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Bourdieu in Translation Studies

The Socio-cultural Dynamics of Shakespeare Translation in Egypt

Sameh Hanna

Bourdieu in Translation Studies

This book explores the implications of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production for the study of translation. Bourdieu's work has continued to inspire research on translation in the last few years, although without a detailed, large-scale investigation that tests the viability of his conceptual tools and methodological assumptions. With a focus on the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies in Egypt, this book offers a detailed analysis of the theory of 'fields of cultural production' with the purpose of providing a fresh perspective on the genesis and development of drama translation in Arabic.

The different cases of the Arabic translations of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Othello* lend themselves to sociological analysis due to the complex socio-cultural dynamics which conditioned the translation decisions made by translators, theatre directors, actors/actresses and publishers. In challenging the mainstream history of Shakespeare translation into Arabic, which is mainly premised on the linguistic proximity between source and target texts, this book attempts a 'social history' of the 'Arabic Shakespeare' which takes as its foundational assumption the fact that translation is a socially situated phenomenon that is only fully appreciated in its socio-cultural milieu. Through a detailed discussion of the production, dissemination and consumption of the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies, this book marks a significant contribution to both sociology of translation and the cultural history of modern Egypt.

Sameh Hanna is a lecturer in Arabic literature and translation at the University of Leeds. His research interests include sociology of translation and Shakespeare translation into Arabic on which he published a number of peer-reviewed articles and chapters in edited volumes. He also published a new edition of the first Arabic translation of *Hamlet*, with an introduction.

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For Amanie and Ann

سِرَاجَان يستضيئ بِهِمَا لَيلِي
وفَرحَتان تتأبَطان ذِرَاعَيَّ في رِحلتي إلى الأبدية،
بِهِمَا مَسَرَّة زمني الحاضر ومعهما أضحكُ على الزمنِ الآتي.

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Sameh Hanna
October 2015

Note on Translation and Transliteration

All translations from Arabic in this book are mine, unless otherwise noted. Transliteration from Arabic follow the system of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (*IJMES*). Full transliteration of names of persons, places and titles of publications is provided. For Arab authors with publications in a language other than Arabic, their names are kept in the form used in their publications.

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1 The 'Social Turn' in Translation Studies, Bourdieu's Sociology and Shakespeare in Arabic

The impact of the work of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on translation studies in the last two decades is wide ranging and will arguably continue to open up new directions in the study of the socio-cultural dynamics of translation and interpreting. The implications of such key concepts as field, habitus and capital, among others in Bourdieu's sociology, for the study of different aspects of translation have been (con)tested in a significant number of PhD projects, special issues of peer-reviewed journals, edited volumes and different academic colloquia. It might be too early for a conclusive assessment of the viability of these implications while research activities exploring them are still ongoing. Nevertheless, one thing we can be sure of is that the meta-discourse developed within translation studies to capture the complexity of translation has remarkably been reshaped, thanks to the potentials opened up by the sociological approaches to translation in general and the research activities inspired by Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production in particular. This book provides a detailed study of Bourdieu's field theory, exploring the possibilities it facilitates for throwing fresh light on translation. One case study, i.e. the Arabic translations of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Othello*, is used as a testing ground through which the relevance of Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus to the study of translation is assessed. Apart from the fact that these four are arguably the most accomplished and widely read among Shakespeare's 'great tragedies', they have been the most translated, adapted and rewritten into Arabic for the last hundred years or so.

The conceptual tools developed in Bourdieu's sociology are used to explore the modes of producing and consuming drama translation, the economic and socio-cultural factors that dictate certain modes of production and consumption rather than others, the alliances and oppositions among producers (drama translators) and co-producers (theatre directors, actors/actresses, publishers, reviewers, translation historians, etc.) of drama translation and the distribution of capital among them, whether in the form of economic success or cultural prestige.

1 THE SOCIAL TURN, BOURDIEU'S SOCIOLOGY AND TRANSLATION STUDIES

Since the 1990s, translation studies has witnessed a significant change of direction, echoed in its questioning of old paradigms, tools of analysis and objects of study. Perhaps the major impetus behind this shift has been the waning influence of the long-established discipline of comparative literature, of which the study of translation was viewed as a subfield. Likewise, traditional strands in linguistics have given way to new understandings in which language was no longer seen as a non-biased medium of communication, but rather as a site for constructing, disseminating and contesting socio-cultural and political discourses. The demise of both comparative literature and traditional linguistics was concomitant with the rise of cultural studies, which questioned the very idea of monolithic disciplines separated from each other by clear-cut boundaries. One significant contribution of cultural studies, with far-reaching consequences for all areas of the human sciences, is its deployment of the notion of 'interdiscipline' and its promotion of the study of cultural phenomena through multiple methodological lenses that are capable of capturing the multifarious aspects of these phenomena.

Translation studies has not been immune to the wide-ranging effects of cultural studies, especially in connection with the notion of 'interdiscipline'. The papers presented in the Translation Studies Congress held in Vienna in 1992, which were collected in a volume entitled *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline* (Snell-Hornby, Pöchhacker & Kaindl, 1994), signal the new orientation of the field. By the late 1990s, 'interdisciplinarity' had become the hallmark and guiding principle of translation studies. Thus, Baker, among others, has stressed the need for translation scholars to "recognize that no approach, however sophisticated, can provide the answer to all questions raised in the discipline nor the tools and methodology required for conducting research in all areas of translation studies" (1998: 280). She explicitly identifies 'interdisciplinarity' as the key to future progress in the field:

> Translation studies can and will hopefully continue to draw on a variety of discourses and disciplines and to encourage pluralism and heterogeneity. Fragmentation and the compartmentalization of approaches can only weaken the position of the discipline in the academy and obscure opportunities for further progress in the field.
>
> (Ibid.)

Whether or not translation studies has been able to open channels of communication with other disciplines remains debatable for some. In reflecting on the current status of translation studies and what she sees as a lack of interaction with other disciplines, Bassnett (2012: 22) warns that "to some extent, translation studies has become too closed a circle: in struggling to become established, we have slid into becoming the establishment ourselves.

We need to be provoked, challenged, contested". Whereas it might be partially true that translation studies has not yet been able to leave its impact on other disciplines, despite some evolving attempts to promote a 'translational turn' in the humanities and social sciences,[1] I would argue that the need to be 'provoked, challenged and contested' has long been met and research practice within translation studies has drifted further away from the dominance of any single, all-unifying and self-enclosed 'paradigmatic establishment'. What remains to be done, however, is to chart the different epistemological and methodological paths this drifting has taken and to exercise a *self-reflexive* assessment of the diverse modes through which the disciplinary boundaries of translation studies have been, and continue to be, challenged and contested.

Negotiating disciplinary boundaries implies questioning the very methods of analysis that had dominated traditional studies of translation and simultaneously suggesting new perspectives on translation. One such perspective is the sociological approach to translation inspired by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, which opened up new possibilities of exploring the socio-cultural realities of translation. Scholarship driven by and premised upon Bourdieu's contributions were followed by other sociologies of translation, all forming what has later come to be known as the 'social turn' in translation studies.

The notion of 'turn', like the similar and older notion of 'paradigm shift', although helpful in capturing changes of direction within the field, should not be used uncritically. If the notion of 'turns' conveniently function as signposts to the main strands of research in the field, it should not blind us to the complexity and dynamic tension within each of these strands. This is all the more so in connection with the multi-faceted body of research catalogued under the 'social turn'. Although sharing one point of departure (i.e. devising methodologies which are capable of accounting for the social conditioning of translation practices), the approaches developed within the 'social turn' draw on the work of different sociologists (e.g. Bourdieu, Latour, Lahir, Luhmann), have been implemented in various language and translation traditions, including French (in both Canada and France), German and English and cover both translation and interpreting in different genres and modes of interlingual interaction. The notion of 'translation turns', like all meta-discourse developed within translation studies, is *heuristic* and is only capable of capturing changing directions in the field at a distance and in retrospect after these changes have taken shape (see Snell-Hornby 2009: 42). As the translation research inspired and motivated by Bourdieu's contribution to sociology is still ongoing and taking different subdirections, it is not at all an easy task to map out and assess the scope and depth of this body of research.

Since the early 1990s, the work of Pierre Bourdieu has gradually attracted the attention of scholars in both translation (see, for example, Simeoni 1998; Gouanvic 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2005; Inghilleri 2005b; Sela-Sheffy 2005; Wolf 2006, 2007, 2010, 2012) and interpreting (see, for

example, Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Thoutenhoofd 2005) studies. The dedication of a special issue of *The Translator* in 2005 to the implications of Bourdieu's work for translation and interpreting studies is witness to the important position that his work started to have in the field at that time and helped to promote interest in the sociological study of translation. This interest was developed later through efforts to explore the explanatory power of specific Bourdieusian concepts, especially habitus (see, for example, Vorderobermeier 2014), or through looking into Bourdieu's work in connection with the contributions of other sociologists in an attempt to develop a general sociology for translation and interpreting (see, for example, Angelleli 2014).

Bourdieu's sociological model is compatible with the basic tenets of cultural studies approaches to translation: 'interdisciplinarity' and an emphasis on macro-level cultural categories rather than micro-level linguistic structures. In terms of the latter, for instance, Bourdieu critiques linguistic approaches which fail to see language as embedded in socio-cultural spaces thus:

> To try to understand linguistically the power of linguistic expressions, to try to ground in language the principles and mechanisms of the efficacy of language, is to forget that *authority comes to language from the outside* . . . The efficacy of the speech does not lie in "illocutionary expressions" or in discourse itself, as Austin suggests, for it is nothing other than the *delegated power* of the institution.
>
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 147, emphasis in original)

Contextualizing language by siting it within the socio-cultural space in which it is used and by relating it to the human agents who manipulate it in power-oriented encounters is something Bourdieu's sociology shares with other cultural studies approaches to translation (e.g. Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Venuti 1995, 1998; Simon 1996; Tymoczko 1999; Cronin 2003). Tied to this holistic and culturally oriented understanding of language phenomena is Bourdieu's conviction that the complexity of language and language products cannot be accounted for by any one single discipline. Disillusioned with the arbitrary boundaries between disciplines, which he believes to be epistemologically unjustifiable (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 148), he suggests that "one cannot fully understand language without placing linguistic practices within the full universe of compossible practices: eating and drinking habits, cultural consumption, taste in matters of arts, sports, dress, furniture, politics, etc." (ibid.: 149). Thus conceived, a given linguistic practice makes sense only when placed in the context of the particular field of activity in which it occurs (literature, theatre, journalism, etc.), which is itself homologous with other fields in the wider social space; the significance of this linguistic practice is also unravelled when it is related to the agents who produced it and the field-specific constraints which govern what can and cannot be said. As is the case with cultural studies approaches to

translation, Bourdieu's sociology of language conceives of linguistic practices as the subject matter of an 'interdiscipline'.

Beyond this shared common ground, Bourdieu's sociological model addresses some of the limitations of cultural studies approaches to translation. The merits of Bourdieu's sociology are discussed in detail in chapter two, but a few are worth highlighting in this context. In their study of the cultural underpinnings of translation, cultural approaches to translation lay much emphasis on translation as an end product, as the outcome of an *originating* discourse or discursive practice. Whereas it too attends to the *cultural product*, Bourdieu's sociology of culture primarily sets out to capture cultural products in the making, i.e. to describe the *dynamics of cultural production*. Unlike cultural studies approaches, which choose cultural categories such as 'gender', 'nation', 'race', etc. as units of analysis, Bourdieu's sociological model allows the researcher in translation studies to deal with a broader and more dynamic unit of analysis. Bourdieu formulated the concept of 'field' as the unit of analysis in research areas related to cultural production, education, literature, plastic arts and media studies. Two main merits of the concept of 'field' can be identified. First, it helps to problematize cultural production in the sense that, instead of conceiving cultural products in terms of a linear reasoning that attributes these products to just one cause, the concept of 'field' makes possible the investigation of cultural products in relation to a complex network of relations that include both institutions and human agents. The field of cultural production, whether of drama translation or literature, is not a static structure where the actions of human agents are bound to have a predictable set of results. Struggle among agents over the possession of capital and occupying dominant positions, which constitutes the logic of all fields, means that the structure of the field is always in a state of flux and always susceptible to re-hierarchization. This dynamic nature of the concept of 'field' invites the researcher to think of cultural practices and products *relationally*, that is, to link these practices to the positions available in the field, the dominant agents occupying them, homologies with other fields and the class structure of the wider social space. The second merit of 'field' as formulated in Bourdieu's sociology is that it is a heuristic concept, a *construct*. As Gouanvic rightly puts it, the concept of 'field' does not aim at "attaining the real but at providing a vantage point from which to view the real" (2002a: 99). This epistemological distance between the 'field' and the reality it attempts to capture strengthens the researcher's awareness of the *constructedness* of his/her analytic tools. These two features of the concept of field make Bourdieu's sociological model particularly productive.

Despite the increasing interest in translation scholarship inspired by Bourdieu's sociology, research in translation studies has not yet fully invested in the whole range of the conceptual tools underpinning Bourdieu's theoretical contributions and has not appropriated them to address various translation phenomena in different translation traditions. A significant

part of the research drawing on Bourdieu's sociology has specifically been concerned with issues closely related to interpreting (see, for example, Inghilleri 2003, 2005a, 2005b). In research related to literary translation, and apart from studies which touch on literary translation in general without special emphasis on any one genre, the focus has been on fiction, with limited interest in other genres. The relevance of Bourdieu's sociology is yet to be explored in relation to the translation of such genres as drama, poetry and children's literature. Inspired by Bourdieu's work, drama translation as one of the under-researched areas in translation research is the concern of this book.

Interest in Bourdieu's sociology among translation scholars mainly started as a reaction to emerging limitations in polysystem theory and its development in Toury's descriptive translation studies. In one of the earliest writings which sought to appropriate Bourdieu's sociology for the study of translation, Gouanvic (1997) starts by acknowledging the contribution of Toury's descriptive and function-oriented approach to translation, but then asserts that the main weakness of Toury's model is the absence of the social from it (ibid.: 126). For Gouanvic, what is missing from Toury's theoretical contributions, as well as the contributions of polysystem theory, is "a social explanation of the role of institutions and practices in the emergence and reproduction of symbolic goods" (ibid.: 126). In this early study, Gouanvic stresses that Bourdieu's sociology is more capable than Toury's model of accounting for "the complexities of cultural products" (ibid.: 126), including translation. This article was followed by other studies by Gouanvic as well as other scholars, all of which shared one point of departure: reading Bourdieu's sociology against the backdrop of Toury's model of norms. One such study which discussed in detail the possibility of integrating Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* (see chapter 2, section 3.7 this volume) and Toury's notion of norms was Simeoni's 'The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus' (1998). It was through this study that Bourdieu's key concept of *habitus* started to feature prominently in later research, in relation to both interpreting (Inghilleri 2003, 2005a) and translation (Gouanvic 2002a, 2002b, 2005; Hanna 2005; Sela-Sheffy[2] 2005). In this article, Simeoni proposed the idea of a translating *habitus* to give a new slant to Toury's concept of translational norms (1998: 1). Simeoni stressed that his use of the notion of *habitus* does not invalidate Toury's norms; it rather helps to read it in a new light. For him, introducing the concept of *habitus* to the study of translation shifts the emphasis from "texts and polysystems" to "the practices of translating and authoring" (ibid.: 33). In light of the concept of *habitus*, he explains, the focus of translation scholarship becomes "translatorial habitus rather than translational norms" (ibid.). Thus the two concepts of '*habitus*' and 'norms' are seen by Simeoni as complementary rather than contradictory. The difference between them is merely a difference in perspective:

> The difference is simply one of angle. It seems to me that Toury places the focus of relevance on the pre-eminence of what *controls* the agents'

> behaviour—"translational norms". A habitus-governed account, by contrast, emphasizes the extent to which translators themselves play a role in the maintenance and perhaps the creation of norms.
>
> (Simeoni 1998: 26, emphasis in original)

Simeoni's position as regards the agency of the translator seems ambivalent. On the one hand, he says that focusing on the translator's *habitus* in translation research sheds more light on the act of translating itself vis-à-vis the objective norms which govern it (ibid.: 33). On the other hand, his endorsement of the power of translational norms in conditioning individual acts of translation leads him into a deterministic reading of *habitus*. For him, *habitus* "retains all the characteristic imperiousness of norms" (ibid.).

This understanding of *habitus* as an actualization of translational norms in individual decisions made by translators underpins his idea of the subservience of translators. For Simeoni, translators are not different from the "scribes of ancient or premodern civilizations" in the sense that they "have always occupied subservient positions among the dominant professions of the cultural sphere" (ibid.: 7). He even contends that submissiveness is not something imposed on translators; it is rather a position they are willing to assume if they want to join this profession:

> To become a translator in the West today is to agree to becoming [sic] nearly *fully subservient*: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the culture or subculture within which the task is required to make sense. Conflicts of authority cannot fail to arise between such masters but, in the end, the higher bidder carries the day. *The translator has become the quintessential servant*.
>
> (Simeoni 1998: 12, emphasis added)

The significance of the concept of *habitus*, for Simeoni, lies in helping to answer the question 'why do translators agree and choose to be fully subservient?' The *habitus* of a translator, which comprises the dispositions and skills he/she acquired through socialization and professional training, is seen to function as a mediating structure between norms and actual practices of translators. It is through their socially constituted *habitus* that translators are disposed to take certain decisions and avoid others. The problem with Simeoni's concept of the 'translatorial *habitus*' is that it is projected as a deterministic category through which norms are reproduced without being challenged, hence the subservience of the translator.

This deterministic understanding of *habitus* fails to capture Bourdieu's later reformulation of the concept. In *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Bourdieu stresses that

> [*habitus*] is not the fate that some people read into it. Being the product of history, it is an *open system of dispositions* that is constantly

> subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies its structures.
>
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 133, emphasis in original)

Moreover, Simeoni's representation of the relation between *habitus* and norms in terms of a closed cycle, where *habitus* reproduces norms which in turn fashion and condition *habitus*, misses the dynamic character of Bourdieu's sociology, where norms and practices are always in a state of flux and always subject to challenge. While seeking to use Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to give prominence to the role of translators vis-à-vis translational norms, Simeoni paradoxically ends up endorsing the power of norms and assigning translators a mere *reproductive* function. Tied to this view of the translator's *habitus* is Simeoni's understanding of translation as not constituting an autonomous field in the Bourdieusian sense. He claims that unlike the literary field in nineteenth-century France, which was offered by Bourdieu (1993, 1996) as exemplary of his notion of 'field', translation activities lack the organization and internal logic that structure them into an independent field of activity (Simeoni 1998: 19). In other words, according to Simeoni (ibid.), translation products are "governed by the rules pertaining to the field in which the translation takes place", rather than by separate rules of a postulated field of translation; and hence the differentiation between specialized products of literary, legal, media, scientific, etc. translation (ibid.: 20).

