obtain in Europe, the Portuguese soon started sending expeditions out to the new continent to find ways of exploiting it.

When the Portuguese arrived in Brazil, they found a population, according to various historians, of between one and five million natives, leading a neolithic, semi-nomadic life. Like the rest of the indigenous population of the New World, the natives of Brazil were called *índios* by Christopher Columbus, who applied this misnomer to them because he ‘thought he had sailed so far west that he had reached India’ (Partridge 1966: 308–9). The Brazilian Indians spoke thousands of different languages and dialects, which have now been classified by linguists and anthropologists into 102 language groups and three large linguistic families: Tupi, Macro-Ge and Arawak. This linguistic variety, which was accompanied by equally varied cultures, religions, cosmogonies and oral traditions, led to the development of at least two linguae francae: *Abanheenga*, spoken on the coast, and *Kariri*, spoken in the northeastern hinterland. Given that the languages in question lacked writing systems, any linguistic exchanges which took place between Indian tribes are likely to have included oral translation.

**The first interpreters**

The first recorded document about Brazil is a letter written by Pero Vaz de Caminha, the scribe in Cabral’s fleet, to the Portuguese king, Manuel I (1475–1521), on 1 May 1500 to relate the finding of new lands (Caminha 1966; Cortesão 1967). The same document also records a translation act: it describes how the Portuguese and Indians attempted to communicate with each other by means of gestures, and how a deportee, Afonso Ribeiro, was left on shore with the Indians to learn their language. It also reports that another deportee and two sailors deserted the expedition in order to remain with the Indians. From then on, every expedition that went to Brazil left behind adventurers and deportees who learned the Indian languages and who then acted as interpreters between Indians and Europeans. These men were called *línguas*, or ‘tongues’, and their numbers continued to grow during early colonial times.

Foremost amongst these *línguas* were João Ramalho and Diogo Álvares. Ramalho (d. 1580)
was a Portuguese lawyer who was shipwrecked off the coast of Brazil. He lived at Piratininga, in the highlands, near the modern day São Paulo, where he formed a half-Portuguese, half-Indian village. He then met Martim Afonso de Souza (c.1500–64), who had been sent to establish the first Portuguese settlement in Brazil, and the two men joined forces in founding São Vicente in 1532 on the coast of the São Paulo province. Diogo Álvares (1450–1557), another shipwrecked Portuguese, was nicknamed Caramurú, or 'firemaker', by the Indians after he supposedly saved his own life by an impressive display of musketry. He returned to Portugal briefly with his Indian wife but eventually settled in Brazil, where he helped Thomé de Souza (c.1515-73) establish the new city of Bahia in 1549. His exploits are commemorated in 'O Caramurú', an epic poem written by the Brazilian poet José de Santa Rita Durão (1721–84) in 1781.

**The first translators**

A new linguistic phase began in Brazil with the arrival of the Jesuit fathers in 1549. The Jesuits set out to convert the Indians to Christianity and turn them into obedient subjects of the Portuguese Crown. The Indians who inhabited the Brazilian coast between the present-day states of Amazonas in the north and Santa Catarina in the south spoke a variety of languages which belonged to the Tupy family and used a lingua franca, which they called Abaneheenga or Abanhéem, for inter-tribal communication. The Jesuits saw the advantages to be gained from adopting this language in their missionary efforts and did everything in their power to learn it; they also wrote grammars for it, based on the Latin model. This simplified form of the language was named Nheengatu, or 'beautiful language', and was used for communication between Indians and Europeans, and, eventually, amongst Europeans in Brazil.

Translations of religious texts soon began to appear, with the Jesuits thus becoming Brazil's first translators. Father Azpicueuta Navarro (d. 1557) translated the *Summa da doutrina cristã*, 'Summary of Christian Doctrine', from Portuguese into Nheengatu. Upon Navarro's death, Father José de Anchieta (c.1533–97) took over as the expert in native tongues. He wrote the *Arte da gramática na língua mais usada na costa do Brasil* ('Art of the grammar of the most used language on the coast of Brazil'), initially reproduced in manuscript form and later printed in Coimbra, Portugal, in 1595. In 1618, Father Antônio de Araújo (1566–1632) translated the catechism into Nheengatu; it was published in Lisbon as *Catecismo na língua brasílica*, or 'Catechism in the Brazilian language'.

**Linguae francae**

Indian languages were not used for religious purposes only; they were used to conquer and dominate the natives of Brazil. Starting in 1531, when the first forays into the interior of what was to become the Brazilian territory took place, interpreters who spoke Nheengatu and other Indian languages were sent along with the expeditions that set out to capture Indian slaves and find precious stones. Mém de Sá (c. 1500–72), General Governor of Brazil between 1557 and 1572, sent the Castilian interpreter Francisco Bruzo de Espiñoso with one such expedition in 1564. Diogo de Castro acted as interpreter for another such expedition in 1578.

Even as the Portuguese and Brazilian explorers tried to conquer the Brazilian interior, Brazil faced incursions and invasions by France, Holland and England from as early as 1503 and until 1887. Therefore French, Dutch, English and Spanish, which was widely used in Portugal by the educated classes for 300 years (Gonçalves Rodrigues 1992: 27), also helped to strengthen a tradition of multilingualism and translation throughout colonial times (Houaiss 1985: 94).

Education during that period, and until 1759, was bilingual. At the Jesuit colleges, children were taught Portuguese and Nheengatu, but the language of hearth and home was Nheengatu. Florence (1941: 174) notes that 'in 1780, the ladies from São Paulo talked naturally in the lingua franca of Brazil, which was the language of friendship and domestic life' (translated). Such was the widespread use of Nheengatu that interpreters between it and Portuguese were needed in courts of law. However, Sebastião José Carvalho e Melo Pombal, the Marquis of Pombal (1712–82), Portugal's War and Foreign Affairs Minister during the reign of José I and virtual dictator of Portugal and its colonies from 1750 to 1777, feared the growing power...
of the Jesuits. Their authority in the New World, where the Jesuits tended to protect the Indians against enslavement, seemed to be greater than that of the king. Pombal therefore expelled the Jesuits from Portugal and Brazil in 1759 and, at the same time, forbade the use of Nheengatu in Brazil and shut down all the Jesuit colleges.

By 1800, nearly two million of the total Brazilian population of three and a quarter million consisted of Negroes and mulattoes. Millions of Africans had been brought to Brazil as slaves since 1503; they spoke Yoruba, Kimbundu and other languages of the Bantu group. They also developed their own langue francæ: a form of Yoruba which prevailed in the north and northeast of Brazil, and Congoese in the south.

Recent history: eighteenth century to the present

The Indian population of Brazil had been decimated by that stage; they were killed by colonizers who wanted their lands, by the hardships of slave labour, by European diseases which ranged from the common cold to venereal diseases against which they had no immunity, or were eliminated by miscegenation. Deprived of Jesuit protection, they now scattered further inland into the marshes and jungles of west and northwest Brazil. Western-style progress continued to exacerbate the conditions of their demise, with the result that by the end of the twentieth century their number had been reduced to a mere 150,000, of whom 30 per cent spoke Portuguese as a first language.

Portuguese hegemony

Although clandestine presses operated at different points and at different periods of time (printing leaflets and such like), the Impressão Régia, or ‘Royal Printing Shop’, established by Dom João in Rio de Janeiro in 1808, was the first legal establishment of its kind to be set up in Brazil. Impressão Régia was given the monopoly on printing in the country, a situation that prevailed until Brazilian independence in 1822. However, the stringent censorship exercised in Portugal was also imposed in Brazil, with the result that the importation of books into Brazil was severely restricted. Many books were nevertheless smuggled in, and it is said that various colonial officials made fortunes out of bribes received to turn a blind eye to this activity.

Private libraries also thrived, particularly during the second half of the eighteenth century. The library of Canon Luís Vieira da Silva, one of the conspirators involved in an early attempt to obtain independence for Brazil in 1789, contained nearly 800 volumes (170 titles), representing most of Europe’s leading thinkers, especially the French. All this points to the fact that educated Brazilians, like their counterparts in Portugal, did not really need literary translations, particularly not from French. By the late nineteenth century, the Portuguese gentry had taken to speaking French amongst themselves, using Portuguese only to address their servants. At any rate, both in Portugal and in Brazil, Portuguese was the language of administration and the language of print in general.

However, it was not until Brazil became independent, during the constitutional assembly of 1823 – when it was decided that Portuguese would continue to be the official language of the nation – that Brazilians from various parts of the country began to speak Portuguese to each other. And yet, Nheengatu and the other langue francæ have now been largely forgotten, and the average Brazilian usually has no idea that they ever existed. Most Brazilians are not aware that they continue to use many words of Indian origin on a day-to-day basis, a fact which makes the Portuguese currently spoken in Brazil very different from the Portuguese spoken in Europe. Indian and African languages have influenced it not only at the lexical, but also at the syntactic and morphological levels.

Successive waves of immigrants (German, Italian, Japanese, Lebanese, Polish, Portuguese,
Brazilian tradition

Russian, Spanish, Swiss, Syrian and others) who arrived after independence have further contributed to developing a variety of Portuguese in Brazil which has become quite distinct from European Portuguese. For over a century, European immigrants tended to live in isolation, ignoring the customs and language of their new country. In 1938, President Getúlio Vargas (1883–1954) banned the exclusive use of foreign languages in instruction and imposed Portuguese as the medium of education (Dulles 1969: 41–2).

The history of written translation

The history of translation in Brazil is just beginning to be written. A pioneering contribution has been made by José Paulo Paes in his Tradução, a ponte necessária, or ‘Translation, the Necessary Bridge’ (Paes 1990), a reliable point of departure for further attempts at documenting the history of literary translation in Brazil. Paes (1990: 10) details the almost insurmountable difficulties encountered by researchers: the paucity of public libraries in Brazil, the restricted size of their collections, and deficient cataloguing. Two factors have contributed to this unfavourable state of affairs. One is that publishing houses were not allowed in Brazil until the early nineteenth century. The second is the late establishment of universities in Brazil. Law schools were established at Olinda and São Paulo in 1828, a military academy at Rio de Janeiro in 1810, and medical schools at Rio de Janeiro and Bahia in 1808, but the first university was not set up until 1920, in Rio de Janeiro.

It is possible to establish, however, that professional translators were first recognized officially in 1808 as staff members of Impressão Régia. Seventy-three years later, for reasons yet to be determined, their posts were eliminated and their work was taken over by multilingual copywriters. The first translation printed by Impressão Régia was Leonhard Euler’s (1707–83) Elementos de álgebra (‘elements of algebra’), translated by Manuel de Araújo Guimãres and published in 1809. This appears to have set the trend for this publishing house: most of the 1,100 works it published during the fourteen years in which it enjoyed a monopoly of the publishing trade were compendia and treatises on mathematics, engineering, economics, public health, geography and travel, astronomy and philosophy – an attempt, perhaps, to fulfil the country’s technological needs at the time. The first literary translation to be published by the same publishing house was that of Alexander Pope’s Essay on Criticism, translated and annotated in 1809 by Fernando José de Portugal, the Marquis of Aguiar (1752–1817).

After independence, Impressão Régia lost its monopoly over the printing industry, and it became possible to step up publishing activities. Many translations began to appear; these were chiefly of French authors, or of authors translated indirectly via French and, less often, via Spanish. Most of these, however, were reprints of translations published in Portugal. However, several factors hindered the production of books at a low cost in Brazil and, consequently, the publication of translations. The first was that all attempts at producing paper in the country prior to 1888 proved to be too costly, owing to a shortage of qualified workers and the high cost of importing equipment and raw materials. To circumvent these problems, books were usually printed at newspaper presses using imported paper and idle machinery time. Nevertheless, with the introduction of rotary presses for newspapers only in 1847, this practice had to be abandoned. Four years later, steamship lines were opened between Europe and Brazil, making it cheaper to import books than to produce them locally. During various periods in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1815–36; 1844–60; 1920–29; 1951–7), the taxes levied on imported paper and cellulose were 60 per cent higher than those levied on imported books. Until World War I, publishers therefore restricted their activities to printing textbooks and law books. Even major Brazilian authors such as José de Alencar (1829–77) and Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839–1908) had their works published in Paris or London; publishing in Portuguese had become a flourishing business in Europe, with establishments such as the Livraria Garnier in Paris specializing in it. However, the seed sown in 1888 finally bore fruit. By 1920, the incipient Brazilian paper industry was boasting 120 paper mills and could supply local demand, but it depended heavily on imported cellulose.
The approach of World War II brought two major developments to the area. The first was that importing books became very difficult, and this favoured the growth of domestic publishing businesses. The second was the rise of the United States as a world power, with Brazil falling increasingly within its sphere of influence, which meant that English soon replaced French as the main source language in translation. Today, translation from lesser-known languages, such as Japanese or Czech, is also often done indirectly via English.

It was from the 1930s onwards, then, that the publishing business began to flourish in Brazil and, with it, translation activities. This flourishing business was aided by an increase in the reading public’s income, literacy and leisure time. The growing gap between European and Brazilian Portuguese also encouraged publishers to commission new Brazilian translations, instead of reprinting European ones, as the reading public in Brazil was no longer so willing to accept European Portuguese as an alternative.

Two Brazilian writers are worth mentioning here for their activities as translators during this period. José Bento Monteiro Lobato (1882–1948), having had difficulty publishing his collection of short stories Urupês (1918), established his own publishing house and devoted his time to translating several major authors, including Rudyard Kipling, Jack London, Herman Melville, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Ernest Hemingway, Sholem Ash, and H. G. Wells. He also modernized and adapted a number of European Portuguese translations to Brazilian Portuguese. Monteiro Lobato’s publishing house was later bought by Editora Nacional, also in São Paulo. Érico Verissimo (1905–75), who started translating as a means of complementing his income from journalism, soon succeeded in persuading Editora Globo, a publishing house based in Porto Alegre in south Brazil, to bring out translations of a more literary character than the run-of-the-mill detective novels in which they specialized. His efforts were fruitful, and he was subsequently made a member of the editorial board of Editora Globo, where he coordinated the Nobel Collection, reputedly the best collection of foreign fiction ever published in Brazil. Editora Globo later brought out another collection of translations of world classics called Biblioteca dos Séculos, or ‘library across centuries’.

During the 1940s and 1950s, the main publisher of translations was Editora José Olympio of Rio de Janeiro. Not only did it publish the major Brazilian writers of the time, but it also commissioned them to translate foreign works. Among such translators were: Gastão Cruls, Manuel Bandeira, Raquel de Queirós, Carlos Drummond de Andrade, José Lins do Rego, Otávio de Faria, Lúcio Cardoso, Rubem Braga, Genolino Amado and many others. Other publishing houses in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo have also published translations on a regular basis. They include Editora Civilização Brasileira, Pongetti, Martins, Diffel, Editora Nova Fronteira and others. Again, major writers have doubled as translators: Godofredo Rangel, Agrípino Grieco, Sérgio Milliet, Jorge de Lima, Marcos Santarrita, Antônio Callado, Stela Leonards and Paulo Leminski have translated fiction. Poets and writers such as Guilherme de Almeida, Manuel Bandeira, Cecília Meireles, Carlos Nejar, Ledo Ivo and Ivan Junqueira have translated poetry. Raimundo Magalhães Júnior, Guilherme Figueiredo and Millor Fernandes, among others, have excelled in the translation of drama.

Today, Brazil has developed its own cellulose production industry to the extent that, since 1976, it has been an exporter rather than an importer of paper pulp; its printing industry has advanced significantly, thus giving translation a further boost. The number of published translations in Brazil increased to the extent that during the 1990s, although almost 400 new literary works written originally in Portuguese were being published every year (a number that practically equals the total for the rest of Latin America; Souza 1990), 80 per cent of all material published in Brazil was translated (Wyler 1993), a situation that applied to every genre. In the case of children’s books, for example, 63 per cent of the works published between 1965 and 1974 were translations (though this total fell to 49.5 per cent in 1979).

These statistics apply to technical works as well, and it is in this area that foreign political interests play a particularly important role. In 1966, COLTED, the National Textbook Commission, was jointly financed by the Ministry of Education and USAID (United States Agency...
Brazilian tradition

for International Development). The commission encouraged the publication of US technical works and textbooks where no Brazilian equivalent existed. The programme sponsored by USIS, the United States Information Service, represents another attempt to boost the number of translations of US material into Brazilian Portuguese. Published titles cover American history, economics, science, communism and literature, among other topics. Black (1977: 97) mentions that 'in the years 1965 through 1967, 442 books were published under this program'. France was quick to react and offered to subsidize the translation of French textbooks by paying authors' royalties.

Profession, training and research

The profession of sworn translators was regulated by a Royal Decree in 1851. Sworn translators had to prove their mastery of foreign languages, and to pay annual taxes. Women were barred from the profession at the time. A Business Code introduced in the late 1850s established that the translation of foreign language documents would only be accepted if the translation was done by a sworn translator. In the absence of one, a translator agreed upon by the parties concerned would be acceptable. Statements of accounts of foreign businessmen, on the other hand, would only be accepted if translated by a sworn translator. Translators were sworn in by the Trade Courts, which were eliminated in 1875 and replaced by Boards of Trade.

The Brazilian Civil Code of 1916 ensured the survival of the profession of sworn translator by maintaining the requirement that foreign language documents be translated into Portuguese. In 1943, a new decree allowed women to join the profession; today the majority of sworn translators are women. At present, admission into the profession of sworn translator is by competitive examination, coordinated independently by the Boards of Trade of the various Brazilian states. Associations of sworn translators were founded in and after 1959 to protect professional interests. The profession of translator in general, comprising literary, technical, drama, cinema and television translators, conference, consecutive and simultaneous interpreters as well as tape transcribers, was recognized by the Ministry of Labour in 1988.

Until the late 1960s, no specific training for translators was offered in Brazil. As a result, the translators of Brazil were mainly its renowned writers and those who had learned foreign languages at school or abroad, or those who had a university language degree. A decree passed by the Ministry of Education during the 1960s enabled Faculties of Arts to expand their language courses so as to provide training for translators at university level. The first such courses were offered at the Catholic University at Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre, and at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul.

It was the pioneer work of Paulo Rónai (1907–93) that had a major impact on the study of translation in Brazil. Rónai wrote several books on translation. Escola de tradutores ('School of Translators', 1952) was the first book on translation to be published in Brazil. It was followed by Homens contra Babel ('Men against Babel', 1964), Guia prático da tradução francesa ('A Practical Guide to French Translation', 1967) and A tradução vivida ('Translation Experienced', 1976). He also published numerous papers and lectured widely on the subject. Several of Rónai's books have been revised, enlarged and reprinted many times; they have also been translated abroad (in Germany and Japan, for example). At a time when translation studies was still trying to find its feet, Rónai adopted a practical outlook, derived from his experience as a translator, but never ceased considering translation as an art.

A large number of works on the theory, practice and teaching of translation have been published since then, as well as papers, essays and journals. The theoretical reflections of the brothers Augusto de Campos and Haroldo de Campos (1970, 1976a, 1976b, 1979, 1981, 1986; see Vieira 1999) on their translation practice are the closest thing to a theory of translation in Brazil. Being Concrete poets, the brothers devoted themselves to the translation of authors who they felt have radically transformed poetic styles, such as Pound, cummings, Joyce, Mallarmé, Maiakovsky, Valéry, Poe, Lewis Carroll and John Cage, among others. Their view of translation privileges form over content and favours the introduction of new forms into the target language. For these views, they draw on Walter Benjamin, Roman Jakobson and Ezra Pound. What has captured Western imagination
is an element which they draw specifically from Brazilian culture. This is the idea of ‘cannibalism’, derived from the Modernist movement of 1922 and the writings of Oswald de Andrade, particularly his ‘Cannibalist Manifesto’ (Andrade 1970; Bary 1991). The cannibalist metaphor for the act of translation is one of the very few Brazilian contributions to be acknowledged outside Brazil (see Bassnett 1993). It expresses the experience of a colonized people who devour what is offered to them by their colonizers but do not swallow it whole: quite the opposite, they spit out what is noxious to them, but what they keep they make wholly theirs by altering and changing it to suit their nutritional needs.

Further reading

British tradition

There are, of course, several British traditions, though this entry covers in detail only the tradition brought about by the arrival during the fifth century of invaders from what are now Holland, Denmark and Germany, who settled in the central parts of the island and drove the Celtic inhabitants to its western and northern fringes (and, later, colonized Ireland similarly). Invasion and colonization have characterized the linguistic and cultural situation of these islands almost from the beginning, and translation has played an active role throughout. Since their arrival, the English – as they became – have been more than once under threat of invasion, but their cultural and linguistic hegemony has been seriously challenged only twice: during the period of the Viking invasions (eighth–tenth centuries), where two languages were spoken in the region overrun by the Vikings, and for the three hundred years after the Norman Conquest, where Anglo-Norman was initially the language of the conquerors and English the language of the conquered. In both cases we are struck by the power of the native traditions to absorb and finally take over from the traditions of the invaders. Other invasions were accomplished more peacefully – witness the regular accommodations of the native traditions to traditions of classical learning – but with an equally energetic and important part played by translators and their translations. Indeed, the cultural situation of these islands has been such that, though the Celtic traditions still survive in the fringes to which the invaders consigned them, their recessive position is, regrettably, a reflex of the dominance of English: which may explain, though not justify, their neglect in this entry.

Introduction
The tradition of translation in the British Isles is long and varied. Consequently, it is desirable to summarize a number of important features before proceeding to describe individual periods in more detail.

In the Middle Ages the Catholic Church played a central role in the generation and authorization of medieval translation, especially into and from Latin. But its attitude to translation into the vernacular was not as positive as that of the Orthodox church; the clergy often viewed Latin as the norm and the vernacular as corrupt and barbaric. Admittedly, vernacular and Latin were mutually supportive in the areas of scientific and medical writings (Voigts 1989). Likewise, translation into Latin was a necessary condition of a work’s wider circulation and/or the translator’s claim to membership of the select club which Latin culture represented. But such translation generally represented a challenge, direct or indirect, to the learning from which it originated (Copeland 1991). In the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the nineteenth century, translation into the vernacular helped to create and consolidate a national/literary consciousness; hence Bishop Bryan Walton’s view, in 1659, that the 1611 Bible could stand comparison with any other European version (Norton 1993: I.219). In the Augustan period, translation helped underwrite national/literary self-confidence: for instance, in Alexander Pope’s Imitations of Horace (1734–7), Latin original and English version, on facing
pages, dramatize the latter’s transformations of the former.

Translation from vernaculars into English never enjoyed the same authority as from Latin, but a hierarchy of sorts operated in favour of French in the later Middle Ages and again after the Restoration. Consequently, the English sometimes preferred to use French: hence, the Mémoires ... du Comte de Gramont (1713) were written in French by the exiled Anthony Hamilton, and translated into English (1714) by the French émigré Abel Boyer (1667–1729). Nearer our own time, Oscar Wilde (Salome) and Samuel Beckett could be cited similarly. At other periods French dominance was challenged, by Italian in the sixteenth century, and by German in the nineteenth. Translations from the vernacular sometimes aimed to contribute to better relations between the two countries and/or advance the cause of reform at home: Francis Newman (1843) and Sir Frederick Lascelles Wraxall (1862) translated writings about England by Huber and the exiled Frenchman Esquiros to challenge English insularity, contrasting the objectivity of the foreigner with the prejudiced character of comparable work by English writers. By contrast, Charlotte Brontë used French in Villette (1853) to show her monolingual heroine’s difficulties abroad among perfidious French-speaking Catholics. Exile, voluntary or involuntary, plays an ongoing part in this tradition.

Translators often translated by way of an intermediate version in another language, or used the intermediate version as a crib, especially when material was available only recently and/or in unfamiliar languages. The original text is then seen more as the first step in a process of textual transmission than as an absolute point of reference: hence John Stuart Mill viewed Goethe and his English followers/translators Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Thomas Carlyle as constituting ‘a single cultural phenomenon’ (Ashton 1980: 25). At the same time, a medieval writer’s claim to be translating from non-existent texts (Geoffrey of Monmouth in his Historia), or following a source even as he departs from it (Sir Thomas Malory in his Morte D’Arthur), indicates the powerful force of the idea of an authoritative original. Then, too, the original text might reach the translator embedded with the accretions of commentators, or in company with another translation: William Caxton’s translation of the Legenda Aurea of James of Varaggio supplemented the Latin with French and English versions; A. D. Coleridge’s 1868 version of Goethe’s Egmont included piano transcriptions of Beethoven’s incidental music.

Unsurprisingly, the line between original and translation proves difficult to draw. In the publisher’s blurb for Morley’s Universal Library (1883–8), some translated texts appear under author’s, followed by translator’s, name; some under author’s name alone; one, Six Dramas of Calderon, under translator’s name (Edward Fitzgeral). The Everyman Library Euripides (1906) uses translations by Percy Bysshe Shelley, Dean Milman, Michael Woodhull and Robert Potter, but identifies the contributions only of published authors, namely Shelley and Milman. Translations which continued in print for any length of time almost became original works: when the 1611 Bible was revised in the 1870s, the revisers introduced ‘as few alterations as possible... consistent with faithfulness’ (Norton 1993: II.219).

The ethics of a fully commercial production line are clearly in evidence towards the end of the nineteenth century, but can be traced much earlier, in the commissioning of works by, and dedication of works to, patrons. In the fifteenth century, noble households provided important centres of translation activity. Sir John Harington produced his translation of Orlando Furioso (1591) at the direction of Elizabeth I (1533–1603), Queen of England and Ireland (1558–1603). Jonathan Birch dedicated his two-volume Faust (1839–43) to the Crown Prince and King of Prussia. The patron could also turn translator: Earl Rivers and the Earl of Worcester produced translations printed by William Caxton; Elizabeth I, translations from Latin and Greek, including the Consolatio Philosophiae of Boethius in 1593, and works by Plutarch, Horace and Euripides. Sometimes the translator worked alone; more often, collaboratively. Translations of major texts such as the Bible or Homer were often so undertaken. There is no firm evidence of schools of translation like those in second-century Alexandria, the French court of Charles V, or the ‘factory of translations’ (G. Steiner 1975: 246) at Rome during the papacy of Nicholas V. The
institutionalization of translation as a profession had to wait till the twentieth century.

Occasionally bilingual authors translated themselves, as in the case of Charles Duke of Orleans in the fifteenth century. Otherwise, a living author might be consulted during the course of the translation, for example Goethe by Carlyle and Hugo by Wraxall; Abel Boyer supplemented his translation of the *Philological Essay* (1713) with new material provided by the author. Sometimes, the author approved the result (Venuti 1995a: 25–8), though not always: Huber criticized before its publication (1843) Newman’s version of his *English Universities*, which Newman had based on an unpublished translation by J. Palgrave Simpson. From the eighteenth century on, authorization was increasingly dependent on copyright law (Venuti 1995b). Earlier, authorization was generally linked to considerations of commission and patronage: hence the different names under which the 1611 Bible was known, the ‘King James Bible’ or the ‘Authorized’ version.

Translators regularly authorize their work by referring to previous translations – of, for example, the Bible, in this way used in the Middle Ages to authorize translations by King Alfred, John of Trevisa and the Wycliffite Bible. A sense of evolving traditions of theory and practice is regularly evidenced: John Oldham’s version of Horace’s *Ars Poetica* (1681) acknowledges versions by Ben Jonson and the Earl of Roscommon; Ezra Pound’s Cavalcanti acknowledges Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Simultaneous translations of the same text occur quite frequently. In the Middle Ages difficulties of communication may account for this phenomenon (Pearsall 1989: 7). Other explanations also obtain: literary rivalry, or the desire to cash in on a work’s popularity. A good instance of the former is the publication of Thomas Tickell’s translation of the *Iliad* Book I on 8 June 1715, two days after Pope’s of Books I–IV.

Generally, the choice of medium for a translation depended on the perceived hierarchy or uses of literary models in the target language rather than on any requirement of fidelity to the source text. Prose was probably favoured in the late Middle Ages, by contrast with the sixteenth century (Norton 1993: I.178), by analogy with the learned Latin prose of the schoolmen; used for verse originals in some twentieth-century Loeb translations, it recalls the literary form most familiar to modern readers, the novel. In the same way, debate over the relative merits of the source and the readers was often resolved theoretically in favour of the source, but practically in favour of the projected or actual readers. Edward Fitzgerald was outspoken about the translator’s right to omit, add or alter: his *Oedipus* was ‘neither a translation, nor a paraphrase … but “chiefly taken”’ from Sophocles, attending more to ‘the English reader of today’ than to ‘an Athenian theatre … 2000 years ago’ (Fitzgerald 1880); it also cannibalized the earlier popular translation (1788) of the Revd Robert Potter. Texts which challenged orthodox opinion were especially liable to modification: early translations of Goethe’s *Faust* mostly omitted heterodox religious material; most translations of the *Decameron* before 1930 cut or replaced the bawdiest story (III.10) or reverted to the original Italian (McWilliam 1972: 25–43).

**The Middle Ages**

In the Old English period (c.600–1100), though translation occurs both before and after his time, the work of King Alfred is of the first importance. In reaction to a perceived decline in intellectual life in England, which had left few able to read English or translate Latin, Alfred produced and commissioned a number of translated works – including the *Pastoral Care* of Pope Gregory, the *Soliloquies* of St Augustine and the *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius, principally for the ‘youth of free men … [able] to devote themselves to it’ (Swanton 1993: 62). Mainland Europe provides later instances of monarchs who instituted comparable translation projects, for example Alfonso X in Spain and Charles V in France; England, if we except the commissioning of the 1611 Bible by James I, hardly any. Alfred’s translation project was geared to leaders of Church and state, and happy to use English to express complex ideas. The other major Old English translation project was that of Ælfric (c.950–c.1010), Abbot of Eynsham, who produced numerous adaptations and translations of the Old Testament and other religious works and described his procedures in his *Tract on the Old and New Testament*. But Ælfric’s project was orientated
differently, towards the simple faithful, from whom the riches of Latin learning needed to be safeguarded.

Something of this division, between translation for an elite and for the masses, and between a writer’s confidence in, and distrust of, the vernacular, resurfaces regularly throughout the Middle English period. Thus, immediately after the Norman Conquest, translators use Anglo-Norman, by contrast with English, confident of belonging to a social elite (Pearsall 1977: 90–91). Anglo-Norman translations are associated with court and monastic centres. Several were produced by women, including, in the twelfth century, nuns from Barking, where one Clemence produced a verse translation of the Passio of St Katherine of Alexandria, and an unnamed nun a Life of St Edward the Confessor (Legge 1963).

For much of the Middle English period (c.1100–1500), then, two vernaculars were available, Anglo-Norman and English, and translations could be undertaken into either, or from one to the other. Anglo-Norman was ‘the prestige vernacular’ during the thirteenth century (Pearsall 1977: 87); Robert Grosseteste (c.1175–1253), a native Englishman cited as an authority in the prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, legislated for the laity’s religious instruction in English, but mainly used French. Widely in use early in the fourteenth century, Anglo-Norman was still being used at court in the fifteenth. In such a linguistic situation the choice of vernacular for a translation inevitably reflected complex social and political pressures.

Until the mid-fourteenth century most Middle English translations are anonymous, and, except for Richard Rolle (d. 1349), whose Psalter was still in use a hundred years and more later, few translators seem to have had much sense of contributing to an evolving tradition or to have reached a very wide readership. But one production, the Auchinleck MS, c. 1330, containing anonymous translations of Anglo-Norman romances, has been accorded greater importance and explained as the product of a commercial scriptorium where ‘a general “editor” … supervised the work of his translators and scribes’ (Pearsall 1977: 145–6). The existence of commercial scriptoria cannot be conclusively proven in England before the fifteenth century (Pearsall 1989: 4–6); nevertheless, translation, dramatically on the increase from the late fourteenth century on, is increasingly marked by the professionalism associated with the commercial scriptorium.

Two writers represent the new professionalism clearly. The first is Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340–c.1400), the court poet and foremost English writer of his day. His close translations include part of the Roman de la Rose by de Lorris and de Meun, the Consolatio Philosophiae of Boethius, the Liber Consolationis et Consilii of Albertano of Brescia in the French version of Renaud de Louens, and a Treatise on the Astrolabe for his son (1391). Troilus and Criseyde, based on Boccaccio’s Il Filostrato, alternates close translation with free invention and material from Boethius. Chaucer’s importance was acknowledged by contemporaries at home and abroad – notably, by Eustache Deschamps, who called him a ‘grant translateur’ – and by followers at home (notable among the latter, Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate). The quantity and range of Chaucer’s translated work are striking. Equally important is his decision to publish only in English, which contributed powerfully to the establishment of English thereafter as the principal literary language of England.

The principal translation of the second ‘writer’ (probably several, all anonymous) was equally important: the Wycliffite Bible. This was a collaborative venture, part of an ongoing debate about vernacular translation of the Bible. Names associated with its production have included John Wycliffe, John Purvey, Nicholas Hereford, and John of Trevisa. The work, possibly begun in the 1370s, survives in about 250 manuscripts. The Wycliffite Bible survives in at least two major versions, the earlier more literal than the later: part of a collaborative project of book publication, distribution and ownership, well under way by 1388. The nature of the translation is revealed by the so-called General Prologue. Chapter 15 describes the practices of the translator(s), argues for a meaning at least ‘as trewe and opin in English as … in Latyn’, appeals to historical precedent, and describes the careful collaborative exercise that produced the translation (Hudson 1978: 67–72).

As important as the translators’ concern for the truth and accuracy of their text is their developing understanding of the needs
of their readers. Hence they replaced their literal translation, as less ‘open’ to understanding, by a later, slightly freer translation. There were few precedents in Bible translation in the Middle English period to suggest this approach. Most translations paraphrased the text and/or included secondary material; alternatively and exceptionally, the Rolle Psalter, though including an extensive commentary, translated the Bible verses very literally. Comparison with these other versions shows the considerable achievement of the Wycliffite translations.

Ecclesiastical reaction was swift and decisive. By 1409 the Archbishop of Canterbury had forbidden the making and use of all unlicensed Bible translations; thereafter the Wycliffites mostly operated clandestinely. The prohibition ironically preceded a considerable increase in the range and variety of other translated texts in the fifteenth century, increasingly in prose, by named translators. Two names must suffice to suggest this range. In around 1440 Robert Parker produced a translation of Palladius which his patron, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, corrected in draft, having commissioned it, with others, as part of a project to ‘enrich English letters’ (Pearsall 1977: 240); about 1470 Malory completed his Morte D’Arthur, a work partly from French, partly from an earlier English work, and partly original. The Morte was published in 1485 by William Caxton, with whose work we draw towards the Renaissance.

The sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Reformation and Renaissance

If Caxton’s presses had immediate practical effects on the transmission of vernacular texts, the translations of the Wycliffite Bible and Chaucer indicate the two areas in which translation activity really took off in the sixteenth century – in particular, during the first ten years of Elizabeth I’s reign (1558–68), when four times as many translations were produced as in the fifty previous years (Barnstone 1993: 203): the Bible and classical literature. Thanks to the erratic but powerful support of the monarchy, translation helped forge a national identity both English and (religiously and intellectually) reformed. In this project, Bible translation, much of it published abroad, plays a crucial role.

Bible translations

In the run-up to and aftermath of Henry VIII’s break with Rome, the pressure for religious reform, originating once more in clerical circles, led to an explosion of Bible translations. The first and most important was William Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament (1525), based for the first time on the Greek edition of Desiderius Erasmus (1516; see DUTCH TRADITION). Faced with the ongoing ban on vernacular Bible translations, Tyndale travelled to the Continent to publish it. In 1526 it entered England illegally (Daniell 1994).

Within a decade relations had altered dramatically between Henry VIII and the papacy, and large numbers of vernacular Bibles were circulating in England. These included pirated editions of Tyndale’s New Testament and his 1534 revision; Miles Coverdale’s complete Bible, published in Zurich in 1535 and in England in 1537; and a Bible issued by John Rogers under the pseudonym of John Matthew (Antwerp, 1537), based on Tyndale and Coverdale. In 1539 a revision of the Rogers Bible appeared, by Richard Taverner, in the year that Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII’s Vicar-General, appointed Coverdale to oversee the printing of the Bible. The title-page of Coverdale’s new edition, the Great (1539), showed Henry VIII handing Bibles to Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer to distribute to a grateful crowd (Wilson 1976: 70; King 1982: 192): a clear representation of the involvement of the state in the publication of Bible translations.

From then until the 1611 version, a whole series of Bible translations was produced, the results of the ‘wishes and counter wishes’ (Kitagaki 1981: 45) of Henry’s Protestant and Catholic successors. Amongst the Protestants who fled to the Continent after the accession of Queen Mary in 1553 were a team of translators who produced the Geneva Bible. This translation was the most widely read book in Elizabethan England (Jensen 1995: 31), reprinted as late as
British tradition

1715 and used even by those who favoured the 1611 Bible (Norton 1993), although episcopal opposition prevented its printing in England until 1575: by then the Bishops had attempted unsuccessfully to replace it with an edition of their own, the Bishops’ Bible (1568), a revision of the Great Bible (Norton 1993: I.116).

Lastly, King James I convened a conference at Hampton Court in 1604, at which agreement was given to a proposal for the creation of a new translation which would be, in the words of the proposer, John Reynolds, ‘answerable to the truth of the Original’ (Kitagaki 1981: 48). Although, unlike the Great and Bishops’ Bibles, this Bible was never officially authorized (Wilson 1976: 147), the King, with Bishop Bancroft, gave a set of rules for its making to six teams of translators. It was to be a revision, rather than a new translation; traditional readings (principally, those of the Bishops’ Bible) should be preserved as far as possible; doctrinal tendentiousness was to be checked, and accuracy achieved, through a multiple checking system within and between committees. The mood was one of conciliation rather than, as before, of contestation, and the translators used the many translations from Tyndale onwards to create, in Reynolds’s words, ‘out of many good [Bibles] . . . one principall good one’ (Kitagaki 1981: 63): the 1611 Bible. Of course, the huge success of this version owes as much to economic and political as to literary interests (Norton 1993: I.212ff.).

Meanwhile exiled Catholics had also produced a vernacular Bible, known as the Rheims–Douai version (1582–1610). The preface explains that this ‘Catholic translation’ precisely follows the ‘old vulgar approved Latin’ (Jones 1966: 111). Revised in the eighteenth century by Bishop Challoner, and again in the nineteenth, it remained the official translation for Roman Catholics until the twentieth century. Throughout that period the ‘old vulgar approved Latin’ was an integral part of Roman Catholic self-definition; if we except translations from the Greek in 1836 and from Greek and Hebrew in 1935–49, the Vulgate remained the base for Catholic translations until the appearance of the Jerusalem Bible in the 1960s: its last great monument is the translation of it (1945–49) by Ronald Knox (Dayras 1993: 44–59).

Classical and other secular literature

Although the translator’s duties were less stringent in relation to secular than to sacred texts, the translation of secular material during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries runs broadly parallel to that of the Bible during this period. Latin was still the main language of scholarship, but one major difference between the sixteenth century and earlier periods is the direct influence of Greek literature. Translations of Demosthenes, Homer, Isocrates and Plutarch occur frequently, often by way of an intermediate source: thus Sir Thomas North’s translation of Plutarch’s Lives (1579) was based on Jacques Amyot’s French translation.

As with the Bible translations, different translations of the same secular text were frequently in competition with each other, an economic rivalry associated with the increase in the publishing trade. Thus Thomas Peend complains, in the preface to his Hermaphroditus and Salmacis (1564), from Ovid’s Metamorphoses, about Arthur Golding’s having forestalled him with a translation of the complete text. Moreover, translators often discuss their work in terms of contestation: Philemon Holland, the ‘translator general’ of the age, described his enterprise as a conquest (Sampson 1941: 145). Secular translations were often the site of a debate both ongoing and ancient (and regularly focused by the question of Bible translation) about the adequacy of the vernacular to transmit the riches of classical learning, whether Greek, Latin, or even of the other European vernaculars.

Others saw the translative task, by contrast, as a patriotic act to improve the cultural position of the English nation. Nicholas Grimald, by translating Cicero’s Thre Bokes of Duties (1556), wanted to ‘do likewise for my countrimen: as Italians, Spaniardes, Dutchmen, and other foreins have liberally done for theyrs’ (Jones 1966: 44). Not only Greek and Roman authors were translated. North translated the Fables of Bidpai (c.1589) from an intermediate Italian version of the Arabic. Other translators turned to European languages: Alexander Barclay’s Shyp of … Fols (1509) was translated, by way of Locher’s Latin version, from
Brandt's Narrenschiff; Thomas Hoby's Book of the Courtier (1561) came from Castiglione's Italian; a Spanish romance, by de Calahorra, was translated as The Mirror of Knighthood (1580) by Margaret Tyler; Montaigne's French Essays were translated by John Florio (1603); Christine de Pisan's Book of the City of Ladies, in 1521, by Brian Anslay (the last English translation of any of her works until the late twentieth century).

There were opposing views, hindering access to certain texts. Some claimed that translating into the vernacular would hinder the study of Latin and Greek (Jones 1966: 19). Scholars continued to produce Latin texts, often later translated into English: for example, Sir Thomas More's Utopia (1516) and William Camden's Britannia (c.1586), translated by Ralph Robinson in 1551 and Holland in 1610 respectively. John Skelton, who produced a translation of Diodorus Siculus from the Latin version of Poggio, also wrote several works in Latin. Nor were all texts thought equally fit for translation. Christopher Marlowe's translations of Ovid, published clandestinely, were banned and burned as seditious in 1586 by order of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Until 1640 and Edward Dacre's translation of it, Machiavelli's The Prince was available only by way of a hostile French text, the Contra-Machiavel (1576) by Gentillet, translated by Simon Patericke in 1602. English readers had similarly to wait until 1654 for the whole of Rabelais' Gargantua and Pantagruel (begun before 1653 by Sir Thomas Urquhart; completed by Peter Motteux).

Though able to commission and read translations, women were largely restricted, as in the Middle Ages, to participating on the pious fringes of translation activity. In general, women translators (usually gently born, like Margaret More Roper and the Cooke sisters) produced literal religious translations (Lamb 1985: 124), though secular translations were produced by such as Elizabeth I, Margaret Tyler and Mary Sidney. Despite this marginality, the 'voices' of women translators, through their prefaces, construct other perspectives on the practice of translation, which briefly disrupt the dominant male traditions (Robinson 1995).

In this period translation aimed, generally, to advance eloquence and/or learning. On occasion, two audiences were addressed at once: the learned and the ignorant, the courtly and the rude. Depending on the type of translation, the centres of translativaive activity were located now at the universities, now at the court. Original writing reflects the clear influence of newly-discovered or newly-valued forms. Thus the Italian sonnet is a vital element in the literary projects of the sixteenth century, translated and imitated by Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey, and 'naturalized' by Shakespeare; the pastoral, by way of Greek (Theocritus), Latin (Mantuan and Virgil) and Italian (Tasso and Guarini), takes root with Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Classical epics, especially those of Virgil and Homer – known to the Middle Ages but not translated in their own right until the sixteenth century: Virgil, by Gavin Douglas, Surrey, and Thomas Phaer; Homer, by George Chapman – gave rise to the epics of Spenser and John Milton; the epyllia of Ovid influenced Marlowe, Chapman and Shakespeare; translations from Greek and Roman drama contributed powerfully to the Elizabethan and Jacobean theatre.

### The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

This period of translation activity is dominated at the end of the seventeenth century by two figures, John Dryden and Alexander Pope, and, in the late eighteenth century, by the more complex figure of Alexander Tytler.

The distinctive emphases of Dryden and Pope, however, can be seen earlier, in embryo, in the prefaces to Chapman's Iliad, which had by stages attempted to negotiate and regularize a theoretical frame for the process of translation. At first, Chapman viewed translation as straightforward linguistic mimesis (preface to the Seaven Bookes of the Iliad, 1598). He then moved to more sophisticated discussions of a poetic art of translation (preface to the complete Iliad). He was not alone in so doing. Jonson's woodenly literal 1604 translation of Horace's Ars Poetica might have exemplified the first approach: the brilliant transformations of Roman satirists in his plays, the second.

Chapman's understandings anticipate developments during the next 200 years. First, during the exile of the court to France after the Civil War, court translators often practised a freer translation method for poetry, one
evidenced in aristocratic circles since the 1620s (T. R. Steiner 1975: 64; Lefevere 1992a: 46). Notable exiles were John Denham, Abraham Cowley and Richard Fanshawe; both Denham and Cowley commented on their more liberal translative strategies, Denham in a poem on the translation by Fanshawe, of the Pastor Fido (1640) and in the preface to his own translation of The Destruction of Troy (1656), Cowley in the preface to his Pindarique Odes (1656).

The Restoration brought about major changes in literary attitudes, which owed much to the French tradition. Unsurprisingly, therefore, though Dryden praised Cowley and Denham, in his important preface to Ovid's Epistles By Several Hands (1680), 'for freeing translation from servility' (T. R. Steiner 1975: 63), he also distanced himself from what he saw as their excesses, and created a new model which would shape theory and practice for the following century, 'the earliest exhaustive division of translation' (ibid.: 28), under the three heads of metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation. He rejects both metaphrase (literalism in translation: the earlier of Chapman's positions) and imitation (abandonment of the source text: the later of Chapman's positions) and the need for an accuracy which avoids literalism or paraphrase.

Translations of Homer were, then as later – to put it mildly – a site of critical contention. Pope's translation situates itself adversarially in relation to earlier English versions by Chapman, Thomas Hobbes, John Ogilby and John Dryden, and was itself criticized by Thomas Bentley in 1735 on four counts: 'first [it is] in English, Secondly in Rhyme, thirdly not from the Original [Pope had used Latin, French and English sources], but fourthly from a French translation and that in Prose by a woman too [i.e. Mme Dacier]' (Levine 1991: 220). William Cowper also criticized it when producing his own Iliad in 1791; so too, later, did Matthew Arnold.

The paradoxical obverse of this hostility is the fact that Pope's Iliad was to a degree, and his Odyssey (1725–6) still more, a collaborative venture; in the latter he was assisted by Elijah Fenton and William Brome, one of the translators of Mme Dacier's Homer. Another instance of collaboration occurred later in the century when Tobias Smollett gathered a group of translators together in his 'literary factory' (Sampson 1941: 423) in Chelsea and published a new translation of Don Quixote (1755), and a major translation of Voltaire's works (1761–74) in collaboration with Thomas Francklin.

The translation of Mme Dacier objected to by Bentley points to an important difference between women translators in this and the preceding periods. Though no English woman had yet ventured to translate Homer, women were translating a greater variety of texts than previously. At the start of the period Aphra Behn produced a version of De Brilhac's play Agnes de Castro (1688), contributed to Dryden's Ovid's Epistles, and in the preface to her translation of Fontannelle's Discovery of New Worlds (1688) 'sought to say something of [the] translation of prose', a subject which had previously received little comment (Kitagaki 1981: 282). In the eighteenth century Elizabeth Carter translated the complete works of Epictetus for the first time (1749–52), and Charlotte Brooke published the first anthology of translations of Gaelic poetry from Ireland in 1789.

The revival in Celtic literature, of which Brooke's work was part, had led during the century to translations from Welsh by Evan Evans (1764), and, by way of intermediate Latin versions, by Samuel Johnson and Thomas Gray; it had also resulted in the so-called translations, from the Gaelic of Ossian, of James Macpherson (c.1760). This revival accompanied a developing interest in the translation of oriental and Teutonic languages. George Sale translated the Qurʾān into English in 1734; Gray wrote texts in imitation of Old Norse in 1761; William Jones, the first English scholar to master Sanskrit, produced translations from Persian and other Asiatic texts. The nineteenth-century interest in medievalizing/orientalizing translations shown, for example, by Edward Fitzgerald...
and William Morris, is a natural development of this process.

The century ends, much as it had begun, with a major work of theory: Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation* (1791). Tytler's theories resemble those of fellow Scot George Campbell, whose preface to his translation of the Gospels (1789) shares many of Tytler's conclusions about the translative process. Tytler's *Essay*, with a systematic approach typical of the period, reacts against Dryden's concept of paraphrase and the loose translations that resulted from it. According to Tytler, translation should give a complete transcript of the idea of the original work, the style and manner of writing should have the same character as in the original, and translation should have all the ease of the original. Granted, the *Essay* still uses eighteenth-century terminology ('genius', 'wit', 'taste'), and its standards for 'assessing success in composition' are essentially aesthetic (Huntsman 1978: xlii) or evaluative. Nevertheless, a sea change is observable in Tytler's claim that the original text provides the ultimate point of reference as well as in his published translations from Italian (Petrarch, 1784) and German (Schiller, 1792). Tytler is as prophetic as, in their different ways, the translations of Brooke and Gray had been.

**The nineteenth century:**

**Romanticism and the Victorian era**

Romanticism distinguished itself sharply from the preceding age in several important ways.

After the Restoration, and for much of the eighteenth century, French had been the prestige vernacular. Late in the century there was a decisive shift from French towards German – in particular, the works of Goethe, Schiller and A.W. Schlegel (Bassnett 1991: 64–5) – often, initially, in intermediate French versions. Romantic writers cut their teeth on translations from the German: Sir Walter Scott on Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen* (1799), Samuel Taylor Coleridge on Schiller's *Wallenstein* (1800), Shelley on parts of Goethe's *Faust*. Within three years of Goethe's completed *Faust* (1832) there were five complete translations. Other German writers were made similarly accessible to Victorian readers by George Eliot, Sarah Austin, J. C. Hare and Bishop Thirlwall, and William Wallace.

The ideas of the German Romantics were crucial in shaping a new self-understanding for the translator (George Steiner 1975; Robinson 1991). As previously noted, from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century translators had generally, if in different ways, 'domesticated' their work. Now, in Carlyle's words, 'the duty of a translator [was] ... to present the work exactly as ... in the [original]' (Ashton 1980: 84). Pope and Dryden both came in for criticism on this score. Admittedly, rejection of the earlier practices and/or theories was not total: Birch thought 'Pope-ish' practice inappropriate for his *Faust*, but was willing to invoke the Earl of Roscommon's authority.

At the same time, the Romantics were also rediscovering the literature of the Italian Renaissance, especially Dante, whose *Divina Commedia* was as important for nineteenth-century readers as *Faust*. Of first importance here is Henry Francis Cary's translation of 1814, one of the most successful translations of the century. Nor should we forget how artists like Gustave Doré and John Flaxman mediated the Dantes of Cary and Ichabod Wright to English readers, or how William Blake used Cary as a crib for his own 'translation', the *Illustrations to the Divine Comedy*.

The second half of the nineteenth century developed broadly along the same lines, though, arguably, its own 'translation' of Romantic theory and practice reveals a strongly 'domesticating' agenda in line with the overall imperial projects of the age. We can focus these generalizations by studying a few years, not entirely at random. Thus, in 1861–2, translations appeared of large parts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* by Philip Worsley, Joseph Dart, James Landon and Dean Henry Alford; of Dante and his contemporaries by Dante Gabriel Rossetti; of the first two parts of the *Commedia* by Mrs C. H. Ramsay (1862); of Old Norse (*Burnt Njal*) by Sir George Dasent; of individual poems into and out of Greek and Latin, and out of Italian and German, with facing-page originals, by Lord Lyttelton and William Gladstone (1861); and an authorized translation of Hugo's *Les Misérables* by Wraxall, whose published translations in this two-year period include travel-cum-adventure stories, the autobiography of a French detective, and
two works by Esquiros, who had helped with the Hugo. These productions are, admittedly, of varying significance. The Lyttelton–Gladstone venture – as Newman noted, amateur work, consisting of set-piece translations – was very different from Wraxall’s adventure yarns. Alongside Rossetti’s finely nuanced awareness that ‘a translation ... remains perhaps the most direct form of commentary’ (Rossetti 1911), Wraxall was cutting an obscene expression ‘which may be historical but is disgusting’ (and, since the following chapter ‘consist[ed] of a glorification of this abominable word’, cutting that too) (Wrazall 1862). Moreover, the Homer translations were part of a booming industry: a reviewer of Morris’s Aeneid (1875; Faulkner 1973: 216) noted the regularity of their publication.

Inevitably, the foregoing account omits important names and texts: the orientalizers Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Burton, James Legge (who translated from Chinese) and Max Müller (from Sanskrit); Lady Charlotte Guest (Mabinogi); revisions of the 1611 and Reims–Douai Bibles, the most important of the former (1881–95) known as the Revised Version; Eleanor Marx Aveling, and the Ibsen translators William Archer and Edmund Gosse.

It also omits Arnold’s On Translating Homer (1861) which, like Pope and Cowper before him, criticized several translations of Homer, including those of Wright (1859–65) and Newman (1856), the latter already under attack for a translation of Horace (Venuti 1995a: 124–7). Both replied in kind; Arnold replied to the latter in Last Words (1862). For all their differences (ibid.:118–46), Arnold and Newman were both children of the Romantic revolution. Both shared with most of their contemporaries the Romantic view of the translator’s ‘duty ... to be faithful’ (Newman) to the original, as the translators of the 1611 Bible had been (Arnold), and of the necessary ‘union of a translator with his original’ in a good translation (Arnold). Their disagreement, then, was less about ends than about means. For Arnold, since Homer is a classic, the translation should adopt the language of that undoubted classic, the 1611 Bible. Its metre, however, should replicate the original’s hexameters. Newman, who saw Homer as primitive and popular, used ballad metre and what he called a ‘Saxo-Norman’ language and a later writer ‘Wardour Street English’ (Venuti 1995a: 141–2; Kelly 1979). Against Arnold’s biblical model, Newman’s was of the missionary whose translation for the ‘Feejeees’ retained the phrase ‘Lamb of God’ and risked unintelligibility.

This protracted and largely pointless exercise in irony and acrimony cast long shadows. Arnold’s authority was widely acknowledged in the nineteenth century (and well into the twentieth); his recommended ‘King James English’ was adopted by Benjamin Jowett and Andrew Lang. Newman’s practice was largely ignored. But, as Venuti (1995a) notes, it represents an important tendency in nineteenth-century translation, one anticipated by the medievalizing translations of Robert Southey, and echoed in Robert Browning’s Agamemnon (Robinson 1991: 245) and the very different work of Morris and Rossetti, to ‘foreignize’ the original (Venuti 1995a: 20) and make readers conscious of the gap between their own culture and the Other which the original embodies. This distinction between recessive ‘foreignizing’ and dominant ‘domesticating’ strains of translation resembles another made regularly in the nineteenth century – in the prefaces of Cary, Birch, Mrs Ramsay, Newman and Arnold – between what John Benson Rose called ‘scholar’s translations’ (Greek Dramas, 1867–72) and those destined for the common reader, a distinction with clear echoes of the theorizings of German Romanticism.

The present

The twentieth century, and beyond, owes much of its agenda, in respect of translation, to the assumptions and practice of the nineteenth. Foreign classics have continued to be translated in popular imprints which appeal to an increasingly monolingual readership, such as World’s Classics (1901), Everyman (1906–), Loeb (1912–), and Penguin Classics (1946–), the last-named distinguished by its decision to commission new translations of all published works. Important translations have been produced by Constance Garnett and Max Hayward (Russian classics), Arthur Waley (Chinese poetry), Helen Waddell (medieval Latin lyrics), W. Scott Moncrieff and E.V. Rieu (Greek classics). During the period 1948–86, according to the Index Translationum,
literary translations of this sort accounted for 35 per cent of all translations published in Britain.

Similarly, the nineteenth-century 'foreignizing' translations by professional poets have their equivalents in the twentieth century, above all, in the translations of the American-born Ezra Pound. Foreignizing translations in Britain include the adaptations of Greek and Roman drama by Ted Hughes (Seneca’s *Oedipus*, 1969) and Tony Harrison (*Aeschylus’s Oresteia*, 1981).

Translation is now more professionally organized than ever before. Translation agencies have sprung up in large numbers; academic and professional courses and qualifications are becoming the order of the day in Britain, especially at postgraduate level. More importantly, a paradigm shift has taken place in the understanding of translation itself as a phenomenon since the 1970s. Terry Eagleton’s review essay ‘Translation and Transformation’ (1977) illustrates this shift. The main thrust of Eagleton’s account, in the light of ‘recent semiotic enquiry’, is to undermine the opposition of ‘source’ and ‘target’ text and the ‘fetish of the primary text’ (ibid.: 72) taken for granted in writing about translation, replacing it by ‘the notion of intertextuality’ (emphasis in original). Eagleton emphasizes the problematic hermeneutic issues of systems of signification of which translation is a paradigmatic case. At the centre of this new criticism is the attempted displacement of evaluative and purely formal criticism, and a recognition of the importance of new developments in cultural and critical theory.

In the light of these developments, the final decade of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century witnessed an upsurge of interest in translation studies in Britain: new periodicals from very different perspectives (*Translation and Literature*, 1993–; *The Translator*, 1995–; *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer*, 2007–; *The Sign Language Translator and Interpreter*, 2007–; *Translation Studies*, 2008–); new series (such as *Topics in Translation*, *Translation Theories Explored*, and *Translation Practices Explained*); and, as noted earlier, numerous courses on translation in all its aspects. The omens look good for developments in translation studies in Britain.

**Further reading**


ROGER ELLIS AND LIZ OAKLEY-BROWN

**Bulgarian tradition**

The earliest people known to have inhabited the Bulgarian lands in the Balkan Peninsula were the Thracians (an Indo-European tribe). They developed a rich culture and lived in close contact with Byzantium as well as the Persia of the Achemenides and other Indo-European peoples in Asia Minor; in addition to Greek they understood the languages of the Huns, Sarmates and Avars. In the sixth century they gradually mixed with the tribes of the Eastern group of Southern Slavs, the Protobulgarians led by Khan Asparoukh (c.644–701), who came from the north and settled in present-day north-east Bulgaria at the end of the sixth century.

The year 681 saw the foundation of the first Slavonic Bulgarian state, established through the merger of Slavonic and Protobulgarian tribes which adopted the name ‘Bulgarians’. The process of the formation and consolidation of the Bulgarian people and statehood continued from the seventh to the middle of the ninth century. In 865, Tsar Boris I (852–89) converted the country to Christianity; this helped overcome tribal differences, since there were many different pagan religions in the area at the time, and established a powerful medieval Slavonic state, emulating the cultural standards of neighbouring Byzantium.

Protobulgarian inscriptions preserved on stones, metal vessels and other surfaces reveal that both the Greek alphabet and Protobulgarian runes were used. The best known example is the Horseman of Madara: a stone relief depicting a ruler or deity from the eighth century, with
Protobulgarian inscriptions in the Greek language.

**The medieval period: ninth to fourteenth centuries**

Medieval Bulgarian literature started with the translations of Cyril (827–69) and Methodius (826–85) in the ninth century. Cyril and Methodius were brothers, natives of Thessaloniki; Slavonic enlighteners, inventors of the Slavonic/Cyrillic script, founders of Slavonic and Bulgarian literature and champions of an independent Slavonic church and culture. Cyril was educated in the Magnaur School in Constantinople and became a teacher of philosophy at the same school. He gave the first definition of philosophy in the Slavonic language and was an eloquent speaker and talented poet. Methodius served in the army and afterwards became the governor of a Slavonic principality. Both had excellent knowledge of the Byzantine culture and language as well as the ancient classics. They spoke Slavonic, Latin and Hebrew and were sent on diplomatic and preaching missions to the Saracens (Cyril, in 851), to Rome, where they defended the right of every people to be educated in their native language before the Pope, and to Moravia (862/3) to defend Christianity. Having created the Slavonic alphabet, Cyril and Methodius were the first in medieval Europe to try and assert the vernacular as the official Bulgarian language, replacing Latin as the language of the church.

The young Slavonic states in the area were gradually converted to Christianity as the rivalry between Rome and Constantinople grew. In the ninth century, the newly established Bulgarian state felt the spiritual need for enlightenment, a written culture and an alphabet; this was also true of other Slavonic peoples. The Slavonic/Cyrillic alphabet created by Cyril and Methodius played a major role in this process. The Old Bulgarian literary language was based on the vernacular of the Bulgarian Slavs. It performed the function of a common written language for all Slavonic peoples and served as a target language for translation, irrespective of whether the source text was in Greek (given that many adopted the Eastern Orthodox faith) or Latin (for those who joined the Catholic Church).

Cyril and Methodius used the new alphabet for the first translations from Greek of the New Testament, the Psalms, the Apostles, selected church masses, as well as books of various genres and styles, for example *Nomocanon* (’The Law on Judging People’; a legal treatise) and *Pateric*, a collection of essays on general topics. Their greatest feat, however, was the translation of the Bible; this translation played an important role in developing Slavonic culture.

The work of Cyril and Methodius constituted a cultural project of enormous dimensions. It proves that translation can instigate enduring changes in the cultural make-up of a nation. The creation of the Slavonic alphabet and the translation of the Christian Scriptures into Old Bulgarian had a number of important consequences. First, it broke the dogma of trilingual church service (Hebrew, Greek and Latin), thus leading to the recognition of the Slavonic language as an important element of European Christian culture. Second, it questioned the requirement for literal translation of the Bible and made possible a number of changes within Christian culture, thereby enabling the Slavonic culture to make the relevant connections with its own ancient traditions and specific world view. And finally, by translating the Bible and other religious works into Old Bulgarian Cyril and Methodius created a perfect cultural product in a language which had not previously had any written texts.

Cyril and Methodius developed a distinctive method of translation. They believed in word-for-word translation, based on a quantitative matching of key words in the original and the translated text. However, they also believed in the need for creative interpretation, so that the idea of word-for-word translation was not applied in its traditional form. Where the quantitative matching of words conflicted with what they perceived to be the meaning of the text or jeopardized the intelligibility of the translation, they gave priority to meaning as the invariant element and abandoned the principle of quantitative matching. In fact, their word-for-word translations were very close to what most people would see as free translation: they created neologisms, inserted additional words for clarification and elucidation of the broad context, and adjusted the translations to the linguistic and stylistic norms of Old Bulgarian.
Cyril and Methodius thus founded the first school of translation in Bulgaria, and their work provided a standard for other translators during that period. The influence of their great cultural project was, however, confined to Bulgaria; in the Slavonic regions under the Catholic Church, the idea of performing the liturgy in the Slavonic language remained unacceptable. Expelled from Moravia, Cyril and Methodius’s disciples came to Bulgaria and continued their work with the support of the Bulgarian tsars.

We have no substantial evidence for the existence of interpreters in Bulgaria during the Middle Ages. However, we do know that Anastasius Librarian (800–80), a Roman clergyman and writer, acted as interpreter for the Pope when Rome attempted to convert the Bulgarians to Christianity and when Cyril and Methodius visited the Pope. Indirect evidence for the use of interpreters may also be drawn from the Latin clergy’s stipulation that Cyril and Methodius, as well as their disciples, preach only in Latin, which implies that their sermons were interpreted into Bulgarian for the audience.

**Schools of translation in medieval Bulgaria**

From the ninth to the eleventh century the translation traditions established by Cyril and Methodius flourished in Ohrida and Preslav, the literary centres of feudal Bulgaria, where the disciples of the two brothers carried out intensive literary translation and educational work. Although operating with an identical language, the schools of translation which evolved in Ohrida and Preslav worked with different genres, employed different methods of translation and consequently developed different attitudes to the Greek source texts. The tension between the free approach of the Ohrida school and the formal approach of the Preslav school had a role to play in shaping the Old Bulgarian culture, which proves that attitudes to translation can generate different cultural and ideological paradigms that reflect the world view typical of a certain epoch.

In the Ohrida school (late 9th century), in the south-west of Bulgaria, church books were translated from Greek. The prevalent approach was one of free translation. While recognizing equivalence of meaning as the ultimate objective, preference was given to free translation in terms of syntax and word order, and the use of descriptive strategies was allowed. The work of Climent of Ohrida (c.840–916), founder of the Ohrida school, illustrates this approach. His translations of Byzantine writers such as John Chrysostom and John Damascene, as well as various religious texts and sermons, took the form of ‘re-tellings’ of moral stories.

The Preslav school of translation was also established at the end of the ninth century, in the north-eastern parts of Bulgaria; Preslav was the capital city of the first Bulgarian kingdom. The Preslav translators tried to stay as close as possible to the Greek originals and to achieve equivalence of meaning by reproducing the morphological, syntactic and word-formation peculiarities of the original Greek syntax, even when this meant violating the norms of Old Bulgarian.

The principles of translation developed by the Preslav school were ideologically motivated. First, uncompromising faithfulness to the original meant that it was impossible for heretical ideas to find their way into the holy texts. Second, the preoccupation with accuracy with regard to classical texts reflected a concern on the part of Bulgarian culture to imitate the high models of Byzantine civilization. Even the selection of texts, with exclusively philosophical and polemic content, demonstrates the scope of the cultural and ideological project of the Preslav school of translation.

One of the best known translators during this period was John Exarch, who typically intermixed translations with his own creative work. His most important translations were *Six Days*, a compilation from several Byzantine authors which described the Christian cosmogony and the achievements of scientific thought, and the philosophical work *Source of Knowledge* by John Damascene, known in Old Bulgarian literature under the title ‘Heaven’ or ‘Theology’. In the prefaces to these two translations, John Exarch expressed his theoretical views on the way in which Greek texts had to be translated into Bulgarian and on the practice of compilation, i.e. borrowing material from other authors. The idea that what matters is the translation of the meaning rather than mere sounds lay at the heart of the first Bulgarian and Slavonic theory of translation expounded by John Exarch. He
rejected word-for-word translation and verbose explanations as deviations from the original and urged translators to aim for equivalence of meanings.

During the three centuries which followed the reign of Tsar Simeon (864–927), there was no specific school with uniform principles or conceptualized attitudes to translation. The overall tendency was to translate into an intelligible language, one that reflected the living speech of the people. This is clear, for instance, in the Apocrypha of the Bogomils; the Bogomils were Bulgarian heretics whose translations were intended to mediate between the high and low spheres of medieval Bulgarian culture. Their work was experimental and they sought to use translation as a means of transforming cultural and ideological paradigms.

The flourishing of literary and translation activity continued in the work of the Turnovo school in the fourteenth century. Its precursor was the Sveta Gora (Aton) school, which elaborated new principles of translation. Like Western humanists, the leader of the Turnovo school, Euthimius of Turnovo (c.1327–c.1401; Bulgarian patriarch, writer, philosopher and philologist), worked on ‘the rectification of books’ through new translations and editing of Greek originals. He initiated various linguistic, stylistic and spelling reforms which served the same purpose.

Attempts to purge the holy books of Christianity from heresies and distortions began in the thirteenth and continued in the fourteenth century, particularly in the Turnovo school. Translators were urged to review the existing translations of church books, but in order to do that they needed a ‘pure’ literary language. Emphasis on accuracy and the use of refined verbal forms meant that a versatile linguistic vehicle was needed to render such features of the original as prosodic effects and plays on words with the same root. The answer for the Turnovo school translators was to deliberately reproduce Greek word order as a way of approximating the norms of Greek as a high cultural model and of drawing on a pool of shared experience and aesthetic appreciation.

In the process of preparing the new translations of the Octoich, poetic and holy texts, hymns, panegyrics, sermons and speeches, the new theoretical principles of translation developed in accordance with the changing liturgical and aesthetic requirements of the fourteenth century, without abandoning Cyril and Methodius’s tradition of faithfulness to meaning. The new attitude to meaning found its aesthetic realization in translations based on euphony and neologisms. As a result of this substantial cultural project, Bulgaria outstripped western Europe in its linguistic development during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the official European culture of the late Middle Ages still failed to recognize the vernacular languages, Bulgaria had developed a literary language of its own, established a system of classical norms and perfected them over a period of several centuries.

One of the main translations of the Turnovo school was the Chronicle of Constantin Manasius of the twelfth century, written in highly imaginative and eloquent verse. The translation was made for Tsar Ivan Alexander in 1335/36. Although not composed in verse form, the style of the translation is highly poetic.

Old Bulgarian translations prior to the eighteenth century: overview

In 1396, Bulgaria fell under Ottoman Turkish rule, which was to last for five centuries. There were no major translations during the second half of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century, though at some centres, such as the Rila Monastery, copyists and translators tried to preserve translated literature. It was not until the sixteenth, and especially the following two centuries, that translation was pursued actively once again.

That last stage of the history of Old Bulgarian translated literature is known for the popular translations of a collection of religious sermons by Damascene Studit, a sixteenth-century Greek writer; these were written in the vernacular Greek and published in his book Treasury. Known as the Damascenes, the translations began a new trend of adapting texts to the new Bulgarian language through extensive use of the vernacular. Ten translations of these texts were produced in different Bulgarian dialects.

The Damascenes were modified in the eighteenth century by introducing non-canonical literary readings into the collection. Translators
selected and added secular texts, which gradually attracted more interest than moral and religious sermons. Originals were adapted to suit the Bulgarian context, so that translations now set out to establish new relationships between writers and recipients.

It is perhaps worth summarizing the main features of translation activity prior to the eighteenth century at this point, before proceeding to discuss translation during the Bulgarian renaissance.

First, translation was a rather broad concept. Translations were integral parts of the national literature. Since there was little respect for authorship in the Middle Ages, even original texts incorporated translated elements and borrowed ideas, imagery and plots. Old Bulgarian translators were also writers and translation was considered an act of co-authorship and co-editing. It is therefore impossible to make a rigid distinction between original and translated literature during this period. There was no strict boundary and this allowed intermingling of the two types of creative work. Nevertheless, literary translation existed as an independent structural element in the system of Old Bulgarian literature.

Second, translated literature not only served Bulgarian readers but also spread among the other southern and eastern Slavs, especially Russians, Ukrainians, Serbs and, later on, Romanians. Having emerged a century earlier, Old Bulgarian literature provided the foundation for the literature which all southern and eastern Slavs were to share in due course. It was the mediating literature, in a mediating language, between the Byzantine culture and the Slavs, an exponent of the medieval civilization whose missionary basis was supported by translation; hence its all-Slavonic and international importance.

Finally, prior to the Renaissance, no other European people came as close to the ancient Greek philosophers as the Bulgarian translators. Neighbouring Byzantium gave Old Bulgarian literature its overall artistic identity, type of creative perception, genres and poetic vision and provided contact with Oriental literatures. Links with the Catholic West, on the other hand, were very weak during the Middle Ages.

It is difficult to compare Old Bulgarian and western European literatures in their medieval forms. The two literatures developed under different historical conditions and on the basis of different philosophies and aesthetic values. There are therefore fundamental differences between the two streams of Byzantine Orthodox and western European culture which were to come together on an all-European scale in the eighteenth century.

**The Bulgarian Renaissance: eighteenth and nineteenth centuries**

The Bulgarian Renaissance is generally thought to have started with the publication in 1762 of *Slavonic Bulgarian History* by Paisyi of Chilendar (1722–73), monk and enlightener. Translation followed the general development of Bulgarian literature during the eighteenth century but was characterized by a number of distinctive features.

Translation during the Bulgarian Renaissance assumed a new function as mediator between medieval and modern literature. Therefore many 'new translations' appeared, for example *Alexandria* (a heroic fiction about Alexander of Macedonia, 1796) and a collection of excerpts from the *Arabian Nights*, which had first been translated a few centuries earlier, the new translations were updated to reflect the modern idiom. These two translations provided continuity with the old literature and are therefore considered as marking the beginning of literary translation during the Bulgarian Renaissance.

*Stories and Thoughts* (1802), by Sophronius of Vratsa (1739–1813), marked a whole new stage in the development of translations during the early Renaissance. This is a collection of 144 fables of Aesop plus various narratives. Here, the new mediating function of translation was clearly understood to include interpreting the original; also, the old literary language was beginning to undergo a fundamental process of 'democratization'. This collection represents the first attempt to differentiate stylistic levels of the language and to adjust translation to the specific genre of the original.

Between the end of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century, translation was marked by a general tendency for
'Bulgarianization' (free interpretation and literary revision of the original to suit Bulgarian national, historical and psychological specificities). This was a natural result of the cultural and ideological overburdening of translation: due to the slow development of the Bulgarian intellectual elite, original works did not begin to appear until the late stages of the Bulgarian Renaissance. It was translators who laid the foundations of modern Bulgarian literature in terms of recurrent themes, images, plots, genres, vocabulary and stylistic diversity. Bulgarian culture needed to learn from new models and transform them into national ones. As part of the tendency to adapt the original to the reader's taste, translators also became semi-authors, developing the content of the original and adding their own text.

French, German and Russian sentimental literature was frequently 'Bulgarianized', especially since it provided a suitable context for using the clichés which Bulgarian readers had learned from sermons, hagiography and Damascenes.

Translations into Bulgarian were often based on intermediate versions in other languages. This can be explained in terms of a lack of appreciation of 'copyright' as we know it today and the urgent need to make contact with several European literatures at the same time.

The selection of translations depended on what was considered useful to the target reader rather than on the importance of the original text in its own national context. Translations essentially provided the Bulgarian Renaissance culture with its basic literary models, more specifically with works meant to teach human virtues or to present historical events.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century, translators were people who had acquired a high level of education and knowledge of the cultures of various European countries. They were therefore in a position to develop an individual approach to the originals they worked from and to strive towards achieving a balance between the need to preserve the artistic features of the original and, at the same time, produce readable translations. In the context of the Enlightenment, the practice of 'Bulgarianization' inevitably continued, but it slowly gave way to other methods of translation. The gradual development of the national language also played a part in this process. Of particular importance were the translations by the greatest writers of the Bulgarian Renaissance, whose talents enabled them to use the full potential of the language (P. R. Slaveikov, L. Karavelov, C. Botev, N. Bonchev and others).

Diverse tendencies developed in the choice of certain foreign literatures. On the one hand, a much wider range of foreign literary texts became known in Bulgaria: French, Russian, German, Italian, English, American, Serbian, Greek, etc. On the other hand, translators had more opportunities to choose original texts, depending on the needs of the national liberation process. Writers of the French Enlightenment, for instance, were translated on a massive scale (but this did not stop the flow of translations of French sentimentalists); the same applied to Russian literature, which gradually assumed the function of mediator between the Bulgarian and European cultures. The most important translator from Russian, P. R. Slakeikov (1827–95), was one of the leading figures of the Bulgarian Renaissance. His translations of Russian, western European and Balkan authors contributed to the metric and prosodic development of Bulgarian verse. He used all forms of translation: Bulgarianization, adaptation (where he used other authors’ ideas and plots for his own creative purposes), and literal translation.

Translated and original poetry began to appear simultaneously during this period. The Bulgarian poetic tradition developed out of the tension between folkloric forms and those of iambic poetry. A great deal of diversity existed, and stylistic and metric interpretations varied according to the translator's outlook and objectives. The ‘revised translations’ which were undertaken at the time were indicative of the literary aesthetics of the period.

Scientific and political translation influenced the development of national awareness and revolutionary ideology. It developed in response to a growing interest in the issues of governance, law, economics and in medical and natural sciences. The first Bulgarian schoolbook, *The Fish Primer*, which was written by Peter Beron (1800–71) and published in 1824, contained translations of eighteen fables of Aesop and works by ancient Greek authors. Unlike literary translations, scientific and political translations were always based on the original text. The usual
practice was to translate excerpts rather than complete books. A tendency towards greater accuracy was evident, but different translations also frequently betrayed the ideological preferences of the intellectuals who undertook them.

Political articles were translated anonymously, as part of the struggle for independence. Some translations set out to give an accurate rendering of information (following the original without any substantial deviations); others took the form of free interpretation, adding comments, explanations and even appeals when the purpose was to achieve a particular patriotic goal.

Given the cultural and political vacuum which resulted from five centuries of Ottoman rule, the Bulgarian Renaissance was fundamentally different from developments in the rest of Europe. In Bulgaria, the various stages of European civilization had to be collapsed and absorbed in a very short time. Of utmost importance during this period was the need to defend the Bulgarian identity and to search for and identify the roots of national culture. This situation resulted in a functional overburdening of translation, which had to serve the urgent need to acquire basic literary and artistic models on a large scale; hence the co-existence of the three forms of translation during this period, namely Bulgarianization, adaptation and translation with commentary.

Translations gradually expanded the horizons of Bulgarian readers; the medieval genre system was now supplemented with sentimental imagery, popular educational material, pedagogical, historical and scientific texts, travel notes and political writings, not to mention the classics of European and neighbouring Balkan cultures. Bulgarians developed a lasting interest in Russian literature, which was perceived as both the mediating link to European civilization as well as the mainstay and guarantor of Bulgaria’s Slavonic roots. In addition to importing new genres and imagery, translations during this period also became a testing ground for the national literary language, imagery, genre experiments, poetic culture and other major elements of art and culture in modern times.

Translation in the post-liberation period (1878 to the present)

The new perception of the functions and place of translations in the national culture, which was radically different from earlier perceptions, was most convincingly presented in the article ‘Classical European writers in the Bulgarian language and the benefit of studying their works’ (1873) by the literary critic Nesho Bonchev (1939–78). Bonchev rejected the idea of translating in response to national needs and called for re-orienting translation towards learning about and assimilating the finest examples of modern world literature. This marked a turning point from utilitarianism to the pursuit of artistic values. Bulgarianization naturally became obsolete as a translation method in this context.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a group of writers associated with the journal Misul (1892–1907) suggested a new aesthetic programme for national literature, one in which the theory and criticism of translations occupied an important place. A new stage in the development of post-liberation translation activity began. This stage was characterized by continued orientation towards western Europe, mainly German literary and philosophical classics; at the same time, Russian influence remained strong and there was a growing interest in modern thinkers such as Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. In addition to western European literature, interest also grew in other geographical regions, themes and genres, for example Slavonic, Scandinavian and American poetry, prose and drama. With its ability to follow and draw inspiration from many European cultures, translated literature was able to keep up with world literature. The balance that was maintained among different influences was unprecedented and is the most distinctive feature of this period.

The quest for Europeanization provided the initiative for a number of outstanding translations of Francophone, German and English poetry by the poet Geo Milev (1895–1925). Building on the poetic language developed under the influence of the Symbolists, translators reached new standards of creativity and a new school of Bulgarian poetic translation was born, with well-developed artistic principles,
Bulgarian tradition

high aesthetic criteria and modern literary orientation. At the same time, interest in the ancient classics remained strong and was particularly evident in the translations of Alexander Balabanov (1879–1955), classical philologist and Professor of ancient Greek literature at Sofia University, who translated works by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, as well as Aesop’s fables.

In the years between the two world wars, translators played an important role in introducing to the left-wing press the ideas of humanist and anti-fascist world writers, journalists and scientists.

After Geo Milev, the intense pace of translation slowed down. The change could be observed in such things as the choice of genres and themes and in the increasing specialization of publishers in areas such as classical literature on the one hand and mass entertainment literature on the other. The implementation of socialist cultural policy shortly after World War II was followed by the nationalization of private publishing houses in 1947/48. There followed a decade of national insularity, which clearly influenced the selection of books to be translated. However, the 1960s saw the beginning of quantitative and qualitative changes in terms of the orientation and quality of translations. These changes are still in evidence today. Translation began to win public recognition as a creative activity, and a national policy was implemented to fill existing gaps in the translation of foreign classics. New versions of older translations started to appear, and continue to appear to this day. Translated literature widened its scope to include authors of literary, scientific, journalistic and other texts from all corners of the globe, as well as a variety of publications, from complete works to anthologies, series, bilingual editions, etc.

Among the most important achievements during this period were the translation of the complete works of Shakespeare between 1970 and 1981 by the prominent Bulgarian poet Valeri Petrov and the translation of the scientific works of Kant between 1957 and 1987 by Tseko Torbov, who won the Vienna University Herder award in 1970 for his translation of Critique of Pure Reason and for his research activities in general. This period also saw the translation of political literature in series and other forms, as well as the works of outstanding scientists and scholars in various disciplines.

A new generation of translators has since joined the profession, having acquired substantial linguistic skills at various language schools. A special course for translators and interpreters was also established at Sofia University in 1974.

Further reading
Leskien 1903; Vaillant 1948; Georgiev 1955; Dinekov 1960; Picchio 1972; Trost 1978; Prevodut i Bulgarskata Kultura 1981; Stara Bulgarska Literatura 1980–89.

ANNA LILOVA

Translated from Bulgarian by Vera Georgieva
Canadian tradition

The 34 million inhabitants of Canada are mainly of French and British descent, but there are also a number of large minorities which include the original inhabitants (Indians who speak a variety of Huron-Iroquois and Algonquian, and the Inuit who speak Inuktitut), Germans, Italians, Chinese, Ukrainians and Dutch.

The exploration of Canada began in 1497 when John Cabot reached the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. The first permanent settlements were established by the French in 1608 when the French explorer and colonizer Samuel de Champlain (c. 1570–1635) established the settlement at Québec, known as ‘New France’, the name given to it by Jacques Cartier in 1534. In 1763, Canada was ceded to Britain by the Treaty of Paris. A member of the British Commonwealth, Canada also plays an active part in ‘La Francophonie’, the organization which represents French-speaking communities. The official languages are English and French.

Translation under French rule

The history of translation in Canada began with a kidnapping. While exploring the Gulf of St Lawrence in 1534, the French navigator Jacques Cartier (1494–1554) came into contact with several Indian tribes. In order to communicate with them, he had to resort to sign language. Before setting sail once again, Cartier unceremoniously ‘recruited’ the two sons of the Iroquois chief of Stadacona (present-day Québec City) and took them to France, where he taught them the rudiments of the French language. These two natives became the country’s first interpreters.

On his second voyage, Cartier’s new interpreters, Dom Agaya and Taignoagny, began to teach him about New France: its geographical features, natural resources and inhabitants. They even saved Cartier’s expedition from catastrophe by teaching the ‘pale faces’ how to treat and cure scurvy, a terrible disease that had decimated Cartier’s crew. When his exploratory expedition was completed, Cartier took his two interpreters back to France, for by now they had started to plot against him and his men. They settled in Brittany and collaborated on the compilation of two bilingual Iroquois–French lexicons, the first lexicographical works to which Canadian translators had contributed.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Champlain created an institution of resident interpreters in the new colony. He placed young French adventurers with the allied tribes and gave them the task of defending the interests of merchants, particularly those involved in the fur trade, and officials responsible for colonizing the shores of the St Lawrence River. These young men were resident interpreters in the sense that they lived among the natives, dressed like Indians, slept in tents, hunted, fished and took part in the feasts, dances and rites that made up the everyday life of their hosts. Through daily contact with the natives, the interpreters became familiar with their way of life and world view, and hence eminently qualified for dealing with the tribes. Among the first such interpreters were Étienne Brûlé, Nicolas Marsolet, Jean Nicolet, Olivier Letardif, Jean Richer, Jacques Hertel and François Marguerie.

The linguistic map of New France at that time was fragmented, with numerous dialects deriving from two language families: Algonquian and Huron-Iroquois. Although all the Indian languages belonged to one of these two families, a different interpreter was required for specific languages such as Micmac, Abenakis, Montagnais, Algonquian, Huron, Nipissing, Iroquois, Ottawa, and so on. Each
language created a new linguistic barrier. In addition, the absence of written grammars, and of a written tradition, made the dialects difficult to master. Pronunciation (particularly of guttural sounds), intonation, breathing and rhythm, not to mention the difficulty inherent in translating abstract French vocabulary, created linguistic traps that could lead anywhere from a humorous mistranslation to a diplomatic incident. The missionaries, unlike the interpreters, did attempt to compile grammars and dictionaries, but they continued to run up against cultural taboos which complicated the translation of prayers. For example, it was no easy task to teach Our Father, who art in heaven ... to natives who had lost their fathers, for to speak of loved ones who had died was to insult them.

After Champlain’s death, young people continued to go and live with the Indians to learn the challenging craft of interpreting. Pierre Boucher, Charles Le Moyne, Guillaume Couture and Nicolas Perrot were four eminent interpreters of this period. In the words of Bacqueville de La Potherie, “The merchants could have offered 100,000 écus worth of merchandise, but they would not have sold even a pound of tobacco without the assistance of their interpreters” (Margry 1883: 186; translated).

In Montréal, the courts often required interpreters for Indian languages, as well as interpreters for English and Dutch, the languages used by merchants in the colonies to the south (New England and New Holland). Jean Quenet, Pierre Couc, René Cuillerier, Françoise Goupil (one of only two women to have served as interpreters at the time), Robert Poitiers du Buisson and Louis-Hector Piot de Langloiserie were among those who interpreted for the courts. They were essentially settlers, milliners, traders and manufacturers, and only occasionally worked as interpreters. Today, they would be considered freelancers.

Military interpreters formed another category. These men were members of the regular forces and often held command posts. Among the better known were Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, Joseph Godefroy de Vieux Pont and François Hertel. In 1757, the army of the Marquis de Montcalm (1712–59), which had tried in vain to defend Québec against the troops of the British General James Wolfe (1727–59), included over 1,700 Indians from various tribes, and ten interpreters.

In 1682, the governor of New France and successor to Frontenac, Joseph-Antoine de La Barre, wrote: ‘One type of person who is indispensable to the service of the King in this country is the interpreter’ (Biron 1969: 253; translated). But the interpreter’s role was not limited to that of a language intermediary. In fact, these multilingual mediators, representatives of merchants and civil authorities to the tribes, also acted as guides, explorers, brokers, diplomats, ambassadors and advisers on Indian affairs. They formed a sort of buffer which helped to ease the culture shock that resulted from the encounter with the Indians. They had a deep understanding of the native way of thinking and demonstrated that true communication is achieved not at the superficial level of words, but rather through genuine interaction with the cultural, religious, economic and social institutions of a community. The understanding of others hinges more on what they are than on what they say. The interpreter who had the most influence over the Indians was the one who intimately understood the Indian soul. The Indians gave one of the interpreters from this period the nickname ‘double man’, while another was called ‘two times a man’, which indicates the extent to which the interpreters of early Canada were in tune with the Indian mentality.

**Translation under English rule (1760–1867)**

After the surrender of Montréal in 1760, and following the Treaty of Paris which gave control of the colonies to Britain in 1763, it was the turn of the English conquerors to organize the administration of Canada whose population had now grown to approximately 65,000. Brunet points out that ‘although the Conquest minimized the professional options for [French] Canadians, there is no doubt that it presented them with a new career opportunity, namely translation’ (1969: 24–5; translated). During the military rule (1760–64), English governors posted to Québec City, Trois-Rivières and Montréal appointed secretary-translators to translate into French (the language of the majority) the edicts and proclamations issued in English. Thanks to four
British officers who were descendants of French Huguenots (Cramahé in Québec City, Bruyères and Gugy in Trois-Rivières, and Maturin in Montréal), the French language enjoyed a semi-official status during these four transitional years. In 1764, the first year of civil government, *The Québec Gazette* made its début. It was the first bilingual newspaper in North America. Written in English and translated into French, this publication was used extensively for official government communications.

In 1767, Guy Carleton (1724–1808) replaced James Murray as governor and took up residence in Québec City. Sensitive to the needs of the French, he decided that it was essential to have the French laws and ordinances of the ‘old régime’ translated into English, a task the English magistrates declared to be beyond their abilities. Moreover, Carleton needed a French secretary to translate the new English proclamations and other official documents into French. The only Canadian who seemed capable of filling this dual role was the bilingual jurist François-Joseph Cugnet (1720–89). On 24 February 1768, Carleton appointed him ‘French Translator and Secretary to the Governor and Council’; the day before, the Council had decided that such a good and sufficient translator shall have an appointment of 5 shillings sterling per day. For twenty-one years, Cugnet was responsible for official translation in the Province of Québec. When he died, his son Jacques-François (1758–97) succeeded him. Subsequently, the post was filled in turn by Xavier de Lanaudière, Philippe Aubert de Gaspé and Edward Bowen.

Following the establishment of the parliamentary system in 1791 and the division of the Province of Québec into two colonies (Upper Canada and Lower Canada), the Legislative Assembly also acquired a translator in 1793. In accordance with the wishes of the mother country, laws were enacted in English, but French was allowed as a language of translation. As of 1809, the work was carried out by two translators, one for French and the other for English.

Interpreters, so many and so visible under French rule, did not disappear after the Conquest. The large trading companies still employed many interpreters for their negotiations with native suppliers. The North West Company alone had 68 interpreters in 1804; 56 were francophone and 12 anglophone. The following interpreters and missionaries played a central role in the exploration and colonization of the Western plains and the Northern territories: Peter Ballenden, the Reverend John McKay, Felix Monroe, Father Albert Lacombe (1827–1916), Jean L’Heureux, Louis Léveillé, the Reverend James Evans (1801–46), Jerry Potts (c.1837–96) and Peter Erasmus (1833–1931). If there were few bloody battles between white men and natives in West Canada, it was due, in large part, to the efforts of interpreters such as Peter Erasmus and Jerry Potts, who acted with diplomacy on behalf of missionaries, explorers, surveyors and law-enforcement officers.