Simeoni's appropriation of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and its implications for the study of translation have been challenged by later research. Focusing on interpreting, Inghilleri (2003) is critical of Simeoni's deterministic understanding of *habitus* and "argues for an alternative to viewing interpreters as forever trapped inside their socially constituted selves" (ibid.: 261). In Inghilleri's view, the interpreting context is informed by "contradictory and conflicting habitus" of different participants with different assessments of the situation, and hence different discursive strategies. In the court interpreting situation, according to Inghilleri (ibid.), the interpreter's *habitus* does not unproblematically reproduce already established norms, but is rather involved in a negotiating process along with other contradictory and distinctive *habitus* (ibid.). In a later study, Sela-Sheffy (2005) suggests that Simeoni's conception of the translators' *habitus* "allows almost no room for understanding choice and variability" in their actions (ibid.: 3). In view of this deterministic formulation of the translators' *habitus*, "they are never in the position to play the role of inventors and revolutionaries", but rather always subject to the tyranny of norms (ibid.). As seen by Sela-Sheffy, Simeoni's appropriative reading of Bourdieu suffers from a misleading generalization. His conclusion about the subservience of the translator's *habitus* cannot be taken at face value as equally true of all individual translators in one given field, let alone translators in different cultural spaces and periods of time (ibid.: 4). Added to the fact that this "too monolithic and static" view of the translator's agency is at odds with Bourdieu's "dynamic" and

"struggle-oriented ideal of fields", Simeoni's conclusion about the dependent status of the translator is informed by the popular image of the translator rather than by actual empirical study (ibid.: 4). Sela-Sheffy adds that complying with established norms is one among other strategies used by translators in their struggle over accumulating capital (ibid.: 7).

Apart from studies which attempted to apply Bourdieu's concepts to specific translation situations (Gouanvic 2002a, 2002b, 2005; Hanna 2005a, 2005b), little thought has been given to the implications of Bourdieu's sociology for *a methodology* for translation studies. Although not aspiring to develop an overall methodology for the sociological study of translation and interpreting, Inghilleri (2005b), inspired by Bourdieu's sociology, offers an insight into how researchers of translation can construct the object of their study. Inghilleri is alert to the benefit that can be gained from the fact that Bourdieu's sociology sought to avoid the subject/object dualism underlying research in the human and social sciences. In view of Bourdieu's holistic understanding of socio-cultural phenomena, where the researcher takes on board both the objective reality of the phenomenon in question and the agents involved in making it, constructing the object in translation and interpreting studies, according to Inghilleri, should be grounded in a dynamic understanding of both the subjective and objective aspects of translation. In order to bring this understanding into effect, the researcher, as Inghilleri suggests, should not approach the translation phenomenon with a priori and previously defined 'intrinsic properties' of it (ibid.: 129). Instead, the phenomenon should be first located in a field of power, i.e. the economic, political and wider social factors that condition it; second, it needs to be seen within the field of activity within which it is produced; and third, this same phenomenon should be investigated in relation to the dispositions embraced by the agents and institutions which contribute to its making, including the academic scholarly activity which takes place in relation to translation (ibid.: 129). Relational thinking is what governs the analysis of the field of power, field of cultural production and the *habitus* of agents (ibid.). This methodological procedure, which almost replicates Bourdieu's sociological method of studying socio-cultural phenomena (see Bourdieu 1992, 1993a), offers us an insight into how a sociological study of translation might be conducted. The epistemological as well as methodological insights enabled by Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production are tested on the case study of the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies.

2 BOURDIEU'S SOCIOLOGY AND THE ARABIC TRANSLATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES: KEY QUESTIONS AND OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

To what extent can Bourdieu's sociology help us better understand the socio-cultural dynamics of the production, dissemination and consumption of the

Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies? This key question underpins the rationale motivating this book and is itself premised on a number of assumptions: first, the fast-growing influence of Bourdieu's sociological model in translation studies; second, the lack, if not complete absence, of studies which attempt to appropriate Bourdieu's sociology for the study of drama translation; third, the limited number of studies which attempt to test Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus to translation phenomena outside the European and American traditions; fourth, the importance of the translations of Shakespeare's four tragedies for the genesis and development of the fields of theatre production and drama translation in Egypt.

Attempting an answer to this question entails a detailed discussion of Bourdieu's sociology, the premises on which it is based and the backdrop against which it developed. As explained in detail in chapter two, Bourdieu's sociology emerged in response to both current intellectual debates in the late 1950s and 1960s France and the sociological models that were in vogue at the time. Addressing this question also entails questioning the tenets of Bourdieu's sociology in relation to translation phenomena in general and drama translation in particular. Citing examples of literary and drama translation into Arabic, chapter two engages in a detailed elaboration of Bourdieu's basic concepts of 'field' and '*habitus*', together with other interrelated concepts, and tests their viability for studying the social implications of drama translation.

The Arabic translations of Shakespeare's tragedies have not been produced in a 'historical vacuum' and any attempt at delineating the socio-cultural conditions which shaped these translations should necessarily be grounded in a historical contextualization of the socio-cultural space which emerged in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Egypt. Through focusing on the early translations of Shakespeare's tragedies, specifically an early Arabic version of *Hamlet* staged in 1901 and published in 1902, chapter three seeks to identify which concepts in Bourdieu's sociological model are most useful in accounting for the 'genesis' of the field of drama translation in Egypt. Three main concepts are discussed in detail: the 'power of naming', 'heteronomy/autonomy' and 'trajectory'. The concept of the 'power of naming' is helpful in mapping the semantic/social boundaries of both the fields of theatre production and drama translation. A discussion of some of the foundational acts of naming theatre practice by early Egyptian intellectuals enables us to identify the processes of representation and encoding of theatre as a Western art in the Arabic language. The ways in which theatre was conceived in Arabic, as demonstrated in this chapter, conditioned the practice of early theatre makers and drama translators. The tension between two foundational acts of naming in Arabic is identified and is deemed responsible for the conflict between two types of producers of theatre in Egypt: one conceptualizing theatre in terms of popular entertainment that appeals to the largest sector of theatre consumers and the other perceiving it mainly as an intellectual art that should not pander

to the taste of mainstream theatre consumers. This conflict between producers of theatre is replicated in the field of drama translation where we have two opposed modes of production: *heteronomous* versus *autonomous* drama translation. In the heteronomous mode, which was characteristic of early drama translation in Egypt, the output of translators conforms to the expectations and needs of mainstream audiences at the expense of source text plays, their linguistic and aesthetic features and their original cultural milieus; exponents of autonomous drama translation, by contrast, tend to produce translations that are more likely to appeal to the elite sectors of theatre consumers, as well as readers of published drama translation. Another of Bourdieu's key concepts, that of 'trajectory', is addressed in chapter three in order to account for the movement of early drama translators in Egypt across different fields, particularly journalism and fiction translation, and to delineate the effect of this movement on their translation production.

Chapter four addresses the issues surrounding the shift from commercially oriented to prestige-seeking translations of Shakespeare's tragedies in Egypt. Khalīl Muṭrān's translations of a number of Shakespeare's tragedies, including *Othello* (1912), illustrate the restructuring of the field of drama translation and the diversification of its modes of production. Bourdieu's concept of the *autonomization* of the field of cultural production is used to explain the significant changes in the practices of drama translators starting from 1912, the year when Muṭrān's translation of *Othello*, along with other significant translations, was published. The tendency of drama translators after 1912 to disengage themselves from the practices dominant in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is explained in connection with both the new forms of capital around which the field of drama translation was structured after 1912 and the newcomers to the field whose practices and understanding of drama translation helped redraw the boundaries of the field. With these issues in mind, special emphasis is laid on Muṭrān's translation output, his trajectory in both fields of drama translation and literature and the later canonization of his translations of Shakespeare's tragedies.

The retranslation of some of Shakespeare's tragedies into Arabic raises questions which are arguably best addressed from a sociological perspective. Bourdieu's two concepts of *distinction* and *social ageing* of the cultural product are used in order to probe these questions. Existing views of retranslation are discussed in chapter five and an alternative understanding of the issue is suggested, based on the 'ageing' and 'distinction' that condition the production and consumption of retranslations, and with particular reference to retranslations of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *King Lear* in Egypt.

Debates on which language register to use in drama translation have informed the practices and decision-making processes of the Arabic translators of Shakespeare's tragedies. Using Classical Arabic has by and large been the norm in translating Shakespeare into Arabic, especially in relation to the tragedies. However, various registers of Classical Arabic have been used, ranging from the purely classical to diluted Classical Arabic. Using *'āmmiyya*

(colloquial Arabic) as a medium for translating Shakespeare's tragedies has practically been *anathema*. To use Bourdieu's terms, using Classical Arabic in translating Shakespeare's tragedies has always been a *doxic* practice of drama translators in Egypt. However, there have been a very few *iconoclastic* translation cases in which colloquial Arabic was used, including two translations of *Othello* into Egyptian *'āmmiyya*, one by Nu'mān 'Āshūr (1984) and the other by Mustapha Safouan (1998a). Bourdieu's concept of *doxa*, as discussed in chapter six, is useful in accounting for translations which tend to challenge what is generally perceived in the field as the common practice.

Finally, the concluding remarks outlined in chapter 7 critically reflect on the viability of Bourdieu's sociology for understanding, describing and accounting for the case of the Arabic versions of Shakespeare's tragedies. The key findings deduced from the different translation cases and the conceptual tools used in reading them are used to provide insights into the guiding principles that may inform a proposed methodology for the sociological study of translation.

3 DATA: CRITERIA OF SELECTION AND TRANSLATION LISTS/BIBLIOGRAPHIES

This study draws mainly, although not exclusively, on the translations of Shakespeare's 'great tragedies' in Egypt in outlining its theoretical arguments. The selection of the translations of Shakespeare's 'great tragedies' into Arabic as the main testing ground for Bourdieu's sociological model is justifiable on both source and target language basis. The four selected source plays belong to the same genre and demonstrate more than any of Shakespeare's plays the maturity of his art and language. These four plays were written within short periods of time from each other, between 1600 and 1606, at a time when Shakespeare's dramatic work was at its peak. From a target language perspective, the great tragedies are the most frequently translated of Shakespeare's works into Arabic, compared with the comedies and the histories (see Alshetawi 2002).

Two translation bibliographies have been consulted in order to establish the list of translations used in this study: the *Index Translationum* and the bibliography of the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's work compiled by Alshetawi (2002). Missing translations in both bibliographies have been identified through the catalogue of *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya* (The Egyptian National Library).[3]

In line with the focus of the study, three main criteria for the selection of translations have been taken into consideration: first, the translation has to be available in published form; second, the translation has to have been primarily staged or published for an Egyptian audience/readership; third, the translation has to have attracted considerable critical attention (at its time or later) from reviewers of drama translation and/or translation historians. Arabic translations of Shakespeare's great tragedies in Egypt can be divided

into the following categories: (a) translations which were first produced for the stage and later published in book form, such as Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet*; Muṭrān's translations of *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*; and most of the early translations of the tragedies; (b) translations which were staged but were never published, or at least there is no evidence that they were published; and (c) translations that were mainly produced for publication and were never staged. Not all published translations reached us. Indeed, the only remaining copy of Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet* is a photocopy of the second edition of the translation that was found in the library of St. Antony's College in Oxford.[4] Among the lost translations are the 1900 translation of *Macbeth* by 'Abd al-Malik Iskandar and Jirjis 'abd al-Malik,[5] 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Sarinjāwī's 1924 translation of *Macbeth*,[6] Salīm Ḥamdān's 1925 translation of *Othello*, Amīn al-Ḥaddād's 1907 translation of *Hamlet*[7] and Yūsuf Iskandar Jerius's 1912 translation of *Hamlet*.[8] Among the translations that were staged but do not appear to have been published are Jūrj Mirza's translation of *Hamlet*,[9] an anonymous translation of *Hamlet* for the troupe of Munīra al-Mahdiyya in 1916[10] and a translation by the poet Aḥmad Rāmī in the late 1930s for the troupe of Faṭima Rushdī.[11]

Considering that this study is mainly concerned with the Egyptian socio-cultural setting which conditioned the production and consumption of drama translation, translations which are not primarily targeted at an Egyptian audience/readership have been excluded as potential illustrative cases. Thus translations of the four tragedies by the Palestinian-born writer and translator Jabra Ibrahīm Jabra, for instance, which were neither published nor staged in Egypt, are not used in this study. Translations which did not receive significant critical reception are not examined, although silence on the part of critics, reviewers and theatre makers is addressed within the interpretive framework of the book.

Whereas some of the significant textual features of selected translations are examined in order to highlight their distinctive positions in the field of drama translation in Egypt, given the sociological orientation of the study, the main focus is identifying the changing modes of production and consumption of drama translation. Hence the socio-cultural conditioning of the translations and the ways they fare and position themselves in the field of drama translation are prioritized throughout. Documentary data on the history of Egyptian theatre and on the production and reception of drama translation is central to addressing the socio-cultural functioning and implications of drama translation in Egypt. This study relies on the series of documentary volumes published by the National Centre for Theatre, Music and Folk Arts in Egypt (*al-Markaz al-qawmī lil-Masraḥ wa al-Mūsīqa wa al-Funūn al-Sha'biyya*), which include all available press material on Egyptian theatre, from news items to critical reviews, published between 1876 and the 1960s. For translations produced after the 1960s, secondary sources from newspaper and magazine reviews as well as commentary on the translations in books have been used.

4 A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Apart from the terminology used by Bourdieu to describe and account for fields of cultural production, which is discussed in detail in chapter two, two key terms are used in this book: 'great tragedies' and 'drama translation'. 'Great tragedies' is used in the sense meant in Shakespearean scholarship as a reference to the four tragedies of *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth*; no value judgement is intended. 'Drama translation' is used in this study as a generic term to refer to two modes of translation: translation for the stage and published translation. When the terms 'theatre translation' and 'theatre translators' are used, this is to refer to drama translation produced specifically for the stage.

NOTES

1 For a detailed discussion of the 'translational turn' and the research project of making translation studies "translatable in and for other disciplines" see the special issue of *Translation Studies* 2(1) and the introduction to the volume by Bachmann-Medick (2009).
2 In an article not directly related to translation, Sheffy (1997) points out the relevance of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* for a reconsideration of the notion of 'models' in polysystem theory.
3 See appendix 1 for a full chronological list of the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's great tragedies, including the translations which are not discussed in this book. Unpublished translations are not included in this list.
4 I am indebted to Mona Baker and Gina Roland, without whose help I would not have obtained this copy. This version of the translation is now republished by the Supreme Council of Culture in Egypt, with an introduction by Sameh Hanna.
5 This was published in Maktabat al-Tamadun in Cairo and is listed by Alshetawi (2002: 486) in his bibliography of the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's work.
6 Listed in Alshetawi (2002: 486).
7 This was published in Maṭba'at al-Gharzūzī in Alexandria (see Alshetawi 2002: 483).
8 This translation was published in al-Maṭba'a al-Raḥmāniyya (see Alshetawi 2002: 483).
9 See 'Awaḍ (1986: 84).
10 *See Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 7, p. 367.
11 See 'Awaḍ (1986: 84).

2 Bourdieu's Sociology of Cultural Production
What Is in a Translation 'Field'?

In order to fully appreciate the complexity of Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production and its implications for (re)conceptualizing translation as a socially situated activity, this chapter seeks to achieve a double goal: first, mapping the theoretical assumptions underpinning Bourdieu's sociology and its conceptual apparatus against the backdrop of the French intellectual scene in the 1950s and 1960s; second, exploring the implications of these assumptions for the study of translation. Bourdieu's key notion of 'field', together with other interrelated concepts, will be discussed in detail, testing their viability for understanding the structure and dynamics of the generic field of translation into Arabic and within it the specific field of translating drama.

1 QUESTIONING DUALIST SOCIOLOGIES: A NEW PARADIGM IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Bourdieu developed his own sociology within the context of the then current debates on social practice and the available models for studying it. His is a polemical sociology, which took shape in response to how other sociologists conceived of the social world. In *Questions de sociologie* (1980: 18), he pinpoints his goal as follows:

> My goal is to contribute to preventing people from being able to utter all kinds of nonsense about the social world. Schönberg said one day that he composed so that people could no longer write music. I write so that people, and first of all those who are entitled to speak, spokespersons, can no longer produce, apropos the social world, noise that has all the appearance of music.
>
> (Cited and translated in Wacquant 1992: 53)

Bourdieu's attempts to 'prevent the nonsense' and 'stop the noise' are better understood when read against the backdrop, not only of contemporary sociological research but also of the wider intellectual scene in France in the late 1950s and 1960s. The 1950s France saw the dominance of existentialism,

championed by Sartre, which maintained that "the world of action is . . . entirely dependent on the decrees of the consciousness that creates it, and therefore entirely devoid of objectivity" (Bourdieu 1990: 42) and that the human subject is the instigator of all actions that happen in the world. The Sartrian subject, as seen by Bourdieu, is "what it makes itself" (ibid.: 44), not what it is made into by objective social structures. For Sartre, the human subject's immediate experience of, and direct involvement with, the world should be the main and only concern of both epistemology and sociology. In direct opposition to this line of reasoning, structuralism emerged in the French intellectual scene, mainly through the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, during the late 1950s, arguing for 'the death of the subject' and effecting a shift of emphasis from the human subject to objective structures, whether linguistic, cultural or social (Lane 2000: 88–9). Given the influence of these two iconic figures, Sartre and Lévi-Strauss, the French intellectual scene during the 1960s was caught between two diametrically opposed positions regarding social practice and the way sociologists should relate to it. The first believed in the active voluntarism of the consciousness of the human subject and that the (re)formation of social classes is the effect of the 'praxis' individual subjects exercise in social reality. Sociologists who subscribe to this view conceive of social agents as free subjects whose actions are unconditioned by any external factors. Each individual action, according to this view of the social world, is "a kind of antecedent-less confrontation between the subject and the world" (Bourdieu 1990: 42). In other words, whatever happens in reality is solely due to what the individual subject does in and to the social world. The second position, argued by Lévi-Strauss and all other sociologists and anthropologists who belonged to the structuralist mindset, "conceives the social world as a universe of objective regularities independent of the agents and constituted from the standpoint of an impartial observer who is outside the action, looking down from above on the world he observes" (Bourdieu 1993b: 56). Brubaker outlines the map of the French intellectual field at the time and Bourdieu's awareness of these two opposite ways of conceiving the social world as follows:

> Bourdieu came of intellectual age when phenomenology and existentialism, dominant in the immediate post-war years, were being challenged by structuralism, Sartre by Lévi-Strauss, the unconditional and unconditioned freedom of the subject by the unconscious determinism of the structure. It is scarcely surprising that Bourdieu, generalizing from this confrontation in the French intellectual field . . . should interpret them as instances of a fundamental, pervasive opposition between subjectivism and objectivism.
>
> (1993: 222)

Subjectivism and objectivism instigated two modes of sociological reasoning, what Bourdieu terms 'social phenomenology' and 'social physics'

(1990: 27): the former makes explicit the *subjective* meaning[1] of the social world as experienced by social agents, whereas the latter constructs the *objective meaning* inherent in social structures (ibid.: 27). However, Bourdieu does not see these two modes of sociological reasoning, together with subjectivism and objectivism, as necessarily exclusive. It can be safely said that the driving force behind his sociology, which makes his "intellectual trademark", as Brubaker (1993: 227) puts it, is "his assault on the 'false antinomies' that structure social theory and sociological practice".

Bourdieu's sociology seeks to dismantle the subjectivism/objectivism dichotomy and through it the subsets of other 'dichotomies'[2] that feed into it: structure and agency, reality and representation of reality, practice and theory, ideology and epistemology, the material and the symbolic, "the external and the internal, the conscious and the unconscious, the bodily and the discursive" (Wacquant 1992: 19). The methodology he devises to achieve that goal seeks to "recapture the intrinsically double reality of the social world" (Wacquant 1992: 11) and effect "a double reading" of that reality (ibid.: 7). This bidirectional reading deploys "a set of double-focus analytic lenses that capitalise on the epistemic virtues of each reading while skirting the vices of both" (ibid.: 7). The first reading, or what Bourdieu alternatively terms 'social physics' (1990: 27), seeks to investigate society from the outside, viewed here as a materially observable and measurable structure that can be grasped "independently of the representations of those who live in it" (Wacquant 1992: 8). It is through the objectivist lens which this reading makes available that the observer can decode the "unwritten score which lies behind the actions of the agents, who think they are improvising their own melody when, in reality . . . they are acting out a system of transcendent rules" (Bourdieu 1993b: 56).

Although the major strength of this reading lies in the fact that it is capable of producing "a knowledge of the social world which is not reducible to the practical knowledge possessed by lay actors" (Thompson 1991: 11), it suffers from inherent flaws which make it inadequate, if used alone, for a comprehensive investigation of human social practice. Bourdieu supplements it with a second reading that takes on board the role of social actors in representing and constructing social reality. Through this reading, which Bourdieu alternatively terms 'social phenomenology', society becomes "the emergent product of the decision, action, and cognitions of conscious, alert individuals" (Wacquant 1992: 9). However, crude subjectivism, as viewed by Bourdieu, has its own limitations (ibid.: 9). This reading reduces social structures to "the mere aggregate of individual strategies and acts of classification", and hence turns a blind eye to the objective social structures that "these strategies perpetuate or challenge" (ibid.: 9–10). Bourdieu's awareness of the necessity to see 'subjectivism' and 'objectivism' as complementary rather than exclusivist approaches that would together guarantee adequate knowledge of the social world is behind his persistent critique of the false dichotomy between them, which underpins research in the social sciences.

2 REFLEXIVE SOCIOLOGY

Bourdieu's alternative to both subjectivist and objectivist knowledge is what he terms *praxeological* knowledge. The morphology of the term is indicative of a mode of knowledge where *praxis* and *logos*—the practical, primary knowledge of the social world, nurtured by subjectivist approaches and the detached constructions of social reality endorsed by objectivist approaches—are both involved in one mode of knowledge. *Praxeological* knowledge avoids the reductionism of both subjectivism and objectivism by projecting a *dialectical* relationship between the objective social structures and the *dispositions* of individuals who are themselves the product and the producer of these structures (Bourdieu 1973: 53).

Praxeological knowledge, as perceived by Bourdieu, avoids the scholastic fallacy which induces objectivism to associate its 'representation of reality' with reality. If objectivist knowledge breaks from primary experience in order to investigate the objective structures which condition primary experience, praxeological knowledge shifts into what Bourdieu calls a "sort of third-order knowledge" (Bourdieu 1977: 4), where the social scientist is not only content with gaining primary knowledge of the world, or investigating the grounding of this knowledge in objective social structures, but also, in the words of Wacquant speaking of Bourdieu's sociology, turns "the instruments of his science upon himself" in order to achieve both "a self-analysis of the sociologist as cultural producer and a reflection on the sociohistorical conditions of possibility of a science of society" (Wacquant 1992: 36). This epistemological shift turns sociological analysis into a kind of practice that is itself conditioned by both the field of sociology, its distribution of capital, hierarchy, system of classification and the *habitus* and trajectory of the sociologists themselves. Although Bourdieu is not the first to highlight the concept of 'self-reflexivity' in sociology, his formulation of the concept is significantly different from its developments in other sociologies.

Unlike other sociologists, who regard the 'I' of the sociologist as the only possible target of the act of reflexivity, Bourdieu pinpoints "three types of biases" which "may blur the sociological gaze" (Wacquant 1992: 39) and hence should be the object of the act of reflexivity. The first circle of bias is the one induced by the researcher's membership in a particular social, ethnic and gender class. This circle of bias is what other sociologists usually mean when they speak of 'reflexivity' (ibid.: 39). The second circle of bias which may alter the gaze of the sociologist is engendered by the researcher's membership "not in the broader social structure, but in the microcosm of the *academic* field, that is, in the objective space of possible intellectual positions offered to him or her at a given moment, and, beyond, in the field of power" (ibid.: 39). Thus, the gaze of sociologists is determined by the position they occupy in the field of sociology, the capital they have accumulated in the field and the *habitus* they have developed as a result of their membership in that field. We can even go a step further here to claim that

the marketability and canonization of the sociologist's findings and points of view are also determined by his or her position in the field.

The third circle of bias which shapes the sociologist's point of view is the "intellectualist bias which entices us to construe the world as a *spectacle*, as a set of significations to be interpreted rather than as concrete problems to be solved practically" (Wacquant 1992: 39). This intellectualist bias or what Bourdieu (1998: 127) elsewhere calls 'the scholastic point of view' consists in the fact of "thinking the world, of retiring from the world and from action in the world in order to think that action". Bourdieu speaks out of a personal experience when he found himself "in a number of research situations where to understand my strategies or materials I was compelled to reflect upon the scholarly mode of knowledge" (ibid.: 130). This enabled him to elucidate the limitation of the 'scholastic vision', which "risks destroying its object or creating pure artefacts whenever it is applied without critical reflection to practices that are the product of an altogether different vision" (Bourdieu 1998: 130).

Reflexivity, as perceived by Bourdieu, not only enables the social scientist to achieve a better understanding of practices, of 'first-order knowledge', or of the social phenomenon in question, but it also sharpens the researchers' awareness of the instruments, structures and models they devise in order to understand social practices. Practising sociological research *unreflexively* would blind the social scientist to the possible limitations inherent in the methods they use. Bourdieu illustrates this by giving the example of questionnaires that ask interviewees to be their own sociologists, by asking them such questions as "according to you, how many social classes are there?" (Bourdieu 1998: 132). The point that Bourdieu wants to drive home here is that this reflexive sociology bears its own practical implications.

Furthermore, reflexivity in Bourdieu's sociology is meant to sensitize the social scientist against the tendency, which is inherent in the 'scholastic vision', to universalize hypotheses and postulations usually made by positivist and structuralist approaches. It is this reflexivity which injects sociological research with the awareness that whatever we used to regard as universal, such as law, science, ethics, "cannot be dissociated from the scholastic point of view and from the social and economic conditions which make the latter possible" (Bourdieu 1998: 135). In other words, the apparently universal precepts of law or science are but the product of their respective fields of cultural production, i.e. the legal field and the scientific field; and these precepts are constructed by the agents in these fields who fought for the right to determine what is universal and what is not (ibid.: 135).

Exercising reflexivity in relation to the universalizing attitude inherent in the scholastic point of view does not lead, Bourdieu argues, to relativism, but rather to "a genuine *realpolitik of reason*", where universals in human and social sciences are seen as engendered by the outcome of the political[3] struggle between the agents in a particular field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1998: 139). The legitimacy lent to what is believed to be universal

precepts of science is due to the belief that these universals are the product of an apolitical and disinterested scientific reason. Bourdieu, via his reflexive sociology, highlights the political grounding of all scientific reason, including sociological research. The fact that sociological knowledge is not totally disinterested implies that the theory of knowledge is an effect of political theory, in the sense that the legitimacy of a given principle of constructing reality is conditioned by the power which underpins it (1977: 165).

Bourdieu's preoccupation with the necessity of transcending the dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism constitutes his *metatheory*, his *reflexive sociology*, which underpins his critique of an interrelated series of dichotomies. His key concept of *field*, together with a host of other relevant concepts, is put forward as an alternative to the dichotomous reasoning which pervaded the social and human sciences at the time.

3 THEORIZING FIELDS OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

3.1 Field, Structure and System: Delineating the Distinctions

Bourdieu's concept of 'field' developed in response to other conceptual tools designed to represent and explain social reality. Among these, the two concepts of 'structure' and 'system' form the backdrop against which Bourdieu constructs his theory of social/cultural fields. The concept of 'structure' in structuralist anthropology and sociology serves two purposes: first, taking a step back from the social world in order to understand and describe it objectively; and second, rendering this understanding into a model endowed with explanatory force that is capable of delineating and predicting the trajectory of social phenomena. Objectivism and predictability of phenomena cause the structuralist model of social reality to be static and neatly defined, in the sense of both excluding all anomalous phenomena that do not fit into the model and explicitly stating the relations between its internal units in terms of clear-cut binary oppositions. This neat delineation of social phenomena which underlies the concept of 'structure' purportedly provides a tool for describing and predicting phenomena, but in fact it constrains social reality within deterministic patterns by means of which all phenomena are projected as exact actualizations of the structuralist model. To further consolidate the objectivist character of their model, structuralists confine themselves to describing the material reality of the social world, excluding the social agents' representations of this reality.

In addition to Bourdieu's critique of the concept of 'structure' as employed in structuralist approaches (see section 2 this volume), his theory of field distances itself from another concept which informs a number of approaches in both human and social sciences, i.e. the concept of 'system'. When asked about the difference between his concept of 'field' and the concept of 'system', especially in the sociological theories of Niklas Luhmann (1927–1998),

Bourdieu answers: "An essential difference: struggles, and thus historicity!" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 102). For Bourdieu, the concept of 'system' is premised on "internal cohesion and self-regulation" (ibid.: 103). In contradistinction with the 'cohesion' inherent in the concept of 'system', the 'field' in Bourdieu's sociology involves positions which relate to each other in terms of difference, distinction and conflict (ibid.). Even in such system-oriented approaches as Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, which sought to inject the concept of system with a degree of conflictual tension, the hypothesized conflict remains within an abstractly defined network of relations between texts (Bourdieu 1993a: 33). In other words, the stakes of this assumed conflict in polysystem theory, as an instantiation of system-oriented approaches, are invisible: no individuals, nor institutions, are involved in this conflict, only texts, models and norms (Hermans 1999: 118). In contrast with the abstract and agent-less concepts of 'structure' and 'system', Bourdieu's concept of 'field' features struggles among real agents, with real stakes:

> we know that in every field we shall find a struggle, the specific forms of which have to be looked for each time, between the newcomer who tries to break through the entry barrier and the dominant agent who will try to defend the monopoly and keep out competition.
>
> (Bourdieu 1993b: 72)

In what follows, Bourdieu's concept of 'the field of cultural production', its boundaries, structure and dynamics will be discussed, with particular emphasis on the socio-cultural fields in Egypt which condition and shape the production and consumption of the Arabic translations of Shakespeare's dramatic work; these fields include theatre, literature, translation and drama translation.

3.2 Social Space and Field

Mahar, Harker and Wilkes (1990: 9–10) explain the difference between two concepts used by Bourdieu, 'field' and 'social space'. 'Social space' is a wider category which comprises multiple fields (cultural, political or economic), and the social space of an individual includes the fields within which he or she operates. 'Field' is used in Bourdieu's sociology to refer to a structured space of possible positions which are occupied by agents. The structure of the field is dynamic and changeable and is always conditioned by the struggle among its members over different types of capital. The terms 'market' and 'game' are also used by Bourdieu to refer to 'field', although with slightly different connotations. In 'market', the emphasis is on the distribution of 'products' and their 'producers' in the field according to the 'value', symbolic or economic, attached to them. In 'game', the emphasis is on the agents' compliance or, otherwise, with conditions of field membership, the 'rules of the game' or what Bourdieu would call the *doxic* beliefs and

practices which constitute the foundations of the field and make its boundaries (see section 3.3 this volume). For the purpose of this study, the focus will be mainly on fields of cultural production, although references will be made to 'fields of power', i.e. politics and economy whose dynamics exercise a significant impact on the structure and functioning of cultural fields.

3.3 Field Boundaries: Who/What Is in and Outside of a 'Field'?

For Bourdieu, the boundaries of cultural fields are not static limits drawn once and for all between the field in question and other fields in the social space. These boundaries are the outcome of a continuous struggle between two groups of culture producers: those who believe in the autonomy of the field and that the cultural products of the field are not meant to conform to any laws other than the laws of the field itself, and those who maintain that these products serve economic, political and social purposes. In the field of art production, for instance, the struggle is between the proponents of 'pure art' and the proponents of 'bourgeois art' or 'commercial art' (Bourdieu 1996: 223). In the field of drama translation, the struggle is between those who maintain that the drama translator should serve nothing but the intentions of the source playwright and the aesthetics of the source text and those who believe that translated drama, particularly when put on stage, is conditioned by a range of socio-political and economic factors to which the translator must attend. This struggle has as its goal the delimitation and imposition of the boundaries of the field. In view of their own interests and in order to consolidate their positions in the field, each of these two major groups endeavours to set the conditions of true membership of the field and hence, its boundaries (ibid.: 223). In fields of cultural production, the conflict between these two groups is about who is the true writer, artist, translator, etc., and hence defining the boundaries of a particular field is about the inclusion/exclusion of individuals and groups. When a certain group in the field of art production declares that the only true members of that field are those who produce cultural products that serve no cause other than that of art itself, they implicitly exclude producers of bourgeois and commercial art; and when a translator claims in the introduction of his or her translation that historical drama must be translated in the standard language, he or she tacitly assumes that translators who use the vernaculars for historical drama are necessarily disqualified from membership of the field of drama translation.

The conflict within the field of cultural production is not only about the conditions of membership, but, more importantly, it is about the authority of assigning membership and the authority of consecration of both producers and their products (Bourdieu 1996: 224). The question of 'who is the writer?', or the drama translator in our case, is closely linked with the question of 'who is authorized to decide who is and is not a writer?' The fact that the cultural field is the site of a continuous struggle over the definition of the category of 'writer', for instance, implies that the definition of writer

is not a given: "the semantic flux of notions like writer or artist", Bourdieu asserts, "is both the product and the condition of struggles aiming to impose the definition" (ibid.: 224). This understanding of who the writer/translator/intellectual is casts doubt on any mode of research which embraces an a priori definition of these categories. In adopting a single definition of any of these categories to the exclusion of others, the researcher tends to overlook the struggle within the field over the imposition of the legitimate definition, and constructs instead a monolithic representation of that field. In so doing, the results of research are predetermined because the researcher becomes alert only to the data, evidence and interpretation that fits his or her a priori definition and blur others which validate alternative definitions of the category in question. To assume, for instance, that the drama translator is only someone who translates drama for publication is to exclude the contributions made by translators who translate directly for the stage, which consequently yields a one-sided picture of the field of drama translation. This picture is the outcome of a circular definition of 'who the drama translator is' which researchers construct and strive to support to undermine other definitions. Rather than sticking to a static and universal definition of 'writer', for instance, Bourdieu suggests as an alternative studying the range of definitions available at a particular moment in time and their distribution/hierarchization within the literary field. This study requires mapping the "diverse indices of recognition as a writer" such as "presence in book selection or literary prize lists" (ibid.: 225). It also involves identifying the agents and institutions that wield the power of consecration, such as the education system, cultural institutions, academics, critics and authors of prize lists, as well as the symbolic power each of them possesses in the field. Breaking the circularity of the definition of 'writer' in the literary field can be also achieved by "constructing a model of the *process of canonization which leads to the establishment of writers*" (ibid.: 225, emphasis in original). This can be done through analysing the different forms of consecration at different historical stages of the field. Bourdieu lists a number of these forms of consecration: consecration through documents (textbooks, anthologies, miscellanies), consecration through monuments (portraits, statues, busts, medallions of 'great men'), consecration through commemorative events (inauguration of statues or commemorative plaques, attribution of street names, creation of commemorative societies), consecration through the educational system (inclusion into school/university curricula), and consecration through attention from critics, reviewers and cultural agents in general (ibid.: 225). Studying the process of canonization through analysing the forms of consecration and their distribution in the literary field is supplemented by a study of the process of inculcation (conscious or unconscious) "which leads us to accept the established hierarchy as self-evident" (ibid.: 225).

The boundaries of the field do not only involve the definition of the conditions of true membership; they are also about the classification of genres and modes of production within the field. The invention of new genres and the

extinction of old ones define the boundaries of the cultural field. In this sense, the boundaries of the field of pre-Islamic literature, for instance, when poetry was the main genre, are dramatically different from the boundaries of Arabic literature in the late nineteenth century, when such new genres as fiction and drama started to emerge. Likewise, the boundaries of the field of translation significantly changed in the second half of the nineteenth century in Egypt, when translators started to take an interest in literary translation after emphasis was predominantly laid on scientific translation.[4] Moreover, the mode of production in the pre-Islamic literary field, when poetry was mainly communicated verbally and poets were financially dependent on rulers and men of nobility, is different from the mode of production characteristic of the field of Arabic literature in the late twentieth century, when a variety of non-conventional modes of production and circulation of literature had emerged.

The change of the conditions of field membership and the classification of genres and modes of production is usually instigated by newcomers to the field. Newcomers, as Bourdieu suggests, not only introduce innovative products, but they also introduce new techniques of production and new modes of evaluating products (Bourdieu 1996: 225). However, their entry into the field and their trajectory within it are not unconditioned:

> It is one and the same thing to enter into a field of cultural production, by settling an entrance fee which consists essentially of the acquisition of a *specific code* of conduct and expression, and to discover the finite universe of *freedom under constraints* and *objective potentialities* which it offers: problems to resolve, stylistic or thematic possibilities to exploit, contradictions to overcome, even revolutionary ruptures to effect.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996: 235, emphasis in original)

Control over newcomers is exercised through the codification of entry to the field. Bourdieu identifies two types of codification of entry: high degree of codification, where getting into the field is conditioned by subscribing to explicit rules and possessing a minimum of qualifications (a degree, a title, a distinguished social position or a close kinship relation to already existing members of the field, etc.); and a weak degree of codification, where the rules of entry into the field are negotiable and function at a more subtle and implicit level (ibid.: 226). In contrast with the academic or judicial field, for instance, the literary and artistic fields are characterized by a weak degree of codification and, hence, by "the extreme permeability of their boundaries and the extreme diversity of the definition of the *posts* they offer and the principles of legitimacy which confront each other there" (ibid.: 226). The same is true of the field of drama translation, whose weak degree of codification makes it difficult to decide who the drama translator is. The fuzziness of the boundaries of this field allows for the intensification of struggle over the conditions of membership and leaves room for deploying a range of manoeuvres by means of which membership is legitimized, contested or discredited.

Boundaries of the field are also delineated through the acts of *naming* exercised by its members in order to define themselves in opposition to members of other fields. The presence or absence of a particular group in the social universe depends, as Bourdieu observes, on "its capacity to get itself recognized, to get itself noticed and admitted, and so to win a place in the social order" (1984: 480–1). Members of this social group strive to avoid the uncertain existence of a *nameless* social body, because their fate is "bound up with the words that designate them" (ibid.). Hence the ability of this group to gain recognition from other existing groups is largely conditioned by their "capacity to mobilize around a name", and "to mobilize the union that makes them strong, around the unifying power of a word" (ibid.). However, the name that any particular social group accepts for itself is the outcome of a struggle among its members. Individual members have their own *vision* of the identity of the group, which they seek to impose through the act of naming and turn into a legitimate *division* that distinguishes the members of that group from members of other groups.