In 1840, Upper and Lower Canada were united. Section 41 of the Act of Union made English the sole official language of the united Canada. This was a consequence of Lord Durham’s report of the previous year, which had advocated a policy of assimilating francophones in Lower Canada. Francophones were quick to react. On 18 September 1841, the Legislative Assembly of Canada passed a bill tabled by Étienne Parent (1802–74) which consisted of three sections. It provided for the translation into French, the printing and circulation of all legislation by the new Parliament and of all imperial laws relevant to Canadian affairs. Parent’s bill was entitled: *An Act to provide for the translation into the French language of the Laws of this Province, and for other purposes connected therewith*. It was the first bill to deal specifically with translation and to be adopted by a legislative body in Canada. In 1854, one of the translators of the Legislative Assembly, Antoine Gérin-Lajoie (1824–82), submitted to the speaker a plan for reorganizing the assembly’s translation bureaus. The plan provided for three subdivisions: laws, documents, and votes and proceedings. This organization of parliamentary translation services was to last for almost 100 years. Eugène-Philippe Dorion (1830–72) was another important figure in official translation immediately before and after Confederation in 1867. Appointed translator in the Assembly of the Province of Canada in 1855, Dorion was called upon to head its French translators’ bureau in 1859, a post that he held subsequently with the House of Commons in Ottawa until 1870. His contemporaries spoke highly of his knowledge of classical languages, as well as of
Canadian tradition

English, French and some Indian languages. He is believed to have improved the stylistic quality of legislation translated into French.

During British rule, official translators served as mediators between the English and the French: they provided a link between two peoples who were destined to co-exist in the same territory. At the crossroads of two legal traditions, civil law and common law, these translators were among the first to tackle the difficult task of expressing British law and institutions in French terms.

The years following Confederation (1867–)

Literary translation has not enjoyed a long tradition in Canada (see below). On the other hand, the translation of non-literary texts (administrative, commercial, technical and legal) has continued to flourish, primarily as a result of the language laws and policies adopted by various government institutions. For example, Section 133 of the British North America Act (1867) places French and English on an equal footing in the House of Commons and in federal and Québec courts. During the first half of the twentieth century, the most prominent figures in non-literary translation were Achille Fréchette (1847–1929), Léon Gérin (1863–1951) and Pierre Daviault (1899–1964).

In 1934, the Secretary of State, Charles H. Cahan (1861–1944), tabled a bill providing for the centralization of federal government translation services and the creation of a Translation Bureau that would bring together some 100 translators working in various government departments. Over the years, especially those following the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1963) and the adoption of the Official Languages Act (1969), the Bureau has grown enormously. In its fiftieth year of service, it comprised over 900 translators, 100 interpreters, 100 terminologists and 550 support staff. It served 150 client-bodies from Ottawa and a number of regional offices and had an annual budget of over $85 million. The Bureau as a whole translated approximately 300 million words per year. Its multilingual department translated approximately 20 million words per year from and into some 60 languages, and it contracted work out to a pool of 500 freelancers.

The competence of Canadian terminologists has been recognized throughout the world. They have devised a sound methodology for conducting terminological research, and have provided translators and language specialists with two increasingly effective computerized terminology banks. TERMIUM was developed by the Secretary of State and contains over one and a half million terms. The other bank, the BTQ, was created by the Gouvernement du Québec. Robert Dubuc, Marcel Paré, Pierre Auger, Nada Kerpan and Guy Rondeau have all played a vital role in the establishment of these terminology banks, and in the growth of the new profession of terminologist. Likewise, Québec’s Office de la langue française (OLF), founded in 1961, has been responsible for countless initiatives in the field of language management in Québec and the francization of business and industry in particular. The Office has also gained recognition for the numerous glossaries it has published.

While developing TERMIUM in the 1970s, the Translation Bureau became interested in machine translation. In 1976, the machine translation research group at the Université de Montréal (TAUM) presented the Bureau with the prototype of METEO. Since then, over 85 per cent of all Canadian weather reports have been translated by computer.

Canada’s Translation Bureau is not only the largest employer of translators and interpreters in the country, it also plays a vital role in implementing the policy of official bilingualism and multiculturalism (see Mossop 2006). The activities of the Bureau reflect broader national objectives related to the promotion of official languages. It should be noted, however, that over 85 per cent of all translation undertaken in Canada is from English into French, which raises the sensitive issue of the relative status of Canada’s two official languages.

The organization of the profession

Canada is a virtual paradise for translators; it is probably the place where the profession is most structured. In a country of barely 34 million people, there are at least 25 different associations of translators, interpreters or terminologists. If
we were to include the organizations that have disappeared since the first translators’ association was founded in 1919 (the Cercle des Traducteurs des Livres Bleus), the total would be at least thirty-five. Between 1919 and 1984, a new association of translators, interpreters or terminologists was formed, on average, every two years.

In 1989, the Ontario Provincial Legislature recognized translators, terminologists, conference interpreters and court interpreters certified by the Association of Translators and Interpreters of Ontario (ATIO) and allowed them to use the reserved titles certified translator, certified interpreter and certified terminologist after their names. This was a real breakthrough which was initiated by André Séguinot, Julien Marquis and Richard Fidler (members of the ATIO Executive at the time), and Jean Poirier (MPP and former translator). A year later, the Corporation of Translators and Interpreters of New Brunswick (CTINB) received official recognition. And finally, after more than twenty-five years of hard work, the former Société des Traducteurs du Québec (STQ) was also recognized and, in March 1992, became the CPTIAQ, a professional corporation with a reserved title for its members. It was renamed Ordre des traducteurs, terminologues et interprètes agréés du Québec (QTTIAQ) in 2000.

There are two reasons for the proliferation of translators’ associations. First, because professional associations fall under provincial jurisdiction, Canadian translators must organize themselves by province. Together, the associations make up the Canadian Translators, Terminologists and Interpreters Council (CTTIC), a national federation which represents Canada on international bodies such as the International Federation of Translators. The function of CTTIC is to coordinate the activities of the member societies and to set standards for governing the practice of translation. For example, CTTIC is responsible for organizing the national certification examination for translators, conference interpreters, court interpreters and terminologists.

The second reason for the proliferation of translators’ associations has to do with the increased level of specialization in the profession. Since the mid-1970s, there has been a marked tendency for translators to group themselves into associations which reflect their fields of interest. Apart from the provincial associations, there are associations for visual language interpreters, literary translators, and a Canadian Association of Schools of Translation (CAST), to name but a few. Other groups bring together translators who specialize in education, in health or who work in the pharmaceutical industry. Moreover, at the initiative of Judith Woodsworth, a learned society of translation scholars was also founded in 1987: the Canadian Association for Translation Studies (CATS), the first of its kind in the world. Its primary objective is to promote and disseminate research in translation and related fields.

**Publications**

Canada is not only the promised land in terms of professional associations, it is also a country where publications on translation abound. Since 1940, a new translation, interpreting or terminology periodical has been launched on average every two years. Well-known scholarly periodicals include *Meta* (1955–), which is published by the Presses de l’Université de Montréal, and *TTR* (1988–), the official journal of the Canadian Association for Translation Studies.

Just as translators’ associations have become increasingly specialized, so too have translation publications. This is true not only of periodicals but also of books. Until the 1960s, translators such as Sylva Clapin, Léon Gérin, Léon Lorrain, Pierre Daviault and Hector Carbonneau produced glossaries, vocabularies, bilingual dictionaries and works on usage. From 1970 onwards, a different type of book appeared on the market: the terminology and translation textbook. Authors include Irène de Buisséret (*Guide du traducteur*, 1972, revised and reprinted in 1975 as *Deux langues, six idiomes*); Geoffrey Vitale, Michel Sparer and Robert Larose (*Guide de la traduction appliquée*, I: 1978; II: 1980); Robert Dubuc (*Manuel pratique de terminologie*, 1978); Jean Delisle (*L’Analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction*, 1980, *La Traduction raisonnée*, 1993); Guy Rondeau (*Introduction à la terminologie*, 1981); Claude Bédard (*La Traduction technique*, 1986); Robert Larose (*Théories contemporaines de la traduction*, 1989). The history of translation is another field that seems to attract Canadian translation scholars, as
evidenced by the following titles: Louis G. Kelly (The True Interpreter, 1979); Paul A. Horguelin (Anthologie de la manière de traduire, 1981); Jean Delisle (Bridging the Language Solitudes, 1984; Translation in Canada, 1534–1984, 1987; The Language Alchemists, 1990); Annie Brisset (Sociocritique de la traduction. Théâtre et altérité au Québec, 1968–1988, 1990). The predominance of books on translation pedagogy in the above list indicates the importance that translator training has assumed in Canada since the late 1960s.

Training

Professional translation has been taught at the University of Ottawa since 1936, at McGill University in Montréal since 1943, and at the Université de Montréal since 1951. With the publication of their renowned Stylistique comparée du français et de l’anglais in 1958, Jean Darbelnet (1904–90) and Jean-Paul Vinay (1910–99) made a substantial contribution to translation pedagogy and have long since achieved international recognition for their work. They laid the groundwork for what Vinay himself called the ‘Canadian school of translation’ (Vinay 1958: 148). Translators and terminologists belonging to this school have shared a common tendency to focus on the concrete reality of language, rather than on abstract principles, and believe that ‘the primary goal of an adequate translation theory is to facilitate the act of translating’ (Vinay 1975: 17; translated).

In 1968, the translation section of the linguistics department at the Université de Montréal, chaired at the time by André Clas, offered the first full-time three-year programme leading to a degree in translation. Soon after, the degree became known as a BA Specialization (similar to an honours degree). Translation pedagogy flourished in the 1970s. Right across the country, but especially in Québec and Ontario, universities began to offer translator training programmes. Between 1968 and 1984, a new translation programme of one kind or another was launched every year, a new Bachelor’s programme every two years, and a new Master’s programme every four years.

The rapid growth of translator training since the late 1960s is reflected in numerous publications on teaching methods as well as a significant number of conferences devoted wholly, or in part, to this topic. On 5 November 1955, Canadian translators held their first general meeting in Montréal. Since that historic meeting, they have organized an average of three to five conferences, seminars or meetings annually.

The proliferation of professional associations, specialized publications, training programmes and conferences reflects the importance of translation in Canada. In addition, a true spirit of cooperation exists between professional associations, professional translators and university teachers of translation. This tripartite cooperation has led to the development of a variety of translation tools, machine translation systems and terminology banks. It has also resulted in translator training programmes that are better adapted to the needs of the market. Cooperation lies at the heart of the Canadian tradition and accounts for the current achievements of Canadian translators.

Literary translation

Although Canada is officially bilingual, the volume of literary translation is small compared to the mass of non-literary texts that are translated on a regular basis. According to the Index Translationum (1986), Holland publishes eleven times more literary translations than Canada, Sweden six times more, and Finland and Portugal twice as much. In Canada, there is a tendency to use the term ‘literary translation’ to refer not only to novels, poetry, essays and drama but also to works in the humanities and social sciences.

Literary translation as a genre made its debut around 1960: ‘Before 1960 no significant novel was translated’ (Stratford 1977: v). Prior to that time, Canada had produced no more than 60-odd titles (mainly accounts of French explorers and voyagers), half of which were translated and published elsewhere: in England, France or the United States. The relative success of literary translation since the 1960s can be attributed to the introduction of the Canada Council’s Translation Grants Programme in 1972, the increase in the number of Québec and English-Canadian publishing houses, and the foundation in 1975 of the Association of Literary
Translators, which gave literary translators what Philip Stratford called a ‘collective sense of identity’ (1977: viii). Few translators are able to make a living out of literary translation alone, even today. Most are academics, civil servants, journalists, salaried translators within corporations, or freelancers. One exception worthy of mention is Sheila Fischman (1937–), who has translated over thirty books into English. These included works by some of the best-known Québec authors, such as Anne Hébert, Marie-Claire Blais, Michel Tremblay, Jacques Poulin, Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, Yves Beauchemin and Roch Carrier. Fischman was awarded the C.M. (Member of the Order of Canada) on 27 April 2000 for her services to Canadian–French Literature.

Economic factors have contributed to the low volume of literary translation in Canada. The going rate for translators working in the commercial or administrative sector is twice the maximum rate paid by the Canada Council. Initially a mere 5 cents per word, this rate was still only 10 cents per word in 1993. Nevertheless, the Council’s Translation Grants Programme has encouraged many publishers to launch translation collections. The Montréal-based publishing house Le Cercle du Livre de France (known today as les Éditions Pierre Tisseyre) was the first to launch such a series, in 1973, under the title Collection des Deux Solitudes (after Hugh MacLennan’s novel Two Solitudes, 1945). The two solitudes refer to Canada’s two main language groups, Francophones and Anglophones, who live side by side without really understanding one another. One of the specific objectives of the federal grants programme is to enable Canadians to become better acquainted with the other solitude through literature. In 1989, the publishing house Québec-Amérique launched a new series of translations called Littérature d’Amérique. Les éditions Boréal also publishes translated works. English literary translations have been published primarily by the following smaller presses: Harvest House, House of Anansi, New Press, Porcépic, Exile, Coach House, Talonbooks, Tundra, Guernica and NC Library.

Only two English–Canadian plays were translated prior to 1970, and very few have been translated since then. This can be explained by the activity of Québec playwrights, whose works are promptly translated into English, and also by the preference within Québec theatre circles for American, British, Russian or Italian plays. Influenced by the new style of drama introduced by Michel Tremblay in 1968, growing nationalist sentiment, and the enhanced status of a typically Québécois language, translators who adapt works for the theatre began to naturalize foreign plays. The characters of Shakespeare, Chekhov, O’Neill, Lorca, Brecht or Goldoni were made to speak Québécois. Instead of self-effacing translations which aim to provide access to the foreign work, these adaptations provided a means of expressing the specificity of Québec (Brisset 1990).

And finally, where types of literary translation are concerned, it is impossible to ignore the intense, original, even avant-garde approach of feminist translators. These translators meet frequently at conferences and seminars. They work closely with the authors they translate and publish bilingual editions or special issues of magazines such as Tessera. The works they translate are all firmly rooted in feminist ideology, and the translations are carried out primarily from French into English. Québec novelists, poets or feminist thinkers such as Nicole Brossard, Loupy Bersianik, Lise Gauvin, France Théoret, Madeleine Gagnon and Jovette Marchessault are translated by their English-Canadian counterparts. Susanne de Lotbinière-Harwood (1991), Barbara Godard, Kathy Mezei, Marlene Wildeman, Fiona Strachan, Yvonne Klein and Gail Scott are leading representatives of the feminist approach to translation in Canada.

On the whole, the number of translated literary books doubled every five years during the 1970s. Until the 1980s, almost twice as many literary translations (in the strict sense of the term) were made from French into English than vice versa. In 1977, for example, the statistics were as follows: F→E: 380 titles; E→F: 190. Five years later, the gap had narrowed: F→E: 550 titles; E→F: 400. Three-quarters of all Canadian literary translations have appeared since 1972, and more than 80 per cent of these translations were subsidized.

In 1974, the Canada Council established a prize of $2,500 to be awarded each year to two outstanding translations: one French and one English. This prize, whose value doubled to
Chinese tradition

Chinese, a Sino-Tibetan language, is an official language of the United Nations and is spoken by more people than any other language in the world. It is the official language of the People’s Republic of China and Taiwan, one of the official languages in Hong Kong and Singapore, and is spoken by a large section of the population in Thailand, Malaysia and Vietnam.

The Chinese language of high antiquity, which goes back to the first millennium BC, has remained accessible to educated speakers of Chinese by virtue of having been recorded in the form of characters, i.e. ideographs. Unlike a phonetic script, ideographs are not affected by phonological evolution and are therefore largely immune to change. Inevitably, however, the spoken language developed along its own lines, and the gap between the written and spoken word grew wider and wider. By the time a literature in the vernacular emerged, the spoken form was already quite distinct from classical Chinese. The vernacular did not replace classical Chinese as the medium of formal written discourse until the first half of the nineteenth century.

Classical Chinese is characterized by

(a) its high density, often compared to the style of telegrams,
(b) its grammatical versatility, whereby the same character can function as a noun, verb, adjective or adverb,
(c) its sparing use of tense and number, and
(d) its tonality, a feature which is particularly relevant in literary composition and hence in literary translation.

These characteristics have traditionally led to wide differences in interpretation, particularly evident in the case of translation. The vernacular language, now known as Mandarin or putonghua, is heavily polysyllabic, has more definite word classes, and makes much more use of grammatical markers, though by no means as extensively or obligatorily as, say, French or German. Translation from European languages, predominantly English, has progressively brought modern Chinese closer to those languages, at least in terms of writing styles.

A vast country with scores of regional languages, China has probably witnessed translation and interpreting activities since the first tribal battle or produce-exchange. Early historical works such as the first-century BC Records of the Grand Historian contain many references to translation in the context of diplomacy and commerce. As early as the Zhou Dynasty, in the ninth century BC, there were special government officials in charge of interpreting and translation work; their titles varied according to the group of languages they covered. An integral part of protocol, they were always present at meetings with foreign emissaries. The term for a government interpreter of this period

Further reading

JEAN DELISLE

Translated from French by Sara C. Lott.
Chinese tradition

was sheren, literally 'tongues-man'. The current Chinese word for 'translation', yi, forms the basis for the official title adopted since the Han Dynasty (195 BC–7 AD): yiguan or yishi, literally 'translation official'. Historical records also show that during the Han Dynasty, translators/interpreters (yizhang) were routinely employed by merchants on their long trips to Southeast Asia and India; they were also present in the merchant caravans bound for states such as Bactria to the north-west of China. During the Tang Dynasty (618–906), a period in which cultural exchanges between China and her neighbouring states reached new heights, a considerable number of foreigners who lived in China were employed as government interpreters and were allowed to accompany Chinese officials on diplomatic missions.

In the three thousand years from the Zhou Dynasty to the present, the bread-and-butter of the Chinese translator's work has always been in government and commerce. There are extant poetry translations dating back to at least the fourth century BC, but these early literary translations were mostly recorded as part of the experience of various diplomatic missions. There have been periods, however, when translation played a crucial role in China's cultural and social development, going far beyond the confines of government and commerce. The most significant of these periods relate to the translation of Buddhist scriptures, the work of Christian missionaries, the political and cultural events leading to the May Fourth Movement, and the emergence of the People's Republic of China and subsequent contact with European countries. But translation and interpreting have also had a role to play in China outside of such peak periods and, apart from the major languages involved in those periods, a significant number of Chinese books have been translated from the eleventh century onwards into such languages as Mongolian, Western Xia, Manchurian and Japanese.

Translation of Buddhist scriptures

The first wave of translation activities in China came in the wake of the spread of Buddhism. By the mid second century AD, the first Chinese translations of Buddhist sutras had been undertaken (though some sources put the year as early as AD 70). This marked the beginning of a massive translation movement, often sponsored by the government, which lasted for nine centuries. Given the time span and the number of translators involved, translation methods and approaches did not remain static; even the cultural and linguistic background of the translators changed considerably over the centuries.

The translation of Buddhist sutras from Sanskrit into Chinese can be divided roughly into three phases: Eastern Han Dynasty and the Three Kingdoms Period (c.148–265); Jin Dynasty and the Northern and Southern Dynasties (c.265–589); and Sui Dynasty, Tang Dynasty and Northern Song Dynasty (c.589–1100).

During the first phase, the translators were monks from Central Asia and Xinjiang: the majority were respected for their religious knowledge, but their command of the Chinese language was very poor. Monks like Parthamasiris from Parthia (the first translator of Buddhist sutras into Chinese), said to have achieved a fair command of Chinese not long after his arrival in the country, were few and far between. This linguistic disadvantage is reflected in the translations produced during this period: although the foreign monks had the assistance of their Chinese pupils or counterparts, many of the translations still read awkwardly. Moreover, a large number of the early Chinese Buddhist translations were not based on Indian texts, but were indirect translations via sources in the monk-translator's mother tongue.

The early translation method reflected the strength and weakness of these translators, as well as the emphasis placed on theological accuracy. Translation Forums, or yichang, were set up, with a highly revered Buddhist monk as Chief Translator (yizhu). The foreign monk's task was that of explaining in detail the precise meaning of the texts. Under the foreign monk were one or more interpreters (duyu or chuanyu) conversant with the monk's language; their task was to interpret the monk's explication into Chinese. In the audience were scores, sometimes hundreds, of Chinese monks and lay scholars who recorded in note form the foreign monk's explication. The Chinese translation was then compiled by the Recorder (bishou) – the person responsible for writing down the interpreter's words in Chinese.
The process involved consulting not just the Recorder’s own notes, but also notes taken by others in the audience. The three steps of interpreting, recording and checking were the basis for all Translation Forum work. It is obvious that the forums were not only meant to produce Buddhist texts in Chinese, but were also a kind of intensive seminar on Buddhist sutras, and it was not unusual for the Chinese text and a detailed annotation to be produced simultaneously. Because of the strong theological emphasis, the foreign monk – despite his lack of knowledge of the target language – was always billed as the Translator, while the person who did the actual writing in Chinese was credited as the Recorder.

The second phase of sutra translation was marked by the officiation of prominent foreign monks (some directly from the Indian subcontinent) who had learned Chinese, and who were thus able to deliver a verbal Chinese translation of the texts in the Translation Forum without the assistance of an interpreter. Their verbal translations were put into writing by the Recorder, who then checked the written texts directly with the monk-translator. One of the most respected and productive monk-translators was Kumārajiva (344–413). Kumārajiva became a monk at the age of seven, when his mother, an Indian princess, decided to take the monastic vow. At twenty, he was a renowned teacher of the Larger Vehicle school of Buddhism. As a result of his fame, Kumārajiva was captured by the Chinese army which invaded his country, and he learned Chinese as a captive. He was assigned the task of translating Buddhist sutras, assisted by some 800 monks, and produced over 300 volumes. It was after the arrival of Kumārajiva in China (AD 401) that detailed records were kept of the number of participants in the Translation Forums. The scale of forums presided over by Kumārajiva was particularly grand, frequently numbering over 3,000 participants; the norm for attendance at forums held by other monks seems to have been in the hundreds rather than thousands. Not every foreign monk active in this period, however, had mastered the Chinese language; some still relied completely on interpreters during forum sessions. Moreover, one cannot presume the existence of a written text as a basis for translation. Buddhist sutras were often learned verbally and memorized by the monks, who first recited the sutra in Sanskrit in the Translation Forum, and then proceeded to translate and interpret it in Chinese. In such cases, a Sanskrit version was recorded during the same forum as the Chinese version.

The third phase of sutra translation showed a marked departure from previous practices in that the processes of theological explication and translation became separated. The size of Translation Forums was reduced dramatically – normally no more than three dozen monks were involved. This is true of all forums held from the late sixth century onwards, including those presided over by the most prolific monk-translator in Chinese history, Xuán Zàng (602–64; original name Chen Wei), who rendered over 1,300 volumes of sutras into Chinese. Zàng became a monk at the age of thirteen. At that time the sutras were open to extremely diverse interpretations, and Xuán Zàng vowed that he would travel to where Buddhism originated to learn the truth. He left the Chinese capital Cháng’ān in 621 and did not return until 645. The twenty-five years of his itinerary were spent visiting major temples on his way to India and in the various subcontinental states, where he learnt Sanskrit and studied the most important Buddhist sutras under the guidance of renowned monks. Xuán Zàng devoted the remaining twenty years of his life to translating Buddhist sutras into Chinese; he also established basic translation rules which were followed by many monk-translators who came after him. Many of his translations, such as the ‘Heart Sutra’, are still used by Chinese Buddhists today.

One major reason for the new translation practice was the increased linguistic and theological expertise of Chinese monks. Whereas almost anyone could join the old-style Translation Forums, the third-phase forums were highly selective: only monks or lay officials with special abilities were allowed to take part; all except those directly involved in the translation work were forbidden to enter the forum premises. Each participant was assigned a special duty, and the number of specialized posts increased to nine. Of these, the Polisher (runwen) was usually a government official noted for his literary ability; other posts were normally filled by monks. In the Song Dynasty (c.984), the government at one point established a Sanskrit school, recruiting some dozen pupils...
from various monasteries with the intention of fostering a new generation of Buddhist translators. However, the decline of Buddhism in India as well as a change in government policy led to a rapid decline in Buddhist translation activities towards the 1050s. The days of the Translation Forums were over, and the Buddhist translations done after this period were the works of individuals rather than the collective efforts of a unique translation establishment.

Sutra translation provided a fertile ground for the practice and discussion of different translation approaches. Generally speaking, translations produced in the first phase were word-for-word renderings adhering closely to source language syntax. This was probably due not only to the lack of bilingual ability amongst the forum participants, but also to a belief that the sacred words of the enlightened should not be tampered with. In addition to contorted target language syntax, transliteration was used very liberally, with the result that the translations were fairly incomprehensible to anyone without a theological grounding. The second phase saw an obvious swing towards what many contemporary Chinese scholars call yiyi (free translation, for lack of a better term). Syntactic inversions were smoothed out according to target language usage, and the drafts were polished to give them a high literary quality. Kumararjiva was credited as a pioneer of this approach. In extreme cases, the polishing might have gone too far, and there are extant discussions of how this affected the original message. During the third phase, the approach to translation was to a great extent dominated by Xuan Zang, who had an excellent command of both Sanskrit and Chinese, and who advocated that attention should be paid to the style of the original text: literary polishing was not to be applied to simple and plain source texts. He also set down rules governing the use of transliteration, and these were adopted by many of his successors.

Missionaries and translation in China

The second wave of translation activities was also related to religious activities, in particular those of Jesuit missionaries who arrived in China in the late sixteenth century. The Jesuits, notably Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), who set up the first mission station in mainland China, decided that the best way to spread the gospels was to cultivate China’s educated class. To this end, a large number of scientific works were translated into Chinese for circulation among scholars and government officials. Such works gained for the Jesuits a high respect from the government and the emperors, and as a result facilitated their missionary work. Missionary translation activities started shortly after Ricci arrived in China in 1583 and continued into the late seventeenth century. The missionaries active in China during that period numbered at least seventy, all of whom produced translations: some were direct translations, others were compilations based on existing Western works. Of the 300-plus titles produced by the missionaries, over a third dealt with various branches of science.

Missionary translation activities had several characteristics. First, a number of missionaries were actually appointed to the Chinese court, or were granted special favours by the emperors for their services in the field of science. Second, many of the books were commissioned with specific purposes in mind. A typical example was the large number of books on astronomy translated from 1628 to 1635 by Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1519–1666) and Jacobus Rho (1593–1638) for the Ming government, which was in the process of revamping the Chinese calendar. Third, collaboration between missionaries and Chinese government officials was common; many works were co-translations. Some Jesuits enjoyed a particularly close relationship with a number of converted Ming Dynasty Chinese officials such as Xu Guangqi (1562-1633), Yang Tingjun (1557–1627) and Li Zhizao (1565–1630). The books on astronomy translated by Schall and Rho, for instance, were all polished by Xu.

The scientific works translated jointly by the missionaries and Chinese scholars/officials fall into the following major categories:

(a) Mathematics: the pioneering work being Euclid’s Elements, with the first six chapters translated by Ricci and Xu. Other notable works include those of Archimedes and Pardies, and the Qing emperor Kangxi is said to have taken part in the translation of works by Pardies;
(b) **Astronomy**: Schall, who was commissioned by both the Ming and the Qing governments to assist in the preparation of the new calendar, was the most prolific translator in this category;  

(c) **Geography**: mostly in the form of annotated maps. Individual works on mineral resources and mining were also translated, notably Agricola’s *De re metallica*;  

(d) **Physics**: including such topics as hydraulic, mechanical and civil engineering. The best known title is *Qiqi tushou* (Illustrated Book of Miraculous Equipments), an amalgamation of materials gleaned from various European publications;  

(e) **Religion**: the first extant translation of sections of the Bible was by Jean Bassett (1662–1702). The first translation of the Old and New Testaments into vernacular Mandarin was done by the Jesuit P. L. De Poirot (1735–1814). There were also several translations of the *Imitatio Christi* as well as translations of Catholic catechisms.  

After the Papal suppression of the Society of Jesus, many Jesuits stayed on in China. Even when the government turned against them, they were protected by officials and Chinese converts and were generally able to continue with their translation and missionary work; a number of them continued to serve the Qing government. Jean François Gerbillon (1656–1730) and Thomas Pereira (1645–1708), for example, were appointed special Latin interpreters to a diplomatic mission to Nercinsk, Russia in 1689. The Jesuits, and later other missionaries, did not engage in one-way translation but were also instrumental in bringing the Chinese classics, and therefore Chinese philosophy, to Europe. Ricci translated the ‘Four Books’ (*Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Confucian Analects* and *Mencius*) into Latin, while Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628) translated the ‘Five Classics’ (*Book of Songs*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Changes*, *Book of Rites*, and *The Spring and Autumn Annals*), also into Latin. Some of the titles in the ‘Books’ and ‘Classics’ were later retranslated by missionaries active in the Qing Dynasty. This led to heightened interest in Europe in all things Chinese, particularly in the seventeenth century.  

**The end of empire**  

In the early nineteenth century the trading incursions of the European powers, backed by military might, grew too insistent to be ignored by the Peking government, and Lin Zexu (1785–1850) was despatched to Canton in 1838 to put the foreigners in their place. It was his insight that ‘in order to control the foreigners we have to master their arts’ that prompted the first official team of translators (four men schooled abroad) to tackle the English language. They translated excerpts from the local foreign press, such as the *Canton Register* (started 1827) and *Canton Press* (started 1835), and various English pamphlets on Chinese matters and international law. Their main achievement was *Haiguo tuzhi* (Geography of the Maritime Nations), published in 1844 and based on Murray’s *Encyclopaedia of Geography* (1834).  

Lin’s mission eventually proved a failure, and after a series of military defeats the Manchu rulers agreed to found a College of Languages (*Tongwen guan*) in Peking in 1862. Students, first admitted in 1867, followed an eight-year course in languages – initially English, then French, Russian and German – and natural and social sciences. Their primary role was in the field of diplomacy, but the College also translated and published books on law, politics and natural sciences. Their efforts in the field of law were the most substantial: law books translated included Wheaton’s *International Law*, the *Code Napoléon*, and Bluntschi’s *International Law*.  

In the south, the Jiangnan Arsenal set up its own translation bureau in Shanghai in 1865. It both complemented and rivalled the Peking *Tongwen guan*, concentrating on technical manuals but also extending its scope to embrace a broad spectrum of Western sciences. The bureau was responsible for Chinese translations of standard Western works like Herschel’s *Outline of Astronomy*, J. D. Dana’s *System of Mineralogy* (1872) and Charles Lyell’s *Principles of Geology* (1873). Both the Peking and Shanghai bureaus employed foreign experts who had learned some Chinese, and several of them became known in their own countries as ‘China hands’. The normal translation procedure was for the foreign experts to translate and explain verbally to Chinese collaborators, who took their words down and made a draft version.
Their manuscripts were then polished and improved stylistically by often monolingual Chinese scholars without further reference to the original. A number of Chinese translators employed by the bureaus, such as Li Shanlan (1810–82), were scientists in their own right and were therefore able to collaborate with the foreign experts as equals. The works by Herschel, Dana and Lyell were produced by such partnerships and had a long life as college textbooks.

Technical and scientific terms posed a particular problem. John Fryer, who served at the Jiangnan Arsenal for over twenty years, from 1867, explained their modus operandi (Xiong Yuezhi 1994: 497): first a check was made to see if a term was in the existing literature or in use in trade circles; if not, a translation was invented, either by concocting a new character, borrowing a disused one, or by coining a descriptive term (for example ‘nourishing gas’ for oxygen or ‘light gas’ for hydrogen), or by using polysyllabic phonetic representation. The invented term was then entered into a dictionary for later standardization. Despite this attempt at system, variation was rife.

The above institutions, and several more besides, were set up and run by Chinese officials. Alongside them, the missionary bodies were also active. Apart from religious texts, they also translated and published works of general educational interest. The first to be set up was the London Mission Press in Shanghai in 1843. The most productive was the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese, established in Shanghai in 1887. By 1903 they were said to have published around 250 books. Their translation procedures were similar to those employed by the official bureaus, but their technical books in particular suffered from the explicator’s lack of expertise and his Chinese collaborator’s lack of understanding, and the majority of them were dismissed by Ma Jianzhong (1845–1900), the eminent Chinese linguist, as unreadable or unintelligible.

The third force in the translation of Western works was neither official nor foreign. It emerged in the 1890s and was composed of native intellectuals and spearheaded by political reformists, the best known of them being Kang Youwei (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao (1873–1929). To impress upon their compatriots the need to struggle if they did not wish to perish, they introduced the ominous lessons of other empires in world history (all previously unknown to the ethnocentric Chinese); they also undertook translations in the fields of politics and sociology as a way of ensuring national survival. By now, the leading intellectuals had realized that Western thought and skills had to be made their own. Not only the focus but the channel of translation shifted; Japanese became the chief source language, both for original works in that language and also for Japanese translations of Western works. The reasons were simple: Japan was a generation ahead of China in its absorption of Western knowledge and culture, and written Japanese used Chinese characters. Liang Qichao estimated that it took five to six years for a Chinese to gain a reading knowledge of European languages, but only months to acquire an elementary understanding of Japanese. The drawbacks of translating from Japanese were that it was often based on only this elementary grounding in the language, and that it added another filter for the original message to pass through, assuming, as was frequently the case, that the Japanese translation was based on an English translation of an original in another language.

The reformists were very much involved in the rapid growth of independent publishing houses in the period 1895–1900. Their newspapers and magazines carried translations of items from the foreign press, and published in instalments translations of longer works. The most prestigious of the newspapers were the Shiwu bao (The Times) in Shanghai, edited by Liang Qichao, and the Guowen bao (National Register) in Tientsin, edited by Yan Fu (1853–1921). Yan Fu’s translation of Thomas Huxley’s long essay ‘Evolution and Ethics’ was first published in the Guowen bao in 1897 before being issued in book form under the title Tianyan lun (On Evolution).

This book was a milestone in Chinese translation history, both because its content (it popularized Social Darwinism) and style took the educated world by storm, and because Yan Fu laid down in his preface the three desiderata for translation that have been quoted ever since, namely Faithfulness, Communicability and Elegance. Elegance derived from the language of classical antiquity as the medium of trans-
Undoubtedly the right choice for its time, because Yan Fu had to win over the educated class who revered antiquity, the term has since been interpreted as 'readability'. Yan's desiderata have been useful as general guidelines, but his preface is not the theoretical treatise it was later made out to be. He made no attempt to define any of his terms or follow a logical progression. In his preface as well as his translations he cultivated elegance.

Yan Fu set new standards by the depth of his understanding of the English language (he had spent three years in England as a naval cadet) and the breadth of his knowledge (he appended extensive commentaries to his translations), but his 'On Evolution' was not, and did not claim to be, a strict translation. Apart from being a loose rendering of the original, it incorporated some observations by Yan Fu himself. Yan went on to translate J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer and Montesquieu in the same vein. After 1903, however, he swung towards literal translation, frequently revising his translations to ensure closer correspondence to the original. This had the negative effect of reducing intelligibility. In his last translations, from 1908 onwards, he reversed direction again, freely substituting material of his own for the original expositions. Thus Yan embodied in a single career the main translation trends of his age.

If Yan Fu can be considered the main translation figure in the field of philosophy and social science, the prize for fiction has to go to Lin Shu (1852–1924), his almost exact contemporary, and also from the coastal city of Fuzhou. Culturally an orthodox scholar, Lin Shu's first venture into translation was fortuitous: it is said that it was the recent death of his wife, in 1897, that made him sympathetic to the sad story of Marguerite in Dumas' *La Dame aux camélias* and led him to cooperate with his friend Wang Shouchang in translating the novel. Lin Shu knew no foreign languages; he composed into classical Chinese what Wang translated to him orally. Considerable care, however, was given to revising the draft by Wang and Wei Han. The publication of 'The life and death of the Parisian lady of the camellias' in 1899 was an instant success. Those who bought, read and praised it had no way of judging whether or not it was a good translation; they simply responded to the beauty of the writing. The story of a beautiful young woman dying a tragic death contributed to its popularity, as this line had always gone down well in China; the more abandoned she was the better. In 1901, Lin's translation of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published under the title 'The Black Slave Appeals to Heaven'; he had Wei Yi as collaborator and they were to form a lasting partnership. By 1911 (the year of the Republican revolution) Lin had translated over fifty books, and more than a hundred more were to come before he died; he worked with many collaborators, over twenty in all, translating from English and French. Interestingly, the actual translators were completely overshadowed by the 'rewrite man'. Nevertheless, Lin Shu's translations undoubtedly owed their popularity to his skill with words, and also to his discrimination: the leading contemporary scholar Qian Zhongshu has testified that despite their omissions and mistakes, the Lin Shu translations (he was referring particularly to Dickens and Montesquieu) have more wit and feeling than more 'faithful' renditions which were published later. Lin was inclined to expand on emotive passages and cut description. He also contributed enthusiastic prefaces and analyses of the chief virtues of the original works, which no doubt increased their impact. The younger generation which later overthrew the tradition that Lin Shu held dear and discarded the use of the classical Chinese in which he excelled admitted that they were engrossed in and indeed enraptured by his translations. His vast output included several works that have enjoyed lasting esteem, among them works by Dumas, Dickens, Balzac, Defoe, Scott, Cervantes, Conan Doyle, as well as many contemporary best-sellers and potboilers: he rendered into Chinese whatever came to hand. He also did not maintain a consistent quality: most critics agree that the quality of his writing deteriorated seriously after the revolution of 1911.

Though Lin Shu used classical Chinese to translate/rewrite long novels, the customary medium for that genre in China was the vernacular (Mandarin). For creative fiction the vernacular remained the dominant medium, indeed the trend was reinforced by the desire of reformist authors to put their message across to the masses. Some translators also adopted the vernacular, particularly in the early 1900s;
however, either because they found the style too verbose, were inexperienced in using it, or assumed that the readership for translations did not consist of the masses, the standard medium until the May Fourth Movement (1919) remained a relatively simple form of literary Chinese.

All the while, however, a cultural revolution was brewing, the most obvious manifestation of which was the use of Mandarin in all kinds of writing, rather than just writing designed for entertainment. Thus it was no coincidence that the Mandarin version of the complete Union Bible was also published in 1919 (see Wickeri 1995). If anything, the Bible translators were under greater democratic pressure than the new generation of cultural reformers to use a written language that reflected ordinary speech. The Wenli (i.e. classical language) Union Bible published in the same year soon receded from view, whereas the Mandarin version survived to become the standard text for Chinese Christians.

The twentieth century onwards

The May Fourth Movement, with its agenda of ‘installing’ a new culture in China, naturally accelerated the importation of Western writings in both original and translated forms. Previous translations, though produced in considerable numbers, had proceeded randomly in terms of choice of material. The new generation of intellectuals, almost all of whom seem to have engaged in translation, some on a massive scale, were much better educated in foreign cultures by virtue of having studied abroad or attended missionary schools in China; they were able to concentrate on works which enjoyed recognition in their own countries. The various vernacular language magazines that sprang up all had their own bias, but between them they more or less covered the map of the civilized world. It has been estimated that literary works from over thirty countries were translated in the 1920s, with the English-speaking countries significantly dropping down the league table to a position below Russia and France, on account of their conservatism (Chen Yugang 1989:95).

Political motivations also lay behind the increase in the translation of Soviet and other revolutionary literature in the 1930s, when the Chinese Communist Party transferred its emphasis from armed uprising to propaganda. The liberal left continued with its own programme of work, however, with perhaps the best expression of its aspirations being the launching in 1935 of the grand plan for a World Library, intended to encompass the ancient, medieval and modern literature of all major countries. The nation’s top translators were recruited, and under the general editorship of Zheng Zhenduo (1898–1958) in Shanghai the Library published in 1935–6 over 100 classics from a dozen different countries. It is important to stress that most of the best creative writers of the age lent their skills to translation, which provided a guarantee of very readable products.

In the 1930s, the debate over translation principles that had begun in the 1920s rumbled on, the poles of contention as ever being ‘fidelity’ vs. ‘licence’. In addition to the standard argument in support of fidelity, namely that the native features of the source text ought to be retained, there now emerged the additional, target-oriented objective of appropriating from European languages through translation wording and grammatical devices that the Chinese language was said to be in need of. This view was favoured by leftists who had the jargon of Soviet ideologues to contend with: with intelligent rephrasing being formidably difficult, they were – not surprisingly – inclined to mirror the original wording. The majority however gave more weight to the aesthetics of the Chinese language. Among those who argued the case for aesthetic licence was Lin Yutang (1895–1976), who translated more from Chinese into English than the other way round. There had been a few pioneers of Chinese–English translation around the turn of the century, like Su Manshu (1884–1918) and Gu Hongming (1857–1928), but it was not until the 1930s that the traffic in this direction was of any consequence.

The war with Japan, which broke out in 1937, disrupted large projects such as the World Library, but individual efforts were still very fruitful. Many nineteenth-century European novels were ably translated or re-translated, but perhaps the noblest effort of the war period was that of Zhu Shenghao (1912–44), who literally gave his life to translating the complete plays of Shakespeare. Born and educated in China's
Zhejiang province and accepted into Zhijiang University at the age of seventeen, where he read Chinese literature and English. Zhu graduated in 1921 and joined the Book Company in Shanghai as an English editor. At the age of twenty-three he started translating The Tempest into Chinese, with the understanding that the World Book Company would publish his complete translations of Shakespearean plays. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War shattered Zhu's translation schedule; his manuscripts were destroyed when he escaped from Japanese-occupied Shanghai. Zhu later returned to the Shanghai foreign concessions to resume his translation work, only to find himself on the run from the Japanese again with the outbreak of World War II, and his manuscripts were again destroyed. In failing health and stricken circumstances, Zhu worked on his translations of Shakespeare until his death in December 1944. He translated a total of thirty-one plays, all of which were published posthumously. Zhu's translations were in prose; his goal was intelligibility without simplification and, above all, speakability. His Complete Plays was published as a set in 1947, and reissued, with supplements, as The Complete Works of Shakespeare in 1978.

Following in his footsteps, Liang Shiqiu (1902–87) also translated the complete works of Shakespeare single-handed in Taiwan, in a more scholarly vein. Born and educated in Beijing before leaving for the United States to study at the universities of Colorado, Harvard and Columbia, Liang returned to China in 1926 with an MA in English literature and started lecturing at a number of Chinese universities, including Peking University. It was at this time that he started work on rendering the complete works of Shakespeare into Chinese, a task which took him half a century to complete. At the time of the Communist takeover in 1949, Liang left mainland China for Taiwan, where he continued his academic and translation work. Besides translating the complete plays and sonnets of Shakespeare (37 volumes) and other literary works, Liang was also the compiler of an English–Chinese dictionary. Another dedicated translator was Fu Lei (1908–66), best known for his translations of Balzac into rich and vibrant Chinese.

Under the People's Republic, the Soviet Union was the chief source of works for translation to begin with, but the literature of the Third World (Asia, Africa and Latin America) came to enjoy unprecedented attention. At the same time, the translation of Chinese works into other languages was stepped up through the agency of the Foreign Languages Press (set up in 1950), where native translators worked together with foreign experts. Perhaps the highest level of attention was lavished on The Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong), but a great many ancient and modern classics were also translated into several European languages. The doyens of translation into English were Yang Hsien-yi (Yang Xianyi) and Gladys Yang. After the cultural famine of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966–76), there was an explosion during the 1980s (particularly 1982–6) in the translation of foreign works, right across the board from academic treatises to best-sellers, mainly from English. The quality of these translations has been uneven. The tide of published translations subsided noticeably in the late 1980s because of the financial as well as political constraints faced by publishers.

The state-supported Translators Association of China was set up in 1982 and publishes the bi-monthly 'Chinese Translators Journal' (in Chinese).

Training

The first extant record of a national school of foreign languages in Chinese history is of the National Academy of Persian (Huihui guozi xue), set up during the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty in China. Students were recruited from the upper classes of society and trained to be government translators and interpreters of Persian, which was the most important foreign language for the Mongols outside China in terms of their trade and military activities. There are no extant records of the academy's syllabus. The College of Languages, set up by the Manchu government in 1862, was the first multilingual Chinese academy devoted to the training of European language experts and translators. It offered English, French and Russian streams in an eight-year course covering Chinese and foreign languages, translation and such subjects as world history and geography, mathematics, international law, astronomy and economics. German was introduced in 1888 and Japanese in 1898. There
Czech tradition

Czech is a West Slavonic language. Typologically, it is an inflecting language whose word-endings perform a variety of functions and in which word order usually plays a grammatical role. These characteristics are shared by the closest West Slavonic neighbour of Czech, namely Slovak.

Czech written records go back to the tenth century. Between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, the language underwent a rapid development. Literary Czech crystallized on the basis of fourteenth-century Central Bohemian dialects. It was significantly influenced by the work of the Czech thinker and religious reformer Jan Hus (born c.1372, burnt at the stake 1415), who was Rector of Prague University. Lexical codification of the language took place in the sixteenth century. The modern language shows an internal stratification into literary Czech (universally used in writing and, in a spoken form, in public communication) and conversational Czech, with original local dialects having coalesced into interdialects. The most widespread of these is known as *obecná čeština* or 'common Czech'. The spoken form of literary Czech has now adopted some of the features of *obecná čeština* and is consequently showing greater flexibility than standard literary Czech.

The Middle Ages

The earliest written evidence of interlingual contact on the territory of the present Czech Republic consists of Old Slavonic translations from Greek, dating from the second half of the ninth century. These are preserved largely in fragments and suggest that the Byzantine culture had some influence in the area, though this influence does not seem to have lasted long.

Latin became the principal cultural medium around the eleventh century and, consequently, the main source language in translation. The kinds of text translated during this period were primarily ecclesiastical and liturgical, but some texts on Church law were also translated.

Typical of the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are free adaptations of Latin legendary and apocryphal material, such as the apocryphal legend of Judas. Czech hagiography of the period was also greatly influenced by a collection of the lives of the saints known as *Legenda aurea*. Also dating back to this period is a Czech version of the *Alexandreis*, a poem...
Czech tradition

consisting of ten books in hexameter written around 1180 and attributed to Gaultier de Lille. The Czech version is based on a Latin translation of a French text and perhaps also on a German version produced in Bohemia.

From the thirteenth century onward, as interest in German culture spread among the Czech nobility, German epics of chivalry began to be translated. These were serious epics which portrayed chivalry as a noble pursuit. In the second half of the fourteenth century, translation turned to German texts of entertaining rather than serious tales of chivalry, mainly medieval Celtic and German themes with amorous motifs. From the 1360s onward, prose translations also began to be made of various genres of spiritual epic texts, with German as the main source language still. These were biblical and apocryphal stories, eschatological subjects, so-called 'hell novels' about the struggle between the Devil and God. Trojanánská kronika ('The Trojan Chronicle'), a Czech translation and adaptation of the Latin Historia Troiana by Quido de Columna, was the first printed book in Czech (c.1470). The most important Czech translator of the second half of the fourteenth century was Tomáš Štítný ze Štítného (c.1333–1409), who translated religious and philosophical literature from Latin.

The age of humanism and Counter-Reformation (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries)

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed a turning point in the development of the Czech language. Archaic structural elements were abandoned and Czech orthography was modernized. As a result of reformist endeavours, Latin also ceased to be the exclusive liturgical language around the beginning of the fifteenth century and liturgical texts in Czech translation began to be introduced into the Order of Service. During the first decade of the fifteenth century, further Czech translations were made of biblical texts. The first complete Czech translation of the Bible was printed in 1488.

Humanist translations from Latin represent two basic types of the artistic literature of the day. On the one hand, there is the detached style characteristic of some legendary accounts, for example the legend of St Procopius, and on the other a clear echo of courtly poetry, a passionate lyricism, and a blend of worldly eroticism and mystical ecstasy as can be seen in accounts of the legend of St Catherine of Alexandria. Apart from legends and biblical texts, the Czech humanists also translated the works of Erasmus of Rotterdam, the Latin classics, Greek authors, and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. One important translator of the period, Viktorin Kornel ze Všehrd (1460–1520), advocated the classical principle of sensum de sensu, giving priority to producing a functional translation in the spirit of the target language. Zikmund Hrubý z Jelení (also known as Gelenius: 1497–1554), a book publisher, brought out in 1537 and 1544 a comparative Latin–Greek–German–Czech dictionary by the title Lexicon symphonum.

The second half of the sixteenth century witnessed a flourishing of Czech literature among the urban mercantile class. Translations of classical and contemporary literature were undertaken, as well as translations of more specialized material from the natural sciences and the humanities. The source languages were predominantly Latin and German. Valuable aids to translation were also produced, including such lexicographical works as the Latin–Czech–German Nomenclator tribus linguis (1597) and the Czech–Latin–Greek–German Silva Quadrilinguis (1598), both compiled by the Czech humanist Daniel Adam z Veleslavína (1546–99). A major new version of the Bible, known as the Kralice Bible, was published between 1579 and 1594.

During the Counter-Reformation (from the second quarter of the seventeenth century), the majority of translations were of hagiographical literature, written by the Jesuits to consolidate the influence of the Catholic Church. They included translations of various writings on the cult of the Virgin Mary. One of the most popular translations of that period, reprinted many times during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was a book of hymns rendered metrically by Jiří Třanovský (1592–1637) from German spiritual songs by Martin Luther.
The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the age of Czech National Revival

Literary translation into Czech flourished again in the eighteenth century, and translations were made of German classical works, of rococo and Anacreontic poetry. English and French literature were translated via the medium of German. Ballads and stories were translated from German, sometimes via intermediate versions in Polish. This period also witnessed an increased interest in historical prose and in drama. The works of the German dramatists Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and Friedrich von Schiller were translated from their originals, those of Shakespeare and Molière via German.

The National Revival programme was essentially one of enlightenment, and translation therefore tended to focus on topics which were accessible to the masses. The translations were intended to inspire a nation whose self-confidence had suffered during the Counter-Reformation, when the push for re-Catholicization supported by the Habsburg Empire had gone hand in hand with a vigorous programme of Germanization. The great works of world literature, especially poetry, were translated in order to make them part of the cultural repertoire available to the masses. The most significant translator of the early nineteenth century was Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), one of the leading representatives of the Czech movement of National Revival. He translated from English, French, German and Russian. From German, he translated mainly Goethe and Schiller, and from Russian the anonymous medieval epic The Lay of Prince Igor. Jungmann’s five-volume Czech–German Dictionary (1834–9) was also a valuable contribution to translation practice. He is, however, best remembered for producing the first Czech version of Milton’s Paradise Lost (1804, published 1811). In his translations, Jungmann enriched the Czech language by his use of neologisms, archaisms and borrowings from other Slav languages. His translation of Chateaubriand’s Atala (1805) demonstrated the potential of modern poetic Czech in a way that had not been demonstrated before.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, translation lay at the centre of a number of disputes, especially those concerning the legitimacy of old-fashioned lexical elements introduced by Humanists and the scale of lexical borrowings from Polish and from the southern and eastern Slavonic languages. Another topic of dispute was prosody. The leading Czech linguist of the day, Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), demonstrated the unsuitability of quantitative metre for poetical writing in Czech; nevertheless this survived in translations from Latin and Greek poetry to the end of the last century.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid development of Czech literary and cultural life, including literary translation. A new attitude to foreign literatures was championed by the ‘May’ group (named after the almanac May), whose members believed in a democratic, sometimes radical-democratic, approach to progress. Translations began to account for a growing proportion of the literary output. In addition to ancient literature, translations now covered contemporary writing in all major languages: works by Gogol, Pushkin, Victor Hugo, Cervantes, Robert Burns, Byron, Shelley, Mickiewicz, Heine, Petőfi, and many more were translated into Czech. The May group focused on literature which was attractive in form and subject; they therefore tended to disregard many important poets and prose writers, such as Lamartine, Alfred de Vigny and Alfred de Musset. They also deliberately avoided translating from German sources in an attempt to free Czech literature from its entrapment in the German cultural sphere. At any rate, educated Czechs were able to read German literature in the original.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, known as the ‘Lumír period’ after the periodical Lumír, literary translation flourished as never before. The writers grouped around the periodical were cosmopolitans and were particularly active in translating poetry. Most prominent among them were the poets Jaroslav Vrchlický (1853–1912) and Josef V. Sládek (1845–1912). In Vrchlický’s colossal œuvre as a translator, the Romance literatures predominated, especially French and Italian literature. He also translated from English and German, but his translations of English poetry were limited compared to those done by Sládek, whose favourite poet was Robert Burns. In addition to English poetry, Sládek’s greatest achievement was that he translated thirty-three plays by Shakespeare and
thereby enriched the Czech stage enormously. Between them, the various translators of the Lumír group provided Czech readers with a rich picture of contemporary literature in the major languages of Europe. Czech translations of Balzac, Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Flaubert, Goncharov, Maupassant, de Musset, Walter Scott, Thackeray, de Vigny, Zola and many others appeared very shortly after the publication of the originals. At the same time, works from less widespread European languages (such as those by Ibsen and Prešeren) and from oriental languages were also translated into Czech.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, several scholars began to express their misgivings about Vrchlický’s method of literal translation: it was felt that poetry translation needed to free itself from a slavish dependence on the form of the original. A greater freedom in this respect can be found in the work of Julius Zeyer (1841–1901) who translated from a variety of languages. The debate on literary translation, initiated by the Modernist movement in the 1890s, continued with minor interruptions even after World War I, perhaps until the late 1930s, with many outstanding writers, translators and literary scholars taking part in it.

The present
Developing the theoretical framework: the Prague School

The impulse for developing a modern theory of translation in general and of the translation of poetry in particular came from the Prague School, a group of scholars who were interested in poetic language as an autonomous mode of speech whose aesthetic function is directed at the linguistic sign itself. Their theory of poetic language strove from the outset for exactitude and formalization, but it did not operate with mathematical or statistical methods in the strict sense. It is therefore sometimes referred to as a ‘pre-statistical’ theory of poetic language. Demands by members of the Prague School around 1929 for elaborating the principles of a synchronic description of poetic language, an area they claimed was still neglected by linguistics, were already being addressed in a number of important publications by Roman Jakobson (1896–1982), including O cheshkom stikhe (‘On Czech Verse’, 1923) and Základy českého verše (‘Foundations of Czech Verse’, 1926), as well as some studies by Jan Mukařovský (1883–1975).

In the 1930s, Mukařovský published a number of studies on the structural characteristics of specific features of poetic language. He also developed a theory of poetic naming which does not confine itself to metaphor but attempts to account for a continuous transition between the two categories of descriptive and metaphorical naming. Generally speaking, Mukařovský’s theory of poetry marked the beginning of a departure from the emphasis on formalism and on a static understanding of the separate components of the poetic text. This is particularly evident in Kapitoly z české poetiky (‘Chapters from Czech Poetics’, Mukařovský 1941).

In parallel with the development of a structural theory of poetic language, attempts were also made to develop a theory of the translation of poetry. The stimulus for a functional understanding of translation came from the founder of the Prague Structuralist School, Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945) in his article ‘O problémech českého překladatelství’ (‘On the problems of Czech translation’, 1913). Among other significant studies in this area, mention should be made of Jakobson’s essay ‘O překladu veršů’ (‘On verse translation’, 1930). Jakobson (1930) discusses differences in the semantic import of iambics in Czech and Russian and advocates the need for a functional reshaping of the metre of the translated text. This emphasis on the functional role of linguistic elements in the translated text proved highly influential and was adopted in the 1920s and 1930s by the leading practitioners of translation, resulting in many fine renderings of major works. Otokar Fischer (1883–1938) translated from German, English and French and expressed his belief in the functionalist approach in his study ‘O překládání básnických děj’ (‘On translating works of poetry’, 1929). Fischer’s first major translation was of some of the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche (1914). Among his numerous translations, a special place is held by his epoch-making translation of Goethe’s Faust (1928) and his selections from the work of the French poet François Villon (1927). Another milestone in the translation of poetry was the translation of Apollinaire’s Zone by Karel Čapek (1890–1938), better known as a dramatist and prose writer. Since the 1920s,
many outstanding Czech poets have continued to devote themselves to the translation of French poetry in particular. Modern translations of the poets of antiquity have also continued to be undertaken, for example by classical scholars such as Otmar Vaňorný (1860–1947), Otakar Jiráni (1879–1934) and Ferdinand Stiebitz (1894–1961).

The structuralist theory of poetic language proved valuable not only in providing a framework for developing a theory of poetry translation, but also in guiding the practice of translation in general and the translation of poetry in particular. Applied to bilingual communication, the functional view of language led to an emphasis on ‘functional equivalence’, stressing the relationship of the translated text to its receptors. In the translation of poetry, it marked the end of the mechanical copying of the formal features of the original. In addition, the development of exact methods for the analysis of poetic language meant that translation, in turn, began to be understood in terms of interpreting complex verbal signs in specific communicative contexts, and this led to a move away from irrational and subjective approaches.

The 1950s saw a revival of interest in translation theory, especially in the work of Jiří Leý (1926–67), published in book form as Umění překladu (‘The Art of Translation’) in 1963 and translated into German in 1969 as Die literarische Übersetzung. Theorie einer Kunstgattung and into Russian in 1974 as Izkusstvo perevoda. Although his method of analysis is usually described as literary, Leý succeeded in including in it and utilizing the findings of quantitative analysis and – in the context of contemporary Western theory – fully linking up with the Prague School. Jiří Leý’s major contribution to the modern theory of poetry translation was his application of the methods of the exact sciences. With remarkable acuity, he pinpointed the main problems of poetry translation and in many respects marked out the lines along which future research would proceed. It was also largely due to him that, even during the period of pro-Soviet political orientation, Czech theoreticians and practitioners of translation rejected the Soviet tenets, which approached translation, especially that of poetry, from the point of view of formal correspondence. This is evidenced by the large number of outstanding translations of poetry and prose during that period; among these special mention should be made of the translations of American and Russian poetry by Jan Zábrana (1931–84). Modern Czech translation theory proceeds from the work of Jiří Leý, but endeavours to give greater weight to linguistic issues, increasingly turning its attention to exact methods of analysis of poetry translation.

**Translation activity during the twentieth century**

Despite the theoretical emphasis on the translation of poetry, the bulk of translation and publishing shifted towards prose by the beginning of the twentieth century. Major English, French and German works of realism were translated, along with Nordic, Slavonic, other Romance, and even Asian and African works of literature. This broad spectrum of translation was supported by the establishment of programmes in linguistics at Charles University in Prague and at the University in Brno, founded in 1918. Direct translations from oriental languages, for example the work of Tagore from Bengali, began to appear in the 1930s.

Typical of Czech translation work between the wars was an increased interest in American literature. With a few exceptions such as Mark Twain and Jack London, nineteenth-century American literature had until then been reaching Czech readers with a delay of at least one generation. Interest in contemporary American literature was so lively in the Czech Lands in the 1920s and 1930s that many novels appeared in translation very shortly after the publication of the English originals. The most successful American author in Czech translation was Upton Sinclair, many of whose novels were published from 1906 onward. Also successful in Czech translation were Willa Cather, Theodore Dreiser, Scott Fitzgerald, Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, John Steinbeck, Thornton Wilder and, among dramatists, Eugene O’Neill. In the 1930s, anglophone literature was translated by the disciples of the Prague School linguist Vilém Mathesius (Aloys Skoumal, 1904–63, and Zdenĕk Vančura, 1903–74) and those of Otokar Fischer (including Erik A. Saudek, 1904–62, whose translations of Shakespeare are considered outstanding). Russian literature of the Soviet period was represented between the
wars by the poets Demyan Bednyy, Vladimir Mayakovsky, and later Aleksandr Blok. Interest was shown also in novels and short stories with a civil war theme, such as those by Konstantin Fedin, Vsevolod Ivanov, Isaak Babel, Boris Pilnyak and Leonid Leonov.

Despite ideological constraints imposed by the ruling regime, the period from 1948 to 1989 witnessed a considerable increase in translations. Publishing policy, with financial support from the state, made it possible to bring out not only tendentious literature, but also translations of valuable (though not necessarily commercially viable) titles of world literature. During the past thirty years, translations into Czech were published from fifty-five languages, not counting the major international languages. Direct translations were also made from many smaller European languages, such as Flemish, Welsh, Icelandic, Lusatian Sorbian, Yiddish, Macedonian and Catalan. There exist now many direct translations of classical and contemporary works from Arabic, Chinese, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Farsi, Vietnamese, several languages of India (such as Bengali, Hindi, Hindustani, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi and Tamil) and from such 'exotic' languages as Swahili, Cakchiquel, Quiché, Yucatec and Eskimo. Nor has the literary heritage of the dead languages, such as Accadian, Assyrian, Aztec, classical Greek and Latin, Hebrew, Sanskrit and Sumerian, been forgotten.

One of the negative phenomena, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, was the marked spread of the translation of poetry with the aid of 'interlinear’ or word-for-word translations; this was justified theoretically by the argument that poetry could only be translated by a poet. The real reason, however, was political rather than cultural, in that this practice followed what had become the norm in the former Soviet Union. On occasions, the collaboration between a linguist and a poet has undoubtedly resulted in fine translations, but in most instances this practice has not enriched the storehouse of Czech translation of foreign poetry.

After 1989, the great turning point in the political orientation of the Czech Republic and the switch to a market economy resulted in fundamental changes in the patterns of publishing translated literature. On the one hand, there was the definitive removal of ideological barriers, but on the other there was the loss of state subsidies. In the field of translation this meant a marked commercialization of the book market and a temporary decline in publishers’ interest in more demanding genres, especially poetry. The boom in publishing commercially viable material, translated primarily from English and German, has inevitably attracted professionally less competent translators, though the high standard of translation into Czech has more or less been maintained.

Czech culture has at all times maintained a lively interest in what is happening abroad. In literary translation, this has meant that virtually every generation has made its own, sometimes more than one, translation of outstanding works of world literature. A small illustration of this is the fact that there exist thirteen published Czech translations of Edgar Allan Poe’s poem ‘The Raven’.

Non-literary translation

Unlike literary translation, commercial, medical, scientific and technical translation did not become the subject of academic study in the Czech Republic though it was, of course, practised (if on a limited scale) by specialists in their fields between the two wars. With the professionalization of translation after World War II, it became more common to employ non-literary translators in the translation departments of industrial and commercial enterprises, although of course many continued to work freelance in much the same way as literary translators. In 1989, when the country adopted a market economy, non-literary translation naturally gained in importance as it was recognized as a saleable commodity. At the same time, translation agencies were set up and individual translators of commercial texts began to work through them.

Interpreting

In the First Republic (1918–39), members of ethnic minorities had the right to plead in lower courts in their own language. Official (or authorized) interpreters were therefore needed in these and similar institutions, though they were not at the time strictly ‘professional’ nor, as a rule, full-time interpreters.
Interpreters were also used at the diplomatic and governmental levels. After World War II, in the 1940s and 1950s, simultaneous interpreting was provided primarily by the following categories: wartime émigrés (English), Jewish survivors of the concentration camps (German), second-generation Russian émigrés (Russian), educated Czechs from the pre-war francophile environment (French). Few of these had any linguistic training. A large number of ad-hoc interpreters were, and still are, also used as ‘guide-interpreters’ for foreign visitors: the Prague Information Service had some 2,500 guide-interpreters on its list in 1994. A very small number of the more highly qualified conference interpreters were/are members of AIIC.

**Further reading**

Danish and Norwegian traditions

Danish and Norwegian are both Indo-European languages, historically and structurally related to Dutch, English and German. With the exception of Finnish, the Scandinavian languages constitute the sub-group termed 'Nordic', but Danish and Norwegian belong to different sub-types: Danish (with Swedish) belongs to the East Nordic group, Norwegian (with Icelandic and Faroese) to the West Nordic. However, the language situation in Norway is complicated by the fact that for over 400 years (1397–1814) Denmark and Norway formed one state, to which also belonged Schleswig-Holstein, Iceland, the Faroe Islands and, after its rediscovery in the eighteenth century, Greenland.

Copenhagen, in Denmark, was the capital and administrative centre of the realm, and Danish was consequently the language of administration and of the administrators. As a result, a literary language barely distinguishable from standard Danish developed in the towns of southern Norway, so that in the late nineteenth century, long after the severance of the union, the plays of Henrik Ibsen could be performed in their original versions at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen.

But, long before that, a movement had been launched to create a new standard Norwegian language, Nynorsk (New Norwegian), on the basis of the dialects of rural areas uncontaminated by Danish influence. This resulted in a situation with two official languages and a movement away from Danish, even for the traditional literary medium, the near-Danish Riksmål or Bokmål (book language) of the south.

This entry treats Denmark and Norway as one area in the period up to 1800 and as separate areas for the modern period.

As the Scandinavian language communities are small, their need for translation is even greater than is the case for the languages of larger countries. There has, of course, been a considerable amount of mutual translation between Scandinavian languages, though the urge to communicate has sometimes been quelled by mutual animosity, as after the Danish–Swedish wars in the seventeenth century and Norway's struggle for independence during the nineteenth century. More important, therefore, has been the influence from and attraction to other European civilizations. From the earliest days and up to 1900 the attraction to Germany was by far the greatest. In the Middle Ages, the Hanse had settlements and trading posts all over Scandinavia, and German influence continued until the Schleswig wars of the mid-nineteenth century. English influence was by and large of minor importance throughout most of this period and was severely checked during the Napoleonic Wars, when Denmark/Norway was forced into an alliance with France, and Copenhagen was bombarded by the British navy in 1807. British influence was re-established in the latter half of the nineteenth century, to be strengthened in the twentieth by American influence, so that today by far the majority of translations are from and into English.

We do not know much about the translation situation in Scandinavia in early times; translation history begins with the introduction of Christianity around the year 1000, but the early Middle Ages have left few records. Latin, of course, was the literary language, but contrary to the practice of England and Iceland, few texts were translated into the vernacular. Therefore, the evidence we have of translation activity is mainly based on the emergence of Latin
loanwords in the Danish documents that begin to appear after 1200. Saxo in his Gesta Danorum, written shortly after 1200, renders Scandinavian tradition, and in some cases undoubtedly translates Scandinavian sources, written and oral, into his ornate silver Latin; but no originals have been preserved.

In Norway, some legends were translated from Latin about 1150, and the Old Testament from the Vulgate in the thirteenth century. The first work of literature to be translated was Tristram og Isorn, translated in 1226 by Brother Robert, at the request of King Haakon Haakonsen.

The Renaissance and after

Danish vernacular literature developed slowly, and Denmark therefore retained a tradition of original writing in Latin rather longer than the larger European countries. Consequently, many translations from the Renaissance to the beginning of the nineteenth century were into and from Latin. Many came fairly late: Ludvig Holberg's Nicolai Climii Iter Subterraneum (1741), an international best-seller inspired by Thomas Moré's Utopia, was translated into Danish for the first time by the poet Jens Baggesen in 1789. The main translation event for Denmark and Norway prior to the Enlightenment was undoubtedly Christiern Pedersen's translation of the Bible, influenced by Luther's Bible, and known as Chr. III's Bible (1550).

From the Middle Ages there was a considerable amount of translation from High and Low German into Danish, a tendency which was in no way diminished during the Reformation, when Danish theologians began to look to Wittenberg rather than to Rome for guidance and inspiration.

For other modern languages, Latin was often the relay language (Jakobsen 1988: 367). Thus a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Danish works, mainly religious ones, were translated into Latin, and from Latin into English; and much of the traffic in the opposite direction followed the same route. Direct literary translation from English only began in the late seventeenth century with Daniel Collins's translation of Francis Quarles's Enchiridion (1640, Danish translation 1657), and that was still exceptional: until well into the nineteenth century, most translation of English literature was via German.

In other respects, Collins's case is characteristic of the first translations from English: he was a merchant, he was English, working from his own language into Danish, and he spent much of his time in Norway. Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, English was regarded as a language of commerce rather than of culture, and, probably because of trade relations, English influence was stronger in Norway than in Denmark.

Large-scale translation from Romance languages, including French, only developed towards the end of the eighteenth century. Early examples of French influence typically took the form of loose imitation, as in Ludvig Holberg's Peder Paars (1719–20), which echoes passages from Boileau's Le Lutrin, but which is not a translation. Holberg's comedies were influenced by Molière, some of whose plays were actually translated for the 'Danish Stage' from its opening in 1722. One of the first large-scale translators from French, Spanish and other languages was Dorothea Biehl (1731–88), the first woman in Denmark to make a living as a writer. As her father did not believe in education for women, Biehl was largely self-taught, but she managed to acquire a number of European languages. She translated and adapted French, German and Italian plays for the stage, but she is best remembered for her celebrated translation of Cervantes' Don Quixote (1776–7).

The nineteenth century: Romantic translations

In the nineteenth century, translations became more frequent than before. The dominant source language was still German, but direct translations from English and the Romance languages were also found, especially after 1850. Works by all major European poets, dramatists and prose writers were translated at some point or other, and in addition, whole new genres were introduced, mainly as a result of translation. This is true of children's literature, which came into existence in Denmark rather later than in the larger European countries, and in the beginning was heavily dependent on translation
Danish and Norwegian traditions

(Hjørnager Pedersen and Shine 1979). It would also be fair to say that the development of the Danish novel was much influenced by translations, notably of Walter Scott. Charles Dickens was translated by L. Moltke, who brought out an almost complete Dickens edition, the later volumes of which appeared almost simultaneously with the English book versions of the previously serialized novels. This translation was only supplanted in the course of the 1980s by Eva Hemmer Hansen's Dickens.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, dramatic inspiration came mainly from Germany, and German influence continued into the nineteenth century, with translations and imitations of German romantic drama. Later, French influence was re-established, Eugène Scribe (c.1825–80) being one of the most popular dramatists. However, from the beginning of the century there was also interest in Shakespeare, Sille Beyer (1803–61) and the actor Peter Foersom being two of the most important translators and adaptors prior to Edvard Lombcke. Whereas, with Hamlet Prinds af Danmark (1813), Foersom was particularly interested from the beginning in the tragedies, which he translated with respect for Shakespeare's text, wishing to create roles in which he himself could shine, Sille Beyer from her first Shakespeare translation Viola (Twelfth Night) in 1847 tried to adapt his comedies to contemporary taste, with Mrs Heiberg, the leading lady of the Royal Theatre, taking an active part in shaping the speeches of the heroines. This meant extensive rewriting. Thus Malvolio and the plot centred around him were removed from the adaptation of Twelfth Night (Gad 1974).

In the course of the nineteenth century, the main writers and genres in all major European languages were covered. It is characteristic that many translations were by poets and dramatists. Thus the poet Oehlenschläger translated German fairy tales (1816), and the poet and philosopher N. F. S. Grundtvig translated Beowulf (1820). Hans Christian Andersen translated numerous plays for the Royal Theatre, and the poet Holger Drachmann produced a spirited version of Byron's Don Juan (Part I in 1880 and Part II in 1902).

Denmark in the present day

There has been considerable translation activity both from and into Danish throughout the twentieth century, and the volume of translations has increased steadily since 1950. In 1991, 2,336 books were translated, as against 1,976 five years previously; but here, as in other countries, the volume of literary translation has decreased in relation to that of non-literary translation: in 1986, two out of every three books translated were fiction, drama or poetry; in 1991 the figure had dropped to about 60 per cent.

At any rate, published books are only the tip of the iceberg. The majority of commercial and administrative translations are never registered as such, and this category would undoubtedly be even bulkier if many Danish companies had not adopted English (or, in some cases, German) as company language. Even so, the volume of translation is staggering.

English is more in demand than all other languages put together, both as source and target language; in 1991, it accounted for 1,528 of the 2,336 titles published, and this tendency undoubtedly also applies to non-published translations. However, there is also a fair amount of translation from and into German, which is followed in importance by French, Spanish, Italian and Russian. This fact is reflected in the training programmes available for commercial translators, which provide degrees in the languages mentioned. But translation takes place from and into practically all European languages and those of a great many other countries. This tendency is strengthened because, since the 1960s, there has been some immigration of ethnic groups who used to be very rare in Scandinavia. Apart from Turkey and former Yugoslavia, Vietnam, the Indian subcontinent, and Sri Lanka have also yielded a number of immigrants with varying language backgrounds. But small communities from all corners of the world can be found in modern Denmark: this entails a need for interpreters to and from a great number of languages. The training of such interpreters is unsystematic and haphazard.

It is impossible to mention more than a few of the many literary translators who have been active in the twentieth century. Kai Friis Møller (1888–1960) was a good translator of poetry,
as was the poet and critic Tom Kristensen (1893–1974). One of the most productive translators of all time was Mogens Boisen (1910–87), who translated more than 800 books, mainly from English, German and French. Boisen was an army officer; he wrote books on military matters and was made lieutenant-colonel in 1951. By then, however, he had already started translating. Among his best known translations are Melville’s *Moby Dick* (1955), Thomas Mann’s *Dr. Faustus* (1957), and especially Joyce’s *Ulysses*, which he first brought out in 1949 but kept revising till he published a third edition in 1980.

**Research and publications**

Interest in translation theory did not exist as such before 1900, although isolated remarks can be gathered from the introductions to various translations, ranging from A. Sørensen Vedel, who in the preface to his translation of Saxo’s *Gesta Danorum* (1575) complains about Saxo’s ‘dark and difficult Latin’, to the more considered and lengthier contributions of famous nineteenth-century translators such as Edvard Lembcke (Shakespeare) and Christian Wilster (Homer).

Lembcke is typical of his age in that he has little to say about the problems of translation but demonstrates his awareness of the difficulties through his analysis of the peculiarities of Shakespeare’s subject matter and diction. Wilster, who is more outspoken, adopts a position very similar to that of Rossetti: that the translator should combine fidelity with a reasonable amount of freedom; he is also very much aware of the difficulties inherent in rendering a classical metre in a modern language.

Translation studies in the twentieth century began with the work of Paul Rubow, Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Copenhagen, who wrote a little book on ‘originals and translations’ (1929) and a number of other studies of individual translators or translations. Eric Jacobsen’s *Translation a Traditional Craft* (1958) was a major contribution to international translation scholarship, although it expressly dissociated itself from the budding discipline of translation theory. It is a study of Marlowe’s translations of Ovid’s elegies, viewed against the background of Marlowe’s education and language training. A combination of literary interest and classical scholarship is also characteristic of Knud Sørensen’s *Thomas Lodge’s Translation of Seneca’s De beneficiis Compared with Arthur Golding’s Version* (1960).

Translation theory proper, drawing on the tradition of Levý, was introduced into Denmark in L. L. Albertsen’s *Litterær oversættelse* (Literary Translation, 1972), which maintains the importance of the translation over that of the original. From the early 1970s, a number of theses have been written on various aspects of translation, but most of these remain unpublished. One exception is Viggo Hjørnager Pedersen’s *Oversættelsesteori* (Translation Theory, 1973), the third revised edition of which (1987) is the standard Danish introduction to translation studies. Gad (1974) is completely atheoretical but anticipates the work of the manipulators in concentrating on the historical and cultural background for Sille Beyer’s adaptations of Shakespeare. Møller Nielsen (1974) is a scholarly study of Danish translations of Homer but is weak in general translation theory. Munch-Petersen (1976) is a mainly bibliographical account of nineteenth-century prose fiction translated into Danish. Lorentsen et al. (1985) discuss translation and new technology, whereas Baaring (1992) gives an introduction to interpreting. A number of other contributions have since appeared, but most of these are articles, and the majority are written in English or other major European languages. Mention should be made of Draskau (1987), Hjørnager Pedersen (1988), Jakobsen (1994) and Gottlieb (1994c).

Denmark is too small a country to have been at the forefront of a capital intensive area like machine translation. However, important work within the field has been done within the framework of the EU-financed EUROTRA programme, and IBM Denmark have developed a machine-assisted translation programme. The most original contribution in the field has probably been made by the small WINGER company, who have consistently developed translation programmes for PCs (Dunbar and Hjørnager Pedersen 1990; Dunbar and Andersen 1991).

Universities and other institutions of further education, together with associations of translators and private bodies, issue a number of series and journals devoted to translation. DAO
is a monograph series in Danish on translation studies. Subjects range from general translation theory to subtitling and machine translation on PCs. The series is issued by the Centre for Translation Studies at Copenhagen University, which also edits a monograph series in English, *Copenhagen Studies in Translation*, and an international journal, *Perspectives in Translatology*. *ARK*, issued by the Copenhagen Business School, is a monograph series, several volumes of which have dealt with translation. *CEBAL*, likewise from the Copenhagen Business School, was the forerunner of the same institution's *Copenhagen Studies in Language*. Under both names this publication has printed many articles on translation. *Hermes* is a periodical on linguistics from the Åarhus Business School, often with articles on translation and lexicography.

### The situation in Norway

Even before 1814, independent Norwegian translations had begun to appear. Thus translations of Shakespeare began in 1782, Nils Rosenfeldt's translation in 1790 comprising seven central works, and Johan Storm Munch translated Schiller's *Don Carlos* in 1812. Translations from Racine, Jean Paul, Goethe, Madame de Staël, Victor Hugo and others followed rapidly. However, many works of German, French or English origin were still read in Danish translation, whereas independent translations of the Old Icelandic sagas began with Jacob Aall's *Laxdöla saga* (1816–20).

The first translation into 'rural Norwegian' was Hans Hansen's translation of Horace (1797–1800). However, it was the pioneer of Norwegian as an independent language, Ivar Aasen, who really drew attention to the possibilities of this medium with his 1853 translation of poems and prose extracts from Shakespeare, Cervantes, Luther, Schiller and Byron into *landsmål*, the forerunner of Nynorsk. Aasen also planned a Bible in Nynorsk, and the New Testament, translated by Elias Blix, appeared in 1889. The complete Bible, however, only appeared in 1921, whereas the Samians of Northern Norway had had their own New Testament, translated by Niels Stockfleth, since 1834 (and the Greenland Inuits their Bible, translated by Paul Egede, since 1766).

The adherents of Nynorsk deliberately tried to enrich the new language and to give it prestige through translations from the classics. This is the background for translations of Shakespeare such as Arne Garborg and Olav Madshus's *Macbeth* in 1901 and *Kaupmannen i Venetia* in 1905.

The first decades of the twentieth century were characterized by many translations from English, French and German, so that most major writers were represented in Norwegian before World War II. Mention must be made of Niels Kjaer and Magnus Gronvold's translation of *Don Qixote* (1918) and translations of the classics: a free version of the *Odyssey* by Arne Garborg in 1918, followed by P. Østbye's *Iliad* (1920) and *Odyssey* (1922). Østbye also translated Greek tragedies by Sophocles (1924), Aeschylus (1926) and Euripides (1928).

The series *Klassiske bokværk*, 24 titles in all and containing translations of the classics, appeared in the 1920s, followed in the 1930s by *Bokverk frå millomalderen* with medieval classics like the *Rolandskvadet* (*Chanson de Roland*), translated by A. Dahle. The 1930s also saw a new translation of twenty-three Shakespearean plays by Henrik Rytter (1932–3), and two more plays followed in 1934. Shakespeare was also translated into the Riksmål, with twenty-one works by various translators during 1923–42, and a new collection of plays translated by A. Bjerke (1958–80). Most renowned in this category, however, are Hartvig Kiran's *Macbeth* (1962) and *Hamlet* (1967).

Many translations from Russian appeared throughout the twentieth century. Thus *Crime and Punishment* has appeared in no less than six different translations, and a complete new edition of Dostoyevsky was published in 1994.

English is the dominant language for translations into Norwegian, followed by German, Swedish, French, Danish, Russian and Spanish. The all-time best-selling translation is an Astrid Lindgren children's book (66,000 copies), followed by five detective stories by Ian MacLean (40–45,000 copies). Although English is the dominant language, this is less so than in Denmark and Sweden.

Well-known translators include Anna-Lisa Amadou, famous for her translation of Proust (1963–94), Ole Michael Selberg, who translated Musil (1990–94), Olav Angell, who translated Joyce's *Ulysses* (1993), and Kari and Kjell Risvik,
famous for their 300 translations from fourteen languages.

As for translations from Norwegian, it is worth mentioning that Thor Heyerdahl’s books have been translated into no less than 67 languages, Ibsen’s plays into 50, and children’s books by Aimée Sommerfeldt and Jostein Gaarder into 30 languages.

Research and publications
The first scholarly introduction to the area was Sylfest Lomheim’s Omsetjingstekor (Translation Theory, 1989), and the anthology Det umuliges kunst (The Art of the Impossible), edited by Per Qvale, appeared in 1991. Godt ord igjen (edited by Morten Krogstad) was a festschrift on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Norsk Oversetterforening (1988). The earliest introduction to the problems of translation is to be found in Gyldendals Aktuelle Magasin (volume 2, 1978). Among the most recent publications is Per Qvale’s From St. Jerome to Hypertext (2003; originally published in Norwegian in 1988).

Mention should also be made of the exceptionally good English–Norwegian dictionary Cappelens Store Engelsk-Norsk Ordbok, compiled by the grand old man among Norwegian translators, Herbert Svenkerud: this could arguably serve as a model for bilingual dictionaries all over the world.

Further reading

VIGGO HJØRNAGER PEDERSEN
AND PER QVALE

Dutch tradition
The Dutch-language area comprises the Netherlands and Flanders, roughly the northern half of the federal state of Belgium. There are around 24 million speakers of Dutch, mostly in the Netherlands, with a substantial percentage in Flanders.

In the medieval period the area was politically divided, with some parts owing allegiance to France and others to the (German) Holy Roman Empire. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the various duchies and counties of the Low Countries were gradually united under the Burgundian and then the Habsburg dynasties.

The Eighty Years’ War (1568–1648), which began as a rebellion against the Spanish Habsburg king Philip II, resulted in a north–south division, as the northern, Calvinist-dominated Dutch Republic gained independence and the Southern Netherlands remained Catholic under Spanish and subsequently Austrian rule. After the French Revolution of 1789 both countries came under French control. Following Napoleon’s defeat in 1815 they formed the short-lived United Kingdom of the Netherlands, from which Belgium broke away in 1830. Originally dominated by a French-speaking bourgeoisie, Belgium is now a linguistically divided and politically decentralized state in which Dutch-speakers and French-speakers have exclusive rights in their own regions (Flanders and Wallonia, respectively); the capital Brussels is officially bilingual (Dutch–French) and the small German-speaking minority in the east enjoys constitutional protection. In the Netherlands, the northern province of Friesland is bilingual (Dutch–Frisian) as well, Frisian being spoken alongside Dutch by approximately 350,000 people, even though only a small proportion of these also use Frisian as a written language.

The history of translation into Dutch has yet to be written. Individual aspects have been investigated and documented in one way or another, but no general surveys or synthetic expositions are currently available.

The medieval period
Next to nothing is known about vernacular culture in the Low Countries during the early medieval period, since the written language was Latin. The very fragmentary evidence that has been preserved, however, leaves little doubt that the Dutch written tradition begins with translations. Among the very first words recorded in Old Dutch are isolated terms occurring as interlinear glosses in Latin manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries. The oldest discursive texts in an eastern form of Old Dutch known as Old Low Franconian are the tenth-
Dutch tradition

The Dutch tradition is rooted in the Carolingian period, with the Wachtendonck psalms and interlinear versions of the Latin Vulgate, which were likely created in the border region between modern Netherlands and Germany but have been preserved only in fragmentary form in sixteenth-century copies and glosses.

A continuous tradition of written Dutch can be dated back to the late eleventh century, with the probatio pennae, a single short sentence in Old Dutch together with its literal translation into Latin (or, less likely, vice versa), written down by a West Flemish monk in a monastery in England. The manuscript was discovered in Oxford in 1931, and our monk may have crossed the Channel in or shortly after 1066 as part of the Flemish contingent accompanying William the Conqueror, who was married to the daughter of the Count of Flanders. The most substantial text in Old Dutch is the Egmond Willeram, which dates from around 1100 and is a Dutch version of an Old High German commentary on the Song of Songs by the Benedictine monk Williram of Ebersberg in Bavaria. Although the two languages were still close to each other at this stage, the Dutch scribe writing in the monastery of Egmond in Holland systematically adapted his source text to fit his own pronunciation and vocabulary.

It is customary to refer to the language from the twelfth century onwards as Middle Dutch. Among the earliest literary products in Middle Dutch are the works of Henric van Veldeke, who wrote in the latter half of the twelfth century in an eastern dialect close to German. His rhyming Life of Saint Servatius of c.1160–70 was based on a Latin vita from a hundred years earlier. His Eneid, also in rhyming couplets, was altogether more innovative, as it went back to French secular sources: based on the Anglo-Norman Roman d'Enées from around 1150, it introduced the courtly epic into both Dutch and German literature, for although Van Veldeke probably began his Eneid in Dutch he eventually finished it in Thuringia in a language that could readily be understood both by Dutch and by High German-speaking audiences. Van Veldeke's love lyrics, finally, harked back to the French troubadour tradition and helped introduce the courtly Minnesang into German literature.

On the whole, medieval Dutch literature and learning, and thus the written tradition generally, relied heavily on foreign-language sources, particularly Latin and French. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the economic and cultural centre of gravity in the Low Countries lay in Flanders, with flourishing towns like Bruges and Ghent. By the fourteenth century, the Duchy of Brabant, with towns like Brussels, Leuven and Antwerp, had begun to replace Flanders as the main cultural focus. Although the Counts of Flanders enjoyed a large degree of autonomy, they owed political loyalty to the French kings. The southern parts of the county (now in northern France) were French-speaking, and French was used frequently at court. The twelfth-century French poet Chrétien de Troyes wrote his Conte du Graal for the Flemish Count Philip of Alsace.

It is not surprising, then, that much secular and fictional writing in Middle Dutch is based on French models. Among the pre-courtly chansons de geste, i.e. the Carolingian or Frankish romances centred around the figure of Charlemagne, the Middle Dutch version (early thirteenth century) of the French Renault de Montauban gives a good idea of the way the 'matter of France' was adapted. Although in a few places the French is followed almost word for word, the Dutch text cannot be traced back to one identifiable French manuscript but echoes different French versions. Many episodes have been very substantially altered, and they do not always occur in the same order. The most probable explanation for such divergencies is that they reflect an oral tradition, and that the written version was composed on the basis of memorized episodes – as is also suggested by the large store of formulaic phrases and the way in which some episodes are apparently shaped as self-contained entities.

The courtly Arthurian romances also reached the Low Countries via France. The techniques of radical remaniement (reshaping) and entrelacement (interweaving), and the complex textual relations between originals and adaptations which result from this, can be illustrated with reference to the massive Lancelot compilation – some 90,000 verses in all – put together around 1320 in Brabant. It contains ten Arthurian romances, the central three of which are translations from a French cycle. The others, inserted in different places (two romances between parts 1 and 2, the remaining
five between parts 2 and 3), are rewritings of existing Middle Dutch versions of French sources, but here too the compiler freely added and omitted episodes, and provided linking passages in an attempt to hold the entire cycle together.

The impact of these works reached far. It is thought, for example, that the main Arthurian romance in Middle Dutch which is not a translation or adaptation, the Walewein begun by Penninc and completed by Pieter Vostaert, possibly around 1260, may have been written as an answer to the slightly earlier Lantsloot vander Hagedochte, a verse rendering of the French Lancelot en prose. The most important Middle Dutch animal epic, Reynard the Fox, can certainly be read as a satire on the courtly values of the Carolingian and Arthurian cycles.

But there are other reactions, which directly involve other cultural traditions and relations. The extremely prolific Jacob van Maerlant, the author of some 230,000 lines of verse who lived in the latter half of the thirteenth century, began his career with a number of courtly romances mostly based on French sources. Gradually, however, he turned away from fiction towards historical, didactic and encyclopaedic works, covering virtually every field of knowledge from geography to medicine, and including both biblical and secular history. In so doing, he replaced French source texts with Latin ones, the world of entertainment with the world of erudition. The switch from French to Latin as a source language is symptomatic. Latin, the high-status language of education, learning and the Church, marked a cultural divide. The translations of didactic and spiritual works from Latin into the vernacular clearly show the unequal relation between the two worlds. Scholastic theology, for example, remained the preserve of Latin, and only the more popularizing works on the subject, intended for a lay audience, were translated into Dutch. Texts containing practical meditation exercises and devotional treatises, on the other hand, were translated much more frequently. In some instances works of this kind were rendered both into prose and into verse: the verse translations tended to adopt modes of presentation reminiscent of the secular romances and of oral traditions, while the prose versions appear to have been intended for private reading or for reading aloud in the small semi-religious communities typical of the medieval Low Countries.

As urbanization and literacy increased towards the end of the Middle Ages, the divide between Latin and vernacular culture narrowed. In some circles, such as the culturally influential semi-religious communities of the Devotio Moderna (also known as the 'Brethren of the Common Life') in the Northern Netherlands in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, moralizing and didactic works were written in both Latin and Dutch, or translated very soon after their first appearance. In his De libris teutonicalibus ('On books in Dutch') Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen (died 1398) argued that it was immaterial whether books were read in Latin or the vernacular, as long as they were edifying and within the reader’s intellectual grasp. At the same time, the emergence of an increasingly powerful merchant class in the towns created a demand for bilingual and even multilingual phrasebooks, of which the fourteenth-century Dutch–French Livre des mestiers ('Book of trades') is the first attested specimen.

The Renaissance

In the course of the fifteenth century several parts of the Low Countries came under the control of the Burgundian dukes. They set out to create a more centralized administration which used French as its dominant language. Although the Burgundians showed little interest in literary patronage, the so-called Chambers of Rhetoric, a kind of literary guild for well-to-do burghers which were introduced in the Low Countries in the fifteenth century, were modelled on French examples both in their organization and in the type of work they produced. Their output contained a significant number of translations from the French, and the high proportion of French loanwords in their vocabulary is indicative of the weight of French at this time.

The invention of printing around the middle of the fifteenth century was to have a profound impact on cultural life, but it did not immediately lead to translations. The very first printing presses in the Low Countries were set up in small northern towns; they published mostly Latin books but it soon became clear that the
local markets were too limited, both financially and intellectually, to support such expensive enterprises. In the sixteenth century, Antwerp—by now the main economic and population centre and a cultural metropolis—became the most important publishing centre in the Low Countries. Here books could be printed for international markets in a range of languages and often in multilingual form. It was here also that from around the middle of the sixteenth century the European Renaissance would be translated into Dutch. The modern Dutch verb vertalen is first attested in its current meaning (to translate) in this period.

The role of translation around the beginning of the century may be gauged from the activity of a publisher like Thomas van der Noot, who was based mainly in Brussels rather than in Antwerp, and who was the first Low Countries printer to request and obtain, in 1512, copyright permission to protect his products. Between 1505 and 1523 Van der Noot brought out some 35 texts in approximately 40 printings. His early production ranged from saints’ lives in Dutch to literature in French and a Latin work on logic. The later printings make it clear that Van der Noot, having identified his audience, carefully selected, translated and adapted his source texts to suit the wealthy, cultured, Dutch-speaking patrician circles of Brabant. Around half the books he printed were translations done by himself from Latin, French and German. In those cases where practical knowledge or moral instruction were the main reason for publication, he often removed, as irrelevant, any trace of the foreign-language origin of the texts. High-prestige works, on the other hand, whether of a professional or of a literary nature, would be brought out in luxurious, expensive editions and fully acknowledge their status as translations by parading their famous authors’ names.

Later in the sixteenth century much of the translation activity associated with the breakthrough of the Renaissance in vernacular culture was intended for the same type of audience. Whereas the Humanist intellectual elite used Latin as its medium and various popularizing and chapbook versions in Dutch appealed to a more traditional public, the translations from the classics which began to appear in Antwerp around 1550 were aimed at a prosperous and culturally progressive urban elite. The first major translator of the Classics into Dutch was the Antwerp Rhetorician Cornelis van Ghistele (c.1510–73), who in the 1550s and 1560s produced commercially successful renderings of works by Ovid, Virgil, Terence and Horace, as well as of Erasmus and—via a Latin version—Sophocles. In his prefaces Van Ghistele chided the Humanists for writing only in Latin and, at the other end of the scale, voiced his contempt for ‘worthless’ medieval romances and other entertainment literature. He justified his own work by pointing not only to the intrinsic merit of his originals but also to translations being published in other modern languages. Typical of the early Renaissance translator was his acute awareness of the imperfection of the mother tongue compared with the purity, flexibility and abundance of the classical languages.

Whereas Van Ghistele stuck mostly to authors who were on the Latin school curriculum, the other major translator of the period, Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert (1522–90), who worked in the northern Netherlands, was more interested in works containing practical or moral instruction. Apart from Homer, whom he translated through a Latin version, and Boccaccio, done via the French, Coornhert translated Boethius, Cicero and Seneca. In contrast to Van Ghistele, Coornhert showed a strong purist streak in his use of Dutch. In this, he went beyond translation: he actively encouraged those circles which in the 1580s produced the first Dutch grammar and the first Dutch treatment of dialectic and classical rhetoric; and he himself was the first to write a book on ethics in Dutch, devising the necessary terminology as he went along.

Coornhert’s activity in this respect was symptomatic of the growing emancipation of Dutch as a vehicle for both arts and sciences. The latter half of the sixteenth century witnessed not only a huge increase in translations of all manner of practical and scientific works, but also the first works directly written in Dutch on subjects ranging from mathematics and logic to botany and music. Not surprisingly, the period also saw the first large-scale bilingual and multilingual dictionaries.

Another phenomenon of increasing importance was the translation of the Bible, mostly by Protestants, since the Protestant ethic expected
believers to have direct access to the word of God. In the early phases of the Reformation a Dutch version derived from Luther's German Bible was commonly used. From the 1560s onwards the so-called 'Two Aces' Bible was widely read. This was a hybrid product, in which the Old Testament was based on Luther and the New Testament had been translated on very different principles from the original Greek. A standard version did not come about until the seventeenth century, when the Dutch States General commissioned an entirely new translation which was to be carried out along lines similar to the English Authorized Version, i.e. prepared by a collective, and as close to the source texts as the recipient language would permit. The Dutch 'States Bible' appeared in 1637. It was hugely influential as a linguistic and cultural point of reference, and remained the standard Dutch Bible until the twentieth century.

By the time the 'States Bible' appeared, the Eighty Years' War had run most of its course, the Dutch Republic had gained independence, and the political, economic and cultural centre of the Low Countries had shifted decisively from the southern to the northern Netherlands, and to Holland in particular. Amsterdam had replaced Antwerp as the new publishing capital. A supra-regional Dutch standard language was gradually taking shape, a process to which the 'States Bible' contributed significantly. The prosperity of the new state, and the power of a self-conscious and highly literate merchant class in it, meant that the demand for translations could only increase. In the first decades of the seventeenth century Dutch culture continued the deliberate learning process associated with the vernacular Renaissance of the sixteenth century, but soon imitation turned into emulation. The mercantile base of the Dutch economy and the creation of a seaborne commercial empire fostered an active interest in practical knowledge and in things foreign. Moreover, in the politically and ideologically tolerant climate of the Dutch Republic, the sciences and modern philosophy flourished, and since by no means all the burghers of Holland read Latin or French, translations were called for.

The production of the seventeenth-century 'arch-translator' Jan Hendriksz Glazemaker (1619/20–82) can illustrate this wide-ranging intellectual hunger. Glazemaker, who frequented the intellectual elite despite his modest social background, worked mostly from Latin and French, occasionally also from German and Italian. In all his translations, which ran to over sixty titles, he wrote a consciously purist Dutch. His professionalism is everywhere apparent, and he frequently criticized older translations for inaccuracies, priding himself on consulting existing versions in other languages as well. At the start of his career, in 1643, he translated a Latin text (John Barclay's Argenis) via the French; he returned to it in 1680, now rendering it directly from Latin. Originals in Greek, Portuguese or English, however, he translated via Latin or French intermediate versions. Glazemaker's early work ranged widely, and encompassed mostly history, didactic works and travel books. In 1658 he brought out the Qur'ān in Dutch, working from the French version by the orientalist André du Ryer (1647). While translations like these probably satisfied the general intellectual curiosity of his outward-looking audience, the intense philosophical debates of the latter half of the seventeenth century were relayed to Dutch readers without sufficient knowledge of foreign languages in a long series of translations of virtually the complete works of Montaigne, Descartes and Spinoza. Many of Descartes' Latin works had been translated into French, and his French works into Latin; Glazemaker used both versions whenever possible, consulting mathematicians, musicologists and other specialists as the need arose. He was undoubtedly the first professional translator in Dutch.

The main literary translator of the period was arguably Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), generally regarded also as the greatest poet and playwright of his age. His work as a translator illustrates some of the literary preoccupations of the time and the close interaction between translation and original writing. With his modest background and limited schooling, Vondel went to great lengths to learn first Latin and then Greek, as his ideas about literature matured. Early on, in the 1620s, when he was writing Dutch tragedies in the Senecan vein, he translated two of Seneca's plays. Following the translation in 1635 of the Neo-Latin play Sophompaneas by his compatriot Hugo Grotius, Vondel wrote two further plays concerning
the Biblical Joseph, and the three were often performed together in the Amsterdam theatre. When his Humanist friends helped him discover Greek tragedy, he translated Sophocles' Electra and began consciously to develop an Aristotelian type of tragedy in Dutch. Apart from a number of translations, including Horace's poems and Ovid's Heroides, done purely as private exercises, he also rendered all of Virgil into Dutch, first in prose (1646) and then in verse (1660), before going on to write his own Christian epic John the Baptist (1662). His play Jeptha (1659), an emulation of George Buchanan's sixteenth-century Neo-Latin play Jephthes, was conceived as an Aristotelian model tragedy, and Vondel was still translating Sophocles and Euripides in the 1670s, when he had reached eighty. By then, however, time had passed him by. The popular cash-box successes on the Amsterdam stage were non-classical plays, among which translations of Spanish comedies and tragi-comedies scored highly. Around 1670 however they too had to make way for the new cultural fashion. As France became the dominant power in Europe, French Classicism was introduced into the Netherlands via a large number of translations. Many of them were deliberately made to replace existing versions which did not follow the rules of French-Classicist poetics. Translation can rarely have played a more openly polemical and formative role than at this time. The triumph of French Classicism in the Amsterdam theatre was complete: in subsequent decades the number of translations consistently exceeded that of original works.

The modern period

The cultural dominance of France continued for the better part of the eighteenth century. At the same time, this very dominance brought about a certain patriotic reflex, while other forms of expression counteracted the French monopoly in particular domains. As a result, a more differentiated picture emerges. Dutch culture henceforth translated from a different range of source languages, and genre distinctions became more important in the selection. With the further expansion of education and literacy the local market for Dutch books continued to grow; at a time when the Republic became more than ever an international, multilingual publishing centre. The Amsterdam publisher Isaac Tirion (1705–65) would be the first to publish exclusively books in Dutch. The phenomenon is related to the gradual decline of Latin as the obvious cultured medium, and its replacement with both French and Dutch. Whereas in the first half of the seventeenth century the proportion of Dutch as against Latin books printed in Holland was approximately 7 to 1, in the latter half of the century it had already changed to a proportion of 2 to 1. The trend continued in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the ratio of Dutch versus Latin books became 2 to 1. In the next fifty years Dutch books outnumbered works in Latin by 6 to 1. French, on the other hand, clearly strengthened its position. Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 French Huguenots fled to the Dutch Republic in such numbers that in Amsterdam alone an estimated twenty bookshops out of a total of some 250 sold almost exclusively French books.

Nevertheless the demand for Dutch translations continued to increase, particularly among the bourgeoisie with their interest in digestible versions of the new ideas in the sciences and philosophy, and in the new forms of literary prose. Until around the middle of the eighteenth century French was the main language from which Dutch translations were made, even though this was probably more true in a domain like the arts than in, say, religion. But, for the first time, English and German came into the picture. In the field of popular prose, for example, translated works consistently accounted for up to two thirds of the total production throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with French, English and German as the main source languages. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, however, the proportion of French translations decreased very noticeably, from around 50 per cent in 1600–1770 to around 20 per cent in the early nineteenth century. Translations from English remained insignificant until around 1700, established a constant presence for most of the century and declined only towards the end of the period – when French revolutionary armies had overrun the Netherlands. Translations from the German hardly played a part at all until around 1770, but by the end of the century
German had become far and away the most important source language. The pattern would remain the same for a good while: of all the novels printed in Holland in the 1820s and 1830s over 60 per cent were translations, and of these around 60 per cent were based on German originals. In the early nineteenth-century Dutch theatre too, well over half the plays were translations. Among the most popular authors for the stage were prolific writers like A.W. Iffland and August von Kotzebue. Between 1790 and 1830 around thirty of Iffland’s and no fewer than 120 of Kotzebue’s plays were translated into Dutch.

In the early eighteenth century English models and translations from English proved influential in launching spectatorial writings in the Netherlands. Addison and Steele’s English Spectator was rendered into Dutch in its entirety in 1720–27. Justus van Effen (1684–1735), who had already tried his hand at a French-language Spectator and translated Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe and Swift’s A Tale of a Tub into French, started a very successful Dutch Spectator in 1731. It would run to 360 issues until 1735, and was followed by a host of similar periodicals in which every subject under the sun was discussed. In all, the eighteenth century saw some seventy spectatorial series, both translated and original, in Holland alone. The other new prose genre, and one with a longer future, was the novel. Here English and German models, Laurence Sterne’s Sentimental Journey and Goethe’s Werther among them, combined to give rise to a Dutch wave of sentimental novels at the end of the eighteenth century. The epistolary genre, in which English examples predominated, lent itself particularly well to a portrayal of bourgeois values and virtues. The book now generally regarded as the first modern novel in Dutch, Sara Burgerhart (1782) by Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, can hardly be imagined without Richardson’s epistolary works as predecessors. Betje Wolff herself, who produced some 180 titles, published twenty-three translations from English, French and German.

The title page of Sara Burgerhart bore the proud inscription: ‘Not Translated.’ Considering the large numbers of translations coming onto the market at the time, the note of defiance in the inscription was unmistakable. There were other reactions as well. One critic complained towards the end of the century about the ‘all-engulfing ocean of translations,’ and in 1835 another writer remarked that Dutch translators were ‘as numerous as locusts in Egypt, as indefatigable and probably as harmful.’ Clearly, the cultural status of the translators had suffered, and they had come to be regarded generally as mere hacks. As early as 1787 J. Lublink de Jonge had published the first independent treatise in Dutch in defence of translation, and the debate for and against would continue in subsequent decades.

In broad outline, the pattern of translation established in the early nineteenth century continued into the twentieth. Translations from the classical languages retained high prestige but were numerically slight. English, French and German remained the most important source languages, even though their relative importance changed considerably. In the absence of reliable bibliographical surveys and of studies of sufficient scope and depth covering the vast area of Dutch-language book publishing and translation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, only one or two random aspects can be indicated here. As German came to be seen as a major language for the sciences in the nineteenth century, it consolidated its international position in other respects as well. Most of the Dutch translations of Scandinavian writers in the latter half of the nineteenth century, for example, were based on German versions. But in the literary field the historical novel was largely borne by translations from English, and the realist and naturalist novel by French works. Since the latter part of the twentieth century the ascendency of English has been particularly noticeable in virtually every domain, from the sciences and the arts to the audiovisual media. While over the years the Netherlands has been among the top ten nations in the world in terms of book publishing, some 40 per cent of the total number of Dutch books brought out are translations, and around 20 per cent of these are translated from English. In the field of literary prose, well over half the total number of titles are translations, and of these around two thirds are from English.

In Flanders, where in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the upper echelons of the bourgeoisie had adopted French as their language of culture, much popular reading matter in Dutch was translated from the French.
When Belgium gained independence in 1830, the language of the administration was that of its leading classes, i.e. French. Over the next hundred years or so, the gradual emancipation of the Dutch-speaking population of Flanders meant that translation acquired an altogether new dimension. Following the Equality Law of 1898, which recognized Dutch alongside French as the country’s official language, a massive effort of legal and administrative translation was set in motion, and continues to this day. All national laws are immediately translated into the other language, and the national Parliament has its simultaneous interpretation service. Whereas Dutch-speaking Flanders and French-speaking Wallonia are now monolingual territories, in the bilingual area of the capital Brussels all official documents appear in both languages.

The sheer volume of professional translating in the Netherlands and Flanders also led to translators’ organizations being established. In Holland an association was first set up as early as 1931. The Dutch Society of Translators was founded in 1956; Dutch literary translators have their own section in the Society of Authors. The ‘Belgian Chamber for Translators, Interpreters and Philologists’, with Flemish and francophone subdivisions, came into being in 1955. The Dutch and the Belgian associations each have their own publications, and both are affiliated to the Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs (FIT).

In the Netherlands the prestigious Martinus Nijhoff Prize for literary translation was established in 1953, and several Dutch companies have developed and marketed machine translation systems. Since the 1950s and 1960s a number of higher education institutes for the training of translators have been set up in both countries. The last two decades also witnessed a remarkable flourishing of the new discipline of translation studies in the Low Countries.

Further reading
Finnish tradition

Finland has shaped its own identity in the space between major cultures. Successive phases of cultural and linguistic influence have created a society in which multi- or bilingualism and translation have played a significant role.

From the thirteenth century onwards, the dominant cultural influence in Finland came from Sweden; for five centuries Finland was part of the Swedish realm and shared in Sweden's cultural and military history. This period ended in the early nineteenth century, when Sweden lost military dominance in the north to Russia. Finland was ceded to Russia in 1809, to become an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Tsarist Empire. The Finnish nationalist movement gathered strength towards the end of the century, and independence was declared in 1917. The early decades after independence saw an increase in German influence, and this continued up to the end of World War II. The dominant cultural influence since then has been Anglo-American.

Today, Finland is primarily Scandinavian in terms of its cultural outlook. Its Swedish heritage is manifested in the presence of a Swedish-speaking minority and in the fact that Swedish is one of the two official national languages, alongside Finnish. Official documents, notices, product descriptions and the like all appear in both languages, and translation between them is thus widespread. The long-standing cultural links between Finland and Sweden have meant that this translation activity has been relatively unproblematic: the languages are now semantically close, despite the genetic difference. Attitudes to Swedish have remained ambivalent: the Swedish-speaking elite served in the nineteenth century as a channel for European influences, which fed into the rise of Finnish nationalism; on the other hand, the long centuries of Swedish rule had previously obstructed the emergence of Finnish as a national language.

Finland's historically precarious position between east and west is matched by the relative isolation of the Finnish language. Finnish is a Finno-Ugrian language, not part of the Indo-European family; it is thus unrelated to the Germanic languages to the west and the Slavonic ones to the east. A strongly agglutinating language, it is closely related to Estonian, and distantly to Hungarian. Finnish is the native language of about 93 per cent of the country's current population of five million. There are about 300,000 Swedish-speaking Finns.

The Swedish period (to 1809)

Finnish and Swedish speakers have lived alongside one another in Finland since the early Middle Ages. During the Swedish period, Finnish–Swedish bilingualism was normal among the upper classes and administrative corps. Official documents were issued in Latin, later in Swedish: this meant that the Finnish-speaking rural population had to rely on clerks or other educated people to translate or interpret for them when necessary. After the Reformation, the status of Finnish was raised, particularly following the first translations of the Bible.

Christianity had come to Finland around the end of the first millennium, but it was not until the fifteenth century that the Bible began to be translated into the vernacular. The first translator of any note was a fifteenth-century monk named Jöns Budde, who translated parts of the Bible into Swedish.

Translation into Finnish began to acquire historical importance with the work of Mikael
Agricola (c.1510–57), a Lutheran reformer and founder of literary Finnish. His translation of the New Testament appeared in 1548, followed by about a quarter of the Old Testament in 1551–2. A former student of Luther, Agricola translated with a clear sense of religious mission, in the belief that the Divine Word should be made accessible to all people. In his preface to the New Testament, he writes that the Word should be ‘public, comprehensible to all men, and concealed from no-one’ (translated). In addition, he states that his aim is to follow the original as closely as possible. Alongside the original source texts, Agricola also made use of existing translations into Greek, Latin, German and Swedish: this is evident in his Finnish, which introduced new loanwords and manifested some grammatical features which were borrowed from various languages, including the prenominal, article-like use of certain function words; Finnish had, and still has, no articles.

At the time Agricola was writing there was no written standard Finnish. There was a long tradition of homiletic Finnish which he could draw on, but he was in fact creating the written standard language as he translated. He based this standard on the dialect of south-west Finland, spoken around the city of Turku (Åbo in Swedish), which was the cultural centre of Sweden's Finnish province. The Swedish authorities encouraged the idea that the south-west dialect, rather than the eastern dialects spoken closer to Russia, represented the most authentic Finnish. Agricola was also conscious of the need to establish a general standard language.

A Finnish translation of the whole Bible did not appear until 1642. The translators were instructed to stay close to the original texts and to adhere to the Lutheran interpretation, to write a Finnish that was as good and natural as possible and could be understood in all parts of the country, and to maintain a stylistic unity between the various parts of the translation. The translators’ committee, under Eskil Petraeus, built on the earlier work of Agricola and others but worked directly from the original languages. All the costs of translating and printing were covered by the state – an indication of the importance attached to the work. This translation of the Bible remained the standard version in Finland until the 1930s. It played an enormous role in standardizing Finnish spelling and syntax, and the influence of its style can be seen in the work of many writers and poets, and even occasionally in the press (see Jääskeläinen 1989).

Translation into Finnish thus started with biblical translation. Legal translation, which developed later, proved much more problematic: the laws of the Finnish provinces were in Old Swedish, which was itself an unfamiliar language to many of the translators; there was no tradition of oral or written legal Finnish to build on, and many of the legal concepts had no Finnish equivalents. It took two more centuries for standard legal Finnish to take shape (Aaltonen 1986; Sandbacka 1986; Majamaa 1991).

The oldest Finnish translation of a legal text dates back to 1580; the manuscript is in the handwriting of Martti Olavinpoika, chaplain at the Swedish court, but the actual translation may have been done by Jaakko Pietarinpoika (Jacobus Petri Finno). The translation is heavily marked by Swedish interference. The first printed version of the Finnish law appeared in 1759, translated by Samuel Forsén (Forseen), an official translator in the Stockholm administration, but the Finnish he used was already archaic. Throughout Finnish history, legal texts have been significantly influenced by translations and by concepts borrowed from other languages, first Swedish and later Russian.

Translations of other types of administrative text during this period – statutes, royal decrees, etc. – were at first produced rather sporadically. Translations of edicts were read aloud from the pulpit (illiteracy was high and printed material scarce). In order to cope with the increasing load of administrative and legal translation and to maintain some degree of unified style, the first official post of Finnish translator (from Swedish) was established by the government in Stockholm in 1735. The translator was instructed to translate closely and accurately; the translations contained many loanwords and structures copied from Swedish, and some from Latin or French. In general, the official translators in the eighteenth century tended to adhere slavishly to source text forms and were less interested in achieving naturalness in the target language. The official Finnish translator's
post was re-established after the official break with Sweden in 1809, and the number of official translators soon grew. One influential translator was the historian and linguist Reinhold von Becker, who sought to liberate legal Finnish from Swedish influence.

Literary translation was virtually non-existent during the Swedish period. Finnish literature itself did not begin to flourish until the nineteenth century. Literature was long considered to have a corrupting influence, and there was little demand yet for literary translations: the literate educated classes had access to literary works in Swedish and German, and to a lesser extent in French and English.

Education for literacy was undertaken by the Lutheran Church from the seventeenth century onwards. The campaign naturally produced a need for things to read, from an ABC primer to a translation of Luther's *Small Catechism*. In order to motivate the peasants to learn, in 1686 the authorities stipulated that permission to marry would not be granted until the young people could demonstrate a basic level of literacy. The combined influence of the Church and the administration thus ensured that early translation work had a definite pragmatic and didactic purpose, which tended to override considerations of target language naturalness or aesthetic value.

At the same time, part of the very motive for translation was to boost the status of the Finnish language. Towards the end of the Swedish period, the position of Finland – and therefore also Finnish – declined within the Swedish state, and in Finland itself bilingualism became less common, with the upper and middle classes retreating mainly to Swedish. Translation was thus a way of counteracting this trend.

During the Swedish period as a whole, translators often had a rather apologetic and defensive attitude to their target texts. The translator's work was not highly regarded, criticism was severe, and the translator's name was often not mentioned in the published work. At the beginning of the period, translation had nevertheless been seen in positive terms, as a way of enriching the Finnish language and educating the people; by the end of it, translation had become merely a means of defending the language and slowing down its decline.

**The Russian period (1809–1917)**

Finns had long been involved in Sweden's wars with Russia. The final defeat of Sweden in 1809 meant that Finland became part of the Russian Empire, but throughout the following century Finland acquired a large degree of legislative and cultural autonomy.

In the mid-19th century, Elias Lönnrot (1802–84, leading figure of the Finnish nationalist movement and compiler of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*) set about revising and updating the Finnish legal language and retranslating some of the main legal texts. He also translated parts of Homer, poetry, hymns, history, scientific and medical texts. Through his translations and lists of technical terms he helped to create a basic Finnish vocabulary in botany, medicine and law. He was a prolific writer and published many articles on translation, dealing with matters as varied as the effects of shortening words in translations of hymns, the problems of translating poetry and ways of creating new Finnish terms in different fields. Finnish became an official language of Finland, alongside Swedish, in 1863, but Swedish remained the primary language of the law until well into the twentieth century. During this period, Russian was also used, for instance on street signs and in some official documents, but it never attained the status of an official national language.

The most important feature of this period is the emergence of literary translation, supported by a flourishing national literature, first in Swedish (many of the leading figures of the nationalist movement were Swedish-speaking) and then in Finnish (see Kovala 1985). One of the towering figures in the early days of the Finnish nationalist movement was the philosopher and cultural activist Johan Vilhelm Snellman (1806–81). In the late 1840s he proposed that a new journal be founded to publish Finnish translations of literary classics from other cultures, for artistic, patriotic and educational reasons. The idea was supported by Elias Lönnrot and also by the Finnish Literature Society (founded in 1831), which was aware of the need to introduce literary models into Finnish in order to stimulate the country's own literary culture. After some delay (partly for political reasons and partly because of the
prevailing anti-literature attitudes among the religious revivalist movements) the plan came to fruition in 1869; the last decades of the century saw a significant boom in literary translation.

In 1871, an annual competition was set up by Snellman, who was now chairman of the Literature Society. The Society even drew up a list of writers and works to be translated, containing not only literary (e.g. Shakespeare, Dickens, Molière, Chateaubriand) but also historical and philosophical writings (Macaulay, Fox, Rousseau). A further list was compiled in 1887. The Literature Society thus played an important role as a commissioner of translations, either directly or indirectly, by suggesting cultural/literary gaps that needed to be filled and in many cases publishing the resulting translations. Some literary translations into Finnish were also published in the United States, where there was a lively community of Finnish emigrants.

In 1908, on the initiative of the Literature Society and other cultural circles, the Finnish Senate set up a fund to support Finnish translation (and original works) in literature and science. The stated aim was again to stimulate Finnish culture by incorporating the classic works of other cultures, which would then serve as catalysts for Finnish literature, science and scholarship. Adaptation to suit the tastes and needs of the Finnish readership was encouraged, except with literary texts (Lehto 1986).

During the first part of the Russian period translators were often civil servants or military personnel, whose work put them in touch with other languages. In the latter half, translators were more likely to be writers themselves: poets, university teachers and professors (for example Juhani Aho, Ilmari Kianto, J.W. Calamnius, Kaarlo Forsman). They translated partly for the general reader but partly also for the influential cultural circles in Finland, for students who would be the next elite and for artists who would be inspired by the translations to produce their own works of art — in Finnish. The motivation was thus both educational and aesthetic. Literary translation meant the creation of a culture, and the translators were well aware of this. Translating had a high status; there were many translators, and the Finnish readership valued their work.

Between about 1860 and 1917, a fairly representative selection of European literature became available in Finnish (some had already been available in Swedish). The peak of this translating activity came in the last three decades of the century. From Germany came Heine, Goethe, Schiller and other classics; especially popular were translations of stories of village life, which had quite an influence on the development of this popular genre in Finland. A Finnish version of Bunyan’s edifying Pilgrim’s Progress appeared in 1809 and Shakespeare’s Macbeth in 1834. Scott and Dickens came later. Inspired by the opening of the Finnish National Theatre in Helsinki in the 1870s, Paavo Cajander (1846–1913) spent his life translating all Shakespeare’s plays (except Pericles) into Finnish. His translations have had great influence on Finnish theatre and literature; they are still the only ones available for many of Shakespeare’s plays.

Translations from French started with the works of Dumas père. The first Finnish translations from Russian date from the 1860s; Turgenev and Tolstoy were particularly popular. Scandinavian classics were translated during the same period; particularly influential were the translations of C. M. Bellman’s Swedish songs, which (together with those of Schiller’s lyrics) contributed to the weakening of the traditional strophe structure in Finnish lyric poetry and the rise of freer metres and rhythms towards the end of the century. Translations of the Greek and Latin classics got underway in the 1880s; translators were often schoolteachers translating specifically for school use, and there was some criticism of translations that were regarded as ‘too sensual’. Italian literature arrived later, starting with the 1910s; the writer Joel Lehtonen was among those who translated from Italian.

The translation of literature for children and young people also started in the mid-19th century (Ollikainen 1985). Before this, most of the few books available for children had been religious and didactic; about half of these were translations, mostly from German, either directly or via Swedish. In 1847, three influential translations appeared: a collection of Estonian folk tales and two novels. Of the latter, one was the poet Antti Räty’s translation of the uplifting story of the sufferings of Genoveva, by the German theologian Christoph von Schmid; this became extremely popular in Finland and went into several reprints. The other was postmaster Otto Tandefelt’s abridged adaptation, based
on Geyger's German adaptation, of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. There followed translations from Andersen, the Grimm brothers, and the Finland Swede Zachris Topelius, the father figure of Finnish children's literature.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, about half of all translations of children's literature were of German originals (directly or indirectly), and a quarter of English source texts. The exciting but overtly moralizing works of Franz Hoffmann were popular, as were Johanna Spyri's *Heidi* books. The 1860s and 1870s saw an English invasion of children's literature, perhaps partly influenced by the need felt by Baptist and Methodist missionaries for appropriate Sunday School material.

**After Independence (1917–)**

Finland gained its independence in 1917, following the Russian Revolution. Independence sparked off a new wave of literary translation; a foundation was set up to provide grants for both writing and translating works of literature. Literary translation now extended to more distant cultures. Cervantes' *Don Quixote* was translated in 1927–8 by Juho August Hollo (1885–1967).

Hollo translated an enormous amount (over 200 titles), both literary and non-fiction, alongside his main academic occupation as a professor of education at the University of Helsinki and after retiring. He translated from many languages, European and non-European, including Arabic and Serbo-Croatian. He started with William James's speeches, then went on to educational classics (Pestalozzi, Montessori), philosophy (Bergson, Snellman, Russell, Descartes, Plato, Nietzsche) and literature; he also popularized works for the general public. Hollo had considerable cultural influence as a translator; he had such a reputation with publishers that he could himself suggest works that needed to be translated (for example Dostoevsky, Goethe, Tagore, France).

Latin-American literature did not arrive on the scene until the 1960s; the poet Pentti Saaritsa has been one of the main translators of this literature, especially of the works of Neruda. Chinese literature and philosophy were first translated in the 1920s, with a second peak of interest in the 1950s; most translations were done via German or English, but Pertti Nieminen, for example, works from Chinese originals directly. Translations of Japanese poetry (by Tuomas Anhava, and later Kai Nieminen) and Japanese drama started to flourish in the 1960s. Translations from African cultures are even more recent.

Throughout the history of literary translation in Finland, two traditions have held sway. In one, applying to translations from classical antiquity and to legal and biblical translation, the tendency has been to translate rather literally in the first instance, with an eye to the educational purpose of the texts in question; later versions of the same texts would then be produced, giving priority to a more natural Finnish. Imaginative fiction, on the other hand, was often rendered first in the form of adaptations (Macbeth first appears as a Finn, in a Finnish setting); later translations tended to show more respect for the source text. For instance, Modernist techniques such as stream of consciousness proved difficult to translate at first. In the 1940s, translators were still unhappy with an indirect free style and tended to prefer a more 'natural' direct or indirect speech. Later translations, such as those by Pentti Saarikoski (1937–83), were able to exploit and stretch Finnish more freely to accommodate the patterns of the source text. Saarikoski was a writer, poet and translator who became a legend in his time as a cultural radical and a leading figure of Finnish Modernism. He produced many translations of Greek classics (notably Homer's *Odyssey*) and modern prose (for example Salinger, Joyce, Bellow, Miller). His translation of Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* into Helsinki slang was a sensational success. Some of his translations reflect the norm-breaking ideas of Ezra Pound, who was a major influence on Saarikoski's work.

The translations by poet Otto Manninen (1872–1950) have also become Finnish classics in their own right. A lecturer in Finnish, at the University of Helsinki, he translated a wide range of poetry and drama (over 100,000 lines) including Runeberg and Topelius from Swedish, Heine and Goethe from German, Molière from French, Petöfi from Hungarian and Homer, Sophocles and Euripides from Greek. He was also language reviser for the Bible translation committee (1921–37). His translations of Heine helped to introduce freer metres into Finnish
poetry. In his translations from Molière he created his own equivalent of the alexandrine, known as 'Manninen’s alexandrine', which resembled blank verse but retained rhyme and varied the caesura and syllable number.

Other influential literary translators of the twentieth century include the poets Eino Leino, and Yrjö Jylhä; literary scholar and poet V. A. Koskenniemi; writers Tyyni Tuulio, Eila Pennanen and Aale Tynni; also Esa Adrian, Anslem Hollo, Arto Häälä, Marja Itkonen-Kaila, Juhani Jaskari, Eino and Jalo Kalima, Kristína Kivivuori, Juhani Konkka, Markku Mannila, Aarno Peromies, Annikki Suni, Oili Suominen, Inkeri Tuomikoski, Thomas Warburton (into Swedish) and Emil Zilliacus (Greek into Swedish).

Since independence, most official translation has been between Finnish and Swedish. Especially since the 1960s, the number of translators’ posts has grown dramatically, as has the range of target languages translated into. The main European languages currently head the list.

By the end of the twentieth century translations accounted for just over 20 per cent of all titles published in Finland. A good 50 per cent of literary titles were translations; about half of these from English, followed by Swedish and German. Translations of children’s literature accounted for as much as 75 per cent of all titles published (Kuivasmäki 1985).

Profession, training and research

Translator training, as a kind of master–apprentice arrangement, began with the 1908 Finnish Literature Fund already mentioned (Lehto 1986). The Fund’s committee, which consisted of professors and other experts, took pains to select and train competent translators. Sample versions had to be submitted, and these were then checked and criticized in detail. Versions might be sent back for further revision several times, and the feedback process might continue for years. Even established poets and translators, such as Otto Manninen and Eino Leino, continued to submit samples of their work to other experts for comments and advice. A similar apprenticeship system has operated in some university language departments in recent decades: Eila Pennanen, for instance, trained many literary translators in her Helsinki seminars during the 1970s.

Institutional training of translators and interpreters started in the late 1960s, when four language institutes were set up (in Turku, Tampere, Savonlinna and Kouvola). They were independent, non-academic institutes running three-year diploma courses. In 1981, these institutes were upgraded and incorporated into the university system as departments or schools of Translation Studies (at the universities of Turku, Tampere, Joensuu and Helsinki, respectively). This change brought academic status and a longer period of study (five to seven years) leading to the MA degree and further to licentiate and doctoral degrees. It also provided a strong impetus for professional academic research in translation studies. A shorter BA degree was introduced in 1994. The languages most commonly offered are English, German and Russian. Student intake reflects the popularity of English.

The profession of translating and interpreting has grown enormously in Finland since World War II. This has led to improvements in standards and in the legal rights of translators and interpreters. Nordic cooperation has led to a joint agreement (in force since 1987) on citizens’ rights to have access to an interpreter in certain contexts, at public expense. All Nordic countries seek to ensure that Nordic citizens can use their own native language in their dealings with the authorities. With the growth in immigration levels, community interpreting is now a feature of everyday life, but much of it is still done on an amateur basis.

The Finnish Association of Translators and Interpreters (SKTL) was founded in 1955 and has been a member of FIT since 1957. It is also a member of the Conseil Européen des Associations de Traducteurs Littéraires. The SKTL has five divisions: literary translation, non-fiction (document) translation, audiovisual media translation, interpreting, and research and teaching. By far the largest division is for the non-fiction, which includes scientific, business and technical translators. Membership is based on application and recommendation. The SKTL also keeps a membership register (indicating languages and fields of specialization) and a directory of Finnish interpreters.

The SKTL publishes the journal Kääntäjä-Översättaren ten times a year (the bilingual
French tradition

Prior to the late Middle Ages, translation in France cannot be seen in isolation from the Latin tradition of Western Europe. Though translation into vernacular languages began in the eleventh century in Europe, the first translations into Old French did not appear until the thirteenth century. Before then, translation was carried out into Latin and was usually undertaken in monasteries. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, translation – both into Latin and into the vernacular – of Arabic philosophical and scientific writings and of Ancient Greek works and their related commentaries was undertaken by the Toledo School (see Spanish tradition). This school is generally seen as providing a turning point in the history of translation in the West, which had begun with translation into classical Latin. Vulgar Latin, the language from which the romance languages and subsequently French evolved, was to become the target language of translation. The first documents written in Old French are literal translations of Latin liturgical texts which date back to the ninth century (van Hoof 1991).

The foundation of the first universities in France in the thirteenth century gave translation into French a real impetus. A century later, the use of Old French (as opposed to Latin) began to prevail in administrative documents, but Latin maintained its supremacy as the language of scholarship until the Renaissance signalled the decline of the great Latin tradition. However, this was a slow process and the use of Latin in scientific translations lasted well into the eighteenth century (Kelly 1979).

Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose* (c.1235) includes translations of Latin texts, and Virgil's *Aeneid* was also translated into Old French in the thirteenth century. Latin translations of Arabic medical treatises were themselves put into Old French, as were a number of chronicles of French history which had been written in Latin, for example *Historia Francorum*...
by Grégoire de Tours which dates from the sixth century, and the thirteenth-century work *Historia Regum Francorum*.

Under the reign of King Charles V (1337–80), translation of classical works was actively encouraged. Latin versions of Aristotle’s works were retranslated into French by Nicolas Oresme (1330–82), one of the main translators at the royal court. Oresme is said to have introduced hundreds of new terms into French and produced several scientific translations; he also made interesting comments in the prefaces to his translations on such issues as the task of the translator, the need for accuracy and the introduction of new terms into the target language (Larwill 1934). However, this period of linguistic and intellectual activity was to be followed by decades of unrest which were not conducive to translation. The few translations which were produced during this period include those of Boccaccio’s *Decameron* (1485), Titus Livius’s *Decades* (1486) and Cicero’s *De Officie’s* (1493), together with a small number of scientific works in Latin and Italian. To these can be added some translations from other European vernacular languages.

### The sixteenth century: the development of French and translation of the classics

The sixteenth century witnessed a considerable increase in the number of translations due to the stimulating influence of the Renaissance and the introduction of printing technology. Renewed interest in the classics led the humanists to return to original sources and bypass medieval scholasticism, whilst the secularization of knowledge which was triggered by the Renaissance promoted translation into the vernacular for an expanding readership who did not have direct access to classical sources.

Specific terms were coined during this period to describe the process of translation: *traduire* (to translate) was introduced by Robert Esperre (1503–59) on the basis of the Italian *traducere*, and the humanist Etienne Dolet (1509–46) was responsible for introducing *traduction* (translation) and *traducteur* (translator). Dolet is a highly symbolic figure in Western translation history, having been accused of ‘mistranslating’ one of Plato’s works and burnt at the stake. He is credited with the first formulation of translation theory in *La manière de bien traduire d’une langue en l’autre* (How to translate well from one language into another), which was published in 1540. Dolet cites five rules for translation: understanding the meaning of the original text, mastering both source and target languages, avoiding word-for-word renderings, using the speech of ordinary people, and employing an appropriate tone. The fourth principle, using the speech of ordinary people, can be seen as a response to the tendency of sixteenth-century scholars and Latinists to introduce neologisms and Latin structures into the vernacular.

Initially, only a few translators were able to work directly into French from Greek texts. They included Thomas Sébillet, Jean Lalemant, Antoine Héroet and De la Boétie. Translation into Latin often constituted an intermediary stage before a French version could be produced, as in the case of Jean Laxary (or Lascaris) (1445–1534) and Claude de Seyssel (d. 1520), who worked as a team. Among their various joint efforts, Laxary translated Xenophon’s Greek text *Anabasis* (fourth century BC) into Latin, and De Seyssel then translated Laxary’s Latin version into French.

During this period, the use of Latin, the language of the Church, was firmly established in science and theology, and Latin was consequently the target language for many translations, especially those from other Romance languages, as well as Greek, Syriac and Hebrew. However, Plutarch’s writings and Homer’s *Iliad* were among the few sixteenth-century translations which were made into vernacular French. Several translations of Cicero’s works were also undertaken into French: by Antoine Macault (in 1534 and again in 1549), Pierre Saliot (1537), Jehan Colin (1537) and Etienne Dolet (c.1542).

There were also numerous translations from Italian during this period. Both Marot (in 1544) and Peletier (in 1547) translated Petrarch’s *Sonnets*. Translations from languages other than classical and Romance languages were restricted to English and Germanic works, perhaps the most important being François Baudoin’s translation of Francis Bacon’s *Essays*.

Translation was partly perceived as a means of disseminating knowledge to a wider audience, and in this respect translators assumed two
associated tasks. They had to make classical writings more accessible to a wider readership and, in order to facilitate this task, they had to take part in developing the nascent French language.

One of the best-known French translators of the period, Jacques Amyot (1513–93), introduced several Greek works to French readers, including Plutarch’s Lives and Longus’s Daphnis and Chloë, the latter from the third century BC. Although his translations were to be criticized by subsequent translators for being too literal, the texts were written with the French reader in mind: Amyot provided glosses and definitions which did not exist in the source text. His translation of Longus’s work, which was revised in the nineteenth century by Paul-Louis Courier, is said to be better known than Longus’s original work. In parallel with attempts at achieving clarity of expression, the use of amplification as a rhetorical device is also evident in translations dating from this time, as can be seen in Michel de Tours’ verse translation of Virgil’s Pastoral Poems (1516), which is longer than its source text.

The historical and cultural context in which translation was practised and viewed in the sixteenth century is crucial to an understanding of its development. In 1539, a royal ordinance had decreed French to be the official language of the state, and the literary circle known as the Pléiade advocated the imposition of French and, through cultivating its use, its establishment as a language of equal status to Latin. In 1549, the poet and Latinist Joachim du Bellay (1522–60) wrote Défense et illustration de la langue française, a pamphlet which has been described as ‘an anthology of all arguments against translation’ (Mounin 1994: 13; translated). Translation, in other words, was seen as an obstacle to creativity in the vernacular. By contrast, the study and imitation in French of classical texts was regarded as a literary genre, and as poetry was the dominant literary form many verse translations were produced in that vein. Du Bellay, himself a translator of Virgil, distinguished between poetical and non-literary texts and considered the former untranslatable. The translated text was seen as unable to provide ‘the grace and elegance of the original’, the introduction into French of an alien language form being an unsurmountable obstacle. Du Bellay’s criticism of translation was not without consequences, as writers during this period tended to distance themselves from translation. The translations performed by the Pléiade can be described as a combination of literalism and innovation, with considerable coinage of neologisms derived from Latin and Greek.

A synthesis of sixteenth-century thought on translation can be found in Michel de Montaigne’s Essays (1580–88). Montaigne talks about a hierarchical relationship between languages, with the vernacular being seen as the weaker idiom. He also draws a distinction between aesthetic and informative texts and sees the latter as being less problematic for the translator. The concept of a hierarchy of languages, with classical languages at the top and vernacular languages at the bottom, dominated sixteenth-century thought, and ‘vulgar’ vernacular languages were consequently regarded as unsuitable mediums for the dissemination of culture.

Translation activity prior to 1600 centred on classical literary texts. However, the translation of scientific texts increased considerably during this period, this aspect of translation being unaffected by the literary debates epitomized by the Pléiade. It is also worth noting that many classical works were translated in the fields of architecture, agriculture, natural history and medicine, to name but a few. As well as works by Pliny, Galen and Hippocrates, translations were made of Latin versions of Arabic works and of contemporary scientific texts. Overall, translation functioned as a means of spreading knowledge among the masses and of enriching the French language.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Les Belles Infidèles

The early part of the seventeenth century was the great age of French classicism, but translations were increasingly expected to conform to the literary canons of the day. The free dynamic translations known as Les Belles Infidèles aimed to provide target texts which are pleasant to read, and this continued to be a dominant feature of translation into French well into the eighteenth century. Classical authors were reproduced in a form which was dictated by current French
literary fashion and morality. One of the main figures to adopt this approach was Nicolas Perrot D’Ablancourt (1606–64), who adapted classical texts to current canons and genres to such an extent that some of his translations are considered travesties of their originals. He not only ‘censored’ these works in the course of translating them but also ‘corrected’ any factual errors he encountered and generally aimed to ‘improve’ on the source text whenever he deemed it necessary. D’Ablancourt translated many Greek and Latin authors, including Cicero, Tacitus and Thucydides. Other translators who adopted this approach of ‘improving’ the source text by doctoring it to suit current sensibilities include Louis Giry (1596–1668), Benserade (1613–91), Pierre Perrin (1620–75), Paul Pellisson (1624–93) and Jean Segrain (1624–1701). In 1681, Monsieur de la Valterie published a prose translation of Homeric verse; in a commentary accompanying the translation, he justified his adaptation of ancient customs in terms of propriety and, paradoxically, faithfulness to the author ‘who did not intend to offend the reader’ (quoted in Mounin 1955/1994: 62).

Several essays on the principles of translation were written in justification of this approach, including Discours sur la traduction by Gaspard Bachet de Méziriac (1581–1638). De Méziriac criticized the unfaithfulness of Amyot, who added or deleted material in his translations. In De la traduction, ou règles pour bien apprendre à traduire, Gaspard de Tende (1618–97) formulated the first genuine treatise on translation from Latin into French (Ballard 1992: 186). Reservations regarding the images used in the Homeric texts are expressed by subsequent translators such as Anne Marie Dacier (who was nevertheless a champion of faithful translation) in the introduction to her translation of the Iliad (1711), and also by Antoine de la Motte Houdar (1672–1731). Despite the fact that translators of the late seventeenth century paid more attention to the question of faithfulness to the source, their main priority continued to be providing texts which may appeal to the French reader.

However, as pointed out by Ballard (1992: 150), the Belles Infidèles approach was not universally accepted. In parallel with the literary trend of the Belles Infidèles, more literal approaches were put forward by Lemaistre de Sacy (1613–84), who translated a Latin version of the Bible into French, and Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), who, in De Interpretatione (1661), urged the translator to show humility towards the source text. Members of the Abbey of Port-Royal, near Paris, strived for fidelity in their many translations and retranslations of religious texts, including André Du Ryer’s translation of the Qur’ān in 1647.

As well as ancient texts on architecture in Latin, contemporary works on medicine and pharmacology and texts in Flemish and Portuguese were translated. A growing number of Spanish, Italian and English works in both the literary and non-literary domains were also translated during the seventeenth century. They included Cervantes’ Don Quixote, Marino’s Adonis and Robert Green’s Pandosto. Translations of Machiavelli’s Discourse, Francis Bacon’s Moral Essays, and John Locke’s treatises, Civil Government and Essay on Human Understanding, contributed to a rich philosophical and political debate during this period.

The elegant eighteenth-century translations of the classics were the distorted looking-glass through which many viewed the classics in the age of Enlightenment. Translation lost popularity, both as a literary genre in itself and as an instructional tool, and to an increasing extent it was supplanted by an interest in contemporary foreign works in the fields of science and literature.

The eighteenth century saw a gradual loss of interest in classical languages and a growing interest in German and English cultures. The philosopher and encyclopedist Diderot (1713–84) was especially keen on English literature and produced an imitation of Samuel Richardson’s Pamela. Voltaire (1694–1778) was instrumental in developing a passionate interest in English thought and literature in France. The dramatist Jean-François Ducis (1733–1816) adapted Shakespearean tragedies for the French stage, providing an alternative ending to Othello. This interest culminated in the widespread translation of English Gothic novels during the Gothic revival at the end of the century.

Translations of texts that were almost contemporary (from the seventeenth century) included Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe, Jonathan Swift’s Gulliver’s Travels, Henry Fielding’s Tom Jones, John Milton’s Paradise Lost
and some of Alexander Pope’s Essays. Pierre le Tourneur (1737–88) translated the complete works of William Shakespeare. At the same time, French versions of works by Walpole, Reeve and Godwin were also hugely popular. Going beyond Europe for his sources, Antoine Galland (1646–1715) translated the Arabian Nights, combining fidelity to the dynamics of the source text with the observance of current literary conventions.

Throughout the eighteenth century translations from English outnumbered those from any other language. However, there were some translations of German and Italian works, for example Antoine de Rivarol translated Dante’s Divine Comedy in 1783.

Theoretical discussions of translation continued during the eighteenth century. Jean le Rond d’Alembert (1717–83), who collaborated with Diderot on the compilation of L’encyclopédie, commented extensively on translation difficulties, seeing imitation rather than transcription as a suitable basis for the act of translation. Adaptation was not seen as betrayal but rather as a means of adjusting the foreign work to suit contemporary tastes. Charles Batteux (1713–80) stressed the need for grammatical restructuring in translation. Translation was also closely associated with the didactic function of literature during this period. On the whole, however, this was a period of transition during which translation theory was getting ready to leave the age of classicism behind and prepare the ground for the Romantic insistence on literalism.

The Romantic era

The Romantics brought literalism back into fashion in the nineteenth century, under the influence of German philosophy. They sought to ‘transfer the creative power of great writers of other languages into their own’ (Kelly 1979: 3), and empiricism gave way to a more philosophical approach. Among nineteenth-century translators, Jacques Delle (1738–1813), Paul-Louis Courier (1772–1825), Leconte de Lisle (1818–1894), Charles Nodier (1780–1844), Alfred de Vigny (1797–1863), Alexandre Dumas (1802–70) and François Victor Hugo (1828–73) were particularly well known.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the choice of translation strategy depended on whether the source text was a classical or a recent work. For example, Littre translated the first part of the Iliad in medieval verse in 1847: he deliberately used a form of language which pre-dated the codification of French in the seventeenth century.

In De l’Esprit des traductions (published in 1820), the writer, critic and translator Germaine de Staël (1766–1817) stressed the literary function of translation and its usefulness in the renewal of the target culture.

The preface to Leconte de Lisle’s translation of the Iliad announced that the era of the Belles Infidèles was over, while Chateaubriand described his translation of Milton’s Paradise Lost as ‘traced’ (calqué), using resources of the target language that were closest to those of the source language. The ‘pleasing’ form of the French text was now regarded as secondary to the close reproduction of the style of the source text; the Romantic age was looking for foreignness. Translation was once more regarded as an acceptable literary activity, and many classical works were retranslated in a spirit of historical restitution, which represented a clear split with the tradition of the Belles Infidèles. Among the many works which were retranslated were Virgil’s Eclogues, his Pastoral Poems and the Aeneid, Homer’s Epics, and Aristotle’s Metaphysics, Politics and Logic.

A considerable number of English poets and writers were translated during this period, with numerous translations of Shakespearean texts being made. Milton’s Paradise Lost was translated by Dellile and Chateaubriand (1768–1848). Translations of Byron, Coleridge, Scott and Dickens found an eager market, as did those of American literature. Charles Baudelaire (1821–67) was a fervent translator of the works of Edgar Allan Poe.

There was also a growing interest in science, with the philosopher Paul-Emile Littre (1801–1881) retranslating Hippocrates between 1839 and 1861, and many translations of contemporary works taking place in the fields of medicine, natural science and geography, among others. The internationalization of science and the constantly expanding potential readership fuelled an ever-growing demand for the translation of contemporary works.
The nineteenth century was also characterized by a practice of producing parallel translations in verse and prose. Given the difficulty and additional constraints under which verse translation has to be produced, prose translation became widespread and soon developed into a literary genre.

The contemporary period

The Romantic search for innovation through the use of translation was pursued well into the twentieth century, and intense translation activity by numerous author-translators characterized the first decades.

The number of author-translators who produced French versions of foreign works or retranslated the classics during this period is considerable. Among them, André Gide (1869–1951) translated Shakespeare, Valéry Larbaud (1881–1957) translated Samuel Butler and, more recently, Marguerite Yourcenar (1903–86), whose first translation in 1947 was of Virginia Woolf’s The Waves, devoted much of her time to translation.

Translation was further promoted through the establishment of literary journals such as the Nouvelle Revue Française, La Revue européenne and Europe. In the aftermath of World War II, the increase in the level of international communication was to give a major impetus to the interpreting profession, hitherto very much in the background. Huge scientific and technological developments have also led to an enormous increase in the volume of specialized translation. The language planning policies of francophone countries in general (see CANADIAN TRADITION) have meant that stronger emphasis came to be placed on translation into French and on translation-related terminological work. A great deal of work has been done on coining neologisms in order to cope with new processes and techniques. And in an attempt to curb the influx of English/American foreign terms, much attention has also been paid to the question of standardization.

Translations of contemporary works now appear almost simultaneously with the originals, with translation from English leading the way. Most English and American best-sellers are translated into French; UNESCO statistics for the years 1981–3 indicate that approximately 3,500 translations were published in France during that period. More recent estimates suggest that translations represent just over 6 per cent of the 36,000 titles published in France every year, and for some publishing houses as much as 30 per cent of their output consists of translations. Problems of literary translation are frequently raised in the media and several awards have been created to acknowledge outstanding translations into French, perhaps the best known of these being the Prix Pierre-François Caillé, which was created in 1980.

Research and training

Theoretical issues have been addressed by linguists, philosophers and translators. In 1946, Valéry Larbaud (1881–1957) published his Sous l’invocation de Saint Jérôme, a compelling tribute to historical figures in the field of translation and a collection of heartfelt essays on its practice. In 1955, Georges Mounin (1910–93) published Les Belles Infidèles, a discussion of historical arguments against translation. He followed this in 1963 with Les Problèmes théoriques de la traduction, which represented a turning point in the theoretical study of translation. Other well-known contemporary French theorists include Jean-René Ladmiral, Henri Meschonnic and Antoine Berman. Both Meschonnic and Berman follow the Romantic tradition in arguing against the naturalization and appropriation of the source text by the target culture. Renewed interest in the history of translation theory and practice is illustrated in works by Michel Ballard (1992) and Lieven D’hulst (1990). Numerous publications on specialized translation have explored the didactics and practice of both translation and interpreting. The interrelation of translation and sociology is discussed in a special issue of Actes de la Recherche en Sciences sociales (2002). As far as interpreting is concerned, the best known researchers include Danica Seleskovitch and Marianne Lederer of ESIT (Ecole Supérieure d’Interprètes et de Traducteurs) and Daniel Gile.

France continues to be an important centre for research and training in translation and interpreting. ESIT, which is a part of the University of the Sorbonne Nouvelle in Paris, enjoys a worldwide reputation, being one of the few institutions which offer doctoral programmes...
in translation and interpreting. ISIT (Institut Supérieur d’Interprétation et de Traduction) is another well-known training centre, also based in Paris. In addition, several universities offer courses which include a component of translation and interpreting.

Collections of books on translation studies have been published by PUL (Presses Universitaires de Lille) and by Didier Erudition. Journals dedicated to translation include Traduire and Palimpsestes.

Organization of the profession

The SFT or Société française des Traducteurs (Association of French Translators) was founded in 1947 and publishes its own journal, Traduire. Until the early 1970s, when the ATL (Association des traducteurs littéraires de France – French Association of Literary Translators) was founded, the SFT represented all categories of translators, including literary translators. The aims of the SFT include protecting the rights of translators and setting appropriate rates of remuneration.

Since 1957, translators’ rights have been covered by legislation, which puts them on an equal par with writers as regards copyright and social insurance. The Ministry of Culture has attempted since the 1980s to improve the situation and status of translators by means of legislation, whilst the CNL (Centre national des Lettres) provides grants to help with the translation of certain foreign works. A small number of bursaries are also awarded to translators to acknowledge outstanding translation work or to facilitate the translation of works which are unlikely to attract a wide readership.

Further reading


MYRIAM SALAMA-CARR
German tradition

In the European context the term *deutsch* (German) is unusual in so far as it is not derived from an older name for a country or a tribe. Initially, it indicated a common vernacular; and even today linguistic and cultural connotations of the term *deutsch* are wider than present-day political and geographic realities suggest. In the eighth century, *theudisk* and the Latinate *theodiscus* referred to the dialects spoken by the Germanic tribes within Charlemagne’s realm: Alemannic, Franconian, Saxon, Thuringian and Bavarian. The regional variants of the vernacular provided the linguistic matrix for the gradual development of German as a literary language, and eventually of modern High German (*Hochdeutsch*). The political borders – external as well as internal – of the German-speaking states hardly ever coincided with the linguistic borders: even today the same dialect is spoken on both sides of the German–Dutch border, in Luxembourg as in the Eifel, in French Lorraine as in the Southern Rhineland, in French Alsace as across the Rhine, in Northern Switzerland as in Southern Baden, in Austrian Tyrol, Salzburg and Upper Austria as in Bavaria. While modern High German is the literary language used by Austrians, Germans and (German-) Swiss alike, German literature paradoxically reflects both their common cultural heritage as well as their cultural plurality.

The Old High German period (eighth to tenth centuries)

The process of transforming German dialects rooted in oral pre-Christian traditions into a written, literate language began in the eighth century. Although there were numerous autochthonous texts, the bulk of writings in Old High German were translations from Latin. From a descriptive point of view, we may distinguish four basic types of texts:

(a) interlinear versions which are virtually incomprehensible without the Latin source texts;
(b) texts which resemble interlinear versions, such as the translation of the *Evangelical Harmony* by Tatian;
(c) ‘free’ or relatively ‘free’ translations such as the Old High German *Isidor* and Notker’s works;
(d) adaptations and paraphrases such as *Christus und die Samariterin* and Psalm 138 (translated at Freising).

When attempting to assess the achievements of medieval translators one has to bear in mind the historical contingencies and the typological and functional constraints under which they were working. Bridging the linguistic and cultural gap which separated medieval translators from antiquity required enormous creative efforts. It would, therefore, be a misguided anachronism if one were to judge these Old High German translations by present-day norms and standards.

Initially, the German vernacular – which had no literary tradition – mainly served didactic purposes: glossaries, word-for-word translations and interlinear versions such as the Old High German Benedictine Rule, were used in monasteries in the teaching of Latin. However, there were some notable exceptions from this source text oriented didacticism. Located at different points of the typological spectrum and fulfilling quite distinct functions, texts such as the *Isidor* translation (c.800), Otfrid von Weissenburg’s translation of the *Liber Evangeliarum* (c.863–71) and, later, Williram von Ebersberg’s paraphrase of the Song of Songs (c.1060) brilliantly met...
the communicative challenge posed by Latin, by Christian doctrine and by classical culture. Notker von St Gallen (c.950–1022) was unique among translators in the Old High German period with regard to both the variety of texts he translated and his mode of translation. Apart from Christian theological literature, he turned his attention to philosophical and poetic texts, such as Boethius’s *Philosophiae Consolatio* and Virgil’s *Bucolica*, respectively. Drawing on the efforts, linguistic and philosophical, of previous generations of translators and German authors, he effectively transferred the most complex ideas and subtle notions from Latin into innovative, yet intelligible German. At the same time, he worked within the didactic tradition of the period, translating for his students’ sake.

**The Middle High German period (eleventh to fourteenth centuries)**

It is hard to imagine the evolution of medieval German into a literary language without the assistance afforded by Latin. Existing side by side with Latin during the Middle High German period, the German language gradually opened up new and increasingly specialized areas of usage. The growing number and typological variety of translations produced during this period reflect an increasing need for communication on many levels, practical, speculative and entertaining: theological, philosophical, legal, educational and aesthetic. This need, in turn, led to further expansion and differentiation of German on the normative level, particularly of lexical inventories, but also of syntax. After 400 years of linguistic development, intensely influenced by Latin, the German language finally reached the stage when it could readily cope with the formal and intellectual challenge posed by Latin texts. For example, around 1210, Albrecht von Halberstadt not only translated Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* into German, he also transposed them into the contemporary idealized world of courtly galantry. Middle High German translations of Thomas Aquinas’s and Meister Eckhart’s writings effectively demonstrate that the German vernacular was now capable of expressing the subtleties of theological and philosophical discourses. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, literary German had evolved into a comprehensive communicative system covering all areas of human activity and interest. In this process, translations and related forms of interlingual and intercultural transfer of mainly Latin and French source texts, models and materials played an important part. As far as text production and reception are concerned, Latin–German bilingualism was the rule. Clerics as well as educated laymen wrote in Latin, or in German, or in both. Meister Eckhart and Heinrich Seuse, for instance, used Latin and German alternately, depending on their audiences; and Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg, the most popular fifteenth-century preacher, drafted most of his German sermons in Latin. As German gradually emancipated itself from Latin literary tradition, translations, parallel texts, compilations, adaptations and paraphrases, especially of literature for special purposes, warranted the continuing contacts between the two cultures. Eventually, in the fifteenth century, autochthonous German texts, covering specific areas of knowledge, were translated into other European languages, including Latin.

French influence on Middle High German began to be felt in the eleventh century; it increased during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, continued through the fourteenth and weakened in the fifteenth century. This influence manifested itself in numerous loanwords, the formation of words and phraseology, but scarcely in Middle High German syntax. While in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Middle High German courtly epics and lyrical poetry were inspired by French models, this literary current did not interrupt the Latin tradition. Rather, it ran alongside the mainstream of religious and profane literature in medieval Latin and Middle High German. Despite the apparent effects of French literature on Middle High German literature, direct borrowings appear to have been relatively rare. Frequently, the exact status of German texts *vis-à-vis* presumed French sources is difficult to ascertain. For instance, scholars are uncertain whether the deviations of Hartmann von Aue’s *Erec* from Chrétien de Troyes’ *Erec et Enide* are due to Hartmann exercising considerable poetic licence, or whether he drew on an unknown French source text, or even on an intermediate Dutch version. In their handling of French material, German poets tended to exercise considerable freedom, adapting,
abridging or expanding and embellishing their material, sometimes adding commentaries. For historical and systematic reasons, it would be misleading and inappropriate to judge the relationships between Middle High German texts and their known or presumed French sources by reductive, source text-oriented standards.

**The early modern High German period**

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the process of German developing into a literary language gathered momentum. Distinguished by their confident handling of style, the fifteenth-century translations of French novels by Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken, Eleonore von Österreich and Thüring von Ringoltingen bear witness to this development. Besides several written variants of German, a common literary language gradually established itself in the German language area. This phenomenon is closely associated with Martin Luther: his Bible translation and other writings helped to establish a literary form of German which was oriented towards, and modelled on, the vernacular rather than on Latin. Nevertheless, especially in the Humanist era, Latin continued as the dominant language in printing and writing, as well as in teaching. While poetry written in Latin was targeted at a social and intellectual elite, German was the language of the people and of popular poetry. Eventually, in the seventeenth century, this tension between Latin and German, between ‘high’ and ‘low’, was resolved in the poetry of Martin Opitz. As far as the history of translation into German and the history of German as a literary language are concerned, Opitz’s poetry marks the transition to the modern High German period.

In the early modern High German period, translation concepts and principles of translation were a central topic of discussion even before these explicit discourses reached their climax in Luther’s *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (1530). For instance, the translations of the so-called ‘Viennese School’ of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century essentially fall into two classes, thus continuing the medieval tradition: on the one hand, what was called *aigne dewtsch*, a scholarly source text-oriented German which submitted to Latin norms, and on the other hand translations into German in its current written forms, free from the constraints of Latin (this was called *gemade Teutsch*). The characteristic forms and reader-oriented functions of these translations, based on Latin or French sources, were explained and justified in the prefaces.

A similar dichotomy may be observed in translations by early German Humanists. For instance, Niklas von Wyle (c.1410–78), who was convinced of the inherent primacy as well as the linguistic and stylistic superiority of his Latin sources, strove to translate them into German as literally as possible. Whether his texts would be intelligible to the common reader was of no concern to him. Not surprisingly, the more pragmatic, target-oriented translation method practised and propagated by the Humanists Albrecht von Eyb (1420–75) and Heinrich Steinhoewel (1412–82) proved to be more popular. As Albrecht was particularly concerned with the intelligibility of his translations, he adapted the language and subject matter of Plautus’s comedies to fifteenth-century German popular culture and milieux, as well as to theatrical conventions. Steinhoewel followed similar translatorial principles. In his expansive translation of Aesop he introduced numerous proverbs, rhymed verses and allusions to topical events. This interpretive method of adaptive and re-creative translation Steinhoewel justified with reference to Horace’s topos, as formulated in *De arte poetica*, and to Jerome’s principles. Murner’s German version of Virgil’s *Aeneid* (1515) is another example of this ‘naturalizing’ translation method: he makes no attempt at imitating Latin participle constructions; antiquity is transposed to sixteenth-century Germany, reflecting her customs, traditions and ideas. While Murner is quite aware of the qualitative difference between Latin verse and German doggerel, he is nevertheless proud to have been instrumental in the resurrection of Virgil’s epic from Latin death to German life.

Any account of the history and the theory of translation into German would be incomplete without Martin Opitz (1597–1639) and Justus Georg Schottel (1612–76). Both occupy particularly important positions in the transitional period from early modern to modern High
German. In *Deutsche Poeterey* (1624) Opitz argues that translation serves a dual purpose: translating from Greek and Latin poets is good exercise for the translator, and it is of benefit for German as a literary language by enhancing its latent potential. Both Opitz and Schottel went well beyond common fifteenth- and sixteenth-century practices in their use of German and in their translation methods because they were convinced that German was a fully-fledged literary language or, with practice, might become one, and that it was capable of poetic and oratorical style second to none.

**Luther and Bible translation**

The history of the German language since the Middle Ages is closely associated with translations of the Bible. Over a period of twelve hundred years these translations have formed a comprehensive corpus of texts which is representative, to a considerable degree, of German translation culture and its development through the ages. Bible translations have not only influenced the formation of Christian-ecclesiastic terminology and the language of ethics; Luther's translation, in particular, has had a formative and normative effect on modern High German. The enormous success of Luther's Bible translation may be attributed to his creative use of the German vernacular and to his principles of translation, but also to the mass circulation of his writings made possible by modern printing techniques, and to the historical dynamics – religious, social, political and economic – of the Reformation period. Luther chose to meet a daunting challenge: how to express the Word of God, as codified in the Bible, in the language of the common people who were unable to read Latin, Greek or Hebrew. As a rule, for Luther, expressing the biblical message in German meant translating 'freely', giving the 'letters their freedom', as it were. However, when essential theological 'truths' were concerned, Luther would sacrifice this principle of intelligibility and revert, for doctrinal reasons, to word-for-word translation.

As far as Bible translation into German is concerned, the period stretching from the late eleventh to the sixteenth century was an era of experimentation and consolidation: it produced special copies for the laity and for the poor, illustrated as well as extravagantly illuminated copies in the vernacular, collections of biblical texts for liturgical purposes, etc. The Reformation marked a turning point in the history of German Bible translation, with Luther and other Protestant reformers reverting to source texts in Hebrew and Greek for their translations of the Old Testament and the New Testament, respectively. Even the Bible translations of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, by Hieronymus Emser (NT, 1527) and others, were modelled on Luther's text. Indeed, since the second quarter of the sixteenth century, Luther's influence has pervaded the entire German tradition of Bible translation, irrespective of regional or denominational affiliations.

**The modern High German period**

Originating in the German Enlightenment period, the different strands of translation theory current in the past two centuries may be traced back to Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–66) and his Leipzig circle, staunch defenders of Enlightenment values, and to their Swiss antagonists, Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) and Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701–76), respectively. Gottsched's and Breitinger's opposed views on translation, which clashed over Bodmer's translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1732), reflect their distinct stance on poetics, aesthetics and literary language. Both subscribed to the rationalist view according to which there is an essential resemblance between languages and they are, therefore, translatable – at least in principle. Both agreed that different languages are not mirror images of each other. There was a difference of opinion as to whether a translation should be permitted to emulate linguistic, stylistic, and formal features of the source text and thereby violate target side norms. Gottsched maintained that a good translation had to be in agreement with the principles of enlightened, normative poetics. If the original or source text did not conform with these rules, the translator was duty-bound to improve, expand or abridge. The translation had to be a German text, through and through. Breitinger, in contrast, maintained that there were no superfluous words in literary works of art. In his *Kritische Dichtkunst* (1740)
he rejected many of the more presumptuous claims of the Enlightenment, thus preparing the way for English in preference to French literature and its ideals. Anticipating Herder and Humboldt, he argued that the mentalities of different nations are reflected in the peculiarities of their respective languages. Therefore, a translation must not violate the ‘thoughts’ (Gedanken) of the original or deviate from its source in any other way. On the theoretical level, Breitinger’s ideas were developed by Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) who invested the ‘spirit’ of the original with the ultimate authority. This concept was put to the practical test by Johann Heinrich Voß (1751–1826) in his translations of Homer (1793). The translations of Dante and Shakespeare by August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845), of Rabelais by Gottlieb Regis, of Ariosto by Johann Gries, and of Cervantes by Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) not only belong to the same tradition; they realize part of the Romantic project which aimed at accumulating world literature in the German language.

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century continental Europe, France played a leading role in politics, the sciences and the arts. French intellectuals, including translators, shared a belief in the inherent superiority of their language and culture. Because of this conviction French translators felt justified in adapting translated texts in such ways as to make them conform not only to the grammatical, lexical and semantic norms and conventions of the French language, but also to typological, generic and aesthetic models prevalent in French literature. Strict classicist norms ruled drama and (epic) poetry, whereas the more flexible conventions of the Belles Infidèles were applied to translated prose fiction. French cultural predominance was reflected, in turn, by the large number of German imitations of French literary models, and of translations from French into German. And although many different types of texts were also translated from Latin, Greek and other modern European languages, German translators frequently used intermediate French translations as source texts, even if a copy in the original language was available. French mediation was particularly effective in introducing German readers to British philosophy, fiction and drama. French translations of Locke, Pope, Addison, Defoe, Swift, Richardson and Fielding initially served as source texts for translations into German. Discussions by French translators and critics of British philosophy, of the idiosyncrasies of English novels, and especially of the apparent ‘anomalies’ of Shakespeare’s plays met with considerable interest in Germany. Thus, ironically, the French themselves were instrumental in undermining their seemingly unassailable position as legislators in matters of good sense, taste and style. German writers grew familiar with British thought and literature, they began to resent what many of them came to perceive as distorting effects caused by French mediation. The gradual transition, in the course of the eighteenth century, from broad acceptability to virtual rejection of French models, including intermediate French texts, by German writers, both in theory and in practice, is a literary phenomenon with far-reaching cultural implications. Reflecting a significant change in the translational concepts and, more generally, in the underlying aesthetic, this transition is ultimately symptomatic of a paradigmatic change in the German history of thought: the emancipation from French intellectual and cultural hegemony, accompanied by the demise of rationalism, and the eventual propagation of an autonomous German national literature.

French mediation of English literature began early in the eighteenth century. It reached its peak, in the Protestant parts of Germany and in Switzerland, in the 1720s. At a time when in Zürich, Hamburg and somewhat later in Leipzig (in the 1740s) indirect translation was rejected in favour of direct translations of English novels and plays, French mediation continued elsewhere in Germany. As far as novels are concerned, it virtually ended with the ‘birth’ of the modern German novel, Wieland’s Don Sylvio von Rosalva (1764), and with Blankenburg’s essay on the novel (Versuch über den Roman, 1774).

As far as drama was concerned, France provided much of the material as well as the theatrical models; several German translations of English plays were based on intermediate French versions. Shakespeare, however, being the dramatic antidote to the rules and conventions of classicist French drama, was either read in French translation (e.g. by Voltaire),
in its original English (e.g. Pope's edition), or he was translated directly from English into German. When, in 1741, Caspar Wilhelm von Borck published his translation of *Julius Caesar*, Johann Christoph Gottsched immediately condemned both the translation as well as the barbaric English original. Both ran counter to his strategy of reforming the German theatre. Gottsched favoured plays, mainly of French origin, which came closest to realizing his ideal of order by observing the Aristotelian rules, and by exercising moderation both with regard to action and to the use of language. When Edward Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759) was translated directly from English into German soon after its publication, the concepts of 'original genius' and of 'original composition' – which were to revolutionize aesthetic theory and poetic practice in Germany during the second half of the eighteenth century – were enthusiastically applied to Shakespeare and his works. Accordingly, Wieland's well-timed prose translation of twenty-two plays (1761–66) met with considerable public interest. Despite Gerstenberg's severe criticism, this translation considerably influenced the dramatists of the revolutionary literary movement known as Sturm and Drang, notably Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz and Friedrich Schiller. Johann Joachim Eschenburg's first translation of Shakespeare's complete works (1775–7/1782) marks a further important stage in German Shakespeare reception, a process at the end of which Shakespeare had acquired the status of a national German poet, and some of his works – notably *Hamlet* – occupied a place in the very centre of German literature.

Having started, in 1795, with the revision of a translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by 1810 August Wilhelm Schlegel had published another thirteen of Shakespeare's plays. Years later, Ludwig Tieck and others completed the project.

As a literary editor, critic, lecturer and translator, Schlegel prepared the way for Romanticism in Germany and elsewhere. In 1804 he became secretary to Mme de Staël, whom he accompanied on most of her travels through Europe until her death in 1817. Schlegel's principles of translation were based on the interpretation of works of art as organisms. Sharing Herder's view, he considered every literary work of art as an entity comprising form and content. Unlike Herder and the Sturm and Drang poets, who argued that this entity was commensurate with 'nature', unconsciously created by a genius, Schlegel considered this entity as an 'organic created form' (*organische Kunstform*), which resulted from a conscious, intentional creative effort. Accordingly, each Shakespearean drama was a skilfully constructed organism, in which every detail (each scene, character etc.) was related to the whole by inherent necessity, and from which, in turn, it derived its meaning. Only by taking note of and translating every detail could justice be done to the original in its entirety; whereas any change distorted and destroyed the perfect organism. The language had to be light and pleasing; and the reader was to get the impression that s/he was reading an original German text, not a translation. In other words, Schlegel tried to combine the 'objective' and the 'subjective' aspects of translation: fidelity to the source text, on the one hand, and creative transformation and naturalization in accordance with target-side requirements, on the other.

The Romantic concept of translation, manifest in Schlegel's theory and practice of Shakespeare translation, was systematically analysed by Friedrich Schleiermacher. In his treatise *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens* (1813), Schleiermacher contrasted, with unprecedented sharpness of focus, the translatorial methods of 'alienation' and 'naturalization'. His reflections on the theories of language and of translation have occupied linguists and students of translation to the present day. Schleiermacher distinguished two major types of texts. In the first type, language serves as a vehicle mediating interlingual and intersubjective 'facts'. On principle, business-related texts are translatable because the vocabulary used is characterized by terminological constraints. In the second type, comprising poetic and philosophical texts, monolingual forms and the contents transported by them coalesce on a higher plane. This causes grave problems for translators because, in the course of time, the language of such texts has come to be associated with specific culture-bound concepts, conventions, attitudes and feelings. Because the associative complexes differ from language to language, and from
German tradition

culture to culture, transfer can only be accomplished by employing the 'alienating' method of translation: the translator takes his bearings from the unity of form and content of the source text, and from the source language. Schleiermacher advocated the use of a proper language for translation, which inevitably entailed language change. After all, only by deviating from established norms could the alien or foreign increment be visualized in the target language. Most important, though, Schleiermacher was convinced of the innovative, but also of the regenerative powers of translation.

Practically every modern translation theory – at least in the German-language area – responds, in one way or another, to Schleiermacher’s hypotheses. There appear to have been no fundamentally new approaches. Translators and theorists, such as Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the nineteenth and Emil Staiger in the twentieth century, advocated, with different emphases and for different reasons, the naturalizing method of translation. Walter Benjamin favoured the principle of alienation. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to transcend the antimony of naturalizing and alienating translation, to find a synthesis or a compromise (e.g. Schadewaldt 1927).

In the course of the nineteenth century translation activities in the German-speaking countries intensified and expanded. This applied not only to belles lettres but also to the natural sciences, medicine, engineering, the law, economics and general matters. While the bulk of translations continued to be based on the Romance languages, especially on French, and increasingly on English sources, other languages and cultures – including non-European ones – began to make their presence felt. Some of the significant developments, changes and characteristic shifts are reflected in anthologies of literature in translation, especially in so-called anthologies of world literature, which have been published in large numbers since the middle of the nineteenth century. For instance, until the end of the eighteenth century, German reception of French literature had focused on political, scientific and generally learned or informative matter, on the drama and the novel. It was not until well into the nineteenth century that French poetry, Romantic and contemporary, was being made available to German-speaking readers, mainly through anthologies. Growing economic and cultural contacts between Germany and the British Isles raised the awareness among German readers of British affairs. Yet, authors such as William Wordsworth and Lord Byron were mainly received as individual personalities rather than as representatives of their country or of British literature. In contrast, for a long time the translational mediation of Scandinavian and Hungarian literatures was primarily governed by imagological stereotypes and preconceptions relating to those countries, rather than by nineteenth-century historical realities. At times, texts were selected, and sometimes specifically translated, in accordance with the anthologists' personal tastes, or with their views and intentions concerning German literature and/or political affairs in a wider international context. In due course, Russian novels and Scandinavian drama took their place beside translations of French and English fictional prose and drama, respectively. While Scott, Dickens and Zola were translated promptly, Henry James was ignored for many decades. The British and American Modernist poets, too, had to bide their time.

During World Wars I and II translation activities were influenced by numerous factors, unavailability of source texts and politically motivated censorship being the most obvious ones. In varying degrees this also applies to the occupied zones of Germany in the immediate postwar period, and it continued in the German Democratic Republic until 1988. Nevertheless, the Index translationum for 1986 shows that nearly as many books were translated and published in East Germany (794) as in Great Britain (904). By comparison, 1,687 translated books appeared in France, and 8,017 in the Federal Republic of Germany. In divided Germany, the opposed ideologies, political and economic systems, and military alliances of the two German states had an effect on what texts were chosen for translation and, at times, even on the manner of translation. Systematic comparisons between translation activities in East and West Germany remain to be made.

From 1956 to 1986 the number of translated books published in the Federal Republic of Germany increased by 400 per cent. Bookshops in Germany were well stocked with translations in practically all areas, aiming at children as well as adults. However, in those areas of
While for many years research on practical, functional, linguistic and pedagogical aspects of translation dominated, there has been increased interest in historical subjects in recent years, especially in the theory and practice of translation in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, and in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theoretical discourses on translation. Gradually, more attention is being paid to the actual translations produced during the past three centuries, to the translators and the cultural contexts. Also, new research methods are being applied. As far as literature in translation is concerned, most research has traditionally tended to be source-text-oriented and, to some extent, prescriptive. With the growing involvement of literary scholars, historical–descriptive approaches have recently come into their own.

German scholars have been among the most active in the field of translation studies and have produced a very large and influential body of literature on the subject. Some of the best known names include Katharina Reiβ, Hans Vermeer, Wolfram Wilss, Albrecht Neubert, Juliane House and Christiane Nord, among many others. Apart from individual publications by such scholars, there are a number of journals and book series devoted to the field of translation studies.

Further reading

HARALD KITTEL AND ANDREAS POLTERMANN

Greek tradition
Historically and culturally, the area in which Greek is spoken includes mainland Greece, the Aegean islands (including Crete and Cyprus) and, until 1922, the Ionian coast of Asia Minor. The colonizations of the sixth
Greek tradition

and seventh centuries BC extended this area to include regions around the Black Sea and areas in Southern France and Southern Italy (Magna Graecia), where Greek-speaking communities exist even today. Throughout the Hellenistic world, Greek was the lingua franca of the period and the language of culture and education. The Hellenized Eastern part of the Roman Empire adopted Greek as its official language and it remained so throughout the Byzantine period (AD 330–1453). During the following 400 years of Turkish rule, it was the language (together with religion) that was the main factor in keeping the national character alive and distinct. Following the War of Independence in 1821, the territory belonging to Greece expanded to include the Ionian Islands (1864), Thessaly (1881), Macedonia, Crete and the islands (1913), Thrace (1923) and the Dodecanese (1947). Historical, social and political factors led to widespread emigration and a large Greek diaspora, with particularly large Greek-speaking communities in North America and Australia.

The decipherment in 1952 by Chadwick and Ventris of the Linear B script as Greek gives the Greek language a 3,500-year-old history. This constitutes an unbroken, living tradition in the sense that aspects of all the major stages in that tradition survive and co-exist in the modern language. Thus the language of the Homeric epics (seventh and eighth century BC), the classical Greek of the fourth and fifth centuries BC, the Koine Greek of the New Testament, the Byzantine Greek of the fourth to fifteenth centuries AD and the popular language of folk literature throughout the 400 years of Turkish rule (1453–1821) are, to varying degrees, still accessible to Greeks today in a way that Anglo-Saxon or even Middle English is not accessible to speakers of modern English. With the birth of the modern nation and the growth of a national consciousness, the question of language became a national issue. What became known as the ‘Language Question’ in modern Greece was primarily a debate about the correct or desirable form of the written language. This debate developed into a contest between the popular spoken language (demotic) and its adherents (demoticists) on the one hand, and those who advocated a ‘purified’ form of the language (katharevousa) on the other. The latter is a language cleansed of foreign (mainly Turkish) words and constituted a compromise between demotic and ancient Attic Greek. This strange ‘diglossia’ (the co-existence of two levels of language) became a national and political issue and cut across education, literature and, not least, the question of translation, often leading to violent confrontations between the proponents of each group. It was not until 1976 that demotic was finally established as the official language of education and, consequently, of the state.

Overview of translation activity

Despite their many and extensive contacts with other peoples and cultures, the ancient Greeks apparently attached little importance to translation: there is no discussion of either the practice or the process of translation throughout ancient Greek literature. And yet, they undoubtedly used both interpreters and translators. For example, one of the earliest forms of interpreting in the Greek world must surely have been interpreting the word of Apollo for those who travelled from foreign countries to consult the Oracle at Delphi. Similarly, there is evidence that early Greek philosophers had access to Egyptian texts, presumably in Greek translation. According to Kakridis (1971: 12–16), the ancient Greeks were rather like the English of some years ago: they did not learn foreign languages but expected others to learn theirs, nor did they want to allow foreign linguistic elements to influence the organic development of the Greek language and culture. This situation continued in the Hellenistic period, when the need for translation was again minimized by the fact that Greek was the lingua franca of the then civilized world. Similarly, in the first centuries AD, the two main incentives to early thinking on translation in other countries – namely, the translation of ancient Greek texts and of the New Testament – were not present in Greece, since the original texts were still accessible to Greek readers at that stage.

The first references to translation in the Greek context come from the early Byzantine period and concern the translation of legal texts (Troianos and Velissaropoulou-Karakosta 1993: 220–34). The division of the Roman Empire
by Diocletian (284–305) into East and West had a direct influence on Roman Law in the East. The Eastern Empire consisted mainly of Greek-speaking peoples, or people who, at least, understood Greek. This meant that the laws and imperial decrees, which were written in Latin, were inaccessible to the greater part of the population. From the beginning of the fifth century, there was a systematic attempt in the law schools of Beirut and Constantinople to render Latin legal terminology into Greek. Here, the professors of law, known as *antikinsores* (vice-censors), made a significant contribution. They acted as both translators and translation teachers. They would make the Latin text accessible to their Greek-speaking students in class by first providing detailed introductions (*indeces*) in Greek to the particular Latin section. This was not, however, a word-for-word translation but took the form of an analysis or explanation of the text considered necessary for complete comprehension of the topic by the students. Then, with the help of these *indeces*, the students would attempt the translation of the Latin text. If the text in question was particularly difficult, the *antikinsores* would provide the students with the Greek translation of individual terms. This was known as interpreting *kata poda* (lit. ‘on foot’) and was followed by other activities designed to ensure full comprehension of the text. The work of the *antikinsores* is known to us only from their students’ notes: they themselves left no written texts on their methods. It was from these annotations by students in the margins or between the lines of texts that the first legal dictionaries came into being. The impact of the new legal terminology which was formulated in Greek could be felt beyond the Byzantine area, and the translation of these texts into Slavic languages had considerable influence throughout the region. Thus the texts interpreted by the *antikinsores* and annotated by their students enabled the spread of various concepts, both legal and political, far beyond the confines of the New Rome.

Evidence of sustained, serious interest in translation and/or interpreting, however, does not emerge until the beginning of the Greek Enlightenment period and the growth of a national consciousness in the years leading up to the War of Independence against the Turks in 1821. And even then, this interest remained strictly within the confines of larger national issues concerning the language and education of the Greek people in the context of the new Greek state.

**Intralingual translation**

Bible translation naturally became an issue in Greece much later than it did in the rest of Europe. It was not until the nineteenth century that the need was recognized for a translation of the Koine Greek of the New Testament into the modern Greek vernacular. In addition to the usual theological and translation-related problems, the question of translating the Bible took on wider linguistic and national dimensions in the context of the establishment of the new Greek state following the War of Independence in 1821. Two diametrically opposed approaches to the subject are represented by Neophytos Vamvas (1776–1866), one of the translators of the Old and New Testaments, and Constantinos Economos (1780–1857). Economos believed that it was both impossible and pointless to translate the Bible into modern Greek. He insisted that the Greeks could understand the language of their forefathers and that their own language was common, vulgar and debased the lofty sense of the original; moreover, if the Scriptures could be read by everyone, this would lead to heresy and false interpretation. Vamvas, on his part, maintained that if a translation is intended to teach, then its diction and style must be simple; and, given Economos’s criticisms of modern Greek, he distinguished between simple language and vulgar language. These were matters in which questions of translatability, the modern Greek language and national identity all became embroiled. The dispute continued to escalate, culminating in the Evangelika (Gospel Riots) in 1901, following the translation of the Gospels into modern Greek by Alexandros Pallis. Similar riots, known as the Orestiaka, were provoked by the performance of Aeschylus’s tragedy in a modern demotic translation in 1903.

In Greece, translation practice and theory have focused to a large extent on intralingual translation – translation, that is, of ancient texts into the modern idiom. The great emphasis given to intralingual translation was in part meant to show the continuity of the Greek
language rather than to produce a new Greek text and also to show the capacity of the modern idiom to act as a vehicle for the lofty ideas of the past. Talking at the literary remembrance service for Alexandros Pallis in 1939, Manolis Triandafyllidis (1883–1959), a leading member of the so-called 'Education Society' and author of a state-commissioned grammar of demotic Greek to be published in 1941, noted how in all nations the translation of the ancient classics of the particular literary tradition is seen as a unique source for rejuvenating the nation's culture. He lamented that for a long time in Greece there had been a lack of writers able to translate and that there was a tendency towards archaism and an insistence on a pure form of the language, which stifled every attempt to make the ancient texts available to people in their own modern tongue. This explains why so many major Greek writers and scholars have engaged in the translation of ancient texts into the modern idiom.

Since 1526, when the first paraphrase of the _Iliad_ was published, 450 translators have translated the poetic works of 425 poets (Economou and Angelinaras 1979). The number of translators has actually increased in the 1980s and 1990s to include some of the best scholars, writers, theatre directors and critics: Phanis Kakridis, Yorgos Yatromanolakis, Pavlos Matessis, Costas Tachtsis, Dimitris Maronitis and Yorgos Heimonas, among others. Pallis (1851–1935) translated Euripides, Shakespeare, Thucydidès and even Kant to demonstrate the possibility of using demotic Greek for so difficult a text. However, he is mainly remembered for his translations of the Gospels and the _Iliad_. The latter was both praised and condemned. He proceeded from the assumption that the Homeric poems were a popular creation, and boldly turned the epic into a contemporary demotic (folk) song, using the language and other features of the Greek traditional song. According to one historian of Greek literature (Politis 1973: 173), 'this translation of the _Iliad_ is perhaps the most significant achievement of the generation of the first demoticists'. Nikos Kazantzakis and Ioannis Kakridis also produced a translation of the Homeric epics. Their effort to employ versification and rhythms easily recognizable by the layman from the rich tradition of Greek folk songs was an attempt to make the works available but also attractive. It is also noteworthy that after fourteen years of work, they did not hesitate to state on its publication in 1962 that 'it was only a temporary form of translation'.

### Publishing trends

Translation was not, however, limited to the intralingual variety, as a brief look at some recent statistics will show. The variety of texts translated by Greek scholars, clergymen, teachers, doctors and others between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries is quite impressive, especially in view of the unconducive circumstances during the years of Turkish oppression. Zaviras (1972) records translations of an amazing number of foreign works written in Latin, Arabic, French, English, German, Russian, Italian, Slavonic and other languages. The list includes a great variety of religious texts and philosophical works, mainly by Aristotle and Plato, and also works by Cicero, Virgil, Plutarch, Cornelius Nepos, Shakespeare, Descartes and many others. The reiterated aim of the translators is to educate the subjugated Greeks, and later, following independence, to shape the identity of the liberated nation. In addition to making some of the wealth of their heritage available to their compatriots, Greek scholars translated works on astronomy, geography, history, mathematics, law, physics, arithmetic, geometry, biography, metaphysics, medicine, theology, philology, psychology, archaeology and other topics. They were eager to transmit the knowledge they had acquired for themselves in the European countries where they studied or worked or had made their homes.

Kassinis (1995) provides statistics for published literary translations in book form over the last five centuries, and this is indicative of the history of translation in Greece. Only one publication is recorded in the sixteenth century, five in the seventeenth, fifty-seven in the eighteenth, 3,000 in the nineteenth, 2,500 between 1901 and 1950 and 13,000 between 1950 and 1990. In terms of literary genre, the emphasis shifted from theatrical works to novels to poetry. In the eighteenth century, there were 16 translations of theatrical works, 13 narratives (five in verse form), and 29 works of popular literature. The names that predominate in this period of
Greek Enlightenment are Goldoni and, later, Molière. These are followed in the nineteenth century by Voltaire, Alfieri and Racine. From 1845 onwards, it is the novel that predominates, gradually coming to account for 57 per cent of all literature translated, with translations into Greek of Dumas, Sand and Mérimée. Of the 15 novelists translated in this period, 14 are French and only one (Walter Scott) English. Sixty-seven per cent of the total number of translations are from French, and this high proportion reflects the fact that many original works in English, German and Spanish were translated into Greek via French; it also reflects the French-orientation of culture and education in the new Greek state.