3.4 Structure and Properties of the Field: Positions and Position-Takings

The field is defined by Bourdieu as "a network of objective relations . . . between positions" (1996: 231) which are available to be occupied by members of the field. These positions and the relations between them can be objectively defined independently of the characteristics of those who occupy them (Bourdieu 1993b: 72). The positions available in a field are distributed in oppositional terms. In the literary field, for example, the following positions can be identified: novel versus poetry, social novel versus avant-garde novel, politically committed literature versus arts for arts' sake literature, dominant versus dominated, consecrated versus novice, orthodox versus heretic, old versus young, etc. (Bourdieu 1996: 239). In the literary field, positions also include forms of grouping of individual producers (salons, writers' unions, literary clubs, different literary movements), modes of production (private vs. government publishers, paper vs. electronic publishing, paperback vs. hardcover editions, publishing in a prestigious book series for established writers vs. publishing in a series for avant-garde writers, etc.). The status of each of these positions is defined in relation to the other positions in the field (ibid.: 231; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 97) and in relation to the distribution of forms of capital possessed by their occupants or the power relations between them (Bourdieu 1996: 231). For example, the primacy of a particular genre, such as the novel, at a particular moment in the history of the literary field is conditioned by the availability of novelists who have accumulated a considerable amount of symbolic capital that renders it possible for the genre they use to gain relative superiority over other available genres in the field.

The available positions in the field allow for a range of decisions and choices, or what Bourdieu terms *position-takings*, to be made by members

of the field. Position-taking is the concretization of the agents' positions in terms of actual works, discourses or stances. Apart from generic, stylistic and thematic choices by members of the literary field, for instance, position-takings also comprise "political acts and discourses, manifestos or polemics" of writers (ibid.: 231). The range of available positions and the range of position-takings are inseparable and should be analysed together, because the space of position-takings, decisions and choices by agents are conditioned by the space of available positions, and the space of positions is itself only apprehended in terms of its concretization in actual works and discourses. In other words, any change in the range of available positions in the field results in a change in the stances taken by agents. Introducing change in the available positions is usually done by newcomers to the field, usually young and non-consecrated (Bourdieu 1993a: 58). Seeking to "assert their difference, get it known and recognized" (ibid.), newcomers strive to introduce "new modes of thought and expression" (ibid.) and add new positions to the existing ones. This induces a reorganization of the hierarchy of available positions and position-takings:

> When a new literary or artistic group imposes itself on the field, the whole space of positions and the space of corresponding possibilities . . . find themselves transformed because of it: with its accession to existence, that is, to difference, the universe of possible options finds itself modified, with formerly dominant productions, for example, being downgraded to the status of an outmoded or classical product.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996: 234)

It should be noted that changes in positions and position-takings are always the outcome of the generative principle which governs the field, i.e. struggle among agents with different interests (Bourdieu 1996: 232).

Studying the sociology of cultural fields, then, involves analysing the relation between positions and position-takings, the relation between the range of possibilities available for producers of culture and the actual choices made by these producers. The change in cultural works is the outcome of struggles among agents who have particular interests in transforming or conserving the relations between positions and position-takings (Bourdieu 1996: 234).

3.5 Positions and Position-Takings in the Field of Drama Translation

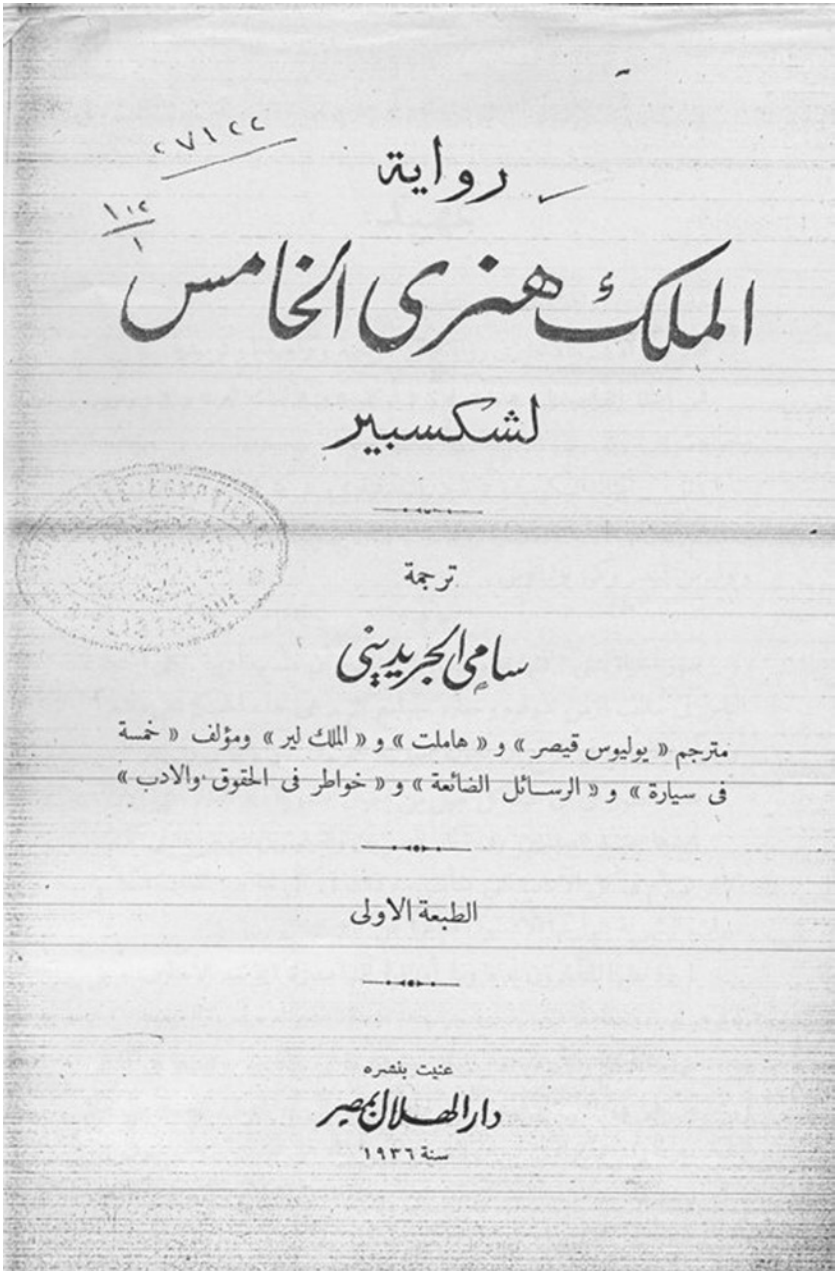
Following the logic outlined by Bourdieu, we might delineate the various positions in the field of drama translation[5] as follows:

1 *Positions relevant to the medium and consumers of translation*. Two major positions can be identified here: translation for the stage and translation for publication.

2 *Positions relevant to the genre of the source text*. These include the specific range of dramatic genres which the field makes available for translation, such as tragedy, social comedy, comedy of manners, romantic comedy, tragicomedy, melodrama, realist drama, avant-garde drama, political drama, etc.
3 *Positions relevant to the time frame of the source text and author*. These are usually distributed along a scale of three time slots: old, modern and contemporary. The position of old texts and authors is probably the most attractive to translators, because 'being old' is in most cases taken to mean 'canonized', and hence guarantees success when translated. 'Modern' and 'contemporary' texts might also prove successful in translation, particularly if they happen to respond to a specific need in the target culture, whether political, social or aesthetic. A case in point is the rising demand for translations of works by such playwrights as Chekhov, Bernard Shaw and Bertolt Brecht in the 1950s and 1960s in Egypt when the regime, which controlled all publishing and theatre venues at the time, was very welcoming of theatre and literature that promoted its ideological agenda.[6] In the 1970s, however, the tendency was to promote depoliticized literature and theatre: no wonder that this period witnessed a growth of interest in New Criticism among Egyptian academics. This same period also saw the flourishing of commercial theatre in its crudest forms.
4 *Positions relevant to the cultural milieu of the source text*. Although the preference of translators in Egypt since the 1970s has tended to be for texts from English-speaking cultures, there have been times when texts from other cultures were given priority. During the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, French texts were in demand for translation; this is largely due to the political hegemony of France in the whole Middle East region during that time, its cultural policy which supported the spread of the French language through French schools and the activities of missionaries. For ideological reasons, the sixties witnessed a tendency to prioritize texts from both the Russian and German traditions. There are other source text/culture related factors which determine the hierarchy of positions of cultural traditions in the field of literary translation in general. Internationally acclaimed prizes such as Nobel or Booker, for instance, help to promote the position of the cultural tradition of writers who win these awards and render texts belonging to that tradition more likely to be selected for translation than texts from other traditions.[7]
5 *Positions relevant to the degree of canonization of the source playwright*. These include the two positions of canonized versus non-canonized playwrights. The position of canonized playwrights is bound to be a site for struggle among drama translators, because translating a canonized author secures a minimum of success. When placed on the cover of a published translated drama or the billboard of a theatre,

the very name of the canonized playwright, with the symbolic value it holds, promises and guarantees a quality product, regardless of the contribution of the translator. For consumers of translated drama, the name of a canonized playwright is like the brand name of a guaranteed product. For a translator to have his or her name placed close to the name of a canonized playwright is itself a sign of consecration. Aware of this fact, drama translators mobilize their entire arsenal of capital in order to win the honour of translating canonized playwrights; and when the translation is produced, they strive to demonstrate to fellow producers as well as consumers of the translation that they have been worthy of this honour. Book covers, in the case of published translated drama, often reveal the translators' interest in asserting their worthiness of the position of 'translators of canonized playwrights'. As regards the translations of Shakespeare's drama into Arabic, one way of doing this is highlighting the academic title of the translator, particularly if he or she is a specialist in English literature or drama. The academic title functions as a cultural capital and a competitive asset that distinguishes the translator from others who fight over the same position (see section 3.6.1 on cultural capital in this chapter). If the translator happens to have already occupied the position of translating for a canonized playwright, he or she makes sure this is well exhibited in order to consolidate their position: Sāmī al-Juraydīnī, for instance, mentions on the cover of his published Arabic translation of Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1936) that he already translated *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet*[8](see figure 2.1). In the earliest phases of the genesis of the field of drama translation, when the field is still in the making and when canonized playwrights happen to be translated for the first time, translators naturally do not possess capital that is pertinent to the field of drama translation, and hence they tend to deploy the capital they have from other fields. This is why on the cover of his Arabic translation of *Hamlet* (1902), the first published translation in this language, the translator, Ṭanyūs 'Abdu, imported his capital from the field of journalism and wrote under his name "the owner of al-Sharq Newspaper" (see figure 2.2). In a similar vein, on the cover of his Arabic translation of *Macbeth* (1911), Muḥammad 'Iffat al-Qāḍī displayed the social capital he possessed in the form of a dedication to "Ṭabūz Zāda Ḥusayn Rushdī Pasha, Foreign Minister of the Egyptian Government" (see figure 2.3).

Non-canonized playwrights are, however, sought by translators in a number of situations: first, when the field of drama translation is still in its earliest phases of genesis, at a time when the consumers of translated drama are not alert enough to who is and who is not canonized; second, when a particular work by a non-canonized playwright is seen to be relevant to the needs of a large sector of the audience, and hence success is guaranteed


رواية

الملك هنرى الخامس

لشكسبير

ترجمة

سامى الجريدينى

مترجم « يوليوس قيصر » و « هاملت » و « الملك لير » ومؤلف « خمسة فى سيارة » و « الرسائل الضائعة » و « خواطر فى الحقوق والادب »

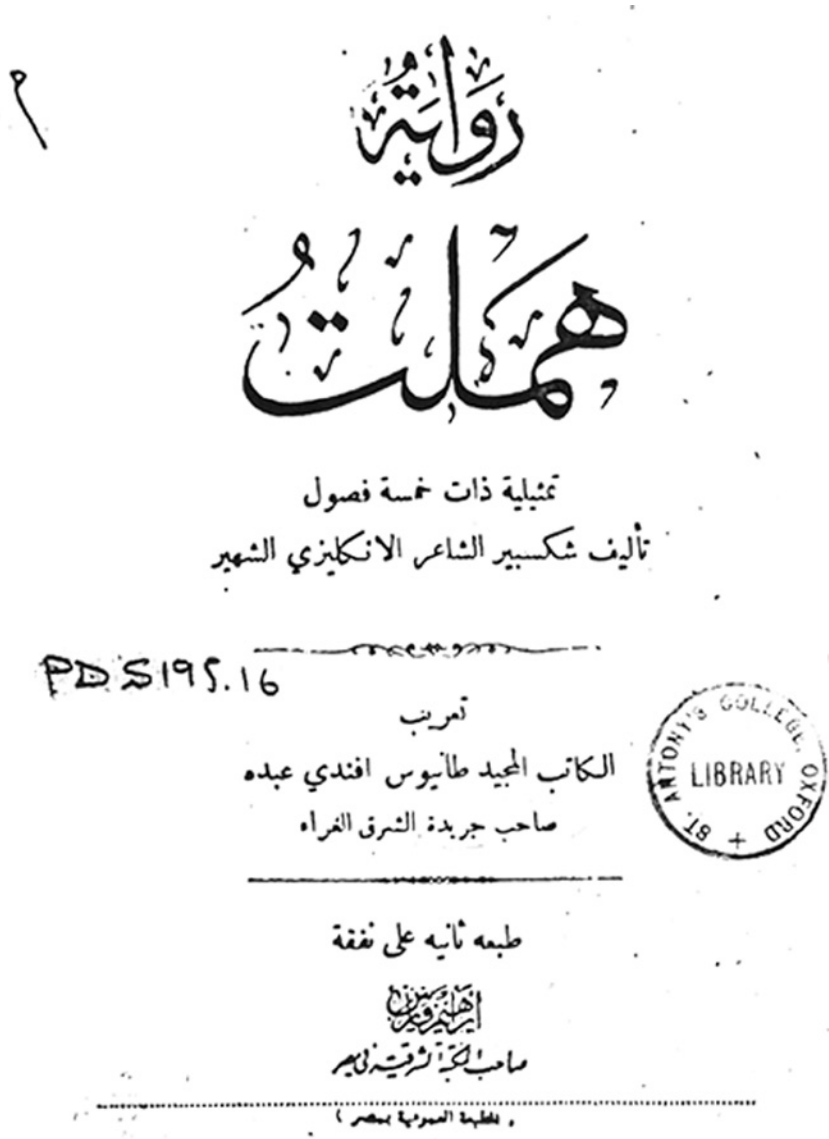
الطبعة الاولى

عنيت بنشره

دار الهلال بمصر

سنة ١٩٣٦

Figure 2.1 Front cover of Sāmī al-Juraydīnī's Arabic translation of *Henry V* (1936).


رواية

هملت

تمثيلية ذات خمسة فصول

تأليف شكسبير الشاعر الانكليزي الشهير

تعريب

الكاتب المجيد طانيوس افندي عبده

صاحب جريدة الشرق الغراء

طبعه ثانيه على نفقة

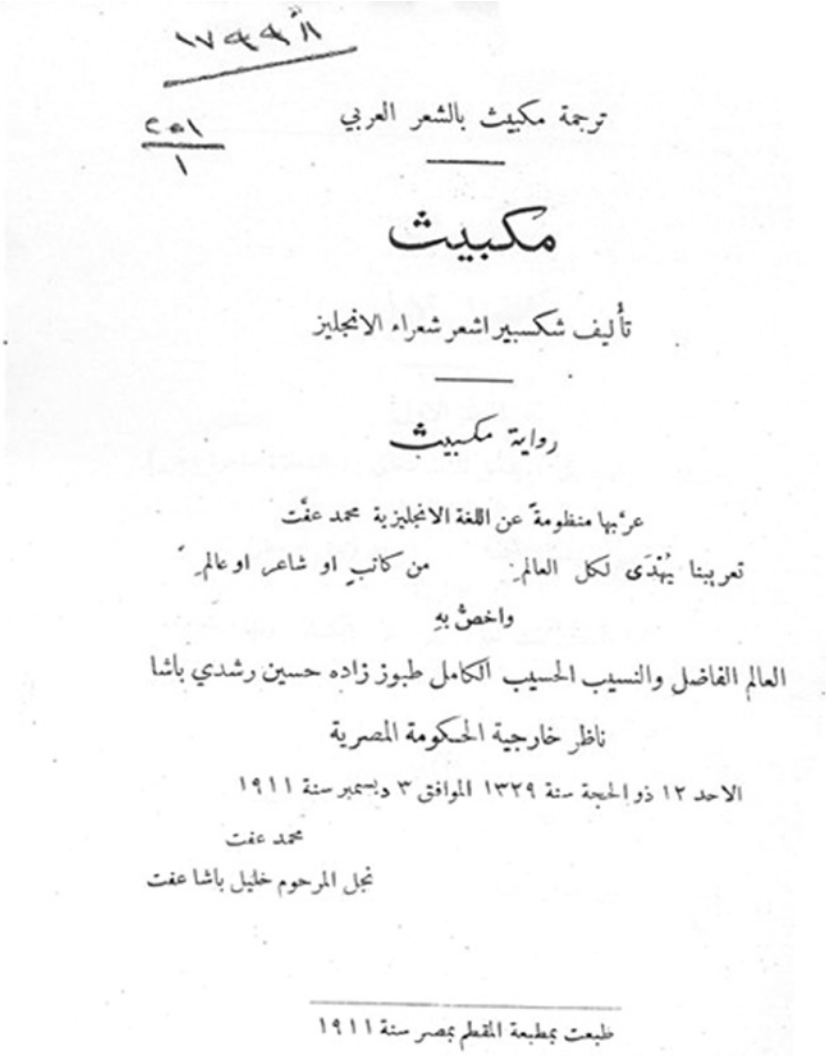
ابراهيم وديع

صاحب المكتبة الشرقية بمصر

(المطبعة العمومية بمصر)

Figure 2.2 Front cover of the second edition of Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet* (first edition was published in 1902).

regardless of the canonization of the playwright: this is usually true of social comedies, comedies of manners and romantic comedies; third, when the translator sees in a particular work by a non-canonized author elements that would serve his or her own political, social or aesthetic agenda. One example that can be given for the last case, although not directly relevant to


ترجمة مكبيث بالشعر العربي

مكبيث

تأليف شكسبير اشعر شعراء الانجليز

رواية مكبيث

عرّبها منظومةً عن اللغة الانجليزية محمد عفّت

تعريبنا يُهْدَى لكل العالم من كاتبٍ او شاعرٍ او عالمٍ

واخصّ به

العالم الفاضل والنسيب الحسيب الكامل طبوز زاده حسين رشدي باشا

ناظر خارجية الحكومة المصرية

الاحد ١٢ ذو الحجة سنة ١٣٢٩ الموافق ٣ ديسمبر سنة ١٩١١

محمد عفت

نجل المرحوم خليل باشا عفت

طبعت بمطبعة المقطم بمصر سنة ١٩١١

Figure 2.3 Front cover of Muḥammad 'Iffat al-Qāḍī's translation of *Macbeth* (1911).

drama translation, is of the pioneering translation of Fénelon's *Télèmaque* into Arabic by the educationalist, social reformer and pioneer of Arabic translation Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801–1873). François Fénelon's work was not part of the canon of French literature at the time al-Ṭahṭāwī decided to

translate *Télèmaque* into Arabic, yet he chose it as his first full-length literary translation for reasons he highlights in his introduction to the translation; about *The Adventures of Télèmaque* he says:

> [*The Adventures of Télèmaque*] gained popularity among [people from different] nations and religions, and were translated into other languages for the noble meanings they comprise, which include advice for kings and rulers, and morals for improving the manners of the public, at times communicated straightforwardly and clearly, at others implicitly.
>
> (Introduction to translation, cited in Badr 1963: 58, my translation)

Al-Ṭahṭāwī, who was in exile at the time after the ruler of Egypt, Khedive 'Abbās, banished him to Sudan, found that translating *Télèmaque* serves as both a political message to the Egyptian despot and a means for social reform. Given these political[9] and social motivations, canonicity was not an issue.