In the period between 1901 and 1950, literary translations were again undertaken mostly from French (36 per cent), though it is notable that the percentage of translations from English triples (25.4 per cent). This period saw the translation of works by Hugo, Verne, Zola, Balzac, Flaubert, Maupassant, Stendhal, Shakespeare, Wilde, Shaw, Maugham, Joyce, O’Neill and Eliot, but it also saw many translations of Russian, Scandinavian, German and Italian writers, including Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Chekhov, Gogol, Turgeniev, Hamsun, Ibsen, Strindberg, Hauptmann, Nietzsche, D’Annunzio and Pirandello. English begins to play a predominant role on the translation scene after 1944, when Greece comes under Anglo-American influence and English is introduced into Greek schools after 200 years of French dominance. Between 1951 and 1990, English and American literature continues to predominate, though with a notable upsurge in translations of Latin American literature. Many of the most accomplished twentieth-century literary translators were major writers in their own right, for example Theotokis, Kazantzakis, Kosmas Politis, Seferis, Prevelakis and Elytis.

In 1994 approximately 4,200 books were published in Greece. Of these, one third were translations from other languages. This percentage is similar for the immediately preceding years. Literature accounts for 50 per cent of the total books translated, followed by the natural sciences (15 per cent) and social sciences (10 per cent). The predominant source language is English (62 per cent), followed by French (17 per cent), other European languages (17 per cent) and Asian and Latin American languages (2.8 per cent).

**Translation theory and translation methods**

Kakridis (1936) asserts that the history of translation theory in Greece begins with Nikolaos Sofianos, who lived and died in Venice in the first half of the sixteenth century. Sofianos was the first scholar to translate and write about translation into modern Greek and the first to write a Grammar of the common language of the Greeks, though this was not published until 1870. In his prologue-dedication to Dionysios, Bishop of Mylopotamos and Hersonesos, which prefaced his translation of Pseudo-Plutarch’s *On the Education of Children* (printed in Venice in 1544), Sofianos raised for the first time in the Greek context what Koutsivitis (1994: 98) refers to as the ‘how and why’ of translation. His prime concern was with translation as a means of education and, consequently, with the use of a language where the emphasis would be on the naturalness of the target idiom and on facilitating the reader’s understanding. However, it is Evgenios Vulgaris, in his *On the Discord in the Polish Churches. Historical and Critical Essay; Translated from French into the Popular Greek Language, with Historical and Critical Notes*, published in Leipzig in 1768, who actually dealt with some of the fundamental questions about translation and who attempted to answer them. This work is the translation of an essay by Voltaire which had been published in the preceding year in Basle. It is a bilingual edition with a comprehensive introduction and notes relating to the translation problems Vulgaris encountered. Vulgaris emphasized that translation should be into the current idiom of the target readership and should be checked by a native speaker (an early recognition of the need for editing), and be stressed the importance of using notes for clarification.

These and similar questions were examined more systematically by Dimitrios Katartzis (c.1730–1807) in the prologue to his translation in 1784 of *La Science du Gouvernement* by Real de Curban. This is the first time in the Greek context that we can talk of a theory of translation. The first question Katartzis raised regarding translation method was whether he should confine himself to scholastic translation, taking refuge behind ostensible fidelity and scholarliness, thus forcing the unfortunate reader into
mental contortions rather than providing him with intellectual enjoyment. One distinctive feature of Katartzis’s writing on translation is that he took his examples from the successful translations of others, rather than from his own translations. He opted for preserving the sense of the original text and ensuring the naturalness of the target language as his two prime concerns. Only in this way, he suggested, does the translation fulfill its mission in that it can thus be compared to the original and also stand as an independent text. The second question he discussed was the form of Greek to be used as the target language (a question that every Greek writer and translator felt obliged to consider). Katartzis’s answer was to respect the living language of his age, enriching it with elements where necessary from older Greek and foreign languages.

Katartzis played a central role in the debate on the Greek language question. He wrote in the popular language (as spoken in Constantinopolitan circles) and without any compromise with the learned tradition. He was one of the most remarkable personalities of the years preceding the Greek Revolution of 1821 and a representative of the spirit of the Enlightenment. For Katartzis, language was not an end in itself but a means for the propagation of knowledge, and this conviction was reflected in the language of his translations and writings. He made what was for that time a revolutionary proposal, namely that ancient Greek should be taught through the medium of modern Greek: by means of translation both from ancient Greek and from modern European languages. In this way, he suggested, learning would be made available to all people, including those for whom ancient Greek remained a barrier, just as Latin was inaccessible to ordinary people in Europe for many years.

He then moved on to the problem of the lack of translation tools, dictionaries and reference books (a situation that has not changed very much today: the translator from and into modern Greek is still faced with a lack of good general and specialized bilingual dictionaries). He concluded with six rules concerning the rendering of literal and metaphorical expressions, changes in sentence structure, translation using corresponding TL phrases and expressions, the degree of freedom in the TL, the transformation of unconnected sentences into cohesive discourse and the periphrastic or conceptual transliteration of terms. This fundamental text on translation theory and practice ends with a statement on the linguistic and educational usefulness of translation. According to Koutsivitis (1994: 113), ‘1784 can rightly be seen as the year in which translatology was born in modern Greece’ (translated).

The language and literature of the new Greek state (after 1821) were very much influenced by translations from other languages. Korais, Rigas, Solomos and Kalvos, four founding figures of modern Greek culture, gave much time and thought to the problems of translation and were influenced in their original works by their activities as translators.

Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) was concerned with both inter- and intralingual translation. He made some interesting points concerning fidelity to ideas rather than words and justified in this way the addition of words in his translations that are not in the original but necessary in his view to render what the author ‘means’, which raised for the first time in the Greek context questions relating to intentionality and the sub-text. Korais also stressed the value of translation in terms of enriching the target language. His contribution to the Language Question was to elaborate three principles: first, that the language of the ancients is the key to a storehouse of learning to which their descendants must gain access in order to claim the right of national self-determination; second, that the modern (written) language must be consistent with the grammar and intuitions of today’s (spoken) language; and third, that the way to break this vicious circle is to take the modern (spoken) language as the basis, and so far as is practicable to ‘correct’ it in order to minimize those elements which most distinguish it from its ancient predecessor (Beaton 1994: 301). Korais believed in education as the best means of equipping his fellow-countrymen for their future independence from Turkish rule, and was also one of the first Greek intellectuals to envisage the emancipation of the Greeks in the form of a nation state, defined in terms of its language and traditions.

Like Korais, Rigas Pherraio’s interest in translation reflected his concern with language, education and politics. He played an important
role in the development of a national Greek literature and was the first to draw up a ‘political constitution’ for a new order that might succeed the violent overthrow of the Ottoman empire. His ‘call to arms’ in verse, *Battle Hymn*, was appended to his ‘political constitution’ of 1797. His first work, *The School for Delicate Lovers*, published in Vienna in 1790, has in fact been shown to be a translation of three stories by Restif de la Bretonne, and although not the earliest translation of European fiction into Greek, it began a short-lived phase of interest in fiction dealing with contemporary urban life, which was taken up two years later with the anonymous original stories, *Results of Love*. This collection, in its turn, played its part in establishing modern Greek fiction. Pherraisios introduced the idea of translation as a creative work, particularly beneficial to both translator and reader provided that it conveys faithfully the sense of the original and respects the peculiarities of the target language.

Solomos (1798–1857), the Greek national poet, and Kalvos (1792–1869), his contemporary, had very similar approaches. Both saw the translation process as an exercise and preparation for original work through assimilating and re-fashioning in their own way various elements from their sources. Following the death of Solomos, Iakovos Polylas (1826–96) undertook the task of editing the poet’s work from his incomplete manuscripts. In addition to this, he translated Shakespeare’s *Tempest* (1855) and *Hamlet* (1889). He was also one of the first to translate Homer’s *Odyssey* (1875) and *Iliad* (1890) into modern Greek. His translations are a creative expression of his critical spirit – a result of his wish to make these classic works available to others. His original output is small, though he was one of very few writers of his generation in the Ionian Islands to write any prose fiction. In his well-known translations of Greek and foreign classical works, as well as in his own critical works, he discussed various methods of translation, touching on wider translation issues but also on issues specific to the Greek language. In the introduction to his translation of the third Elegy of Albius Tibullus, under the title ‘Poetry Translation’, he stressed the high demands made on the translator and also the important educational role of translation. He then proceeded to analyse the linguistic, stylistic and metrical problems arising from the translation of Latin poetry into Greek.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, various statements on translation methods specifically – rather than the role of translation in the wider context – began to appear frequently in prologues to translations and in articles in periodicals and newspapers. Influential in this general debate were the views of Emmanuel Roidis (1836–1904) who, in the prologue to his translation of Chateaubriand’s *Itinéraire*, noted the difficulties he encountered and explained his preferences for sense-for-sense as against word-for-word translation, though at the same time paying particular attention to the linguistic idiom of the target language and trying to steer a middle course between the popular and purist forms of Greek. Roidis followed closely the translation approaches which were popular during his time and stressed the tremendously positive but also negative effects of good and bad translations. One translation which profoundly influenced Greek literary writing at the time was that of Zola’s *Nana* by Ioannis Kambouroglou (1851–1902), published in 1880. Particularly important and innovative for the time were the views he expressed in the prologue, where he attempted to transcend both the linguistic and translation dilemma by arguing that his prime concern was to achieve an equivalent effect on the Greek reader and that his choice of linguistic idiom was dictated by this consideration alone. In a similar vein, Lorenzos Mavilis (1860–1912) believed that a translation should not be evaluated on the basis of a comparison with the original but in terms of its own conceptual coherence and formal appropriateness. Like most other writers on translation, he noted the influence of translated works on the nation’s literature and on the development of the national language. Costis Palamas (1859–1941) for his part distinguished between the translator as interpreter and the translator as creator and examined the varying fates of the original and its author in their encounter with the two different types of translator. He did not seem to believe that a compromise could be achieved between the two positions, i.e. of the translator as interpreter and the translator as (re)creator.

The methods and theoretical issues associated with the translation of poetry in particular have
been at the centre of the discourse on translation in Greece and were taken up by some of the best-known nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greek poets. One of the few studies in this period devoted entirely to translation theory was that by S. D. Valvis, *On the Translation of Poets*, published in 1878. Valvis raised the question of the translatability of poetry, beginning with an examination of the views of those who consider it impossible. In order to answer them, he examined what is meant by ‘translation’ and concluded with a realistic affirmation of its difficulty. In his view, any poetry translation should retain to some extent its foreign character and the ‘parfum étranger’ of its origin. The second main question that Valvis attempted to address was whether poetry should be translated into metrical verse or prose and, for aesthetic reasons, he expressed his preference for the former. Vivas also discussed various types of translation: free, word-for-word and sense-for-sense, and suggested that the model of ‘les belles infidèles’ should be avoided since it serves the purposes of the translator rather than the original writer. He considered literal translation the best, albeit the most demanding, form of translation, and concluded by recommending sense-for-sense, which represents the middle ground between free and literal translation.

The Nobel poet, George Seferis (1900–71), stressed that the main aim in his translations was that ‘the [Greek] language be cleansed and enriched so as to become functional and able to “bear” a text coming either from the literature of the West or from the older literature of our land’ (1980: 241; translated). He consequently divided his own translation work into interlingual, which he called *antigraphe* (copy), and intralingual, which he called *metagraphe* (transcription). An *antigraphe* of the original, he maintained, is successful and functions only when it follows the best literary models available in the target language. With intralingual translation, things are not so simple. Although the Greek translator of ancient Greek texts is obviously at an advantage over the foreign translator since the source text is accessible with less mediation, its transcription into the modern language is nevertheless not always easy or satisfactory. Similarly, Seferis maintained that ancient texts were often translated into the modern (demotic) language to prove the resourcefulness of the latter, but without due attention being paid to enriching the modern idiom with elements from the ancient language.

Odysseus Elytis (1911–96), Greece’s second Nobel poet, was also an accomplished translator, having translated mainly French, but also Russian, Spanish and Italian poets, and, of course, ancient Greek poets. He was one of the leading figures of the so-called ‘Thirties’ Generation, which also included Seferis. Like him, he translated the Apocalypse of St John. Elytis favoured free translation, with emphasis on the functionality of the target language. He made an important distinction between translating poems that one likes (and, of these, only those that lend themselves to translation), and poems that one feels obliged to translate because they are representative of a particular poet or belong to a whole that it would be wrong to split up. In the first instance, the translator is free to give up when faced with insurmountable problems. In the second instance, however, the translator’s aim must simply be to achieve the best possible result. Like Seferis, Elytis introduced new terms to describe his translation practice: he referred to interlingual translation as *a defteri graphe* (second writing) and intralingual translation as a modern Greek *morphi* (form).

**The contemporary period**

**Profession, training and research**

The 1980s and 1990s in Greece saw the emergence of translation studies as an independent discipline. The questions that have concerned Greek translators and translation scholars (usually the same people) are, on the whole, similar to those that concern their colleagues in other countries. However, the issue of intralingual translation remains a distinctive and much debated topic (and practice) in the Greek context. Contributions to the theory and practice of both literary and non-literary translation have been informed in recent years mainly by linguistics, comparative linguistics and literary theory. A fair amount of work has been done in the areas of terminology and machine translation.

In 1978, a conference entitled *Prototypo ke Metaphrasi* (Original and Translation) was
organized by the Department of Classical Philology at the University of Athens. This event is generally considered a landmark in the establishment of the academic discipline of translation studies in Greece, and the Proceedings (Soile 1980) remain a standard reference work on the theory of translation. This volume, together with the book by Kakridis (1936), were for years the only publications available on the theory of translation. Others keep being added to this still rather small list.

The Hellenic Society of Translators of Literature publishes an annual volume, Greek Letters, which contains translations of Greek literature. Special issues of Greek literary periodicals (Diavazo and I Lexi) have occasionally been devoted to literary translation. In September 1995, the first issue of Metafrassi appeared; this is a journal on literary translation (mainly French/Italian/Spanish-Greek) published by former students of the Centre de Traduction Littéraire at the French Institute in Athens. The online journal Translatum has been published since 2001.

The growing interest in translation as a discipline and as a profession is reflected in the number of translation conferences which have taken place in Greece since the 1990s. Several conferences have been organized by the Greek Office of the Commission of the European Communities on Translation and the Greek Language in Europe, the Ionian University in Corfu, the University of Athens, the University of Thessaloniki, and the Hellenic Association of Translators and Interpreters in the Public Sector. Annual symposia have also been organized in Delphi by the Ministry of Culture to address issues relating to the translation of Greek literature into various European languages.

Professional training in translation and interpreting exists in Greece on the tertiary level in both the public and private sectors. The first attempt to develop a comprehensive training programme for translators and interpreters was the founding in 1977 of KEMEDI (Centre for Translation and Interpreting) which began operation in Corfu in the mid-1990s. The need for such a centre had long been recognized, but its establishment was precipitated by Greece’s imminent accession to the European Community and with Greek becoming one of the Community’s official languages. Several foreign cultural institutes and various other private institutes in Greece offer training programmes for translators and interpreters (often in association with translation departments at foreign universities).

The existence of a number of professional interpreting agencies and the appearance in recent years of several professional translation agencies both in Athens and in Thessaloniki reflects a growing awareness in Greece of the need for professional translators and is helping to raise the profile of the profession, which nevertheless remains lacking in prestige and remuneration. Those engaged in the profession are beginning to realize the need for collaboration and cooperation and for a professional body that would be responsible for setting standards and promoting the profession. Moves are already being made in this direction.

Further reading

DAVID CONNOLLY AND ALIKI BACOPOULOU-HALLS
Hebrew tradition

Hebrew is a member of the north-western branch of the Semitic family of languages. It started as one of many Canaanite dialects, but its beginnings as a language in its own right can be identified with the adoption of that dialect by the Israelites who settled in the Land of Israel in c. 1000 BC and who continued to use it during their periods of national independence (c. 1000 BC–587 BC and 517 BC–AD 70). Outside these periods of national independence, spoken Hebrew was replaced, first by Aramaic and Greek, then – when the Jews were forced to leave their land – by the various languages amongst whose speakers they settled. At the same time, wherever Jewish identity was not lost, Hebrew continued to be used as the language of religious rites and retained the prestige that goes with its status as the 'Holy Tongue', this being a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. It also continued to be used in a limited range of written functions. All later uses of the language were thus closely related to Jewish life and culture. Contact with other languages resulted in constant changes to its original form, including some of its most fundamental traits, especially as more and more of the languages in question were non-Semitic.

Like the use of the language itself, translation into Hebrew is characterized by inherent discontinuity: its history is marked by a series of new beginnings, each one charting a set of new routes, to be followed for a limited period of time before being abandoned for yet another set. And since the centres of Jewish culture shifted continually, a new beginning normally coincided with a territorial shift. It is fair to say, however, that this description applies first and foremost to Western traditions; our knowledge of translational behaviour in other parts of the Jewish Diaspora is still too scanty to support a reliable account of non-western traditions.

Translation during antiquity

The Hebrew Bible includes clear references to translation, including liaison interpreting (for example Genesis 42: 23). In addition, several passages reveal traces of actual translation (for example Ezra 1: 7–8 in Hebrew vs. Ezra 5: 14 or 6: 5 in Aramaic). On the evidence of, among other things, the interference of other, often easily identifiable languages and textual traditions, it seems reasonable to suggest that quite a number of passages in the Old Testament may have been translated from other sources. There is very little one can say about these passages as the translations they presumably are.

There can be no doubt that some translation into Hebrew took place during the early phases of the post-biblical period. However, the actual texts that have come down to us are mainly confined to biblical verses quoted in Mishnaic texts and translated, as part of their interpretive treatment, into the new brand of Hebrew which was in use at the time (Bendavid 1967 and 1971). Later on, in the Land of Israel as well as in neighbouring countries where the Jews had settled (most notably Egypt), translation started to be carried out from Hebrew, mainly into Aramaic and Greek – first orally, then in writing. The main objective of this translational effort was to render the Scriptures accessible to the less learned so as to enable them to follow the services. Mishnaic literature also contains many important observations on the nature of translation and the proper ways in which it should be performed, as well as on the (in principle inferior) status of translating,
translators and translated texts in the Jewish culture of the time.

In the post-Mishnaic history of Jewish culture, where Hebrew was retained as a privileged language but other languages were used for most communicative purposes, there were two periods/territories where translation into the Holy Tongue enjoyed a special status, both quantitatively and qualitatively; these were south-western Europe of the Middle Ages and certain parts of Central and Eastern Europe during the Enlightenment and Revival periods. In both cases, not only did translations account for a large percentage of all texts produced, but certain cultural and textual 'slots' were filled mainly, sometimes exclusively, by translations. In some instances, as in the case of the medieval maqāmāt and modern fables, translating served as a means of experimenting with, and later introducing in original composition, text types which were hitherto unknown in Hebrew.

The Middle Ages

Following a long interval, translation into Hebrew resumed in medieval Europe and was in full swing by the end of the twelfth century. Most of the texts translated were now 'works of wisdom', i.e. scientific texts.

Many of the scholarly works first selected for translation were treatises in Arabic on Jewish law (Halakha) and ethics (Musar) written by Jews in Muslim Spain or North Africa. No need for translation had arisen when the Jewish reader lived in areas where Arabic was a shared literary language, but, by the twelfth century, Jewish families had already moved to Christian territories, most notably in southern France and northern Italy, and their descendants were unable to read Arabic. Interest in the achievements of Jewish scholarship remained strong, and a pressing need to have the texts translated therefore emerged. Hebrew, which was in use as a privileged literary language, became the target language partly because Jews living in different places no longer shared any other means of communication. A recurrent pattern, even though not an exclusive one, was thus to have a treatise translated at the request of an interested patron, who merely required the prospective translator to be reasonably fluent in Arabic.

There is no explicit mention of remuneration, but it stands to reason that at least some translators received some payment, either from the individual 'commissioners' or from the local congregation, in which the commissioners often occupied key positions. Among the most influential translations of Jewish 'works of wisdom' completed during this period are Bahya ibn Paquda's Hovot ha-Levavot (Duties of the Heart), Maimonides' Moreh Nevukhim (Guide of the Perplexed), and Judah Halevi's Sefer ha-Kuzari.

Interest in scholarship soon spread to non-Jewish books and themes, leading to numerous translations into Hebrew of works of philosophy, logic, grammar, astronomy, medicine, physics, and various other medieval sciences. Here, Arabic was often a mediating language only, especially in the case of Greek and Latin, including many of Aristotle's works. Other source languages were later added to the list. The most comprehensive presentation of Hebrew translations in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Period, as well as the role of Jews as cultural mediators between East and West, is still Steinschneider (1893); most of the texts mentioned throughout this 1,077-page volume are still buried in manuscripts.

Although the translation of medieval 'works of beauty' has had much less impact on the Jewish tradition, it was no doubt a lot more common than we have come to think, due to a tradition of devoting scholarly attention to 'serious' texts only. True, 'literary' translation was considered inherently inferior, at best on the threshold of legitimacy, and Jews indulged in it with some reluctance – whether for personal diversion or in an attempt to fill empty slots in the literary sector of their culture. However, it seems reasonable to assume that many of the texts that did exist at the time simply failed to reach us. Not having been submitted to copying and recopying, like many of the scientific texts, very few of them existed in more than one copy to begin with, and even these copies were soon lost. The number of literary translations which were subsequently considered fit to be printed was even smaller. Finally, when Hebrew medieval texts became an object of scholarly interest within modern Judaic Studies, it was again first and foremost 'scientific' writings which were taken into consideration and (re)printed.
A significant exception to this rule was Mahbarot Iti'el, the Hebrew translation by Judah Al-Harizi of Al-Hariri's Maqâmât in Arabic. Al-Harizi undertook the translation as a preparatory exercise for writing his own collection of maqâmât, entitled Tahkemoni. Probably as a result of the canonization of the maqâmât in Arabic literature, as well as Al-Harizi's own prestige, Tahkemoni came to be held in high esteem in Jewish culture. Other literary translations which enjoyed considerable prestige and distribution include Abraham ibn Hasdai's Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazîr (= Barlaam and Josaphat), Kalila and Dimna, Mishle Sendebar (a version of The Seven Sages) and the Alexander Romance. The marginalization of medieval literary translations in scholarly work, especially those which did not originate in the East, has lately begun to show signs of weakening, as witness the recent printing of a 1279 Hebrew translation of King Artus (Leviant 1969) and the reprinting of a 1541 translation of Amadis de Gaula (Malachi 1981).

Many medieval translations were preceded by lengthy introductions, which were overwhelmingly apologetic in tone. This may be explained in terms of the problematic image of translation in traditional Jewish culture, where there was long-standing resistance to translating the Hebrew Scriptures. Medieval Hebrew translators often felt obliged to ask the reader's forgiveness for indulging in the act of translating, especially if the translation was initiated by the translator himself. Many felt obliged to apologize for tackling the particular text they undertook to translate: in the case of 'works of wisdom', mainly because of their limited familiarity with the subject-matter; in the case of 'works of beauty', the apology reflected widespread apprehension regarding 'idle talk'. Finally, apologies were sometimes offered for the kind of language used in the translation, whether out of choice or out of necessity. These translators may or may not have had genuine reasons for apologizing to their readership, but their over-indulgence in apologetics should be seen first and foremost as a convention of medieval Hebrew translation.

The introductions also offer important insights into prevailing views of the nature of translation and the proper ways of handling it under the conditions of the time. Huge gaps existed between theoretical observations and normative pronouncements on the one hand and actual translational behaviour on the other, and the translators themselves were not totally blind to such discrepancies. In practice, many of the problems stemmed from the recurring need to translate from a rich language, which was well suited to the purpose it served, into a language with a rather small repertoire, an inevitable outcome of its having been so long confined to a limited range of uses, and ones that hardly concurred with the nature of the source texts. When the original at hand was written in Arabic, additional problems arose from the family resemblance between the source and target languages, which often led the translators astray.

Generally speaking, medieval translators had two different strategies to choose from, depending to a large extent on the prestige of the text submitted to translation. Translators of 'important' works – mostly scientific texts – usually chose to stay as close as possible to the Arabic wording, replacing small, relatively low-rank segments one at a time, and the resulting text consequently reflected the structure of the original. In an attempt to reduce the gap between the two lexical repertoires, new words were also coined, either through direct borrowing (with a measure of adjustment to the target language) or by way of loan-transliteration. The Hebrew texts thus abounded in interference at all levels, both deliberate, or at least controlled, and accidental. By contrast, when it came to literary and other less-privileged texts, the translators – sometimes the very same persons – stuck much closer to domestic models, especially those offered by the quasi-biblical language used in Hebrew medieval poetry. The two strategies can be seen most clearly in texts which are both scholarly and literary in nature, for example Sefer ha-Kuzari. These were sometimes translated as if they were pure science and sometimes as if they were basically literature.

While the way literary texts were translated had very little impact on Hebrew culture and next to none on the language, the strategy adopted by translators of scientific texts proved truly innovative. Originally a clear case of translationese, the resulting structures and vocabulary were gradually assimilated into the language at large. What came to be known as 'Tibbonid
Hebrew’, after the most influential family of medieval translators, crystallized as a variety in its own right: not just a legitimate variety, but one which was considered most appropriate for particular uses. The Tibbonids were a family which produced several generations of highly influential medieval translators into Hebrew. From the first generation, Judah ibn Tibbon (c.1120–90) has come to be regarded in Jewish historiography as the ‘father of all translators’. Among his major translations are Bahya ibn Paquda’s *Duties of the Heart*, Judah Halevi’s *Sefer ha-Kuzari* and Sa’adia’s *Beliefs and Opinions*. His will to his son Shmuel ibn Tibbon (c.1160–1230) constitutes an important theoretical document on translation. The most important translation by Shmuel himself is Maimonides’ *Guide of the Perplexed*. The introduction to this translation is not only unusually comprehensive, it is also one of the most important treatises on translation in the Middle Ages. Other well-known members of the family include Moses ibn Tibbon (1240–83) and Jacob ben Machir ibn Tibbon (c.1236–c.1312).

Translation into Hebrew continued in Renaissance Europe too, now mainly in Italy, which became a new centre of multilingual Jewish culture. Interesting as each instance of translation made between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century may be, whether in terms of choice of genre, author, text, or even translation strategy (including variation in the language of translation and the varying modes and extent of ‘Judaizing’ the texts), translation was hardly noticed as a distinct cultural activity during that period. For instance, the inventory of private Jewish libraries in Italy at the close of the Renaissance (Baruchson 1993) shows that owners were keen to collect Hebrew texts but that very few of these were translations. Moreover, unlike the Middle Ages, Hebrew translation during this interim period seems to have lacked any distinct profile. It certainly lagged behind almost anything Jews did in Hebrew, which in itself was no longer up to European standards anyway. Much of this was bound to change with the next beginning, which was intimately connected with the *Haskala*, the Hebrew Enlightenment movement aimed at bringing Jewish culture closer to the achievements of Central European cultures. The new beginning coincided with yet another territorial shift: the cultural centre moved first to Germany then further to the East. Finally, it also marked the end of interruptions in the evolution of the Hebrew tradition: from now on there would be an almost direct line of development in translation activity leading right up to the present.

**The Enlightenment period**

Even the uninitiated forerunners of the *Haskala* in the middle of the eighteenth century could see that there was virtually no chance of catching up with the civilized world without a major investment in translation. Translating was not only an obvious way of producing texts quickly and in quantity, which is one way of demonstrating the existence of the new culture, but it was also a convenient means of experimenting with anything that was thought worthy of treatment by virtue of its association with an existing culture of high prestige. However, right from the start a distressing tension revealed itself between these recognized needs and the inability of Hebrew to express everything that had been, let alone could have been, formulated in other cultures. It was ideology which was mobilized to alleviate the tension. The solution came from an ingenious reversal of medieval practices, which were still very much in force. Apologetics, which were based on exaggerating the deficiencies of translation, were replaced by a conscious effort to highlight the power and versatility of the language, even if this involved using false arguments. As early as 1755–6, a claim was made in the first pre-periodical of the *Haskala* to the effect that whereas ‘words of wisdom’ were indeed untranslatable, Hebrew could hardly be rivalled when it came to the translation of ‘words of beauty’, which were soon to become the centre of attention. By constantly asserting the ability of Hebrew to do precisely that which held so many difficulties in store, a favourable climate was created right from the start, and this made it possible to pursue a highly ambitious programme and to achieve many of its goals. This ideological solution was supplemented by another congruent move with far-reaching consequences: linguistic acceptability was posited as a major requirement, to an extreme marginalization of any real wish to reconstruct the features of the source text.
The priority thus assigned to complying with the norms of ‘pure’ Hebrew was to protect the emerging new culture from being submerged under the weight of a huge volume of imported texts.

The model within which a translator, like any writer, was obliged to manoeuvre was in fact much narrower than the sum total of Hebrew resources, because only the language documented in the Old Testament was made available for actual use. The decision to restrict the language used to the most classical form of Hebrew was ideologically motivated again: it was part of the overall struggle against anything that smacked of the Jewish Orthodoxy of the time. Paradoxically enough, this extreme archaization, which was to govern acceptability during the early Haskala period, had an important innovative effect on Hebrew, as the kind of language now made compulsory had for a long time been out of use. The Bible was now regarded both as a source of matrices, to be filled with new linguistic material, and as a reservoir of actualized forms, to be used as fixed expressions. Long and complex linguistic items came to be regarded as most appropriate \textit{per se}. They were, in a sense, target-language segments in search of source-language items to replace. Long word-chains were often formed by concatenating a series of phrases taken out of their original contexts, and this preferred mode of usage obviously narrowed down the translators’ options even further, which might explain the high level of uniformity in the texts produced throughout this period. Very often, texts were not identified as translations; at any rate, it was common practice to assign a translated text first and foremost to its translator. The range of activities, strategies and texts associated with translation was thus both broad and highly diffuse, especially as many compositions which did not draw directly on individual foreign texts were still based on imported models.

Given that Hebrew Enlightenment made its debut in Germany, it was naturally the local culture which was called upon to act as a supplier of texts and models, especially since mastery of German was another ideal of the Haskala itself. However, rather than turning to the model-culture in its contemporary state, the new cultural paradigm usually played it safe by using earlier forms of German as a reference point, selecting items and models which had once attained some canonization. Many of the texts and authors selected for translation had indeed occupied a position near the epicentre of the living German system, but most of them had since been relegated to a more peripheral position or were considered significant from a historical perspective only. For a while, inclusion in a German anthology, the kind of source which rarely reflects current tastes, seems to have been an important criterion for selecting a text for translation, especially since many Haskala writers initially came into contact with the German texts through such collections. This time lag explains why no poems of Schiller and Goethe, for example, were translated until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Both poets later became extremely popular in Hebrew circles and remained so for at least a century, often obstructing the translation of contemporary writers and texts and hence perpetuating time lag and stagnation.

During the first decades of the Haskala, translation was largely restricted to short texts or fragments of longer ones, not only because short texts are inherently easier to handle, but also because they are particularly suitable for periodicals and readers, which is where all first translations and many of the subsequent ones were in fact published. This is partly why it took a long time for novels and dramatic texts, and even novellas and short(er) stories, to be selected for translation.

Quite a number of the texts which were translated from German were themselves translations from other languages. Thus, the emerging new Hebrew culture did come into contact with other cultures as well, if only through the mediation of German. The mediating culture naturally adapted the foreign texts and models to its own needs. A culture which gives priority to linguistic acceptability in terms of its own norms and pays little attention to the features of the source text is unlikely to question the adequacy of a mediating text and, indeed, for a very long time proponents of the Hebrew Haskala hardly stopped to ponder this point. The overall tolerance for indirect translation – again, quite a while after the German model-culture had come to regard it as no longer appropriate – was reflected in a proliferation of second-hand translations, starting with the very first modern
translation into Hebrew, a fragment of Edward Young’s *The Complaint, or Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality*, undertaken in all likelihood by Moses Mendelssohn (Gilon 1979). Thus, even someone like Mendelssohn, who could just as easily have translated from the English original, adopted the approach favoured by the proponents of the emerging new literature when operating on its behalf, which was quite different from his own behaviour when he operated as a representative of the German culture (Toury 1988).

During the first decades of the *Haskala*, most indirect translations were of English and French origin, so that many ideas of the French Revolution, for instance, only reached the Hebrew reader in a mediated and mitigated form. Those few translations of non-German texts which were not mediated via German were seldom accepted as an integral part of the new paradigm, partly, at least, because they looked like relics of an earlier historical phase rather than forerunners of a new era.

An interesting example of many of the points made so far is offered by Shakespeare’s fate in Hebrew (Almagor 1975): by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Hebrew cultural milieu had come to regard the Bard, with whom it was acquainted mainly via German, as a major figure of world literature. In reality, this appreciation amounted to nothing more than paying lip-service to Shakespeare’s importance in an attempt to emulate ’modern’ cultures, and for a long time Shakespeare’s position *vis-à-vis* Hebrew literature itself remained marginal. It was not until 1816 that the first known excerpt of a Shakespearean text was published. Before 1874, when the first play (*Othello*) was translated in its entirety, and from the original, only monologues and other short passages from his tragedies were translated, and every single one is likely to have been mediated. These fragments were normally presented and accepted as instances of poetry. At the same time, no sonnet – the Shakespearean short poem *par excellence* – was translated until 1916, most probably because Hebrew had had an uninterrupted sonnet tradition of its own and did not need to experiment in this area (Toury 1995, Chapter 6). Most nineteenth-century translations of Shakespeare were made by minor, if not totally obscure figures, and none of them won any fame through these translations. In fact, the translations were mostly published in marginal periodicals, so that the great majority of the few fragments that did appear in print went virtually unnoticed.

No single translation undertaken during the Enlightenment period stands out as instrumental in the evolution of Hebrew culture. However, translation as a mode of generating texts, as well as the cumulative weight of translated products – texts and models alike – had an enormous impact on its course. The most outstanding domain in this respect is no doubt children’s literature, the like of which Hebrew had never had and which was modelled almost exclusively on the German example (Shavit 1986, 1992). In spite of the relative brevity of close contact between the two cultures, traces of German influence can still be seen in some areas of Hebrew culture and language to this day.

**The Revival period**

During the nineteenth century, the cultural centre gradually moved further East, first within the German cultural domain itself and then out of it and into the Slavic region. Subsequent generations witnessed frequent changes of attitude and behaviour, but no need was now felt for a brand new beginning. Evolution was now proceeding more evenly and translational norms came closer and closer to those which operated in other Western cultures.

The gradual shift eastwards inevitably brought Hebrew writers into contact with ever new cultures. These contacts had two complementary effects: with the new systems in the background, new gaps were being identified and, at the same time, various options for filling them also presented themselves. Nor were the gaps now confined to the realm of text-type, theme and composition as they had been before. Rather, they manifested themselves on the language plane as well. In view of the new tasks it had to perform, the current form of Hebrew could no longer be regarded as adequate, not even by way of ideologically motivated wishful thinking. It soon became clear that many institutionalized modes of behaviour, including those imported from German a few decades back, could not fulfil the new purposes and had to
be replaced. Starting in the 1820s, Russian had gradually become the closest available system, and it was this culture which would now present Hebrew with most of its new challenges and provide most of the options for meeting them. Russian also became the main source of texts for translation, both original and mediated. Indirect translation was still common, and at least one important literary complex, Scandinavian writing of the end of the century, was imported into Hebrew almost exclusively in a mediated form (Rokem 1982).

A key figure during this period was Avraham Shlonsky (1900–73). Born in the Ukraine, he emigrated to Palestine in 1921. A poet in his own right, Shlonsky was also one of the most prolific translators ever into Hebrew. He translated mainly from Russian (including many indirect translations), Yiddish and French. He also introduced significant changes in translational norms which were picked up by a growing number of translators. His translations include Gogol’s Revizor (The Inspector General; 1935) and Marriage (1945), Sholokhov’s Virgin Soil Upturned (1935–6) and And Quietly Flows the Don (1953–9), Pushkin’s Yevgeny Onegin (1937ff.), Shakespeare’s Hamlet (1946) and King Lear (1955), and De Coster’s Tyl Ulenspiegl (1949).

The behaviour of Hebrew in relation to Russian during this period, which has come to be known in Hebrew historiography as the Revival Period, involved much more than a simple recognition of the latter’s availability. One could say that Hebrew behaved as if the Russian system were part of it, and a dominant part at that. Especially since the 1860s, when the dependency patterns had already been established (Even-Zohar 1990), the new paradigm which took shape gradually replaced the previous one based on German and was to dominate Hebrew culture for many generations, even after the centre had moved out of Russia again. On the face of it, Hebrew purism was still strongly advocated, though no longer on the basis of the Bible alone. However, the underlying model which was applied to both original writing and translation, regardless of source language, was in fact highly Russified. This contributed much to the process of enriching and diversifying the available repertoire. Among other things, it made it possible for the first time to create a kind of simulated spoken language in prose fiction; this became necessary in view of the new kinds of literature which were now being translated, and despite the fact that Hebrew itself had hardly started to be used as a spoken language again. Extending the range of options available to the writer and translator, often one and the same person, made it possible to narrow down the concept of translation and increase the relative weight of dependence on the source text. The borderline between originals and non-originals thus became much clearer, and translations no longer pretended to be original writings, as they did during the German period; if anything, it was now original texts which were largely based on translational models. Interference in the translation of individual texts as well as in the composition of non-translated ones thus played an important role in the very revival of the language.

All these trends were further reinforced by the close contact which now developed between Hebrew and Yiddish, another language used by Jews but regarded throughout the Enlightenment as corrupt German, to be abandoned in favour of Hebrew and pure German. Yiddish, especially in its Eastern variety, was now rapidly becoming a literary language in its own right and was also increasingly being modelled on the Russian example. For a long period, Hebrew and Yiddish behaved as if they were two complementary components of the same culture, a canonized and a non-canonized system, respectively. Later on, Yiddish texts began to be translated into Hebrew, often by the authors themselves, not in order to increase their readership (the potential reader of Hebrew in Eastern Europe could normally read Yiddish anyway), but in a deliberate attempt to enhance their cultural prestige. This process also helped to fill many lacunae which were still felt in the Hebrew system and further reinforced its overall Russification, first and foremost in the literary domain.

Israel

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, with the rise of Zionism and the first waves of Jewish immigration to Palestine, the centre of Hebrew culture started to move back to the ancient homeland. The immigrants had been brought
up in the Russified tradition, and the writers and translators among them carried on their activities in the new environment. Consequently, many of the old habits were perpetuated, especially as most of the readership was still in Europe. In the difficult years of World War I, literary translation in particular became an important means of supporting the Jewish intelligentsia, and many elaborate projects were put forward by various institutions for that purpose. Most of these projects were never realized in full, but their activities nevertheless led to a boom in translation production (Shavit and Shavit 1977).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a secondary cultural centre was established in the United States by a similar group of immigrants from Eastern Europe. The main importance of this short-lived centre is that it subsequently provided a small number of writers and translators who were well versed in English and its literature. Many of them later moved to Palestine, by which time the local scene was ready to absorb them as the language of the British mandate over Palestine (1917–48) had become current in the country. English soon became the main source language in translation, but English texts were still translated in the old fashion, as if they were written in Russian. In the 1930s and 1940s, a struggle for domination ensued between the old Russified models and some new options associated with Anglo-American practices; it was finally settled in favour of the latter.

To be sure, the supremacy of the Palestinian centre was not established until the destruction of Jewish culture (in both Hebrew and Yiddish) had taken place in the Soviet Union and some six million Jews had been murdered by the Nazis. These events resulted in Hebrew culture becoming practically mono-territorial again. By this stage, Hebrew had developed a number of spoken varieties on its way to self-sufficiency. But written Hebrew continued to resist these varieties for quite a while. Translation took even longer to accept the new varieties of Hebrew, and it is only recently that the rich gamut of linguistic options which exist in practice began to be used in Hebrew translations (Ben-Shahar 1994). The emergence of translational norms which involve drawing on all varieties of Hebrew has increasingly made it possible to approximate to the verbal formulation of the source text, and there is even a substantial subculture now which prefers foreignizing to domesticating translations. By the end of the century, translation was undergoing a process of cultural marginalization: while most Hebrew texts were still products of translation, there were clear signs that original compositions were beginning to be preferred by the reading public.

**Profession, training and research**

It is still the norm for an Israeli translator not to have had any specific training for the job, and many still practise translation as a sideline. This is particularly true of literary translators, most of whom are not even writers any more. A plea for more professionalism has often been made, but without much effect.

The first university to offer a fully-fledged programme in translation and interpreting was Bar-Ilan University in Ramat-Gan. For decades, other institutes of higher learning went on offering at most a handful of courses in translation theory and/or workshops in practical translation within a variety of departments, although new programmes have since been launched.

The Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature (ITHL), which promotes the translation of Hebrew literature into other languages, was founded in 1962. Until 1980, Israeli translators had no professional organization to represent them. In fact, translators were largely against the idea of being ‘organized,’ and quite a number of attempts to establish an independent association therefore failed. For a long time, the interests of translators were partly taken care of by the Hebrew Writers Association, even though translators would not normally have been accepted as members. In 1980 the Israeli Translators Association was established, and in 1987 it became affiliated to FIT. Nowadays, several awards are offered to encourage translation into and out of Hebrew.

Concerning research, until the 1950s very little work was done in translation studies in Israel, except for some research on old translations of the Scriptures and on medieval translation practices. Unlike their counterparts in most Western cultures, translators and critics did not produce much writing on translation
Hungarian tradition

The migration of the Hungarian tribes began in the Volga-Kama region around the sixth century AD and continued until they conquered the basin of the Carpathian Mountains, where they settled in AD 896. The origin of some of the words which became assimilated into the language gives an indication of the peoples they met and partly absorbed during their travels. For example, sajt (cheese) is Volga-Turkish in origin, asszony (woman) was borrowed from the Iranians in the North-Caucasus, and barát (monk) is originally Russian.

The Hungarians call their language Magyar. It is the most important language of the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric family of languages and is spoken by the peoples of Hungary as well as by some minorities in neighbouring countries, mainly Rumania, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the former Yugoslavia.

The Middle Ages

St Stephen I, or Szt István I as he is known in Hungary, was the first king of the Magyars (997–1038). In order to save his country from having to depend on the Western powers (German and Roman) or Eastern powers (the Byzantine Empire), he took the church as his ally and was crowned on Christmas Day, in the year 1000, with a crown sent by Pope Sylvester II. Stephen's promotion of the Catholic faith in his country led to his canonization in 1083. Latin, the lingua franca of the Christian Community, or Respublica Christiana, became the official language of the Hungarian Kingdom. Decrees and orders, documents, inscriptions, chronicles and notices were all written in Latin and no translation was undertaken into Hungarian or other minority languages.

The oldest texts known in Hungarian are nevertheless literary translations. The Funeral Oration (c.1195), which was found with its Latin original, is a free translation in rhythmic prose by an unknown clergyman. A translation of the Latin poem by Geoffroi de Breteuil (c.1280), found around 1300, was allegedly undertaken in Italy by an unknown Hungarian Dominican monk. In fact, the majority of Hungarian literary
texts from the eleventh to the sixteenth century consist of translations from Latin, for example the *Legend of St Francis of Assisi* (c.1370).

Various fragments were also found of documents of endowments, gift-deeds, and certificates; these were translated from Latin and Greek by unknown hands. The biography of Alexander the Great, written in the third century by an author known as Pseudo-Callisthenes (because he was influenced by Callisthenes, c.370–27 BC), was translated from Greek. Some folk ballads show French influence. The translation of the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine (c.1298) was widely read in Hungary in the late Middle Ages.

**Bible translation**

The Bible was read in Hungarian during church service as early as the beginning of the twelfth century. Fragments of the Hussite Bible (so called after Jan Hus, the Bohemian religious reformer and martyr) were translated after 1430 by two priests who had studied in Prague, where Jan Hus worked as a university teacher and popular preacher. Two complete translations of the Latin Vulgate, the fourth-century version of the Old and New Testament produced by St Jerome, also appeared: the first was translated in 1590 by Gáspár Károli (c.1530–91), a Protestant, and the second in 1626 by György Káldi (c.1530–1634), a Catholic. Both have been revised and re-published many times. Today, translations based on the Hebrew and Greek originals are available. A translation of the Hebrew version of the Pentateuch and the Hafaroth was issued in 1939 and reprinted in 1984.

Some religious texts translated from Latin into Hungarian for the benefit of nuns were found in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Among these, the *Érdy Codex* (1527) stands out as the richest collection of contemporaneous Hungarian legends.

**The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries**

The Kingdom of Hungary remained a great power, with its own rich and receptive culture, until the end of the fifteenth century. Having conquered Constantinople in 1453, the Ottomans invaded the Balkan peninsula and finally, in 1526, they defeated the Hungarians and Bohemians at the Battle of Mohács. Hungary was split into three areas: the major, central part came under Turkish rule, the western and northern parts were ruled by the Habsburgs, and the eastern part by the princes of Transylvania. The Magyar language became the only remaining bond connecting the Magyars in the three areas. Literature, original and translated, flourished and was further stimulated by the Catholic–Protestant dispute. Non-literary translations, mostly of religious texts, also began to appear, but we have no records of any particularly outstanding non-literary translators. This flurry of translation was not the result of national planning but of individual ambitions and interests in literary, religious and philosophical issues.

Some of the major works translated during this period include Aesop’s *Fables*, translated by Gábor Pesti in 1536 and by Gáspár Heltai in 1566; Sophocles’ *Electra*, adapted by Péter Bornemisza in 1558; Castelleti’s *Amarilli*, adapted by Bálint Balassi from Italian in 1588; and George Buchanan’s *Jephte*, also adapted by Balassi from a Latin version in 1589. An outstanding version of Martin Luther’s famous *Hymn*, translated into Hungarian by an unknown Protestant poet, also appeared in the sixteenth century. The *Psalms* were rendered into verse translations by István Székely (1548) and Albert Szenci Molnár (1607), the latter from the French texts by Clément Marot and the Swiss Théodore Béza. On the Catholic side, Cardinal Péter Pázmány (1570–1637) was one of the leading reformers of Hungarian style. Preacher, author, translator and an outstanding figure of the Counter-Reformation, he translated Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitatio Christi* (Imitation of Christ) in 1624. In attempting to reform the Hungarian prose style, Pázmány’s guiding principle was that, in a translation, the word should flow so smoothly as though it were written by a Hungarian in the Hungarian language.

**The Enlightenment**

Maria Theresa (1717–80) reigned as Empress of Hungary (or rather ‘King of Hungary’, as she was crowned according to the constitution)
Hungarian tradition

and Archduchess of Austria (1740–80) and established a regiment of Royal Guards which consisted of young Hungarian noblemen. This was an important period of Euro-American history: the age of the North American Declaration of Independence, the age which anticipated the Declaration of Human and Civil Rights in France and which witnessed the replacement of authoritarian beliefs by rational scientific inquiry in various fields of knowledge.

Several members of Maria Theresa’s Royal Guard were poets, with a good command of foreign languages and a keen enthusiasm for the ideals of the Enlightenment. They tried to promote these ideals in Hungary by translating Western literature. Translation therefore acquired a new vocation for the Hungarians, and the different ideas and styles of the translated works helped to enrich their own native literature.

In the history of Hungarian literature, the year 1772 is considered the beginning of the New Age. This is the year which saw the publication of György Bessenyei’s *Tragedy of Agis*, adapted from an unknown French drama according to the principles of Alexander Pope’s *Essay on Man*, which Bessenyei had read in French. This work, plus the version of Jean-François Marmontel’s *Stories* which appeared in Sándor Báróczi (1775), and various other works (some of which were also written or translated by members of the Royal Guard) formed the core of what became known as the French School. József Péczeli (1750–92), a Calvinist priest, also translated a variety of authors and works from French, including Voltaire (for example *Zaïre* in 1784 and *Henriade* in 1786) and Edward Young’s *Night Thoughts* (1787).

Another school, founded by the Jesuit Dávid Baróti Szabó, concerned itself with translating Latin classics into Hungarian. Szabó translated Virgil’s *Aeneid* (1810–13) and fragments of John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* from a Latin version. With Szabós and with Benedek Virág’s translations began the glorious era of Horace’s poetry in Hungary, and it was these translations which inspired the famous ode-writer Dániel Berzsenyi (1776–1836). An uninterrupted flow of translations of Horace followed and continued into the twentieth century. These translations are documented in the anthology *Horatius Noster* (Our Horace) which appeared in 1935, edited by Imre Trenscényi-Waldapfel. They are also documented in *Opera Omnia* (The Complete Works of Horace) edited by Gábor Devecseri in 1961. Other well-known translators of the Latin School include Miklós Révai and József Rájnis.

As far as German is concerned, well-known works of that era, such as Aloys Blumauer’s *Aeneid-travesty* and August von Kotzebue’s plays, were adapted rather than translated into Hungarian. Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) was one of the most important translators of German literature during that period. Reformer of the Hungarian language, Kazinczy was also a central figure on the national literary scene for half a century. He began his career in 1788 by translating the idylls of the Swiss poet Salomon Gesner. By the time he was arrested in 1794 as a member of a Jacobin society, he had already translated thirteen plays and various works by Lessing and Goethe.

**The translation of Shakespeare**

The golden era of Shakespeare in Hungary began with the work of Ferenc Kazinczy, who translated *Hamlet* from German in 1790. After Kasinczy, a few translators made some feeble attempts at rendering other major titles, but it was Sándor Petőfi (1823–49), Mihály Vörösmarty (1800–55), and János Arany (1817–82) who together planned to enrich Hungarian literature by translating all the plays of Shakespeare. This plan fell through when Petőfi, having only translated *Coriolanus* in 1848, died on the battlefield in 1849 during the war of independence. Vörösmarty, an outstanding figure of Hungarian national romanticism, went on to translate *Julius Caesar* and parts of *Romeo and Juliet* and *King Lear*. Arany translated *Hamlet*, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* and *The Life and Death of King John*.

The effort to provide more and better translations of Shakespeare in Hungarian continued after the great triad: Petőfi, Vörösmarty and Arany. During the first half of the twentieth century, a new group of renowned poet-translators, who published in the review *Nyugat* (West), undertook to provide the modern public with translations of the complete works of Shakespeare, including his *Sonnets*. Since World War II, several series have been...
published of the complete works of Shakespeare in Hungarian.

**Translation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries**

Following the expulsion of the Turks, which started in the late seventeenth century, the Habsburg kings tried to incorporate Hungary into their Empire. Consequently, German gradually replaced Latin as the source language in interpreting and non-literary translation, mostly of official documents. After centuries of almost total preoccupation with literary texts, the translation of official documents began in earnest in the eighteenth century, and the translation of technical texts followed in the nineteenth century.

**Non-literary translation**

Until the end of the eighteenth century, official and technical texts in the Kingdom of Hungary were written in Latin, as indeed they were in several other countries of Europe. While promoting and facilitating contact with other countries, this state of affairs delayed the development of national culture. One consequence of this was that no formal instruction of translators and interpreters was undertaken. The only exception was a few workshops for translation and interpreting from and into Hungarian and other minority languages of the country, which were offered at the offices of the central government.

After a brief interval in the 1780s, when King Joseph II tried to introduce German as the only official language, the struggle for Hungarian began. This ended in 1867 with Hungary gaining internal self-government as part of the dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. At this point, Hungary became a plurilingual country. To guarantee equal rights in legislation, administration and economy for citizens whose mother tongue was not Hungarian, the government established the Prime Ministerial Central Translating Office in 1869. This organization still functions as a bureau of translation and authentication today. However, translators and interpreters did not begin to organize themselves into professional bodies until after World War II.

As far as technical translation is concerned, the monthly periodical *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Collection; 1817–41) published articles on literary criticism and historical studies; the Hungarian Academy of Science, active since 1830, issued the review *Tudománytár* (Scientific Store), which covered a variety of technical fields: natural and physical sciences, medicine, geography, history, sociology, and so on. Most of the articles in this journal were translations, mainly from English, French and German. Gradually, other technical journals began to appear in Hungarian. These include a history journal, *Századok* (Centuries; 1867–), and the quarterly *Ethnographia* (1890–). These journals tend to contain many translated articles.

**Finno-Ugric relations and the translation of folkloric texts**

The Hungarian language differs substantially from other languages in the region and was generally considered to be of obscure origin. A number of scholars tried to trace it back to a variety of oriental languages, including biblical Hebrew. In 1769, János Sajnovics, a Hungarian member of an Austro-Hungarian group of astronomers working in Northern Norway, began to study the language of the local population. In 1770, he published a book in Latin in which he demonstrated that Hungarian is closely related to Lappish. Like Finnish and Estonian, Lappish belongs to the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugric family of languages. This discovery inspired some authors to write poems and novels about Finnish-Estonian-Hungarian kinship. This was followed by a flurry of translation activity in this field.

From the middle of the nineteenth century until recent times, Hungarian linguists have been collecting folkloric texts of the small Finno-Ugric nations in Russia and making verbatim translations for linguistic and ethnographic analysis. Fragments of *Kalevala*, the national epic of the Finns, were first translated by István Fábián in 1826; the first complete translation of the text, by Ferdinánd Barna, appeared in 1871. The most popular version of *Kalevala*, by Béla Vikár, appeared in 1901 and has since been re-published several times. The Estonian epic, *Kalevipoeg*, was translated by Aladár Bán in 1911.
This special interest in the literature of the Baltic nations survived into the twentieth century. Translations of a series of works by Estonian novelists were published in the 1930s. The most popular Finn authors in Hungary include Mika Waltari and Väinõ Linna, and the best known Estonian author is Jaan Kross. During the four decades of Communist rule in Hungary, readers also became acquainted with many older and modern authors of the various nations of the former USSR, and most of these authors were translated into Hungarian via Russian.

The beginnings of translation theory

Theoretical statements about translation began to appear in Hungary as early as the seventeenth century, when Cardinal Péter Pázmány advocated idiomatic, target language-oriented translation. Over a century later, and at the same time that Ferenc Verseghy’s translation of La Marseillaise appeared (1794), another admirer of the French revolution, János Batsányi, attempted to offer a general theory of translation in which he concentrated on the old paradox of ‘les belles infidèles’ (see French tradition). Other scholars advocated a variety of principles. The sentimentalist József Kármán (1769–95) objected that too much was translated. József Péczeli (1750–92) rejected the concept of freedom in translation, and Gábor Döbrentei (1758–1851) was more concerned with how Shakespeare would have written had he written in Hungarian.

Towards the mid-nineteenth century, Ferenc Toldy (1805–75), who is considered the father of Hungarian literary history, distinguished between fidelity to content and fidelity to form and denied the possible co-existence of the two types. Károly Szász (1829–1905), on the other hand, opposed this view and succeeded in translating great epic poems from several languages and introducing them to the Hungarian reader.

A summary of these views can be found in Radó (1883). Antal Radó (1862–1944) was a translator of Italian poetry, who also wrote a theoretical work on the art of translation (Radó 1909).

Beyond the nineteenth century

Translators of the late nineteenth and twentieth century introduced Hungarian readers to a wide range of foreign literatures. Nearly all the works of Goethe, Schiller, Dickens, Balzac, Verne, Dumas, Hugo, Zola, Ibsen and Poe appeared in Hungarian. The Arabian Nights was translated from French. Almost every decade from 1860 onwards witnessed the translation of another famous Russian novelist: Turgenev in the 1860s, Tolstoy in the 1870s, Dostoyevski in the 1880s, Chekhov in the 1890s and Gorky in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Three outstanding achievements of this period deserve special mention. Károly Bérczy began to translate Pushkin’s Yevgeny Onegin from Bodenstedt’s German version in 1863, but then, inspired by the atmosphere of the work, he learned the Russian language and finished translating it from the original in 1866. Vilmos Györy not only translated Cervantes’ Don Quixote (1873–6) but also wrote a simplified version of it for young people (1875). With its highly effective rhythm and distinctive rhyme, Emil Ábrányi’s Cyrano, based on a verse drama by Rostand (1896), has been as successful in its own right as its French original.

Prompted by the classical scholar Károly Kerényi (1897–1973), the publisher Officina launched a series of literary translations in the mid-1930s under the title Bilingual Classics, edited by Kerényi.

The best-known poet-translators of the twentieth century included Mihály Babits (1883–1941), Dezsö Kosztolányi (1885–1936) and Árpád Tóth (1886–1928), who belonged to the group which published in the review Nyugat and undertook to provide the complete works of Shakespeare in Hungarian (see above).

Among those who produced poetic translations of works by vanguard authors such as James Joyce and Marcel Proust, the most outstanding include Albert Gyergyai and Marcell Benedek for French, Aladár Schőfelin and Tivadar Szinnai for English, József Turóczy-Trostler for German, József Révay and Mihály András Rónai for Italian, Endre Gáspár for Spanish, Hugó Gallért and Zoltán Trócsányi for Russian, János Tomcsányi for Polish, Henrik Hajdu and Sándor Kreutzer for Scandinavian, and Gyula Germanus, Ervin Baktay and Rezsõ Honti for
Oriental languages. Some of these translators worked closely with the authors they translated, for example Henrik Hajdú corresponded regularly with Selma Lagerlöf and Hugó Gellért with Gorky.

Some of the most outstanding poet-translators of this period became victims of the political and social turmoil of the time. György Faludy (1910–2006), who adapted – rather than translated – the work of the medieval French poet François Villon, survived jail and various painful experiences before emigrating (first to France, then North Africa, England and finally Canada) to escape from Nazi and Stalinist terror. Attila József (1905–37), who published anthologies of Rumanian, Czech and Slovak poetry at a time when friendship between neighbours was persecuted, broke down under the pressure of psychoanalytic experiments and Communist party intrigues and eventually committed suicide. Miklós Radnóti (1909–44), translator of French poets and of the anthology Orpheus nyomában (In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 1942), fell victim to Nazi killers. Antal Szerb (1909–45), historian of literature, author, critic and translator, suffered the same fate. Szerb edited the bilingual anthology Száz vers (A Hundred Poems, 1944), a collection of the best Hungarian translations of modern poetry.

Like most other facets of life in Hungary, the course of translation was shaped during the period 1945 to 1989 by the Allied powers’ decision to assign Hungary to the Soviet zone. Previously prohibited, works by Russians and other writers of the same region began to appear in Hungarian. The method of translation was influenced by the sudden demand to promote the literature of the Communist world, including the literature of languages unknown to anyone in Hungary except for a handful of linguists. The poet, unjustly called translator, received a prose or ‘raw’ translation made by a linguist. He or she then had to put into verse this raw translation of an original text whose cultural context he or she was often unfamiliar with. This is how the anthology of Albanian poets Albán költöök (1952) and A mongpé irodalom kistükre (The Small Mirror of Mongolian Literature, 1965) were produced. This practice became widespread and was even followed sometimes in the case of languages known to the translators.

Political pressure and the general tolerance for poor-quality translations notwithstanding, the effort to promote high-quality literary translation continued unabated. Géza Komoróczy, Sándor Rákos and Sándor Weöres were among those who translated older works of literature, such as Sumerian lyrics and the Gilgamesh Epic. István Mészáros and Grácia Kerényia translated a range of classical and modern Polish works, of prose and poetry respectively. A number of South American and Caribbean authors were also translated during this period. In 1977, Zoltán Csuka was awarded the international FIT-Nathhorst Prize for his translations from Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian and Bulgarian.

In 1956, the monthly periodical Nagyvilág (Wide World) appeared; it continues to publish translations, articles and reviews of foreign literature in print. György Somlyó, translator of French and Spanish poetry, edited a regular almanac, Arion, which contained translations into and from Hungarian. The long-standing series Lyra Mundi (Lyric of the World) is published by Európa, and the series A vilógirodalom gyöngyszemei (The Pearls of World Literature) is published by Móra; both series consist of translations of world poetry.

The ‘Translators’ Section of the Hungarian Writers’ Union became a member of FIT (Fédération Internationale des Traducteurs) in 1961. The FIT journal, Babel, was published from 1977 to 1988 in Budapest and edited from 1975 to 1988 by the Hungarian translator György Radó (1912–94), who was awarded the FIT-Nathhorst Prize in 1987.

After 1945, and particularly during 1956 and 1957, a number of authors and translators left Hungary. This was not the first wave of emigration by writers. Some Communist authors and translators had fled after 1919 into Austria, Germany, France and particularly the USSR. They carried on translating in their new environments but returned to Hungary after the Communist takeover and published their translations there. Those who emigrated to Israel and various Western countries after 1945 tried to promote Hungarian literature there by publishing translations into Hungarian. These included The Unknown Tree (1975), a collection of Polish poetry which was published in Hungarian translation by György Gömőri in

When the Communist political system in Hungary collapsed in 1989–90, its demands in terms of book publishing began to disappear. The obligatory translation of Communist literature ceased and some authors and translators who had emigrated to the West returned.

In 1966, Lőránd Tarnóczi published The Translator’s Handbook: Theory and Practice of Special Literature. This is a compendium of general knowledge and information for non-literary translators. A collection of essays by twenty-nine leading translators, A műfordítás ma (Translation Today), was published in 1981.

Translator training

In 1973, the Training Centre for Translators and Interpreters (TCTI) was established at the University of Budapest. A year later, a number of other Hungarian universities began to introduce training programmes for translators, and today these programmes are offered by a wide range of academic institutions in – among other places – Budapest, Debrecen and Pécs.

Translation theory is now taught in various institutions, both from a linguistic and a literary perspective. The first international conference on translation studies to be held in Hungary took place in November 1992 and the second in September 1996.

In 1990, a professional translator of English literature, the playwright Árpád Göncz, was elected President of the Republic. He remained in office until 2000.

Further reading


GYÖRGY RADÓ
Icelandic tradition

It is not without reason that Iceland is sometimes described as a land of contrasts, both natural and social. Though situated in the North Atlantic, on the edge of the Arctic Circle, the island is warmed by the Gulf Stream, thus enjoying a much milder climate than one would expect at such a northerly latitude. The Mid-Atlantic ridge runs from north to south through the middle of Iceland and marks the juncture of two tectonic plates of the earth's crust. This ridge is geologically unstable and has been the site of frequent volcanic outbursts, causing the highest density of thermal activity to be found in any country of the world. But despite these fiery forces beneath its surface, the island remains capped by Europe's largest glaciers.

Like the natural environment in which they live, the Icelandic people are full of contrasts. Iceland first became inhabited in the late ninth century, when Norwegian and Celtic immigrants began to expand their settlements westward across the North Atlantic islands. The Icelanders formed one of Europe's last tribal societies, ruled by several dozen goðar, or local chieftains, with an annual assembly called the Althing. This commonwealth-type structure lasted for almost four centuries before submitting to the Norwegian Crown in 1262. Together with Norway, Iceland later passed to the Danish Crown in 1381. In 1944, with no more than 120,000 inhabitants, Iceland once more became an independent republic.

Living in this 'microstate', Icelanders today are both fiercely independent and highly dependent upon the rest of the world. Fish and marine products comprise almost 80 per cent of goods exports, and the limited domestic resources mean that almost all manufactured consumer goods, as well as many staple food products, have to be imported. Although very proud of their national language, Icelandic, and determined to support it against the onslaught of international mass media, almost all Icelanders are fluent in at least one foreign language (usually English) and many speak other European languages as well.

The language itself is living proof of the tenet that languages on the fringe of a linguistic area undergo little change through time. Icelandic maintains the complex and highly inflected Germanic grammar once common throughout northern Europe. The designation 'Saga Island' is well deserved too: not only has much of what we know about the literary tradition of northern Europe during the early Middle Ages been preserved in Icelandic manuscripts, but there are also few countries where learning and writing are held in higher esteem. This is a country where every twentieth person has written poetry, almost everyone nearing retirement age has written his or her autobiography and absolutely everyone has an opinion on how to say things in proper Icelandic! This can often make life rather difficult for the translator.

Translation in the Middle Ages

Strange as it may seem, the medieval northerners who inhabited Iceland do not appear to have had much need for translators or interpreters. In spite of the fact that they roamed from the Arctic to the Vatican, and even farther, only one medieval saga mentions ordinary people (that is, people other than the high church officials that populate the Bishops' Sagas) who spoke other, 'incomprehensible' languages. In Ingvars saga víðförla, the 'Saga of Ingvar the Far-travelled' which recounts the Norse voyages of discovery to Eastern Europe, the storyteller refers more than once to the variety of languages spoken. One
of the main characters goes so far as to prepare for an expedition by embarking on a course of studies in vernacular languages. As a rule, however, everyone seems to have understood everyone else without difficulty in the medieval Northern world. Even those who travelled to Constantinople to join the Varangian guard do not seem to have had problems communicating with others; at least, if they did, they left us no record of such problems.

The oldest existing manuscripts indicate that, by the twelfth century at the latest, this linguistic paradise had become a thing of the past. The Christianization of Iceland around the year 1000 brought about a great need to translate all sorts of religious texts into a language that the new converts could understand. According to the First Grammatical Treatise, an Icelandic work on grammar dating back to the middle of the twelfth century, ‘translations of holy works’ existed in Iceland at the time. To judge from existing fragments and the earliest extant works, these would have primarily been expositions and other interpretive writings, rather than actual translations in the modern sense. It is also possible that accounts of the lives of some saints existed in Icelandic by 1150.

It is worth pointing out that the verb að þýða, now used to mean ‘to translate’, was not used in this sense in medieval times. It meant, as a rule, ‘to oblige’ or ‘to obey’, while the verb most commonly used for the process of translation was, it seems, að snúa, which literally means ‘to turn’. In the large corpus of written Icelandic collected and excerpted over several decades by the University of Iceland Dictionary Project, examples of the use of the verb að þýða to mean ‘translate’ do not appear before the middle third of the sixteenth century, when the first translations of the New Testament were undertaken.

The oldest Icelandic book of homilies (now preserved in the Royal Library in Stockholm) dates from around 1200 and contains a collection of sermons, half of which at least are based on foreign models. These works have seldom been ‘translated’ directly; they are mostly retellings or even combinations of several works in one. Interestingly, one of the texts in this book of homilies addresses the listeners directly and bids them make allowances for the priests who had difficulty in expressing themselves in Icelandic.

In order to make Christian teachings as accessible as possible to the commoners, these early medieval translators, all of them clerically trained, adopted a simple, idiomatic style of prose, occasionally adorned with native proverbs and similitudes from everyday life. Latin-flavoured diction and syntax, which later came to characterize much of the Old Icelandic translation of religious prose, are not generally found in the early homilies. A number of classical rhetorical devices such as antithesis, chiasmus, anaphora, alliteration and word pairing were sometimes added to elevate the style of certain homilies.

Another form of popular medieval literature, the lives of saints, was also quick to take root in Iceland. Over 100 accounts of the lives of different saints exist in translation in manuscripts dating from the late twelfth century onwards. They are drawn primarily, but not exclusively, from Latin sources such as the apocryphal books of the New Testament and legends such as Jacobus de Voragine’s Legenda aurea and Gregory’s Dialogues.

In his authoritative work, The Origins of Icelandic Literature, Turville-Petre (1975) maintains that early religious writings taught Icelanders lessons that they later put to use in writing secular sagas. Like the homilies, the earliest translated accounts of the lives of saints show very little influence of Latin syntax and contain no more than a few loanwords from that language. Even the Greek and Roman gods are replaced by Norse ones: Óðinn for Mercury, bôrrr for Jupiter and Frigg for Venus. Their lively, chatty style hardly differs from the style of Icelandic works such as the sagas of kings or of Icelanders. This situation did not endure, however, and from the mid-thirteenth to the fifteenth century many accounts of the lives of saints were written in a more ornate, florid style which consciously imitated Latin and often translated Latin constructions literally.

In addition to providing the common people with proper examples to follow in the form of the lives of saints, the churchmen, who in practical terms were the only educated class in the country, seem to have thought it important to introduce them to Christian religious and philosophical thought. One of the best-selling works of the Middle Ages (to judge by the number of translations and copies preserved) was the Elucidarius of Honorius
Augustodunensis, which dates back to the early twelfth century. Translated into Old Icelandic in the same century, the work takes the form of a debate on theology between master and pupil. The debate offers simple and reassuring answers to a large number of common questions, and the anonymous Icelandic translator of the twelfth century renders this in a language which preserves the simple, unassuming flavour of the original.

Several secular works were also translated during this period. The History of the Kings of Britain, compiled by Geoffrey of Monmouth around 1137, was translated around the end of the twelfth century. It is thought to have had considerable influence on the sagas which describe the missionary activities of the Norwegian kings; these sagas are among the most important Icelandic literary and historical achievements. Included in the principal manuscript of the Icelandic translation of Geoffrey’s work is the poem Merlínusspa, a rare example of a verse rendering of a prose text, the original being Geoffrey’s Merlin’s Prophecy. Even more striking is the fact that, in the Icelandic version, the two sections of the poem are in reverse order, bringing the poem into closer correspondence with the ancient Icelandic eschatological poem Völuspá or The Sybil’s Prophecy, to which the translation has been compared and which it does resemble. It could be argued that this is an early Germanic example of the reworking of a source text to fit a known pattern in the literary polysystem of the target culture.

All secular translations into Icelandic during the medieval period show a tendency towards extensive reworking of the source text. The so-called riddarasögur or ‘courtly romances’ were prose translations of vernacular metrical romances (from Old French, Low German or even English). At least one anonymous medieval translator of works on classical Rome, for instance, was fond of using direct speech, and often transformed indirect speech to suit his or her preference. This raises the question of whether the translations were intended to be read aloud and were therefore patterned, consciously or otherwise, to fit an oral format. Many of the stylistic devices characteristic of original Icelandic works of this period, such as repetition, references to time or to the audience, and alliteration, link the translations to an oral tradition and suggest that they might have been delivered orally.

The prose translation by abbot Brandr Jónsson (d. 1264) of the poem Alexandreis by Galterus de Castellione (c.1180) is probably the most polished example of medieval translation from the Graeco-Roman classics into Icelandic. The dactylic hexameters of the original are expanded in the prose translation to give a slightly more diffuse narrative. Medieval translators obviously knew that they had to play to their own audiences. The original author, Galterus, expected his readers to be familiar with Middle Eastern geography, classical mythology and the story of Alexander the Great. Abbot Brandr, however, found it necessary to add explanations to his translations, or even shorten chapters which required such specialized knowledge. He used the Greek names of the gods, rather than translating them, and explained their roles. Where rhetorical exclamations occurred in the original, or where Galterus’s opinion was clearly stated, the translator frequently added a comment to the effect that those words were not his own but those of Galterus.

Another popular entertainment during the late Middle Ages in Iceland was the sagnadansar, meaning ‘folksongs’ or ‘ballads’. These are generally considered to have originated in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and to have then spread fairly rapidly throughout Europe. There is reliable evidence confirming that they existed in translation in the Nordic countries early in the fifteenth century, but most scholars feel that they must have been known much earlier. The style of the ballads differs markedly from native Icelandic poetry: the word order is natural and the vocabulary rather limited. It is worth noting that many such Icelandic ballads were only partly translated from Norwegian versions and were not even completely adapted to the Icelandic conjugation system. This often presented a difficult problem when rhyme and rhythm were to be maintained without major alteration to the ballads. Typical features of original Old Icelandic epics, rhymed and unrhymed, hardly ever occur in these ballads. Such features include the convoluted word order of skaldic poetry, its kennings (i.e. expressions which work like riddles, for example ‘the horse of the waves’ = ‘ship’), and the use of archaic poetic names for common nouns.
In Iceland, as elsewhere in Europe, the influence of the preaching friars in the late Middle Ages led to the increased popularity of the *exemplum*. This was a short tale which was often inserted in a sermon or text for explanatory purposes or as an example of a situation or moral, good or bad. *Exempla* were used by oriental and classical writers as well as the early fathers of the Christian Church. Examples of this genre include the *Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great*, which are preserved in an Icelandic manuscript dating shortly after 1200. Another collection of *exempla* was translated from English in the late fifteenth century. The basic tale could be drawn from history, legend, the Bible, the lives of saints, classical literature, folk tales, and even from fables, animal tales and proverbs. Over 150 different stories have been found and edited in Icelandic translation. They appear to have been thought quite different from the native genre of *þáttr*, a short tale which focused on local heroes and which was firmly rooted in the Germanic warrior tradition. The characters in the *exempla* were foreigners – with obvious weaknesses that provided plenty of opportunity for religious moralizing.

The popularity of *exempla* waned in the wake of the Reformation, but manuscripts continued to be copied right up to the nineteenth century.

### Official and legal translation in the Middle Ages

Even as they submitted to the Norwegian Crown in 1262, the Icelanders had no intention of bowing down meekly. With no fleet of ships in their possession, they managed to negotiate a settlement with the Norwegians which was intended to secure a minimum level of vital foreign trade. The agreement also stipulated that they were to be allowed to retain Icelandic laws, and this naturally meant continuing to use the language in which the laws were expressed. At that time, there were few differences to worry about among the languages concerned, and the differences which did exist were generally fudged or overlooked. In later centuries, any laws passed by the ruling monarchy, first in Norway and subsequently in Denmark, had to be translated if they applied to Iceland. It is also due to this persistence in using Icelandic for legal and official purposes that the Icelanders never lost their written language as did their neighbours the Faroese, and indeed the Norwegians themselves after they came under Danish rule.

The vernacular was apparently used for official ecclesiastical correspondence very early on in Iceland, in the first century after the adoption of Christianity. It is generally assumed that two official written languages, Latin and Icelandic, were recognized practically from the beginning of the Christian era, and that according to an unwritten but widely followed rule, documents were composed and sent in the language which the intended receiver used and understood (*Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelader fra vikingetid til reformationstid* 1982: articles on Norway and Iceland by Finn Hødnebø). Yet, even allowing for considerable lacunae in the records which have come down to us, it appears that the use of Latin for official written communication was very limited. Only an exceptionally small number of letters written in Latin have been preserved in Icelandic manuscripts; by contrast, extensive church correspondence in Icelandic can be found among the historical collections. Assuming Latin was the language used for church communication, these letters are likely to have been translated into Icelandic, perhaps to make them known to a wider audience.

The influence of Latin did not endure. It was replaced in later centuries by German and Danish, the preferred medium of the Lutheran Church and official administration respectively. This shift influenced the development of written Icelandic, especially in official use. What is known as the ‘Chancellery’ style, with Danicized Latinisms and extensive use of hypotaxis, was widely adopted; as a result, original written works from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remain among the most difficult Icelandic texts for modern readers to understand.

### The Reformation and post-Reformation: the translation of religious texts

The period following the Reformation was almost exclusively devoted to the translation of religious works in Iceland. The national Lutheran Church, which controlled the printing
press in the country, needed material for its services in the vernacular, including sermons, scriptural texts, and hymns. The first church ordinances from the Danish king Kristian III (1503–59), an ardent Lutheran, provided for the entire church service to be held in the vernacular, with the exception of a very small number of Latin hymns which were decreed to be acceptable. Furthermore, the publishing efforts of the Church were aimed at preaching and encouraging the spread of ‘proper’ doctrine. Among other things, this meant that native Icelandic religious works had to be purged of any non-conformist material before publication, and numerous edifying foreign works which followed the doctrinal lines approved by the Church were translated to complement this effort. Both the translation and writing of hymns flourished to fill the urgent need for religious melodies.

Most of the evidence indicates that it is unlikely that the entire Bible was translated into Icelandic before the sixteenth century. There is no mention of vernacular bibles among the lists of books owned by medieval libraries in Iceland. In those countries of Western Europe which exercised direct influence on Iceland during the late medieval period, complete versions of the Bible in the vernacular do not appear until quite late: in France and Germany the first ones date from the end of the thirteenth century; the first complete English Bible appeared a century later.

On the other hand, it has long been known that certain parts of the Bible were translated into Old Norse, the language spoken in Iceland and much of Scandinavia between the eighth and mid-fourteenth century. The work known as Stjórn (c.1310), attributed to a priest of the court of King Hákon Magnússon of Norway, includes substantial portions of the historical books of the Old Testament. Some of the glosses provided in this work confirm that the Psalter was translated during the medieval period, and the remarkable similarity between certain quotations from the Gospels in older and later texts indicates that an Old Norse translation of the Gospels must have existed in the thirteenth century.

Bible translation is important for language development for numerous reasons. First, texts which are used by a large number of the population naturally play an important role in standardizing the language. Second, the translation process itself generates new constructions, new meanings and new words (neologisms) to express the thoughts of both the Old and New Testament in different cultures. Studies of Icelandic have shown this to be very much the case here: an extraordinary number of words either make their first appearance in written Icelandic, or take on new meanings, in translations of the Bible dating back to the sixteenth century.

The Church maintained tight control of printing activities during this period, which meant that secular works were seldom if at all printed. However, handwritten copies of books intended for the amusement of the common people abounded during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Books of this type, particularly the oldest among them, are known by their German name, Volksbücher; they were mainly retellings of older historical poems, courtly romances and fables. The German name is misleading as it obscures the fact that these works were originally intended for the upper classes; they did, however, spread rapidly in Germany from the end of the fifteenth century, with the advent of the printing press, and gradually became more and more common. Icelanders first became acquainted with these books in German editions and Danish translations: many of them had been translated into Danish early in the sixteenth century. A large number still exist in manuscript form, and many of the plots were adopted in the popular rímur, or rhymed epics, which flourished from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

**Literary translation in Iceland**

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Iceland saw a renewed interest in the translation of Greek and Roman classics. Sveinbjörn Egilsson (1791–1852) was the headmaster of the only real school in Iceland at the time, which was transferred from the former Governor’s residence at Bessastaðir to Reykjavík. He translated a number of such works into Icelandic, including Homer, often consciously imitating the style of classical, i.e. medieval Icelandic. His prose translations were (and still are) considered...
Icelandic tradition

a milestone in Icelandic literature and pointed the way for others to follow; his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were reprinted as late as 1948–9. Egilsson also translated or assisted in translating medieval Icelandic works into Latin, including *Konungasögur* (Sagas of Kings) and *Snorra-Edda* (the Prose Edda).

Other translators of this era turned to modern European languages for their source texts. Benedikt Gröndal the Elder (1762–1825) translated Pope into the Icelandic metre *fornyrðislag*; this is the metre in which many of the ancient Eddic poems were written. Jón Þorláksson (1744–1819) followed his lead in translating Pope, Milton and Klopstock, among others. These were the first Icelandic translators who were not primarily clerics; although Jón Þorláksson admittedly started out as a minister, he was defrocked for a period and was obviously more interested in literature than in priesthood. From this time onwards, most translators were educated abroad (almost always at the University in Copenhagen) and were highly influenced by contemporary trends in European literature. This clearly played a role in shaping their views on translation as well. They aimed to bring the best and most edifying of foreign literature to Icelanders in their own language.

The first poets of the Romantic period, Bjarni Thorarensen (1786–1841) and Jónas Hallgrímsson (1807–45), translated a number of poems by Schiller, Oehlenschläger and Heine in the free style typical of that period. The following generation of poets discovered Goethe and the English Romantic poets: Byron, Shelley and Burns. Among the most productive translators of the nineteenth century were Steingrímur Thorsteinsson (1831–1913) and Matthías Jochumsson (1835–1920). Thorsteinsson was referred to by the critics of the time as a *Kulturbringer*. He studied philosophy as well as classical and modern languages in Copenhagen and worked there for another ten years as a freelance poet and translator. His translations, which include *The Arabian Nights*, *King Lear*, *Robinson Crusoe* and Hans Christian Andersen’s *Fairy Tales*, are characterized by a fine classical Icelandic style, often more his own than that of the original author. Surprisingly little difference is found between, for instance, the fantastic tales of *The Arabian Nights* and the carefully worded fables of Andersen. Thorsteinsson encouraged the young Jochumsson, a few years his junior, who had originally sailed for Copenhagen to learn commerce. Jochumsson eventually returned to Iceland where he became a minister, then newspaper editor, and eventually went back to the ministry. A great traveller, he was also an eager correspondent and one of the most productive of all Icelandic poets. In addition to composing poetry for every occasion and in great quantity, he wrote a number of popular dramas and translated the best-known works of Shakespeare. Jochumsson’s translations of poems by Poe, Byron, Ibsen and numerous other Scandinavian writers are written in a sweeping and enthusiastic style that exalts the spirit, though it may at times lose the letter, of the original.

The numbers of both translators and translations have increased in Iceland with the upsurge in publishing activity during the twentieth century. Restrictions on imports, which applied to most consumer goods up until the 1970s and 1980s, had the effect of directing consumption to those areas of internal production where both high quality and a wide range of choice could be offered; only a few such areas were available, and they included publishing. The result was a high demand for books, and large numbers of published works were consequently translated, especially during the Depression.

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(Source: Pálsson 1978: 166)
Icelandic tradition

post-Depression and post-war years. Table 1 shows the increase in the number of works published in Iceland over six decades in three different literary genres: poetry, fiction and translated fiction.

Since the late twentieth century, almost half of the titles of the annual Icelandic book fair, which takes place mostly during the six-week period of the Christmas book-buying season, have consisted of translated works.

A language community of only 300,000 people is naturally limited in the amount of original literature it can produce. With the rise of professional theatre, the advent of serials in newspapers and radio and television dramatic productions, the demand for popular fiction and dramatic works in particular has far outgrown domestic production, and translation has subsequently flourished in these areas.

Translation from Icelandic

The existence of an extensive and varied corpus of medieval literature preserved in Icelandic manuscripts stimulated the translation of these works, which began in the seventeenth century. A small booklet entitled Brevis commentarius de Islandia was written by the cleric Arngrímur Jónsson, known as ‘the learned’, in 1593. It was intended to refute widespread lies and misconceptions about Iceland. With the passage of time, the polemics of Jónsson’s work became irrelevant but the brief passages which he translated or retold from Icelandic medieval manuscripts in this work and his subsequent collection, Crymogaea, succeeded in arousing the interest of scholars in exploring these previously unknown treasures.

The following centuries witnessed an increased level of activity in collecting, editing and translating these manuscripts. The largest collection was put together in Copenhagen, under the auspices of Icelander Árni Magnússon (1663–1730). Magnússon served as Royal Archivist in Copenhagen and undertook numerous assignments for the Danish government in Iceland. He travelled extensively in Iceland in search of manuscripts and managed to find and hire Icelandic students or grammarians to record, copy, index and process the material in various ways. An estimated two-thirds of the manuscripts in Magnússon’s collection were destroyed by fire in 1728, but the Arnamagnean Collection and Institute has been the centre of Icelandic medieval scholarship for centuries.

A considerable part of the activity involving these manuscripts included making the material available in translations: first in Latin, then Danish. Sveinbjörn Egilsson translated most of the Sagas of Kings and the entire corpus of skaldic poetry into Latin; he also compiled a lexicon of the language of the skalds. With the rise of Romanticism in Europe, both scholars and poets found inspiration in the Icelandic material, especially in Germany and England. William Morris, for example, composed numerous poems based on Icelandic sagas and heroic poetry; he also translated many Icelandic works into English.

Apart from medieval Icelandic works, the Hymns of the Passion by the poet and cleric Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–74) is probably the only older work in Icelandic to have been extensively translated into other languages. Written in 1659–60, the hymns describe in exceptionally figurative and lyrical, and yet easily understood language, how the poet identifies with the sufferings of Jesus and of mankind. During the next century and a half, no fewer than three different Latin translations were printed of the poems, in full or in part, in Copenhagen. One Chinese, one Hungarian, and several English translations have since been published. In addition to the Hymns of the Passion, other individual poems by Pétursson have also been translated into Danish.

In 1955, the novelist Halldór Kiljan Laxness was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature and a number of his works have since been translated into over a dozen languages, especially those of neighbouring cultures: Scandinavian languages, English, German and French. Other contemporary writers have been mainly translated into the Scandinavian languages and English.

The Icelandic view of quality and style in literary translation

Translation as it was undertaken during the medieval period set the tone for what was to follow in a very definitive manner. Icelandic translators have always been expected to deliver a text which reads well in Icelandic. Language-
conscious Icelanders are quick to spot and criticize borrowings and unnatural phrasing or word order. A translation which sounds good in Icelandic is thus often considered a translation of quality. Newspaper reviews of new translations into Icelandic (on the few occasions when reviewers decide to devote any space to discussing aspects of translation as such) almost unfailingly point out that the works sound natural and are written in good style, or lack these qualities.

However, while the medieval translators knew their Latin, and very seldom made major errors or omissions, the same cannot be said of Icelandic translators today. One could speculate that the difference may lie partly in the fact that medieval translators were simply not paid by the page and that financial considerations did not therefore interfere with their quest for quality. Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that, even in works of recognized literary quality, sentences or even paragraphs are often missing, misunderstood or misconstrued. By and large, such changes appear to be unmotivated and the situation applies to translations both into and from Icelandic. Several articles have been published by literary scholars in Iceland in recent years pointing out these deficiencies. One can only imagine the quality of translations of less revered works, such as popular or pulp fiction, in comparison.

**The present time**

In today's world of mass media, small nations are obviously highly dependent on translation for their leisure as well as their work. Between 60 per cent and 70 per cent of television broadcasting in Iceland consists of subtitled foreign material; programmes for children are limited in number but are largely dubbed. Foreign news items on radio and television and in newspapers are almost all translated from foreign sources, as is a large part of the rest of the printed or broadcast material and advertisements. A great deal of translation is also carried out by or for small user-groups such as politicians and specialists in various fields; this includes official and legal documents, contracts, instructional materials, and so on. Given the size of the population and the level of translation activity, it is no exaggeration to say that a much larger proportion of the population is occupied with translation in Iceland than in most other countries of the world.

It is surprising, given these facts, that there is not today and never has been in the past any programme of education for translators in Iceland, neither in the form of classroom-based instruction nor apprenticeship of any kind. A law passed in 1914, apparently as a result of the then current conflict and vague concern at impending hostilities in the North Atlantic, provided for 'legally approved document translators and court interpreters', but little provision was subsequently made for training or testing either group. Indeed, until relatively recently, anyone applying for permission to use this title was authorized to do so, provided he or she could demonstrate having either studied foreign languages or resided abroad for a considerable length of time. The Ministry of Justice now holds regular examinations for those applying to use the qualification. The exams are widely respected and considered a serious test of professional ability. There is no preparatory course offered, and no attempt is made to train or approve translators who specialize in areas other than legal translation.

**Further reading**


**Indian tradition**

This entry sketches the history of translation in the Indian subcontinent rather than in the post-1947 nation state of India. The subcontinent is a roughly diamond-shaped area about 1,500 miles from north to south and the same east to west, bounded by the Himalayan mountains in the north and by the sea to the south. The languages currently spoken in this area fall into two main groups. About 70 per cent of the population, mainly in the northern half, speak Indo-European languages derived
directly from Sanskrit, such as Hindi, Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali, and Nepali. Sinhalese, spoken in Sri Lanka, also belongs to this group. Another 20 per cent, mainly in the south, speak Dravidian languages, namely Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. The rest speak Austro-Asiatic languages (mainly scattered tribal peoples), Tibeto-Burman languages (in the north-east), and Dardic languages (in the north-west). Urdu, the main language of Pakistan, is closely related to Hindi, but has adopted many Persian and Arabic words and uses the Arabic script. The main non-indigenous language, English, is used alongside their mother tongue by most educated people.

Several problems arise when attempting to deal with the earlier history of translation in the subcontinent. The evidence is extremely patchy, partly because of a predominantly oral tradition, partly because of the destruction of innumerable texts by climatic conditions, pests such as white ants, or hostile human agency. Extant copies of texts are often several centuries later than the date of their composition. The longevity and continuity of linguistic development in the area means that individual texts often exhibit features of more than one historical period. The chronology of texts is rarely exact and is often based largely on internal evidence such as references to previous authors and works. Similarly, the great geographical extent of the subcontinent often makes distinctions between language and dialect rather problematic. The evolving cultural homogeneity causes problems in distinguishing between retellings and variant renderings of common source material, adaptations of previous texts, and actual translations. Finally, little previous work has been done in the field of translation history for this region.

The ancient period (c.2500–800 BC)

The first need for inter-language communication in the subcontinent probably arose through trade. The oldest linguistic evidence is to be found in the characters inscribed on steatite seals found in the Indus valley in the north-west. These are said to date from 2500 to 1500 BC, but unfortunately the script has not yet been deciphered. The remains of a harbour have been unearthed in the area, and Indus-style artefacts have been found as far away as Mesopotamia. For some 2,000 years after this, until the inscriptions of the emperor Asoka in the third century BC, there is no material linguistic evidence at all. This is primarily due to the Aryans, bands of nomadic cattle-herders from central Asia who settled in the Indus area in the latter part of the 2nd millennium BC. They spoke Sanskrit, an Indo-European language, and brought with them a wealth of poetry which they subsequently collected together under the name Rigveda or ‘hymns of wisdom’; another group of Aryans moved into Persia at around the same time and their sacred book, the Avesta, reflects a very similar culture to that of the Rigveda.

The Aryans regarded themselves as superior to the indigenous people and tried to preserve their cultural and linguistic purity. Once they had settled in the subcontinent, the Rigveda was endowed with extreme sanctity and mystic power by the priests. Only Aryans were allowed to learn and use the Rigvedic hymns. No reference to writing is found for several hundred years, so the linguistic and religious tradition was entirely oral, despite the continual elaboration of the original Rigvedic material. Even after the advent of writing, and the development of vernacular languages, so sacred were the Vedic texts considered that only commentaries written in Sanskrit are found until late medieval times, and certainly no translations until Western scholars gained access to them in the nineteenth century. However, ironically, even the Rigveda displays evidence of Dravidian influence in its use of retroflex sounds, and the Atharvaveda, the youngest of the four Vedas, contains magic spells and customs that are clearly non-Aryan. Some form of interaction, then, must have taken place between the Aryans and the indigenous linguistic communities, but its exact nature remains a matter of speculation.

The pre-classical period (c.800 BC–AD 100)

From about 800 BC onwards the Aryans began to spread out from the Indus region, eastwards into the Ganges valley and south towards the Deccan, and the Persian Achaemenid Empire took control of the Indus. Aryans also began
Indian tradition

...to go beyond their tribal territories: students and traders travelled to Taxila in the kingdom of Gandhara in the north-west, soldiers mounted on elephants apparently fought in the Achaemenid army against the Greeks.

As the Aryans began to disperse, several major developments took place. A more scientific attitude became evident in their culture, and Sanskrit texts were composed on law, astronomy, astrology, and especially linguistic subjects such as etymology, metrics, prosody, and grammar. At the same time, the Aryan language started to fragment into dialectal or regional forms known as Prakrits. Panini’s well-known grammar is regarded by some as a response to the Aryan diaspora, an attempt to fix the form of Sanskrit before it disintegrated into mutually unintelligible dialects. The disintegration process was reinforced by the great religious reformers of the sixth century BCE, especially the Buddha and Mahavira (founder of Jainism), who propagated vernacular languages in order to make their teachings accessible to the masses. Panini’s grammar may therefore also represent part of the orthodox religious backlash against these anti-Vedic movements.

Kautilya, the minister of the fourth-century BCE Indian emperor Candragupta Maurya, wrote a treatise on statecraft (often compared to the work of the sixteenth-century Italian, Machiavelli) which gives us some indication of the status that a translator might have had during this period. Although the term ‘translator’ is not used, Kautilya mentions ‘scribes’ towards the end of a long list of occupations and salaries: the king’s chief priest, other high priests, the prime minister, military commander, and members of the royal family (48,000 panas); chiefs of police, harem, armoury, prison, revenue, and treasury (24,000 panas); lesser royals, the chief of industry, counsellors (12,000 panas); guild masters, regimental heads, chariot-commanders, physicians, fortune-tellers, bards, professors and spies (500–8,000 panas); infantrymen, scribes, and accountants (500 panas). In the very last rank are craftsmen, servants, medical assistants and cowherds (with notional figures for slaves, elephants, horses, and oxen).

In the fourth century BCE, contacts with the subcontinent are externally attested: we know that Alexander the Great of Macedon reached the Indus in 326 BCE and that the Greek chronicler Megasthenes was the ambassador of Seleucus, Alexander’s successor, at the Mauryan court. Among the earliest recorded translations are probably the names of places and rulers. The capital of Gandhara was known as Takshashila to the Indians and Taxila to the Greeks. The Greek historian Plutarch uses the Greek version, Sandracottos, for the name of the Indian emperor Candragupta.

With the arrival in India of Greeks from Bactria, we see coins issued with Greek legends on one face and the Indian Brahmī script on the other. Greek ideas on astrology, medicine, and drama are also perceived in Indian literature of the period. The Indo-Greek kings and the Bactrian kings of the Kushana tribe who ruled over parts of India often took imperial titles that seem to be borrowed from the Persians, such as maharajatiraja or ‘king-of-kings’ (cf. shah-in-shah), or from the Chinese, for example daivaputra or ‘son of heaven’. The Kushana king Kanishka (c.AD 78–101) was a great patron of Buddhism, and Buddhist art flourished, especially in Gandhara. Kanishka also accelerated the spread of Buddhism into Central Asia and China.

Early Buddhism

Unlike the Vedic religion, Buddhism was an overtly proselytizing religion from the outset. Buddha himself urged his disciples to propagate his teachings. In the middle of the third century BCE, the Indian emperor Asoka, after some particularly bloody campaigns, followed the general trend away from Vedic sacrifices and towards an ideology of non-injury and universal compassion (particularly stressed by Buddhism) and erected numerous pillars with inscriptions that record his edicts in local languages, probably in imitation of the Persian emperor Darius I. This must have required some translation-type activities on the part of the scribes. Various scripts are used on Asoka’s pillars, and they name Syrian, Egyptian and Macedonian kings.

From about 250 BCE onwards, Buddhist missions were sent south and west, and with notable success to Sri Lanka. The Buddhist canon (in Pali, one of the Prakrits) was probably written in Sri Lanka in the first century BCE, about 500 years after Buddha’s death. However, as well as...
being written in vernacular languages, Buddhist texts also began to be written in Sanskrit. Translation therefore became an important part of the transmission of the Buddha’s teachings. In some cases, essentially the same texts, such as the Jatakas (stories of the Buddha’s past lives, probably composed between the first century BC and the first century AD), are available in Sanskrit and Pali, though they may not strictly speaking be translations, but parallel texts with a common source. Indian Buddhist scholars travelled to China in the first century AD and were no doubt responsible for some of the earliest translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese (see Chinese tradition).

Ashvaghosa’s poem Buddhacarita, the ‘life of Buddha’, represents the earliest surviving Classical Sanskrit poetry (c. first century AD), but the manuscripts of it found at Turfan in Gobi are a Chinese translation by an Indian scholar.

The classical period (c.100–1000)

The Hindu Epics, two of the most important source texts for subsequent translation history, were consolidated during this period. The Mahabharata (c.300 BC to AD 300) tells the story of a major war, probably representing the Aryans’ eastward expansion along the Ganges valley. The Ramayana (c.200 BC to AD 200) is about the abduction of Prince Rama’s wife by the king of Lanka (Sri Lanka) and her subsequent rescue, probably echoing the Aryans’ southward movement. These texts can also be said to represent the beginning of Hindu theism, as the heroes are gradually elevated to divine status as incarnations of the god Vishnu.

It is often difficult to tell which language a text was originally in, as opposed to the language of the extant version. However, small points of grammar and metre in these Epics suggest that the extant Sanskrit versions may have been translated from original Prakrit versions, or that at least the extant versions may represent attempts to ‘Sanskritize’ the Prakrit versions. Similar processes are certainly evident in the rewriting of the vernacular Puranas or ‘Ancient Stories’ (collections of legends, religious material, and pseudo-historical king-lists) in classical Sanskrit, with the idea of enhancing their status thereby.

In the case of Jainism and Buddhism, later texts were often written in Sanskrit, because by then the vernacular languages had either diverged too far to be mutually intelligible or were too regionally restricted. So, in the interests of the transmission of the teachings, scholars reverted to Sanskrit. However, later still, the trend is reversed once again, and translation mainly proceeded from Sanskrit into other languages. For example, the Bhakti religious movement not only composed original material in vernacular languages, but also translated many devotional poems, as well as the Epics and Puranas, from Sanskrit into local languages. There were also adaptations of the Epics and Puranas into Dravidian languages.

One area of literature which shows significant development in this period is drama. Some scholars attribute this to Greek influence, but this has not been proven. The importance of the rise of drama for translation is that Sanskrit plays started to allow characters who were not kings or brahmans (Hindu priests) to speak in Prakrits, which represent an intermediate stage between Classical Sanskrit and the modern Indian languages derived from Sanskrit. However, a chaya or ‘gloss’ was still provided in Sanskrit for the Prakrit speeches in the plays.

Another literary genre particularly important to translation history is the fable. This becomes popular with the Pali Jatakas and often involves talking animals. Some scholars again see Greek influence behind this development, but it is more likely that story-telling traditions from the Middle East through to China exchanged plots and characters. One collection of animal fables in particular, the Pancatantra or ‘Five Treatises’, has an astonishing translation history. It was first translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi in the sixth century at the order of Khusrau Anushirwan, the Persian emperor. A Syriac translation followed in c.570, and an Arabic translation in the eighth century. The eleventh century saw new translations in Syrian, Arabic (as the story of Kalila wa Dimna), and Persian (as Kalia Daman), as well as a Greek translation from the Syrian which was used for a Hebrew version. A Latin version from this period is also known, and the stories gradually spread throughout Europe in all its major languages during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The first English version, by Sir Thomas North, appeared in 1570 and
was called *The Morall Philosophie of Doni*, after the name of the Italian translator. The fables of *La Fontaine* are explicitly acknowledged as based on the stories of Pilpay, the name by which their reputed Indian narrator Vidyapati was known in Europe. The *Pancatantra* was probably responsible for the stories of Reynard the Fox, common to many European folk traditions, which were given their finished European form by Goethe. Other stories of Indian origin, including some of the Sinbad stories, are to be found in *The Arabian Nights*.

Medical texts were the target of much translation activity during this period. Sanskrit treatises were translated first into Pali, and later into Bengali and Nepali. Outside India, translations are known in Korean, Khotanese, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, and Arabic. The Muslim Caliphs at Baghdad, the seat of the Islamic Empire, also showed great interest in Indian science. The translation bureau set up by Caliph Al-Mansour (c.710–75) produced translations of Sanskrit texts on astronomy, medicine and mathematics (notably Aryabhata’s fifth-century Sanskrit treatise), introducing the numeral system of Indian origin into Europe as well as various other Indian algebraic, geometrical, and astronomical concepts. Harun-al-Rashid (766–809) and al-Mamun (786–833) continued the translation work into the ninth century, but it ceased thereafter as Baghdad began to lose its political power.

**Southern India and the Dravidian languages**

The earliest literature of the south, unlike the *Rigveda*, is not particularly religious in content. Tradition tells us of three *sangams*, competitive poetic ‘assemblies’ at Madurai. No texts survive from the first, the Tamil grammar *Tolkappiyam* is supposedly a product of the second, and the eight anthologies of Sangam poetry (over 2,000 poems) are from the third. Tradition also attributes the introduction of Aryan culture into the south to the Vedic sage Agastya, claims that southern kings took part in the Mahabharata war and refers to them performing Vedic sacrifices. If nothing else, this reflects the extent of Aryan influence in the south at an early period. At the same time, archaeological evidence at Arikamedu near the south-eastern city of Pondicherry has revealed sea-trade with the Romans in the first century AD.

Early inscriptions found in this area are in Prakrit and Sanskrit, but Tamil soon replaces Prakrit. Education was initially dominated by Jains and Buddhists, but gradually the Hindu tradition overtook them. Jain texts, originally in Sanskrit and Prakrit, began to be written in Tamil, and Buddhism and Hinduism competed for royal patronage. Tamil literature naturally shows Jain influences, and Tamil epic poems such as *Silappadikaram* and *Manimekalai* have features of Sanskrit style. However, Tamil religious poetry of the highest quality was also being composed. There are references to an extensive early literature in Kannada as well, but very little has survived.

A religious movement known as Bhakti propagated the personal, devotional worship of the Hindu gods Vishnu and Siva. This gave rise to much poetic activity in the sixth and seventh centuries and won over many of the ordinary people. Education was mainly at orthodox Hindu temples and in Sanskrit, and many people were therefore excluded. They gained oral instruction from the Bhakti schools in Tamil instead. As the classical period of Sanskrit began to wane, works in Sanskrit became increasingly derivative, artificial, and lifeless. At the same time, local languages began to flourish: Kamban’s version of the *Ramayana* is written in highly vigorous Tamil.

Tamil, Telugu, and Kannada had acquired much vocabulary from Sanskrit, but the connections were becoming looser. Sanskrit works, such as those of Kalidasa, and the Epics, were adapted to Telugu and made available to popular audiences. Kannada had been favoured by Jain patronage in Mysore, but again the first written Kannada texts are adaptations of Sanskrit originals. Marathi (although Indo-European) developed similarly: through patronage from Yadava kings, then used to render Sanskrit texts such as the *Bhagavad Gita* (a late interpolation in the *Mahabharata*), but also used for religious poems inspired by Bhakti texts introduced from the south.

**Later Buddhism**

As Buddhism developed, some sects began to follow similar paths to the Hindus, incorpo-
rating Yoga (physical exercises, meditation, and the philosophy of self-realization) and Tantra (visualization techniques involving a pantheon of iconic deities, symbolic rituals including sexual intercourse, and so on) into their practices. These sects, collectively termed Mahayana or 'the Northern school', as opposed to the more conservative Hinayana or 'Southern school', wrote mainly in Sanskrit rather than Pali.

The University of Nalanda in the north-east of India was particularly renowned for training translators from the fourth century onwards. Kumarajiva (344–413) went to China in 401 and translated the Life of Nagarjuna (a major Buddhist philosopher) into Chinese, and one of his pupils, Fa-hsien, came to India soon afterwards (405–11) to collect more texts. Jinagupta translated thirty-seven Sanskrit works into Chinese. Another translator, Paramartha, went to China in the fifth century and translated the Life of Vasubandhu (an earlier authority on Yoga at Nalanda). The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Hsuan Tsang and I Tsing came to India in the seventh century and studied at Nalanda. Hsuan Tsang is said to have translated over thirty major Buddhist volumes, and I Tsing took several hundred texts back to China. Dharma Deva (960–1000) is credited with translating 118 Buddhist texts into Chinese. Some 8,000 Indian texts, many in translation, are preserved in the Sung-pao collection; they relate to Buddhism, Hinduism, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine. Among the earliest printed books in China are books in Sanskrit printed from wooden blocks, a technique probably taken from Tibet.

Tibetan culture was totally oral until the arrival of Buddhism. The alphabet was initially created solely for the purpose of receiving Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. The Nalanda scholars Arya Deva, Silabhadra, and Dharmapala went to Tibet, and their works were translated into Tibetan. Santarakshita and Padmasambhava were especially active in the transmission of Buddhism in the eighth century. After a period of persecution in the tenth century, the Bengali Atisa Dipankara Srijnana restored Buddhism in Tibet. The cooperation between Indian, Tibetan and Chinese scholars is evident in the Mahavyutpatti, a Sanskrit–Tibetan–Chinese dictionary of Buddhist technical terms which dates from the ninth or tenth century.

Long after Buddhism went to China, it passed to Japan in the form of Zen. In the turbulent times from the eleventh century onwards, Buddhist monks took Sanskrit manuscripts to Nepal, Tibet, or China, and many of those texts now survive only in their translated versions.

The medieval period (c.1000–1750)

Baghdad's decline from the tenth century onwards allowed the Turkic rulers of Afghanistan to grow in self-confidence, and they began to mount raids into northern India. Mahmud of Ghazni made seventeen such raids in the north-west between 1001 and 1027, destroying palaces, temples, and libraries. In the twelfth century, Mohammed of Ghor annexed Ghazni and its possessions in India, and his generals emulated Mahmud by destroying buildings, images, and texts as far as Bengal. However, Mohammed's successors subsequently became Indianized, settled in Delhi, resisted the Mongol invaders in the north-west, extended their sway into the Deccan and South India, and established an Islamic Sultanate which lasted in part until the arrival of the Moghuls.

Sanskrit competed to a certain extent with Persian at court during this period, but became increasingly redundant elsewhere as the vernacular languages flourished. Some Muslim poets began to write in Hindi. The increasing dominance of Persian in business and literature ironically gave regional tongues a great boost. In due course, however, even the Delhi Sultanate began to show interest in the indigenous culture. In 1357, after a visit to a library in Kangra, Sultan Firuz Shah ordered the translation of Sanskrit manuscripts on Hinduism into Persian and Arabic.

In 1398, Tamerlane destroyed the waning Sultanate and left its territories in the hands of local Muslim rulers. The Lodi Afghans briefly rebuilt the core in the fifteenth century, but Bengal remained outside their control, the Rajputs disputed the western areas with the kingdom of Gujarat, and the breakaway Muslim Bahmani kings ruled in the Deccan, with the Hindu Vijayanagar kingdom to the East.

Meanwhile in the south, as Islam and other religions such as Bhakti and Tantra started to
erode orthodox Hinduism, scholars such as Sankara, Ramanuja and Madhva tried to incorporate some of the new ideas into the traditional Hindu framework. One particularly strong cult was the Virashaivas or Lingayats. The main exponent, Basava, was originally a Jain but was probably influenced by Buddhism and Islam as well as the Bhakti cults. His teachings, usually called simply the Basava, exist in one form in Palkurika Somā's Telugu Basava (1195). In the fourteenth century, this work was adapted into Kannada by Sumatibhima or Bhimacandra Kavi.

Puranas (‘ancient stories’) were composed in Kannada by Vishnu worshippers as well as by followers of Basava, and the Sanskrit Bhagavata Purana was translated into Kannada in the sixteenth century. Since then, most of the other major Puranas have been translated into Kannada. Hastimalla’s Adi Purana is a Jain text in Kannada prose, but each of its sections begins with a Sanskrit verse identical with the opening verses of Jinasena’s Sanskrit version. The Tamil Puranas are often far more complex and sophisticated than their Sanskrit counterparts. The Bagavadam, a Tamil version of the Bhagavata Purana, was translated into French at an early date. Telugu versions of the Puranas date back to the thirteenth century. However, Sanskrit retained its place at royal courts and among orthodox Hindu scholars. Major commentaries were written: on the Dharmasastras (Hindu Law) by Hemadri in the thirteenth century (keeping very close to the northern versions), and on the Vedas by Sayana in the fourteenth century. Although regional languages were diverging and flourishing, the population of the subcontinent was beginning to share a considerable degree of cultural homogeneity.

In 1337, the major southern kingdom of Vijayanagara was founded, and rapidly dominated the south. It shook off both the Delhi Sultans and the Muslim Bahmani kings of the Deccan, and restored Hinduism. Gradually, the centre of religious activity moved from the Tamil lands to Mysore and Maharashtra. The Bhagavad Gita was rendered in Marathi by Jnanadeva (1291), and he was followed in the fourteenth century by Namadeva, whose works denounce idol worship. The Vijayanagara kings had adopted a popular Marathi deity. Sanskrit works, especially the Epics and Puranas, continued to be adapted into Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Marathi, but Bhakti texts were steadily produced as well. Persian and Arabic had been introduced by the Muslim Bahmani kings in the northern Deccan. Malayalam, originally a western dialect of Tamil, started to enjoy an independent status as Malabar became less a part of the Tamil kingdoms, and more influenced by its foreign settlers, especially the Arabs.

Meanwhile, Hindu Bhakti still flourished, now propagated by the popular devotional poet Chaitanya in Bengal, and by the Marathi saints. Guru Nanak (1469–1539) incorporated Bhakti into a new religion, Sikhism. Orthodox Islam withdrew into an intellectual elite, but the Sufis shared the popular stage with Bhakti. Persian still dominated the courts.

**The Moghul Empire**

In 1504, Babur, a descendant of Tamerlane whose claims to kinship with the Mongol Genghiz Khan are the basis for the term Moghul, established himself in Afghanistan and, after a few initial raids, conquered Delhi in 1526. His memoirs were later translated from Turki into Persian and then into English. Babur’s son Humayun conquered Gujarat. His son Akbar extended the empire, employing mainly non-Indian staff in his administration. He developed an eccentric religious system, engaging Hindus, Jains, Portuguese Christians, and Zoroastrians as advisers, and crushed a revolt by orthodox Muslims. Persia had by now freed itself from the Mongols. Pre-Islamic Persian culture was more acceptable to Hindus than Islam, the non-orthodox Persian Sufis being closer to Bhakti than Muslims, and Arabic therefore took second place to Persian.

Religion was a major spur to translation. Dara Shukoh, son of Shah Jahan, heard of the Upanishads (late Vedic and early Hindu philosophical texts) in Kashmir in 1640, and had about fifty of them translated from Sanskrit into Persian by 1657. These were later translated into Latin by Anquetil Duperron and published in Paris in 1802. The theologian Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi (1703–62) took the revolutionary step of translating the Qur’ān into Persian. His annotated version was begun before 1730 and
was not completed until 1738. He later compiled a set of instructions in Persian for scholars attempting to translate the Qur’an. He also translated an Arabic grammar into Persian verse (c.1751–2) for the benefit of one of his sons and a Persian text (‘Refutation of the Shi’ites’) into Arabic. Until recently, his contribution to Islamic thought had been underestimated by both Western and Islamic scholars, who tended to pay far more attention to his political views.

Science also gave rise to translation activities: Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, mathematician, astronomer, and builder of several observatories, had some classical Greek texts on mathematics (including Euclid) translated into Sanskrit, as well as more recent European works on trigonometry and logarithms, and Arabic texts on astronomy.

During the Delhi Sultanate and the Moghul period, Hindu nobles and ministers used Persian at court, and many Hindus wrote books in Persian. Muslim scholars translated Sanskrit texts into Persian. Sanskrit Puranas have been discovered in Persian translations, one version of the Bhagavata Purana reputedly translated at Akbar’s express command. Persian also gave rise to Urdu, which influenced both Hindustani, the vernacular language of the north, and Hindi.

The European period (c.1750–1947)

The Europeans had gradually begun to vie with the Arabs for trade dominance by the thirteenth century. Marco Polo visited the southern Pandyan kingdoms, Nicolo Conti, Athanasius Nikitin, and Duarte Barbosa travelled overland to Asia, and Vasco da Gama opened the sea route in 1498. In addition to these traders, Catholic missionaries arrived, especially the Portuguese, who soon translated the New Testament into Persian.

In 1600, the British East India Company was incorporated – essentially to trade in East Indian spices – but it soon came to exercise considerable political power in India as a whole. The need for translations of Indian texts was recognized early on by Company administrators. Muslim law had already been summarized in a digest at the order of the Moghul emperor Aurangzeb (1659–1707) and was universally acknowledged by Indian courts. Hindu law, although much older, had never been systematically codified. Warren Hastings, the East India Company’s Governor-General of Bengal, gathered together ten eminent Hindu pundits and commissioned them to prepare a digest of Hindu law for the courts. This had first to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian and then from Persian into English, because no English person as yet knew Sanskrit.

Indian scholars were initially reluctant to teach Sanskrit to the Europeans. Sir William Jones (1746–94), a judge of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, eventually managed to find a non-Brahmin medical practitioner who agreed to teach him, but only under the most stringent conditions. Sir William learned twenty-eight languages, including Chinese. In 1782, he translated seven pre-Islamic odes, Mu‘allaqat, from Arabic. In 1786, his presidential speech to the Asiatic Society contained his speculations on the common ancestry of Sanskrit and Greek, one of the earliest and most influential texts on comparative linguistics. Jones’s translation in 1789 of the classical Sanskrit play Sakuntala by Kalidasa was almost immediately translated into German, French, Danish and Italian. Goethe was extremely impressed by the play, and the prologue of his Faust is widely considered to be modelled on that of Sakuntala. German scholars continued to show much interest in Sanskrit and played a prominent part in Sanskrit studies.

After the initial enthusiasm of Hastings, Jones and others, Indian culture in general and Sanskrit works in particular were increasingly subjected to negative judgements by English-speakers, who compared them with Victorian English models – rather than classical Greek or Latin models, which would have been a more appropriate basis for comparison – and ignored Sanskrit poetical rules and the opinions of native critics. The flow of translation began to move in the opposite direction (from European into Indian languages). Isolated attempts had been made to render Christian teachings into Indian languages during the eighteenth century. William Carey (1761–1834), a missionary, went to Calcutta in 1793, where he began his first Bible translation. Forced to leave British jurisdiction, he moved to the nearby Danish colony of Frederiksnagar in 1800. In 1801, he was appointed to teach Bengali, Sanskrit, and...
Marathi at Fort William College. He translated the Bible into Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, Hindi, Assamese and Sanskrit. He also translated parts of it into twenty-nine other languages and dialects. In addition, he co-compiled dictionaries of Bengali, Sanskrit, and Marathi, and co-translated three volumes of the Hindu epic Ramayana. Carey is also credited with establishing a printing press at Serampore, urging the government to end infanticide and sati, and encouraging the use of Indians as missionaries. In 1813, the British opened India to missionaries, and their numbers rapidly increased.

Initially, the East India Company had followed the Moghul pattern of patronage to Indian learning, though on a much more modest level. Hastings set up a College of Arabic and Persian studies at Calcutta, and Jonathan Duncan a Sanskrit College at Benares. In 1813, the Charter Act granted £10,000 annually to 'the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British Territories in India' (Spear 1970: 126). At first, under the influence of British orientalists, this led to the printing of classics and the translation of modern works into Sanskrit. However, in 1835 the Governor-General William Bentinck issued a resolution declaring that the funds should thereafter be used to impart 'knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language' (ibid.: 127). English became the official state language instead of Persian; in the lower courts, Persian was replaced by the local languages, whose development was broadened by the needs of administrative and legal prose, rather than devotional poetry. Meanwhile, Indians began to realize the advantages of English for career advancement. The Hindu College, where English language and literature were taught, was founded in Bengal in 1816. The British founded three English-style universities between 1848 and 1856 and developed a grant system to enable Indians to open private colleges which were affiliated to them. The Aligarh College was founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in 1875 to cater for the needs of Muslims in Delhi.

The advent of the printing press had initially enabled prose translations of the Bible to be made available in the vernaculars. Various missionary societies also published translations of catechisms and other texts. But the presses also served to encourage other prose writing in the local languages: social reformers published tracts on women's education, child marriage, widow remarriage, and caste. Ram Mohan Roy (1772–1833) printed the first Indian newspaper and a bilingual English–Bengali magazine. Bengali and Hindi were his first languages, but he also spoke Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and English. He criticized Hindu sectarianism and superstition, urging a return to a monotheism based on the Vedas and Upanisads, which he translated from Sanskrit into Hindi, Bengali, and English. The translations angered the orthodox tradition, but led to him being elected to honorary membership of the Société Asiatique in 1824. He also published some works on the teachings of Christ. As founder and editor of two of India's earliest newspapers, he urged the government to ban sati, which it did in 1829.

Indian religions also regained confidence, and Ramakrishna (a successor to the Bhakti tradition) inspired his disciple Vivekananda to found the Ramakrishna Mission, which began to play an important part in publishing Hindu texts in Sanskrit, with English glosses, and distributing them in India and abroad, especially in the United States. Puranas and Upanishads were also translated, for example by Durgaprasad into Hindi. Versions of Sanskrit and Persian tales began to appear in local languages, for example those of Raja Bhoj, Raja Birbal, Akbar, and Hakim Tai in Hindi.

European academics meanwhile sponsored the establishment of learned societies, such as the Royal Asiatic Society, the Pali Text Society, and so on, and continued the production of translations of Sanskrit and Pali texts. Dictionaries and grammars were compiled, serving the needs of both orientalist scholars and Christian missionaries. The Independence movement also encouraged considerable linguistic activity in local languages and in English, as well as in translation between them.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) translated his own work from Bengali into English, and was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913 for the English version of what is probably his most enduring work, Gitanjali, 'Song
Offering. He was knighted in 1915 but surrendered his knighthood in 1919 in protest at the Amritsar Massacre (where hundreds of Indian nationalists were killed by troops under British control). Many of his works have been translated into English, by himself and others (for discussions of his own translations of his work, see Mukherjee 1981 and Sengupta 1990).

The modern period (1947 to the present)

Gonda’s ten-volume *History of Indian Literature* (1975– ) contains innumerable references to translations between Indian languages and between them and English. Works translated include Vedic texts, the Hindu Epics, Puranas and Upanishads, and classical Sanskrit drama; English poetry by Keats and Tennyson; Shakespeare’s plays and poems; Bengali plays, poetry, and novels; Hindi and Urdu fiction; the Gospels and other Christian texts; American literature, especially short stories and drama; European literature: Cervantes, Tolstoy, Ibsen – mostly via English translations.

Hindi, Urdu and, more recently, Punjabi are becoming important intermediaries in the translation process, both from English and other European languages and from the less widespread local languages. The dearth of children’s literature in Indian languages is slowly beginning to receive attention.

Political and administrative needs have exerted their own pressures. For example a specialized prose had to be created for translating the Indian Constitution into Kashmiri, and the official Review Committee sadly noted the poverty of its vocabulary and the lack of a standard orthography (Kachru 1981: 97). However, the regional language academies do little to encourage translation work, and funding and publication are left to individual initiative and choice. Western publishers are playing their part in the translation of modern Indian writing into English; for example Heinemann followed their pioneering translations in the African Writers Series with the Asian Writers Series. The academic tradition is receiving a wider audience with publishers like Penguin and their translated editions of Sanskrit texts, the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita*, Sanskrit drama and poetry, the *Rgveda* and Hindu myths. Several Tibetan spiritual leaders in exile have translated key Buddhist works.

The output of Indian publishing houses varies from the Epics and other popular works translated by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (Indian Institute of Culture) for the general Indian English-reading public, to the new editions of old translations published by Jaico Books (for example Sir Edwin Arnold’s translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*), and the Indian University series of Sanskrit Classics with detailed pedagogic commentaries, published by Banarsidass. Religious publishers like the Ramakrishna Mission and the Advaita Ashrama have published highly literal glosses of the Upanishads and standard Sanskrit compendia of the Indian philosophical systems.

The study of translation and the organization of the profession

One might imagine that, with its multiplicity of languages and long tradition of translation, India would be a thriving centre for the theory and practice of translation in the modern era. However, as Mohanty (1994: 9) explains, ‘the situation is just the reverse. Translation and Translation Studies hitherto have remained a marginalised affair.’ Although the general situation is as Mohanty describes it, there are some reasons for cheer. The Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies (CALTS), created as a research centre in 1988 at the University of Hyderabad, now has a training programme for translators. A Centre for Literary Translation was set up in New Delhi, with an academic campus in Goa, in 1993.

The Indian Scientific Translators Association, based in New Delhi, is a member of FIT. The Sahitya Akademi, also in Delhi, has published a directory of translators and offers awards for translations.

Further reading

Italian tradition

As a language directly developed from Latin, Italian has had to strive for many centuries in order to acquire an autonomous status. The process of identification, carried out in parallel with other European languages, took several centuries. The geographical features and the political vicissitudes of the country fostered a fragmentation of regional dialects with distinctive phonetic and lexical traits growing out from a common root, so-called Vulgar Latin. It was not until the sixteenth century that an identifiable Italian language finally emerged and was sanctioned as an official accepted standard.

Translation into the vernacular (tenth to fifteenth centuries)

The earliest written document in an Italian vernacular is in fact a translation from the Latin model of sworn deposition required by the Longobard bureaucracy for estate ownership records: a judge of Capua, in AD 960, wrote down the formula in words other than those of standard Latin for the benefit of witnesses who evidently could no longer understand it. This type of translation continued for a long time and stopped only when administrative practices had been completely taken over by the rising middle class. Day-to-day legal activities presumably required a massive use of interpreting in order to convey to the people the complex content of laws written in Latin and often already translated into that language from statutes originally written in the multitude of languages used by conquering armies and foreign rulers. The first systematic recourse to written translations in the vernacular appeared towards the middle of the thirteenth century in the Law Schools in Bologna and Florence, where it was felt that the application of classical rhetoric to a vernacular context required a close patterning of the style on Latin models (Maggini 1952). Thus Cicero’s works were among the earliest examples of classical Latin texts translated into regional dialects with the obvious intent of raising the quality of the vernacular through a kind of mirror effect. This habit became very popular and generated numerous translations of rhetorics and philosophy texts.

At the same time, an analogous process took place on a more popular level with translations from French into Northern Italian dialects of entertainment literature such as the Arthurian legends and other narrative sources. Whereas in the first instance the names of the translators were often recorded because the translators concerned were major teachers of Law and Rhetorics (Brunetto Latini, Bartolomeo da San Concordio, Bono Giamboni, Lotario Diacono), the translators of the more popular kind of literature remain unknown. Here, attention focused on the work while the translator remained in the shadows, a situation that lasted well into the sixteenth century.

We notice also that among the learned translators working in the universities there was considerable awareness of the theoretical problems connected with translation. For instance, Bartolomeo da San Concordio (1262–1347) lists in his *Ammaestramenti degli Antichi* (Teachings of the Ancients) twelve important examples from classical religious authors in order to reinforce his tenet that ‘in listening and in reading we shall attend more to the meaning than to the words’ (Lapucci 1983: 14–15; translated). This tradition thrived throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and contributed to widening the spectrum of classical texts translated (besides the philosophical, historical, juridical and rhetorical works, there was in this period a definite emphasis on religious translations). The quality of the work produced, however, deteriorated steadily because later translators often plagiarized or tampered with earlier renditions, thus breaking the stylistic unity of the works. A notable exception is a series of translations of the Bible in central Italian vernacular made by anonymous monks among whom was Fra Domenico Cavalca (1270–1342). Such is the quality of their fourteenth-century texts that when Niccolò Malermi was editing the first printed Bible in Italian in 1471, he collected and referred to these texts, even though they were already more than a century old.

Around 1190, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, a Provençal troubador, wrote a poem in which a Genoese lady answers in her own vernacular to the pleas of her Provençal suitor. This may
be considered the first occurrence of an Italian dialect in poetry. Translation played a crucial role in establishing a poetical tradition in several parts of Italy. Jacopo da Lentini (first half of the thirteenth century) is among the earliest recorded Italian (more precisely Sicilian) poets, and one of his first compositions ('Madonna dir vi voglio') is a translation from Folquet de Marseilla, founding a well-established tradition that lasted over a century.

Dante Alighieri (1265–1321), following the accepted medieval notion, strongly asserted the impossibility of poetical translation. His Convivio (1304–8) contains the first Italian reference to the theory of translation: 'Anything harmonized through the bond of the Muses cannot be transmuted from its idiom into another without losing all its sweetness and harmony' (translated). Despite the categorical tone of this statement, Dante himself often tried his hand at the allegedly impossible task of translating Latin or Provençal poets into the Florentine dialect for inclusion in his works. The same practice was followed by Boccaccio and Petrarca.

**Humanism and the Renaissance (1400–1550)**

The huge number of translations produced in the vernacular paved the way for that rediscovery of the classics known as Humanism. During the second half of the fourteenth century and the whole of the fifteenth, numerous Greek and Latin authors were unearthed from the archives where they had lain buried, in many cases for centuries, under layers of dust.

During this period, which also witnessed a huge interest in the study of Greek, attitudes towards classical works were also changing. During the Middle Ages, the sole concern had been to pass on texts, copying acritically, occasionally adding to or removing from the original without hesitation. Now, however, the emphasis was on restoring the original to its ancient purity, removing the centuries of dust. An increase in translation output, with new principles and goals, emerged naturally alongside this new philological concern, the appearance of printing (c.1470), which increased the consumer market both in size and range, being crucial to such developments.

Almost all the translations carried out during this period were from Greek and Latin and, since Latin was still considered the language, the bulk of the work produced was from Greek into Latin, to be read mainly by scholars with limited proficiency in Greek. It was only later that translation was readily carried out from Greek into the Italian vernacular, often with reference to the Latin versions. All sorts of texts were translated: books on history, philosophy and religion, together with poetry, were the most frequent, although there were also works on medicine, agriculture, astrology, martial arts and mathematics (Paitoni 1766–7; Federici 1828).

Although it was Venice, with its traditional cultural openness and convenient geographical location, that practically dominated the printing industry (and therefore translation), the language into which almost all works were translated was the Tuscan vernacular, or to be more precise, the vernacular of Florence, the cradle of Humanism. There, a large group of lay intellectuals with humanist ideals who were able to understand Latin and (often) Greek had gathered around important figures such as Coluccio Salutati, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. Therefore it is hardly surprising that most translators were Florentine.

Looking through the surviving names, one realizes that the translators of the time were not always famous or eminent figures. Indeed, there is frequently no information about them whatsoever. Nonetheless, it was their anonymous work, together with the strong literary tradition which Florence had acquired during the two previous centuries, that led to the development of the Florentine vernacular as the basis of the Italian national language: from this point on, people started to talk of a common language of Italy, and of Italian, where they had previously spoken of Tuscan and Florentine vernaculars.

The translators of religious texts were generally monks and priests, whereas works on science and philosophy (excluding theology, of course) were translated by lay people. The basic purpose in all non-literary translation from the classical languages into the vernacular was to propagate the religious message or disseminate ideas of public usefulness among increasingly larger groups of people. This is exemplified in
Italian tradition

the title page of the first work on mathematics translated in Italy by the well-known mathematician Niccolò Tartaglia (alias Niccolò Fontana, 1499–1557): ‘... translated for common convenience and usefulness. It is so clear that every average, uninformed and inexpert mind will be able to understand it’ (Tartaglia 1565; translated). This attitude was very widespread, and we find similar statements in Maestro Pietro Marino da Foligno’s preface to his translation (1528) of the work by ‘Palladius, worthy and ancient writer on agriculture, translated into the vernacular, so that those who don’t know Latin may benefit, enjoy and gain useful information from his work’ (translated).

It was a somewhat different matter where literary translations were concerned. The men of letters at court (e.g. Matteo Maria Bojardo) were often commissioned to translate literary works by patrons unfamiliar with the classical languages. In the case of works for the theatre, translation meant performance (above all, if not exclusively, at court). In addition, there was a huge amount of translation of ballads and French epic poetry, mainly for popular use, though this was marginal as a result of the large amount of home-produced works of a similar nature.

This was a dynamic period also for translation theory. In his brief treatise (De interpretazione recta, c.1420), the well-known Humanist Leonardo Bruni set out the rules a good translator should follow. Although Bruni’s discussion dealt with translations from Greek into Latin, it was relevant also to the vernacular and greatly influenced subsequent generations of translators. The main thrust of his thesis was that the original work must be properly understood. The translator had to have perfect knowledge of both the source language and the target language, not only as regards their syntax and lexis, but also their rhetorical patterns. Indeed, the author’s actual style was to be reproduced, together with the rhythm of the sentence (Polena 1973/1991). This interest in translation and the theoretical issues it raised became an increasingly important topic in Renaissance writings, which led to greater sophistication also in translation criticism.

Late Renaissance and Baroque (1550–1650)

Early Humanism, distinctly Latinophile in nature, gave way eventually to what could be called vulgar Humanism. The dignity of the vulgar tongue was almost universally recognized by the Italian intellectuals and scientists of the time, thanks also to the influence of Bembo’s work (Prose della volgar lingua, 1525). Latin, however, was not discarded by the Roman Church, which indicated a conservative attitude in a changing world. The outcome of the Council of Trent (1545–63), whose influence was felt for many decades in Italy, was a fierce determination to defend Church ideology, the Holy Inquisition providing the means by which the Church was able to control the spread of ideas.

During this time, printing flourished: by 1550, no major town in Italy was without its printers. Prior to publication, however, every book was subject to approval by the religious authorities. If considered unsuitable for publication, it was placed on a list known as the ‘Index of banned books’. Of course, this restricted quite considerably the translation work of the time, particularly in those regions of Italy where the political influence of the Church was stronger.

The lives of people such as Bruno, Galilei and Tasso testify to a significant extent to the dissent, difficulties and frustrations experienced by intellectuals who wished to assert their own views and thinking in a world ruled by the clergy. The translators, whose work did not require such independent thought, tended to be either men of letters at court, protected by benevolent patrons, or religious scholars. It is noteworthy, however, that many intellectuals of the period became clergymen themselves in order to further their literary careers.

Most of the translations done during this period were literary, especially concerning poetry, and religious. Indeed, because of the flourishing local production in Italian and Latin and the strict control exercised by the Court of Inquisition, translation of scientific texts was minimal. There was, however, a new genre in translation, namely, travel literature, which started with the publication (between 1550 and 1590) of Navigazioni e viaggi, a large collection of papers by Spanish and Portuguese travellers,
translated by Giovanni Battista Ramusio of Treviso (1485–1557). Many classical authors were also translated; one of the most prolific translators of works for the theatre during the period was Lodovico Dolce, from Venice (1508–68).

A new feature of translation was the considerable artistic effort involved. In order to refine their literary skills, translators frequently competed against the original, which naturally meant moving away from the model of translation followed by the humanist philologists of the earlier period. There were experimental artistic translations in unrhymed hendecasyllables, in terza rima, in octave, etc., first following Petrarchan stylistic models and later baroque and mannerist ones.

Between 1563 and 1566, Virgil's *Aeneid* was translated by the famous man of letters Annibal Caro (1507–66), becoming what may be considered the first great work of translation produced in Italy. It is still studied at school today and is in many ways an unrivalled classic. Caro's *Eneide*, while excellent from a poetic standpoint, is, like all the works of its time, far removed from the original. The views of translator-poets such as Caro, for whom translation meant the creation of a text with the same value as the original, though distant from it, became the norm for poetic translation until Romanticism; these views are still held today by some practitioners.

One work which stands out as a classic of non-literary translation is Tacitus's *Annales*, translated by the Florentine scholar Bernardo Davanzati (1529-1606).

**From Baroque to the Age of Enlightenment (1650–1800)**

There were relatively few major innovations during the second half of the seventeenth century. Latin remained for a long time the only official language of scientific, economic and political communication. Since all foreign scientists and scholars could write Latin, sometimes translating into or from their first language, and since Italian scholars also knew Latin well, translation into Italian was rather pointless.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, interest in French began to take over from Latin. Between 1650 and 1800, French culture, not altogether ignored in Italy during the previous centuries, spread throughout the northern and central regions of Italy, as it did all over the rest of Europe. Prior to 1700, translations from French had been rare, done mainly by isolated amateurs operating in small cultural centres. After this point, however, there was a veritable outburst of translations from French.

The translations of the great seventeenth-century comedies and tragedies initiated what was to become an overwhelming influence of French culture in Italy. Molière, Racine and Corneille (two of whose works had already been translated in 1647 and 1651) were merely the best-known names among the huge army of playwrights whose work invaded eighteenth-century Italy. These translations (often done only a few years after their original staging in France) were sometimes inaccurate, concerned as they were with content and performability. Sometimes they entailed adaptation, with a variety of additions and cuts. After 1757, Italian tastes underwent a profound change, and interest in French comic theatre faded.

At the same time, the French novel had taken root in fertile ground. The best-loved author was Fénelon: after 1702 there were dozens of reprints of *Le avventure di Telemaco figliolo d'Ulisse*. Other favourites included Arnaud, Prévost, Riccoboni, Lesage, Marmontel, Rousseau, La Place, Florian and Voltaire. These French authors, often themselves translators from English, provided an important link between Italian and anglophone culture. La Place, for example, was responsible for bringing Fielding's *Tom Jones* and *Joseph Andrews* to Italy, and Riccoboni his *Amelia*, while Prévost brought Richardson's famous epistolary novels, *Pamela*, *Clarissa* and *Sir Thomas Grandison*.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, French culture was spread further by the translation of works on philosophy, science, economics and politics, four areas which were of course inseparable in the writings of the French *philosophes*. The many translations undertaken, first from Voltaire's works and later from those of Diderot and D'Alembert, had a profound effect on late eighteenth-century Italy, significantly broadening the country's cultural horizons.

The translator in Italy now had little in common with the scholar-clergyman figure of
the previous era, at least as far as translation from French was concerned. As Ferrari points out, with reference to translation of French tragic theatre,

Everyone translated: renowned authors and unknown dilettantes; writers of tragedy, of comedy and of opera librettos; lyric poets, didactic poets and dialect poets; printers and journalists; university professors, seminary teachers and school-teachers; women; nobles and diplomats; theologians; librarians; civil servants; adventurers; even doctors and soldiers. And this list includes only the translators whose work was printed. If manuscripts and bibliographical references were also taken into account, other names would be added, such as that of the infamous Casanova.

(Ferrari 1925: xvi–xviii; translated)

Throughout this period, translations of Greek and Latin works continued uninterrupted, increasing after 1690, the year in which Arcadia, the Roman Academy of Letters, was founded. The Academy, where the major Italian literary figures of the time gathered, exercised considerable influence over literary production throughout the eighteenth century. The most important translations of classical poetry were the early Italian versions of Lucretius (1718), Catullus (1740), Propertius (1742) and Tibullus (1760). Important prose translations included Statius (1731), Phaedrus (1735) and Tertullianus (1756), while translations for the theatre included a number of works by Sophocles, Euripides and Plautus. It is worth noting that the translators of classical works – generally famous men of letters and academy members, unlike those working from French – tended to have similar backgrounds. Indeed, their tastes and ambitions reflected the ideal of the sixteenth-century religious intellectual. Nonetheless, their attitude towards the source text differed somewhat from that of earlier translators. According to Ferrari,

The unlimited freedom of the seventeenth-century translators was criticized, particularly Annibal Caro for his famous translation of The Aeneid. Respect for the source text began to become the norm, verse translation being preferred over prose translation. From 1725 on especially, literary translation moved closer to the original.

(Ferrari 1925: xii; translated)

The transition towards a more modern approach to translation and translation theory is well represented by Melchiorre Cesarotti (1730–1808), who produced two versions of Homer's Iliad, one in verse and one in prose, 'one to let people enjoy Homer, one to let them get to know him' (Cesarotti 1786: 197; translated). He wrote a long essay to justify his choice and another one to go with his translations of Demosthenes' works, in which he emphasized the tension implied in translation work and the critical and artistic sophistication and agility required of a translator in order to 'respect the Genius of his language and let it walk, as it were, nimbly and fruitfully on a geometric line bridging two cliffs' (Cesarotti 1807: 162; translated).

From Romanticism to Neopositivism (1800–1900)

The trends of the eighteenth century were reinforced during the following period. First, Latin was replaced by modern languages, in so far as scientists, philosophers and economists began writing in their own language, leaving to Latin the role of official language of the Roman Church. Second, Italian culture was expanding in breadth and scope, though to different degrees in different parts of Italy. Third, culture was no longer the privilege of the few, but accessible to many, a social rather than individual phenomenon.

These changes also had a profound influence on translation, which was now being undertaken from a number of modern languages which had previously been almost completely ignored or else mediated through French. What is more important, a huge number of translations dealing with history, geography, science, philosophy and economics arrived on the scene, which until then had been dominated exclusively by literary translations.

Much has been written about the article by Madame de Staël published in Biblioteca Italiana in January 1816 under the title 'Sulla maniera e
l’utilità delle traduzioni’ (‘On the manner and usefulness of translations’). In this article, which praised Vincenzo Monti’s translation of the Iliad and the expressiveness of the Italian language, she urged Italians to undertake the translation of works of modern European literature. Everyday language, she claimed, was far superior to that learned from books; opening up to new languages meant enriching the existing vocabulary. In Madame de Staël’s view, imitation of the classics should not be substituted with imitations of contemporary works: contact between literatures and cultures was useful above all for broadening minds and developing knowledge. The article also criticized the Italian culture of the time as being totally devoid of modernity, dominated as it was by obdurate nostalgics or by men of letters who cared only for the sounds of words and not the ideas they contained.

The reaction to this article, particularly to its criticism of Italy's men of letters, merely served to fire the age-old debate on the superiority of the classics over modern writing, imitation over originality, labor limae over artistic genius, a debate which held Italian intellectuals' attention, fruitlessly, for decades to come. Madame de Staël’s article did not significantly affect the quantity of translation output (compare, for example, the poetry collection Parnaso Straniero of 1797 and that of 1848: nine-tenths of the total number of pages translated are still dedicated to Greek, Latin and Hebrew). The subsequent increase was due to the profound changes that had taken place during the previous period, namely, the growth in readership and the increasing importance of European national languages in all areas of life.

Some original ideas about translation in this period (running against the grain of Madame de Staël’s argument) were expressed by Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837), the great lyrical poet from Recanati. In his notebooks (Zibaldone, written between 1817 and 1832, but published only in 1898) there are many interesting observations derived from his experience as a meticulous and elegant translator, especially from Greek. Leopardi did not believe anything good could come from the translation of modern writers, convinced as he was that lessons in style could only come from a passionate study of classic literature. His thoughts on the necessarily artificial quality of translated language and the difficult balance the translator must strike between the needs of the original text and those of the target language, together with his concept of imitation, continue to arouse interest even today. He stressed the importance of the aesthetic quality of translations, insisting that the work of a poet can be translated only by another poet. The main task of any good translation was to 'add beauty' and improve the expressive powers of the target language. There was an unprecedented increase in translation from English in nineteenth-century Italy. Although during the previous century Italy had shown some interest in anglophone works, the study and translation of those works had been undertaken by isolated practitioners or famous men of letters, some of whom worked at the English court. The most important names included Magalotti, Rolli, Baretti and Papi. The first translation of Shakespeare, dating from 1756, was carried out by Domenico Valentini, professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Siena. It was not until the following century, however, that these occasional attempts by a handful of men of letters were replaced by widespread interest in the anglophone world.

The poems of Ossian were hugely successful in Italy, as were those of Byron. Giulio Carcano (1812–84), poet and patriot, was the first and perhaps the greatest translator of Shakespeare in his century (Duranti 1979).

The early and successful translations by Domenico Cetti (1780–1812) of some of Nikolai Karamzin’s poetry and prose, together with the Saggio di poesie russe con due odi tedesca e inglese (1816) by the Genoese nobleman Girolamo Orti (1769–1845) signalled the start of direct translation from Russian, without French as a mediating language. For more than half a century, however, these pioneers were the only ones working in this area. While translations from French continued throughout the nineteenth century very much as before, there was considerably less translation from either German or Spanish. Nonetheless, a 507-page volume of the Parnaso Straniero of 1848 deals with translation from Spanish.

Three great translations of the time deserve a special mention: Ippolito Pindemonte’s translation of The Odyssey (1805–12), Vincenzo Monti’s translation of The Iliad (completed in 1811), and Ugo Foscolo’s translation of Laurence
Sterne’s *A Sentimental Journey* (1804–06, but reworked and published in 1813). All three are still read and studied in Italy today.

An interesting quarrel arose between Monti and Foscolo upon the publication of Monti’s translation of *The Iliad*. In a venomous epigram, Foscolo accused Monti (who had referred to other Italian and Latin translations for his own version) of being a ‘great translator of the translators of Homer’. Foscolo’s accusation was directed at a large group of translators-versifiers who, following the widespread stance of the earlier period, were less concerned with the original than with the translated product, this being conditioned by the rigorous norms of traditional metre. Foscolo himself, who knew Greek perfectly, attempted a translation of *The Iliad*, but, after translating books one and three, was unable to complete his task.

As far as non-literary translation is concerned, the century began with a sudden increase in the translation of scientific texts, now from English as well as from French. As the decades passed, the work of German positivist scientists began to be translated more regularly, reflecting the hegemony in research and applications they were acquiring. By the end of the century, the works of German scholars, even in the humanistic field (especially in Philology and Linguistics, the so-called Neogrammarians) had occupied the centre of the international cultural scene and begun to stimulate a great volume of translation. A similar pattern emerges for other branches of knowledge (politics, history, philosophy, psychology), with English and especially German acquiring an ever-growing importance.

**The contemporary period**

The transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is marked by the gradual growth of publishing houses from mere printers or bookstores to family enterprises and then to larger and more complex industrial groups. This has influenced the quantity and the quality of translation output. As the reading public and the publishing market were rapidly growing along parallel lines, the figure of the translator also underwent deep changes: from the isolated intellectual who proposed a translation project out of a deep personal interest in the foreign text, we gradually see the emergence of the professional figure of a translator commissioned by a publishing house and often performing his or her task under very unfavourable conditions. One remarkable exception is the role played by writers like Cesare Pavese, Elio Vittorini, and Eugenio Montale in the late 1930s and early 1940s; such writers actively rekindled interest in English, especially American, literature through an intense activity of translation. Especially in the case of Pavese and Vittorini, translating was a way of proposing a cultural and political alternative to the stifling and autarchic cultural policies of the Fascist regime.

The delay in the development of translation studies in Italy is probably due to the negative attitude of influential thinkers such as Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) who, following Dante, dismissed translation as a logically impossible task (see Croce 1902). An analogous attitude, although with a few differences of emphasis, was adopted by Giovanni Gentile (1920) and the neo-idealistic school of thought he represented. By contrast, Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) invested translation with a more positive and necessary role, emphasizing its ability to bridge the gaps between different languages, connecting concepts on a superstructural, historically and culturally determined level (see Gramsci 1947/1975). Even though his theoretical considerations on the subject (along with the translations he did while in jail) were confined to his notebooks and were not available to the public until much later, Gramsci’s position shows an active interest in translation on the part of Marxist intellectuals.

The most interesting Italian contributions to translation studies come from philologists and linguists such as Benvenuto Terracini (1886–1968) and Gianfranco Folena (1920–94). Their balanced and well-informed account of translation is grounded in a dynamic vision of the phenomenon, rather than in a static contraposition of principles as in the case of neo-idealistic thinkers: exploring the ideal space between the formal and cultural contexts of the different languages, they emphasize the tension that sustains the work of the translator and the added value derived from the difficulties encountered. Since the 1990s there has been a renewed interest in translation studies and
translation theory, and there are now several serious scholars in Italian universities analysing various aspects of translation, but no particularly original figure has yet emerged.

It is interesting to look at the quantitative trends in the output of published translations in Italy in relatively recent years. In 1982, out of a total 20,560 books published in Italy 22.5 per cent were translations. In 1991, the percentage increased to 26.1 per cent of a volume of books that is twice as large (40,142). In 1972, 45.9 per cent of translated pages were from English, 23.4 per cent from French and 13.7 per cent from German. Seventeen years later, in 1989, the percentage of pages translated from English had reached 54.4 per cent, whereas French dropped to 17.6 per cent and German remained stable at 13.4 per cent. In the same year, pages translated from Spanish amounted to 2.7 per cent, from Slavonic languages 2.3 per cent, from Classical languages (Latin and ancient Greek) 3.7 per cent, and from all other languages 4.3 per cent.

By and large, most published translations are of literature (43.9 per cent of translated pages in 1972; 44.8 per cent in 1989), followed by History (12.2 per cent in 1972, but only 8.5 per cent in 1989); Philosophy and Psychology (9.5 per cent in 1972 and 8.4 per cent in 1989); Religion (stable at 5.9 per cent); Political Science and Economics peaked to 5.6 per cent in 1972 but by 1989 were reduced to 2.5 per cent; the share of Medicine, by contrast, rose from a mere 2.1 per cent to 6.3 per cent.

The dubbing industry

In Italy, almost all foreign films are dubbed. Historically this has two concomitant causes: before World War II, it was felt that the use of subtitling would cut off a rather large section of popular audience as illiteracy rates were still fairly high. Moreover, the fascist regime was afraid of ‘contaminating’ the purity of the national idiom by exposing audiences to massive doses of foreign languages. At the end of the war, the second motivation all but disappeared, but the first was retained essentially because Hollywood executives did not want obstacles to the new market that was opening after Mussolini’s isolationism. Their powerful lobby even managed to have a clause added to the peace treaty signed with the Allies in 1943–5 making dubbing explicitly mandatory.

This situation has led to the development of a strong and well-organized dubbing industry, with specialized translators, adapters and actors. The massive use of American telefilms in the burgeoning television industry has resulted in lower standards, especially at the translation end of the process; adapters and actors barely manage to survive the loss of nuances and the sense of unease given sometimes by an asynchronous or faulty dubbing, but excessive simplifications and real howlers often noticeably mar the quality of the translated dialogue. There is a growing section of dedicated filmgoers that would prefer enjoying foreign films in the original form, with the help of subtitles, but the market situation seems to indicate that a radical change in this field is rather unlikely, at least in the near future.

The professional status of the translator

Whenever Italian translators meet, the complaint about their professional life is virtually unanimous. And they do not refer to exceptional vocational hazards like the one suffered by Ettore Capriolo, the translator of Salman Rushdie’s Satanic Verses, who luckily survived stabbing. They refer to the low esteem in which their work is held, to the low earnings it yields, to the short time they are allowed to complete projects, to the insecurity of a steady flow of jobs, to the lack of control they have over the finished product. Even though working conditions have generally improved since the late twentieth century, the basic problem of a very unbalanced relationship between translators and publishers still exists.

The major factor sapping the translators’ bargaining power is of course the existence of an immense reserve pool of would-be translators from which the publishers can draw the next candidate for a job – should one refuse their conditions, regardless of experience and technical or literary specialization. There is no need to emphasize that the main victim of this system, besides the professional translator, is the overall quality of most work, assigned as it is on the sheer basis of saving cost.

For decades now, the main translators’
unions (including AITI, Associazione Italiana Traduttori e Interpreti) have been trying to improve the status of the profession, but with very modest results, given the extreme fragmentation and isolation of translators as a group (out of some 10,000 people described as translators and interpreters in the 1981 census, only a fluctuating minority actually earn their living as full-time professionals, and most of them work freelance). The issues raised by the debate stimulated by the unions are slowly being understood by the general public and (still more slowly) by the institutional and legislative bodies. Some of the best and most sensitive publishing houses seem now to be interested in reaching a more advanced and (hopefully) balanced agreement in order to break the low cost/low quality cycle on a more consistent basis. There are many hypotheses under discussion (among which the institution of a National Registry of translators and interpreters seems to be the one more often mentioned) but the only real prospect of a short-term improvement of the situation probably lies in the ‘harmonization’ of rules regulating translation rights among members of the European Union.

Further reading

RICCARDO DURANTI
Japanese tradition

The Japanese language, which is spoken by over 125 million people in the Japanese archipelago to the east of China and Korea, has an affinity with Altaic languages, but its origins are much debated. Although syntactically somewhat similar to Korean, it is quite unrelated to Chinese.

Japan has been an empire since about AD 200, and Japanese emperors were regarded as divine until 1946. However, from 1186 until 1867 real power was in the hands of the military shoguns, the heads of three families (Minamoto, Ashikaga and Tokugawa) who were successively in actual control of the country, although the emperors retained formal sovereignty.

Japan's proximity to Asia and distance from Western countries has combined with historical factors to shape both the practice of and attitudes towards translating and interpreting in the area. Throughout much of Japan's history the motivation behind translation and interpreting has been the need for information, with interest in foreign civilization for its own sake being of secondary importance. Yet the outcome has been to introduce new ideas, literary forms, expressions and grammatical structures, thereby having an enormous impact on both the culture and language of the area.

Chinese–Japanese ‘translation’ in pre-modern times

Contact between Japan and China dates back at least as far as the first recorded official contacts in AD 57. In the third and fourth centuries, Korean scribes introduced the Chinese script to Japan, which lacked a script of its own, and by the sixth or seventh centuries this was widely used amongst the elite. Sometimes the sounds of the Chinese characters were used phonetically to write Japanese words, and sometimes the meanings were borrowed instead. Although two indigenous phonetic scripts were developed by the eighth century, enabling Japanese to be written without recourse to Chinese characters, the latter have remained in use to the present day because of their conciseness, formality and greater prestige (Twine 1991: 35).

China had a great impact on Japan's intellectual, religious and cultural life in the 1,300 years between the adoption of the writing system and the opening up of Japan to the West in 1854. Unofficial cultural and commercial contacts, as well as diplomatic missions that included monks, scholars and students, produced an exchange of ideas that resulted in many changes to Japanese institutions and society. Such contacts naturally required considerable language mediation. Rather than translating in the conventional manner, however, by the ninth century the Japanese had devised an ingenious annotation system called kambun kundoku (interpretive reading of Chinese), which enabled Chinese texts to be read without translation. Special marks were placed alongside the characters of Chinese texts to indicate how they could be read in accordance with Japanese word order, and a system of grammatical indicators was used to show inflections. This directly converted the Chinese texts into understandable, albeit rather unnatural, Japanese that retained a strong Chinese flavour.

Thus right up to the nineteenth century there existed two media of reading and writing in Japan: Chinese, used mainly for scholarly works, and Japanese, used chiefly for literature. Inevitably, however, there was a certain amount of interplay between the two traditions, resulting in a form of ‘Japanized’ Chinese as well as the sinicization of Japanese.
In 1611, the shogun Tokugawa Ieyasu encouraged Chinese merchants to trade in Nagasaki in south-western Japan, leading to a demand for interpreters of Tang Chinese and an influx of Chinese books. It was also about this time that the first true translations from classical and colloquial Chinese were produced, particularly colloquial fiction from the Ming dynasty (1368–c.1644). Whereas such writers as Asai Ryōnosuke (1691–1691) often followed the original text line by line (Keene 1987: 56), Ogyu Sorai (1666–1728), whose approach to translation is outlined in his introduction to Yakubun sentei (A Guide to Translation, 1711), produced free translations in colloquial Japanese (Kato 1983a: 63). The 1758 translation by Okajima Kanzan (1674–1728) of the Chinese romance Shuihu zhuan (All Men are Brothers) also had a great effect on the popular fiction of the late Edo period (1600–1868).

Pre-modern contacts with the West

The second wave of foreign languages reached the shores of Japan with the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth and the Dutch in the early seventeenth century. The practice of kambun kundoku meant that there was already a precedent for adapting Japanese to the foreign language, rather than requiring the newcomer to conform to natural Japanese usage.

Portuguese

The desire to preach Christianity – combined with the need for trade – led the Portuguese to travel the world, and in 1543 a Portuguese shipwreck brought Japan into contact with the West for the first time. Another Portuguese ship visited Japan in 1546 and carried Anjirō, a fugitive samurai, back to Malacca, where he was introduced to Francis Xavier of the newly founded Society of Jesus. Xavier was inspired by Anjirō’s accounts of Japan to commence missionary activities there. Anjirō, who could already speak broken Portuguese and who had become the first Japanese Christian, was sent to the College of St Paul in Goa, India, to study Christianity and Portuguese. There, he translated Christian materials such as the catechism into Japanese (Schurhammer 1982: 271).

Xavier arrived in Kagoshima in 1549, accompanied by Anjirō as his interpreter and translator. Gradually, the priests mastered Japanese and, with the help of converts, translated various Christian works into Japanese. This presented a major problem in terms of finding words to express new concepts such as ‘God,’ ‘angel,’ ‘heaven’ and ‘cross,’ and led to inevitable discrepancies in meaning. One interpreter worthy of particular note was the Portuguese missionary João Rodrigues (c.1561–1633), who arrived in Japan in 1577. After studying Japanese, Rodrigues acted as the mission’s chief interpreter, and interpreted at talks with the shogun Hideyoshi in 1591. He also compiled the Arte da Lingoa de Iapam, a grammar of Japanese in which he discussed Chinese poetry translated into Japanese and the difficulty of translating Portuguese into Japanese, and recommended translating the sense rather than giving a literal rendition (Cooper 1974).

A partial translation of Aesop’s Fables was produced in romanized script in 1593 and was probably the first translation of a Western work from proselytizing materials. This was quite free and colloquial, and substituted the nearest Japanese equivalents for unfamiliar European objects. Partial translations of Imitatio Christi (1596) and Luis de Granada’s Guia do Pecador (1599) also appeared, but there was little attempt to translate Portuguese works other than Christian literature.

By 1639 the Tokugawa shogunate had issued a series of seclusion orders closing the country off from ‘destabilizing’ outside influences. Traders and missionaries were banned, as was Christianity itself. Only the Dutch, who had arrived in 1609 and been ordered to reside in the town of Hirado in Kyushu, were allowed to stay because they made no attempt at proselytizing. The Chinese were restricted to Nagasaki, and the Koreans permitted to trade only in Tsushima. This move brought the already minimal translation of Western literature to a virtual halt.

Dutch

Some merchants, officials and samurai could speak foreign languages, but when the Dutch were ordered in 1641 to move to Dejima, an artificial island in Nagasaki, translating and
interpreting became the sole province of government officials known as Oranda tsūji (Dutch interpreters), who also acted as customs officials. The position of tsūji was a hereditary one, although often it was inherited by adopted sons. Though paid well, the tsūji did not always have a good reputation, sometimes stealing foreign goods, sometimes being criticized for their poor linguistic abilities, and sometimes even being arrested for mistranslations. By the late eighteenth century, however, there was a fairly good system of training tsūji. They commenced studying Dutch at about the age of ten and had to pass an examination to qualify as trainee tsūji, from where they moved up the tsuji hierarchy (Sugimoto 1990).

There were usually about fifty tsūji at any one time, and every year two senior tsūji accompanied the head of the Dutch settlement to the capital Edo to meet the shogun and present a report on overseas affairs translated by the tsūji. They would interpret at talks with the shogun and with intellectuals thirsty for knowledge about the outside world, and this practice spread ‘Dutch learning’ to the capital.

The texts translated by the tsūji were overwhelmingly of a non-literary nature. Apart from trade-related documents, the first works translated were medical texts. The Dutch version of a Latin anatomical work was translated by Motoki Ryō (1628–97) in 1682, although this is less well known than the later translation of another anatomical work, Kaitai Shinsho, published in 1774. Many tsūji became so well versed in the field that they switched to full-time medical careers. Medical texts were followed by works in the natural sciences and military science, with translation in the field of humanities coming last. The translations were undertaken into classical Chinese. The tsūji frequently had to coin equivalents to express new concepts, and a common method of doing this was to use existing Chinese words where possible.

The more scholarly of the tsūji played an important role in teaching Dutch and introducing Western knowledge and culture. Motoki Yoshinaga (1735–94) translated astronomical works and introduced Copernican theory into Japan. To a translation he undertook in 1792 he added a second volume, Wage reigon, explaining his method of translation, and this was probably the first coherent essay on translation methods in Japan (Sugimoto 1990: 132). It compares Dutch and Japanese structures and discusses translation problems, the transcription of foreign words and different approaches to translation. But perhaps the most outstanding tsūji, both linguistically and scholastically, was Shizuki Tadao (1674–1728), who wrote nine books on the Dutch language, parts of which touch on translation issues, and who is widely regarded as the father of physics in Japan.

In 1808 the gifted young trainee tsūji Baba Sajūrō settled in Edo at the shogunate’s orders, since there were no scholars there who could adequately read or translate Dutch. There Baba translated many Dutch grammars and taught Dutch to Japanese scholars. He was also in charge of translating the Dutch version of a French encyclopaedia, under the title Kösei Shimpen (New Volumes for the Public Welfare). This translation, which commenced in 1811, consisted of seventy fascicles and is probably the largest national translation project ever undertaken in Japan, although it was never completed. It adopted an accessible style and Baba sometimes added explanatory comments, as did many tsūji of the time out of a belief that Japanese readers lacked sufficient familiarity with the West. This project was undertaken at a national bureau set up by the government in that year for the translation of ‘barbarian books.’ This translation bureau, which underwent several name changes, was a forerunner of the present University of Tokyo.

The tsūji also compiled dictionaries, often on the basis of existing dictionaries in other languages, and they helped in the compilation of a Dutch–Japanese dictionary by Hendrik Doeff, head of the Dejima settlement. The Doeff Haruma, the largest dictionary produced during the Edo period, was completed in 1833, a quarter of a century after it was started. Based on a Dutch–French dictionary, its colloquial style represented the birth of a new style of translation.

Other languages

The shogunate had gradually become aware of the need to learn languages other than Dutch. In 1808 an incident involving the British ship Phaeton prompted the shogunate to order the
tsūji to study English, which they initially learnt from the Dutch. Increasing contacts with Russia highlighted the need to learn Russian, and several tsūji were based in Matsumae in northern Hokkaido. Baba also studied Russian and in 1820, when smallpox was a severe problem in Japan, he translated a Russian book on Jennerian vaccination. Baba earned a reputation as the first Russian linguist in Japan and was the first translator to introduce Russian literature to the area. Since many Russian documents of the time were written in French, in 1808 the authorities ordered the tsūji to learn French from Doeff. Probably at no other time in Japanese history have language and national affairs been as intertwined as they were in the early nineteenth century (Sugimoto 1990: 52). The emphasis in translation was overwhelmingly on works that would help Japan learn from the West, and there was still little literary translation being undertaken.

In 1853 Commodore Matthew Perry arrived to persuade Japan to start diplomatic and commercial relations with the United States. This led to the Kanagawa Treaty on 31 March 1854; there was a discrepancy between the Japanese translation of the treaty and the English, Dutch and Chinese versions, so the Japanese text was later changed to bring it into line (Roland 1982: 98). Perry’s interpreters were Dr S.W. Williams, a Protestant missionary who had tried to translate the Bible into Japanese in China, Dr Bettelheim, another missionary, and the Dutch-speaking American diplomat Anton Portman. On the Japanese side, Nakahama Manjirō (1827–98), a shipwrecked fisherman who had been picked up by the Americans and spent several years in the United States, was used as a behind-the-scenes translator, while the interpreting was done by the tsūji Hori Tatsunosuke and Hatshisuko Tokushumo. In the second round of talks in 1854 Hori and Hatshisuko were joined by the tsūji Moriyama Einosuke.

When the first American consul in Japan met with the Japanese officials, his English was interpreted into Dutch by a Dutch-speaking American and then relayed into Japanese. Another prominent interpreter at the time was the Englishman Sir Ernest Satow, who had studied Japanese, thereby eliminating the need to use Dutch as the common medium. Thus the end of Japan’s isolation also spelled the end of the tsūji’s monopoly on interpreting and translating.

**Meiji Period (1868–1912)**

Another major change took place with the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which saw the end of the shogunate and the restoration of the emperor to power, and ushered Japan into the modern age. The opening up of Japan meant that more Japanese were able to study foreign languages in Japan or travel abroad, so that there was a growing supply of people capable of acting as interpreters to meet Japan’s diplomatic, commercial and cultural needs during this period. The opening of the country also led to a flood of imported English, French, Russian and German works in an attempt to learn from the West, and the aim of many translations in the first decade of the Meiji Period was educational rather than aesthetic. The translations by the renowned educator Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), who acted as an interpreter on the first government missions to the United States and Europe, were particularly important because they introduced the thought and institutions of the West, coined many words to express foreign concepts and laid the groundwork for the transition from the difficult Chinese style to a more accessible vernacular style (Yoshitake 1959).

Also of particular influence in enlightening readers on modern values and social relations was the 1870–71 translation by Nakamura Kei (1832–91) of *Self-Help* by Samuel Smiles. Nakamura made great efforts to make these stories of success through hard work readable, adding notes to explain unfamiliar objects and customs. He omitted or simplified parts that he thought were of no interest to Japanese readers or would hinder their understanding, and removed certain references to Christianity, which continued to be banned until 1872. The very title, *Saikoku Risshi Hen* (Success Stories of the West), was aimed at attracting readers, and this tendency to substitute emotive, eye-catching titles is evident in many translations of the time. Nakamura tried to reproduce the word order, punctuation, pronouns and relative pronouns of the original, and this helped create a new style of translation. Other important non-fiction translations included Nakamura’s translation of John
Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* in 1871 and an 1882 translation by Nakae Chōmin (1847–1901) of Rousseau's *Social Contract*. Such works contained many unfamiliar concepts, and Meiji translators followed their Edo predecessors in using their knowledge of Chinese to coin new terms or to use existing terms in a new sense. Inevitably, however, this resulted in some distortions and a certain degree of incomprehensibility.

Reflecting this time of social and political upheaval, the 1877–86 period saw numerous translations of political novels; many of these translations took great liberties with the original work and focused on its content rather than on conveying its literary flavour. Bulwer Lytton's *Ernest Maltravers*, which appeared in 1879 under the title *Karyū Shunwa* (A Springtime Tale of Blossoms and Willows), was translated by Oda (Niwa) Jun'ichirō (1851–1919), who added explanatory notes and omitted passages which he considered of little interest to his readers. Also notable were a severely abridged version of Disraeli's *Coningsby* (*Shun'ōten*; The Chirping of Spring Warblers; 1884) and the 1885 translation of Bulwer Lytton's *Rienzi, the Last of the Roman Tribunes* by Tsubouchi Shun'ō (1859–1935). These works inspired Japanese writers to produce their first political novels.

The Meiji Period also witnessed the advent of a golden age of literary translation, although in the first decade the choice of works translated was somewhat indiscriminate. The first translation of a Western literary work had been made back in the Edo Period (1850) from a Dutch rendition of Robinson Crusoe's *Record of Wanderings*, although another version appeared in 1857 before this was published. Yet neither had much impact, unlike later best-selling translations such as the 1878 translation by Kawashima Chūnosuke (1853–1938) of Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*. The early translated novels often consisted of abridged or partial translations which followed the plot of the original but were very rough. Nevertheless, they opened up new vistas for Japanese literature, which at the time of the Meiji Restoration lacked vitality. Early Meiji translations were rendered into Chinese, because classical Japanese would have evoked associations regarded as inappropriate for foreign works, and a written style capable of reflecting the vernacular language had not yet been established (Twine 1991: 47).

Yet the early translations were very free and informal in their language, helping to break down the traditional Chinese-based style. Thus the Meiji Period witnessed a fusing of Japanese, Chinese and Western styles to form a new style.

Poetry was also greatly affected by translation. Traditional poetry consisted of *waka* and *haiku*, which had strict conventions concerning the number of syllables used, and longer free verse did not exist. Translations of European poetry adopted new forms and techniques – for instance, two of the fourteen translated poems in *Shintaishishō* (Selection of Poetry in the New Style, 1882) made an attempt at rhyming, which did not exist in traditional poetry. After about two decades of experimentation it was concluded that rhyming does not have any particular effect in Japanese (Oikawa 1994: 203). Although the *Shintaishishō* was criticized for its lack of poeticity, it marked the starting point of modern Japanese poetry by helping to create a new form.

After 1885 translations became more literal than in the early years of excessively free translation. In what was a radical pronouncement at the time, the preface to the translation of Bulwer Lytton's *Kenelm Chillingly* (*Keishidan*, 1885) stated that merely conveying the plot without paying attention to the style runs counter to the art of literary translation. The translation (there is some debate over who actually translated this work) attempted to convey the flavour of the original by reproducing as literally as possible its idiomatic expressions and personal pronouns, which traditionally were not used in Japanese. Precisely because no attempt was made to achieve naturalness of expression or to avoid unfamiliar figures of speech, this translation shaped not only later translations but also Japanese style in general. A literal approach was also adopted by Futabatei Shimei (1864–1909), an outstanding translator of Russian literature. His superb translation of Turgenev's *The Rendezvous* (from *A Sportsman's Sketches*) was published as *Aibiki* in 1888. He tried to reproduce the original as exactly as possible, even down to the number of words and the punctuation, but his use of colloquial language opened new avenues of literary expression and he raised the task of translation to the level of an art.
Gradually, there emerged an interest in foreign literature for its own sake and as a reflection of the feelings of Europeans. Western plays, particularly Shakespeare’s works, brought home the literary potential of drama. Literary periodicals introduced European literature in translation, and translated literature was regarded as being on an equal footing with original works. Many translators were writers themselves. Writers/translators such as Futabatei Shimei, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Mori Ōgai (1862–1922) and Ueda Bin (1874–1916) turned translation into an artistic form aimed at reproducing the flavour of Western literary works. Their struggle with the problem of skewing between the source and target texts shook traditional Japanese literature and led to new forms of literary expression. This meant, however, moving further away from the Japanese language and literary traditions. In an 1887 essay entitled ‘Honyaku no kokoroe’ (Hints on Translating) Morita Shiken (1861–97), the renowned translator of many of Victor Hugo’s novels, discussed how far translators should go in assimilating the original work into readable Japanese. He advocated literal translation and letting the Japanese language be actively influenced by foreign style. His retranslation from the English version of Jules Verne’s *Deux Ans de Vacances* (Jûgo Shônen 1896) was highly influential.

The year 1889 saw the publication of *Omokage* (Vestiges), an anthology of German poetry translated by the writer Mori Ōgai and some colleagues. Although this used many traditional elegant words and ideas, it moved beyond traditional literature by using a wide range of translation methods, from merely conveying the sense to trying to convey the sense and the number of syllables per line, or the rhyming, or the wording (Kamei 1994: 42). It was successful as poetry, both in form and in concept, and was a source of inspiration for the Japanese Romantic movement, just as the 1894 translation of Zola’s *Nana* by Nagai Kafû (1879–1959) spurred the Naturalist movement in Japan.

Bible translation has been one of the key translation enterprises in Japan ever since Xavier’s arrival, with different versions of parts of the Bible being translated by both Protestants and Catholics. The translators were generally American missionaries, usually working as a committee aided by Japanese translators. By 1888 the first translation of the Bible was complete, but the New Testament was replaced in 1917 by a version which became standard until a colloquial Bible was published in 1955, followed by a new joint Protestant–Catholic translation in 1987. Yet it is the Meiji version of 1888 which has won the most praise for its literary merit.

Another Meiji masterpiece was *Sokkyō shijin*, Mori Ōgai’s retranslation from the German of Hans Christian Andersen’s *Improvisatoren*. Published serially between 1892 and 1901, it is considered a classic of modern Japanese literature and better than the original. Ōgai did not translate directly, focusing instead on conveying the meaning accurately and in good Japanese. Also noteworthy is *Kaichōon* (Sound of the Tide), which was translated by Ueda Bin and appeared in 1905. Although he also translated English and German poetry, it was his translations of French Symbolist poetry that had the most impact on Japanese poets and translators of poetry. Ueda’s translations have been acclaimed as masterpieces, inspiring a generation of poets. His translations are far from being literal, but his refined classical Japanese successfully evoked the mood of the original poems.

In 1913 the translator of Arthur Symons’s *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, Iwano Hômei (1873–1920), tried to translate each line separately and retain the order of the lines. He used non-Japanese structures and even tried to reproduce the original punctuation. His preface states that a new kind of word order is necessary to express new ways of thinking. The results worked reasonably well as poetry, and the Japanese is not particularly unnatural (Kawamura 1981: 18). The most outstanding translated anthology of the Taishô Period (1912–26), however, was Horiguchi Daigaku’s *Gekka no ichigun* (A Moonlight Gathering, 1925). Horiguchi used colloquial language to express the images in the original poems, rather than forcing them to fit the traditional Japanese mould.

**The impact of the war years**

By the 1920s, nearly all of the major literary works of the world had been translated into
Japanese, and important works were being translated in the same year the original work appeared. Three strands of translation began to take shape from about the 1920s. The first consisted of socialist and communist literary works. Japanese Marxists translated treatises by Marx, Engels and Lenin, and these works influenced the proletarian literature movement. The second strand covered surrealistic and stream-of-consciousness works, while the third consisted of American literary works (Takeda 1983: 247). However, the rise of militarism led to censorship of socialist and Communist translations – and the publication of best-selling translations of a biography of Mussolini in 1928 and an expurgated version of Hitler's Mein Kampf in 1940 – and the events leading up to World War II meant that American literature declined in popularity.

Chinese poetry continued to be translated, with Satō Haruo (1892–1964) being the pioneer in this field. Satō, who in 1927 translated Shajinshû, an anthology of forty-eight poems by female Chinese poets, was dissatisfied with the traditional approach of reading Chinese poetry in Japanese. Instead he translated creatively, capturing the flavour of the original poems, a method which subsequently became popular amongst translators. Even so, Satō continued to use the fixed form of verse, whereas Hinatsu Kōnosuke’s (1890–1971) colloquial versions rendered Chinese poetry into modern poetry, focusing on the content without being constrained by the form and fixed rhythm (Kajima 1994).

Japan’s defeat in World War II brought the Allied Occupation forces to its shores, with a concomitant need for interpreters and translators. General Douglas MacArthur’s chief interpreter was Colonel Sidney Mashbir, and Matsui Akira served as interpreter at some of the meetings between the Emperor and MacArthur and at the Emperor’s meetings with special U.S. envoy John Foster Dulles and MacArthur’s successor, General Matthew Ridgway. At the Tokyo Trial of war criminals, over 50,000 pages of translation work was involved, with a Language Arbitration Board responsible for ruling on thorny translation problems. In the minor trials some Japanese interpreters were found guilty of war crimes (Roland 1982).

The end of the war ushered in a new age of translation unprecedented since the Meiji Restoration, with Japanese readers keen to read works that could not be published during the war. The quantity of translations, however, was not always matched by their quality, and the choice of works was controlled by the Occupation authorities. Books that criticized the United States or praised the military were suppressed, while translations of approved works were often given financial support (Satō 1987). During the war, the Japanese authorities had banned 2,120 foreign books and periodicals, many of which reported on Chinese resistance to the Japanese. Best-selling translations included Ten Years in Japan by a former US ambassador to Japan, George Orwell’s Animal Farm, and The Diary of Anne Frank.

In the 1950s there were four recognizable trends in translation. American literature took over from European literature as mainstream Western literature in translation; translations of the works of existentialist writers such as Sartre, Camus, Kafka, Kierkegaard and Dostoevsky were undertaken and had a major impact; translations of literary works by Catholics began to appear; and literary works with explicit sexual scenes were translated (Takeda 1983: 248). Translations of books made into movies, such as Gone with the Wind, were also common.

Of particular note is Yûkarashini (1959–70), a nine-volume translation by Kindaichi Kyôsuke (1882–1971) of epic and other oral literature of the Ainu people, who live in the northern island of Hokkaido and are racially and linguistically distinct from the Japanese. The Ainu have no written language, and it was only after an Ainu woman began transcribing their epics in 1928 that translation of their literature became possible.

In 1960 the translator Itô Sei and the publisher of D. H. Lawrence’s Lady Chatterley’s Lover were charged for translating, publishing and distributing this work, which was alleged to contain obscene passages. A similar situation occurred with Marquis de Sade’s Juliette. The 1960s also saw the translation of urban American Jewish literature and Black literature, although interest in translated literature waned somewhat, to be replaced to a large extent in the 1970s by translations of 'how-to' books and non-fiction works about US management methods or about Japan...
and its rise as a leading economy (Wilkinson 1990). Several ‘complete works’ translations, as well as translations in the field of popular entertainment such as the Hayakawa mystery and science fiction series, also began to appear.

By the end of the twentieth century translated books (mostly from English, French or German) accounted for more than 10 per cent of all books published each year. Best-seller lists in Japan almost always include some translations. Other genres in which translation has played a major role include film dubbing and subtitling, the translation of lyrics and children's books, and there is great demand for technical translations.

Profession, training and research

There is a large body of Japanese writing on translation, but Japanese writers are largely unacquainted with Western writing on translation and interpreting theory. This may, however, have allowed their ideas to develop along independent channels. Although Japanese writers have not developed a fully-formed theory of translation, preferring discussions of specific works and problems to abstract theorizing, there are several distinct translation traditions in Japan, largely differentiated by their position on the issue of whether or not translations should actively transform Japanese language and style.

Nogami Toyoichirō (1883–1950) advocated a 'monochromatic' approach whereby no particular attempt is made to reproduce the tone and style of the original. He suggested that translations should sound foreign so as to introduce fresh expressions and forms into the language. Nogami also emphasized the importance of choosing what to translate based on whether or not it would contribute to Japanese culture – a recurring theme with many Japanese writers on translation. Other advocates of 'foreignizing' translations include Ikuta Chōkō (1882–1936) in his youth, Komiya Toyotaka (1884–1966) and Kawamori Yoshizō (1902– ). These arguments are based on the idea that language is continually evolving and that the initially awkward style of such translations creates a new type of language – such expressions and style may initially shock, but if they have literary merit they will eventually be adopted.

Inevitably, however, translations that were ‘faithful’ to the original in an attempt to create a new style met with resistance from people who regarded this approach as detrimental to the Japanese language. Such writer/translators as Uchida Roan (1868–1929), Tsubouchi Shōyō, Hasegawa Futabatei and Mori Ōgai advocated rewriting foreign works into natural Japanese. The writer Tanizaki Jun'ichirō (1886–1965) was concerned that the intrusion of Western writing would lead to the demise of truly Japanese writing. He criticized 'translation-style' Japanese in his Bunsō Tokuhon (1960) – although his own writing was heavily influenced by English, claiming that translations in Japan are difficult to understand unless one is already familiar with foreign languages. The Nobel prize-winning author Kawabata Yasunari (1899–1972) regarded translations as the enemy of ‘pure literature’ and believed that they constitute a threat to Japan's cultural identity. Yet, already by around 1935 'pure' Japanese had largely disappeared, and there had emerged a new written language which absorbed the influence of Western languages rather well.

Taking a slightly different approach, Yanabu Akira (1928– ), one of the few contemporary writers who have reflected on translation from a theoretical and historical rather than a literary viewpoint, claims that because anything foreign was accepted uncritically, expressions introduced through translation prevented a genuine understanding of Western thought, and that once the superficial attraction of these expressions faded, readers reverted to their old 'pre-modern' ways of thinking (Yanabu 1983).

Today the literal approach seems to be the more popular form in Japan, and free translation is generally considered in a rather negative light. However, unlike the 'neo-literalism' of such translators as Nogami, which aimed at enriching the Japanese language, the approach adopted by many contemporary translators who are willing to sacrifice natural Japanese for 'fidelity' to the original is based simply on the belief that literal translation equates with faithful translation. There is also considerable tolerance of literal translation on the part of readers, who have long been accustomed to a form of Japanese which is heavily influenced by Chinese and who expect translations to be unidiomatic. A further factor is the practice in Japanese schools of using
literal translation as a means of learning English grammar, a habit which is carried through into the professional life of translators.

Books on translation in Japan fall into two broad categories: academic works that adopt an approach based on comparative literature, and more popular works such as ‘how-to’ books and examinations of mistranslations. Many works have strong sociolinguistic overtones, focusing on cultural differences between Japan and the West as manifest in language. Linguistic scholars in Japan have paid scant attention to translation, and translation theory is not regarded as a discipline in its own right.

On the interpreting side, the 1990s witnessed the first tentative but promising research into interpreting in Japan, particularly the cognitive aspects – a focus which is in sharp contrast to the product-oriented approach of Japanese writing on translation.

The fact that Japanese is a non-European language used in a non-Western culture means that there is potential for a significant contribution to translation and interpreting studies by Japanese practitioners and scholars from a somewhat different perspective, perhaps providing new insights into some perennial issues of translation studies.

Translation in Japan has become increasingly professionalized in recent years, with several translators’ organizations, training institutions and journals aimed at aspiring translators and interpreters. The Japan Society of Translators was founded in 1934, the Japan Translation Association in 1986 and the Japan Translation Federation in 1981. The National Translation Institute of Science and Technology, which was founded in 1966, had about 13,000 members in 1995, admitted on the basis of success in the Licensed Technical Translators’ Qualification test. The Japanese are amongst the world’s leaders in developing machine translation.

Two events that symbolized the ‘coming of age’ of interpreting in Japan were interpreting during the 1964 Tokyo Olympics and the simultaneous interpreting on television during the landing on the moon by American astronauts. Interpreting in Japan today is a highly specialized profession, with specialist interpreters in the whole spectrum of interpreting tasks, from tour guide interpreting to liaison interpreting, broadcast interpreting and conference interpreting.

Further reading

MASAOMO KONDO AND JUDY WAKABAYASHI
Latin is the language of Ancient Rome and the ancestor of modern Romance languages such as Spanish and French. Throughout the Middle Ages, it served as the language of science, philosophy, theology and other areas of knowledge. Until fairly recent times, knowledge of Latin was considered a prerequisite to any liberal education, and despite the almost exclusive use of vernacular languages in its reformed liturgies, Latin is still the official language of the Roman Catholic Church. As Latin remained the dominant cultural language of Western Europe until the end of the eighteenth century, translation into Latin has played a significant role in shaping European culture.

Rome (3rd century BC to 5th century AD)

Classical Rome

During the third century BC, Roman soldiers who were repatriated after garrison duty in the Greek East were coming back to Rome with a taste for Greek amusements, particularly theatre. Enterprising writers addressed this need by using free translation and adaptation from Greek sources. The first of these translators was Livius Andronicus (285–204 BC) with a Latin version of the Odyssey (250 BC) and a number of plays commissioned for the Roman Games of 240 BC. Gnaeus Naevius (c.270–c.199 BC) translated several Greek plays about the Trojan War, publicizing the legend that the Romans were descended from the Trojans who fled with Aeneas. The father of Latin literature, Quintus Ennius (239–169 BC), though most famous for his Annales, also translated for the theatre. Where Livius had worked on commission, Ennius worked under the patronage of Scipio Africanus the Elder, who had conquered Carthage, and Marcus Cato, known as ‘the Censor’. The tradition of translation from Greek theatre was continued by Ennius’s nephew, Pacuvius (c.220–130 BC), who played a leading role in turning Latin into a literary language, and by Caecilius Statius (d. 168 BC), regarded as the greatest comic writer of his time (Williams 1968: 363-6).

Although the majority of early work has been lost, we do have a considerable body of plays from the two most famous of these early dramatists, Plautus (d. 184 BC) and Publius Terentius Afer, known as Terence (190?–159? BC). Plautus and Terence are probably the world’s first commercial literary translators. Terence’s productions were based on the Greek plays of Menander and Apollodorus of Carystus. He was a somewhat more radical forerunner of the seventeenth-century belles infidèles (see French tradition), and in composing a text he often combined translated passages from several Greek originals. All of these Romans adapted freely for a Roman audience of coarser tastes than the original Greek audiences.