6 *Positions relevant to the consecration of the translator*. These include the two positions of the consecrated and the marginalized. Apart from the privilege of translating canonical works, there are other marks which signal the position of consecrated translators. These marks are either related to the recognition given to the translator by cultural institutions or to the trajectory of the translator within the field of drama translation. Forms of recognition include translation awards, as well as membership in official translation committees which evaluate translations, give awards, and set national translation policies. The achievements and general profile of the translator also play a significant role in determining whether or not he or she fits into the position of the 'consecrated'. For instance, translators who are themselves authors and have publications as 'original writers' to their names are more likely to become consecrated than others who do nothing besides translation. The capital assigned to the title of 'writer', which evokes the image of the 'creator', exceeds that assigned to the title of 'translator', which is associated with the image of 'imitator'. A case in point here is that of Khalīl Muṭrān, whose cultural profile as a major poet helped significantly in consecrating his translations of four of Shakespeare's dramatic works.

7 *Positions relevant to the translation strategies used*. In the context of the field of drama translation in Egypt, three positions relevant to available translation strategies can be identified: 'close translation', 're-actualization' and 'imitation'. 'Close translation' involves reproducing the source text in the target language with the least possible alterations; this strategy is usually used to produce academic translations for publication. 'Re-actualization' and 'imitation' are two terms used by Annie Brisset (1996) in reference to the work of Patrice Pavis on theatre translation. Re-actualization, as a strategy, generally "preserves the structure of the work, its content, and the sequence of the

dialogue" (Brisset 1996: 12). However, it entails a degree of both spatial and temporal transposition of the source play which varies from a change in the name and function of some characters to changes in the dramatic situation itself (ibid.). In the field of drama translation in Egypt, 're-actualization' takes one of two forms, *ta'rīb* (arabization) and *tamṣīr* (Egyptianization), where the play is either transposed to an Arab milieu, with the characters using Classical Arabic (*fuṣḥa*), or transposed to an Egyptian milieu with the characters speaking Egyptian colloquial Arabic (*'āmmiyya*). *Ta'rīb* is generally used in translating historical drama to give the feel of temporal distance, given that Classical Arabic is not the variety Egyptians use in their everyday conversations, whereas *tamṣīr* is reserved for translating social drama and comedies. Although most translations using these two strategies are generally meant for the stage, some may get published. A significant number of the drama translations produced during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the outcome of 're-actualization'. 'Imitation', as Brisset puts it, "is a radical form of adaptation" (ibid.), where the transposition of the foreign play amounts to an act of rewriting in which only selected elements from the source text are rearranged and combined with new ones (ibid.). Producers of drama translation in Egypt use the Arabic term *iqtibās*, literally meaning "lighting a piece of wood from fire, hence acquisition or adoption" (Cachia 1990: 37), to refer to the same strategy. Theatrical *iqtibās*, as Tawfīq al-Hakīm describes it, amounts "almost to semi-authorship" (cited and translated in Cachia 1990: 37). Because of the many changes which are applied to the original play, the target text becomes almost independent: although inspired by the source text, it stands on its own.

The problem with identifying positions along the axis of translation strategies, which the sociologist of drama translation should be aware of, is that the way producers of drama translation refer to these positions and distinguish between them might be fuzzy and, at times, inaccurate. For instance, Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (1829–98), as Cachia (1990: 36) rightly observes, used *ta'rīb* to refer to his own translation practice in which he mainly used colloquial Egyptian and cast the plot and characters into a typically Egyptian setting.

8 *Positions relevant to the poetics of the translation*. I use 'poetics' in this context to include the language variety used in the translation as well as whether the translation is in prose or verse. Positions along this axis can be formulated in terms of oppositions: Classical Arabic versus Egyptian colloquial Arabic, prose versus verse, traditional verse versus free verse.
9 *Positions relevant to the politics of the translator*. These include two main positions: political commitment versus noncommitment.

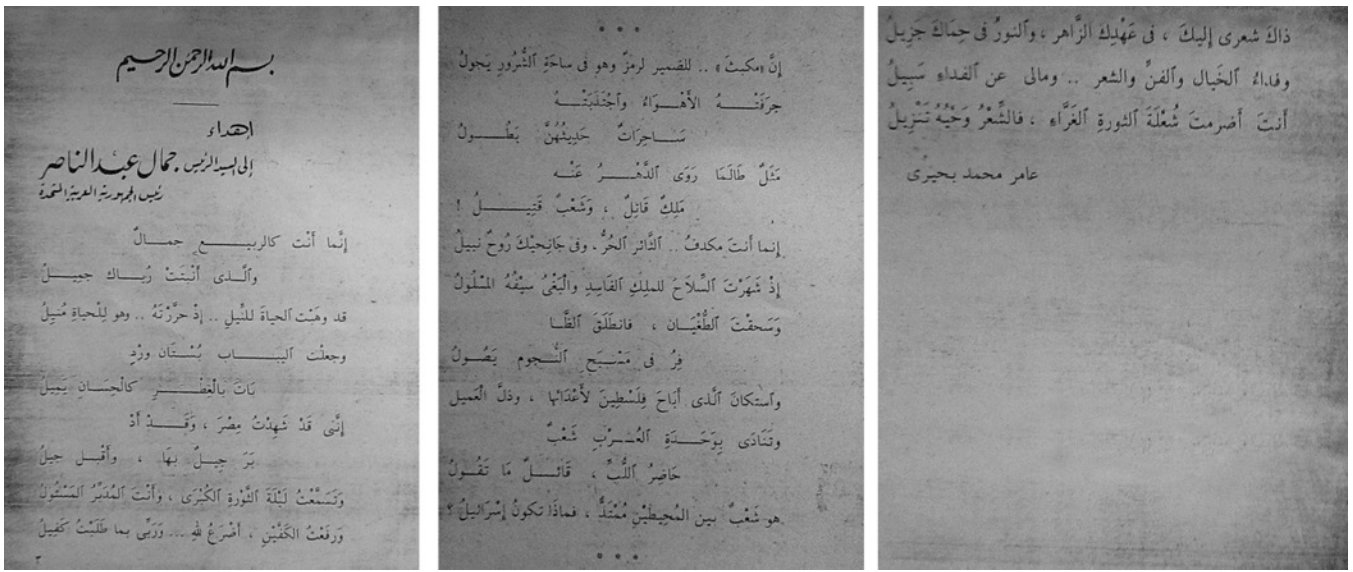
> Because theatre is more capable than other art forms of raising and addressing political questions, agents in the field of drama translation tend to use their translations as a means for channelling the political values and stances they embrace. This is either done subtly through the text of the translation or straightforwardly through the paratexts which frame the translation. A number of examples can be mentioned in this context regarding the expression of political stances through the paratexts of the translation. On the cover of the third edition of his translation of *Julius Caesar* (1912/1928), Muḥammad Ḥamdī provides an explanatory subtitle for the play which goes as follows: "[this *riwāya*[10]] represents the eruption of nationalistic pride among the nations aspiring to *democracy*" (my translation, emphasis added). Opposite to an introductory brief note on Shakespeare's style of characterization, we have a picture of Shakespeare under which is written "William Shakespeare, the *democratic* English poet and *riwā'ī* (playwright)" (Ḥamdī 1912/1928b: 4, emphasis added, my translation) (see figure 2.4). These interpretive cues which the translator provides for his readers are not only meant to present the readers with a particular reading of the play but also to signal the position the translator occupies in the field of drama translation production.

Two possible position-takings are available for the position of political commitment: conformism and non-conformism. Muḥammad Ḥamdī's position-taking was non-conformist, in the sense of being subversive of the British rule of Egypt, represented at the time by a British High Commissioner. The call for democracy, straightforwardly stated in the explanatory subtitle of the translation and insinuated by characterizing Shakespeare as the "democratic poet and *riwā'ī*", is asserted in the way Caesar is portrayed in the translation and the afterword written by Muḥammad Kāmil Silīm Bek, where an implicit connection can be identified between Caesar and the British High Commissioner. An example of political conformism can be seen in the translation of *Macbeth* into Arabic by 'Amir Muhammad Biḥīrī, published in 1966. Biḥīrī dedicates his translation to "Mr. President Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, President of the United Arab Republic[11]" (see figure 2.5). In the rather lengthy dedication, which is written in traditional verse, the translator addresses Nāṣir, associating him with Macduff. The deposed King Farūq and the British rule are associated with Macbeth. In the dedication and the following introduction, the translator pays tribute to the revolution, its political as well as cultural implications.

In studying the hierarchy and distribution of positions in the field of drama translation, a number of considerations need to be put in perspective. First, this hierarchy is time-bound; that is, a position which is regarded as dominant in the field of drama translation at a certain time may not be so conceived at another moment in the history of the field. The re-hierarchization

Figure 2.4 An inside picture in Muḥammad Ḥamdī's translation of *Julius Caesar* (1912).

of positions along the axis of translation strategies is a case in point: the dominance of *tamṣīr*, *ta'rīb* and *iqtibās* as translation strategies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries started to gradually give way to 'close translation' by the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century. Second, positions in the field of drama translation overlap and presuppose each other: occupying the position of 'a consecrated translator' necessarily implies occupying such dominant positions as translating canonized playwrights, translating in a prestigious genre, and using the dominant language variety and poetics. Third, the distribution of these positions is conditioned by the dominant capital, i.e. the principle around which the field is structured, as well as the capitals possessed by the agents occupying these positions.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

إهداء

إلى السيد الرئيس جمال عبد الناصر
رئيس الجمهورية العربية المتحدة

إنّما أنت كالربيع جمالٌ
والّذى أنبتَ رُباك جميلُ
قد وهبت الحياةَ للنيلِ .. إذ حرّرتَهُ .. وهو للحياةِ مُيلُ
وجعلت البناءَ بُنْيانَ وزْدٍ
باتَ بالعطرِ كالجِنانِ يميلُ
إنّنى قد شهدتُ مِصرَ ، وقد أدْ
برَ جيلٌ بها ، وأقبلَ جيلُ
وتسمّعتُ ليلةَ الثورةِ الكبرى ، وأنتَ المدبّرُ المستورُ
ورفعتُ الكفّينِ ، أضرعُ لله ... وربّى بما طلبتُ كفيلُ

• • •

إنّ «مكبث» .. للضمير لرمزٌ وهو فى ساحةِ الثّرورِ يجولُ
جرّفتْهُ الأهواءُ واجتذبتْهُ
ساحراتٌ حديثُهنّ بطولُ
مثلٌ طالما روى الدّهرُ عنه
ملكٌ قاتلٌ ، وشعبٌ قتيلُ !
إنما أنتَ مكبثُ .. الثائرُ الحرُّ . وفى جانِحيْكَ روحٌ نبيلُ
إذ شهرتَ السلاحَ للملكِ الفاسدِ والبغْيُ سيفُهُ المسلولُ
ومحقتَ الطغْيانَ ، فانطلقَ الظّا
مِرُ فى مَنْبَحِ النّجومِ يصولُ
واستكانَ الّذى أباحَ فلسطينَ لأعدائها ، وذلّ العميلُ
وتنادى بوحدةِ العُسْرِ شعْبٌ
حاضرُ اللبِّ ، قائلٌ ما تقولُ
هو شعْبٌ بين المحيطيْنِ ممتدٌّ ، فماذا تكونُ إسرائيلُ ؟

• • •

ذاكَ شعرى إليكَ ، فى عهْدِكَ الزّاهرِ ، والنورُ فى جمالكَ جزيلُ
وفداءُ الخيالِ والفنِّ والشعرِ .. ومالى عن الفداءِ سبيلُ
أنتَ أضرمتَ شعْلةَ الثورةِ الغرّاءِ ، فالشّعْرُ وحْيُهُ تنزيلُ

عامر محمد بحيرى

Figure 2.5 Snapshot of the dedication to President Jamāl ʻAbd al-Nāṣir in Biḥīrī's translation of *Macbeth* in Arabic verse (1966).

3.6 Structure and Properties of the Field: Forms of Capital

The structure and limits of any field are determined by the type of capital dominant in the field and the distribution of this capital among its members (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 98–9). Bourdieu borrows the concept of capital from economics and adapts it into a tool for understanding social and cultural practices. The problem with economics, as Bourdieu suggests, is that by reducing the meaning of 'exchange' to mercantile activities which are "oriented towards the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) *self-interested*, it has implicitly defined the other forms of exchange as non-economic, and therefore *disinterested*" (1986: 242, italics in original). In other words, by mobilizing the concepts of 'interest' and 'capital' in their monetary sense, economics ignores other types of capital (which are, as Bourdieu explains, convertible to economic capital), and hence characterizes such seemingly non-economic activities as cultural or social practices as disinterested, in the sense of being purposeless (ibid.: 242).

In its basic sense, 'capital' denotes "accumulated labour" (Bourdieu 1986: 241). However, what Bourdieu argues for in his theory of fields is that labour may be immaterial, and hence its accumulation may take forms other than monetary profit, although it can be converted, under certain conditions, into monetary profit. Capital, for Bourdieu, is both "a force inscribed in objective or subjective structures" and "the principle underlying the immanent regularities of the social world" (ibid.: 241). In other words, capital is not only concentrated in material things and immaterial practices, or possessed by individuals and institutions but is also the very logic that structures activities in any particular field as well as the power relations between members of that field. In this sense, to imagine a world without capital is to project "a world without inertia, without accumulation . . . in which every moment is perfectly independent of the previous one" (ibid.: 241); a world without capital is a world where "every prize can be attained, instantaneously, by everyone, so that at each moment anyone can become anything" (ibid.: 241). Capital is "what makes the games of society . . . something other than simple games of chance" (ibid.: 241). Consequently, accounting for the structure and function of the social world would be inconceivable without incorporating the concept of capital as an explanatory tool for understanding social as well as cultural practices. In order for this account to be effective, the sociologist must endeavour to identify the mechanisms of euphemization, or what Bourdieu (ibid.: 243) terms *dissimulation*, by means of which the material interests which motivate and structure socio-cultural practices are disguised in such seemingly disinterested claims made by individual producers of culture as 'serving the cause of art/literature', 'invigorating literature with new themes, styles and genres', 'restoring the glorious past of classical language and literature', or even ' producing a faithful translation of Shakespeare's drama'. At the heart of these claims lie identifiable forms of capital that agents seek to possess

and invest in and that need to be grasped by sociological research in order to fully account for socio-cultural practices. Apart from identifying all forms of capital that structure a particular field, the sociologist should be able to "establish the laws whereby the different types of capital (or power, which amounts to the same thing) change into one another" (ibid.: 243). For Bourdieu, capital presents itself in social spaces in three main types:

> as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the forms of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the forms of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.
>
> (1986: 243, emphasis in original)

Given the objectives of this study, I will focus in the next sections on cultural and social capital.

3.6.1 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital materializes in three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalized. In its fundamental state, cultural capital takes the form of dispositions which are embodied and incorporated in the minds and bodies of individual agents (Bourdieu 1986: 243). Embodied cultural capital is concentrated in the range of knowledge, skills, cultural, artistic and political preferences which the individual agent possesses; it also involves the awareness developed by agents of their social space and the potentials they deploy in relating to it and entering into the fields which constitute this space. The accumulation of embodied cultural capital occurs through inculcation, which might be deliberate through education and mass media or spontaneous through the unconscious processes of socialization. The acquisition of cultural capital is conditioned by both the capacities of the individual agents and the dictates of their social classes. The social conditions of the acquisition of cultural capital are "more disguised than those of economic capital" (ibid.: 245), and hence cultural capital is meant to be recognized as symbolic capital (ibid.: 245). However, in addition to its symbolic value, "any given cultural competence . . . derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital" of other individuals, and hence "it yields profits of distinction for its owner" (ibid.: 245). The possession and accumulation of embodied cultural capital costs time, which is meant to be an investment by individual agents (ibid.: 244). The

value of this investment is determined by the convertibility of cultural capital to economic or social capital.

In its objectified state, cultural capital materializes in objects and media "such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc." (ibid.: 246). The materiality of objectified cultural capital makes its transmission and conversion to economic capital easier than is the case with embodied cultural capital. A collection of paintings possessed by an individual has, besides its symbolic value, its own economic value, which is conditioned by their painters, and the historical period during which they were painted. Objectified cultural capital exists in its material and symbolic value insofar as it is "implemented and invested as a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of cultural production" (ibid.: 247). That is, the value, symbolic and economic, of the reference books, dictionaries and other translation tools that a translator possesses is conditioned by how he or she invests in them and transforms them into assets that help maximize his or her symbolic and economic profit in the field of translation.

Cultural capital in its institutionalized state takes the form of an academic degree, a title or award which is certified by an educational or cultural institution. Institutionalized cultural capital, in Bourdieu's words, is "a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" (Bourdieu 1986: 248). This value is autonomous from both the cultural dispositions and cultural objects possessed by the individual agent; it is the effect of the "performative magic of the power of instituting" (ibid.), this power which guarantees belief in and recognition of the value and the validity of a particular certified qualification. In contrast with embodied cultural capital, institutionalized cultural capital is more fluid and is easily convertible to economic and social capital. It makes it possible to compare and price the qualifications of agents within the field. The certification of cultural competence through academic degrees allows for establishing "conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital" (ibid.). Thus high academic qualifications allow individual agents to "buy good jobs with good salaries" (Grenfell and James 1998: 21). However, like economic capital, institutionalized cultural capital is subject to erosion or devaluation over time, especially when a particular degree or certificate "no longer guarantees the same prestigious jobs" due to qualification inflation (ibid.). The notion of institutionalized cultural capital and its role in determining the position of agents within cultural fields can explain the tendency of a group of Shakespeare translators in Egypt to flag their certified cultural competence paratextually. Apart from mentioning the translator's academic title on the front cover, the back cover and the preface are used to highlight the distinctive position these translators have by virtue of their institutionalized cultural

capital. On the back cover of Muḥammad Enānī's Arabic translation of *King Lear*, for instance, we read:

> This [play] is translated here in a harmonious mixture of verse and prose, and in line with the Shakespearean original for the first time, by the specialist professor and playwright Dr Muḥammad Enānī, who also wrote an introduction detailing the development of critical commentary on the play since its first staging until the present day.
>
> (Enānī 1996a, my translation)

The institutionalized cultural capital ('specialist professor'), which is here augmented through reference to the translator's cultural competence as a playwright, is invested by the translator in two ways, which give him relative advantage over previous translators of Shakespeare. The specialist knowledge of English drama in general and knowledge of Shakespeare's theatre in particular are used to justify the claim that this is the first attempt to "translate in line with Shakespeare's original". This same capital is also mobilized and signalled in the academic introduction, where Enānī invokes the hermeneutic history of *King Lear*.

3.6.2 Social Capital

Social capital, the third form of capital delineated by Bourdieu, is the range of actual or potential social resources possessed and mobilized by individuals (Bourdieu 1986: 248). This may take the form of membership in a particular group which allows each of its members to enjoy "the backing of the collectively-owned capital" (ibid.: 248–9). This collectively owned capital is activated through signalling the common name of a group of which agents are members; this may be the name of a family, class, school, political party, literary club or movement (Bourdieu 1986: 249). The volume and effect of social capital possessed by any agent is dependent on "the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected" (ibid.: 249). Group membership, being the basis of social capital, yields material as well as symbolic profits. Material profits include "all the types of services accruing from useful relationships", whereas symbolic profits "derive from association with a rare, prestigious group" (ibid.: 249).

The possession of social capital in the form of networks of connections is itself the result of a long process of investment strategies which aim at transforming circumstantial relations into "social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (Bourdieu 1986: 249). These strategies, which may be individual or collective, conscious or unconscious, find expression in social exchange (of gifts, compliments, material and symbolic benefits, etc.) (ibid.: 249). Exchange consolidates the bonds formed between

agents and participates in the constitution and maintenance of social groups. Exchange, as Bourdieu puts it, "transforms the things exchanged into signs of recognition and, through the mutual recognition and the recognition of group membership which it implies, reproduces the group" (ibid.: 250). In this respect, social capital is characteristically symbolic. Unlike cultural capital, it cannot be incorporated into one individual *habitus*, objectified or institutionalized. It exists in intersubjective relations and "in the eyes of others" (Siisiainen 2000). Exchange also helps reaffirm the boundaries of the group beyond which it cannot function. In other words 'exchange' acquires its significance within the group in question and varies in its forms from one group to another. The gifts, compliments or support exchanged among family members do not function effectively outside the boundaries of the family, in the workplace, for instance, where other forms of exchange are deployed for different purposes. The mutual recognition of two literary translators is only symbolically effective within the field of literary translation and through the means of production available in the field: a conference on literary translation, an introduction to a translation of a text which has been translated by a fellow translator, etc.

Collective social capital accruing from group membership can be concentrated through delegation "in the hands of a single agent or a small group of agents" who are mandated "to represent the group, to speak and act in its name and so, with the aid of this collectively owned capital, to exercise a power incommensurate with the agent's personal contribution" (Bourdieu 1986: 251). Deans of universities, heads of workers' unions and presidents of translators' associations are all examples of collective social capital concentrated in the hands of delegates. In situations where it is up to the members of any group to "regulate the conditions of access to the right to declare oneself a member of the group" (ibid.), they are also in charge of defining the conditions according to which individuals can compete for the position of the delegate, and the conditions according to which the selected delegate should manage the collective capital of the group. Delegation may be either official or personally authorized (Bourdieu 1991: 239). Official delegation takes the form of government appointment of heads of cultural or arts councils, translation departments in ministries of cultures, language academies, heads of academic departments, deans of universities, etc.[12] Although the agents who occupy these positions are not directly and explicitly delegated by members of the field of cultural production, the fact that the state has delegated them legitimates their positions as cultural or educational mandates. Personally authorized delegation is assigned to highly acclaimed individual agents such as "a great critic or prestigious preface-writer or established author", who have accumulated valuable symbolic capital within the field (ibid.: 239).

Empowered by the concentrated social capital they possess by virtue of the position they occupy, delegates (who may be individuals or collective bodies) perform vital functions which affect the structure of the field. First,

they play major roles in delimiting the boundaries of their respective fields through defining the conditions of membership: who is the writer, the drama translator or the translator of Shakespeare's work is primarily decided by those individuals whose influential symbolic capital invests them with the power to impose their own definitions of true membership. These definitions, however, are subject to change, depending on the outcome of the struggle between the current delegates and those who wish to replace them. Second, an essential part of the function of delegates in cultural fields, which is again made possible by the concentrated social capital they possess, is to define the range of problems which structure the struggle among members of the field and hence affect the dynamics and outcome of cultural production (Bourdieu 1993a: 183–4).

In the context of modern Egypt, delegation in the general field which comprises such scholarly activities as standardization of language use and language and translation policies is assigned to the prestigious *majma' al-lugha al-ʔarabiyya* (Arabic Language Academy). Other collective bodies such as Arabic language departments in universities, the Ministry of Education and unofficial language associations try to compete for the role of delegate in language matters. Before the establishment of the Arabic Language Academy, two institutions used to play the role of delegate in this field, and they are still competing for it, namely al-Azhar and Dār al-'Ulūm[13] (Hasan n.d: 11).

The central argument in Bourdieu's discussion of the three forms of capital is that both cultural and social forms of capital are induced by and conducive to economic capital. By this he meant to challenge the generally held idea that cultural activities, in particular, are grounded in *disinterestedness* and that such claims as 'value-free research' or 'art for art's sake' are applicable to all intellectual endeavour (Collins 1998: 725). However, the fact that economic capital is at the root of both social and cultural capital does not mean that these two forms of capital do not necessarily need to conceal traces of economic and material interests in order to function effectively in socio-cultural spaces (Bourdieu 1986: 252). Both social and cultural capital could be converted to economic capital whenever it is convenient for individual agents. As indicated earlier, cultural capital in the form of academic degrees can be transformed to salaried academic jobs. Likewise, the social resources possessed by literary or drama translators, for instance, in the form of membership in translation associations, close relations with publishers and editors of translation series or theatre directors, can be employed to maximize their profits in the field of literary or drama translation. The social resources available to cultural producers vary across time and geographical boundaries; the social resources available to literary translators in Egypt at the moment may not have been at their disposal in the early twentieth century and may differ radically from the social resources that the field of literary translation in Britain, for instance, provides. In his introduction to the first complete verse translation of *The Illiad* into Arabic (1904), Sulaymān al-Bustānī accounts for the fact that it took him a relatively long

time (almost two years)[14] to get his translation published by pointing out the lack of social resources in the form of connections with existing publishers, editors, proofreaders, distributors, etc. To make his point, he compares what happens in cultural fields in both the 'East' and the 'West':

> The Westerner might be surprised at this slack attitude [towards publishing and circulating books], given that in his country he no sooner learns of an authored book than he sees it published and circulated. To him who blames us for this I would say that the situation in our country is different from what you have in yours; in our country we have no companies that take it upon themselves to publish books, at their own cost . . . In our country, even if publishing costs were available, the writer needs to take care of publishing his book on his own. If he happens to have a friend, or someone else to read the manuscript, the author would nevertheless have to proof-read it.
>
> (al-Bustānī 1904: 73, my translation)

Finally, if social resources can be mobilized in order to maximize the cultural capital accumulated by an individual agent, cultural capital can also be converted to social capital.

3.7 Habitus: Overcoming the Dichotomy of Structure and Agency

How capital is managed, i.e. accumulated, multiplied, diminished or converted to other forms of capital, is conditioned not only by the objective structures within the field but also by the agency of social actors. Bourdieu's understanding of human agency goes against two exclusivist positions: one posits it as free-floating subjectivity that is totally dissociated from social conditioning, and the other conceives it as a mechanical extension of social structures, where the practices of individuals are projected as the direct implementation of an overall programme underlying the social system. Bourdieu distances himself from these exclusivist positions by defining *habitus* as the "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, *structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures*" (1990: 53, emphasis added). This definition highlights a number of features of *habitus* as Bourdieu understands it. First, the *habitus* of an individual agent is 'structured', in the sense of being "neither innate nor a haphazard construction" (Simeoni 1998: 21). It is acquired and shaped, explicitly or implicitly, through the range of social experiences made available by socialization and education. Second, the system of dispositions which constitutes the *habitus* has a 'structuring' function; that is, it orients the practices of the individual within the social space. The third and most important feature of *habitus*, as defined by Bourdieu, is that it generates 'dispositions' or strategies for action, rather than rules for implementation. The *habitus* of an individual

does not predispose him/her to operate in accordance with explicit social norms, because the schemes of this *habitus* "function below the level of consciousness and language" (Bourdieu 1984: 466). Although objectively regulated through socialization, the actions of an individual are not the outcome of abiding by rules (ibid.: 53). The relation between the *habitus* of an individual agent and the objective structures of the field is not a hierarchical relation that takes the form of rules or norms to be imposed by the field and actualized by the *habitus*. It is rather a dialectical relation that operates in two directions:

> On one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field . . . On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy.
>
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 127, emphasis in original)

This dialectical relation between 'social conditioning' and the act of 'cognitive construction' exercised by the *habitus* of individual agents involves another dialectical relation between 'reproduction' and 'change'. Being conditioned by objective social structures which are incorporated in the body and mind of the individual agent through inculcation, the *habitus* generates practices which relate to these structures. Relating to social structures, and hence partially reproducing them, is what makes the practices of individuals mutually intelligible and what creates the relative homogeneity (Bourdieu 1990: 58) needed for the emergence and maintenance of any field. However, reproduction of social structures and institutions, according to Bourdieu, is not a process of replication, but rather of appropriation, by means of which the *habitus* of individuals not only reactivates structures and revives "the sense deposited in them" but also imposes revisions and transformations (Bourdieu 1990: 57). This formulation of the relation between habitus and social structures counters the objectivist formulation in which the practices of individuals conform to and assert the structures which originally conditioned them. This circular representation renders the relation between social structure and practices deterministic and excludes the possibility of change. By positing *habitus* as a mediating mechanism between social structures and practices of individual agents, Bourdieu seeks to disrupt this determinism.[15]

In response to claims that his concept of *habitus* is itself deterministic and tends to reproduce the social structures rather than allow for introducing change, Bourdieu, in his later writings, highlights two further aspects of *habitus*. First, *habitus* is not a closed system that is constituted once and for all; it is rather "an *open system of dispositions*" whose structure is subject to change and modification through the personal experiences of the individual (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 133, emphasis in original). Being durable does not

mean that *habitus* is eternal (ibid.: 133). Second, the *habitus* of any individual is the product of history in two senses: it is both the product of the history of the field of which he/she is a member and the history of his/her trajectory in the social space. In speaking of the relation between the *habitus* of individual agents and their social trajectories, Bourdieu emphasizes the cumulative nature of *habitus*, in the sense that the *habitus* acquired at a particular moment along the trajectory of an agent underlies, and is subject to restructuring by, the *habitus* acquired at later stages (Bourdieu 1977: 86–7). The *habitus* acquired through schooling, for instance, is the product of the *habitus* acquired in the family and the basis for the *habitus* acquired in professional practice.

In view of this understanding of *habitus* as a historical and open system, one can postulate that the translator's *habitus* is not only shaped by the professional field of translation but is also open to transformation and restructuring by historical experience gained outside the realm of the professional field. In other words, the decisions of the translator of drama are not wholly fashioned by the dominant codes of practice within the field of drama translation but are also affected by a wide range of circumstances, including changes in the political field, re-hierarchization of the social structure in a way that affects the position of translators within it and changes in the personal circumstances of the translator in question, such as having to move to a different country,[16] or having to do another job, related or unrelated to drama translation, in order to survive.

3.8 Doxa, Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy

The concept of *doxa* is as old as Greek philosophy, although a different form of the term was in use then. Aristotle, as Amossy (2002: 371) suggests, uses the term *endoxa* to describe "what appears manifest and true to all, or to most of the people, or to the wise". *Endoxa* refers to "ideas acceptable enough", in contrast with *paradoxa* which denotes "shameful or problematic opinions" (Moos 1993, cited in Amossy 2002: 371). The social power of *endoxa* is not only due to the fact that it refers to what is seen as reasonable and acceptable but also to the fact that it is part of the general consensus. This consensus, in the context of Greek philosophy, does not include everybody; it includes only those who wield the legitimate political power of citizenship and hence excludes such disadvantaged and marginalized categories as slaves, barbarians, and women (Amossy 2002: 371). *Endoxa*, then, is endowed with power that is drawn from those who support and promote it. It denotes not only what is acceptable but also what is seen as legitimate and powerful. It is important, in this context, to distinguish between *doxa* and 'truth'. *Doxa* has nothing to do with what is true or false; it has to do with *what is seen as* acceptable or legitimate at a certain moment (ibid.). This implies that *doxa* is subject to change over time; what was previously seen as doxic may be later displaced by another *doxa*.

Doxa manifests itself in different forms. It may take the form of commonplaces and received ideas, or it may exhibit itself, as Grivel (1986) suggests, in the "reservoir of convictions and ready-made arguments, whose origin or place one does not know, but only their enunciators" (cited in Dufays 2002: 445). Alternatively, *doxa* may be "a philosophy reduced to its commonplaces, or a doctrine reduced to its stereotypes, as well as the heterogeneous result of two initially distinct philosophical or doctrinal distinctions" (Sarfati 2002: 494).

3.8.1 Bourdieu's Concept of Doxa

In Bourdieu's sociology, the doxic practice of a social agent, in its simplest sense, means being attuned to what Bourdieu calls the 'collective rhythm' without necessarily being conscious of it (1977: 162). It is the outcome of a harmonized relation between one's *habitus* and the field where one operates. This "immediate adherence" between one's *habitus* and the field exists below the level of language and consciousness, or, as Bourdieu puts it, it is the "pre-verbal taking-for-granted of the world" (1990: 68). *Doxa*, then, is the almost perfect synchronization of social and subjective time, and the correspondence between the "objective order and the subjective principles of organization" of the world (Bourdieu 1977: 164); as a direct result of this correspondence, the natural world appears self-evident and beyond questioning (ibid.). The fact that doxic beliefs operate below the level of consciousness is what makes them implicit and unformulated in language and hence *go without saying* and without questioning (ibid.: 166). When agents become conscious of *doxa*, these implicit and taken-for-granted beliefs enter the realm of language and become the object of two opposite discourses: *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy* (ibid.). Orthodoxy is the discourse created by the agents occupying the dominant position in the field, who deploy what Bourdieu terms 'conservation strategies' in order to maintain the status quo of that field and their position in it (Bourdieu 1993b: 73). The discourse of heterodoxy is usually deployed by newcomers or already existing members occupying dominated positions in the field; these tend to use 'subversion strategies' in order to challenge the existing *doxa* and disrupt its dominant position in the field (ibid.).

Challenging the taken-for-granted beliefs and habitual practices of a particular field, i.e. its *doxa*, pushes this *doxa* into the realms of language and consciousness. As Bourdieu says, the questioning of *doxa* "brings the undiscussed into discussion, the unformulated into formulation" (Bourdieu 1977: 168) (see figure 2.6). This questioning, as Bourdieu suggests, is engendered by either 'culture contact' or an objective crisis in the field (ibid.). This, in effect, disrupts the "immediate fit between the subjective structures and the objective structures", resulting in the dismantling of the self-evidence of the social world (ibid.: 168–9). What previously went without saying and used to be conventional and taken for granted becomes, instead, questionable and

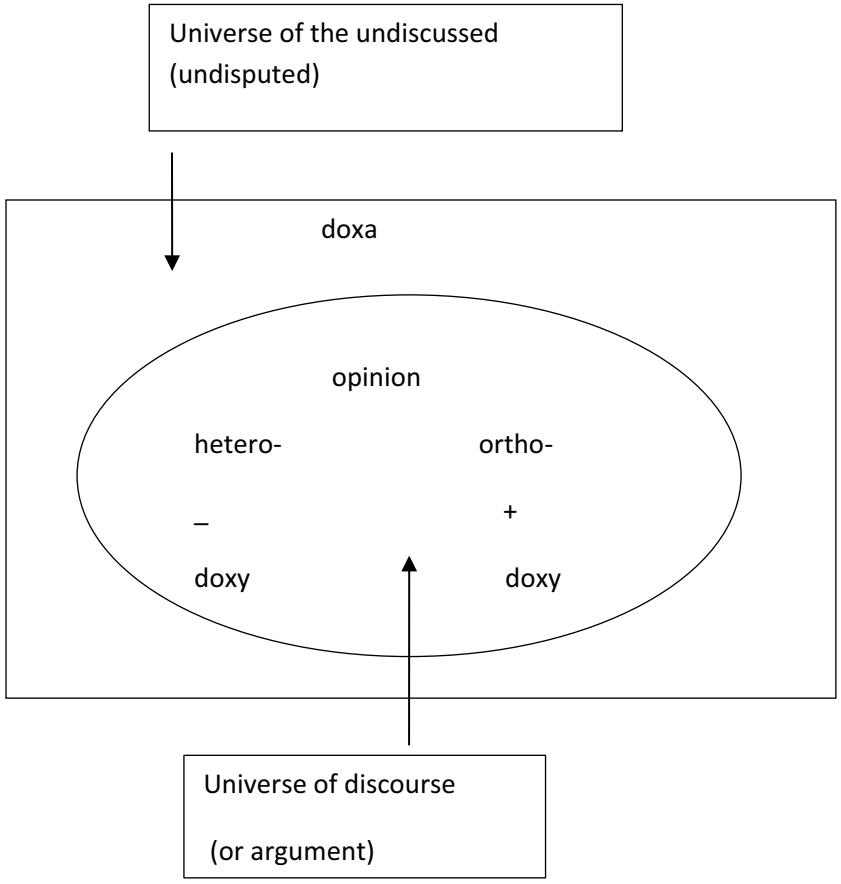


Figure 2.6 Bourdieu's schematization of the two realms of 'doxa' and 'opinion' (1977: 168).

controversial. Each field, then, comprises a dividing line between the realm of *doxa*, "that which is beyond question", the conventional, and the realm of 'opinion', "that which is explicitly questioned" (ibid.: 169). This dividing line is itself the object of struggle between the dominant and dominated agents. It is in the interest of the dominated agents to minimize the limits of the realm of *doxa* by exposing the arbitrariness of what is conventional (ibid.). For them, the hierarchization of the field, which places them in the position of the dominated, draws for its legitimacy on the current *doxa*, which makes it worth challenging through developing and promoting a discourse of heterodoxy. For the dominant agents, however, stabilizing the dividing line between the realms of 'doxa' and 'opinion' consolidates their position. In all cases, it is inconceivable for both dominant and dominated agents to blur the distinction between these two universes, for the field will fail to operate properly

without a minimum of presuppositions that regulate the practices of individuals and set the terms of reference, as well as define the stakes of the conflict.