In the century following Terence, the Greeks introduced rhetoric to Rome, and translation was now taken to be a branch of rhetoric. There is no record of translation from other languages. The greatest age of Roman literary translation began with a translation of Homer by the otherwise obscure writer Matius (about 100 BC) and lasted until the middle of the first century AD. This age set the tradition which lasted well into the twentieth century of treating translation as a literary apprenticeship. Among the great names associated with developing a truly Roman literature are the poets Catullus (87–57 BC) and Horace (65–8 BC), and the statesman and jurist Cicero (106–43 BC). Cicero is one of the few Roman authors whose work is almost
entirely preserved. Although only few of his translations from Greek remain, his discussion of translation in *De finibus honorum et Malorum* and in the *De optimo genere oratorum* had a formative influence on translation practice for the next 2000 years.

In terms of ordinary Romans who sought to improve themselves by translation, the crux of the matter was the rhetorical concept of rivalry through creative imitation, which Cicero defined as the imitation of outstanding virtues (*Tusculan Disputations* IV.17). In *De optimo genere oratorum* (*The Best Kind of Orator*) v. 14, Cicero makes two major points: that word-for-word translation is not suitable; and that translators should seek in their own language expressions that reproduce as much as possible the cogency of the original. His sensitivity to words made him an excellent terminologist, and his work prepared the ground for most modern philosophical terminology. Cicero is important for a verse translation of Aratus, *Phaenomena*, for much rhetorical translation which has not survived, and for his translations of Greek philosophy into Latin. There are discussions of the problems created by Greek terms in Cicero’s philosophical writings, the most important being the discussions of Epicureanism in the *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (*The Ends of Good and Evil*) II.iv.13–v.15. Of equal importance to the development of translation is Horace, whose discussion of literary imitation in the *Ars Poetica* (*The Art of Poetry*) has had an influence on translation out of all proportion to his intent. The traditional theme of translator as rival to the author is discussed at length in Epistle VII. ix of Pliny the Younger (AD 61–112) and *Institutes of Oratory* X.v. by Quintilian (AD c.35–100). The essential point made in both is that one must imitate the author’s virtues but still retain one’s own individuality in translation.

Drawing on the talent at his disposal, the Emperor Augustus (63 BC–AD 14) set up a translation office as part of the imperial household to assist in administering the Empire. As long as the Roman Empire existed, translation remained important, although after the third century knowledge of Greek became less common in the West. There is no record of translation from languages other than Greek. As the teaching of medicine developed at Rome, an increasing amount of medical and pharmacological translation began to appear, particularly after the fourth century. The Emperor Augustus’s translation office in the imperial household seems to have had offshoots in the Eastern provinces. Most of this translation was done by Greeks who had come to Rome as slaves.

The Roman tradition of translation had a lasting effect on the translation theories of the next 1,500 years.

**The Christians**

Almost from its beginnings, Christianity spread from the Greek and Hebrew world into the rest of the Roman Empire. Formal translation begins with the Bible. The first Latin versions, collectively known as the *Vetus Latina*, date from the second century. There is considerable controversy over whether the earliest Christian liturgies in languages other than Greek were translations of Greek originals. It would seem from the evidence that these early liturgists worked in much the same way as the pre-classical Latin dramatists, by free adaptation of such canonical texts as existed in Greek.

Christians of different cultural traditions soon developed different slants, not necessarily heterodox, on the dogma handed down. This demanded translation, both written and oral. Among the very first of these translations was the important mystical tract, *Shepherd of Hermas*, translated during the second century from Greek into Latin. It is followed by a stream of biographies of saints and other doctrinal work, including Latin versions of the early Creeds, important not only as prayers but also as statements of belief. There seems to be very little from languages other than Greek. The extreme literality of these early Latin documents carries over from the Jewish ideas on the creative power of the Word (Kelly 1979: 69). But it would be a mistake to put this down completely to intellectual tradition: many of these early translators were uneducated. When they found translation necessary, they worked according to the still dominant assumption that word equals thing.

The emancipation of Christianity under Constantine in 312 allowed Christian culture to mature. Consequently, it acquired a scholarly tradition based on Classical education systems, with the result that the Christian Latin West continued the pagan tradition of learning from
the Greeks. The number of juridical documents and Greek doctrinal texts translated into Latin increased, and these were often anonymous. The late fourth century and the early fifth are in many ways Rome's second classical period, centred on Rome and North Africa. It seems fairly certain that the Imperial Translation Office founded by the Emperor Augustus was still in operation, and something similar was taking shape in the Papal administration. From the early fourth century, a very skilled band of translators was centred on Rome and its schools. They were philosophers and theologians who took translation from what was going on in Greek as necessary to their enterprise. Among the most important of these are the philosopher Marius Victorinus (c.275–362), Rufinus (340?–416) – an enthusiast for Origen, who had a famous quarrel with Jerome, the philosopher Marius Mercator (c.400–50), and a large number of anonymous churchmen.

The Christian tradition culminates in the work of St Jerome (Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus c.342–419/420), whose Vulgate, undertaken at the direct order of Pope Damasus, dominated biblical scholarship until the Reformation and is only now being displaced as the official version of the Catholic Church. Jerome was born of Christian parents at Strido, Dalmatia, and went to school in Rome. There, his teacher was the great grammarian Aelius Donatus. In 365 he was baptized and began studying theology at Trier, then second capital of the Western Empire. After going to a hermitage in the Syrian desert in 374, he was ordained priest at Antioch, and then, following the ancient Roman tradition, he studied at Constantinople under the Christian teachers Gregory of Nazianzen and Gregory of Nyssa, two of the greatest of the Greek Fathers. On his return to Rome, he attracted the notice of Pope Damasus and in 382 became his private secretary. Between 380 and 420 he produced a huge number of miscellaneous translations covering Church administration, monastic rules, theology and letters. Jerome is known as a first-class if somewhat rigorist and quarrelsome theologian, probably the most brilliant scholar of his time. He translated widely from contemporary Greek writers in a fairly classical style. His own thought on translation as expressed in letters and prefaces follows classical rhetorical precedent very closely. But his biblical style harked back to the early Christian literal style. He seems to have been the first to use truth (veritas) as a critical concept. His first concern being accuracy of the source text, he set about producing a critically accurate Greek text for the New Testament and, once this was established, he revised the traditional Latin lightly. For the Old Testament he went to the Hebrew, actually asking a friendly rabbi to guide him through the Hebrew text (hebraica veritas). Jerome cast doubt on the Old Testament books extant in Greek only, an attitude later to be taken up by Luther. But even Jerome soon ran into trouble. The correspondence between him and Augustine is peppered with St Augustine's warnings about religious innovation and pastoral difficulties caused by 'changing' familiar texts. To this, Jerome replies that God is on the side of the scholar (Kelly 1975).

Roman translation comes to an end and medieval translation begins with Manlius Anicius Severinus Boethius (AD 480–524), who came from a senatorial family that had become Christian quite early. Following a distinguished public career under the Ostrogothic emperor Theodoric, Boethius was imprisoned on trumped-up charges and died under torture in 524. He is most famous for his De consolatione philosophiae, which had a profound influence on the Middle Ages. The intellectual climate of the Middle Ages can be said to have been born of his Latin translation of Aristotle, begun early in his career. His well-known translations include most of Aristotle's Organon, Porphyry's Isagoge, and the Geometria, a rather free translation of Euclid's Elements. Boethius is at once last of the classical Romans and first of the Medievals. He lived during a period very much like our own, in which the social shape of the world was changing fast and political, intellectual and religious norms were being transformed. He intended to leave Latin versions of most of the great philosophers, so that when the world came to its senses, civilization could be rebuilt. Boethius is notable for his uncompromising espousal of literality. Though his stand owes much to Jerome's ideals of truth in translation, he harks back to the medical translators of the time of Cicero. Their literality had been condemned by Cicero and his kind, but their rhetorical training had made them aware that different topics demanded different styles, and
that this spilled over into translation (Chadwick 1981: 123–41).

The Middle Ages (fifth to fifteenth centuries)

Principles of Latin translation

In practice, Jerome’s method of translating the Bible proved more influential than the methods he used, and advocated, in other types of translation. Together with Boethius, he set the tone for translation into Latin. Literary translation with its rhetorical, poetic imperatives had disappeared, and translation was now in the hands of philosophers and theologians. And as scientific language lends itself naturally to Platonist ideals, the goal soon became truth in Seneca’s sense: conformity between language, concept and thing. Literal translation was generally seen as the way to truth, though there were a few protests from those trained in ancient rhetoric, for example Pope Gregory the Great.

As the Western Roman Empire crumbled, the sense of urgency in the work of Boethius continued to grow. Cassiodorus (480?–550?), a Roman senator, founded the Vivarium, a monastery specializing in philosophical and theological translation from Greek. He intended to carry on Boethius’s work, as far as it was possible. The main peculiarity of the work done in the Vivarium was its anonymity. The best known of the named translators of the period is Dionysius Exiguus (d. 556), who was on the fringes of the Vivarium and who specialized in contemporary theology (Berschin 1988: 74ff.). The most pressing task of Latin translators remained that of keeping in touch with the Greek East, which, as yet, had not suffered the social collapse of the West. The language of the Church Councils was still Greek: the various collections of Council minutes provide a record of the translation work that kept the Western Church in contact with the East.

A Greek monastery whose task was to liaise with Constantinople is attested in Rome in AD 649. Notable translators include Pope Zacharias (741–52), who translated Gregory the Great into Greek, and Joannes Scotus Eriugena (c.810–c.877) whose Periphrasis was at the centre of the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition in the West. Until the ninth century, Ravenna and Naples were centres of Greek studies with well-known schools of translation. Ravenna was particularly active in liturgical work. And until the thirteenth century, the Greek community of Sicily were active in administrative and religious translation; Sicily was still largely a Greek community ruled by speakers of Latin (Weiss 1950). Because there was a Greek presence in every part of the north coast of the Mediterranean, we find translation in Spain, for example the Vitae Patrum graecorum translated by Paschasius in 570 and De ortu et obitu Patrum translated by Isidore of Seville, both from Greek originals. Merovingian and Carolingian Gaul had a fund of expertise in Greek too, necessary for maintaining close diplomatic relations between France and the East, including marriage alliances.

One of the most important figures in the ninth century was the papal librarian, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (800?–879?). His major translations revolve around the Councils of the ninth century and the increasing tensions between East and West. He also did some translation of theology. He was known as a skilled translator, but his work does tend towards literality, without however doing violence to Latin style. He is also noted for a number of letters on translation practice (Kelly 1975). Translation of Greek conciliar documents ends about the fifteenth century with the final hardening of position, when the West withdrew its monasteries from Constantinople. The last of this stream of translators was Cardinal Bessarion (1403–72), a delegate of the Greek Church who changed sides and finally settled in Venice in the early fifteenth century. There was also some attempt at translation from vernacular languages into Latin during that period. The Salic Law, for instance, began as a German text in the ninth century, and was then translated into Latin. It underwent a number of retranslations back and forth after that.

By the eighth century, the Muslims had created a brilliant civilization with a number of schools and research centres at Baghdad, Basra, Toledo, Seville and Sicily. Through contact with the Greek world, they instituted an important programme of translation from Greek philosophy and physical science into Arabic (see Arabic Tradition). These translations were then commented on by a
large number of scholars, including Averroës, Avicenna, al-Gazali and Alfarabi. Beginning in the eleventh century, philosophers and scientists from the West worked and studied in the Muslim East and came back with Latin translations of the Arabic versions of Greek philosophers, and of Arabic commentaries on them. The Arabs, at this point, were known primarily for advanced medicine. The substantial translation movement from Arabic into Latin was initiated by Constantine the African, who, late in the eleventh century, settled in the monastery at Monte Cassino after studying in North Africa. He specialized in the medical works of Galen. Constantine was followed by Bishop Alfanus of Salerno, who extended the field to Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and Hippocrates. During the twelfth century, most scientific and philosophical translation from Arabic into Latin was done in Spain and southern France. There arose a general pattern of cooperation or even collaboration between Christian and Arab. This was at the root of the formation of the School of Toledo, supposedly founded by Archbishop Raymond (1125–52). The best-known translators of this group worked under Raymond’s successor, Archbishop John, for example Dominic Gundisalvi, John of Seville, Gerard of Cremona (1114–87) and Peter of Toledo, all of whom translated Aristotle and the Arab commentators, Averroës and Avicenna. There were many translators working outside Toledo, for example Hermann of Carinthia, Plato of Tivoli, Adelard of Bath, and Michael Scot; the latter was working as late as 1217. A couple of Latin versions of the Qur’ān were also prepared during this period.

Aristotle and other Greek philosophers were introduced into the universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries through Latin versions of the Arabic translations. Jourdain (1843) gives a full list. Inevitably, the incursion of Aristotle in Arab dress caused intense disquiet in orthodox circles, and Aristotle was banned in several major places as a pagan influence. Aristotelians replied by translating directly from the Greek texts. The greatest of the twelfth-century translators from the Greek was James of Venice (fl. 1125–50). He was responsible for completing the Latin version of Aristotle’s Organon, the Physics, Metaphysics, De Anima, and Parva Naturālia. The only Latin versions of Plato came from Henricus Aristippus, whose Meno and Phaedo appeared in the late 1150s.

Two northerners stand out as important translators of this period. Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln and probably first chancellor of Oxford, translated the Nicomachean Ethics (1246?) and the De Caelo. He also translated a number of Greek commentaries on Aristotle, particularly those of Simplicius. Even more important was the Flemish Dominican, William of Moerbeke (1215–86), who revised a number of the known translations of Aristotle and added to the Latin canon the Politics and the Poetics. Among the Greek commentaries of Aristotle, he translated Alexander on the Meteorology and the De sensu, Ammonius on the De interpretatione, Simplicius on the Categories and the De Caelo, and Themistius on the De Anima. In the Dominican schools of philosophy and theology, the Moerbeke versions replaced most others (D’Alverny 1982).

The Renaissance (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries)

In translation as in other matters relating to Classical traditions, the Renaissance was a time of rethinking, not a time of discovery of the past. Because literature was ‘philosophy joined to eloquence’ as Cicero had taught, Renaissance translation theory followed Ciceronian norms, and Horace’s Ars Poetica (134–5) suffered a radical rereading, cf. Ben Jonson’s translation:

For being a poet, thou maist feigne, create,
Not care, as thou wouldst faithfully translate,
To render word for word.

In principle, literality here precludes fidelity: in Horace’s original the distinction is not as clear cut.

Humanist translation begins in the great mercantile states of fourteenth-century Italy, in particular Florence and Venice. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, these cities welcomed Greek scholars fleeing the Turkish advance into the Byzantine Empire. They encouraged them to set up schools and built a classical culture around them. For the translator, patronage was essential, because it
made possible the building of great libraries and the financing of scholarly searches of medieval libraries for classical manuscripts, both Latin and Greek.

One of the most important schools was that founded by Manuel Chrysoloras (1350–1415) in Florence. Because such schools were essentially philosophy schools with high respect for rhetoric, the translators coming from them were basically philosophers. The first humanist version of Aristotle was by Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369–1444), whose 1423 version was prefaced by a pugnacious updating of Cicero’s translation principles (Kelly 1979: 83). It was first printed in 1498. He also translated some Plato, the history of Xenophon, and the sermons of Basil the Great. In the 1460s, Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) made what was to remain the basic humanist Latin version of Plato. It was first printed in 1482. Other translators of Plato and Aristotle included Georgio Valla (1430–99), Theodore Gaza (1400–78) and Angelo Poliziano (1454–94). Translators of philosophy also translated medicine and science, often printing Latin and Greek on facing pages. Both Galen and Hippocrates were translated by Nicolo da Reggio (1280–1350). As the Humanist movement spread outside Italy, so did translation from Greek. One of the best-known translators of this early period was the Englishman Thomas Linacre (1460–1524), who specialized in Galen and prepared the ground for medical training in England.

Technical and literary translators were often the same people, as stylistic training did not privilege one genre over another. As well as the philosophical and religious texts mentioned above, Leonardo Bruni Aretino, for example, also translated Homer into Latin. Among this first wave of humanists were Lorenzo Valla (1405–51), Georgius Trapezuntius (1395–1472), and Poliziano, all of whom translated history, literature and the Greek Fathers.

Grammar and literary theory were of intense interest. Longinus, On the Sublime, was frequently translated (Weinberg 1950; Costa 1985). It is essential to remember that, at first, Latin translation was embedded in the Middle Ages. By the 1520s the standard of Latin had become less reminiscent of the late medieval style found in people like Linacre or Thomas More (1478–1534). Most of the great vernacular translators, like Etienne Dolet (1509–36) and Melanchthon (1497–1560), produced Ciceronian Latin versions of Greek works. Publishers, like Froben of Antwerp and the Estienne family of Paris, flourished as editors, and even did some translation of their own.

This second wave of translators did not ignore science. Nor were they any more specialized than their predecessors. Typical of these Humanist scientists was Johann Hagenbut (Joannes Cornarius; 1500–58), Dean of Medicine at Jena. He was a prolific translator from the Greek. Cornarius is most famous as a medical writer, his translation of Hippocrates (1546) being his best known. Among his versions are the complete works of Basil the Great (1540), some Plato, some Galen and some Synesius. In mathematics, the Boethius translation of Euclid’s Elements had several modern versions to compete with. The most important of these was that by Federico Commandino (1509–75), retranslated many times into modern languages. Commandino’s works cover the whole range of Greek mathematics, including the Conics of Apollonius of Perge (1566), some Archimedes and some Ptolemy. Another influential translator of mathematics was the German Jesuit, Christophe Clavius (1537–1612). His Euclid appeared in 1574 and was followed by various books on calendar reform. By 1600, practically the whole of Greek science and medicine had been translated into Latin.

At a time when most poets were poetae utriusque linguae (‘poets of both languages’), translation between the vernaculars and Latin became very common. It began in the time of Francesco Petrarch (1304–74), himself both translator and translated. As Italy was the centre of European culture, this sort of translation came about pretty casually as a compliment paid by one writer to another. Leonardo Bruni Aretino, for instance, translated Boccaccio’s Decameron into Latin in about 1400. Probably the most influential translations were those of Machiavelli, done in the 1560s by Sylvestro Tegli (fl. 1590).

In England, Bartholomew Clerk (1537–1609) translated Castiglione’s Il Cortegiano into Latin, with a series of prefaces illustrating how England had come of age. At that time, hardly any English literature had been translated into Latin, apart from religious liter-
nature: there was some Chaucer translated by Sir Francis Kynaston. There is a full discussion of this issue in Binns (1990). France, however, translated its poets freely, in particular the poets of the Pléiade. Most of the translators remain anonymous. There was little activity of this type elsewhere in Europe (Briesemeister 1985).

**The Bible**

Of more immediate interest, because of its polemical value, was Bible translation. The humanists did have considerable qualms about the quality of the Latin in the *Vulgate* and there were well-founded doubts about the Greek text. Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) published a Greek text of the New Testament with his own Latin version in 1519. There followed a Latin version by Santi Pagnini (1528) which remained studiously neutral and literal. His Old Testament was done from the Hebrew, not the Greek. The next Latin version of the Bible, by Sebastian Münster of Basle (1535), was in better Latin: he took the Old Testament from the Hebrew and reprinted the Erasmus New Testament. These literal Bibles lost ground before the Zurich Bible of 1543, a squarely Protestant version edited by Leo Jud. In 1551 another Reformer, Sebastian Castellio, produced a Bible in almost Classical Latin. The most important of the Latin Bibles was by Theodore de Bèze, successor to Calvin. Though a Bible of immense scholarship, it soon acquired a reputation for twisting the biblical text to the dictates of Calvinism. The last of the Reformation Latin Bibles was that of Tremellius and Junius (1571). Among Latin versions of minor interest is the New Testament in verse by John Bridges, Bishop of Oxford (1620).

**The Age of Reason (1600–1750)**

In general, Humanist norms of translation remained in vogue, and translation into Latin was spared the excesses of the free translations current in France and England. This period is also notable for the appearance of bilingual Latin dictionaries. In England, one of the most extensive was by Adam Littleton, which included an English–Latin section. Similar dictionaries came out in other European countries. There were also a series of verse dictionaries, following in the tradition of the humanist stylistic handbooks of *Elegantiae*. They culminated in François Noël’s *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1755).

**Technical translation**

To a large extent, the Ancient Greek writers were still relevant. Euclid’s *Euclid’s Geometry* was translated several times: in England in 1650 by Isaac Barrow, Professor of Greek and then Mathematics at Cambridge, and in 1703 by David Gregory, a member of Newton’s circle. John Wallis, a member of the Royal Society, translated Archimedes in 1676. There were many versions of Hippocrates, most of them anonymous. The best known was made in 1717 by John Freind, a Royal physician, plainly for the instruction of medical students.

As an important centre of publication, free of censorship, Amsterdam had its own group of jobbing translators. These were not bound by any law of copyright, and translated all the latest work in all disciplines. Geneva seems to have had a similar group of scientific translators, and there was always the unemployed university graduate willing to free-lance anonymously. But the most important translations came from practitioners who saw translation as part of their job of publicizing the latest theories and research. Frans van Schooten, who translated Descartes’ *Géométrie*, is a good example.

As vernacular languages began to compete with Latin, translation into Latin took on a rather desperate importance. There is a whole range of innovative works in alchemy, for example the works of the mythical ‘Basil Valentine’, that began life in a vernacular and gained an international reputation in Latin. Partington (1961) gives lists of significant translations. Scientists began writing in their own languages in the seventeenth century, with consequent difficulties for international distribution. Henry Oldenbourg, the Secretary of the Royal Society, established a custom of translating all foreign correspondence into Latin for publication in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and kept a watching brief over the standard of Latin in Continental translations of work from the Royal Society.

Pirating was a problem. To overcome it, Descartes had one of his friends, the Duc de Luynes, translate his French works for international distribution. His English contemporary,
Robert Boyle, after being translated without his permission by translators working for de Tournes of Geneva, arranged to be published simultaneously in English and Latin through Oxford presses. His example was followed by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes and later by Isaac Newton, on the rare occasions when Newton published in English. All of these authors kept very strict control over their translators. Newton's translator was a pupil, Samuel Clarke, who is also notable for an important Latin version of Rohault's *La physique* (1697), which became the prescribed text for Physics at Cambridge.

After 1700, scientific translation into Latin became sporadic. At times it was necessary, and Leeuwenhoek's Dutch books on the microscope were translated for the international market as were books on diet by the Scottish physician George Cheyne. Translation of scientific material into Latin ceased about 1750.

### Religious translation

What religious translation there was during that period tended to remain technical. True, there were versions of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* and of the Lutheran Service, and Latin versions of vernacular spiritual writing found their way into the Catholic breviaries. But more typical of the period was the immense Old Testament with a Latin translation facing the Hebrew text by Charles Houbigant (1686–1783), France's finest Hebraist (1753). This is a study aid for the Old Testament containing commentary, translation and a justification of Houbigant's methods.

### Literary translation

The bulk of translation into Latin was in verse following strictly Classical norms, and some very fine work was done. There were few Latinists of any note who specialized in translation, and most recognized poets tried their hand at Latin verse.

France is relatively typical of the Continental pattern. Training in Latin composition and translation was in the hands of the Oratorians, the Jesuits and the universities. A favourite author was La Fontaine, whose *Fables* were translated in full by the Oratorians, Modeste Vinot (1672–1731), Pierre Tissard (1666–1790) and Jean-Baptiste Giraud (1702–76). Tissard and Vinot also translated Malherbe's Ode on Louis XIII's siege of La Rochelle (Lallemand 1888). Between 1669 and 1700 there was a steady stream of Latin versions of Nicholas Boileau-Despreaux's satires and letters. Notable among the otherwise obscure bunch of translators are Charles Rollin (1661–1741) and Michel Godeau (1656–1736), who had both been rectors of the Sorbonne. Fénelon's *Télémaque* was translated several times into Latin late in the eighteenth century, the most famous version being that of Etienne Viel (1737–87). Another version worth mentioning is that by Joseph-Claude Destouches (1764; see Vissac 1862). The rise of philology as a discipline in Germany was reflected by a spate of original composition, with a few lyrics by such as Goethe being translated into Latin.

The task of assessing the extent of translation into Latin in England is complicated by the immense Latin production of recognized poets such as Abraham Cowley. There are many passages translated from English or other languages in these Latin poems. Andrew Marvell also translated much of his own English work into Latin. As translation was accorded more respect then than it is now, translated pieces appear in the collected works of recognized Latin poets such as the Scot John Leech, who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The major poet translated during that period was John Milton. A certain William Hogg translated a large proportion of Milton's major poetry into Latin in the 1670s and 1680s. This included *Paradise Lost*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*. Other translators of Milton included Thomas Power – Mathematics don at Trinity College in Cambridge – a translator known only as J. C., and a Mr Bold. John Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* was translated by George Bally in 1753 and his *Absalom and Achitophel* was translated by George Atterbury, later Bishop of Rochester, and Francis Hickman in 1682, and by William Coward, a somewhat notorious physician, in 1723. During the eighteenth century, Alexander Pope was widely translated, his *Essay on Man* and *Essay on Criticism* appearing in several versions. Among the translators of that period are the poet Christopher Smart, who translated *Ode on St Caecilia's Day* in 1743, and Usher
Gahagan, a classicist who went into coining (i.e. casting counterfeit coins of uncertain weight) after translating the Essay on Criticism in 1747, and – between his conviction and execution – translated Pope’s Temple of Fame and Messiah in Newgate Prison. Among continental translators is the Dutch classicist Gotlieb Am-Ende, who translated the Essay on Man. Milton remained popular well into the eighteenth century and was translated in 1741 by Joseph Trapp, who had made his name in translations from classical languages, and by William Dobson, whose Paradise Lost came out in 1750.

1750 to the present

Paradoxically, as Latin ceased to be an international language and became a learned recreation, classicists came to know more about Roman composition techniques. Thus, as in Classical times, translation into Latin was governed more by ancient rhetorical practice than by contemporary translation theory.

Because Latin remains a working language for the Roman Catholic Church, translation is a fact of administration, particularly in the day-to-day running of diplomacy, and the Church at large. There is also some translation done for liturgical purposes, particularly in the compilation and revision of the Roman Breviary, as well as some translation of the Bible into Latin, most of it unofficial. A short-lived version of the Psalter (1945) was even used in the Breviary for about 25 years.

Literature

Bradner (1940) gives a fairly complete list of anthologies of Latin poetry from English sources, without systematically noting which anthologies published by the English public schools (particularly Eton and Westminster), Oxford and Cambridge admit translations. Translations gradually displace original work in the Musae Etonienses (1755, 1795) and the Lusus Westmonasteriensis (1863–7). From the universities, the Anthologia oxoniensis (1846) contained a very large proportion of translations; the last nineteenth-century edition (1899) was almost entirely translations. Its Cambridge counterpart, Arundines Cami (1841), consisting entirely of translations, went through six editions in twenty-five years. The prefaces of these anthologies are important statements of principle. Most classicists of any importance can be found among the translators published. Perhaps the greatest of nineteenth-century English translators into Latin was George Lyttelton, Fourth Baron of Frankley (1817–76), known for translations covering most English poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The French Latinists’ fascination with Boileau lasted until well into the nineteenth century, with versions of the Art poétique being published in 1820 by J. A. Chambonnet and in 1822 by J. J. Laval, and versions of Le Lutrin in 1846 by Dalidou and in 1824 by Laval.

In contemporary times, translation into Latin has become more and more of a learned game, typified by the Liber quintus Odarum Q. Horati Flacci (Horace, Odes V), translated by A. E. Godley, Ronald Knox, Rudyard Kipling and others in 1920. This is a collection of Latin versions of poems by Kipling, with a preface satirizing the classical profession. Other noteworthy translations of this type are Alexander Lenard’s Winnie ille Pu (from the English original by A. A. Milne, tr. 1961), Carruthers’ Alicia in Terra Mirabili (tr. 1967) and Domus in Angulo Pui (from the English original by Lewis Carroll), and L. G. Kelly’s Prorsus Taliter (from the English original by Kipling, tr. 1985). On the continent, Auguste Haury’s excellent Latin version of St Exupéry’s Le Petit Prince appeared in 1961. But in Germany, as in Britain, the preference is for verse translation, usually short lyrics. These follow the great philological tradition of German universities, filtered through the Romantic movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. One important development in the early twentieth century is the rise of composition clubs, where a passage is proposed for a meeting, and the members gather to discuss their versions.

The retrenchment of Classical Studies after the Second World War occasioned various measures. The most important was the founding of periodicals such as Latinitas in Rome, Vita Latina in Avignon, and Hermes Americanus in Danbury, USA, all of which contain translations. Antonio Bacci, one of the best Latinists in the Vatican, worked on coining Latin words for twentieth-century innovations; his dictionary
came out in 1963. For the moment, translation into Latin remains the property of the enthusiastic Latinist, but anthologies which contain Latin translations continue to be published.

**Further reading**


LOUIS G. KELLY

**Latin American tradition**

Like Latin America itself, the history of translation in the subcontinent is both uniform and diverse. This is a reflection of the basic cultural unity which grew out of that paradoxical merging of the Hispanic with the indigenous. Indeed, the most representative figure in Latin American translation, Malinalli Tenépal, is a veritable symbol of this cultural mix. Better known as Malinche, this controversial Aztec woman was among the first interpreters on the American continent to contribute to the process through which the peoples of the so-called New World enriched the knowledge and ideas of the Old (see Mirandé and Enríquez 1979).

**Conquest (1492–1533)**

When Columbus first arrived, about 1,000 languages from around 133 language families were spoken in America. The main ones were Aztec (with over twenty dialects) in Mexico and North and Central America; Maya-Quiche and Nahuatl in Mexico and Central America; Chibcha on the Colombian plateau; Carib in the Antilles and Venezuela; Tupí-Guaraní in Paraguay, Uruguay and northern Argentina; Aymara and Quechua in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia; and Araucan in Chile. Despite the lack of historical evidence, there can be no doubt that substantial contact between the various tribes took place, which in turn implies the existence of interpreters.

Interpreters were widely used from the very beginning of the Conquest, since the Spanish authorities and the Native Americans had no understanding of each other's languages. Indirect evidence can be found in the large number of terms by which interpreters were known, such as *lenguas, lenguaraces, farautes, trujumanes* and (in the case of Nahuatl) *naguatlato*.

The Spanish monarchs took great pains to encourage their new subjects to learn the European language, issuing a stream of edicts to the effect that the Native Americans should be taught to read and write in Spanish. A 1550 law, for example, ordered sextons to teach the language to native children. However, such commands fell on deaf ears, both during this and later periods, because the evangelization process was carried out in the indigenous languages. The situation remained unchanged even when a 1770 royal edict, issued against the wishes of the missionaries, outlawed the Native American languages.

Thus, in practice the indigenous languages continued to be the vehicle for evangelization and oral contact, while Spanish (or Latin) was invariably used for written documents. The oldest translations printed on the American continent are – not surprisingly – religious works: in Mexico, *Breve y más enjundiosa doctrina cristiana en lengua mexicana y castellana*; and in Lima, a similar doctrinal text in Spanish, Quechua and Aymara.

**The interpreters**

It was appreciation of the important role interpreting would play in the Conquest that led Columbus to take two interpreters on his first voyage: Rodrigo de Jerez had spent some time in Guinea, while Luis de Torres supposedly spoke Hebrew, Chaldean and Arabic. They were obviously unable to use their foreign languages on the American continent. This initial experience made the colonizers aware of the need to train interpreters, and Columbus took ten natives back to Europe precisely so that they could acquire knowledge of the Spanish language and culture, a policy he maintained throughout future voyages. On his return to America, Columbus was accompanied by two
interpreters, Alonso de Cáceres and a young boy from Guanahani (the Bahamas) who was given the name Diego Colón.

Subsequent expeditions followed the same pattern. In 1499 Alonso de Ojeda, Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci took captives to serve as *lenguas* (literally, ‘tongues’). Ojeda actually married his native interpreter and guide, Isabel. In 1518 Juan Grijalba took two natives to Yucatán as interpreters, Julianillo and Melchorejo, who had been captured the previous year by Captain Francisco Hernández de Córdoba. Melchorejo also accompanied Cortés on his first visit to Yucatán, along with another native called Francisco. Natives were captured along the Venezuelan coast by Admiral Vicente Yáñez Pinzón and taken to Santo Domingo for service as interpreters on future expeditions. Thus the first generation of Latin American interpreters were mainly natives who were captured and then taught Spanish. However, mention should also be made of those Spaniards who arrived on the early voyages and for various reasons ended up living among the indigenous tribes. Several of these eventually acted as interpreters, some after being recaptured and pressed into service, others reuniting voluntarily with the conquest group. Whether Native American or Spanish, these pioneering interpreters played an important part in the initial encounter between the two cultures.

**Central America and the Antilles**

It is reasonable to assume that interpreters were as important to Cortés as the warriors from Tlaxcala and the other allies who eventually enabled him to conquer Mexico. Bernal Díaz de Castillo (in Rosenblat 1990: 78–9) mentions that Cortés employed as many as three interpreters at one time: he would speak in Spanish to Aguilar, who would then translate into Maya for the Yucatec natives; Malinche would interpret from Nahuatl to Maya and Aguilar from Maya to Spanish. This prompted Cortés to promise Malinche her freedom in return for her acting as his interpreter and secretary. She became much more than this – his companion, advisor, secret agent, and the mother of his child. It is widely thought, whether correctly or not, that without her aid, Cortés might not have been able to accomplish his mission of conquering Mexico. To this day, the term *malinchista* is used in Mexico to denote someone who sells out or otherwise betrays a cause.

Mexico, Santo Domingo and Cuba were the centres of gravity for the Conquest. From these positions numerous expeditions set off to the south and the north. Esteban Martín, the interpreter for Ambrosio Alfarnger, who was the Santo Domingo agent for the Welser bankers from Germany, was sent to Coro (in Venezuela) with twenty men in 1529. Juan Ortiz, a Sevillian who was captured by the cacique Hirrihigua (or Ucita) at the age of eighteen and spent more than ten years with the natives, became Hernán de Soto’s interpreter in the Florida and Texas campaigns up to 1542. Estevancio, the first known black interpreter in the Spanish-speaking world, sailed from Cuba for Florida in 1527 with Pánfilo de Narváez.

**Peru and the rest of South America**

In comparison with the Mexican campaigns, interpreters did not make such a deep impression on the Peruvian conquest. They did, however, play a vital role in the negotiations between the Inca Atahualpa and his counsellors on the one hand, and the Spaniards Francisco Pizarro, Hernando de Soto, Diego de Almagro...
and company on the other, negotiations which led to the Cajamarca ambush in 1532 and the execution of the Inca chief a year later. Among the interpreters about whom concrete information exists, pride of place goes to Felipillo (or Felipe) and Martinello, two young natives who accompanied Pizarro and Almagro on their various expeditions to Peru. Born on the island of Puná, Felipillo learnt Quechua in Túmbez from natives who spoke it as a second language, picked up Spanish from listening to soldiers, and was then taken – along with Martinello – to Panama by Pizarro. All historians agree that the interpreting provided by Felipillo of the conditions demanded of Atahualpa (recognition of the Church, the Pope and the Spanish monarchs) was far from faithful: indeed, the message was deliberately rendered in a manner offensive to the Inca king because Felipillo belonged to a rival tribe and was having an affair with one of Atahualpa’s concubines.

Another colourful character was a Spanish soldier called Barrientos, a rogue and a thief who was condemned by Pizarro to be whipped and have his ears cut off. Disfigured, he fled southwards to northern Chile, which was then part of the Cuzco empire, where he lived with the natives. Diego de Almagro’s expedition found him, transformed into a bearded native, and used him as an interpreter and intermediary.

Equally interesting was Francisco del Puerto, known as Paquillo, the first white interpreter in the River Plate area, where he arrived in 1515 with the explorer Juan Díaz de Solís. He spent ten years as a prisoner of the natives before being commissioned as a guide and interpreter for Sebastián Caboto. In 1526 he fell out with Gonzalo Núñez de Balboa and, by way of revenge, together with the natives prepared an ambush in which several Spaniards were killed.

Among Portuguese interpreters the most famous figure is the adventurer Gonzalo de Acosta, born in Portugal in 1490. He participated from the beginning in the discovery and conquest of the River Plate area and acted as interpreter for Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and Pedro de Mendoza.

Not a great deal is known about other interpreters in the southern part of the subcontinent during this period, but Arnaud (1950) mentions Antonio Tomás, Enrique Montes, Melchor Ramírez and Jerónimo Romero as interpreters who were active in the regions around what are now Buenos Aires, Montevideo and Asunción.

The colonial period (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries)

Once the various Native American kingdoms had been conquered, one of the main obstacles to evangelization was the diversity of languages in Latin America. Catholic clergymen became aware of the need for a lingua franca which could function as an intermediary between Spanish and the multitude of native languages. By way of solution, missionaries began to propagate the use of ‘general languages’: by 1584 Nahuatl was spoken from Zacatecas to Nicaragua; by the end of the sixteenth century Quechua spread from Peru down to northwest Argentina and from southern Colombia across to Ecuador and the Upper Amazon; Chibcha (or Muysca) was employed throughout the Colombian plateau; and Guaraní could be heard in Paraguay, the River Plate estuary and a large part of Brazil. Paradoxically, under the Spaniards Nahuatl and Quechua covered a greater expanse of territory than they had at the peak of their own respective empires.

However, leaving aside the necessities of daily communication, it must be pointed out that right up to the end of the colonial period the native languages were neglected by the Spanish authorities, an attitude which resulted in the loss of texts and translations of immense value, not to mention linguistic studies carried out by (among others) Jesuit, Franciscan and Hieronymite missionaries. In fact, since it was inconceivable that the sacraments of the Catholic Church be administered without a minimum of understanding of the basic articles of faith on the part of the convert, and since it was equally unacceptable that confession (for example) be undertaken through interpreters, priests dedicated themselves to a deep study of the local languages and even wrote grammars and dictionaries as well as translating several religious texts, such as breviaries, missals, devotional material, chants and hymns. These documents later fell into disuse, adding to the long list of scholarly works on the Native American languages that were produced during this period and then lost to posterity.
**Interpreters and translators**

In the course of colonization interpreters acquired an increasingly specific role and status within the emerging Latin American society. According to the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Book II, Section XXIX; discussed in Gargatagli 1992), between 1529 and 1630 there were fifteen decrees relating to interpreters, signed by Carlos V, Philip II and Philip III. The first of these, in 1529, classified interpreters as assistants of governors and judges, and prohibited them from requesting or receiving jewellery, clothes or food from the natives. A 1537 law authorized natives to be accompanied by ‘a Christian acquaintance’ for the purpose of verifying the accuracy of interpretations. Professional status was achieved through the 1563 laws which fixed a salary according to the number of questions interpreted, determined working days and hours, and established how many interpreters should be allocated to each court. In addition, interpreters’ obligations were specified in the form of an oath they had to take: ‘to interpret clearly and openly, without omission or addition, without bias’ (*Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*; in Gargatagli 1992). Failure to fulfill such obligations meant that an interpreter could be accused of perjury and fined.

Similarly, Cobarruvias’s *Primer Diccionario de la Lengua* (1611) offers a fairly detailed – if somewhat idealistic – definition of the interpreter, expecting not only accuracy but also ‘Christianity and goodness’.

**Translations**

According to Leal (1979: 19), in the colonial period ‘people read everything they could lay their hands on’. Given this appetite for reading, it was not likely that the circulation of books would be greatly affected by censorship or the activities of the Inquisition. A royal decree in 1531 forbade the exportation to the American continent of fictional works and of any text that impinged on the monarch’s prerogatives or that was on the Inquisition’s blacklist. The Crown was particularly keen to ban books that dealt with the New World, and most especially those written by foreigners. Among the most persecuted were the six volumes of the *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* by Guillaume Raynal, published in Amsterdam in 1770. But despite censorship this book appeared in thirty-eight editions before 1830 and circulated from Mexico to the River Plate, both in the French original and in the 1784 Spanish adaptation by Almodóvar del Río.

Such translations, together with the relatively free circulation of all types of books, contributed to the establishment of Spanish as the lingua franca in Latin America. However, books tended to lead rather ephemeral lives in colonial America. There were several factors that worked against the production and publication (and therefore the translation) of literary works, such as the wars of independence, the exodus of entire families (both Spanish and native) and the destruction of libraries, convents and public buildings. Indeed, it should come as no surprise that books were difficult to preserve in the colonial period in the New World since relatively few documents survived this epoch in Spain itself.

The disappearance of so many valuable texts appears at first sight to be a paradox, given that printing presses were installed early on in Mexico (1535) and Lima (1583), and that universities were soon founded in Santo Domingo (1538), Mexico (1553), Lima (1555), Bogotá (1580) and Quito (1586). But the determination of the authorities to control the written word at times reached fever pitch, as when the First Council of Mexico ordered the confiscation of all books of sermons in native languages on the grounds that they contained translation errors, or when grammars and dictionaries were included in the lists of prohibited texts.

At the southern tip of the continent the Jesuits carried out intense intellectual activity in which translation always played a pre-eminent role. Two works, P. Nieremberg’s *Diferencia entre lo temporal y lo eterno* and P. Rivadeneira’s *Flos Sanctorum*, were translated into Guarani and printed in Paraguay. But when the Jesuits were expelled, nothing remained of the printing presses nor of the works themselves.

Many other valuable translations were made of European works, but perhaps even more important were the translations of texts from the disappearing Native American cultures. For example, Juan Badiano from Xochimilco...
translated into Latin a book of native herbal medicines, *Libellus de medicinalibus indorum herbis*, which had been written in Nahuatl by a native called Martín de la Cruz in 1552. Around 1530 Fra Bernardino de Sahagún produced, in Nahuatl and Spanish, the *Libros de los Coloquios* or *Pláticas*, which dealt with a series of religious discussions between Franciscan monks and Aztec sages. The same author led a team that wrote, in Nahuatl, the *Historia de las Cosas de Nueva España*, which was based on the accounts of the old people in Tlatelolco and which Sahagún himself then translated into Spanish—a work that took a total of forty years to complete and ran into twelve volumes. A similar translation by Fra Diego de Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra Firme*, was literally carried out from the Ramírez Codex. Such translations provide Americanists with material as valuable as the Rosetta stone because they facilitate the reconstruction of an almost completely obliterated past.

There are no records of any translations carried out between Native American languages during this period.

**Independence and after (1800–1950)**

The nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries were a prodigious period for intellectual activity throughout Latin America. At first, having shaken off the shackles of the Spanish colonists, nineteenth-century writers and artists were searching for a new identity and tended to look to (non-Hispanic) Europe and North America for models to imitate. The political and intellectual leaders of the emerging nations on the subcontinent generally had the opportunity to travel abroad in their formative years and were accustomed to sharing their ideas with their counterparts from other cultures and languages. Given this context of cultural interchange, it is not surprising that translation was virtually a necessity in post-independence Latin American society, a fact borne out by the volume of translations and the status acquired by some translators.

With some notable exceptions, translations during this period reflect more the genius of the original writer than the creativity of the translator; in other words they tended to adhere closely to the source text. The predominant themes of the translated texts are related to politics, education, the theatre and literary matters, though religious and military topics also feature to some extent. Translation activity was greatly stimulated by the establishment of newspapers, literary journals, publishing houses and universities. French was the most commonly translated language at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with English gaining in importance later on. Italian and German also received attention, but fewer translations were carried out from Latin and Greek texts.

While the above-mentioned characteristics are to some extent shared by all the countries in the region, the true flavour of the period can only be fully appreciated by looking at some specific cases in more detail.

(a) *In Argentina*, various literary and drama societies, such as the *Sociedad del Buen Gusto del Teatro* (founded in 1817), translated and performed European works. Two of the republic's presidents took measures which had a direct impact on translation activity: in the early part of the nineteenth century Moreno ordered schools to teach an expurgated version of Rousseau's *Social Contract* (with the religious point of view eliminated); and later on Sarmiento imported North American teacher trainers, along with a package of didactic materials. As in other countries on the subcontinent, the rejection of everything Spanish led to increased interest in other cultures, which in turn stimulated translation. In addition, the waves of immigrants arriving on Argentine shores tended to promote cultural interchange and, consequently, translation activities. The major figures in translation in Argentina during this period include Bartolomé Mitre, Leopoldo Lugones, Manuel Galves, Ricardo Rojas and Jorge Luis Borges. Mitre and Borges are also important for their theoretical reflections on translation.

(b) *In Chile*, the history of translation goes hand in hand with that of publishing. The first newspaper to be founded in the country, *La Aurora de Chile* (1812), disseminated the ideas of Rousseau and other foreign
Latin American tradition

philosophers. Government action, such as the creation of the University of Chile in 1842, was also crucial in the promotion of translation. It was quite common that texts destined for pedagogical use would be adapted to the Chilean context rather than translated literally. In the first half of this period French was the source language of the vast majority of texts translated, partly because of the enormous influence of authors like Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and Abbot Raynal on the processes of emancipation and formation of the new nation. The principal figures in the field of translation in Chile include Valentín Letelier and Jorge Lagarrigue, as well as Andrés Bello who, though Venezuelan, carried out most of his intellectual activity in Chile. Bello is regarded as one of the most prominent figures of Latin American jurisprudence, education and literature. He is best remembered as the author of the Gramática de la lengua castellana (1847) and of poems such as Silvas americanas and poetical imitations such as Victor Hugo’s La prière pour tous. His translations in general (of Berni, Byron, Locke, Voltaire, Boyardo and Dumas, among others) are outstanding. Bello did not believe in translating in a servile manner; he wanted poetry to live in Spanish and in a Latin American tropical environment. He therefore imitated numerous poems of Victor Hugo, among others, taking great liberties in the process. Special mention should also be made of Pablo Neruda for his translation of literary works, including his excellent version of Romeo and Juliet.

(c) In Cuba, this epoch really starts at the end of the eighteenth century with the creation of the Papel Periódico de La Habana, in which a translation of Pope appeared. This was followed by a string of translations of the leading works of the contemporary philosophical and literary schools, translations which soon began to acquire a special Cuban flavour. The list of distinguished Cuban translators is headed by José María Heredia y Heredia, who was born in Mexico in 1803 and who translated Sir Walter Scott, Thomas Moore, Marie André Chenier, Vittorio Alfieri, Jean François Ducis, Voltaire, Roch and Tytler, always enhancing the original text with his own creativity. In a similar vein, Gertrudis Gomez De Avellaneda (1814–73) translated the works of Victor Hugo, Lord Byron, Lamartine and Augusto de Lima into Spanish. Other notable female translators in nineteenth-century Cuba include Aurelia Castillo De Gonzalez and Mercedes Matamoros, whose translations included Byron, Chenier, Moore, Goethe and Schiller. In the fields of education and science, the major figures were the brothers Antonio and Eusebio Guiteras Font, Esteban Borrero Echevarria and José Del Perojo (who was the first to translate Kant and Fischer directly from German to Spanish). Finally, that major figure in universal letters, José Martí (1853–95), was also a noteworthy translator.

(d) In Venezuela, the same patterns can be detected: the predominance of literary translation, the importance of philosophical texts related to the emancipation process, the connection between translation and the pedagogical task of the emerging universities, and the creative freedom of the translator. The best representative of all these traits was undoubtedly the writer, educator and diplomat, Andrés Bello, mentioned above. The poet Juan Antonio Perez Bonalde (1846–92) was responsible for popularizing Heine and Poe in Latin America; his Spanish translation of Heine’s Das Buch der Lieder has yet to be surpassed. Finally, Lisandro Alvarado (1858–1929) translated the chronicles of Nicholas Federman and – most importantly – Alexander von Humboldt’s Viaje a las regiones equinocciales del Nuevo Continente.

The present day

Latin America constitutes a large, expanding market for the translator. Apart from the growing number of publishing houses for literary and other kinds of works, future demand for translations is guaranteed by the volume of commercial, industrial and technological exchange required by a community of fifteen countries and almost 400 million people.
In various countries there exists the figure of the public translator, appointed or authorized by the state for legal acts. Beyond this, however, the profession lacks official status throughout the subcontinent, a situation which has given rise to an intense struggle for recognition by Latin American translators and interpreters. This struggle has borne fruit in the creation of associations in practically all the countries of the region. Unfortunately these associations wield little power; indeed, there is a tendency towards proliferation rather than unity. For example, in Venezuela there are four different associations.

Training and research

Although it has been suggested that a translation school existed in Mexico as early as the sixteenth century, the first university programme aimed at forming translators was created in Argentina in 1945. This was followed by similar programmes in Uruguay (1954), Mexico (1966) and Cuba (1968). Then in the 1970s the first translation centres within university faculties in Latin America were founded: the Department of Translation at the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile in 1971, and the School of Modern Languages at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in 1974. Since then, several universities on the subcontinent have set up translation schools or departments, most of them offering degrees in translation (but rarely interpreting) after four or five years of study. On these degree courses English is the language with the greatest demand, followed by French and German, with Italian and Russian some distance behind. Portuguese is also now coming into its own in the Spanish-speaking parts of the subcontinent.

Although not specifically dedicated to training, the Servicio Iberoamericano de Información en Traducción (SIIT), created by UNESCO in 1986, deserves special mention for its efforts in the collection and dissemination of information related to translation throughout the subcontinent. Another significant development has been the increase, since the 1980s, in the number of national and international events (congresses, symposia and courses) dealing with translation and terminology.

Compared with other parts of the world, Latin America’s contribution to the field of translation studies has been rather modest. However, the region is not without its theorists: it is quite common, for example, to find a theoretical justification for the approach adopted to a particular work in the prologue to its translation. More often than not, such contributions have gone unnoticed, but Santoyo (1987) does acknowledge some of these efforts. The most widely recognized Latin American theorists are Miguel Teurbe Tolon from Cuba (1820–70), who was probably the first to write a didactic work on translation – The Elementary Spanish Reader and Translator (New York, 1852); Andrés Bello from Venezuela; Octavio Paz, Alfonso Reyes and Francisco Ayala from Mexico; Miguel Antonio Caro from Colombia; and Bartolomé Mitre and Jorge Luis Borges from Argentina. Borges was not only a prolific translator; he also wrote several articles on the translation process (see Gargatagli and Guix 1992). At the risk of over-generalizing, all these writers seem to emphasize mainly the creative freedom of the translator, particularly with reference to literary translations.

There are now quite a few journals dedicated wholly or partly to translation matters in Latin America. These publications are usually produced by the universities, as is the case of Taller de Letras (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile), Núcleo (Universidad Central de Venezuela), Puente (Universidad Femenina del Sagrado Corazón in Lima), Cuadernos (Universidad de Puerto Rico) and SIIT’s Boletín informativo in Mexico. The SIIT distributes Informaciones SIIT three times a year. In addition, Latin American specialists are now contributing more regularly to international publications, for example to the journal Meta (see especially Volume 35(3), 1990: Translation in the Spanish and Portuguese world). Most translators’ associations also issue regular bulletins.

Further reading


Translated from Spanish by Mark Gregson

GEORGES L. BASTIN
Persian tradition

The Persian language spoken today in Iran, Afghanistan and parts of Central Asia is a member of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European family of languages, and a direct descendant of Old and Middle Persian. For over a millennium this language has been the primary means of daily discourse as well as the language of science, art and literature on the Iranian plateau. Before colonial rule, it was also the language of statecraft, jurisprudence and culture in the Indian subcontinent. At different times in the past it has been the language of literature in parts of the Caucasus and at the Ottoman courts. Today, all Iranians and Tajiks, and a majority of Afghans, use it. In the wake of the Iranian revolution of 1979, the civil war in Afghanistan, the collapse of the Soviet empire, and more recently the war in Afghanistan led by the USA and Britain following the September 2001 attacks on the Twin Towers, Persian is also emerging as the language of a large – and growing – diaspora community.

Translation into Persian has a long and eventful history; it has played an important part in the evolution of Iranian and Iranate civilizations throughout Western Asia and beyond. Information on translation activity before the advent of Islam in the seventh century is scant. In medieval Persia, the interaction between Arabic and Persian was the principal and determining feature of the activity. Following the Mongol and Tartar invasions of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, new patterns of interaction emerged between Persian on the one hand and a number of Indian and Turkic languages on the other, making this history even more complex and multifarious. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, translation from European languages has been an integral part of various modernization projects, both in Iran and in the Persian-speaking areas outside it.

Ancient Persian Empire

To the best of our knowledge, Old Persian was brought into the Iranian plateau in the second millennium BC by wave after wave of invading tribes from the Eurasian steppes. In time, it became the language of the Achamenians (559–330 BC), a dynasty of kings who established the largest, most powerful empire in the ancient world. However, Old Persian remained essentially the language of Persis, the south central region of present-day Iran, now known as Fars. Its literature is thought to have been transmitted orally, as we have no written records. We do have the Avesta, a religious book in what the scholars have termed Avestan, a language closely related to Old Persian. Even though it was committed to writing in the fourth century AD, Avesta contains some Zoroastrian hymns thought to be in older Iranian languages.

In time, Old Persian gave way to other languages, including Parthian and Median. However, Avestan remained the main language of Zoroastrian religion and culture throughout the centuries that separate the Achamenians from the Sasanians. The Achamenian empire was multilingual, and many of its documents were written not only in the various languages of the empire, but in Babylonian and Elamite as well. Still, our information about specific translation activities among these languages is too sketchy to allow any in-depth discussion of trends and patterns.

With the establishment of the Sasanian dynasty in Persia (AD 224–652) and the rise of Middle Persian, also known as Pahlavi, we begin to gain sufficient information about intercul-
tural exchange to afford substantive discussions. We have Middle Persian translations of parts of Avesta, albeit in literal renditions which at times make the meaning unclear. Towards the end of the Sasanian period, the number of such translations increased considerably, perhaps as a way of combating the rise of heretic tendencies within Zoroastrianism. Many surviving translations from Avestan into Middle Persian are religious in nature and contain a heavy dose of Semitic heterograms. Some contain translations from Avesta and other books, either in an Avestan alphabet known to us as Pazand, or in the Arabic script adopted in later centuries.

We also know that the Sasanian kings encouraged translations from Greek and Latin. Much historical knowledge, lost to the Persians as a result of the chaos that followed Alexander’s conquest in 330 BC, was regained in this way. The Sasanian monarch Shapur I commissioned many translations from Greek and Indian works to be incorporated into collections of religious texts, and Shapur II laid claim to parts of the Roman empire on the basis of descriptions provided by Greek historians.

More importantly, the wide currency of Greek philosophy and sciences in Iran just before the advent of Islam may be attributed principally to translations which have now been largely lost. Early in the sixth century AD, King Khosrow the First, known as Anushirvan (the immortal soul), decreed the establishment of a clinic and medical school in the town of Gondishapur. There, Greek and Syrian philosophers and physicians worked side by side with their Iranian colleagues. The king also commissioned a translation into Pahlavi of The Panchatantra, an Indian collection of stories which provided the basis for numerous works in the Persian literature of the Islamic era.

Subsequently, this work formed the basis of many narratives in medieval Europe as well, possibly through later translations or abridged versions in Syriac. Arabic encyclopaedias and chronicles list the names of several significant sources of historical information on the Sasanians and incorporate the information they contained. According to these, early in the seventh century AD many famous Indian literary works had also been translated into Middle Persian. In addition to the above-mentioned Panchatantra, which was later modified and expanded into Kalileh va Demneh, these included two of the Sinbad books, among many other tales.

**Medieval Persia**

In the second half of the seventh century, Islam began to spread over the Iranian plateau gradually but steadily. This marks a unique turning point in the life of the Iranians, not only religiously, but culturally and linguistically as well. The Persian language constitutes the most concrete link between Islamic and pre-Islamic Iranian cultures. It is true that the abandoning of the Pahlavi script – in favour of the Arabic script – resulted in significant linguistic changes. Still, the new script was far simpler and more advanced. In addition, where the Arabic script lacked essentially Persian consonants these were added to it. In short, the adoption of the Arabic script for Persian did not give rise to ruptures as significant as certain modernist reformers have assumed it did.

In the two centuries that followed, a succession of cultured Persians spearheaded a translation effort aimed at preserving pre-Islamic Iranian texts. They translated the most significant Middle Persian documents – literary, religious or otherwise – into Arabic, hoping to preserve the old content in the only garb likely to survive. Rozveh or Ruzbeh, better known by his Muslim name ‘Abdollāh Ebn-Al-Moqaffa’ (executed about 759), translated the Panchatantra and Khotay-namak (a collection of mythical legends of Persian kings and heroes) into Arabic. In all likelihood, he is also responsible for the translation into Arabic of accounts of the sixth-century reformist prophet Mazdak, and that of his followers.

Such texts, later translated from Arabic back into New Persian, formed the basis for much of our information about pre-Islamic Iranian culture, particularly its textual tradition. Among the extant Persian texts, the eleventh-century Siāsat-Nāmeh (Book on Statecraft), and the twelfth-century Fars-Nāmeh (Book about Fars), give a clear impression of being renditions of earlier works in Persian or Arabic. Those earliest texts, now largely lost, were themselves probably translations from Middle Persian. Thus throughout the eighth and ninth centuries, which was the period of Arab domination over
cultural and political life on the Iranian plateau, translation activities were motivated by the desire to preserve an ancient civilization; these activities may be credited for what insights we have gained into pre-Islamic Iranian culture.

Persian, spoken throughout the Iranian plateau for over a millennium, has undergone few changes, remaining essentially at the same stage of morphological evolution. The proximity of neighbouring languages which belong to different linguistic families (the stronger influence of Arabic on Western Iran, and Uzbek and other Turkic languages on Eastern Iran), the push and pull of nationalism, and the fifty-year experiment with the Cyrillic alphabet in Soviet Tajikistan (1940–90), have had little effect on the structural ties among its varieties. Semantically, of course, its different varieties reflect complicated processes of linguistic absorption and appropriation. However, none has been substantial enough to create a new language.

Any discussion of the translation tradition in this language must begin with the very complex and multifaceted relationship between Arabic and Persian in the eighth and ninth centuries. It must take note of two parallel trends. The first, already mentioned, consisted of a series of translations made from extant texts into Arabic, later translated back into Persian. The second activity, undertaken by Persian converts to Islam, took the shape primarily of commentaries on the holy Qur'ān. As the word of God, the Qur'ān was considered untranslatable. Persian-speaking Muslims therefore produced important texts to propagate God's message to believers who did not understand Arabic. While technically conceived as commentaries, such texts nonetheless contained much word-for-word translation. Muslim commentators by and large kept the sentence structure and syntax of Qur'ānic verses intact, supplementing them with extensive commentaries. More often than not, such translations produced an effect of estrangement in Persian readers, signalling the alien character of the language in which God had revealed his message.

In addition to the first examples of a budding poetic tradition, the earliest extant documents in Persian include a number of translations. Among these we can count, interestingly, two important documents in scripts other than the modified Arabic script used for writing Persian: a commentary on Ezechiel in the Hebrew script and a translation of the Psalms in the Syrian script. Besides these, the most significant early examples of non-religious translation into Persian were translations of Arabic works. For instance, the influential Hodud al-ʿĀlam (Frontiers of the World), an extremely important early Persian book of unknown authorship, is a translation of parts of Tabari's History. As philological documents, such works set the standard of admissibility of Arabic lexicon into Persian. As translations, they provided a model of prose writing in Persian which remained operative for many centuries.

In the tenth through twelfth centuries, translation into Persian gathered tremendous momentum, making available to Persian readers an impressive array of knowledge in fields as diverse as medicine, astronomy, geography, history and philosophy. The climate of religious tolerance and intellectual debate established in Baghdad by some Abbasid caliphs provided a model for local rulers in different parts of Iran, particularly in the northeastern regions of Khorāsān and Transoxiana. Under courtly patronage, works originating in Greek and Latin, Syriac and Aramaic, even Chinese and Sanskrit, began to appear in Persian, often through previous translations in Arabic.

In all these activities, the approach to translation was essentially utilitarian and pragmatic in nature. Translators thought it necessary, important or useful to translate certain works, and they did so efficiently and without much pretension. Typically, texts were subjected to a variety of changes; they were simplified, annotated, abridged, illustrated with pictures and diagrams, amended through sequels, or otherwise altered to suit the specific needs of the patron and the new readership. Translators of secular texts gave more priority to the grammatical features of Persian than had the translators of the Qur'ān and other Islamic texts. As a result, two rather dichotomous approaches to translation gained currency, one considered appropriate to religious and philosophic discourse, the other, freer approach, thought suitable for scientific translation.

Examples of the latter approach are too many to enumerate, but two are worth mentioning here. In the 1080s Mohammad b. Mansur of
Gorgān, known as Zarrindast, composed a Persian manual of ophthalmology entitled Nur al-‘Oyun (Light of Eyes), on the basis of the Arabic work Tazkerat al-Kahhālīn (Advice to Oculists) by a scientist known to us as ‘Ali b. ‘Isā. In order to make it more useful to his local readers, the Persian translator recast the Arabic work in the form of question and answer. He also added much information that came from his own practice in the field of ophthalmic operations. Similarly, when the twelfth-century scholar Abu-Nasr Ahmad al-Qobavi was turning al-Narshakhi’s tenth-century History of Bukhara into Persian, he updated the work with a sequel. Both works have subsequently been lost; only an extract from the latter, incorporated into another work some years after the author’s death, survives.

This approach to translation made a great deal of scientific knowledge available to medieval Persia. Perhaps the best example is Dāneshnāmeh-ye ‘Alā’ī, an encyclopaedic work begun by the famous physician Avicenna and completed by his student Juzjani. It is a compendium of disciplines, more heavily tilted towards the sciences than towards literature and the arts. In a more or less systematic way, it addresses every imaginable sphere of human activity, from astronomy and its various offshoots to philosophy, theology, ethics and mysticism, as well as information about the properties of human and animal bodies, plants and minerals, poisons and antidotes, and numerous divinations and curiosities. Historically, Dāneshnāmeh-ye ‘Alā’ī is the first of many encyclopaedic Persian works which attempt to synthesize existing knowledge, both speculative and utilitarian. Without a translation tradition free from the constraints of attribution and propriety, such works might not have been possible.

As elsewhere in the Muslim world, in medieval Persia Arabic was the lingua franca. Almost all Persian writers and scholars were bilingual; and an extraordinary number of scientists and philosophers continued to write entirely or primarily in Arabic. In addition to the historian Tabari and physician and philosopher Avicenna, three of the greatest Islamic theologians – the Shi’ite Mohammad Tusi (d. 1076), the Sunni reformist Mohammad al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), and the Mo’tazelite Zamakhshari (d. 1144) – who was also a great grammarian and lexicographer – can be counted among these, as can the jurist and philosopher Fakhr al-Din Rāzi (d. 1209). These men sometimes prepared Persian versions of the works they had written originally in Arabic, or supervised their students in such tasks. This is one reason why the border between translation and original work, as envisaged in that culture, appears blurred to us.

This fluidity enabled medieval Persian scientists and philosophers to be original authors and translators at the same time. The absence of proprietary concerns in medieval times further undermines modern-day efforts to distinguish writing from translation. Acts of borrowing, adaptation and appropriation were undertaken in ways that transcend modern classifications. The corpus of philosophical and scientific works in Persian is replete with bilingual texts or hybrids, as well as those in which text and commentary are in two different languages. There are also numerous texts of an indeterminate character; these may or may not be considered original works with later commentaries or annotated translations. Within the terms of medieval Persia, such works must be assumed to have originated in Arabic unless proven otherwise. They would subsequently be translated from Persian into Turkish, Urdu or Hindi.

Perhaps a trend could be mentioned here: before the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, Persian was primarily the language of literature and Arabic mainly the language of scientific inquiry in Western Asia. Medieval Persians, generally writing in Arabic, may be regarded as the custodians and successors of three pre-Islamic traditions in scientific writing: ancient Iranian, Hellenistic Greek and Indian. They frequently translated scientific works from Arabic, adding their own observations to them. Thus Nasir al-Din Tusi (d. 1274) translated the Greek basic manuals of mathematics and geometry, including Euclid’s Elements and Theodosius’s Spherica into Arabic, and the astrological judgements of Ptolemy from Arabic into Persian. In each case, he added his own comments to his translations. He also wrote Persian treatises on arithmetic based on Indian works unknown to us.

This makes a second trend visible: in medieval times, Persian was the second most important language of the Muslim world, a position which it has preserved ever since. It
is the main language through which Islamic sciences have made their way to Eastern Muslim lands, particularly in the period that followed the Mongol invasion. At that time, many scientific works began to be written originally in Persian and were later translated into Arabic. We can list in this category the astronomical works based on direct observation and recorded on orders from Hulâgu in thirteenth-century Azerbaijan, or under the tutelage of Ologh-bayg, the scholarly ruler of Samarkand in the fifteenth century. The importance of this trend in the evolution of translation activity on the Indian subcontinent cannot be overemphasized.

The post-Mongol era

By the thirteenth century, Persian was becoming well established in India as the language of religious, literary and legal learning and communication. A number of important translations began to be made from Sanskrit and other Indian languages into Persian (see Indian tradition). Centuries of British colonial rule in India and the ascendancy of Modernism and nationalist ideologies in Iran and elsewhere in the Persian-speaking world have obscured the importance of these works. Still, some of the more important translations of this kind are known to us. They include 'Abdol-' Aziz Nuri-Dehlavi's fourteenth-century translation of an astronomical work by Varahra Mehera (d. 587), a 1587 translation of Lilavati (a treatise on arithmetic and geometry by the twelfth-century Indian scientist Bhaskara), and a treatise on algebra, entitled Vija-Ganita, which was translated in 1634. Scores of less important translations may also be mentioned, the best known being Najm al-Din Kakuravi's Resaleh dar Jabr va Moqâbeleh (Treatise on Algebra and Reciprocity, 1814).

An Indian hub of translation activity can be found at the court of Emperor Akbar the Great in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In 1582, Akbar's minister Todar Mal issued a decree making Persian the official government language of the Moghul empire. As a result, Persian came to dominate the Indian subcontinent all the way to Bengal, and a great variety of works of Sanskrit literature were translated into it. Chief among these were Abdal Qâder Bad'uni's translations of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana in the 1590s. In time, several significant translations were also made from English, making Persian the gateway to European sciences as well.

For a number of reasons, Persian cultural centres outside Iran became even more important between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The officiating of Shi'ism in Iran in the sixteenth century shifted the emphasis in translation back to religious texts, particularly those of the prophetic tradition and the sayings of the Imams, collectively known as Hadith. In particular, Nahj al-Balāgheh, a compilation of aphorisms and wise sayings attributed to 'Ali Ebn Abu-Taleb, cousin and son-in-law to the prophet and the first Imam of the Shi'is, emerged as an embodiment of the ideal of eloquence. The sayings contain a variety of rhetorical devices very difficult to maintain in translation. In the expanding network of Shi'i seminaries at Qom, Isfahan and other urban centres of Iran, translating this and similar Shi'i texts into Persian came to be regarded not only as the summit of literary achievement but as a great service to the community.

In India, the approach to translation was markedly different from that which prevailed in Persia. India was a far more multilingual environment than was Persia, and this fact was reflected in approaches to translation as well. Words trafficked more freely between Persian and other languages, and a degree of tolerance emerged towards mixed usages. This in turn gave rise to a divergence between the Persian of Iran proper and that of India and Central Asia. Furthermore, translations were now made into Persian not so much from Arabic but from Indian and Turkic languages, as well as English and Russian. Eventually, various historical developments contributed to divisions among the speakers of Persian. One principal reason, the rise of Shi'ism in Iran, has already been mentioned. British colonialism in India and Russian incursions into Central Asia were no less important. In 1832, the British initiated the process that resulted in the virtual obliteration of Persian from the Indian subcontinent. Similarly, with the fall of Central Asia to Russia in the latter part of the nineteenth century, almost all translation activity in Persian-speaking Central Asia was transferred to India.
Asia was realigned with Chaghhatay (later Uzbek) and Russian languages.

All this affected translation activities in Persian, seriously undermining the international character of the language. The problem was compounded in modern times by several factors, among them the realignment of Central Asian Persian, renamed Tajiki by the Soviet Union, with Uzbek and Russian languages, as well as the emergence of a language reform movement in Iran which paid no attention to the consequences of its pronouncements and actions for the language as a whole. The result has been a crisis of mutual intelligibility which makes the impressive volume of translations into the modern Persian of Iran of little use outside Iran’s borders. Coupled with the fact that in the last century or so no important translation movement has taken shape in Afghanistan or in Persian-speaking Central Asia, the fate of Persian as an international language can be said to stand at a critical juncture at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The modern period in Iran

A number of developments resulted in a renaissance of translation activity in Iran in the latter part of the nineteenth century. After a century and a half of political instability, the Qajar dynasty (ruled 1795–1925) had returned a semblance of stability to Iranian society early in the century. More or less regular cultural contact with Europe had begun with the dispatch of Iranian students to Europe, adding to the pressing need for inter-governmental contact. Lithograph print had found its way to Persia, bringing in its wake the beginning of the Persian press and a fledgling book industry. All this led to greater familiarity with European languages and a resurgence of translation activity.

The new translation movement was propelled primarily by the perceived need to gain access to European sciences and technology. Anxious to modernize the Iranian army and bureaucracy, the Qajar state followed the dispatching of groups of students to Europe by the establishment of a polytechnic College, modelled after European institutions of higher education. Established in Tehran in 1852 and known as Dār al-Fonūn (House of Techniques), this institution played a crucial part in modernizing Iran. European teachers were hired to teach a variety of subjects, often with Iranians as their assistants and interpreters. They also prepared a number of textbooks in various sciences which were based largely on European scientific works. Thus, translation and interpreting began to play a crucial part in the evolution of pedagogical processes in modern Iran.

Many early Iranian translators of European works were graduates of Dār al-Fonūn. Chief among them was Mohammad-Hasan Khān, better known as E’temād al-Saltaneh, the last title the court bestowed on him. From 1871 to 1896 E’temad al-Saltaneh headed a new government office called Dār al-Tārjomeh (House of Translation), designed to coordinate government-sponsored translation and interpreting activities. The office was charged with supervising all state-sponsored translation activities. Under E’temād al-Saltaneh’s tutelage, many significant European works were made available to Iranians, often from French and frequently in more or less free versions which approached adaptation.

Soon, translation activity was directed towards disciplines such as history, politics and literature and became an integral part of various modernization projects. It was almost always undertaken to make Iranians conscious of their own backwardness, in spite of a glorious past. European orientalists had been studying Persian literature and Iranian history with interest and enthusiasm for over a century, and the Romantics had glorified Persian culture and civilization, particularly of pre-Islamic times. Iranians had to be made aware of these works if they were to strive to regain the glory of their ancient culture.

The new translation movement was at least as significant in terms of its cultural impact as it was of the knowledge it transmitted or generated. Among the mix of works translated into Persian in the last decades of the nineteenth century, one can name Voltaire’s historical narratives on Alexander the Great, Peter the Great, and Charles XII, Molière’s Le Misanthrope and Le Médecin malgré lui, John Malcolm’s History of Persia, as well as works by some of the best-known European authors of the time, including Dumas the Elder, Fénelon, Le Sage, Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Jules Verne and Daniel Defoe.
The availability of such works began to affect all aspects of the Iranian culture, from writing style to the position of women in society.

From the perspective of over a century, late nineteenth-century translations into Persian appear like a curious mix of ideology and fantasy, of fiction and history. However, if we begin to think of the phenomenon in terms of Iran's need for restructuring and reform, we may be in a better position to gauge the part such works have played historically. They made Iranians sorely aware of their backwardness, submitted the culture's assumptions and categories to unprecedented scrutiny, and intensified national desire for alignment with the West. Thus Persian translations of the nineteenth century may be said to have played a unique and significant part in Iran's drive towards modernization.

In terms of aesthetic quality, one work stands out from among all the nineteenth-century translations: Mirzā Habib Esfahānī's translation of James Morier's *The Adventures of Haji Baba of Esfahan*. Written in 1824, Morier's book was bitterly critical of Iranian society and has never been quite accepted by Iranians as the realistic work it is. Esfahānī's 1872 translation from French is unique in many respects. It attempts to indigenize the work through a variety of techniques: colloquialism, the use of a fairly heavy dose of Persian proverbs, and interspersing the work with Persian verse and humour. The strategy was so successful that it soon gave rise to a theory that Morier's work may have been based on a Persian original which was now being offered as a translation. As long as it provided the Iranians with some solace in thinking that the criticism may have been registered by an Iranian, the theory held some sway. More recently, it has been discredited fairly roundly.

By the end of the century, translation had made a considerable portion of European sciences and arts available to Iranians, and literary translation of European works had led to new movements aimed at modernizing Persian literature. Thus, Iran entered the twentieth century with an insatiable appetite for translation brought about by a deep thirst for restructuring its state, society and culture along European lines. Translated accounts of the French revolution played a significant part in driving forth the constitutional movement (1905–11), and the Persian translation of the Belgian constitution of 1831 served as a draft document for the Iranian Constitution ratified in 1906. Throughout the twentieth century and until the present time, various translated texts of European and American origin – from the laws of nature and rules of etiquette to legal codes, political documents and bureaucratic regulations – have performed similar functions in Iran.

In broader terms, translation has been at the base of a great many philosophical and scientific enquiries, cultural speculations, social activities and political agendas in Iran throughout the modern period. It has been the chief means of introducing Iranians to new ideas, schools of thought and literary trends. It has been considered a necessary component of the drive towards modernity, no less so in the Islamic republic than in the monarchical state which preceded it. As a result, it has been pursued with an enthusiasm and determination unparalleled in the history of the Persian language. Today, almost all important works of Western civilization, from Aristotle and Plato to examples of the latest trends in American or French fiction, are available in Persian translation.

At the same time, translation has at times been viewed as an easy road to fame, if not to fortune, particularly in the social sciences and literature. While it has attracted much talent, it has at times had a negative impact on the evolution of the culture. It has certainly thwarted efforts to explore possibilities of political, social or cultural development which do not fit into Western patterns. Be that as it may, the importance of translation as a cultural activity has encouraged almost all notable intellectuals of contemporary Iran to try their hand at it. Rarely have these intellectuals specialized in fields such as literature or the social sciences. Instead, the impulse to translate seems to follow the search for relevance or the perceived need to buttress or justify one's own position, politically, philosophically or aesthetically.

Still, a distinction can be made between earlier translation activities and those prevailing since World War II. In the earlier period, translation was considered the best way to inform Iranians about the West. Typically, translators conceived of translation as a vehicle to speed up Iran's drive towards modernization. Whether literary,
philosophical or historical, they envisioned translation as a vehicle for social or cultural change. In their hands, translation was used primarily as a means of education, and a tool for nation-building and cultural integration. Almost all the major translators of the time – Yusof E’tesām Al-Molk, Mohammad-‘Ali Forouqi, ‘Abbās Eqbāl Ashtiāni, Sa‘id Na’fisī, among many others – were concerned essentially with serving the Iranian culture through introducing European cultural achievements to Iranian readers.

Almost all forums for disseminating ideas – the book industry, literary and political periodicals, as well as the institutions of higher education at a later stage – included translation-related activities as part of their agenda for acculturating and enlightening literate Iranians. To give only one example, Iranian journals – Bahār, Dāneshkadeh, Ermaghān, Vafā, and Ayandeh, among numerous others – relied on translation to inform Iranians about the history, politics and current affairs of European nations, with the express desire to propagate them as models for Iranians to follow. In doing so, they helped to bring about a new writing style, new means and methods of communication, and eventually a new literary tradition.

Following World War II, English gradually replaced French as the main European language taught at Iran’s secondary schools and universities, as well as the principal medium for translation. At the same time, through a translation effort spearheaded by the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party of Iran, Marxist ideas, particularly in their Stalinist interpretations, began to gain currency in Iran. Soon, the Americans, having wrested control of Iran from the British, entered the scene as well. By the 1960s translation activity had entered a new phase as competing political forces advanced their separate agendas, in part through translation.

In 1953, The Institute for Translation and Publication of Books (Bongāh-e Tarjomeh va Nashr-e Ketāb) was founded in Tehran on the initiative of a young Western-educated Iranian scholar named Ehsan Yarshater. Under the auspices of the royal court, the institute spearheaded a translation effort which resulted in several series of books, including the foreign literature series, the children and young adult series, the Iranology series, and the Persian texts series. Although the institute expanded the scope of translation-based publication substantially, its historic significance lies primarily in the standards it established to ensure authenticity, accuracy and editorial supervision. It also provided a model for other similar ventures, most notably the Franklin Institute of Iran, an American publishing enterprise founded in 1954. Such organizations also tried to persuade the Iranian government to become a signatory to the Geneva Copyright Convention, to set copyright requirements for translations, and to set standards for editing translated texts. These efforts were only partially successful, as Iran saw no benefit in joining the international copyright convention.

Meanwhile, translation had remained a central component of the language learning process, particularly at university level. However, the activity was pursued in fairly traditional ways which were not always conducive to training competent, professional translators and interpreters. The main activity consisted of actual translations, with little discussion of the theoretical underpinnings or the principles governing the actual process of text production. Typically, students would offer their own translations, discussions would ensue, and a text would be suggested as the best possible rendition of a given original.

Through the 1970s, efforts were undertaken at Tehran University, the College of Translation and elsewhere, to introduce a new approach to teaching literary translation from English into Persian and vice versa. Teaching was based essentially on examining existing translations and discussing their relative merits and shortcomings. It also aimed to instil a sense of the comparative grammars of the languages and texts involved. Extensive discussions of the style, diction and context of each text replaced the requirement of text production. Important as it is, translation pedagogy has never been studied in Iran as a crucial component of translation activity.

Early in the 1980s, as part of the Islamic Republican State’s efforts to redirect Iran’s educational system towards its ideology, a Committee for Translation, Composition and Editing was established at the Headquarters for the Cultural Revolution. This committee seized the occasion provided by the temporary closure of the country’s system of higher education to
Polish tradition

Polish is a West Slavonic language, closely related to Czech and Slovak, and ultimately traceable to an ancient language known as Proto-Slav. The dialects that gave rise to modern Polish cannot be accurately described, as no written records exist prior to the twelfth century. The earliest extant work written in Polish is the religious hymn *Bogurodzica* (‘the-one-that-gave birth-to-God’), which dates back to the eleventh century. But while most medieval hymns are translations from Latin, no source text has been found for *Bogurodzica*. Interestingly, however, the title of the hymn is itself a translation of the Old Church Slavonic *bogorodica*, which in turn is a translation of the Greek *Theotokos*, meaning ‘God-bearing’. Thus, in a sense *Bogurodzica* may be considered the first recorded translation into Polish.

Christianity made its way to Poland via Bohemia. In the ninth century AD, the Greek missionary St Cyril (Bulgarian tradition) invented the Cyrillic alphabet and, with his brother St Methodius, introduced some Slavic religious vocabulary into the language. St Methodius later translated the Bible into Slavonic. Many Czech and Slavic religious terms were consequently adopted in church services, but Latin remained the official language of the Catholic Church in Poland. During the Middle Ages, it was the only language used in schools, and the only official language of literature. Many authors continued to write in Latin well into the eighteenth century, but a few began to write in Polish during the Renaissance.

In the sixteenth century, Latin was used by both Church and state as an effective means of communication with what had by then become a highly heterogeneous population. Lithuanian and Ruthenian were spoken in rural areas in the eastern and southern parts of the country; German settlements in the west encouraged the predominance of German in this area; and there were large Jewish communities in most cities. Poland had become a multilingual and multicultural state.

A variety of languages were also spoken at the royal court. The court of the Italian-born Queen Bona Sforza (1494–1557) used Italian, a language which was familiar to the Polish social

**Further reading**


AHMAD KARIMI-HAKKAK
elite who had studied in Padua. King Zygmunt III (1566–1632) belonged to the Swedish House of Vasa, and his court consequently spoke German. In the seventeenth century, French established itself as the language of diplomacy and soon became the official language of the francophile court of King John Sobieski (1629–96). The subsequent rise of the Saxon House of Wettin towards the end of the seventeenth century brought to Poland a large number of Saxons, while the election of the last Polish king, Stanislaw-August Poniatowski (1732–95), resulted in a massive influx of Russians: the king was a favourite of Empress Catherine the Great and adopted a policy of complete submission to the Russians. Every group introduced yet another language and culture into Poland. Foreign intervention culminated in the partitioning of Poland by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1795. Poland ceased to exist as a national state and Latin was no longer the official language of this area. The partitioning powers tried to impose their own languages, German and Russian, on the people of Poland. Polish consequently became the language of freedom, a symbol of national identity and integrity. It was to be cherished again as the symbol of resistance almost two centuries later, during the German occupation of 1939–45.

The instability of frontiers and the large-scale forced relocation of the population after World War II resulted in the establishment of an ethnic state, with a few small minorities (German in the west, Lithuanian in the east, and Ukrainian in the south). Today, Polish is practically the only language spoken in the country. In interacting with other members of the international community, the need to rely on translation in the new Polish state is as great now as it ever was in the past.

Languages and texts in translation

The Middle Ages

Little evidence remains of translational and other activities in the early Middle Ages, but the domination of Latin culture is well documented. Although they are not translations as such, the earliest works (historical chronicles written in Latin) show the strong influence of the Old French epic poetry known as ‘chansons de geste’. The first known translations are Psalterz florianański (St Florian’s Psalter), a fourteenth-century collection of psalms translated from Latin, and a number of extracts from the Bible. In the fifteenth century, it was mainly religious hymns that were translated, mostly from Latin, but some translations were also done from Czech and German. By contemporary standards, these translations are extremely free and might therefore be considered adaptations.

There is not much to say about interpreting during this period, but two historical facts are worth mentioning. In 1285, a synod of Polish bishops decreed that all masters appointed to teach in church schools had to know Polish well enough to be able to ‘explicate Latin authors to the boys in the Polish language’ (Stepień and Wilkoń 1983 (I): 8; translated). Less than a century later, in 1363, a meeting was held in Kraków and attended by several monarchs of medieval Europe. The guest of honour was the King of Cyprus, Pierre de Lusignan, who was visiting the courts of Europe in the hope of finding support for a crusade; he clearly needed interpreters to communicate with the kings and dukes who gathered at the Polish royal court.

The Renaissance: fifteenth to sixteenth centuries

The development of the Polish Humanist tradition began in the late fifteenth century, but its real source was the cosmopolitan court of King Zygmunt I (1467–1548) and his Italian Queen, Bona Sforza (1494–1557). The court attracted artists and scientists, many of them Italian, whose interest in the ancient world and contemporary Italy set the stage for the arrival of the Renaissance. Although some young Polish noblemen chose to study at the Protestant universities of Wittenberg, Zurich or Basel, the majority went to Padua and Bologna; they brought back manuscripts by Italian writers which ushered in a new intellectual climate.

Growing interest in antiquity encouraged Polish authors to look to the literature of the ancient world for inspiration. Similarly, the development of Humanist thought led to the revival of works by the great political writers of the classical era. The adaptation of foreign texts for a wider reading public became an estab-
lished feature of that period. In addition to Latin
and Italian, Greek became an important source
language for translation.

Among the earlier attempts at non-literary
translation was a rendering of some letters by
Theophylactus Simokata, undertaken as an
exercise by Nicolaus Copernicus in 1509. But
it was not until the beginning of the following
century that genuinely professional translations
first appeared. Some, like Plutarch’s Treatises,
were anonymous. Others were done by famous
philologists who combined a profound interest
in the relevant languages with scholarly
expertise in the source material. One of the
most prominent translators of the time was
Sebastian Petrycy (1554–1626), a physician,
poet and philosopher, best known as a trans-
lator and commentator of Aristotle. In 1583, he
was appointed lecturer in literary poetics at the
University of Kraków. Petrycy was known as
an author of both medical treatises and lyrics
inspired by Horace. His annotated translations
of Aristotle’s Politics and Economics, dedicated
to King Zygmunt III, were published in Kraków
in 1605 and 1618 respectively. In the intro-
duction to both works, he explained to the
Polish reader his translation strategy of ‘turning
the foreign into our own’ by ‘softening the
hard, silencing the shameful, filling in the gaps’
(translated). Petrycy is considered one of the
earliest theorists of translation in Poland. His
contemporary Szymon Birkowski (1574–1626),
professor of physics and medicine at the famous
Academy of Zamość and a prominent philol-
ogist, translated De collocatione verborum by
Dionysius of Halicarnassus and published what
was probably the earliest bilingual edition of any
text.

While in the Middle Ages texts were
available mainly in the form of manuscripts, the
Renaissance saw the revolutionary development
of printing techniques. Several printing houses
were set up in the 1570s to cater for this new
market. The medieval tradition persisted in the
printing of chronicles of the lives of saints and
martyrs, prayer books and similar texts. But
the development of printing techniques also
aided the circulation of texts which marked the
arrival of a new epoch. In 1535, Marcin Bielski
(c. 1495–1575) published Żywoty filozofów
(The Lives of Philosophers). This was a trans-
lation of a Czech version of Walter Burleus’s De
vitae et moribus philosophorum et poetarum, a
compendium of knowledge about the ancient
world. It was reprinted several times (the last
reprint appeared around the middle of the
sixteenth century) and translated into a number of
the vernacular languages of Poland.

Eager to cater for a growing readership,
Renaissance editors saw an opportunity to
expand the book market by encouraging and
supporting translators, whom they recruited
mainly from the academic community at Kraków.
Several scores of romances were published,
as well as many collections of novellas. The
quality of the translations was often very high,
with many translators demonstrating great skill
and inventiveness. Some books appeared in
several editions; a few were still being reprinted
as late as the eighteenth century. Some titles
could even be bought at country fairs at the
beginning of the twentieth century. Chivalric
romances were quite popular; among the best-
known was Historia o Fortunacie (A History of
Fortunat, 1570), translated anonymously from
German. However, it was the folk-tale type of
romance that survived particularly well. The
earliest recorded representative of this genre
was Żywot Aesopa Frygi (The Life of Aesop of
Frigia), published in 1522 by Biernat of Lublin
(c.1465–c.1529). This was an adaptation of a
Latin translation of a Greek story about a clever
slave who outwitted his master, now set in the
Polish context. The same protagonist appears
in two more adaptations which count among the
finest translation achievements of the time: the
poem Rozmowy, które miał król Salomon mądry z
Marcholtem grubym a sprośnym (Conversations
between King Solomon the Wise and the fat
and lewd Marcholt, 1521) translated by Jan of
Koszyczki (date unknown), and the anonymous
Sowiżrzał krotochwilny i śmieszny (The Witty
and Funny Sowiżrzał, c.1530). The latter was
the first Polish translation of the adventures of
Till Eulenspiegel, a character from folk-tale type
German romances of the Middle Ages.

These three translations illustrate what was
to become the general practice of the time:
that of appropriating original works. The idea
of copyright was entirely alien to Renaissance
authors, who treated the works of foreign
colleagues as common property. This approach
was advocated explicitly by the first Polish
theorist of translation, Łukasz Górnicki (1527–
1603), who translated Baldassarre Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano*. In his version, *Dworzanin polski* (The Polish Courtier, 1566), Górnicki replaced the court of an Italian prince, which is the setting of the original story, with the court of a Polish bishop, and instead of Italian noblemen and noblewomen he introduced local characters. In the introduction to his version, Górnicki asks: ‘Why is it that I differ from grof Balcer Kastilion?’ In answer to this question, he details his reasons for changing such elements of the original cultural setting as he judged alien, offensive or difficult to understand for a Polish reader. This explanation earned him the position of the founding father of what came to be known as the ‘method of Polonized adaptation’, and his plea for the use of free paraphrase was to become the guiding principle for Polish translators over the next two centuries (Ziomek 1973). Indeed, it was fully acknowledged in the Golden Age of the Polish Renaissance. Several works by Mikolaj Rej (1505–69), known as the ‘father of Polish literature’, draw heavily on foreign sources, among them Paligenius, a Lutheran author by the name of Thomas Naogeorg, and the Dutch Humanist and writer Cornelius Crocus. The same principle is adopted in the work of the greatest poet of the Polish Renaissance, Jan Kochanowski (1530–84). Educated at the University of Padua, well travelled, and fully conversant with Latin and Greek, Kochanowski borrowed freely from various foreign sources. His famous *Pieśni* (Songs, published in 1586) consists mostly of adaptations of Horace. His greatest achievement in the field of translation is *Psalterz Dawidów* (David’s Psalter, 1579). This is a poetic adaptation of the *Psalms of David*, but based on various source texts: apart from the Vulgate, Kochanowski used the Hebrew original and, as a source of inspiration, Latin poems by the Scottish humanist George Buchanan.

The first translations of drama appeared around the end of the sixteenth century. Görnicki produced an adaptation of Seneca’s *Troas* in 1589, in 1592 an adaptation of Plautus’s *Trinumus* was shown at the court of a Polish nobleman, and in 1616 Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (1621–92) published his translation of Corneille’s *Le Cid*. As far as poetry is concerned, free verse was first introduced into Polish in 1699 by Krzysztof Niemiryćz, a minor poet, in a translation of La Fontaine’s *Fables*.

The works of Polish authors who wrote in Latin were frequently translated into vernacular languages during this period, though some were not translated into Polish until the twentieth century. Many texts by Polish authors were printed outside Poland, either in the original Latin or in translation. A well-known example is *De optimo senatore*, a political treatise by Wawrzyniec Goślicki which was published in Venice in 1568; it was later translated *in extenso* into English and dedicated to Sir Robert Walpole in 1773 as one of the best books of its kind.

**The Bible**

Renaissance translations of the Bible deserve a separate chapter in the history of translation in Poland. More translations of the Scriptures were produced in this period than in any other, and this flurry of activity coincided with the developing role of translation as a powerful tool for promoting the Polish language.

The earliest Bible translation, printed in Prague and Vilnius (1517–25), was an old-Belorussian version produced by Franciszek Skoryna, a medical doctor at the University of Kraków. Fiercely attacked by both Orthodox and Protestant churches on account of his translation, Skoryna had to appeal to the king for protection. His translation marks the beginning of a long debate on how the Bible should be translated. At that time, the debate revolved around two main issues. The first was directly connected with the development, brief as it was, of the Polish Reformation. Making the Bible available in the vernacular was seen as a direct contribution to disseminating the ideas of the Reformation, and was therefore vehemently opposed by defendants of the Catholic Church. The second issue concerned an argument which is of central importance in most translation theories, namely the opposition between word and sense, the supremacy of the literal over the literary, or vice versa. As in other Christian countries, early translators of the Bible adhered to the former strategy, often at the cost of readability.

At least six complete translations of the Bible were made at the time: the Catholic version by Jan Leopolita (1561), the Calvinist Bible (1563),
the Antitrinitarian Bible translated by Szymon Budny (1572), the Orthodox Bible which was translated into Old Church Slavonic (1589), the new Catholic Bible by the Jesuit Jakub Wujek (1593), and the Protestant Bible known as The Bible of Gdańsk, translated by Daniel Mikołajewski (1632). Though based essentially on the Vulgate, most later translations made some reference to the Greek and Hebrew originals (Frankowski 1975).

Controversies over the translation of the Bible gave rise to the earliest Polish form of translation studies as criticism directed at the representatives of rival denominations gradually developed into theoretical treatises.

The Enlightenment: seventeenth to eighteenth centuries

In the seventeenth century, the work of Piotr Kochanowski (1566–1620) deserves special mention. Kochanowski adapted for the Polish reader two masterpieces of Italian post-Renaissance literature: Tasso’s Jerusalem Delivered and Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso. The former became extremely popular; it was first printed in Kraków in 1618, and the last reprint appeared in 1968.

In diplomacy, contact with the West was easy to maintain, at least for the social elite versed in Latin, French, Italian or German. By contrast, interpreting services were required to maintain communication with the East. In transactions involving Russians and Tartars, for instance, each party used their own native tongue, and formal documents were issued in the two languages. The languages adopted in dealing with the Turks depended on the expertise of those interpreters who happened to be available at the time (often Polish ex-captives). The first qualified interpreter on record was probably the secretary of King Zygmunt-August II (1520–72); he was given a royal grant to study in Istanbul.

Whereas in the seventeenth century translating was considered almost the duty of a writer (cf. Balcerzan 1977: 444), with the dynamic development of Polish literature during the Enlightenment translations into Polish came to be seen mostly as sources of inspiration for original works. Apart from the authors of the ancient world, who remained very popular, it was representatives of French classicism who occupied a prominent position on translation lists. The main principles established during the Renaissance underlay the poetics of translation in the eighteenth century: free adaptations existed as texts in their own right, totally independent of the originals. The ‘beautification’ of original works was considered a merit, drastic changes to the basic genre of the original (as in translating poetry into prose) were made as a matter of course, and indirect translation, that is translation based on other translations, was the norm. The eminent Polish translator of the time, Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski (1762–1808), translated the poems of Edward Young from French versions, and the first Polish staging of Hamlet was based on a translation of a German version. James Macpherson’s works of Ossian were first translated from French in 1792 by the greatest Polish poet of the time, Ignacy Krasicki (1735–1801). In the case of the classics, however, no mediation was needed: Dmochowski used the originals for his translations of Homer and Horace, as did Krasicki for his renderings of Plutarch and Hesiod. Dmochowski’s chief achievement was an adaptation of Nicolas Boileau’s L’ Art poétique (1788), one of the most important theoretical works of the time.

The general disregard for the integrity of an original work is best seen in drama. Early Polish playwrights borrowed original plots and used them as a kind of basic canvas on which local pictures could be painted. The first attempt at imposing some restraint on this common practice came from a scientist and publicist, Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826), who suggested organizing translation contests for quality assessment. Staszic himself was mainly interested in the translation of scholarly treatises, but his activities influenced translation in general and signalled the end of the epoch of ‘les belles infidèles’.

The novel, a genre which established itself in Poland in the early nineteenth century, was greatly influenced by earlier developments in European literature. One of the most influential works in this field was Rousseau’s La Nouvelle Héloïse, some extracts of which appeared in a very good, annotated but anonymous translation in 1823. Tomasz Kajetan Wegierski (1756–84) translated Voltaire’s Zadig (published in 1811) and Montesquieu’s Lettres persanes. Unlike the sentimental novel, the gothic novel did not find many followers in Poland. The best
of the few representatives of the genre is at the same time an example of an unusual translation activity: Jan Potocki (1761–1815), a Polish soldier, writer and traveller, wrote his *Manuscrit trouvé à Saragosse* in French; it was published in St Petersburg in 1804 and then translated into Polish by a Polish émigré in 1847. The twentieth century provides a similar example: the literary output of the great Joseph Conrad (1857–1924), a Pole who wrote in English, had to be translated into Polish. Another unusual case is the translation of Jan Kochanowski’s Polish poems into Latin, published by one of the Polish bilingual poets of the Enlightenment, Franciszek Dionizy Kniażnin, in a collection of poems by the title *Carmina* (1781).

The earliest translations from English were made during this period by Jan Ursyn Niemce-wicz (1757–1841), a prominent poet who spent part of his life in the United States and translated Gray and Byron. At roughly the same time, the first English translations of Polish poetry began to appear: Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595–1640), known in Europe as Casimire, was discovered by the English metaphysical poets; his poems appear in numerous anthologies.

**The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries**

During the first half of the nineteenth century the work of the translator did not in general merit much respect; this was a consequence of both the unorthodox principles which seemed to guide translation activities at the time and the sloppiness of mass production. The influx of badly translated, second-rate French novels which characterized that period is only comparable to the present-day influx of cheap British and American love stories. In this context, some of the best Polish poets and writers who also worked as translators found it extremely difficult to explain to their contemporaries that translation was as much of an art as original literature.

The Romantic opposition against classicism meant a change of genres and languages chosen for translation. One of the most original poets and at the same time best translators of the time, Cyprian Kamil Norwid (1821–83), translated Horace, Homer, Dante, Buonarotti, Béranger and Shakespeare into Polish. Shakespeare, whose plays naturally attracted artists of the Romantic era, reached Polish audiences mainly via French adaptations or German translations. Poems by Goethe and Schiller were translated from German, and some novels by Walter Scott were translated via German. The feeling of nostalgia for the Golden Age, encouraged by the general situation in Poland (partitioned by Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1795), provided the impetus for translating Polish Renaissance poetry written in Latin. Increased contact with Russia resulted in the emergence of Russian as an important source and target language in translation. The works of the greatest Polish Romantic poet, Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), were translated into Russian, and Mickiewicz himself translated into Polish several poems by his Russian friend, Aleksandr Pushkin.

Following the failure of the January Uprising against the Russians in 1863, literature began to reflect an overall shift from romantic fantasy to positivist rationalism. The uprising and the ensuing events had changed both the social and economic situation of Poland as a significant number of intellectuals and some members of the wealthy elite were either sent into exile or left the country of their own accord. The central theme of most literary works (with the novel as the main genre) now became the plea of a stateless nation for its right to exist. The mission of translators, who no longer had to be creative authors in their own right, was clear: to enrich the literary canon available to the Polish reader. As always, the choices reflected the tastes and needs of the time: Zola, Balzac, Diderot, Gide, Stendhal, Voltaire (for fiction); Byron, Dante, Verlaine, Swinburne and Rimbaud (poetry); Maeterlinck and Ibsen (drama); Bergson and Kierkegaard (philosophy); Georges Brandes (criticism); and Russian theorists in general in the field of literary studies. The first translations of American poetry, including Whitman and Poe, were done by Zenon Przesmycki (1861–1944), a representative of Polish Modernism known as ‘Miriam’.

The most prominent translator of the time was undoubtedly Tadeusz Żeleński, known as ‘Boy’ (1874–1941). A physician by profession and a great admirer and connoisseur of French literature, he published 112 translated volumes. Apart from the great French novelists of his time, he translated Molière, Pascal, Rabelais,
Polish tradition

Rousseau, Villon, and Voltaire. Żeleński was killed by the Nazis in 1941 and did not complete his translation of Proust. It is largely due to his efforts that foreign literature occupies its present prestigious position in the literary canon of Poland. Equally important are the translations of the Russian Romantic poets (such as Pushkin and Lermontov) and Symbolists (such as Balmont, Blok, and Briusov) by one of the greatest Polish poets of the period, Julian Tuwim (1894–1953). Tuwim’s well-known essay ‘Traduttore – traditore’, published in 1950, castigated incompetent translators and put forward a proposal for organizing regular diploma courses for translators. Tuwim suggested that candidates should pass a series of examinations on language, stylistics and culture; only those who successfully completed the course would then be allowed to publish their work.

In the first decades of the twentieth century Polish became a source language for translation. Polish novelists of the time contributed significantly to the world literary canon. Quo vadis, which earned Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916) the Nobel Prize in 1905, was translated into many languages; it remained on the list of French best-sellers until quite recently. A modern American translation of Sienkiewicz’s 3-volume historical saga about seventeenth-century Poland (Ogniem i mieczem, Potop, Pan Wołodyjowski, translated by S. Kuniczak as With Fire and Sword, The Deluge, Fire in the Steppe) appeared in the USA in 1991–2, and immediately gained considerable popularity. By 1916, the number of translations of novels by Sienkiewicz’s contemporary, Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), had exceeded 200 in Russia alone. Various novels by another Polish Nobel prize winner, Władysław Reymont (1867–1925), were translated into several languages.

The present time

As in earlier periods, the choice of texts and languages for translation in contemporary Poland has been conditioned by the political situation. The revival of cultural life after World War II under Russian dominance resulted in prioritizing the translation and re-printing of works which were seen to be ‘politically correct’. In 1956, labour riots in the city of Poznań were ruthlessly suppressed, resulting in the death of some fifty-three people. In the wake of these events, a period of political ‘thaw’ began, which stimulated an influx of works by such writers as Sartre, Saint-Exupéry and Camus. Polish translations of Faulkner, Steinbeck and Hemingway had a great impact on Polish readers, who also showed a growing interest in both classical and modern drama, including Shakespeare, Molière, Lope de Vega, Calderon, Goldoni, Goethe, Schiller, George Bernard Shaw, Brecht, Ionesco, Beckett, Dürrenmatt, and Genet. In 1969, Maciej Słomczynski (b. 1920) published his translation of James Joyce’s Ulysses, which soon became a major cultural event. Several publishing houses launched thematic series of translations, for example on modern novels, Scandinavian authors, writers of Latin America, and contemporary Catholic writers.

Another significant shift came after the political upheaval of 1989. The abolishment of state censorship and the appearance of private publishing houses soon brought about an avalanche of translated books. The boom proved to be a mixed blessing. In addition to international best-sellers, a large number of substandard books began to appear in equally substandard Polish translations, and they were often promoted as highly representative of the long forbidden culture of the West.

In the humanities, translation has often proved to be the most effective means available for filling the gaps left by forty years of communist rule. Examples include two translations into Polish; one of a comprehensive history of Poland written by a British historian (God’s Playground by Norman Davies, 1981; Polish edition 1990, 1991), and the other of The History of Polish Literature by Czesław Miłosz (1969; Polish edition 1993). Miłosz, a writer, poet and Nobel Prize-holder, is a Polish émigré who originally wrote the book for his American students.

Today, (American) English is by far the most important source language in literary as well as non-literary translation. The number of professional translators and interpreters, who often specialize in terms of translating a single author or translating within a single field of knowledge, continues to grow to meet the demands of an expanding book market and a free market economy.
The list of Polish writers whose works have been translated into other languages has also grown considerably. Readers in Europe now have access to works by contemporary Polish poets such as Herbert and Szymborska, dramatists such as Mróz and Różewicz, and novelists such as Andrzejewski and Konwicki. In the academic field, works by Polish scholars have also begun to appear in translation. Growing interest in Poland as part of the new united Europe has stimulated the production of other types of publications, such as multilingual manuals, tourist guidebooks, and historical surveys in a variety of languages.

Theories and models

The earliest recorded attempt by a Polish scholar to formulate a theory of translation dates back to the 1440s. In an introduction to a treatise on spelling, an anonymous writer suggests that 'we may translate the same expression as meaning one thing or another, depending on the context' (translated from a quote in Balcerzan 1977: 29). The Polish verb *tlumaczyć* is ambiguous: it can mean 'explicate' or 'translate.' This dual interpretation partly explains the two conflicting principles of translation in the Polish tradition, namely the principle of 'appropriating foreign ideas and images, so that a foreign work is tailored after our own patterns' (Balcerzan 1977: 22; translated) versus the postulate that a foreign text must not be stripped of 'the features through which it can be recognized as being foreign' (Balcerzan 1977: 22; translated). The principle of adaptation, or 'Polonization,' dominated translation practice mainly during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, but it continued to feature in Modernist disputes between those who wanted to preserve the original local colour in their translations of foreign poetry and those who insisted that the foreign text should be domesticated. However, the more scientifically oriented philological and/or critical approach to translation which developed over the past few decades has resulted in a higher level of respect for the integrity of the original work. Fidelity in translation is now understood to mean preserving the original text rather than reconstructing it.

In contemporary thought, the old opposition is reworded in terms of a distinction between *samoistne* or 'self-sufficient' and *związane* or 'integrated' translations: while the former come to exist as independent texts, interpretations of the latter are achieved through confrontation with original works and their earlier translations. The distinction was first formally proposed by Stanisław Barańczak (b. 1946), a poet and one of the best contemporary translators of poetry, who combines the talent of a poet with the extensive knowledge of a literary critic. As a theorist, Barańczak represents the literary branch of Polish translation studies (Barańczak 1974, 1992). In general, literary translation theory in Poland has traditionally taken the shape of individual case studies in which practising translators discuss their own work or the work done by their colleagues. Although often interesting, such essays rarely offer anything more than passing observations and fragmented comments.

More theory-oriented contributions came from such scholars as Wacław Borowy and Edward Balcerzan (b. 1937), the latter a specialist in literary translation theory, who, as a university professor, supervised many scholarly dissertations on translation studies. Borowy's essays on translation are collected in *Studia i rozprawy* (Studies and Dissertations, 1952), a 2-volume anthology published posthumously by his colleagues and students. Theoretical aspects of translation have been discussed at length by Polish philosophers of language (for example in essays on the nature of literary work by Roman Ingarden, 1893–1970) and by linguists (most notably Zenon Klemensiewicz, 1891–1969). The linguistic branch of Polish translation studies is, however, a relatively young field. One of the most comprehensive early attempts at constructing a formal linguistic model of translation was offered by Olgierd Wojtasiewicz (1957/1993), who saw translation as a process consisting of two stages: at the initial stage, the surface structure of the text should be analysed and matched with a deep structure; at the second stage, such adaptations as might follow from an analysis of the context should be introduced. During the 1970s, the flourishing of contrastive linguistic studies (mainly Polish–English) gave rise to works which defined translation equivalence within the framework of
transformational-generative grammar (Marton 1968; Krzeszowski 1974). In keeping with developments elsewhere, the approach to translation changed in the latter part of the twentieth century to reflect developments in the field of pragmatics and the popularity of the cognitive school in linguistics. Equivalence in translation has been redefined in terms of functional rather than formal criteria, and it is now widely recognized that equivalence is conditioned by cognitive and pragmatic factors (Krzeszowski 1981). As far as literary translation is concerned, the new model has the advantage of bridging the traditional gap between literary and linguistic studies (Tabakowska 1993), though theoretical works on non-literary translation remain heavily weighted towards linguistically-based models (Kopczyński 1980; Pisarska 1990).

The identity and status of translators

During earlier periods of history, translators were recognized as creators of literature and were accordingly granted rights equal to those of original authors. The gradual professionalization of the job, however, brought about a radical change in the status of translators. As early as 1772, Ignacy Krasicki felt obliged to make a plea in Uwagi o tłumaczeniu ksiąg (On Translating Books) for the importance and prestige of the profession to be recognized. Today, the translator is no longer seen as a mediator nor translation a guide to original literature; the translator is simply a professional engaged in a specific form of communication. A few translators continue to follow the old tradition, making their names mainly as writers, poets or literary critics.

Translation as a professional activity in Poland was first institutionalized with the founding of the Translators’ Commission of the Union of Polish Writers in 1976. In 1981 a new organization was established: the Association of Polish Translators and Interpreters. Both organizations are affiliated to FIT (the International Federation of Translators). Soon after the latter was formed, Warsaw hosted the ninth World Congress of FIT (1981). In 1985, Zygmunt Stoberski, then member of the Editorial Committee of the journal Babel, became President of the International Organization for the Unification of Terminological Neologisms. It was at Stoberski’s initiative that the list of International Scientific Terms – which appeared as a regular column in Babel from 1977 to 1985 – was upgraded into an independent publication: NEOTERM, a bulletin published in Warsaw from 1985 to 1997.

Further reading

Romanian tradition

The Romanian language is a descendant of the Latin once spoken in the Eastern part of the Roman empire (Rosetti 1986: 76). After the Roman conquest in AD 106, the province of Dacia (roughly corresponding to modern Romania) was colonized and Latin became the vehicle of communication among its inhabitants. The variety of Latin which served as a basis for the Romanian language was not different from the Latin used in other Roman provinces, but it has since passed through continuous transformations, partly due to its normal evolution, partly owing to the influence of the languages with which it came into contact. Present-day Romanian has been influenced by non-Romance languages such as Hungarian, Albanian and various Slavic languages, which are spoken in neighbouring countries.

Romania switched from the Cyrillic to the Roman script in 1860. However, Romanian is also spoken in some parts of the former Soviet Union, where it is known as Moldavian, and there it is still written in the Cyrillic alphabet.

Early translations

In common with many other languages, the first translations into Romanian were of a religious nature and motivation. The basic Christian terminology is of Latin origin, for example Dumnezeu (from Domine Deo, 'Lord'), boteză (from baptisare, 'baptise'), and cruce (from crux, ‘cross’). Sometime between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, the language and the organizational structures of the Slavonic church were officially adopted in Romania, signalling the incorporation of Romanian territory into the Byzantine sphere of influence. This development played a major role in shaping Romanian culture in subsequent centuries and is comparable to the adoption of Catholicism and Latin by the Poles and the Croatians of Slav origin in the tenth century (Ivașcu 1969: 30). The cultural background which gave rise to the earliest Romanian translations was dominated by the merging of two traditions: the Byzantine tradition in the south and the occidental tradition in the east. The first recorded Romanian manuscript is a translation, probably from the first half of the sixteenth century, of a Slavonic Acts of the Apostles from the fifteenth century; it was discovered at the monastery of Voroneț in Bucovina. There is no indication of when or where it was completed. There are, however, cultural and linguistic arguments which support placing it in the north of Transylvania, for instance the fact that it contains a large number of Hungarian elements such as fuglu (from Hungarian fogoly meaning ‘captive’) and felelui (from Hungarian felelni meaning ‘to answer’).

Given that Romanian was not a written language at the time, the official language being Slavonic in all contexts, the first Romanian translations of religious texts cannot be explained in terms of internal needs. These translations appear to have been driven by Lutheran and Calvinistic propaganda. The Lutheran Reformation was welcomed by the Magyars and Saxons of Transylvania, who then sought to attract the Romanians to their new faith; the distribution of printed translations of relevant texts provided an efficient means of achieving this aim. The first Romanian printed document was a Lutheran catechism published by the Saxons in Sibiu in 1544 (no longer extant). The Saxons in Brașov soon realized the benefits of being able to distribute books in Romanian on a large scale and began to use the existing paper mill and printing shop.
more extensively. They hired Deacon Coresi, who proved to be extremely active. In 1559, he published Intrebarile creştină (The Christian Inquiry), the first printed Romanian translation on record; in 1561 he published a Romanian Gospel, and in 1570 a Romanian Psalter and a Romanian missal. These translations enjoyed the support of the authorities. Prince Zápolya of Transylvania, for instance, personally commissioned the replacement of Slavonic books by Romanian ones.

Like the Lutherans, the Calvinists also used translations into Romanian to promote their faith. A book of psalms was translated from Hungarian in 1570 and printed with Latin characters in Oradea or Cluj. Bishop M. Tordási translated the books of Genesis and Exodus from the Hungarian Bible of Gáspár Heltai, which appeared in Cluj in 1551, and published them in Orăștie in 1582. Such large-scale distribution of printed translations throughout the region played a decisive role in developing and shaping the Romanian literary language.

In 1648, the whole of the New Testament was translated in Alba Iulia under the supervision of Metropolitan Simion Ștefan. Around the same time, and in the same region, the Apocrypha (the fourteen books appended to the Old Testament in the Septuagint and the Vulgate) were translated from Slavonic. In 1661, Dositheos translated the Psalter (1673) remains one of the most highly valued translations of the Psalms of David, comparable in terms of its influence to famous versions such as those by Jan Kochanowski and Clement Marot. This was the first time high quality poetry had appeared in the Romanian language. The aesthetic quality of Dositheos’s verse is also evident in the fragment which he translated from the Cretan drama Erofyle, a Greek adaptation of the Italian Baroque play Orbecche by Giraldi. Dositheos also translated a prayer book (1681) and a missal (1679) from Greek versions. These translations, which were prepared for Moldavian churches, soon spread throughout the principalties and became far more popular than those done by Coresi approximately one hundred years earlier, thus making it possible to start conducting church services in Romanian.

The seventeenth century

The seventeenth century was a time of political instability in the principalities and Transylvania, and this state of affairs naturally did nothing to stimulate an active cultural life. For almost fifty years no books of any kind were published. Nevertheless, even in these gloomy feudal times some translation and adaptation of folk tales continued to bear testimony to existing links with the Orient. At the same time, literary and printing activities gradually freed themselves from church authority, and contact with European humanism was established through Moldavian and Wallachian scholars who studied at Italian and Polish universities. This had the effect of diminishing the importance of Slavonic, and translations from other source languages began to appear. Nicolae Costin (1660–1712), statesman and historian, translated Antonio de Guevara’s famous book on Marcus Antonius, Relox de Principes (1529), from Latin. Spatarus Mileșcu (1636–1708), diplomat and great scholar, was the first to translate directly from a Greek original; he published his translation of the Book with Many Questions by Athanasius of Alexandria in 1661. Mileșcu also published the first translation of a philosophical text: On Prevailing Reason (1688), attributed to Flavius Josephus. But Mileșcu’s most important contribution was translating the Old Testament in full from a version of the Septuagint which was published in Frankfurt in 1551. The translation appeared in 1688 under the title Biblia de la București (The Bible from Bucharest), and all Romanian versions of the Septuagint have since been based on it.

The first poet translator in the Romanian tradition was Dosoftei (1649–93), the Metropolitan of Moldavia. His verse version of the Psalter (1673) remains one of the most highly valued translations of the Psalms of David, comparable in terms of its influence to famous versions such as those by Jan Kochanowski and Clement Marot. This was the first time high quality poetry had appeared in the Romanian language. The aesthetic quality of Dosoftei’s verse is also evident in the fragment which he translated from the Cretan drama Erofyle, a Greek adaptation of the Italian Baroque play Orbecche by Giraldi. Dosoftei also translated a prayer book (1681) and a missal (1679) from Greek versions. These translations, which were prepared for Moldavian churches, soon spread throughout the principalties and became far more popular than those done by Coresi approximately one hundred years earlier, thus making it possible to start conducting church services in Romanian.

The first law books and dictionaries were also translated and published during this period. They included Pravila de la Govora, ‘The Law Books from Govora’, translated by the monk Moxa from Slavonic and published in Wallachia in 1640, and Pravilele Împărătești, ‘The Imperial Body of Law’, translated by Eustratie from Greek and Latin sources and published in Moldavia in 1646. Both are among the earliest statements of legal codes written down in any national language in Europe. The first bilingual dictionary with Romanian as the source language was Dictionarul valachico-latinum. It contained
Romanian tradition

5,000 headwords and was compiled by Mihai Halici from the town of Caransebeș in 1643.

Lexicographic activity, combined with increased involvement in the practical problems of translation, stimulated thinking in this area. The lack of perfect correspondence between the words of two languages began to be noted and discussed. While translating the Carte de pravile (Book of Laws), for instance, I. B. Deleanu observed that there was no exact Romanian term for the German Verbrechen and noted that the lack of appropriate terminology posed a serious difficulty for the anonymous author of Retorica. This close link between practice and theory has remained the driving force behind translation studies in Romania down to the present day.

The Enlightenment

During the eighteenth century, when the Enlightenment was beginning to gain ground in Europe, the ‘hospodars’ or governors appointed by the Ottoman sultan began to rule in the Romanian principalities. Hungary had fallen under Turkish rule in 1526, after a long period of struggle between dynasties and threats from foreign powers, and eventually became part of the Habsburg Empire in the seventeenth century. Although this period is still viewed negatively by Romanians as well as Hungarians, the ensuing decades witnessed a thriving cultural life. The hospodars were functionaries and dragomen (interpreters) of the Porte, well educated and with a good command of French and Italian. They imposed the use of Greek in all contexts, including the church. More than three hundred books were printed between 1720 and 1820.

The principalities (Wallachia and Moldavia) and Transylvania went through a rapid process of secularization during this period, with translations and adaptations of popular literature gradually replacing those of religious works. French became the dominant source language in translation, with writers who expressed the spirit of the Enlightenment, such as Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau, being among the most translated. The translators themselves were either educated members of the Romanian royal family, like Iancu Văcărescu and Iordache Golescu, or Greek scholars brought in by the new rulers to teach at the royal academies in Iași and Bucharest.

It is to Transylvania’s credit to have created the modern Romanian education system during this period. Numerous Greek handbooks on a variety of subjects such as logic, ethics and metaphysics were translated to cater for the demands of the new system. Eugen Vulgaris’s translations of the French writer Fontenelle led Romanians to believe that the sun was the centre of the universe. Folk tales were also retranslated on the basis of Greek models such as Halima, the Odyssey and Aesop’s Fables. Samuil Micu, one of the representatives of a movement known as Școala Ardeleana, ‘The Transylvanian School’, translated Baumeister’s Elementa Philosophiae under the title Logica (Buda 1799); this was the first and most important contribution to the creation of a Romanian philosophical language.

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Romanians became particularly receptive to European science and philosophy in the principalities and Transylvania, actively assimilating Western literature and integrating it into the indigenous culture (Duțu 1970: 155). Free adaptation was the order of the day, with ‘faithful’ translations being the exception rather than the norm. The adaptations are both entertaining and instructive. Sappho, Anacreon, Petrarch, Ronsard, Metastasio and other representatives of the great European tradition in lyrical poetry were translated, often from intermediary versions (Greek in the principalities, Hungarian in Transylvania). Adaptations of Fénelon’s Adventures of Télémaque by P. Maior in 1819 and Gr. Pleșoianu in 1831 enjoyed great popularity. Ion Barac published the first Romanian Odyssey in verse form in 1801, as well as the first Hamlet (c.1820). V. Aaron translated Ovid’s Metamorphoses in 1803/4 and I. B. Deleanu translated Themistocles, by the Italian poet Metastasio, in 1801. Translations, or rather adaptations of works by Rousseau, Montesquieu, d’Arnaud, Marmontel, Pope and Florian portrayed man as a complex being; the pre-Romantic hero gradually found his way into Romanian literature. Theatrical performances given in the principalities by numerous French, Italian, German and Russian touring troupes provided further contact with European literature. The performances were hosted by
the cultured members of the royal family, the boyars, who translated the plays into Greek as well as Romanian. The organizer of the first performance in the city of Iaşi was Gheorghe Asachi, who adapted *Mirthil and Chloe* by Florian in 1816 and later *Alzire* by Voltaire in 1818. Iancu Văcărescu translated Goethe (a fragment from *Faust*), Racine (*Britannicus*) and the German playwright Kotzebue (*The Evening Hour*).

**Beyond the Enlightenment: the nineteenth century**

During the 1840s and 1850s, translation activity continued to reflect the Romanian need for integration with European culture and literature. French continued to be the dominant source language, with the three genres of drama, epic poetry, and the lyric being well represented. Works translated during this period include *Phèdre* and *Athalie* by Racine, *Horace* by Corneille, *Le Misanthrope* and *Les Précieuses ridicules* by Molière, *Alzire* and *Mérope* by Voltaire, and *Marie Tudor* by Victor Hugo. Apart from drama, Romantic poets such as Hugo and Lamartine received special attention, but there were also several translations of prose writers such as Lesage, Prévost, George Sand, Dumas, Eugène Sue, and Balzac. The popularity of French culture also encouraged the translation of a great number of grammars and other types of handbooks.

In addition to French literature, works by Italian writers such as Dante, Ariosto, Tasso and Alfieri were also translated. English writers such as Young, Byron and Shelley were generally translated from French intermediaries. *Gulliver’s Travels* became very popular shortly after it was first published in 1848 and was translated several times. German literature did not fare very well during this period, with a small number of writers such as Goethe and Schiller being translated. Interest in Russian literature was particularly strong in Moldavia, with Pushkin being the most popular writer: *The Gypsys* was translated by Al. Donici in 1837 and *The Black Shawl* by C. Negruzi in 1834. European works of criticism, such as those by La Harpe, Marmontel, Saint-Marc Girardin, and Jules Janin also became available in translation.

Three outstanding scholars, Heliade Rădulescu (Wallachia), Gheorghe Asachi (Moldavia) and G. Barițiu (Transylvania), encouraged the Romanian public to read the masterpieces of various cultures and to adopt the moral values espoused in them. Heliade Rădulescu (1802–72) initiated a collection of classical authors in 1836; these included Homer, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Virgil, Tasso, Byron and Hugo, among others. In 1846, he published the *Biblioteca Universală* (Universal Library). This was a collection of 232 famous authors from various historical periods and representing various fields of knowledge, including philosophy, law, theology, natural science and aesthetics. Unfortunately, the Romanian public was not yet ready to receive and appreciate literary masterpieces or alternative moral and cultural values and could not assimilate European culture. The aristocracy continued to enjoy the masterpieces, while the less educated middle class preferred the melodrama, comedy or mawkish novelette. Heliade himself anticipated this reaction and tried to strike a balance between the needs of the common reader and the desirability of translating high literature. His translations of the latter type included Cervantes (an extract from *Don Quixote* appeared in 1840), Lamartine, Byron, Voltaire, Rousseau, Boileau, Goethe and Schiller; his translations of the kind of literature in which the common reader took an interest included Guinot, Marie Ayard Marville and Miss Norton. The popularity of ephemeral inferior literature in translation encouraged some intellectuals to accuse translation of being a ‘dangerous mania’ and to suggest that Romanian reception of foreign literature in the nineteenth century was motivated merely by ‘supply and demand’ (Cornea 1970: 109).

G. Barițiu (1812–93) played a leading role in the cultural life of Transylvania, especially in the field of translation. He was a great admirer of England as a ‘model of political freedom’ (Barițiu 1837) and one of the first translators of Shakespeare. In 1840, he published extracts from *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*; these were translated from German versions (as were his later extracts from works by Dickens). He published the full text of *Julius Caesar* in 1844; this was the first complete translation of a Shakespeare play to appear in Romania.
His translations of Schiller’s *Don Carlos, Maria Stuart* and *Fiesko* appeared in 1843.

In the period heralding the rise of the revolutionary movement which swept much of Europe, including Romania, around the middle of the nineteenth century, Byron’s personality and his fiery poems became very popular, and English literature, which by and large had been ignored until then, began to attract more attention. The first direct translation from English was probably Byron’s *Manfred*, translated in 1843 by the Romanian revolutionary and writer C. A. Rosetti. The Byronic hero with his romantic and rebellious attitude became a distinctive feature, even a model, of Romanian cultural life. The first English novel to be translated was also to become one of the most popular; this was Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, translated and published by V. Drăghici in the city of Iași in 1835. Bulwer-Lytton’s *The Last Days of Pompeii*, published in London in 1834, was serialized in Romanian magazines in 1838. Walter Scott’s historical novels were well known to the Romanian public from the mid-1950s onwards.

Romanian magazines also carried the first news about the New World during this period, and translations of American literature soon began to appear. Washington Irving was the first author to be translated into Romanian, in 1836, followed by Benjamin Franklin, James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe and Mark Twain. Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, published in 1852, was translated in Iași in 1853 and in Bucharest in 1854. This novel was particularly popular because of the topicality of its social message, which was consistent with the ideology of the democratic intellectuals striving to emancipate the gypsies.

The flourishing of translation activity during the nineteenth century had an enduring influence on Romanian cultural life and helped to bring Romania closer to the rest of Europe. The influence of French culture could be seen in the overall process of modernization which began to take place. The Schiller centenary in 1859 was followed by a boom in the translation of his work, as well as the work of other German authors such as Goethe, Heine and Lenau. German literature and philosophy helped shape the thinking of a number of influential Romanian personalities who studied in Berlin, Vienna and other German-speaking universities. Titu Maiorescu, founder of the magazine *Convorbiri literare*, ‘Literary Talk’, was highly influenced by the ideas of Schopenhauer. The poet Mihai Eminescu (1850–89) was similarly influenced by German Romanticism. His excellent translations of the Austrian poet Lenau, *Bitte* (Request) and *Das dürre Blatt* (The Withered Leaf), were published in *Convorbiri literare* in 1879. Eminescu created a highly expressive poetic language, and in so doing made it possible for translations into Romanian to stand in their own right as equals of their European and American originals.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed an emphasis on translating works which focus on social issues. These included Gogol’s *The Inspector-General*, published in 1874, Turgenev’s *The Nest of Gentlefolk* (1880), Dostoyevsky’s *Crime and Punishment* (1880), and Chekhov’s *Motley Stories* (1899). Fragments of Dickens’s *The Old Curiosity Shop* were published in the magazine *Contemporanul*, ‘The Contemporary’, in 1883, and the text appeared in full in 1894. Edgar Allan Poe’s *The Murders in the Rue Morgue* appeared in translation in 1892 and Emile Zola’s *The Dreyfus Affair* in 1898.

**The contemporary period**

**Translation before World War II**

During the first half of the twentieth century, a number of excellent translations were published by scholars who were established poets in their own right. The Transylvanian poet George Coșbuc translated from German as well as a number of other languages, including Greek (Homer’s *Odyssey*), Latin (Virgil’s *Aeneid* and *Georgics*), Sanskrit (*Rig-Veda*; Kalidasa’s *Sākuntala, Ramayana and Mahabharata*), and Italian. His translation of Dante’s *The Divine Comedy* was considered one of the best existing versions by C. Tagliavini, a well-known Italian scholar who had a special interest in Romanian. Another Transylvanian, St. O. Iosif (1875–1913), was considered one of the best translators of German poetry during his time. He translated Heine, Goethe, Schiller, Bürger, and Lenau. He also translated work by the Hungarian poet Petőfi (*The Apostle*), as well as Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* and *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were translated in perfect
hexameters by G. Murnu. Other writers translated or retranslated during this period include Jules Verne, Oscar Wilde, Mikhail Lermontov, Ivan Goncharov, Rainer Rilke, Eugene O’Neill, François Villon, Mark Twain, Marcel Proust, and Balzac. These translations were the result of personal affinity and individual choice on the part of the translators rather than of official planning. Publishers were mainly interested in producing lucrative, popular literature. However, high-quality literature could also be successful. One of the most popular authors during this period was W. S. Maugham: almost thirty of his titles were translated by the Romanian writer J. Giurea and published between 1930 and 1945.

Translations from Hungarian were particularly well received during this period. This could be explained by the existence of a large core of shared elements and values in the history and the daily life of Romanians and Hungarians. The social theme was topical in both countries. For Romanians, the revolutionary verses of the Hungarian writer Sandor Petőfi carried much the same message as that derived by Hungarians from the poetry of the Romanian writer George Coșbuc. This stimulated translation activity between the two languages, at times even against official political trends. Liberally-minded intellectuals were conscious of the contribution made by translations in terms of achieving better understanding and harmony between the two peoples, especially against growing fascism in both countries. In 1935, for instance, G. Moșoiu, Lord Mayor of Oradea, offered a translation prize as a way of promoting mutual understanding between Romanians and Hungarians. One of the most successful translators from Hungarian during this period was the Transylvanian poet Octavian Goga (1881–1938). His versions of Petőfi, Ady and Madách were outstanding. He was awarded the National Prize for Literature in 1924 and his translation of Madách’s Tragedy of Man is still considered one of the best in existence.

Translation after World War II

World War II and the years which followed it brought about a new isolation. Both original and translated literature were censored. The 1950s witnessed a growing demand for foreign literatures, with a definite need for translations since the majority of the Romanian public did not speak foreign languages. Many writers refused to publish their own works on literary or moral grounds, preferring instead to sign translation contracts with publishing houses. The result was that several masterpieces appeared in excellent translations during this period. For example, in 1955 two important works by Goethe were published: Faust, translated by the great poet and philosopher Lucian Blaga, and the autobiographical novel From My Life, Poetry and Truth, translated by Tudor Vianu, an outstanding scholar of the time. Translations of this type were the result of personal choice. Only the Russian classics were translated systematically in a series of complete works, including Gogol (1954–8), Chekhov (1954–63), and Turgenev (1953–62). The only non-Russian author whose works were translated and published in a complete edition was Shakespeare (1955–63, eleven excellent volumes by L. Levitchi and D. Duțescu).

The early 1960s brought a gradual reappraisal of Romanian and foreign literature. High-quality translations appeared of outstanding works of literature from all over the world. The magazine Secolul XX (‘The Twentieth Century’) and the Editura pentru Literatură Universală (‘Publishing House for World Literature’, later known as Univers) played an important role in this process. Between 1961 and 1980, Univers published 2,700 titles by 2,100 different authors. In the following years, numerous other publishing houses were set up, for example Minerva, Albatros, and The Romanian Book. These, together with specialized journals such as Familia, The Literary Romania, Horizon and many others, ensured that all the classics from every country and epoch were translated. There is hardly an international writer who has not been translated into Romanian at least once, a fact often highlighted in UNESCO reports and statistics. As in previous decades, the most successful translators were writers, especially poets, in their own right.

One of the most valuable contributions of Univers was publishing seminal works in the fields of aesthetics, literary theory and criticism soon after they had appeared abroad. The Essays series included the main works of Croce, Curtius, Genette, Wellek, Eco, Greimas, Kaiser, Lotman, Alonso, Frye, Tomasevski, Vossler, Zumthor, Friedrich, Walzel and many others. A similar
Romanian tradition

series was published by the Political Publishing House under the title *Idei contemporane* (Contemporary Ideas); this included works by Marshall McLuhan, Marcuse, Habermas, and Jaspers, among others.

Under the dictatorship of Ceaușescu, who was elected President of the State Council in 1967 and eventually President of Romania in 1974, translating was regarded as an ethnically sound activity, whereas original literary works were subject to censorship and could only be published if they glorified the totalitarian regime. This further stimulated translation activity, and important works from all languages continued to be translated and retranslated into Romanian. In addition to individual works, a large number of anthologies were also published in the 1960s and 1970s. These included *Antologie Shakespeare bilingvă* (A Bilingual Anthology of Shakespeare, 1964), *Antologia literaturii maghiare I-III* (Anthology of Hungarian Literature I-III, 1965–8), *Antologia poeziei romantice germane* (Anthology of German Romantic Poetry, 1969), *Sonenul italian* (‘The Italian Sonnet’, 1970), *Antologie bilingvă de poeziei franceză* (‘Bilingual Anthology of French Poetry’, 1970), and *Poeţii ai expresionismului* (‘The Poetry of Expressionism’, 1971). A comprehensive overview of the literature of the first half of the century is given by A. E. Baconsky in his *Panorama poezie universale* (1972), which covers ninety-nine poets from Ady to Yeats. The *Antologia poeziei americane*, compiled in 1979 by I. Caraion, covers all representative areas of American poetry: 130 poets from Anne Bradstreet (1612-72) to the present day. *Symbolismul european*, compiled in 1983 by Z. Molcuț, is an imposing anthology (1,800 pages) of 160 authors, one of the most complete accounts of European symbolism in existence.

In recent decades, there has been a growing interest in non-Western literature. S. Al. George published a complete translation of *Bhagavad-Gita* from Hindi in 1971; this is one of the most famous philosophical poems of the oriental world. The *Antologia literaturii precolumbiene* (covering the literature of three cultures: Mayan, Mexican and Inca) appeared in 1973, and *Antologie Haiku* (Japanese lyric poetry from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries) followed in 1974.

The relationship between national and translated literature is often one of close interdependence. Works by Gide and Proust, who greatly influenced the evolution of the Romanian novel in the first half of last century, remained largely untranslated during that period. By the 1960s and 1970s, the ground had been prepared by indigenous writings and their complete works became available in translation. Under the influence of Balzac, the novelist Cezar Petrescu created the ‘Comédie humaine’ of Romanian society between the two World Wars. It was only during the second part of last century, when the Romanian public had come to appreciate his own work, that he was able to publish successfully his excellent translations of Balzac’s *Le Père Goriot* and *Eugénie Grandet*. The popularity of certain works in a foreign culture is also often aided by the relevance of their political and social themes, particularly when these themes cannot be addressed openly in the indigenous literature. The character of the dictator, developed in the context of a turbulent political situation, is a recurring feature of more recent South American literature, as in *The President* by Miguel Angel Asturias, *The Autumn of the Patriarch* by Gabriel García Márquez, as well as the novels of Alejo Carpenter; translations of all these works were very popular under the Ceaușescu dictatorship.

**Translation today**

Translation theory remains closely connected with practice in Romania. Most of the literature on translation is published by professional translators or teachers of translation. Titles such as ‘How I Translated Faust’ (Blaga 1955), ‘Notes of a Translator’ (Doinaș 1972b) and ‘On the Faithful Translation of Poetry’ (Doinaș 1988b) are good examples of theoretical studies which are grounded in genuine translation tasks. In 1965, the magazine *Secolul XX*, which has published works by theorists such as George Steiner, Jiří Levý and Ortega y Gasset on a regular basis, organized a debate on Georges Mounin’s *Les problèmes théoriques de la traduction* to which many well-known translators contributed. A variety of linguistic, aesthetic and cultural issues were discussed. In the title of his contribution to this debate, Șt Aug. Doinaș (1965) expressed the view held by a generation of Romanian translators: ‘Difficult, Risky but not Impossible.’
Interest in translation theory is also stimulated by the need to train translators and interpreters. Various manuals and handbooks have been published, as well as a number of translation-oriented linguistic studies. Doctoral dissertations on the subject have been presented at the universities of Bucharest, Timişoara and Cluj. Overall, however, the number of published books on translation remains relatively small.

The Translations and World Literature Section of the Writers' Union is a member of FIT. The Professional Union of Interpreters and Translators (UPIT) was established in 1990 and is responsible for protecting the rights of authors and promoting the professional status of translators and interpreters.

Further reading

JÁNOS KOHN

Russian tradition

Russian is part of the East Slavonic family of languages and one of the six official languages of the United Nations. The history of modern Russia dates back to the ninth century AD, when a number of East Slavonic tribes united to form a new state known as Kiev Rus, after the name of its capital. Later the country's political centre moved to Moscow, which became the capital of a united Russia under Ivan the Great in the fifteenth century. Contact with Western Europe was initiated in the seventeenth century by Peter the Great, who established the educational system and built a new capital, St Petersburg (later to become known as Leningrad). Political unrest under the tsars culminated in a period of civil war (1918–22), after which the Communists established control of the country. The end of World War II saw the rise of the Soviet Union as one of the two major world powers. The mid-1980s saw the beginning of a period of social and political reform, known in the West as perestroika, and the progressive disengagement of Russia from Eastern Europe.

The recorded history of translation in Russia is as long and rich in events. The following is a brief overview of the main trends evident during different historical periods.

Translation in Kiev Rus

Writing, literature and translations were introduced in Kiev Rus in a relatively mature form. In the year 864, a Greek priest named Cyril and his brother Methodius, who were sent by the Byzantine emperor to do missionary work among Slavonic people, began with the creation of a new alphabet (now known as Cyrillic) which they used to translate a number of religious texts from Greek into Old Church Slavonic (see Bulgarian tradition). Among their first translations were the New Testament, the Psalter and the Prayer Book. After Rus embraced Christianity in 988, numerous translations were made to give the converts access to the philosophical and ethical doctrines of the new religion and to the Church's rituals and customs. These included a variety of genres, such as Lives of Saints, Homilies, Chronicles and the like. Apocrypha also enjoyed great popularity with their stories of miracles, fantasies and exoticism, sometimes bordering on what was later called fiction. Most of these translations were made in Bulgaria but were used in Rus. The translators of religious books usually opted for word-for-word rendering of the source text.

A score of translations which were not exclusively religious and relatively less literal were also made in Rus at the time. Among them were such books as the Zhite Andreya Yurodivogo (The Life of Andrei, the Man of God), Pchela (The Bee), Kosmografiya (Cosmography), and Fiziolog (The Physiologist), to mention just a few. One considerable achievement was the translation of Josephus Flavius's The Judaic War, in which the translator successfully avoided many pitfalls of literalness.

In this early period the translator's name was not mentioned as a rule, and it was often impossible to say whether a translation was made within the country or beyond its borders.

During the tragic years of the Mongol invasion (1228–1480) translations continued to play a major role in shaping the cultural character of the country. More parts of the Bible were translated and some of the previous translations were revised or replaced with
new translations. Alongside religious translations, translations of non-religious material gradually began to appear, including *Istoriya Indiyskogo Korolevstva* (A Tale of the Indian Kingdom) and *Troyanskaya Voyna* (The Trojan War). Most translations were made from Greek, some presumably used Latin and Old Hebrew sources.

This period also witnessed the gradual formation of the Russian language as a result of mutual influence between Old Church Slavonic and the people’s vernacular. However, religious texts continued to be translated into Old Church Slavonic, which nobody spoke outside church services. At the same time, contact with other countries required the translation of political and business documentation, and here the new Russian language began to gain ground. Apart from translations, original texts during this period were themselves also written in a mixture of Slavonic and Russian.

**Translation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries**

From the sixteenth century onwards, Moscow began to emerge as the political as well as translation centre of the country. Important translations were no longer anonymous, and their contribution to the country’s language and culture gained more recognition. Thus in 1515 Basil III, the Grand Prince of Moscow, asked for a learned translator to be sent to Moscow from a Greek monastery. The man, Mikhail Trevoles (b. 1475), came to Moscow in 1518 with a Greek embassy and became known as Maxime the Greek. During the rest of his life (he died in 1555 or 1556) he worked as a translator of religious books as well as some non-religious texts. In addition, he revised a number of existing translations and added commentaries to them. At first, he knew neither Russian nor Old Slavonic and his translations were made in two stages: he translated from Greek into Latin and then his assistants translated the Latin text into Old Slavonic. In his revisions of old translations, he often ignored long-established traditions and suffered accusations of heresy and blasphemy. Maxime the Greek was also a prolific writer, educator and philosopher. In his writings we can find numerous statements on the art of translation, and these represent the first recorded exposition on the subject in Russia. He insisted on the need for a careful analysis of the source text in order to grasp all its nuances and allegories. To carry out such an analysis, the translator had to possess not only good linguistic but also extensive philological knowledge and had to undertake a great deal of preparatory work. Maxime backed up his prescriptions with ample observations about Greek vocabulary, rhythmical organization and phonetic features, which were to be accounted for in translation. Among his contributions to Russian philology was a dictionary which covered mostly Greek proper names but also included some Latin and Hebrew names. Maxime’s active participation in Russia’s political and ideological struggles brought him condemnation from the Church and he spent many years in exile.

Although the Russian scholars of the time seem to have already formed some ideas about the need for the translator to have a perfect command of the two languages and extensive background knowledge, in practice most translators lacked proper education. Their knowledge of languages and the resulting translations often left much to be desired.

In the seventeenth century, a greater number of translations of predominantly non-religious material began to appear. Scholarly translations included topics in astronomy and astrology, arithmetic and geometry, anatomy and medicine, as well as descriptions of various animals. Some translations could be described as works of literature in their own right. Also during this century, bilingual dictionaries were compiled for the first time to help translators in their work: Latin–Greek–Slavonic, Polish–Slavonic, Russian–Latin–Swedish and other combinations.

Translators of this period fell into four groups. First, there were staff translators in various administrative departments. These were mostly foreigners (Poles, Germans, Dutchmen) or natives from the southern or western parts of the country. As often as not, they had a good command of classical languages or of Polish but their knowledge of Russian and Old Slavonic was very scant. They were probably assisted by scribes, who wrote down and corrected their translations. The second group was small and consisted of a few monks who had a scholarly
background and translated only religious and didactic books from Latin and Greek. The best known among them were Epiphanius, Slavinezky, Arsenius the Greek and Dionisius the Greek. The third group was the largest and its members could be described as part-time translators who occasionally made one or two translations in their spare time. Finally, there were translators who worked on their own initiative and chose the source texts they wanted to translate. Among them were some attendants of the tsar, for example Andrei Matveev, Bogdanov and Prince Kropotkin.

**Translation in the eighteenth century**

The eighteenth century proved decisive in the development of translation in Russia. Peter the Great’s political reforms greatly expanded Russia’s economic and cultural contacts with European countries, and this created a demand for numerous translations of scientific and technical texts, as well as works of fiction. Translators were now expected to produce work to higher standards. Tsar Peter issued a special decree on translation demanding a faithful rendering of the original sense. This was a period during which the Russian language began to develop its own literary models and many enlightened Russians saw translation as a means of enriching their language and of asserting its originality and its expressive potential.

Mikhail Lomonosov (1711–65), the great Russian scientist and poet, played an outstanding role in this process. Lomonosov and other prominent writers during this period, such as A. P. Sumarokov and V. K. Trediakovsky, produced many translations, predominantly of poetry. They often supplemented their translations with theoretical discussions, explaining why they rendered the source text the way they did and emphasizing the great value of the translator’s work and its creative nature.

A new stage in translation activity began to develop in three directions. First, translation began to be institutionalized, with new structures emerging to organize and supervise the work. A group of translators were assembled in Tsar Peter’s Foreign Collegium, and in 1735 the St Petersburg Academy of Science established the Russian Assembly, which was the first professional organization of translators. Lomonosov, Trediakovsky and a few other members of the Academy were active in the Assembly, which had a body of staff translators. The Assembly selected books for translation, laid down some rules and principles and produced critical reviews of the work performed. It was also involved in training future translators. The Academy set up a language school whose graduates often became official translators. The general requirement at the time was that a translator had to be able to translate from at least three languages: Latin, German and French. Some students were sent by the Academy to study ‘languages and sciences’ abroad. Examinations were held to assess the professional performance of translators. The Academy also tried to stimulate public interest in translation. In 1748 its President announced an order from Tsarine Elisabeth to step up the translation of non-religious (secular) books. Later, the Academy Chancery published an appeal to the ‘gentlefolk and people of other ranks’ to produce translations. It was during this period that translators began to receive regular remuneration for their work.

In 1768, the Society for the Translation of Foreign Books was established with 114 members; among them were such eminent personalities as Trediakovsky, Sumarokov and Radishchev. The Society existed for fourteen years and produced many literary translations; it also stimulated discussions on the theoretical problems of translation.

The second dimension of this new stage of translation activity involved a change in terms of the selection of books to be translated. At the turn of the century, translations of classical authors began to be supplemented by a great number of books of a pragmatic nature; these were needed to support the Age of Reform. The process was accompanied by a change in the source languages: Polish texts now lost their popularity and the emphasis gradually shifted to modern European languages – mainly French, German and English.

Technical translations later lost their predominant position and literary translations came to occupy their place. Social reforms stimulated cultural life, and local literature was not yet at a stage when it could fulfil the cultural needs
of Russian society. Literary translations were expected to fill the gap and to meet important social and cultural needs. Translators regarded their work as a service to their country, and they expressed this belief in forewords and prefaces to their translations. They believed that their mission was to enlighten and instruct their compatriots, to set moral standards and to create a new Russian literature. From that time on literary translations always enjoyed a high status in Russian culture.

This new awareness of the social importance of translation and translators constituted the third characteristic feature of the period. Translation was now considered a kind of creative writing, no less worthy of respect than original literature. The translator was regarded as a rival of the source text author, with the translated text being expected to aspire to higher standards and even to surpass the source text in terms of artistic quality.

The eighteenth century also witnessed the emergence of poetry translation in Russia, which later developed into a highly esteemed activity. Trediakovskiy, for instance, made his reputation from his translation of P. Talman's Voyage à l'île d'amour, which included many verses that were successfully rendered in Russian rhyme. Less known but no less remarkable was A. Kantemir's translation of Horace's Epistles and other pieces of poetry from Latin and French. Especially numerous and varied were Lomonosov's translations from Latin, German, French and Greek, in which he showed remarkable skill both in rhymed and free verse. He paid much attention to reproducing the rhyming scheme of the source text, using various forms of choree and iambus to render the alexandrine of French epics and the hexameter of Greek tragedies. As Russian poetry of the time was not highly developed and was still based on the distribution of syllables, Lomonosov's innovations helped to enrich it and to establish new forms and traditions in the genres and metres of Russian verse.

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

The nineteenth century can be described as the golden age of Russian translation. If the previous age had made translation a professional activity, the nineteenth century raised this activity to the level of high art.

The new Russian school of translation began to take shape thanks to the outstanding contributions of such prominent personalities as the historian Nikolai Karamzin and the poet Vasily Zhukovsky (1783–1852). At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century Karamzin published many translations in several periodicals. He regarded translation as an effective tool for improving a writer's style as well as an invaluable source of information, undertaken for the sake of curiosity, for establishing historical facts, for entertaining women, to provide material for new magazines, or to acquaint Russian readers with books that had not yet become well known. Karamzin's translation activity covered an impressive range of genres and languages: he translated the works of classical and contemporary authors from Greek, French, Latin, German, English, Italian and some oriental languages.

Pushkin referred to Zhukovsky as 'the genius of translation.' Zhukovsky was a talented Russian poet but translations accounted for a considerable part of his output. He translated from English, French, Old Russian, Latin and German. Thanks to him, Russian readers gained access to many works of Schiller, Goethe, Byron, Walter Scott and other giants of world literature. The range of his creative translation activity was staggering, covering, among other things, translations of fairy tales by Charles Perrault and the Grimm brothers, Firdausi's Shah Nama, a complete translation of Homer's Odyssey and a translation of the famous Old Russian epic Tolkovanie imenam po alf avitu (The Tale of Igor's Host). Zhukovsky is one of the leading names in the history of translation in Russia.

Like Karamzin, Zhukovsky advocated free translation, which sometimes resulted in a paraphrase or even a new story on the subject of the source text. He would occasionally transfer the setting to Russia, give the source text characters Russian names, and so on. His outstanding talent, however, enabled him to reproduce the style, rhythm and tone of the original poetry, and his best translations were remarkably faithful to their sources. The Russian school of translation owes much to Zhukovsky's legacy.

The practice of taking liberties with the source
text was also characteristic of prose translations of the period. Irinarkh Vvedensky, a talented and very popular translator of many novels by Charles Dickens and William Thackeray, would typically add several pages which had nothing to do with the source text. In his translation of Dickens's *David Copperfield*, for example, he introduced his own texts at the end of the second chapter, at the beginning of the sixth chapter and in some other parts of the novel. And he justified such contributions by the desire to please the reader, claiming that the translator had the right to freely re-create the spirit of the source text, to give a new life to the ideas of the author in a new situation – ‘under another sky’, as he put it.

Alexander Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov, the two great Russian poets, also played a major role in the history of translation in Russia. Although translations occupied a relatively modest place in their poetry, they made a significant contribution to the improvement of literary translation in Russia. In their poetic paraphrases and imitations they managed to reproduce the most important features of foreign poetry and, above all, their renderings were remarkable works of art in their own right, in no way inferior to their original masterpieces. These free translations served as a model for other translators and established an important principle, namely that a good literary translation should be part and parcel of the national literature in the target language. The role played by Pushkin in the development of the Russian school of translation deserves special emphasis. He always showed great interest in the problems of translation, and his critical analyses of translations were exemplary and thought-provoking. He emphasized the importance of the initial selection of the literary works to be translated. His insistence on loyalty to the source text, coupled with the high quality and expressiveness of the translator’s literary style, was a positive influence on the best Russian translators of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Although the majority of translators during this period advocated and practised free translation, a few insisted on complete faithfulness to the source text, on literalism even to the detriment of sense and clarity. Among them were such prominent men of letters as P. A. Viasemsky, N. I. Gnedich and A. A. Fet, all of whom translated from a number of different languages. However, they did not always do as they preached. Sometimes the translator’s artistic intuition and talent broke through the barrier of literalism. Viasemsky’s translations of works by B. Constant and A. Mickiewicz, for instance, were not devoid of literary value, and Gnedich’s translations, especially his translation of Homer’s *Iliad*, were highly appreciated by Pushkin. Fet’s extreme literalism adversely affected the quality of most of his translations, but he did come up with successful solutions sometimes.

Free translation was sometimes practised as a means of promoting democratic ideas, which would not have escaped official censorship in original works. Translators such as V. Kurochkin, D. Minaev and M. Mikhailov, among others, achieved this by choosing suitable source texts and/or by introducing in their translations subtle changes which triggered associations with the Russian context. It was during this period then that using translation as a vehicle of dissent became part of the Russian tradition.

**The Soviet period**

The years following the 1917 revolution saw a new upsurge in translation activity. On Maxim Gorky’s initiative, a new publishing house was set up with an ambitious goal of publishing new or revised translations of all major literary achievements both in the West and in the East. In spite of enormous practical and administrative difficulties, this organization managed to publish in the following two decades or so translations of the works of such great authors as Balzac, Anatole France, Stendhal, Heine, Schiller, Byron, Dickens, Bernard Shaw, Mark Twain and many others.

A great number of translations were also published by other national and local presses in the 1930s and the following decades. The country’s best scholars and writers participated in this work, elevating the art of translation to a new level of perfection. Many talented translators became known and respected in the Soviet Union and abroad during this period; they included M. Losinskij, T. Shchepkina-Kupernik, S. Marshak, N. Lubimov, E. Kalashnikova, N. Daruzes and many others.
The fact that the USSR was a multinational state contributed to the growing demand for translation. The scale of translation among national literatures was particularly impressive. Russian readers became familiar with the great epics of the Georgian, Armenian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Azerbaijani and other peoples. Much was done in this field by such prominent Russian poets and writers as Lev Ginsburg, Boris Pasternak and Nickolai Tikhonov.

The information explosion of the second half of the twentieth century gave a tremendous impetus to non-literary translation. The majority of translations were now of social, political, scientific and technical material. There was a growing demand for professional translators, but non-literary texts were still frequently being translated by non-professionals as part of their work in other spheres.

This unparalleled boom in translation activity brought many new people into the profession and resulted in structural and organizational changes. A network of translation services, agencies and departments was established in government offices and industrial and commercial enterprises. Many translators and interpreters became staff personnel; others worked part time or freelance. Given the scale and the overall high quality of translations, both literary and technical, the country was justly regarded as a great translation power during this period.

The increased demand for professional translators was met by numerous training establishments. A number of foreign language institutes set up translation departments, and translators were also trained in universities and technical colleges. Many educational establishments offered their students courses in translation alongside their main professional specialization.

Literary translators received their training at the Gorky Literary Institute, which was sponsored by the Soviet Writers Union. The emphasis here was on translating from the languages of the various ethnic groups of the USSR.

This rich and varied translation activity attracted much attention and recognition. Many periodicals regularly published translations from various languages as well as critical assessments of the strengths and weaknesses of specific translations.

Translation in the post-Soviet period

The years of perestroika radically changed the nature of translation practice in general and the market for translations in particular. The abolition of censorship has made it possible to translate many books which had been regarded as inadmissible on ideological or moral grounds. Publishing houses are no longer financed by the state, and many have since gone bankrupt or have had to reduce their output drastically. The market has been swamped by private commercial enterprises, with the result that book prices have risen sharply and standards have generally dropped. Emphasis has now shifted to translating popular fiction and pornographic material.

The new situation has had both positive and negative effects on the business side of translation. Most translations are now from English and translators receive better remuneration. Higher fees encouraged many non-professionals to try their hand at translation, and this has naturally produced a great number of poorly translated books. The new publishers set very tight deadlines in order to market the translations ahead of their competitors; they are no longer interested in supporting the kind of long and arduous effort that can result in a masterpiece.

There has also been a greater demand for English and German interpreters, and many of them earn good money working for national or foreign firms, or joint ventures. By contrast, translators from other languages often find it difficult to make a living. Especially hard hit have been the languages of limited diffusion and staff translators who had previously enjoyed a regular income in the state publishing houses.

The new market conditions highlight the absence of appropriate legislation to regulate translation activities in Russia. The Union of Translators has been trying hard to raise the social and financial status of its members and to restore the prestige of translation in Russia.

Translation theory in Russia

As an important aspect of the nation's culture, translation has been the object of scholarly
discussion in Russia throughout its long history. It was not, however, until the second half of the twentieth century that the thought-provoking but often subjective ideas of critics, authors and members of the profession were supplemented by attempts to develop a coherent theory of translation. Since then, the level of growth in translation activity has been matched by numerous publications on theoretical aspects of translation.

Translation research in Russia stems from different schools of thought, reflects different areas of interest and expresses opposing views. Nevertheless, some common features can be singled out to identify what can be described as the Russian school of translation theory. Russian translation theories are largely based on the assumption that translation is a phenomenon that can be studied and described in an objective and consistent way, using various methods of observation and analysis. The translator’s decision-making process may seem subjective and intuitive, but it is ultimately governed by correlated linguistic and cognitive patterns in the source and target languages. Translation theory is expected to be descriptive in the first place, and its main task is to study observable facts, to discover the regular features of the translating process common to most individual acts of translation. It is only after discovering what translation actually is that conclusions can be drawn concerning what it should be. Theoretical generalization must therefore be based on facts rather than on subjective speculation. The main method of research used by Russian translation theorists is the comparative analysis of the source and target texts, as well as various experimental studies of the actual act of translation.

Theoretical investigations of translation in Russia are largely carried out within a linguistic framework. Most researchers regard the linguistic theory of translation as an important branch of the linguistic sciences, alongside general linguistics, comparative linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, text linguistics and other areas of linguistic research. This broad concept of macrolinguistics makes it possible to make extensive use of linguistic methods to describe the formal, semantic and cognitive aspects of translation. Most translation theorists in Russia are professional linguists as well as practising translators. This helps to maintain a close link between theory and practice.

Scholars of translation in Russia carry out a wide range of investigations which embrace all aspects of the translating process and all the factors which are thought to influence it. They attempt to deal with general aspects of interlingual communication – its linguistic, cognitive and psychological dimensions – as well as problems associated with translation from one particular language into another. Much attention is paid to the concept of equivalence in translation, to the pragmatic and stylistic aspects of translation, to various models of the translating process and the meaningful text components which are replaced by equivalent elements in the target text. Translation problems are investigated through the analysis of translations from and between English, German, French, Spanish, Italian, Russian and other languages. The idea is that such complex studies of translation activity will eventually enable scholars to generalize from their findings and to develop a viable theoretical framework that can accommodate a general theory of translation.

Of no small importance is the fact that translation studies in Russia embraces all types of translation. Much attention is paid to the description of various aspects of non-literary translation, both written and oral, with an emphasis on political, technical, commercial and similar types of translation. Research in the field of literary translation considers both its linguistic and artistic features. In terms of oral translation, the object of interest is mainly conference interpreting, especially simultaneous interpreting. The investigation of such a wide range of translational activities has made it possible to describe both common features of all translations and the peculiarities of each particular type of translation.

Translation studies in Russia has always maintained close links with the practical training of future translators and interpreters. Specific types of research have often been prompted by the need to develop effective training syllabuses and curricula. Training establishments use the results of theoretical research to select appropriate teaching techniques and include courses in translation theory and practice.
Further reading

VILEN N. KOMISSAROV
Slovak tradition

Slovak is a West Slavonic language, typologically close to Czech. It has a literary form, used in official communications, in literature and in the media, and various dialects. The literary form is based on the Central Slovak dialects and has been taking shape since the middle of the nineteenth century. Until then, Czech (with an occasional admixture of Slovak lexical elements) was used as the literary language on the territory of what is now Slovakia. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Anton Bernolák (1762–1813) attempted to create a literary Slovak language on the basis of western Slovak (now known as Bernolákötina, i.e. Bernolák language), but it was Ludovít Štúr (1815–56) who laid the solid foundations of literary Slovak. Full stylistic development did not begin until after 1918, with the establishment of the First Czechoslovak Republic (the first Slovak orthographical standards were laid down in 1931), and more especially after 1945, with the establishment of the Second Czechoslovak Republic.

Beginnings of Slovak translation

Until the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, translation in the Slovak-speaking territories was mainly into Czech, though there were sporadic attempts at translation into spoken Slovak. Some ancient Greek texts were translated into Latin, exclusively for educated readers. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a few translations were made from German into ‘Bernolák Slovak’. The translators were generally Catholic priests. The most important figure of that period was Ján Hollý (1785–1849), a priest and poet, whose work marked a new epoch of translation: he translated the Greek and Latin poets into ‘Bernolák Slovak’, including Virgil’s complete Aeneid (1828). Bohuslav Tablic (1769–1823), a Protestant clergyman, poet, enlightener and organizer of cultural life in the Slovak region, translated German and English poetry (for example Anglické múzy v česko-slovenském oděvu: The English Muses in Czech-Slovak Garb), Shakespeare, Racine, Molière, Voltaire, Goethe, Pushkin, Mickiewicz and others were also translated into the newly created Slovak literary language during this period.

An outstanding figure in translation at the end of the nineteenth century was the poet and dramatist Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav (1849–1921), who translated from English, Hungarian, German, Polish and Russian. Hviezdoslav, together with the followers of Ludovít Štúr, transmitted the great literary works of the Renaissance, neoclassical and Romantic age to the Slovak reading public.

Translation in the contemporary period

After World War I and the establishment of Czechoslovakia there was an increase in translation activity in Slovakia, but complete emancipation from Czech was not yet achieved. For one thing, Czech translations of the world classics had to compensate for the shortage of native Slovak translations, and for another, these translations, all of them earlier than Slovak translations, frequently proved to be the Slovak translators’ most important working aid in the absence of a native tradition of literary translation.

Not until after World War II did Slovak translation emancipate itself from Czech models, as a new generation of educated translators came to the fore. From the 1970s onward, the growing
independence of Slovak literary translation was reflected in the fact that not only foreign, but also Czech literature was translated into Slovak. In parallel with translation practice, though more slowly, a Slovak theory of translation came into being. This was based not only on the experience of the leading practitioners of modern literary translation, but also on the work of some theoreticians, principally those of what has come to be known as the Nitra School. Proceeding from the work of Jiří Levý, Slovak scholars elaborated a scientific definition of translation as a metatext within the system of literary communication. The founder of this school of thought was Anton Popovič (1933–84). He arrived in Nitra in 1967 and co-founded with František Miko the Centre for Literary Communication and Experimental Methodology with the objective of developing a theory of literary communication, and with it also a communicative theory of literary translation. Popovič outlined his theory in a number of publications, namely Poetika umeleckého prekladu (Poetics of literary translation, 1971) and Umelecký preklad v ČSSR (Literary translation in Czechoslovakia, 1974), and eventually formulated it more fully in his monograph Teória umeleckého prekladu (Theory of literary translation, 1975; translated into Hungarian, Russian and Serbo-Croatian). He also edited the volume Originál/Preklad, Interpretačná terminológia (Original/Translation, Interpretational terminology) in 1984. Another important publication by Popovič is Dictionary for the Analysis of Literary Translation (1976). Popovič’s contribution to translation studies is analysed in Gentzler (1993).

An undesirable aspect, in the 1970s and 1980s, was – just as in the Czech Lands and elsewhere in the Soviet sphere of influence – the widespread practice of the translation of poetry with the aid of ‘interlinear translations’. This was theoretically justified by the argument that poetry could only be translated by a poet. The real reason, however, was political rather than literary, in that the Slovak poets were simply copying the practice prevalent in the Soviet Union (see Russian tradition). Although on occasion the cooperation between a linguist and a poet undoubtedly resulted in fine translations, in most instances it failed to enrich the storehouse of Slovak literary translation.

Because of the lack of qualified experts, non-literary translation prior to the 1940s – much as literary translation – largely relied on Czech translations. Emancipation from Czech as an intermediary language began only after World War II. The 1970s witnessed the beginning of a major translation drive from many languages, a process which has continued to gather momentum under the independent Slovak Republic.

While there must have been some interpreting at diplomatic and governmental level during Slovakia’s brief wartime ‘independence’ as a German client state, professional interpreting did not begin in earnest until after World War II.

**Professional organizations and translator training**

As in the Czech Lands, literary translators in Slovakia after World War II were organized as a section of the Slovak Writers’ Union; this became a member of FIT in 1970. Owing to a less drastic process of political ‘normalization’ in Slovakia, the Slovak Writers’ Union was not dissolved and the Slovak translators’ membership in FIT therefore continued uninterrupted. For internal purposes, however, there existed from the 1970s an organization under the Slovak Literary Fund, called the Slovak Translators’ Centre; unlike its Czech parallel organization this included both literary and non-literary translators.

University-level teaching of translation in Slovakia began in 1968 in Bratislava, followed in 1973 by the establishment in Nitra of a postgraduate course for translators leading to a degree thesis and its defence. Thanks to the pioneering work of Anton Popovič, the department in Nitra gained international renown for its research and publications.

**Further reading**

Southeast Asian traditions

'Southeast Asia' is a relatively new term, having been devised during World War II to describe the geographical area south of China and east of India. This region can be divided into two parts. There are the 'mainland states' of Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. The cultures of these states remain strongly influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism. Below a latitude seven degrees north of the equator lie the 'island states' of Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Brunei and the Philippines. Although historically these states were also influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism, they accepted Islam from the thirteenth century onwards. The northern part of the Philippines was converted to Catholicism under Spanish influence after 1565. Vietnam has been strongly influenced by its political relationships with China; other Southeast Asian states have also maintained strong commercial ties with China for over two thousand years.

Contact with the major world civilizations of India, the Middle East, China and Europe has involved exposure to a variety of languages, including Chinese, Sanskrit, Pali, Tamil, Arabic, Persian, Dutch, English and French. Southeast Asian translation practices reflect this complex intermingling of influences: on the one hand, extensive contact among local literary traditions; and on the other, the long-standing contact with major international religious and, later, secular literatures.

Contact, in general, has been expressed in a number of forms: through the direct translation of clearly identifiable source texts, but also through borrowing, adaptation, imitation and the creation of new works based on various degrees of knowledge of the source texts. This contact has been further complicated by the fact that written manuscripts have largely served as the basis for oral recitation in specific social contexts, and that these recitations must be further understood as intertextually related to other forms of performance, in particular the wayang shadow-puppet theatre and dance, as well as to the plastic arts of bas reliefs, murals, sculpture and temple architecture.

Classical South Asian sacred texts in Southeast Asia

There is evidence, from almost the beginning of the Common Era (ce), of the presence of powerful kingdoms in Southeast Asia whose major political, social and cultural practices were strongly influenced by South Asian models. Later there would be further influence from the expansion of Theravada Buddhism to the Pyu kingdom in the sixth century and then extensively throughout the mainland from the twelfth century.

Sacred languages and literatures

Sanskrit inscriptions, attesting to a knowledge of Indic literature, and in particular of Indian metres, are widespread from the fourth century, while inscriptions in indigenous languages appear two centuries later. The earliest surviving written record is a Khmer inscription (611 ce) in a Southern Indic script, which includes a number of Sanskrit terms. As the Khmer language developed in later centuries, Pali terms were also introduced. These same influences can also be seen in Burmese. The Mahayana Buddhist kingdom of Srivijaya in South Sumatra has left a small number of metrical inscriptions in Old Malay dating from 684 ce; they too are written in a Southern Indian script and contain many Sanskrit words. The first inscriptions in Old Javanese date from 732 ce, and again the presence of Indian words is pervasive. The earliest evidence of written Burmese dates from the eleventh century; this includes records incised on stone slabs and some fragments of palm leaf manuscripts plastered on walls in the old capital of Pagan. Particularly significant is the Mya-zei-di Inscription of Prince Rajakumar (1113), which presents translations into Pyu, Mon and Pali of the same text.

Religious professionals maintained ritual texts in their original languages at the centre of the various literary polysystems. Commentaries in both the original language and in translation were, however, also important. A Chinese work of the sixth century, the Gaoseng zhuan, tells of a Kashmiri prince who was converted to Buddhism at the beginning of the fifth century and travelled to 'Java' to preach his new-found faith there. He
translated a text of the Mulasarvastivada school into a local language. In a surviving, perhaps eighth-century, version of the Buddhist text, the Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, each Sanskrit verse is followed by an Old Javanese paraphrase. The practice of the reading and immediate paraphrase of religious texts persists in Hindu Bali to the present day.

The epics

Among the nobility, less ascetic interests prevailed. The major translations and adaptations of the Classical period are based primarily on heroic texts: the two Sanskrit epics, the Ramayana by Valmiki and the Mahabharata by Vyasa. Other heroic texts include the tales of the Buddha's past lives (jatakas) from the Khuddaka-nikaya of the Pali Buddhist Canon and the extra-canonical Pannyasa Jatakani. A number of other Hindu and Buddhist texts were also translated, including the legendary Harimvansa, and the Buddhist fables of the Panchatantra.

Of the two epics, the Ramayana was the more prominent, and numerous versions are found throughout Southeast Asia. Santosh Desai believes that this epic travelled along two routes to Southeast Asia: along the southern sea route from Gujarat and south India into Java, Sumatra, and Malaya; and along the eastern land route from Bengal into Burma, Thailand and Laos. Cambodia and Vietnam may have received it partly from Java and partly from India (Ramanujan 1991: 33). One of the most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions from the eastern coast at Vo-can can be dated to the third century CE and contains some words taken from that epic. Another inscription containing the name 'Valmiki' has been found at Tra-Kieu, an area ruled by the Campa king Prakasadharmo from the second half of the seventh century CE. The earliest evidence for knowledge of the Valmiki Ramayana in Burma is once again found in early inscriptions.

Because of the variety of languages involved in transmission, not all of the written texts are based on Valmiki's original version. An exemplary Old Javanese Ramayana, displaying a large variety of Indian metres, was probably written before 930 CE. It seems to be based on a later Southern Indian Sanskrit text of the sixth to seventh centuries, the Ravana Vadha (the Death of Rahwana, Rama's enemy). P. J. Zoetmulder suggests that the writer, known as Yogiswara in later Balinese tradition, gave himself a certain amount of liberty to depart from his model, by adding clarifications in certain places and abbreviating others (1974: 229). A focus on Ravana is also characteristic of the Malay Hikayat Seri Rama, which has survived only in the Arabic script, uses carefully modified terms to refer to God, and includes the Prophet Adam as a major character. This text may have been derived from Javanese versions used for shadow puppet performances.

In Cambodia, the earliest reference to the Ramayana is the Val Kantel inscription (seventh century), which mentions the recitation of both this epic and of texts from the scriptural tradition known as the Purana (myths). Bas reliefs illustrating stories from the Mahabharata indicate knowledge of this work as well. There are two later Khmer versions of the Ramayana – Ramakerti I, II (16th–18th centuries) – in which Sakyamuni Buddha is described as a bodhisattva, a potential Buddha who nevertheless refuses to enter into Nirvana until he is able to take all of created existence along with him. The best-known epic poem in Laos is Phra lak Phra lam, the Lao version of the Ramayana which is set in the Mekong Valley. The Tai-Loe version of the Ramayana is somewhat similar to the Khmer version: Rama is assimilated to the bodhisattva Sakyamuni, and his struggle with Ravana is linked to the Buddha's victory over Mara, the evil one who tried to tempt him with material pleasures. In Burma, U Aung Phyoo composed a version of the Ramayana in verse, the Rama Thagyin (1775). Subsequently, U Tui (1751–96) composed a verse rendition of the Valmiki Ramayana. The Siamese version, Ramakirti (Rama's glory) or Ramakan (Rama's story), completed by King Rama I and his translator-poets in 1797, incorporates many Thai legends and customs in its 50,000 verses. The text shows possible influence from the Tamil Ramayana of Kamban since the names of many characters are clearly not Sanskrit.

In Island Southeast Asia, the Mahabharata overshadowed the Ramayana in importance. Translations of the major parts of the 'Northern' recension into Old Javanese were done before 1000 CE. A prose redaction of the fourth book,
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the 'Wirataparwa,' bears a date equivalent to 996 ce; and some other books, although undated, are also dedicated to the same king. The translations were almost certainly done by a number of writers, judging by differences in language and style. The introductory verses to the 'Wirataparwa' describe the translator's aim as being to 'Javanize the work conceived in Vyasa's mind' (Zoetmulder 1974: 87). The story is to be told 'in accordance with the truth and exactly as it happened, without ambiguities and without verbosity'. These comments were clearly directed against other workers who were inclined towards 'embellishments' of their own making, and 'playful liberties' (ibid.: 88). The broad outlines of the original stories were followed, with some shortenings and omissions. Quotations in verse from the original Sanskrit remain scattered throughout the translations, both for their own intrinsic interest and as a way of anchoring the translations within the original source texts (ibid.).

An important poetic tradition developed in Old Javanese over the next two centuries, drawing on various stories from the Mahabharata. Increasingly, these literary works gained a local flavour. As Zoetmulder notes, '[t]hese men and women with Indian names are essentially Javanese, acting like Javanese, thinking like Javanese, and living in a Javanese environment' (ibid.: 188). These poetic narratives were preserved, and rewritten in Bali, and also spread to the Malay peninsula and Southern Thailand, together with the more indigenous Javanese love stories of Raden Panji. In Malaya, these imported tales had such prestige that texts were occasionally created which purported to be 'translated from the Javanese', even though no original texts have as yet been found (Robson 1967: 7).

Buddhist texts

Popular hagiography of the Buddha, including both the canonical and apocryphal tales of his past lives, has also exerted an enormous influence on the form and content of Southeast Asian art and literature, most particularly on the Mainland; but their influence is also evident in the bas reliefs of temples and sculptures from the eighth to the twelfth centuries in Java and Sumatra. Frescoes in the twelfth-century Burmese Lokahteikpan Temple in Pagan depict the canonical jataka and are identified by lines written in Burmese. Many versions of the Vessantara Jataka exist throughout the different regions of Thailand and are still recited at the beginning of Buddhist Lent.

In the mid-eighteenth century two monks, Sayadaw Shin Kaweinda and U Awbatha, produced the first literary translations of the canonical jatakas into Burmese. U Awbatha (fl. 1752–87), whose prose style influenced the rest of Burmese literature, completed the first formal translation of the Mahanipata. Burmese scholar Htin Aung describes this translation as following the Pali originals closely 'as far as the incidents of the stories were concerned, but he [U Awbatha] portrayed character in detail, and made the characters more lifelike and therefore more interesting' (Htin Aung 1957: 47). This reflects the tendency in Burmese 'translation' towards redaction and adaptation rather than literal translation, a common trait throughout the region. The minor jataka of the Khuddaka-nikaya were subsequently translated by the Nyaung-gan Hsaya-daw (head of the Nyaung-gan Monastery). Later a Burmese translation was done of the apocryphal Pannyasa Jatakani, a text which became much more popular in Laos, Thailand and Cambodia.

Finally the Pali canon, or sections from it, was rendered into most major mainland Southeast Asian languages. During the Middle Period (16–19th centuries) in Cambodia, unknown translators developed Khmer versions of the Pali Tipitaka, with the most commonly preserved sections being the monastic rules (vinaya) and teachings (sutta). They also developed samray, the generic name for a Pali Buddhist religious treatise, containing both a Khmer translation and an explanatory commentary. This follows a popular oral tradition of reciting a religious text, translating it into Khmer, then commenting on it. Thailand's King Rama I (1782–1809) obtained the tipitaka from Sri Lanka and sponsored a grand council to standardize the Thai version in Pali.

Recent editions of sacred texts

Because of their continuing religious and cultural importance, major Buddhist texts have continued to be edited and translated to the

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present day. In 1856 the Burmese King Mindon, founder of the royal city of Mandalay and convenor of the Fifth Buddhist Council, ordered the engraving of the Burmese-Pali Tipitaka onto 729 stone stelae. One hundred years later, the Sixth Buddhist Council was convened in Burma (1954–6) to revise the engraved text and publish a print edition in Burmese.

In 1969 the Buddhist Institute of Cambodia published the complete Pali text of the Tipitaka based on a critical edition done in Thailand, together with a Khmer translation in 110 volumes. This edition was completed under French influence, with its more academic approach to editing and translation. Several Cambodian verse adaptations of the Mahanipata were made from this Tipitaka collection.


Islam in Island Southeast Asia

The coming of Islam to Island Southeast Asia after the beginning of the thirteenth century put an end to the formal creation and consumption of Hindu and Buddhist texts in this region. Some texts survived in suitably adapted versions; others were not recopied, allowed to rot, or sometimes either burned or consigned to be used as waste paper for cleansing purposes (Sheikh Nuruddin ar-Raniri 1992: 29).

Again, religious texts (the Qur’an and the stories of the life of the Prophet Muhammad, hadith), together with ‘explanations’ in indigenous languages, were at the centre of the system, while adventure stories continued to appeal strongly to the men of the court (and love stories to their women). The earliest legends derived from the Shia traditions, which were later considered to be unorthodox throughout the region. A. Samad Ahmad notes that ‘the greater part’ of Muslim chronicles in Malay from c.1300 to c. 1600s were ‘translations or adaptations of Persian stories and most follow Persian writing styles’ (A. Samad Ahmad 1987: xix).

A major example is the Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiyah, which is based on a Persian text written in about 1350 and translated into an archaic form of classical Malay shortly thereafter. The text consists of two parts. The first tells of the martyrdom of Hasan and Husein, grandsons of the Prophet but destined never to succeed him as the leaders of Islam. The second part is a quite unhistorical account of the attempt of their half-brother, Muhammad Hannafiyah, to revenge their betrayal. The majority of the Malay text is fluent and idiomatic, although sections lapse into an undiomatic ‘translationese’, which is distinguished by its ‘clumsiness and weird constructions’ (Brakel 1975: 44). These, however, later have a structural purpose: they are reserved for direct quotations from Arabic and Persian, for paraphrases of Arabic phrases and quotations, and for the finer points of religious law. The two styles, as editor L. Brakel states, are ‘complementary’, and their use is structurally determined in that the different forms serve opposing purposes (ibid.). Other translations of Middle Eastern warrior stories made prior to the sixteenth century include the Hikayat Amir Hamzah, describing the battles of the uncle of the Prophet in defence of the new faith, and the Hikayat Iskandar Dzul-Karnain, the life of Alexander the Great.

The Taj as-Salatin (Crown of Kings) by Bukhari al-Jauhari was completed in the Achehnese court of Alauddin Riayat Shah in 1603. The first three chapters deal in a pantheistic manner with the nature of mankind, of God, and of the world. The remaining twenty-three chapters deal, as the colonial scholar Sir Richard Winstedt writes, ‘with such topics as death, the Caliphs and their honourable poverty, just and unjust rulers, Muslim and infidel, viziers, writers, envoy’s, officials, children, right conduct, intelligence, the science of physiognomy, the qualifications of rulers and their duties to subjects Muslim and infidel, their need to keep faith and be liberal’ (Winstedt 1977: 140). Winstedt finds the Malay ‘atrocious’ (ibid.: 138). A more recent scholar, V. Braginsky, simply notes that the text includes Persian calques, a variety of Persian poetic forms and rhymed prose, and refers to over fifty Arabic and Persian sources (Braginsky 2004: 431).

Other works translated from Persian and Arabic to the end of the nineteenth century
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include extensive theological, legal and other scientific materials (Harun Mat Piah 2002). These translations were most commonly done in a fairly literal manner.

The colonial era, c.1800–1942

During the colonial era, the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and North Borneo were governed by the British; Indonesia by the Dutch. In more recent historical times, Myanmar was colonized by the British, Thailand remained independent, and the other states – Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam – became French colonies (‘Indochina’). Increased translation activity between European and Chinese literatures is a hallmark of this period.

The first impact of European translation activity in the seventeenth century was associated with the Christian missions. In order to promote Christianity in Vietnam, Portuguese Jesuit missionaries created a Latin script for Vietnamese (ngoc ngu) in the seventeenth century, and used it to translate the Catechism, the Lives of the Saints, and other Christian works. French Catholic priests in the late seventeenth century and American Baptist missionaries in the early nineteenth century were also interested in producing Christian texts in Thai. Some Gospels in Thai were printed in the 1820s–1830s; others soon followed. Along with the spread of British colonial influence, Christian missionaries began their activities in Burma during the eighteenth century. The first Burmese translations of the Gospels appeared in 1815. The American Baptist Mission Press printed Christian tracts and catechisms in Burmese. Adoniram Judson’s translation of the Gospel of St Matthew was printed in 1817. The Karen Mission Press, established in 1837, merged with the Moulmein Mission Press in 1855, and together they pioneered the translation and printing of the Bible in Sgaw, Pwo Karen and Mon languages.

Increasing poverty and political oppression in China led to the widespread dispersal of an overseas Chinese population throughout Southeast Asia during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This community was eager for reading material but, as a result of regular local intermarriage patterns, frequently preferred to read translations in indigenous languages. Some of these translations drew on Chinese heroic tales. The Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo yanyi) was popular in many Southeast Asian countries. It was translated into quoc ngu in Vietnam, rendered into a prose version by Thailand’s Phra Khlang in 1802, and translated by Nou Kan into Cambodian, then serialized in the Buddhist Institute’s literary magazine Kambujasuriya from 1948 and reprinted in 2005. Chinese literature in translation remained popular throughout the twentieth century. In Indonesia, it has been estimated that some 759 works of Chinese origin were translated into ‘Low Malay’ between about 1870 and 1950 (Sumardjo 2004: 27).

The impetus for the translation of European literature increased from the mid-nineteenth century, with French literature more popular in Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia and British literature elsewhere. The translation of fables and tales was initially quite popular. In Burma Aesop’s Fables was translated from English in 1880, as were One Thousand and One Nights in 1886 and Arab Tales in 1889. Tales of adventure were also popular in this early modern period. During the latter part of the century, the novels of Sir Walter Scott, with their extensive dialogue, were published in Burmese translation; these significantly influenced the development of the modern Burmese novel.

In Indonesia, it has been estimated that over 230 works of European literature were produced during this period. A few were by major authors, such as Tolstoy, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Dickens, Victor Hugo and Guy de Maupassant. The overwhelming majority were more sensational works by popular authors such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Edgar Rice Burroughs (Tarzan), Sax Rohmer (Fu Manchu), and the authors of adventure stories such as Alexandre Dumas, Rider Haggard and Jules Verne (Sumardjo 2004: 57).

Allowing for local tastes and the impact of the various colonial centres, these patterns were common throughout the rest of Southeast Asia. In Cambodia translations from Lao, French, Greek, Sanskrit, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese and English were made during the twentieth century. In 1901, the French institutionalized the academic study of Cambodia with the establishment of the École Française d’Extrême-
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Orient, which subsequently took over the duty of caring for Angkor Wat in 1907. This influence encouraged Khmer translations of works by a number of French philosophers and writers, among them Molière, Corneille, Alexandre Dumas and Hector Malot.

In Vietnam, Nguyen Van Vinh’s translations of Molière’s plays became available in 1915, followed by Pham Quynh’s translations of Corneille’s plays in 1920. By 1920 Nguyen Van Vinh’s translation of Le Malade imaginaire had been staged in Hanoi. The staffs of the two periodicals Dong-duong tap-chi (1913–16) and Nam Phong tap-chi (July 1917–December 1934) produced and published translations from Chinese and French, including Descartes’ Discours de la méthode, Epictetus’ Enchiridion (Manual), as well as Corneille’s poems and Pham Quynh’s translations of his tragedies Le Cid and Horace. The staff of Nam Phong also translated early Vietnamese texts in Chinese and nom into quoc ngu, for example Hong Duc quoc-am thi-tap (Collected Poems of the Hong Duc Period) and Phan Huy Chu’s Lich trieu hien chuong loai chi (Regulations Made by the Various Dynasties, Arranged in Categories). Dong-duong tap-chi ran a section entitled ‘Selections from French literature translated into Vietnamese’.

Nguyen Trong-Thuat, the editor of Dong-duong tap-chi, translated a number of French novels including Antoine François Prévost’s Manon Lescaut (1932), Alexandre Dumas’ Les trois mousquetaires (1921), and Alain René Lesage’s Gil Blas. By the late 1930s, the works of Western writers such as Balzac, Flaubert, Dickens, Tolstoy, Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, André Gide, Pascal, Dostoyevsky and Goethe were available to Vietnamese readers in translation.