The functioning and dynamism of any particular field is then conditioned by this internal tension between the universe of *doxa* and the universe of discourse; this tension is the source and outcome of the two competing discourses of orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

For Bourdieu, the discourse of orthodoxy is defined as the "system of euphemisms, of acceptable ways of thinking and speaking the natural and social world, which rejects heretical remarks as blasphemies" (1977: 169). The discourse of orthodoxy endeavours to rationalize *doxa* and bring it to the status of the presupposed and the taken for granted after it has been challenged by the discourse of heterodoxy. The opposition between these two discourses is not only between 'right' and 'left'—or wrong—opinions, but it is also an opposition between what goes without saying and what is disputable, what is conventional and what is controversial.

3.8.2 Doxa and the Field of Drama Translation

Bourdieu's postulation of the two universes of *doxa* and opinion is useful for the sociological study of translation at more than one level. It helps delineate the dividing line between what is tacitly assumed about translation and its practice and what is seen as debatable; and within the realm of the debatable it helps identify the two major discourses which govern the understanding and representation of translation, i.e. the discourse that attempts to challenge *doxa* and unveil its arbitrariness (heterodoxy) and the discourse which endeavours to defend, rationalize and maintain its integrity (orthodoxy). This mapping of the field of translation in terms of what is *doxic* and what is *discursive* provides a context for understanding translation practices at a particular historical moment. It enables researchers in translation to explore the relation between translation and the representation of translation; the ideas disseminated about translation, whether consciously or unconsciously, feed into translation practice which, in turn, either draws on or subverts these ideas. Identifying the boundaries between the taken for granted and the questionable in the field of translation production makes it possible for researchers to decide which translations submit to the dominant *doxa* of their time and which attempt to subvert it.

The dividing line between the doxic and the discursive within the specific field of drama translation is not rigid, but rather shifts due to a range of factors that have to do with both the internal structure of the field and the effect exercised by other homologous fields. Two doxic beliefs seem to alternately dominate all fields of translation production in Arabic, including the field of drama translation. These take the form of assumptions about translation, one regarding the textual equivalence of the source text and the target text and the other regarding the acceptability of the translation in the target language and culture. These two assumptions surface in two sets of commonplaces, metonymies and representations of translation: the first

projects the translator as a deputy or surrogate of the source author, expecting translation to function as transparent glass that lets the source text through 'faithfully'. The second sets as the major criterion of 'good translation' the uncompromised acceptability of the translated text according to the aesthetics of Arabic, to the extent of erasing foreignness and negating the text's status as translation; a good translation, in terms of this set of representations, is one which does not suggest that it is a translation but which impresses its reader as a text originally written in Arabic.[17]

Each of these two sets of assumptions about translation was regarded as doxic at a certain point in the development of the field of drama translation in Egypt. For instance, the *acceptability* of translated drama to the largest sector of regular theatre goers was the doxic belief that informed all practices of drama translators in Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There was no question about the necessity for translated drama to appeal to the taste of the Egyptian audience at the time, which meant that happy endings, singing and conforming to social conventions had to be given priority if a translated play was to achieve success. This was necessarily done at the expense of the source text, a situation which posed no apparent problem to drama translators during that period. The allegiance of drama translators then was mainly to the dominant agents in the field of theatre production, those who owned theatre troupes and were also leading singer-actors in these troupes. The translations commissioned were not only supposed to meet the demands of the theatre market at the time but also to accommodate and cater for the capabilities of the leading performers. In view of these considerations, 'fidelity' to the source text was not a requirement.[18]

The priority of acceptability as the dominant *doxa* in the field of drama translation in Egypt was later questioned when a group of newcomers to the field, who were also agents in the field of literary production, challenged it and posited that drama is a literary genre and hence what applies to the translation of literature applies, they claimed, to the translation of drama. It was then that *fidelity* started to acquire the status of the central *doxa* of the field of drama translation. This group of translators held closeness to the source text as the primary criterion of quality in their translations, and they endeavoured to make it clear in their introductions that theirs was a "letter for letter, word for word" translation (Muṭrān 1912a: 9, my translation), and that in these translations "no word, phrase, simile, metonymy, nor metaphor is left out" (Ḥamdī 1912/1928a: 3, my translation). This shift in *doxa* implies a change in the "cognitive and evaluative presuppositions whose acceptance is implied in [the] membership [of the field]" (Bourdieu 2000: 100). Starting from 1912 and until the late 1950s, membership in the field of drama translation was mainly restricted to drama translators who were capable of attending to the demands of consumers in the literary rather than the theatre market. What the readership needed during that period was to know that the Arabic version of Shakespeare's texts they read was the closest possible version to, if not the exact rendering of, what Shakespeare actually

wrote, with the translator's intervention kept to a minimum. Al-Juraydini's comments in the preface to the second edition of his Arabic translation of *Hamlet*, whose first edition was probably published around the second decade of the twentieth century, are illustrative of the dominant *doxa* in the field of drama translation during that period. Writing of the image of *Hamlet* as Shakespeare portrayed it, he says:

> This is the image [of Hamlet] which Shakespeare offered people, and I did my best in rendering the English original into Arabic in both meaning and structure, given the huge difference between the two languages. I am not among those who suggest that Shakespeare's plays are proper for acting on stage nowadays, because, for me, they are books for study, and not for fun or entertainment.
>
> (Al-Juraydīnī 1922/1932: 8, my translation)

Al-Juraydīnī is keen to get his reader to believe that what he paraphrased in his preface and projected in his translation is the actual image of *Hamlet* as portrayed by Shakespeare and not his own understanding of it. The dominant *doxa* in the field of drama translation at the time did not leave much space for the drama translator to intervene between the source text and the reader; it was the translator's responsibility to transfer the dramatic text in its 'meaning and structure'. It is this *doxa* which al-Juraydīnī, as most drama translators during that period, attempts to rationalize and support. One way of supporting it is by stating that Shakespeare's drama belongs to literature rather than theatre, and hence his plays cannot be manipulated as is the case with dramatic scripts which are put on stage. The fact that the prevailing *doxa* in the field of drama translation during that time found expression in the commonly held belief that dramatic texts are to be translated as literature redefined the conditions of membership of the field, which then applied more to literary translators than to translators for the stage.

Another example can be given to show the role of the dominant *doxa* in drawing the boundaries of the field of drama translation and, subsequently, determining the definition of field membership. During the sixties, the scale and quality of theatre production in Egypt witnessed an unprecedented revival which still stands out in the history of Egyptian theatre. This was due to a number of reasons, most importantly the formation of a theatre superstructure which comprised emerging playwrights as well as directors, theatre technicians and theatre critics, most of whom were sent abroad on state scholarship to study theatre. The state also provided the necessary infrastructure in the form of newly built theatres and funding for theatre troupes, which were mostly run by the state. The flourishing of theatre production, which in turn created increased demand for theatre translation, influenced the field of drama translation and rendered its prevailing *doxa* questionable. What went without saying for al-Juraydīnī and other translators of his generation became debatable for drama translators during the sixties.

An emerging heterodox discourse challenged the doxic belief of translating drama as literature, and gradually this new discourse entrenched itself as the dominant *doxa*. Membership in the field of drama translation was accordingly redefined. The discourse of drama critics and commentators on drama translation reveals the new parameters for the 'true' drama translator. In the context of his commentary on 'Abd al-Raḥman Badawī's drama translations, Jalāl al-'Ashrī (1964) highlights some of these parameters. Badawī was at that time an already prominent public figure and prolific writer and translator in the fields of Western and Islamic philosophy, literature and the humanities in general. However, this did not dissuade al-'Ashrī from denouncing his translations of drama as "of no use for theatre" (ibid.: 56, my translation). "Dr Badawī is good at translation in the field of philosophy", al-'Ashrī says, "but he [as a translator] is no good onstage" (ibid.). For al-'Ashrī, drama translation constitutes a distinct field of activity that should not overlap with any other fields of specialized translation: "if Dr Badawī, being a professor of philosophy, allows himself to translate for the theatre, would he allow others to translate Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, or Russell's *Our Knowledge of the External World*?" (ibid.). Al-'Ashrī goes on to further delineate what can be seen as new boundaries of the field of drama translation, which implies the establishment of new *doxa* and the redefinition of field membership, as follows:

> [Translating for the theatre] is not a matter of mastering the two languages . . . source and target. It is first and foremost a matter of real interest in the art of theatre, and an authentic responsiveness to the language that this art dictates . . . this language which permits what is not permissible in other languages, such as sacrificing a word that is more correct in linguistic terms in favour of another that is more appropriate in terms of mise en scène, and using a variety that is as close as possible to the language of speech. This cannot be achieved without "a feel for acting" which is acquired only by those who experienced the language of theatre and actually practised it. There are numerous translations which look sound when read on paper, but which are totally inappropriate for the stage.
>
> (Ibid., my translation)

This attempt at redefining what drama translation involves reinforces a new *doxa* in the field of drama translation or a new "set of core values and discourses which a field articulates as its fundamental principles and which tend to be viewed as inherently true and necessary" (Webb, Schirato and Danaher 2002: xi). What is worth considering in this context is that the discourses which subscribe to or subvert the dominant *doxa* in the field of drama translation change positions as a result of changing boundaries and membership of the field. What was previously seen as a discourse of orthodoxy may later become a subversive discourse, and what used to be a heterodox discourse may turn out at a different stage of the development of the

field to be supportive of the dominant *doxa*, and hence the 'self-evident' discourse which endeavoured to project drama translation as predominantly translation for the stage in the sixties could be regarded as unacceptable, as heterodox, during the period from 1912 till the late 1950s.

3.9 Homology

3.9.1 Homology in the Field of Cultural Production

Although fields of cultural production, as formulated in Bourdieu's sociological model, are relatively autonomous, they are homologous with such other fields as the political and economic, in the sense that they are structurally and functionally interlinked with these fields in a way that affects their internal dynamics. They are, moreover, homologous with the overall class structure of the social space (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 105–6). Each of these fields, as Bourdieu suggests, has its own dominant and dominated, autonomous and heteronomous poles, and each operates through the logic of struggle among its members (ibid.). However, these homologies do not amount to total identity between fields: homology, as Bourdieu defines it, is "resemblance within difference" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 106).

Because cultural institutions are not only concerned with the production of cultural goods but also with their circulation and marketing, they are necessarily engaged in homologous relations with agents and institutions in fields other than the field of cultural production. This applies to cultural products as diverse as literature, plastic arts, performative arts, cinema, etc. (Bourdieu 1993a: 84). Although the outcome of a relatively autonomous field, cultural products are subject to the laws of "economic and political profit" (Bourdieu 1993a: 39) or what Bourdieu terms 'the field of power' (ibid.: 37). Moreover, the position and distribution of these institutions within the field of cultural production correspond to the position and distribution of social classes within what Bourdieu terms 'the field of class relations' (ibid.: 38).

Theatre, as Bourdieu (1993a: 84) suggests, is illustrative of this homologous relation between the field of cultural production on the one hand and both the field of power and the field of class relations on the other. In view of this postulated homology between the field of cultural production and other fields, the field of theatre production is perceived to be structurally divided into different institutions producing different theatrical goods, depending on the homologous relation between each theatrical institution and both the field of power and the field of class relations. In this sense, the field of theatre production can be seen to structure itself around an opposition between 'bourgeois theatre' and 'avant-garde theatre' (ibid.: 84). The principle that governs production in bourgeois theatre is economic success. This accounts for the little risks it takes, as regards its choice of the authors and works to be performed, and the kind of aesthetics it endorses. The priority of economic profitability forces bourgeois theatres into "extremely prudent cultural

strategies which take no risks and create none for their audiences" (Bourdieu 1993a: 84). This means presenting shows which have already hit success and shying away from theatrical experiments which might disrupt the expectations of the targeted audience. Tied with its maintenance and promotion of the existing aesthetics is its consecration of the social and political *status quo*: bourgeois theatre wields a politics of *conservation*, rather than *transformation*. In contrast to bourgeois theatre, avant-garde theatre is not profit oriented, which is why avant-garde troupes are either subsidized (if they happen to have gained some consecration in the cultural field) or are on the verge of bankruptcy (ibid.). The relative freedom from economic constraints invests avant-garde theatre with the ability to challenge the established order, whether in terms of theatre aesthetics, or the existing socio-political structure. The distinct homologies between these two forms of theatre and the field of power explain the two types of audience they target. The audience addressed by bourgeois theatre tends to be older, economically more stable and willing to afford highly priced "shows of pure entertainment whose conventions and staging correspond to an aesthetic that has not changed for a century" (Bourdieu 1993a: 86). By contrast, the audience of avant-garde theatre tends to be "a young, 'intellectual' audience (students, intellectuals, teachers)" (Bourdieu 1993a: 84), who are more welcoming of non-conformist aesthetics and politics. Bourdieu describes these two forms of theatre in terms of the distribution of cultural and economic capital possessed by their respective audiences. The avant-garde theatre is identified as a 'poor theatre' catering to the class "richest in cultural capital and poorest in economic capital", whereas bourgeois theatre is identified as a 'rich theatre' catering to the class "richest in economic capital and . . . poorest in cultural capital" (ibid.: 86). Between these two poles, Bourdieu identifies a middle ground occupied by what he terms 'classical theatres' (ibid.: 86). These theatres share parts of their constituency of audience with the other two types of theatre, and hence their programmes are eclectic (ibid.: 86).

This structure of the field of theatre production, which is itself partially an effect of its homology with both the field of power and the field of class relations, is reproduced in an adjacent and similarly homologous field, namely the field of theatre criticism. Theatre critics and reviewers of performances in the press create a space for judging, i.e. endorsing or challenging the tastes to which the different types of theatre cater. In their judgement of theatrical taste, critics and reviewers within the field of theatre criticism engage in alliances with both the producers of the kind of theatre they endorse and the audience for which this particular theatre is produced. However, this alliance is not always conscious or intentional. What looks like an intentional alliance between critics, on the one hand, and both producers and consumers of theatre, on the other, is nothing but the consequence of the struggle between critics and their opponents, i.e. other critics who defend different interests, within the field of theatre criticism (Bourdieu 1993a: 94–5).

3.9.2 The Polarization of the Field of Drama Translation

To understand the homology between the field of drama translation and other fields, one first needs to understand the internal structure of this field. 'Drama translation' is used in this book as a generic term that refers to both translation of drama as literature and translation of drama for the stage.[19] Hence reference to the 'field of drama translation' is meant to cover both of these ctivities, together with the two groups of translating agents who constitute two opposed forces. The struggle between these two groups is what lends the social space occupied by drama translators the dynamism characteristic of the 'field' in the Bourdieusian sense.

The practice of drama translation along these two modes, i.e. translation for the page and translation for the stage, is reminiscent of Bourdieu's conception of the field of cultural production as polarized between two opposed forces: one that strives to keep the field independent of and free from any external constraints, be they economic or political, and another which sees cultural production as conditioned by factors external to the field. The struggle between the agents who endorse translation for the page and those who promote translation for the stage as the legitimate practice of drama translation is metonymic of the tension between the autonomous and the heteronomous poles in the field of cultural production. Whereas the agents attached to the autonomous pole of the field subscribe to a mode of production which Bourdieu calls 'restricted', where the cultural product is targeted at a small fraction of consumers, usually intellectual elites or other fellow cultural producers (Bourdieu 1993a: 115), the agents mobilized around the heteronomous pole adopt a 'large-scale' mode of cultural production, which is meant to target "non-producers of cultural goods, 'the public at large'" (ibid.). The large-scale mode of production seeks to accumulate economic capital, and hence submits to the laws of the market, whereas the restricted mode of production endeavours to acquire recognition and cultural capital and produces for this purpose cultural goods which in theory are conditioned by no factor other than their aesthetic function (ibid.). No wonder, then, that translation for the stage is designated by some drama translation researchers as 'commercial translation' (Bassnett 1990: 79), whereas translation for the page is designated as 'aesthetic' (ibid.) and, at times, 'scholarly translation' (Johnston 1996: 9). In aesthetic translation, the practice of drama translators is mainly guided by the principle of 'faithfulness' to the source dramatic text; no other constraints are allowed to disrupt the translator's "awe and reverence" for the original, and hence "closeness and literalness" to it are a priority in this translation (Bassnett-McGuire 1981: 45). In stage translation, however, economic concerns are of primary importance, and hence the translator's allegiance is to whatever guarantees economic success for the staged translation.[20] The "key factor" here, as Bassnett (1991: 102) puts it, that conditions stage translation "is the size of the audience and the price they are willing to pay for the tickets"

and "certainly not the ethics of translation".[21] Prioritizing the economic factor, translators for the stage do not idolize the dramatic texts, which are "cut, reshaped, adapted, rewritten and yet still described as 'translations' " (ibid.). All this asserts the opposition between literary translation of drama and stage translation as an opposition between the autonomous and the heteronomous poles of the field of drama translation. In view of Bourdieu's formulation of 'field', scholarly or literary translation of drama stands at the autonomous pole of the field of drama translation, because it serves, from the point of view of its exponents, no purpose other than being "linguistically and formally faithful to the maximum degree" to the source dramatic text (ibid.). Like the school of art for art's sake, scholarly or literary translation of drama does not pay much attention to large-scale and popular success and is indifferent to the "verdicts of the market" (Bourdieu 1993a: 62). At the pole of 'heteronomy' stands stage translation for which economic success and relevance to particular social classes is of primary importance.

3.9.3 Homology in the Field of Drama Translation

Clearly, the intensity of the struggle between the two groups of translating agents is largely due to the influence exercised by two fields with which the field of drama translation is homologous, namely theatre production and literary production. The outcome of the struggle between these two groups and the resulting hierarchization of the field are accordingly dependent on the position of the two fields of literary and theatre production within the wider social space and in different cultural traditions.

In some traditions, the field of theatre production occupies a more dominant position than that of the field of literary production. The immediacy of the theatrical discourse and its relevance to the 'here' and 'now' make it more appealing and accessible to a large sector of consumers of culture and hence more competitive in the market of cultural goods. In her study of the translation of contemporary Irish drama into Finnish, Aaltonen found that only six plays had been published in printed form by literary publishers out of 43 full-length Irish plays which had been registered for copyright in translation by the theatre unions (2000: 39). The conclusion she arrives at in her study is that "the greater part of both domestic and foreign drama in Finland only exists as playscripts" (ibid.). This dominance of the field of theatre production over the field of literary production in Finland, and hence its influence on translation strategies in the field of drama translation, was not always the norm, as Aaltonen points out. The early practices of drama translation in Finland were mainly influenced by the dictates of the literary rather than the theatre field; the publishing of drama began even before the National Theatre had been established, and because "some of the plays never reached the stage, it can be assumed that the literary system was primarily responsible for the translation strategies" (ibid.).