Similarly, in Burma a large number of adapted Western novels had appeared by 1920, with favourites adopting themes of love and adventure. Shwei U-daung (1888–1974) was a master adaptor and translator of Victorian fiction, including works by Rider Haggard, Conan Doyle, G. W. M. Reynolds, Mrs. Henry Wood and Charles Dickens. Fiction writer P. Monin (1883–1940) also adapted Western books on sociology and psychology. In 1937 a group of Rangoon University students established the Red Dragon Book Club to publish translations of Marxist classics. One of their members, the young nationalist Ma Amar, translated Maurice Collis’ Trials in Burma, published in 1938, which influenced the development of nationalist literature in Burma.

World War II and after

The Japanese Occupation of much of Southeast Asia and the subsequent gradual dismantling of colonial empires led to the discovery and translation of new literary sources. These now included Russian, American and other European texts not previously available in particular colonies.

In Vietnam, while the war was still raging, a group of progressive French-educated intellectuals started a new weekly, Thanh-nghi, in 1943. They published translations of novels by French, English, American, Italian and Chinese writers, among them Somerset Maugham, Pearl Buck and Ts’ai Yu. From 1945 onwards there were many translations of Russian and Chinese works on political theory and Marxist economics under the influence of the Vietnamese Republic.

In the South, between 1955 and 1963 existentialism was popularized through translations appearing in various books and newspapers.

The Burmese government established the Burma Translation Society in 1947, which provided the impetus for new translations. Shwei U-daung continued his tremendous translation activity, including his translation of Mikhail Sholokhov’s And Quiet Flows the Don. Since the military coup in 1962, the government has exercised strict censorship on literature and the production of translations. This has not stopped the popularization of spy novels and romance, represented by the popular fiction of Mickey Spillane and James Hadley Chase.

The new translations gave Southeast Asian writers the chance to explore new literary styles as they worked to create new ‘modern’ literatures in their own languages. In Indonesia, for example, the innovative prose writer Idrus developed a sparse, cynical approach to the short story, which was influenced by his exposure to the Dutch writers of the 1930s. The anarchist poet Chairil Anwar studied (and plagiarized) T. S. Eliot, Rilke and the Dutch poets Slauerhoff and Marsmann. Pramoedya Ananta Toer, who was to become Indonesia’s greatest prose writer of the twentieth century, learned eagerly from
his translations of Steinbeck, Tolstoy, Sholokov, Gorky, Kuprin and Pasternak.

As the late twentieth century unfolded, the scope of works available in translation has continued to expand. In Indonesia, again, the range of writers translated has expanded to include Brecht, Neruda, Brodsky and Seamus Heaney. The list of a contemporary major publisher, Gramedia, includes works by Paulo Coelho, Amy Tan, Danielle Steel, John Grisham, Tolkien and Sydney Sheldon. Translation, in Indonesia and in other Southeast Asian nations, has entered the global marketplace. Harry Potter is everywhere. Occasionally, however, the opposite has also taken place. Different translation projects prioritizing different source languages/cultures have sometimes deliberately deselected specific source cultures. As reported in Stecconi and Torres Reyes (1997), not a single Anglo-American author featured in three anthologies of translations published in the Philippines in 1971 and 1975. This was done because the national resistance movement decried, among other things, an ‘educational system set up by the American colonizers’ to ensure that Filipinos remain ‘estranged from themselves and their values’ (1997: 71). Instead, prioritizing translations of literary texts from Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as indigenous texts written in the different languages of the Philippines, these anthologies challenged Anglo-American literary hegemony and simultaneously participated in elaborating a narrative in which local Filipino resistance could be framed as part of a wider international movement of self-determination. Similarly, there have been few translations from Dutch into Indonesian after 1950, or from Russian into Vietnamese after the early 1980s.

Overall, the details of the contemporary situation described here confirm Richard Jacquemond’s four hypotheses on ‘the problems of translating across power differentials’ (Jacquemond 1992; discussed in Robinson 1997: 31–2). Southeast Asian publishers translate extensively but still somewhat selectively from works controlled by major Western publishers, and are unable to sell much back in return. Except for a few major writers who confirm stereotypes of repressive Asian military regimes and the suffering of beautiful Asian women as victims of traditional patriarchal authorities, there is little outside interest in a region best known for a foreign war lost as long ago as 1975. Some writers translate their own work into English, or have friends do it in the desire to reach a wider audience. Some also translate, or are translated into, other major regional languages, as happens particularly in the Philippines. Examples include Lina Sagara-Reyes’ ‘Storya’, originally in English, then translated into Cebuano and Tagalog (1990); and poet Jose F. Lacaba, who produces English translations of his own poems (1980, 1989). On the whole, however, barriers of nationalism and language differentials continue to limit the flow of literatures within the region itself.

Further reading

HARRY AVELING AND TERI SHAFFER YAMADA

Spanish tradition

The cultural diversity of Spanish history is not always visible in the modern Spain of 39 million inhabitants. The language known as Spanish, more correctly called Castilian, is now spoken throughout Spain but is only one of several Romance languages that developed from Latin after the Roman conquest of Hispania in the third century AD. The most active minority languages are Catalan in the northeast with its centre in Barcelona, Galician in the northwest, and Basque, a non-Romance language that has survived around the western French/Spanish border. The historical languages of Aragon, Leon and Asturias have also contributed to the linguistic mosaic. Collectively known as Romance, the Latin-derived languages were moreover spoken alongside the Arabic, Hebrew and Latin of medieval Spain. This considerable internal diversity has been both enhanced and repressed by translation. Translation took place into several languages throughout much of the medieval Reconquista, when Christians...
slowly 'reconquered' the peninsula from Islamic rule. The systematic privileging of Castilian as a target language can then be dated rather arbitrarily from 1492, initiating a long period of repression of internal diversity that lasted at least through to the death of Franco in 1975. A certain cultural plurality is nevertheless being rediscovered in present-day Spain.

The Reconquista (718–1492)

Major parts of Spain were under Islamic rule from 711 through to the thirteenth century, although Granada remained Islamic until 1492. The centuries of the Reconquista included long periods of co-existence and influence, made possible by the efforts of intercultural groups able to mediate between Arabic and Romance. Medieval translators in Spain were often Jews, Conversos (Jews publicly converted to Christianity) or Mozarabs (Christians who had lived under Islamic rule). There was also a rich variety of international scholars who translated into Latin. Like Sicily and Constantinople, Spain was a multicultural region between the Christian and Islamic worlds.

Islamic Spain had the most advanced scientific knowledge of the time, largely thanks to the Greek texts translated into Arabic in the ninth century. Regular translation efforts from Arabic into Latin date from the early twelfth century, when Adelard of Bath and the Converso Petrus Alphonsus brought knowledge of Arabic astronomy to England, and Bishop Michael of Tarazona, in the north of Spain, sponsored the translation of proto-scientific texts from Arabic into Latin, quite probably to meet a French demand. This northward flow was strengthened by Peter the Venerable (c.1092–1156), the French abbot of Cluny who visited Spain and organized the first Latin translation of the Qur’ān and explanatory documents in 1142–3. The translation was carried out by a team comprising Robert of Kent, Herman of Dalmatia, the Mozarab Peter of Toledo, the abbot’s own French notary Peter, and a native informant called, with suitable anonymity, ‘Mahumeth’. Robert and Herman were also part of a small network of foreign translators who were in Spain in search of Arabic science. The translations carried out by this group were mainly in the fields of astronomy, astrology and mathematics.

While in Spain, Peter the Venerable met Archbishop Raymond of Toledo, who was also French and also became interested in sponsoring translations from Arabic. There is little evidence that Raymond founded any ‘college’ of translators, but successive archbishops at Toledo did continue to favour the translative, and possibly educative activity that has been called the School of Toledo. According to González Palencia (1942), Raymond’s prime interest was the accumulation of wealth and the gaining of power over the recently conquered lands. He met Peter the Venerable in Salamanca in 1142 and was presumably aware of the latter’s project to have the Qur’ān translated into Latin. This might have inspired him to sponsor John of Spain’s translation of Costa ben Luca’s *De differentia spiritus et animae*, the only translation in which he is clearly named as a patron (d’Alverny 1964).

The main figure justifying talk of a ‘School of Toledo’ (Rose 1874) was Gerard of Cremona (c.1114–87), Italian translator of Arabic science into Latin. According to the *Vita* written by his associates or socii, Gerard went to Toledo in Spain for love of Ptolemy’s *Almagest*, which he could not find among the Latins. He learned Arabic at Toledo and, according to the *Vita*, translated some seventy-one texts from Arabic into Latin, mostly in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and medicine. Although he probably coordinated some kind of teamwork, Gerard’s translations have a recognizable style. In the words of the *Vita*, ‘To the end of his life he continued to transmit to the Latin world, as if to his own beloved heir, whatever books he thought finest, in many subjects, as accurately and as plainly as he could’ (quoted in translation in McVaugh 1974). Translations undertaken in Toledo during the following century included those by the philosopher Michael Scot, who translated Aristotle and al-Butriji before moving to Bologna in 1220, and Herman of Germany, who translated Aristotle and Averroës from Arabic into Latin in the 1240s.

Most translations into Latin during this period were extremely literal, sometimes word-for-word. Traditionally applied to sacred texts, these strategies had been transferred to philosophical and scientific translating at least since
Boethius and John Scotus Eriugena. The resulting opacity was nevertheless offset by secondary discourses such as marginal notes, glosses and extended commentaries. Omissions and transformations were also used to Christianize certain texts.

As the translations from Arabic moved northwards, Christian epics in Latin or French were coming southwards, requiring translation or adaptation. Although troubadours visited the Spanish courts from the late twelfth century, major romances would not be translated before the second half of the thirteenth century, with anti-chivalrous elements omitted and adultery minimized in deference to the Spanish church.

From 1250 the Castilian vernacular was also receiving scientific texts from Arabic, significantly sponsored by Alfonso X (1221–84) possibly as part of a nation-building policy for Castile and to enhance his candidature to become Holy Roman Emperor. King of Castile (Spain) from 1252, Alfonso X is known as el Sabio (‘the Wise’) more for his sponsorship of learning than for his disastrous political and economic management of Castile. He was an ‘active general editor’ (Proctor 1951: 3) for numerous translations from Arabic, mostly into Castilian and mostly in the field of astronomy. These Alphonsine translations, mostly carried out at Toledo and mostly in the field of astronomy, should not be confused with the earlier church-sponsored work there. In some prominent twelfth-century cases, a Jew or Mozarab had rendered the Arabic text into an oral Romance version, which a Christian clerk had then translated into a written Latin version. The Alphonsine translators took over this method but now wrote down the Romance version. Collaboration was sometimes extended to include a glosador to supply explanatory comments, a capitulador to arrange the work into chapters, and an emendador to correct the Castilian. The main Alphonsine translators were Jewish, often working in collaboration with Christian clerks. A team of Italians associated with Alfonso’s imperial candidature also rendered several of the Castilian translations into Latin and French.

Repeatedly opposed by the aristocracy, Alfonso X left Castile in political turmoil. The following century would see translations into the rival Hispanic languages, especially into Catalan. Through numerous translations of classical and Renaissance Latin texts, to be followed in the fifteenth century by work from the Italian of Dante and Boccaccio, Catalan often functioned as a bridge to other Hispanic traditions. A small body of texts was translated into Galician, and a team in Avignon worked from Greek into Aragonese under Juan Fernández de Heredia (c.1310–96). Castilian was nevertheless the target language used by Pero Lopez de Ayala (1332–1407), whose calques from French and Latin texts helped move Castilian prose away from the Semitic structures introduced by the Alphonsine translators. A great survivor in very troubled times, Pero Lopez de Ayala had a long public career during which he was, among many other things, advisor to the king of France, negotiator with the house of Lancaster, and Royal Chancellor of Castile. He was twice taken prisoner, once by Edward the Black Prince for six months, later by the Portuguese. Late in life he retired to his estates where he wrote chronicles based on his observations and translated selections from Gregory the Great, Livy, Isidorus Hispanensis, Guido de Colonna and Boccaccio. These translations played an important role in the introduction of Italian humanism to Spain.

Serious contacts between Spanish scholars and Italian humanists might be dated from about 1392, when Coluccio Salutati wrote to Juan Fernández de Heredia asking for a copy of his Aragonese version of Plutarch. These contacts resulted in translations and retranslations of the great texts of antiquity. Whereas the Italians translated into Latin, the Spanish worked into Romance. The transfer flow was thus generally from Italy into Spain, with many Greek texts being rendered into Hispanic Romance from intermediary Latin versions done in Italy. This would indeed be a distinctive feature of Spanish proto-humanism. But there was also significant mediation by French, particularly in the case of work into Catalan.

The contact between Spanish scholars and Italian Humanism was marked by theoretical differences. In the 1430s, Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456), Bishop of Burgos and translator of Seneca and Cicero, criticized Leonardo Bruni’s Latin version of Aristotle’s Ethics. This attracted attention in Italy in 1436–7 and led to a debate. In De interpretatione recta Bruni had privileged
target-language eloquence; Cartagena insisted on unadorned source-text fidelity, arguing that eloquence resided in substance and not style. Since Cartagena did not know Greek, he was in fact defending scholastic translations of Aristotle. Although opposing Humanist eloquence, Cartagena was not calling for word-for-word literalism. He instead recognized that ‘each language has its own way of speaking’, and that texts should be adapted to these differences except in the case of ‘doctrines whose value derives from the authority of the person who pronounced them’ (Santoyo 1987: 33).

This restriction of course harks back to Jerome and would be picked up in about 1440 by Alfonso de Madrigal (c.1400–55). De Madrigal translated Libro de las Cronicas o tiempos de Eusebio Cesariense from Latin into Castilian and insisted on word-for-word methods (interpretacion) for such cases but then justified the use of ‘exposition, commentary or glosses’ for other text types (Norton 1984: 31–2). He thus distinguished two kinds of translation for two kinds of situation. The freer of the methods was supported by the belief that ‘there is nothing that is signified by the words of one language that cannot be signified by the words of another’ (Russell 1985: 31). This theory outlined a correction of Jerome, since special conditions were to apply to translations into the vernacular.

In practice, however, fifteenth-century Spanish translators were already remarkably free with their expositions, commentaries and glosses. One of the reasons for the increasing freedom in translation methods could have been the need to instruct a new class of readers. The main patronage of translations had shifted from the twelfth-century church to the thirteenth-century crown and, by the fifteenth century, to the Spanish nobility. The latter, which had limited knowledge of Latin, frequently contested the power of the king. Translations thus entered local power struggles. The Marquis of Santillana (1398–1458), who led the nobles against the king, was a particularly active sponsor, receiving Latin versions directly from Italy and having Virgil, Ovid and Seneca rendered into Castilian. A French military book could thus be translated into Castilian twice in the same year, once for Santillana and again for his arch political rival (Alvar and Gómez Moreno 1987). Similarly, cognate languages had their own versions of certain texts. Paulo Orosio translated Aristotle’s Ethics from Aragonese into Castilian, and the text also existed in Catalan; Enrique de Villena translated his own Catalan into Castilian. Other works from this period include Pero Díaz de Toledo’s Castilian version of Plato’s Phaedo, translated from Leonardo Bruni’s Latin version in 1455. Many of these translators, including the Bishop of Burgos, were from Converso families, which formed a trading and intellectual class in the service of the various political powers.

In 1474–9 the Spanish nobility provoked civil war in Castile. Less than two decades later, in 1492, history looked very different. Under the Catholic Sovereigns, Castile was united with Aragon, the Inquisition had been set up, the Islamic kingdom of Granada had been defeated, the remaining Jews had been expelled, Columbus had seen the Americas, and Spain was gaining power and empire. These major changes affected translation in two ways. First, the Castilian language lost its supposed inferiority. Second, for some five centuries, the ideal of Castilian purity would periodically expel dissident cultural groups, notably Jews, Protestants, Jesuits, supporters of Napoleon, Romantic liberals, Carlists, Democrats and Republicans. All these exiled groups produced translators. Medieval translation had owed much to foreigners in Spain; translation after 1492 would often be indebted to Spaniards abroad.

The triumph of Castilian (1492–1975)

The year 1492 marks, among many other things, the first written grammar of a vernacular language, Castilian, written by Nebrija because, as he reportedly explained to Queen Isabel, ‘language accompanies empire’. Spain became the dominant political force in Europe in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, thanks not only to its colonial empire but also to Charles V’s status as Holy Roman Emperor (1519–56), king of Burgundy and the Netherlands (1506–56) and, as Carlos I, king of Spain (1516–56). At the same time as it was imposed on the American colonies, Castilian thus gained political ascendance over French,
English and the languages of northern Europe, increasingly becoming an exporter of texts. This strengthening of Castilian culture moreover combined with the continued influence of Italian to squeeze out translations into other Hispanic languages, especially Catalan. The age of empire had little room for internal diversity.

One of the products of empire was a series of laws proclaimed from 1529 to 1630 in order to regulate interpreters in the American colonies. These laws stipulated the fees, workloads and ethical obligations of interpreters working between Castilian and the American tongues, as well as the extreme punishments awaiting those who did not comply. Quite probably without much effect in the colonies, one of the texts dating back to 1583 describes interpreters as ‘the instrument by which justice is done, the natives are governed, and the injuries done to the natives are corrected’ (Gargatagli 1992, unpublished). Whatever the actual practices, the legislative rationale was not without nobility.

Spanish translation theory adjusted to the new status of Castilian. For as long as the Latin-derived languages had collectively been called Romance, to translate into them had been to romancear, on a par with vulgarizar. However, the verb traducir and its cognates, gradually adopted from the Italian Humanists in the course of the fifteenth century, could now become part of an imperialist ideology, progressively doing away with the collectively inferior Romance. The most praised expression of this change was Juan Boscán’s 1534 translation of Castiglione’s Il Cortegiano, where the translator notes that ‘to translate (traducir) this book is not really to put it into Romance (romanzalle), but to move it from one vernacular into another that is perhaps just as good’ (Santoyo 1987: 59).

The new confidence was not restricted to work from Italian. In 1528 Fernán Pérez de Oliva (c.1494–c.1531) adapted Sophocles, probably from a Latin version, ‘to show that classical ideas could be expressed in Castilian’. During the same period, Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) developed a translation theory which distinguished between three kinds of translation: following sensus, following verba, or combining both such that ‘words bring power and elegance to the senses’. This last option might be seen as an advance on classical binary oppositions, and an alternative would have been unthinkable without confidence in the vernacular. Vives recommended that the translator select a method in accordance with text type, and he generally allowed that the figures and patterns of one language should not be expressed literally in another. Apart from De ratione dicendi, published in Leuven in 1533, where he presented his theory of translation, he published other works elaborating a critical empiricist philosophy. In De disciplinis libri xx he advocated the use of the vernacular in schools and the education of women. While at Oxford in 1523 he translated Isocrates from Greek into Latin.

In 1516 Pero Fernández de Villegas claimed to have improved not only the style but also the content of the Divina Commedia. In 1526 Alonso Fernández de Madrid amplified Erasmus’s Enchiridion to about twice its original length, omitting some passages and adopting a preaching tone not to be found in the original. Although not typical of the period, such translations extended the notions of ‘exposition, commentary or glosses’ defended by Madrigal. Yet the use of amplification now also owed something to the translation methods of Erasmus, and to the growing influence of Protestantism.

Protestant and protesting translators

One of the main factors allowing the consecration of Castilian was the development of serious philology in Spain. Although certainly an offshoot of Italian Humanism, Spanish philology underwent a strong Erasmian influence, mediated by the scholars at the University of Alcalá de Henares who, under Cardinal Cisneros, prepared the first polyglot Bible to be printed (1502–17). Erasmus was translated into Castilian from 1511; Spain was one of the few countries where his works circulated freely. Cisneros even invited Erasmus to the University of Alcalá, without success. However, Erasmus’s Bible was violently attacked when it arrived in Spain in 1520. The combination of philology and foreign Protestant ideas proved dangerous. It invited translators to assess religious source texts critically, increasingly challenging the orthodox Castilian–Catholic interpretations. One result was the evangelistic expansion of Fernández de Madrid’s version of Erasmus. Another, more serious, was persecution by the Holy Office, the Inquisition.
The Counter-Reformation that put an end to Etienne Dolet in 1546 would make life difficult for many Spanish translators as well. Juan Luis Vives is said to have left Spain in order to avoid the Inquisition. The Erasmians who then went into exile in the mid-sixteenth century included the Bible translators Juan de Valdés, Francisco de Enzinas, Juan Pérez de Pineda (arrested by the Inquisition in 1557), Casiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera (who revised Casiodoro’s Bible and went unpunished). A further Protestant challenge to orthodoxy was Johannes Leizarraga’s translation of the New Testament into Basque, carried out at the request of the Calvinist synod of Pau, France, in 1571.

Influenced by Protestant thought while in Leuven, Francisco de Enzinas (1520–52) moved to Wittenberg in 1541 where he began a Castilian version of the New Testament, published in Antwerp in 1543. Aware that Emperor Charles V had ordered all copies to be seized, Enzinas promptly dedicated the translation to him and went to Brussels to give him the first copy. When the emperor asked if he was the author Enzinas replied ‘No, the Holy Spirit is the author … I am only its faithful servant and weak instrument’ (Menéndez y Pelayo 1952–3: 2.17). The title of the translation does indeed specify Habla Dios (‘God Speaks’). The translation was nevertheless proscribed and Enzinas was imprisoned in Brussels, possibly to protect him from being sent to the Inquisition in Spain. He had no trouble escaping and ended up in England, where he became Professor of Greek at Cambridge. Enzinas also translated Plutarch, Lucian and Livy into Castilian, although his use of protective pseudonyms and anonymity makes the attributions uncertain.

One of a group of Protestants who fled from Seville, Casiodoro de Reina’s (c.1520–94) translation of both testaments of the Bible (the Biblia del Oso) was the first in Castilian from the original languages. It reportedly took him ten years and was printed in Basle in 1569. Later revised by Cipriano de Valera, an exile who had also fled from Seville, the text was circulated in Spain by the Bible Society from the middle of the nineteenth century and remained the standard Bible of Spanish Protestants until the mid-twentieth century. In 1562 the Inquisition burned Casiodoro de Reina in effigy.

In these same years, Fray Luis de León (c.1527–91) was imprisoned partly because of eroticism in his translation of the Song of Songs. Fray Luis and the Protestant translators shared an insistence on work from the original tongues. This principle now applied beyond the religious sphere and was espoused by the likes of Diego Gracían, official secretary and ‘interpreter of languages’ to King Charles V and Felipe II. Gracían ostensibly rendered classical texts from Greek (to which he claimed Castilian was closer than any other language!), but his Plutarch was calqued on a French version and some of his other translations from Greek were mediated by Erasmus’s Latin versions. The Protestants and philologists tended not to be so trustful of intermediary translations.

A major move towards Castilian purity came in 1558–9 when Felipe II, known to English history as the man who sent the Armada, set up an index of prohibited books and severely restricted study abroad. This move was associated with campaigns against Protestants and long-standing suspicion of Conversos. Spain virtually closed itself off from the movement of European ideas, becoming isolated from the secularization of philosophical and scientific thought. The translations of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were thus mostly of classical texts, once again often from Latin or Italian intermediary versions, now with major degrees of ideological appropriation, as when Pero Sánchez de Viana translated Ovid in accordance with Christian beliefs. In order to perform such ideological acrobatics, explanatory glosses became full commentaries. Francisco de Quevedo thought nothing of publishing paragraphs of his own with passages translated more or less faithfully from Plutarch. But this Castilian confidence was no longer the expression of a triumphant empire.

The decline of Spain as a superpower

The seventeenth century, continuing the Golden Age of Spanish literature, translated mostly from Latin, Italian and French, alongside oddities like Garcilaso de la Vega Inca’s translation of two lyrical texts from Quechuan in 1609, and the world’s most famous pseudo-translation, Cervantes’ Don Quijote, the first part of which was published in 1613. As France became the
dominant political and cultural power, French was increasingly the intermediary language for texts from English, German and the Low Countries. This pattern would prevail for some two centuries. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, French was widely read in Spain. In 1759 Benito Jerónimo Feijóo complained that although many Spaniards could read and understand French, few of them could translate well (Santoyo 1987: 105). Fittingly, a manual for translation from French into Castilian was written by Antonio de Captopany in 1776.

All this time, however, there was a minor but direct flow from Italian and Latin, a directionality that was briefly enhanced by the 4,000 or so Jesuits exiled in Italy from 1767. The translators among this group included José Francisco Isla, Carlos Andrés, who translated the history of world literature that his brother Juan had written in Italian, and Pedro Montengón, who translated Ossian from an Italian version.

Yet the main threat to Castilian purity was not from Jesuits in Italy. The real danger lay in the French language, which now bore revolutionary ideals. In the 1770s, Tomás de Iriarte, sometime official translator at the Ministry of State in Madrid, was regarded with suspicion when he translated Destouches, Voltaire, and Molière for the Spanish stage. In 1792, Mariano Luis de Urquijo translated Voltaire with a preface that attacked the Inquisition, upon which the translator entered the diplomatic corps and was sent to London for his own good. Despite the ideological tensions, Spain nevertheless translated predominantly from French, particularly for the stage. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, 22 of the 28 plays published in the Teatro Nuevo Español, ostensibly the ‘New Spanish Theatre’, were translations or adaptations. A prominent example of this tendency was Tomás García Suelto’s translation of Le Cid, performed successfully in Madrid in 1803. But ten years later, the same García Suelto had to leave Spain, together with the 10,000 or so afrancesados (‘Frenchified Spaniards’) who had supported the Napoleonic invasion of their country. This group of exiles included Francisco Javier de Burgos (1778–1848), who made Horace more ‘noble’ through omissions and substitutions; Juan María Maury (1772-1845), who published in Paris an influential bilingual historical anthology of Castilian poetry, and Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787–1862), whose historical drama Aben Humeya was written in French and translated into Castilian.

A return to absolutism in 1823 led to a further expulsion, this time of the liberal Romantics, who emigrated to England, France and the Americas. Between 1824 and 1828 London was a centre of Spanish intellectual life, largely thanks to the German publisher Rudolph Ackermann’s distribution of original texts and translations throughout Spanish America. Among the translators exiled in London was José Joaquín de Mora, who translated Walter Scott in 1825. In Spain, the intellectual closure was such that when Félix Torres Amat published his Catholic translation of the Bible in 1826 some said it had been financed by English Protestants (in fact it had been precensored by the church and was subsidized by the Spanish crown). After the July Revolution of 1830 many exiled liberals went from London to France, eventually returning to Spain in the course of the decade.

Translation into Castilian increased in the 1830s as a result of favourable publication laws. Texts that had many years previously been written were now translated for the first time: Diderot in 1831, Rousseau in 1836. Most of the translations came from or through French. Ideas about translation were also remarkably French, particularly with respect to adaptation to target-culture norms. In 1836 Mariano José Larra declared that the correct translation of comedies from French should be ‘to seek equivalences not of the words but of the situations’, adopting ‘the customs of the country into which one is translating’ (Santoyo 1987: 165). French influence was also visible in the common preference for rendering verse as prose. Byron thus entered Castilian from French not as a poet but as a writer of short stories. Translations in this period were generally free, hurried, and made with an eye to audience acceptability.

From as early as 1834 translation also played a role in the revival of Catalan as a literary language, often through indirect work and adaptations for the theatre. However, it was not until the 1880s that translators really enhanced the status of Catalan, setting up a strong translation culture that was later to be interrupted by the Franco dictatorship.

As the nineteenth century progressed, Spain lost its external colonies and suffered
the internal strife of the Carlist wars. Reactions to the apparent decline modified the cultural dependence on France in two ways. First, the *Krausismo* movement, developed by Julián Sanz del Río from 1857 onwards, transformed the Heidelberg philosopher K. C. F. Krause into a peculiarly Spanish liberal-rationalism that combined populist elements with intellectual elitism. Through their struggles against various authorities and their insistence on the role of education, the Krausists introduced a more European intellectual vision that would survive well into the twentieth century. Opposed to them was the nationalism of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (1856–1912), a scholar who sought to base Castilian purity on Roman-Christian foundations. His work had a far more direct influence on translations. In order to define Castilian purity, in 1880–81 Menéndez y Pelayo published his history of Spanish *heterodoxos* or ‘dissidents’, many of whom were great translators. Associated with this project were notes on some 283 Spanish translators, constituting a major source of information and misinformation on translation in Spain. Menéndez y Pelayo generally saw translation from classical sources as uplifting for both nation and language, but regarded many other sources as morally suspect. In his 1886 preface to a translation of Byron which broke with the previous dominance of prose, he claimed that prose translations of verse were simply the result of Spaniards copying the weaknesses of the French language (Santoyo 1987: 177–8). Although this position was modified in 1909 when he praised Luis Segalá y Estalella’s prose version of the *Iliad*, Menéndez y Pelayo’s preferences had a profound influence on Spanish philology.

Cultural nationalism was briefly opposed by various cosmopolitans who held allegiance neither to Spain nor to Castilian verse. In 1908, the Guatemalan Enrique Gómez Carrillo, prefacing Manuel Machado’s prose versions of Verlaine, claimed that verse should be translated in simple prose, as Mallarmé had done with Poe. Almost all subsequent versions of French poetry were nevertheless in verse, largely because Symbolist poetry was read in French in Spain, turning the translations into mere stylistic exercises. European Naturalism, on the other hand, was massively translated from French after 1880, with Zola generally being translated in the same year as the French originals. English and German authors also entered Castilian after their acceptance in France, although the translations were increasingly from the original languages. Schopenhauer was translated into French in 1888, into Castilian in 1889. Ruskin reached French in 1900, notably through Proust, then Castilian the same year.

**The contemporary period**

Serious translations from non-French sources developed as the twentieth century progressed. Luis Astrana Marín (1889–1960) translated Shakespeare’s complete works, published in 1929. On the level of theory, José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955) published his famous essay ‘Misery and Splendour of Translation’ as a series of articles in the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Nación* in 1937. Initially neo-Kantian, he called for a revitalization of Spain based on individualism and elitism. One of the very few non-Germans to have resurrected Schleiermacher’s arguments in favour of literalism, Ortega saw the translator as an idealist who should enable the reader to experience the strangeness of foreign works. His dualist reflections on the two classically opposed methods of translation can be related not just to his philosophical critiques of mass culture but also to the context of the Spanish civil war (1936–9).

The exile of Republicans in 1939 went beyond the well-worn pattern, dispersing major Spanish intellectuals throughout Europe and the Americas. Many of the exiled writers translated, often to earn a living but rarely as a full-time profession. These translators were mostly teachers or journalists, as distinct from previous generations that had often combined part-time translation with medium or high positions within the state structure. Dictatorship now separated the external translators from easy government jobs. And this time the rupture of exile was no momentary affair.

Franco’s Spain lasted through to 1975, imposing varying degrees of censorship. Famous examples include the moralistic dubbing of films, where mistresses would be changed into aunts or sisters. More important, this relative closure repressed Spain’s long-standing diversity. Internally, translation into languages other than
Spanish tradition

Castilian was for many years illegal. Externally, translation had to be into Castilian if it was going to find a market, either among exiles or in Spanish America. Castilian was thus privileged on both fronts. Spain's relative closure during decades of technological change also weakened direct contact with its former colonies. Iberian and Spanish-American terminologies increasingly diverged. Spanish Americans today tend to translate directly from American English (their computer is a *computadora*), whereas Iberian Spanish remains in close contact with European sources: an Iberian computer is an *ordenador*, corresponding to the French *ordinateur*.

Post-1975 Spain quickly developed a new internationalism that assisted the transition to strong democracy. Many previously banned works were now translated. Institutional programmes were also gradually set up to develop Spain's other languages, encouraging translation into them. There seemed to be a flood of translations on all fronts, many in great haste. And yet the statistics for book publication indicate a fairly constant growth in translations from the 1960s onwards.

The *Index Translationum* for 1947–86 showed Spain as among the three or four countries that translate the most, with its fairly constant rise in translations keeping slightly above the international average. More recent figures (Ganne and Minon 1992) showed that translated titles were 25 per cent of the Spanish total in 1986 and 26 per cent in 1991, well above the percentage for all larger European countries except Italy (25 per cent and 25 per cent respectively). Most book translations tend to be in the fields of general literature (42 per cent of all titles) and children's literature (51 per cent), predominantly from French and English.

In addition to book publication, translators and interpreters are employed in numerous aspects of social life, in the courts, at conferences, in the military, and in tourism, which is one of Spain's major industries. Spanish television has a generally high content of foreign programming, with a marked preference for dubbing. Regional television channels transmit in Catalan, Basque, and Galician, mostly in dubbed versions of foreign programmes. Some programmes on Basque television are dubbed in Basque and subtitled in Castilian.

Within the profession, recent trends suggest a move away from practices like Hispanizing foreign proper names (as in 'Carlos Marx') or the once common use of quite rigid literalism in legal translations. Certain unusual names like 'Pouchkine' have in most cases been Hispanized, effacing the fact that these authors originally reached Castilian through French.

Profession, training and research

The main professional association for the whole of Spain is APETI (Professional Association of Translators and Interpreters), founded in 1954. The official association of writers (Asociación Colegial de Escritores) has a section for translators. There are also regional associations. Further associations have been set up for sworn translators and interpreters (called *intérpretes jurados*), who have to pass a public exam. There is a regional society of the British Institute of Linguists. Despite these organizations, many translators still suffer from a lack of social prestige and remuneration.

Several Spanish ministries (those of Foreign Affairs, Education and Science, and Culture) as well as Spain's seventeen regional governments have undertaken initiatives to enhance the prestige of translators. Such initiatives take the form of national prizes, grants, subsidies for publication, and financial assistance to foreign publishers printing translations of literary and scientific works by Spanish authors.

In 1974, the Instituto Universitario de Lenguas Modernas y Traductores was set up at the Complutense University in Madrid primarily to train literary translators. A wider professional market was aimed for by the Escola Universitaria de Traductors i Intérpretes at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Although founded in 1972, its programme was not formally recognized by the Spanish Ministry of Education until 1980, perhaps indicating some resistance to its use of Catalan as well as Castilian as a home language. Similar profession-oriented programmes were established in Granada in 1979 and in Las Palmas in the Canary Islands in 1988. These university schools had three-year programmes until 1992–3, when a new four-year degree structure was phased in and the schools became faculties. Not achieved without conflict, the new structure reflected
enhanced official recognition of translation as an academic discipline. In line with this trend, the Madrid institute changed its programme to offer a more general professional training for translators in 1990. There was then rapid expansion in the field, with further programmes set up in Málaga, Vigo, Salamanca, Barcelona, Vic, Madrid, Castellón, among others. Postgraduate courses in translation studies and specialized master’s programmes are also offered by an increasing number of universities. The various university centres and departments of translation formed an association (Conferencia) in 1995.

Santoyo’s 1996 bibliography lists some 6,000 Spanish and Spanish-American books and articles on translation. The current research is mostly on linguistic and pedagogical aspects, slightly less on historical subjects, and occasionally on problems of basic theory. This trend is generally borne out by the specialized journals: *Quaderns de Traducció i Interpretació* (Autonomous University of Barcelona, from 1982), *Sendebar* (University of Granada, from 1990), *Livius* (University of León, from 1992), *Gaceta de la traducción* (APETI, from 1993), *Boletín de Estudios de Traducción* (Vitoria and Leon, from 1994–5), *Hieronimus Complutensis* (Complutense in Madrid, from 1995) and *Viceversa* (University of Vigo, also from 1995), among others.

The prime mover behind recent historical research has been Julio-César Santoyo, whose many works on translation include bibliographies of English translations of Spanish literary classics as well as an extremely useful historical anthology of Spanish translation theory and criticism (1987). Work on the more practical aspects of translation has been strongly influenced by Valentín García Yebra, whose *Teoría y práctica de la traducción* (1982) adopts a basically linguistic approach found in most of the current manuals. A more formalized linguistic approach is proposed in Rosa Rabadaña’s *Equivalencia y traducción* (1991). Not surprisingly, the only official research category naming translation is ‘Linguistics Applied to Translation and Interpretation.’

**Further reading**


**ANTHONY PYM**

### Swedish tradition

Swedish is spoken by more than 9 million people, predominantly in Sweden and parts of Finland, where the Swedish-speaking minority form some 6 per cent of the population. It is one of the two official languages of Finland.

In Sweden itself, Swedish has been the predominant language since the dawn of history and the sole official national language since the establishment of the modern state at the end of the Middle Ages. It is currently spoken as a native tongue by at least 90 per cent of the population of Sweden (including native descendants of immigrants). More than a million inhabitants of the country are immigrants or descendants of immigrants who arrived in the latter part of the twentieth century; they need – and the vast majority of them do have – a reasonable command of Swedish.

Swedish is the largest of the six Nordic languages in terms of number of speakers; the other languages spoken in Nordic countries are Finnish, Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Faroese. Of these, the three Scandinavian languages – namely Swedish, Danish and Norwegian – are spoken by over 19 million people; they are in principle mutually intelligible, and their present form and historical status are similar. While these languages can be analyzed and described within the same linguistic framework, they have distinct cultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds. In fact, the history of Swedish has been quite distinct from that of its close neighbours since the early Middle Ages.

Only with the final integration of Scandinavia into medieval European civilization does the impact of foreign influences begin to affect the vernacular language fundamentally. Thousands of runic inscriptions from the Viking Age, preserved on stone monuments in central parts of Sweden and Denmark, confirm this picture:
their linguistic form is entirely domestic. The decisive step in the integration process is the emergence of written vernaculars, using a script based on the Latin alphabet. This state of linguistic culture was attained in Sweden only as a result of the Christian mission and the subsequent introduction of Latin in the eleventh century (about one century later than in Denmark and Norway). The first ‘books’, which were written with Latin types in the vernacular language (i.e. in East Norse or classical Old Swedish), did not appear until the early thirteenth century; the oldest complete copies extant today date from c.1280.

These pioneering documents of Swedish literature are records of provincial law. Their linguistic form is characterized by an almost entirely domestic vocabulary and simple syntax and, above all, by a formulaic, repetitive style. These documents also mark, at least implicitly, the potential starting-point of Swedish translation. Traditionally, the medieval legal style has been traced back to a domestic, pre-literary origin of the laws. Today, however, scholars question the immediate dependence of legal style upon a native oral tradition. Instead, attention has been drawn to striking similarities with continental legal writings, such as Roman jurisprudence and canon law. Given the present state of research, this means that we are not certain whether the history of translation into Swedish actually begins with the first codification in script of internationally current legislation in the High Middle Ages.

The period of chivalry: early thirteenth to late fourteenth centuries

In Sweden, adaptation, rather than translation, may have played the main role in initiating the development of vernacular literature. Leaving aside the runic inscriptions, the domestic written tradition seems to have originated with paraphrases in the vernacular language of contemporary writing in West Norse, Middle Low German, Old French and Latin. This is part of a general pattern in Swedish literary creation in the High Middle Ages, an epoch often referred to as the golden age of East Norse literature. The translated literature of West Norse, Middle Low German and Old French is closely related to ‘chivalry’, the cultural and ideological tradition prevailing in Western Europe at that time.

The ideology of chivalry was transmitted to the upper classes via ‘chivalric’ epic verse, expressed in rhymed chronicles, ballads and verse romances which were based on French and German originals, sometimes through the mediation of West Norse. An even more central task of writing for a large readership in this period consisted of the propagation of the Christian message in prayers and hymns, in preaching and in works of edification. Like chivalric poetry, these genres, usually written in Latin, were imported from abroad. Their rhetorical patterns were more or less fixed, like those of the various forms of chivalric poetry, but they were quite different from them in origin and structure; they also addressed a different public. Swedish religious texts from the High Middle Ages have been preserved primarily in the form of legends and biblical paraphrase.

The notion of paraphrase is crucial in this context. The ‘swedification’ of Low German, French and Latin originals generally meant very free reshaping, seldom restricted to remoulding the linguistic and stylistic form. The translators of that period took the liberty of adapting the original text by changing its content: adding, pruning and transposing material as they saw fit and, in many cases, substantially altering the message in the process. In fact, we have no evidence at this early period of anything like ‘translation’ in today’s strict sense of the word.

The monastic period: late fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries

The Monastery of Vadstena is arguably the cradle of Swedish translation. This famous institution of late medieval Scandinavia was created by St Bridget and posthumously founded in accordance with her own, very exact instructions.

One of the first great enterprises of the new Bridgetine congregation consisted of retranslating the foundress’s entire collection of Revelationes back from the Latin – into which they had been rendered by her confessors – into her own Swedish mother tongue. This major task...
Swedish tradition

seems to have been performed in connection with the inauguration of the Monastery in 1384. The printed edition available today occupies over 1,200 pages and is written in good, stylistically adequate Old Swedish.

This translation is substantially different from the free paraphrases of older medieval periods, so that the Bridgetine text may be regarded as the first translation – in the strict sense of the word – ever undertaken from a foreign language into Swedish. In fact, it is possible to follow the translator almost word for word as he proceeds through the eight books of Revelations. This monk translator clearly aimed at linguistic equivalence throughout – at the level of word, phrase and clause – and managed to fulfil this aim to a large degree.

While it may be argued that the Vadstena monks were, strictly speaking, the first Swedish translators, translation in general cannot be seen in isolation from the context in which it functions. During this early period, the vernacular (target) language was seen as inferior to the source language, and this naturally encouraged translators to copy the linguistic form of the original. This applied even to grammatical form: monastic translators tried to copy specific patterns of Latin syntax rather than just its rhetorical style. This does not detract from the value of their work as vernacular stylists; they successfully and skilfully manipulated the resources of late medieval Swedish, a rather basic idiom which lacked the kind of refinement that can only come from a long and rich literary tradition.

This great, pioneering enterprise provided the basis and inspiration for numerous subsequent translations which were undertaken at the Monastery throughout the Middle Ages. The printed editions of translated literature from Vadstena currently occupy the space of a whole shelf which is one metre in length. The Vadstena translators are mostly anonymous; we know only a few of them by name, the best known being Jöns Budde (also known as Jöns Raek or Raek, from c.1436 to after 1491). Budde was the most industrious translator of the Vadstena monastic tradition and hence of medieval Scandinavia. He translated some twenty major works of different religious genres into Old Swedish. Significant items on his record include a number of books from the Old Testament, some from the Apocrypha (the books of Judith, Esther, Ruth and the Maccabees); books of prominent mystics such as Mechtild of Hackeborn (Liber specialis gracie) and Suso (Horologium divinae Sapientiae), as well as the anonymous Claustrum animae. He further translated a number of works of edification. Close study of his texts reveals that Budde was a skilful translator as well as an inspired preacher. His work was significant in terms of the development and refinement of literary Swedish in the late Middle Ages.

The Monastery of Vadstena dominated the production of literary texts in Scandinavia during the fifteenth century. With the introduction of paper, which was considerably cheaper and easier to handle than old parchment, the volume of text produced at the Monastery increased considerably. The majority of this monastic writing was in Latin, and versions produced in the vernacular were normally based on Latin originals. The Latin translators of the Monastery developed a system of their own. They learnt to write Swedish in an unprecedentedly routine fashion and produced a large volume of quality work at speed within a variety of domains, some of which were very abstract. They wrote with a certain degree of formal and linguistic consistency, which was quite an achievement for medieval Scandinavia. The translators at Vadstena in fact designed the moulds into which, some centuries later, a Swedish standard language was to be cast gradually and laboriously.

The Reformation and the great power period: early sixteenth to seventeenth centuries

One and a half centuries after the first Bridgetine translation, the leading men of the Swedish Reformation were entrusted by King Gustav Vasa with the important task of providing for the Swedish people a Holy Bible in their own language. The Vadstena tradition provided useful models for translation into effective Swedish, particularly but not exclusively of religious texts.

The Swedish New Testament appeared in 1526. The source text was probably the Latin version of the Renaissance edition of Erasmus. The oldest complete Swedish Bible, known as the Gustav Vasa Bible, was printed at Uppsala in 1541
and is thought to be based principally on Martin Luther's contemporary High German translation. Both Swedish translations are collective undertakings, and we do not know for certain which individual translators were responsible for particular sections of the two texts. However, there is convincing evidence that the leaders of the Swedish Reformation – the chancellor Laurentius Andrae, the royal secretary Olaus Petri and archbishop Laurentius Petri – were involved at different stages of the work. A printed copy of this text was distributed to each parish throughout the country. It was expected to be understood adequately everywhere, irrespective of dialect and individual local context. To fulfil this purpose, a certain uniformity in linguistic expression was seen as a prerequisite.

This sixteenth-century version was to become the official Bible of the Swedish State church until 1917, when it was replaced by a new official translation. The Vasa Bible holds a unique position in Sweden's literary and linguistic culture. For almost four centuries this text was recited aloud from the pulpit, read by the literate, quoted and referred to in literature and in everyday life. It naturally also played a major role in standardizing the written language. As far as the general history of Swedish is concerned, this translation is by far the most important text ever written in Swedish.

The historical and linguistic importance of the Swedish translation of the Bible, like that of contemporary translations in other Lutheran countries, has to be seen ultimately from the point of view of linguistic ideology rather than ecclesiastical authority. For Martin Luther, the Bible had to be translated in such a way as to allow common, unlearned people to understand the word of God. In Sweden, as in other countries influenced by the Reformation, this Lutheran translation doctrine had an extensive and lasting effect on attitudes to national language, as well as the national language itself. The translation achievements of Swedish reformers probably mark a definite departure from the Vadstena view of the vernacular as a vulgar language for everyday use, only imperfectly mirroring the magnificence of Latin. Translators of this period deliberately endeavoured to use an adequate national language effectively, and instead of copying the linguistic form of the original, translation now meant writing afresh.

This change in attitude was supported by other historical developments. The modern Swedish state was established by King Gustav Vasa, who implemented rigid measures of centralization. Printing, which was introduced during the Reformation, also played a role in fixing the form of written language. However, in spite of the fact that printing made the texts produced by Reformation writers and translators available on a large scale, and notwithstanding the very real achievements of Bible translators, the literary culture of Sweden during the Reformation period was weak.

Sweden emerged from the Thirty Years’ War as a major European power in the seventeenth century. King Gustav Adolf and Queen Christina had ambitions of cultural prestige. Their period of rule was characterized by a fairly open-handed cultural policy, Lutheran orthodoxy and an element of patriotic/historic fantasizing. During the concluding Caroline epoch, there was also a pronounced interest in orthography, grammar, and the preservation and regulation of the national language. All these factors supported the production of printed text in Sweden and influenced the development of translating activities in the seventeenth century.

Vernacular writing during this period was mainly original (Hansson 1982). In sharp contrast to conditions in medieval as well as modern periods, only one book out of five written in Swedish was a translation. Latin remained a major language in terms of the total production of printed text, almost as well represented as Swedish itself. As a source language for translation, though, Latin was now reduced to second position. Of the total 335 printed book translations into Swedish which appeared during the seventeenth century, the majority (203 titles or 61 per cent) are translations of German works of religious edification intended for the general public. A quarter (82 titles or 24 per cent) are based on Latin originals. Other source languages account for 15 per cent of titles translated: Gothic (i.e. Old Icelandic, 10 titles), French (14 titles), English (11), Danish, Spanish, Dutch and Polish (one each).

Devotional literature and collections of sermons translated from German were systematically used by the State church in anti-papist popular education, which was characterized by severe Lutheran orthodoxy. The translators of
these works were mostly clergymen. Translation from Latin originals was generally carried out by lay people though some, for example Schroderus (c. 1570–1647), were influential professionals. They consisted of didactic literature of a more worldly character and a variety of historical and political works.

In line with the cultural ambitions of a new great power, many of the translations undertaken during this period were of medieval Icelandic sagas. Classical literature written in West Norse was presented as Gothic in origin (implying that it was Swedish); this act of patriotic forgery was undertaken with royal support. Icelanders could earn money by selling saga manuscripts and teaching the language to Swedish and Danish clients. The manuscripts, which were part of the literary heritage of Iceland, were eagerly exploited as relics of an alleged glorious past.

**The academic period: early eighteenth century to c.1830**

In the centuries immediately following the Reformation, written Swedish had slowly but steadily strengthened its position as a civilized European language. The position of Sweden as a major European power was undermined by the Great Northern War (1700–21), and the death of King Charles XII in 1718 marked an important transition to a new era. Sweden was now forced to give up its ambitions as a great power and began adjusting to its new role as a small, peaceful, fringe state in northern Europe. The national language could now quietly and steadily develop and be refined to accommodate all types of text and serve the needs of most literary genres. The educated classes began to develop a more international outlook, and the influence of French on Swedish culture reached its peak under the reign of King Gustavus III (1772–92).

Serious discrepancies in the historical records of the period unfortunately mean that we know very little about translating activities in general, and even less about individual translating achievements in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Sweden. As yet, no statistical information is available. What we do know can be summarized in a few general statements.

The creation of two learned academies in Sweden, the Academy of Sciences in 1739 and the Swedish Academy in 1786, reflects a sober-minded and utilitarian view of language and literature, typical of the Age of Enlightenment. Along with the development of the natural sciences, inspired partly by the illustrious example of Carolus Linnaeus (the universally acclaimed Swedish botanist who established the principles for naming and classifying plants and animals), a Swedish scientific prose was established in the middle of the century. It was based mainly on original production.

Rationalist ideas and severe French Classical demands on style and linguistic form governed literary writing. Quantitatively speaking, translation was probably rather insignificant as an activity – as it was during the seventeenth century – and this was to remain the case until the last decades of the eighteenth century, when two new genres of literary translation emerged. The first was sponsored by King Gustavus III himself. Under his protection, the theatre expanded rapidly, and this led to a strong demand for the translation of plays. The second, conditioned by political and economic factors, was that of prose fiction intended for cultivated entertainment of the bourgeois middle class that had grown in the eighteenth century. Most, if not all, of this *à-la-mode* literature consisted of commercial translations by self-employed professionals. French seems to have been the dominant source language at the beginning, but was later challenged by German and, at the very end of the period, English. The dissemination of books was dependent to a large extent on mobile libraries; there was a handful of them in Stockholm at the turn of the century (Björkman 1992).

The surrender of Finland to Russia in 1809, following a catastrophic war, deeply affected the Swedish nation and had significant implications for literary culture in Sweden, including translation. However, some of the developments that took place during the Gustavian era, particularly the translation of prose fiction, survived through to modern times.

**The industrial period: c.1830 to the present**

Swedish society has undergone some major changes since the beginning of the nineteenth
Swedish tradition

century, including industrialization, various popular movements, emigration, the arrival of democracy and – since the latter part of the twentieth century – absorption of a considerable number of immigrants. And yet, translation activity during this last and most extended period is characterized by a remarkable degree of continuity, while at the same time being distinctly different on a number of counts from translation during earlier periods.

During this modern period, we see new genres of fiction being translated for mass production in order to provide simple entertainment for the general public. Commercialization requires high-speed production and the use of linguistic forms which can be understood by the ordinary reader. A logical consequence, or perhaps a necessary prerequisite of this, has been the appearance of the professional translator, a development which started in the previous period.

Within the literary establishment, on the other hand, priority was given to creativity and originality, and literary output was governed by the prevalent aesthetic values of German Romanticism. This naturally led to a lack of appreciation of imitative activities such as translation, and consequently also to an attitude of indifference towards translators and their achievements. In nineteenth-century Sweden, the professional translator was a humble craftsman who lacked the aura of romantic genius, a ‘white collar proletarian’ working under difficult conditions. A substantial number of translators during this period were women (Hjelm-Milczyn 1983).

As with the seventeenth century, a considerable amount of interesting statistical evidence is available today for literary book production (both original and translation) in nineteenth-and twentieth-century Sweden. We know, for instance, that 213 titles of prose fiction translated into Swedish from various languages were published between 1866 and 1870 (Torgerson 1982). Sixty years later, between 1926 and 1930, the corresponding figure was 1,490 titles. After another sixty years, in 1986-90, this figure rose to approximately 5,500 titles (Wollin 2002). The figures for original Swedish prose fiction published during the same three periods are 187, 1,120 and approximately 1,500 titles respectively. It seems evident from these figures that there was a six- or seven-fold increase in the overall production of prose fiction, translated as well as original, during the first 60-year period; there also seem to have been more translations than original writing, notwithstanding minor temporary fluctuations within the period and changes in dominant source languages. In the second 60-year period, translated book production continues to increase, though in slightly lower proportions, whereas original writing remains relatively stagnant. The average translation ratio for the first two periods is 55 per cent, for the third it is roughly 80 per cent.

Today, non-literary genres are considerably less significant than literary genres in terms of total book production in Sweden. Fiction accounts for the majority of book translations and, in turn, translation dominates fiction writing. One reasonable hypothesis (as yet untested) is that this relative but constantly growing overlap between translation and fiction dates back to the emergence of commercial literary fiction some 200 years ago. If this is true, then the translation of fiction may be said to have historically marginalized non-literary book translation in Sweden.

The source languages of translations have changed over time. The dominance of French and German in the early nineteenth century was disrupted by the arrival of English in the mid-nineteenth century: the relevant figures for the period 1866–70 are 50 titles from German, 55 from French and 68 from English. For the period 1926–30, the figures are 178, 196 and 814 respectively; for 1986-90, the (approximate) figures are 140, 260 and no less than 4,400. American English has gradually gained ground at the expense of British, proceeding from almost no share of the English figures in the 1860s to roughly a quarter in the 1920s and considerably more than a half in the 1980s.

This growing Anglo-American dominance is partly counterbalanced by a parallel increase in the range of other source languages. For example, in the period 1926–30, source languages included Norwegian (99 titles), Danish (51), Russian (50) and Italian (30 titles), plus fewer titles from Spanish, Hungarian, Dutch, Polish and a dozen other source languages, practically all European. For 1986-90, the list is similar, though now slightly enriched by a few titles from major non-occidental languages such as Arabic,
Swedish tradition

Chinese and Japanese. Spanish, particularly the Latin American variety, now ranks fourth, with 92 titles; this may be partly due to the special preferences of the Swedish Academy's Nobel Prize committee.

Anglo-American dominance in modern literary translation has given rise to much criticism and serious concern in different circles of Swedish society, and it is a recurrent issue in public discussions of translation. What is often overlooked is the manifold nature of translated literature. Even today, more selective analyses of published titles, for instance in terms of restricting the analyses to authors of some literary distinction, suggests that the proportion of English source texts is dramatically lower than is often claimed, perhaps by some 40 per cent. The assessment of 'quality' is never a straightforward exercise, but we still cannot afford to ignore the issue.

Non-literary translation remains less productive than literary translation in modern Sweden. About one third (or fewer than 700) of all titles published in the quite typical year 1985 belong to a wide range of non-literary genres. As a total, this is of course not insignificant. English is less dominant as a source language than in literary translation.

Screen translation plays an important role in Sweden today. Dubbing was introduced in the 1920s but was soon abandoned, due to heavy costs, and replaced by subtitling. Today, dubbing is used only in children's movies, whereas subtitling has become extremely common (as it is in several minor language communities in Europe). Ivarsson (1992: 9) states that the amount of Swedish subtitling done in any one year during the 1980s or 1990s is equal to the total annual production of translated books of all genres (10,000 hours, which at the ratio of 30 pages per hour would correspond to about 1,500 average-sized books). The potential influence of this massive amount of subtitling on the national culture and language remains unknown at this stage.

Interpreting

Interpreting has been practised on and off in Sweden for several centuries. Training has been provided by the Swedish Army, particularly for Russian. Outside the military arena, interpreting has historically been more or less limited to diplomatic commissions and was of little significance in this principally monolingual country until the 1960s. This decade saw the beginning of extensive immigration from numerous countries, some of which are linguistically and culturally remote. The integration of immigrants (including second and third generations), has necessitated the implementation of many public policies, some of which relate to the provision of interpreting services. An immigrant in Sweden is legally entitled to the assistance of an interpreter in his or her contacts with the authorities, without charge. Training for interpreters working in these contexts is supported by the state, which also provides certification for professional interpreters.

Another important and steadily growing category of interpreters is engaged in signed language interpreting for the deaf and those with impaired hearing. There are at present several hundreds of sign language interpreters working in Sweden (which is far more than some decades ago, but still far less than needed).

Business and conference interpreting are not particularly active in Sweden. Swedish is not widely used outside Scandinavia and is hardly used even at international conferences held within Sweden itself. Nor is it taught for interpreting purposes at universities abroad. Sweden's membership of the European Community may however ultimately change this picture.

Professional organizations

The number of people who translate written documents from one language to another in Sweden was estimated in 1994 at 2,000; the majority, however, do not work full-time. More than 300 are authorized professional translators. Most translators work in large cities, mainly Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö/Lund.

Literary translators (the majority), and translators of books in general, have been organized since 1970; the Translators' section of the Swedish Writers' Union had about 500 members in 1996. The majority of these are not full-time translators. Some one hundred theatre and opera translators are represented by the svenska dramatikerförbundet, while approximately seventy screen translators belong to the svenska teaterförbundet. The Swedish
Association of Professional Translators, with some 270 members in 1994, represents translators of professional and scientific texts, the majority of whom work full-time for clients in trade and industry. Many are also members of The Federation of Authorized Translators; members of this organization (240 in 1993) are authorized by the Kammarkollegiet (National Judicial Board for Public Lands and Funds). Authorized community interpreters are represented by a major organization, Sveriges tolkförbund (STOF).

The Institute for Interpretation and Translation Studies (IITS) at Stockholm University was founded in 1986, with responsibility for the coordination of research, training and information activities, as well as for Scandinavian cooperation within the fields of interpretation and translation in Sweden.

The most important Swedish periodical in the field is the quarterly *Tolkningsperspektiv*, which has been closely associated with the IITs since 1995.

**Further reading**

LARS WOLLIN
Turkish tradition

The Turkish language was introduced into Asia Minor/Anatolia by the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century and later became the official language of the Ottoman Empire (mid-thirteenth to twentieth centuries) and of the republic of Turkey (founded in 1923).

The Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia was an offshoot of the Ilkhanid empire and extended from Iran to Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine in the eleventh century. The principality had a mixed population of Muslims, Christians, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians and Iranians; the Turkish element was dominant but tolerant of racial and religious differences. In administration and culture, the sultanate adopted mainly Iranian models and used Persian as the official language.

The Ottoman Empire that eventually grew out of various Anatolian principalities was also multi-ethnic, allowing for a plurality of languages within its boundaries which, at the peak of its power in the sixteenth century, had extended into central Europe in the west, Crimea in the north, and included the Middle East and North Africa. The dismemberment of the Empire after World War I led to the formation of the republic in 1923, in Asia Minor and part of Thrace. The republic retained, on a smaller scale, some of the ethnic/linguistic plurality of the empire. Today, Kurdish is the most widely spoken among the various minority languages, followed by Arabic, Armenian, Ladino and Greek.

Overview of pre-Ottoman and Ottoman period (thirteenth to nineteenth centuries)

In the Seljuk state, with Konya as its capital, the official interpreter-translator was known as tercüman (from Arabic tarjaman, of Aramaic origin). The tercüman, or ‘dragoman’ in English, was appointed by royal decree and held in high esteem. Dragomans were in charge of correspondence with foreign states and acted as intermediaries for foreigners and natives in court cases, interpreting for plaintiffs and defendants and referring them to their special clerks. At the time of Alaeddin Keykubad (d. 1237) there were two such appointed dragomans and two special translators’ clerks.

The first imperial dragoman mentioned in Ottoman records is Lütfi Bey, who was sent as emissary to Venice in 1479 to deliver a treaty. The position of the official dragoman in the Ottoman state is therefore thought to have been established by Mehmed II (1432–81) after the conquest of Constantinople. Georgios Amirukis (Amirutzes in Turkish), who fell captive to Mehmet II following the conquest of the Greek Pontic Empire, is known to have translated for the Sultan in scholarly matters but not in political communications.

Professional translation/interpreting came to be institutionalized in the sixteenth century as the growing diplomatic and commercial activities of the Empire created more demand for professional dragomans. By the eighteenth century, the official function of dragomans was established in four separate areas:

(a) the foreign affairs department of the Imperial Chancery of State, known as the Sublime Porte;
(b) the administration of provinces, where
interpreters for law courts were appointed or dismissed on the recommendation of local judges but dragomans served, with a special warrant, as intermediaries in all official matters between the non-Turkish-speaking subjects of the Empire (who constituted the majority) and the local government;

(c) educational institutions such as the School of Military Engineering, the School of Naval Engineering and the Levent garrison for the training of the Nizam-i Cedit troops, all founded on European models in the late eighteenth century as part of military reforms. Here, dragomans interpreted for foreign instructors who did not speak Turkish. Of an institutional but altogether different nature was the position of the Naval Dragoman, established much earlier and the first important post to be made available to Christian subjects in the Ottoman Empire. The post was held exclusively by the Greek Phanariots of Istanbul, and the holder of the post was eventually promoted Chief Dragoman to the Sublime Porte. As the duty of the Naval Dragoman was to supervise the regular collection of taxes from non-Muslim subjects in the Mediterranean and Aegean islands under the jurisdiction of the Admiral of the Fleet, his authority far exceeded that of an interpreter. In 1839, however, a series of reforms known as Tanzimat and designed to Westernize the empire resulted in limiting the responsibilities of the Naval Dragoman to interpreting;

(d) in foreign embassies and consulates, dragomans were initially provided by the Ottoman government. In the seventeenth century, however, they were appointed by the foreign missions from among Christian subjects, who were exempted from the land and capititation tax levied on non-Muslims. The duty of the dragoman in the diplomatic corps was to interpret and facilitate communication between Ottoman statesmen and the embassies and to handle all correspondence. Some achieved considerable distinction: Mouradgea d’Ohsson, the Armenian dragoman of the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, was one of the two Christians in the committee of twenty-two dignitaries asked by Selim III (1761–1808) in 1791 to give their opinion on the reasons for the decline of Ottoman power. In the eighteenth century, the French Embassy started a school to train interpreters for its own use. At the time of Mahmut II (1785–1839) there were 218 consular dragomans, twenty-four with special warrants, most of whom were Greeks and some wealthy enough to purchase the position. In the final years of the empire foreign missions appointed their own subjects as dragomans.

Within the above hierarchy, the most important post was naturally that of the dragoman to the Imperial Chancery. Dragomans were initially chosen from Greek, Italian, German, Hungarian and Polish converts to Islam. At the time of Süleyman the Magnificent (1494–1566), Yunus Bey, of Greek origin, is known to have been influential in foreign policy and was entrusted twice with taking treaties to Venice. That he was held in high esteem is shown by the fact that a Translators’ Mosque (Durugman Mescidi) was built in Istanbul, with the permission and no doubt the support of the Sultan, in recognition of his services. In the seventeenth century, four dragomans were employed at the Sublime Porte, the seat of government. In 1669, following the naval expedition to Crete and as a reward for his special services in the peace negotiations, the Grand Vezir Fazil Ahmed Pasha appointed Panagiotis Nicoussios Mamounas, a Greek from Chios educated in Padua, as Chief Dragoman. Until the Greek Insurrection in 1821, the office of the Chief Dragoman was henceforth held by the Greek Phanariots of Istanbul, frequently passing from father to son and becoming the cause of much rivalry between the families. Dragomans were allowed to grow a beard, wear fur, keep four servants and ride a horse, privileges denied to other Christian subjects. It was also officially established that Chief Dragomans should have a retinue of twelve servants and eight language apprentices, all of whom were held exempt from the capititation tax which non-Muslims had to pay.

In 1709, the Chief Dragoman Nikolaos Skarlatos was appointed governor of Moldavia and Walachia; promotion to this post at the end of the chief translator’s term of office became regular practice after that. As the principal duties
of the Chief Dragoman were to interpret for the Grand Vezir when he received foreign missions and to translate all documents other than those in Arabic, he was privy to state secrets and all details regarding foreign policy. In the second half of the eighteenth century it was felt that this position of responsibility was beginning to be abused by dragomans in their relations with the French, British and Russians, each rivaling the other in their attempts to gain more influence in the affairs of the empire.

In 1821, the Phanariot Chief Dragoman was executed on suspicion of being involved with Greek revolutionaries. Yahya Efendi, a convert to Islam who taught at the Military School of Engineering, was appointed to the post with the responsibility of organizing a training programme in Greek and French and supervising the work of an ‘impartial’ Greek appointed provisionally as dragoman. The breakdown of established practice and an increasing volume of work eventually led to the foundation of the Translation Chamber at the Porte in 1822; in 1833, the Chamber actively started training Turks and other Muslims as state translators and interpreters. Translation chambers of a similar nature were also set up in other government departments.

The translation chambers had a very significant function in the context of Tanzimat, the series of political, social and institutional reforms that initiated in 1839 the gradual but conscious shift towards a Western outlook. They served as the most important institutional centre for the penetration of European ideas (mainly through French) and for the education of the most distinguished statesmen, thinkers, scholars and literary innovators of the time. Despite conquests that reached into central Europe and active diplomatic and commercial relations, the Ottomans had generally remained indifferent to the ideas of the Enlightenment. It was only in the nineteenth century that the weakening Empire, forced by economic and political circumstances to turn to Europe, began to discover the stimuli for intellectual revival; the foundations of the Westernist modern Turkish Republic were laid in the nineteenth century. Two major phases of acculturation in the Turkish realm must therefore be recognized: Arab–Persian in the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries and European in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries.

The Arab–Persian phase: predominance of Islamic sources

Literary works began to appear in the thirteenth century and increased in number in the fourteenth century, when texts translated from Persian and Arabic played a vital role in the development of the Turkish language. At that stage, the selection of texts seems to have been made on a utilitarian basis, in terms of what was thought to be instructive and useful. Sacred texts and religious writing, therefore, held a very prominent place in the growing corpus of translations during this period. However, the Qur’ān (written in Arabic) was held sacrosanct; so much so in fact that when the Jews, who settled in the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from Spain, first introduced the printing press in the sixteenth century, the mere possibility of printing in Arabic letters was ruled out by the chief religious dignitary.

The Qur’ān was eventually considered translatable but only on a word-for-word basis. The earliest known interlinear manuscript translations of the Qur’ān into Anatolian Turkish date back to the fourteenth century. Earlier translations into Eastern Turkic, following the mass conversion of Central Asian Turks to Islam in the tenth century, are mainly of two kinds: (a) interlinear, where ‘each Turkic word or phrase is written in smaller characters at an angle of 45 degrees beneath each Arabic word’, a practice which reflects the oral stage in the translation of the holy text, and (b) annotated, where ‘each logical group of Arabic words (generally overlined in manuscripts in red ink) is translated en bloc by a group of Turkic words forming sentences which use the grammatical, syntactical and literary norms of written Turkic’ (Birnbaum 1990: 113–14). The same tradition was followed in Anatolian Turkish versions, while a third type of translation combined the two modes. Though very rare, there were also some fourteenth-to-fifteenth-century trilingual versions in Arabic, Persian and Anatolian Turkish, where the latter was written below the Persian, the first language into which the Qur’ān was translated in the tenth century.

The selection of texts for literary translation from Islamic sources is worth examining in some detail, because many have long been appropriated by the Ottoman-Turkish literary tradition as
original works. Gülşehrî’s fourteenth-century translation of the Persian poet Feridüddin-i Attar’s masterpiece Mantıkül-Tayr (The Language of Birds; an allegorical tale within a tale of birds in search of mystic union) is a case in point: this version is said to owe its excellence and ‘originality’ to what the translator contributed to the original in the form of tales from other sources and material of his own composition; and this he did without damaging the unity of Attar’s work, which itself was a poetic ‘elaboration’ of the Arabic Risalat al-Tayr (Stories of Birds) by Ghazzalî.

The work of Ahmed-i Dai, translator, poet, scholar and court tutor, provides further examples. Dai is described in the literary histories not as a translator but as a poet and scholar, on the basis of his two collections of poetry in Arabic and Persian. But of his nine prose works in Turkish, all were translations except Teressül (Copy-book for Writing), a guide to formal and informal correspondence, known as the first book on Turkish composition. Among his prose translations, the most important was the first Turkish version of the highly revered commentary on the Qur’an by Ebu’l Leys-i Semerkandi, followed by an annotated translation of Ayet-ul kursî (the 256th verse of the second Sura of the Qur’an), which included a glossary, hagiographies, and morality tales of Dai’s choice and composition. Others were translations of One Hundred Hadithî (holy sayings) of the Prophet Muhammed and Tibb-i nebevi (The Prophet’s Medical Advice), a collection of his sayings on hygiene and disease. The last was a part-translation of Ebu Naim Hafiz-i Isfahani’s Kitabu’ş-şifa fi-ahadisi’l Mustafa (The Book of Remedies), which itself was based on the Persian summary-version by Imam Ahmed b.Yusuf et-Tifasi.

Ahmed-i Dai’s discussions of the strategies he used are highly informative and revealing. In his preface to Miftahu’l-cennet (Key to Heaven, a guide to virtuous Islamic living) Dai claimed to have composed [the text] in eight sections’ (Tekin 1992: 40–41; translated), i.e. gave it a different form from that of the Arabic original. Elsewhere, in the preface to his translation of Ferîdûddîn-i Attar’s Tezkiretu’l-evliya (Biographies of the Evliya – Muslim saints), he stated that he had ‘liked [the work] so much that [he] could not help translating it’ (ibid.: 45) although it had already been rendered from Persian into Turkish. Dai was thus engaged in some form of ‘rewriting,’ an established practice which had long been popular in Eastern cultures. But Dai refers to all these works as ‘translations,’ including another two ‘translations’ he undertook, one from Persian (Nasîr-i Tusi’s Risale-i si-fasi, ‘Book of Thirty Chapters,’ a treatise on astrology and the calendar), and Ebu Bekr bin Abdullah el-Vasiti’s Kitabu’t-ta’birname, ‘Book of Interpretations’ (of dreams), originally in Arabic. In his prefaces, some of which were written in verse, he indicated the source texts and any other texts he used, explained why he had translated them, gave his name or pseudonym, and generally named his patrons, the princes who commissioned them or to whom they were dedicated.

Of the translations that Dai produced entirely in verse, the most interesting is his rhyming Arabic–Persian dictionary in 650 couplets. This is a shorter version of Resûdûddîn-i Vatvat’s’ukudu’l-cevahir (Strings of Jewels), which in some manuscripts had the Turkish equivalents written in interlinear form. The dictionary was designed to help teach Dai’s young pupil, Prince Murat, and served not only as a lexicon but also as a guide to the Turkish forms of the (classical Arabic–Persian) aruz metre. Dai’s most important verse translation is Çengname (The Book of Çeng-Lyre, an allegorical story of the Oriental lyre) which, as he explained, was partly a translation of the Persian poet Sadi’s mesnevi (now lost) by the same title, expanded with verses by Dai himself. His translation of Camsab-name (The Book of Jamash) by Nasîr-i Tusi, also a Persian poet, was in the genre of ‘Mirror for Princes,’ morality tales written as counsel for rulers. From the fourteenth century onward, the increasing popularity of ‘Mirror for Princes’ and of the narrative mesnevi form in rhyming couplets led to more translations in the same genre.

Other well-known examples from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries include Kul Mesud’s mainly prose translation of Kelile ve Dimne (Kelile and Dimne, animal fables translated from the Arabic version, itself a translation from Persian, originally written in Sanskrit), Şeyhoğlu’s Marzuban-name (The Book of Marzuban – Governor, a collection of Persian animal fables combined with tales of kings
Turkish tradition

and philosophers) and Mercimek Ahmed’s Kabus-name (The Book of Kabus, a highly popular ‘Mirror for Princes’, by the Persian king Keykavus) commissioned for Sultan Murad II (1421–51) in the fifteenth century. Dai and his contemporaries played an important part in enriching the Turkish language, which was still in its early stages of development. They enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of Anatolian principalities, who resisted the dominance of Persian and were keen to be informed and instructed in Turkish.

However, by the end of the sixteenth century the canon of Ottoman poetry had become heavily Persianized. Translation activity, which had initially worked to elevate Anatolian Turkish to the level of a literary language and had provided excellent models in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, must have also played a part in this linguistic takeover at a later stage. The cultural policies of the Istanbul-based centralized government, which had replaced those of the more consciously Turkish former principalities, must also be recognized as a factor contributing to this change in literary and linguistic direction.

Translation of medical and scientific texts

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, scientific texts were written almost entirely in Arabic, the medium of scholarship in Medreses (schools of higher learning). Among the earliest in Turkish were books on medicine, shorter versions of well-known Arabic texts, or compilations from Arabic sources: Müfredat-i ibn Baytar (Ibn Baytar’s Book of Particulars), Havass-ul-edviye (Best Known Remedies), Kamil-üs-sinaa (Perfect Arts). An eminent doctor of that age, Celaleddin Hizir (known as Haci Pasha), wrote principally in Arabic but also produced two Turkish versions of his own work, a full translation (Müntahab-üs-şifa: Selected Remedies) and a shorter version omitting theoretical chapters (Teshil-üs-şifa: Facilitating Healing), in the preface of which he apologized for writing in Turkish for everyone to understand. Most translations of this kind were commissioned by Umur Bey and Isa Bey, princes of Aydin. Mukbil-zade Mümin’s Zahire-i Muradiye (Diseases of the Body), which was dedicated to Murat II (1404–51), consisted of translations – compiled from Arabic and Persian sources – in which Turkish terms were used along with their equivalents in the source languages, obviously in an attempt to develop medical terminology in the target language. It has also been discovered that among books on surgery, one by Sabuncu-oglu, rich in Turkish terms and claimed to be an original work by the author, was in fact a translation from the Arabic, known in Europe but not in Anatolia.

From the time of Mehmed I (1389–1421), a growing interest in encyclopaedic works prompted the writing and translation of many books on the ‘wonders of the world,’ such as Zekeriya el-Kazvini’s famous Acaib-ul-mahlutkât (Strange Creatures) in Arabic (translated eight times over the centuries), which featured in particular natural and supernatural plants and animals, a favourite topic with some of the Ottoman sultans.

Contact with non-Islamic cultures

The interests of Mehmed II (1432–81), and his patronage of translations, were of a different nature. He was competent in Arabic and Persian and particularly interested in reading and discussing the works of the Greek Peripatetics and Stoics already translated into these languages. The Sultan is also said to have commissioned an Arabic translation of the New Testament.

Following his conquest of Constantinople and other territories, Mehmed II no doubt became aware of his role as patron of cross-cultural and scientific scholarship in the Islamic world, where Arabic was the principal language of learning. When he discovered Ptolemy’s Geography among some Byzantine manuscripts in 1465, he had it translated into Arabic (rather than Turkish) by Georgios Amirukis, a renowned Pontic Greek scholar who lived in Mehmed II’s court from 1461 till his death in 1475. He also had two treatises by Ali Kuscu on mathematics and astronomy translated from Persian into Arabic.

Three translations into Turkish from this period are worth mentioning. The first is Plutarch’s Lives which, Gibbon (in Adivar 1970: 25–50) claimed, was translated from Greek on the Sultan’s orders. The second is the life
and deeds of Uzun Hasan, the King of Persia, from the Italian original by Giovanni Maria Angiolello, who took part in the expedition with the Sultan’s son. The third text is of particular interest since it was a translation of a detailed exposition of the Christian creed by the Greek Orthodox Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios, who, soon after the conquest of Constantinople, was called into a debate with the Sultan; the debate took place through an interpreter, who was asked to record it in writing. The importance of this document is such that various translators over the centuries were asked to improve on it. The text was part-published in the Mecmuas-i Ebuzziya (Journal of Ebuzziya) in Istanbul in 1911.

The scientific renaissance initiated under the patronage of Mehmed II did not continue under his successors. Ottoman science and medicine remained generally confined to the works of and commentaries on Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen and Avicenna in Arabic, and interest in other cultures was not rekindled until the eighteenth century.

Translations from European sources in the eighteenth century

The liberal and aesthetic outlook characteristic of the reign of Ahmed III in the eighteenth century brought about a reawakening of interest in Western Europe. But this interest was mainly in non-literary works. The only European literary work to be translated (with additions) before the Tanzimat (the reforms initiated in the mid-nineteenth century) was Ali Aziz Efendi’s Mubahyelat (Fantasies; 1797–8), a version of Petis de la Croix’s Les Mille et un jours.

In 1717, a committee of twenty-five was appointed by Grand Vezir Ibrahim Pasha to translate from European as well as Oriental languages. Of this group, Esad Efendi translated Aristotle’s Physics from Greek into Arabic, making note, for the first time in the East, of the telescope and microscope in his annotations. Furthermore, the need for military modernization to prevent further defeats led to the establishment of various schools such as the School of Military Engineering in 1734 and the Military Medical School in 1827; it also encouraged the learning of European languages and the translation of scientific texts. For instance, following the founding of the first school of military engineering in 1734, there appeared two treatises: one on trigonometry, the first modern work on mathematics, partly translated from European sources, and an anonymous translation of Memorie della guerra by Count Raimondo Montecucculi (the Austrian general who fought against the Turkish invasion in 1661–4). Other works translated for the first time include Bernhardus Varenhusi’s Geographia Generalis (1750), Herman Boerhaave’s Aphorismi (1771) which introduced Harvey’s anatomical treatise on blood circulation to Ottoman medicine, and Ibrahim Müteferrika’s versions (1731) of two scientific works in Latin, discussing Galileo’s and Descartes’ theories, magnetism and the compass.

A major non-military innovation in the first half of the eighteenth century which also had a bearing on translations was the setting up of the printing press in 1727 by Ibrahim Müteferrika, a convert of Hungarian origin. Jewish (1493–94), Armenian (1567) and Greek (1627) printing presses had been established in Istanbul long before special permission could be obtained for a Turkish press to print books on non-religious subjects, i.e. excluding the Qur’an and commentaries, holy traditions, theology and holy law (Lewis 1962: 51). Among the first books to be published by the Müteferrika press, starting in 1729, were the Vankulu Lugati (The Vankuli Dictionary, reprinted in 1755–6), which was ‘translated’ (i.e. rendered bilingual) from the Arabic in the sixteenth century, Grammaire Turque, a Turkish grammar in French, Müteferrika’s treatises (1731), and his expanded version of Cihannüma (Showing the World), a geographical work, based on European sources, by Çelâbi (also known as Haci Halife). Çelâbi was the translator of Mercator’s Atlas Minor (1653–5) and a scientific thinker famous for his attempts to break down the barriers between Eastern and Western science in the seventeenth century.

The second printing press, set up at the School of Military Engineering in 1796, also chose a dictionary as its first book (printed in 1799); this was Burhan-i Kaati (Convincing Proof), ‘translated’ into a bilingual version from the Persian and compiled by Asim Efendi, known as Mütercim (Translator) Asim.
The Tanzimat period: ‘Enlightenment’ through translation in the nineteenth century

The principal revival in scientific and literary translations from European sources followed the setting up of the government Translation Chambers in 1833. However, translation from Persian and Arabic had also reached its peak during the nineteenth century. This state of affairs created tension between Eastern sources of canonical status and sources from the West, the latter as yet peripheral but gaining ground and becoming increasingly powerful. What provided an additional impetus not only to the modernizing reforms of Mahmut II but to acculturation with Europe was the earlier and more extensive Westernization programme of Mehmed Ali Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, who was in open competition with the Sultan (see Arabic tradition).

Among the new cultural institutions of the mid-nineteenth century were the Academy of Sciences (Encümen-i Daniş), established in 1851 and subsidized by the government, and the Ottoman Scientific Society (Cemiyet-i Ilmiye-yi Osmaniye), founded in 1860 by Münif Pasha, an eminent member of the Translation Chamber who was educated in Egypt. At these centres, which included non-Muslim members, translation activity from European sources was organized to provide teaching materials for a prospective university and to introduce and promote scientific and scholarly work. A translation of J. B. Say's Catéchisme d'Économie Politique (1852) and a biographical dictionary of eminent European statesmen, both by Abro Sahak Efendi, were among the first works to be published by the Academy. Several histories were also written or translated by the members of the Academy but remained in draft form and were never published; they included Ahmed Ağribozi's history of Ancient Greece, Todaraki Efendi's translation of a history of Europe, and Aleko Efendi's book on the last Napoleonic campaigns. The first history of Greek philosophy in Turkish, Abrégé de la Vie des Plus Illustres Philosophes de l'Antiquité, was translated by Cricor Chumarian and published independently in Izmir in 1854 in the form of parallel texts, with the original in French.

In 1853, a Translation Committee was formed on similar lines, headed once again by Münif Pasha, the founder of the Scientific Society. The works known to have been published by this committee were translations of two books on history and geography, from English and French respectively. Münif Pasha also introduced a more influential medium for the dissemination of Western scientific thought with his Meemua-i Funun (Journal of Sciences), the first Turkish journal of sciences, which also carried translations; it was published intermittently between 1862 and 1882 by the Scientific Society.

Münif Pasha was instrumental in introducing a new literary genre with his selection of translations of philosophical dialogues by Voltaire, Fénelon and Fontenelle, under the title Muhaverat-i Hikemiye (Philosophical Dialogues; 1859). This work is highly significant, given that it was the first to introduce the basic tenets of European Enlightenment in Turkish, and in an environment where ‘philosophical speculation divorced from theology was considered heretical’ (Mardin 1962: 234).

Two other translations appeared in the same year and marked the awakening of interest in European classics; they too were to have a lasting influence on forms and ideas that shaped modern Turkish literature. Terceme-i Telemak was a version of Abbé Fénelon's Les aventures de Télémaque, a political–philosophical novel, but also a ‘mirror for princes’, which was more readily acceptable in the Ottoman tradition that favoured Eastern examples of this genre. Telemak was first circulated in manuscript and was not published until 1862. The translator was the Grand Vezir Yusuf Kamil Pasha, who had served in Egypt, where the work had already been translated into Arabic and was well received. Tercume-i Manzume was a collection of verse by La Fontaine, Lamartine, Gilbert and Racine, translated by Ibrahim Şinasi to introduce European poetry in traditional aruz verse (adapted from classical Arabic and Persian) to facilitate its reception.

The first literary translators had thus served to introduce three new literary genres: Western poetry, philosophical dialogue and the novel. A year later, in 1860, Ibrahim Şinasi wrote the first Turkish domestic comedy and serialized it in the newspaper Tercüman-i Ahval (Interpreter of Conditions). Şinasi, who had trained at one
of the departmental translation chambers and had visited France, was also the founder and chief editor of *Tāsārî-Efkâr* (Illustration of Ideas, established 1862), one of the first private Turkish newspapers to appear in Istanbul. A true innovator, the translations he serialized on literature, social and economic topics, as well as political thought, made his newspaper the most stimulating and popular of the time. He used journalism as a medium to put into practice his policy for simple Turkish prose, which had a lasting influence on the future of modern Turkish language and literature. Both literary and non-literary translations in newspapers and periodicals served as one of the most important means of implementing this policy, which was adopted by writers and journalists to communicate more easily with their readers.

Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables* was serialized in 1862, followed in subsequent years by Chateaubriand’s *Atala* (1869), de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie* (1870), Voltaire’s *Micromégas* (1871) and Dumas père’s *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1871). The strategies followed in such translations of fiction, most of which were later published in book form, created a general awareness of the translators’ norms and of the problems they faced. In his preface to *Atala* (published in book form in 1874), Recaizade Ekrem drew attention to the inadequacy of contemporary Turkish prose for the purposes of translation. To improve on the first serialized versions, *Micromégas* (1871) and the first eight chapters of *Les Misérables* (1879) were retranslated by Ahmed Vefik Pasha and Şemseddin Sami respectively. Ahmed Vefik Pasha, a renowned lexicographer like Şemseddin Sami, also retranslated *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (1881). In contrast to Yusuf Kamil Pasha’s earlier translation in the traditional grand style, his version used simpler vocabulary and syntax, intended to be literal and accurate, as well as pleasing for the reader. Şemseddin Sami, criticized for being too literal in his version of *Les Misérables*, defended his strategy in his preface to his translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (1885), arguing that new ideas could not be conveyed in the conventional Ottoman style and that close adherence to the source text and the use of simple prose were conscious moves to use the full potential of the Turkish language. Their contemporary Ahmed Midhat Efendi, on the other hand, pursued not one but a variety of rewriting strategies in his numerous versions of classics and popular books rendered from French. In his prefaces, he frequently expressed his aversion for ‘literal’ translation because the result did not read like an original; he contributed to the elaboration of a critical/theoretical discourse which explored distinctions between concepts such as ‘translation’, ‘interpretation’ and ‘appropriation’.

The years 1873–83 were the most productive for the writers/translators of the *Tanzimat*. Subsequently, censorship in Abdülhamid II’s reign led mainly to the translation of popular French fiction. The Constitutional Revolution of 1908 and the deposition of Abdülhamid II were followed by a significant revival of translations of canonized works in history, philosophy and the social sciences, as well as English, German and Russian literature. Abdullah Cevdet, who translated Shakespeare, and journalists Hüseyin Cahit and Haydar Rifat were the most active and committed translators of the period.

**Translation in the Republic (1923 to the present)**

As in the nineteenth century, translation in the early twentieth century was instrumental in initiating the cultural revolution which supported the Westernizing programme of the secular republic of Turkey, founded by Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) in 1923. In 1924, Remzi Kitabevi, a private publishing company, started its series *Translations from World Authors*. In the same year, a Commission for Original and Translated Works was formed by the Ministry of Education to produce publications for educational purposes. In 1928, the Roman script was officially adopted to replace Arabic letters. The first Turkish translation of the Qur’an in the Roman alphabet appeared in 1932. The movement for simple Turkish that had begun in the nineteenth century ultimately resulted in the state-sponsored radical language reform of the Republic in the 1930s, whereby Turkish was also to be ‘purified’ of Arabic and Persian influence.

The revolutionary move made by Hasan Ali Yücel, Minister of Education, in setting up a Translation Committee in 1939 and a Translation Office in 1940 was intended to reinforce the new language policies and to organize a programme.
for cultural revival. The Office, composed largely of academics and prominent men of letters, was to select and translate 'world classics', beginning with Ancient Greek philosophy and literature. Such key texts were also essential for instruction in the new Humanities departments of the universities in Istanbul and Ankara. The general aim was to 'generate' the spirit of humanism by cultivating and assimilating foreign literatures through translation; this, it was felt, would bring about a renaissance and contribute to the development of the Turkish language and culture.

By the end of 1944, the most intensive translation period, 109 works were translated, headed by the Greek and French classics. By 1967 more than 1,000 translations were published, among which Eastern and Islamic texts constituted a very small proportion. A change in government policies and the dismissal of its leading members led to the Office losing its initial impetus after 1950. Throughout the 1960s, however, following the constitutional changes of 1961 that allowed for greater freedom of thought, private publishing companies became actively involved in the translation of Marxist/socialist literature, though such activity had its risks even for well-established translators and men of letters.

The Translation Office produced the periodical Tercüme (Translation; 1940–66), which was highly influential not only in terms of drawing attention to the activities of the Office but also in terms of creating a critical forum for the discussion of literary translation. Two prestigious translation journals, Yazzko Çeviri Dergisi (Yazko Translation Journal; 1981–4) and Metis Çeviri Dergisi (Metis Translation Journal; 1988–92), continued in the same tradition. The launch in 1994 of a new quarterly periodical, TÖMER Çeviri Dergisi (Literary Translation Journal), under the auspices of Ankara University, suggests that interest in literary translation remains strong.

As shown in the Index Translationum, the total number of translated titles from 1982 to 1986 was 4,459. According to the Turkish Publishers’ Association annual catalogue, the total number of translations (including intralingual translations from Ottoman into contemporary Turkish) on the market by October 1994 amounted to 6,028. Statistics supplied by a private bookshop (Pandora) show that in 1993, before the economic recession fully hit the market, 668 titles (more than two thirds) of a total of 1,518 new publications (excluding textbooks and publications by government ministries/official institutions) were translations.

Since the mid-1980s, Turkish publishers have kept up with the world market by publishing translations of international literature, from prize-winning fiction to popular best-sellers. Figures for the 1990s also indicate a growing interest in publishing translations in the fields of history, philosophy, psychology, social sciences, gender studies, children's literature, and the arts. Turkish versions of international encyclopaedias have enjoyed an unprecedented boom since the early 1980s.

A project launched by the Publications Department of the Yapı Kredi Bank in 1991, the Kâzım Taşkent Publication Series, pays generous fees for the translation of classics as yet unpublished in Turkish. Literary translation prizes were awarded by the Turkish Language Academy from 1959 to 1984.

Training, research and publications

The Economic and Social Studies Conference Board set up in 1961 by the Ford Foundation, Turkish industrialists and academicians was the first to initiate a training programme for conference interpreters in Switzerland, which subsequently continued to operate in Turkey. Some of the first professional interpreters to be trained by this programme are now also actively involved in training at the various universities.

In response to a growing demand for competent professional translators and conference interpreters in English, departments of translation and interpreting were set up in 1983–4 in two universities, Boğaziçi (Istanbul) and Hacettepe (Ankara). Apart from four-year degree courses, these departments also offer MA and PhD degrees in translation studies. The PhD programme at Boğaziçi University was the first to offer a course on the history of translation in Ottoman/Turkish society, with the aim of foregrounding the links between translation and literary/cultural history. Other institutions which offer training in translation include Yıldız Technical University (Istanbul) and Bilkent University (Ankara).
Further reading

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