It can be assumed, then, that the translation strategies endorsed in the field of drama translation are determined not only by the modes of production in the theatre and literary fields but also by the modes of consumption in the theatre and literary markets. The markets of symbolic goods, which reflect the preferences of consumers, have their say in placing a particular translation strategy in a higher position than another; Mulrine (1996: 127) observes that in "a standard BBC contract, translation and adaptation are separately costed, and the work of adaptation is better rewarded" (cited in Aaltonen 2000: 45). Susan Bassnett (1991: 101) similarly reports that the British National Theatre commissions translators to produce what is termed 'literal translation', which is then given to a famous playwright, who is licensed to transform this purportedly crude material into a proper theatrical product. What is particularly interesting here is that the "translation is credited to that playwright, who also receives the bulk of the income" even if he, or she, happens to be monolingual (ibid.). In a similar vein, individuals who reworked the plot of a foreign play into an Egyptian play (in Arabic, *iqtibās*) during the period from 1952 to 1966 in Egypt were remunerated more than those who translated plays literally.[22]

In view of the homology of the field of drama translation with the fields of literary and theatre production, their respective fields of consumption and the field of drama translation criticism, the following factors can be identified as contributing to determining the dominant translation strategies in this field:

- The struggle over the dominant position in the social space between the fields of theatre and literary production;
- The internal struggle within the field of theatre production, which involves a number of opposed agendas and modes of production. These can be outlined as follows:

  1 the struggle between mainstream and avant-garde theatres;
  2 within avant-garde theatre one can identify two opposed modes of theatre: visual theatre, which downgrades, or even excludes, the 'verbal' element, and text-based theatre, which—although it challenges the established modes of theatre production—still regards the dramatic text as an indispensable element of the theatrical experience;
  3 within text-based theatre two opposed submodes of production can be further identified: 're-actualization' and 'imitation' (see section 3.5 this volume).

- The internal struggle within the field of literary production which again involves a number of opposed aesthetic and ideological agendas and modes of production:

  1 the struggle between canonized and non-canonized literature;
  2 the struggle between central and marginalized genres;

3 the struggle between literature that gives precedence to aesthetic experience at the expense of social and political relevance and literature for which social and political commitment is a priority.

In the context of Arabic literary and dramatic culture, the aforementioned factors find expression in the following forms of struggle:

1 the struggle between classical and popular literature. In the Egyptian context, this usually takes the form of a struggle between literature written in classical literary Arabic on one side, and literature written in the Egyptian vernacular (*'āmmiyya*), or a language variety which stands midway between the classical and the vernacular, on the other;[23]
2 the struggle between poetry, which is regarded as the central literary genre of the Arabs, and both fiction and drama. This is essentially a struggle between verse and prose;
3 the struggle between committed and non-committed literature/drama;
4 the struggle between canonized and non-canonized literature/drama.

- The internal struggle within the field of drama translation criticism: this field comprises the activities of competing agents who seek through their meta-discourses on drama translation to impose what they believe to be 'the acceptable mode' of drama translation production. These agents include reviewers of translated drama, historians of drama translation and researchers in drama translation. The activities of agents in this field play a mediating role between the products offered in the field of drama translation and the propensities of consumers in the literary and theatrical markets. It is in this field that supply and demand, the positions of producers of drama translation and the dispositions of consumers (readers or spectators) are orchestrated. However, describing the field of drama translation criticism as a 'mediating field' is not meant to characterize the activities of the agents in this field as 'disinterested' or 'unbiased'. 'Mediating' in this context is meant to challenge the widely held view of the relation between production and consumption which conceives it in terms of a linear, stimulus-response model. Far from being disinterested, agents operating in the field of drama translation criticism have their own interests, and they get involved in struggles over different forms of capital within their field. Two groups of agents can be identified in this field. The first views translated drama in terms of a literary text that should pay tribute to the 'intentions' of the original author and meet the aesthetic requirements of literature. This group mainly includes reviewers who are unsympathetic to translations which take great liberties with source dramatic texts, those who belong to the "'is-this-what-Shakespeare-really-intended?' school of reviewing" (Bassnett

1990: 73). This group also includes literary critics and historians who often comment on translated drama as basically a literary genre. The second group, however, regards drama as mainly a performative art in which verbal language is only one among other languages that constitute the theatrical experience, as Pavis[24] (1982) suggested; the value of translated drama, for this group, is determined by whether or not it meets the requirements of the stage. Two opposed principles of evaluating translated drama lie at the heart of the struggle between these two groups: readability and performability. The struggle between these two principles of evaluation helps determine the outcome of the struggle between the conflicting strategies of translation within the field of drama translation.

Figure 2.7 is a representation of the homology of the field of drama translation with the two fields of theatre and literary production and their respective fields of consumption, as well as the field of drama translation criticism. The struggle between two modes of production in this field, i.e. stage translation (Sg. T) versus page translation (Pg. T) is significantly influenced by this homology. The first mode lies at the intersection between the three fields of drama translation, theatre production and theatre consumption, whereas the second mode lies at the intersection of the fields of drama translation,

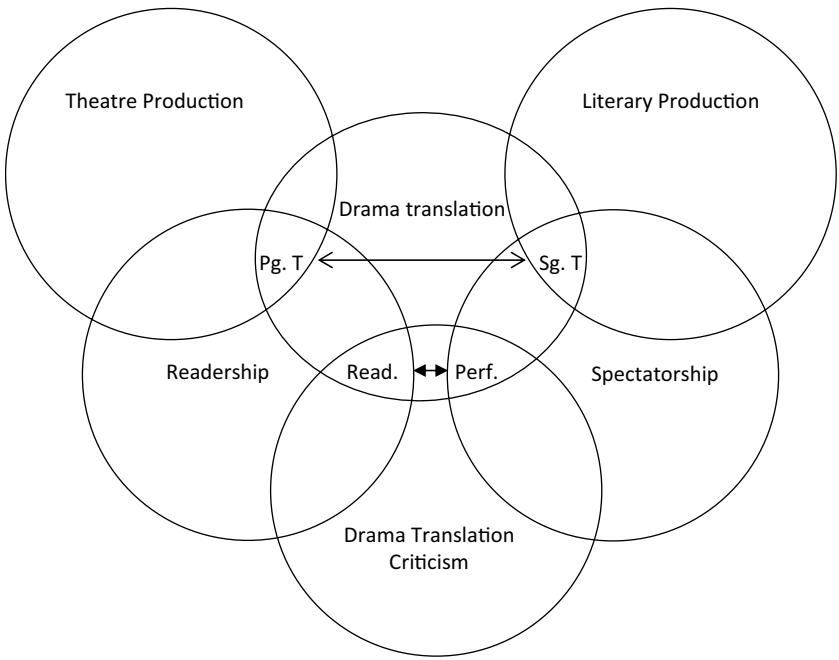


Figure 2.7 Homology in the field of drama translation.

literary production and literary consumption. The tension between these two modes of drama translation finds expression in two opposed modes of translation agency: *invisibility* versus *intervention*. While on the side of translation for the page, the intervention of the translator is generally suspended (in different degrees) in order to allow for a faithful representation of the source dramatic text, the translator at the opposite side is given more power over the source text and is encouraged to actively adapt it in order to bring it in line with the requirements of the stage (Aaltonen 2000: 41). Parallel to the struggle between the two modes of drama translation, the field of drama translation criticism is structured around a struggle between the two evaluative principles of drama translation, i.e. 'readability (Read.) and 'performability' (Perf.).

3.10 Dynamics and Functioning of the Field

3.10.1 Illusio

The functioning of the field is necessarily conditioned by, and conducive to, a collective belief on the part of its members in the value of taking part in its internal struggles. In order for the field to emerge and function, its members must take interest in the stakes it offers (Bourdieu 1996: 227). This is what Bourdieu terms *illusio*. The Latin word *illusio*, which is derived from the root *ludus* (game), means "the fact of being in the game, of being invested in the game, of taking the game seriously" (Bourdieu 1998: 76). *Illusio* is about the conviction that the game is "worth playing and that the stakes created in and through the fact of playing are worth pursuing" (ibid.: 77). It is a prerequisite for all newcomers to the field to agree with the current members that being in the field and getting involved in its conflicts is worthwhile. Newcomers may want to subvert power relations in the field, but in order to do so they need to collude with all other members, even those they wish to oppose, in taking the stakes offered seriously (Bourdieu 1998: 78). Each field produces its own forms of *illusio*, of interest, which involve the participants and keep the game going (Bourdieu 1996: 227).

Bourdieu's use of the concept of *illusio* in his description of the functioning of the fields of cultural production, or intellectual fields, is meant to challenge the idea of disinterestedness that is generally associated with cultural activities. Against the widely held belief that intellectuals writers, or artists carry out their intellectual labour independently of all interests[25] other than the cause of art (culture, literary writing, etc.), Bourdieu maintains that intellectuals have interests in all the conflicts in which they take part. They are not indifferent to the internal workings of the field but recognize that what happens in the field matters to them (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 116).

Illusio, as Bourdieu puts it, is the product of the "conjunctural relationship between a habitus and a field" (Bourdieu 1996: 228). In other words, the interest which individuals develop in a particular field is engendered by

the dispositions of those individuals, which are in turn produced and promoted by the objective structures of the field.

For members of the field, recognition of *illusio* goes without saying; having stakes in the field is implicitly assumed by all participants; it is not questioned or debated. Participants in the field become part of the game without knowing it. By contrast, studying the field of cultural production requires from researchers "tearing oneself out of the *illusio*" in order to be able to objectify and construct the field, although they should not forget that *illusio* is part of the reality they are constructing (Bourdieu 1996: 230). Identifying the *illusio*, which motivates the actions of agents in any field of cultural production, including drama translation, is obviously not possible without (re) constructing both the forms of capital dominant in the field and the habitus of these agents.

The functioning of fields of cultural production is not only premised on the producers' interest in what they are doing but also on the interest of the consumers in the cultural goods produced in the field. As argued by Gouanvic (2005), part of the responsibility of the translator is to (re)produce in the target text the capacity of the source text to provoke the *illusio* of the source readers. Translators' awareness of what it is that makes their readers (or spectators) interested in consuming their translation products, i.e. their *illusio*, is what determines the success or failure of their translations and hence their position in the field.

3.10.2 Change: Internal Logic and External Factors

Innovation and change in the field are usually achieved by the novice, the non-consecrated members (writers, artists, translators, etc.) who wish to situate themselves in a distinct position and strive to be recognized as different. Those young members, as Bourdieu comments, "reject what their most consecrated precursors are and do, everything which in their eyes defines the 'old-fashioned' poetics" (1996: 240). In the literary field, for instance, the non-consecrated members tend to signal the new position(s) they introduce into the field through what Bourdieu terms 'constitutive texts', i.e. prefaces, programmes or manifestos (ibid.: 240). These texts can be used to identify the range of possible forms, figures, etc., at the disposal of the innovators and find out "how each of them pictured his or her revolutionary mission, whether it concerned forms to destroy . . . rhetorical devices to demolish . . . or content and sentiments to banish" (ibid.: 241).

However, in order to effect change in the field, innovators have to be aware of what it is they are changing. In other words, they have to be sensitized to the history of the field in order to be able to change its direction. Members' mastery of the history of the field and their awareness of the dividing line between the 'thinkable' and the 'unthinkable' in it is part of the entrance fee they pay on joining it (Bourdieu 1996: 243).

Although the struggles unfolding within the field of cultural production are mostly determined by the internal logic of the field, they depend "*in their outcome* . . . on the correspondence they have with external clashes" (Bourdieu 1996: 252, emphasis in original). In other words, the conflicts occurring within the cultural field echo political and economic struggles, which constitute 'the field of power' (Bourdieu 1993a: 37), as well as the class struggles unfolding in the wider social space. This correspondence or homology, to use Bourdieu's term, between internal and external changes is described in the following terms:

> changes as decisive as an upheaval in the internal hierarchy of different genres, or a transformation in the hierarchy within genres themselves, affecting the structure of the field as a whole, are made possible by *the correspondence between internal changes . . . and external changes* which offer to new categories of producers . . . and to their products consumers who occupy positions in social space which are homologous to their own position in the field, and hence consumers endowed with dispositions and tastes in harmony with the products these producers offer them.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996: 252, emphasis in original)

This homology can be illustrated by the case of new entrants to the cultural field who reject the dominant modes and norms of production (ibid.: 253). The success of these new entrants in imposing their own norms, which defy the expectations of the cultural field, is usually conditioned by relevant changes in the wider social space. These external changes may either effect a change in the power relations in the cultural field or allow for the emergence of a new category of consumers whose affinity with the new producers "guarantees the success of their products" (Bourdieu 1996: 253). In the first case, political crises, such as revolutions, may engender a shift within the cultural field from bourgeois or commercial art to socially committed art. To illustrate the second case, one may consider the emergence of a new reading public in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Unlike the mainstream reading public who were mainly educated in religious schools and were used to such traditional genres as poetry and *maqāma* (versified narratives), the new reading public, who had their first education mainly in secular schools, were more open to translated fiction, which had started to gain momentum during that time (Hafez 1993).

The homology between producers and consumers, supply and demand, is used by Bourdieu as an example of the correspondence between internal struggles within the field of cultural production and external changes in the social space. This homology is also employed to explain what Bourdieu terms the 'life-cycle' of the work of art (Bourdieu 1996: 255). The work of art (a book, translation, performance, painting, etc.) emerges as the result of

an endeavour by its producer to achieve distinction, to produce a work that is recognized as different in relation to other existing works in the field. This distinction is usually achieved by challenging existing norms of currently successful works, without much regard to the economic profit that the new work might yield. Hence the initial phase in the life-cycle of the cultural product consists in accumulating symbolic rather than economic capital.[26] This is followed by a stage in which the symbolic capital is economically exploited, and it is at this moment that this cultural product is challenged by another rival.

This life-cycle of the cultural product can be explained by means of the homology or correspondence between the fields of production and consumption. The rise of a particular cultural product to a distinctive position in the field as a result of breaking with existing consecrated works corresponds to the emergence of a new category of consumers who wish to dissociate themselves from mainstream modes of production and hence affiliate with a distinctive class of taste. In other words, the struggle within the field of cultural production over distinction among cultural producers runs parallel to another struggle in the field of consumption where consumers likewise strive to distinguish themselves socially by means of the cultural taste with which they affiliate themselves. Bourdieu explicitly delineates this homology:

> To the socially recognized hierarchy of the arts, and within each of them, of genres, schools or periods, corresponds a social hierarchy of the consumers. This predisposes tastes to function as markers of 'class'.
> (Bourdieu 1984: 1–2)

The possibility for any cultural product to attract consumers is largely conditioned by its ability to take a subversive position vis-à-vis existing products or, as Bourdieu puts it, by its "*wearing out of the effect* of consecrated works" (1996: 253, emphasis in original). In later stages, when this new product imposes its norms of perception and appreciation through familiarization, it starts to lose the 'effect of rupture' it initially exercised to make itself recognized as different (ibid.: 253). The 'erosion of the effect of rupture' induces the consumers of this cultural product to shift attention to another product which claims to take over this effect.

3.10.3 Social Ageing of the Cultural Product

The 'life-cycle of the cultural product' ties in with another concept that Bourdieu uses to explore how any cultural product fares within the field, namely the concept of the *social ageing* of the cultural product.

The existence of any product within the cultural field is conditioned, as Bourdieu always emphasizes, by the ongoing battle between the consecrated and the non-consecrated, the established and the newcomers, the avant-garde and the outmoded. In essence, it is "a battle between those

who have made their names . . . and are struggling to stay in view and those who cannot make their own names without relegating to the past the established figures, whose interest lies in freezing, fixing the state of the field for ever" (Bourdieu 1993a: 106). The aim of the consecrated producers is to reproduce the current state of the field, with its dominant modes of production and norms of perception and appreciation of cultural products. On the other side, the newcomers strive to gain recognition by both challenging the established hierarchy of cultural producers and signalling their own difference. Being aware that the dynamics of the field is governed by the opposition of new/old, or innovative/démodé, the newcomers seek to "push back into the past the consecrated producers . . . 'dating' their products and the taste of those who remain attached to them" (ibid.: 107). In this sense, the conflict in the cultural field is not only over symbolic capital (recognition, consecration) or economic capital (financial profit); it is also a battle over time: the winners in this conflict are those who manage to get recognized as 'ahead of time' (avant-garde, innovative), whereas the losers are those who are driven by the winners to the realm of the past, where they are branded 'conservative', 'traditional', 'obsolete', etc. This battle over time is what makes the field of cultural production, as Bourdieu suggests, a 'temporal structure' (ibid.: 108). The ageing of the work of art, or any cultural product, is in effect conditioned by the outcome of this battle over time.

The ageing of cultural products is not only dependent on the actual producers who wish their products to win the battle over time but is also conditioned by the involvement of co-producers, those individuals and institutions that are entitled to preserve, analyse, interpret and classify cultural products, such as reviewers, critics, historians, galleries, publishing houses, educational institutions, etc. The contribution of these parties is not a mere accompaniment to the work of art; they rather share "in the production of the work, its meaning and value" (Bourdieu 1993a: 110). All of these parties find some kind of profit, material or symbolic, in reading, deciphering and commenting on the work (ibid.: 111). It is in the interest of these co-producers to maintain or challenge the classification of certain cultural products as 'ahead of time' or 'lagging behind time'. It is also in their interest to breathe life into certain 'obsolete' cultural products and transform them from the category of works 'lagging behind time' into works 'for all time' or 'classics'.

'Retranslation' provides an ample case that illustrates both the field dynamics of internal change and the battle over time between 'ageing' and newly produced cultural goods. Chapter five explores retranslation through the two Bourdieusian concepts of 'social ageing' and 'distinction'.

3.10.4 Producers of Producers: Who Created the Creator?

The dynamic functioning of the cultural field is induced by the complex network of agents and institutions by means of which the cultural product is produced, circulated and consumed. However, to the layperson, and to

those who are outside the field of cultural production, a cultural work is normally attributed to a singular identity, to a creator who conceived of the work and brought it into existence only by means of his or her individual genius. This is due to the logic of the market that lies at the heart of the field of power. It is more feasible and practicable to sell a name than to market a group of factors, agents and institutions which contributed to the constitution of a particular cultural commodity. No reader (or theatre goer) took interest in the field of cultural production which helped produce the Arabic translation of *Othello* in Egypt in 1912. What mattered most to the reader and theatre goer at the time was the brand name of the translator, Khalīl Muṭrān, and maybe to a lesser degree the name of the director who staged the translation, Jurj Abyaḍ.

However, this should not blind the sociologist of culture to the more sophisticated and intricate process of the production of cultural goods. Bourdieu asserts that the traditional understanding of the artist/intellectual as an 'uncreated creator' has generally dissuaded sociologists from studying the *production* of culture. Their methodological tools and critical analyses have been primarily saved for the study of *consumption*, leaving untouched the widely held understanding of the cultural work as the outcome of an individual talent (Bourdieu 1993b: 139). Even when they happen to address the issue of production, they assert, rather than question and problematize, the received idea of the "uniqueness of the uncreated creator" (ibid.: 139). They content themselves with looking into the biographical circumstances which helped sharpen the creative genius of the artist/intellectual, while still holding fast to the quasi-religious belief in the oneness of artistic/intellectual creation. Bourdieu elaborates elsewhere the effect of this belief:

> It is this charismatic ideology, in effect, which directs the gaze towards the apparent producer—painter, composer, writer—and prevents us asking who has created this 'creator' and the magic power of transubstantiation with which the 'creator' is endowed. It also steers the gaze towards the most visible aspect of the process of production, that is, the material *fabrication* of the product, transfigured into 'creation', thereby avoiding any enquiry beyond the artist and the artist's own activity into the conditions of this demiurgic capability.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996: 167, emphasis in original)

It is this recognition by the sociologist that the work of the artist/intellectual is *conditioned* by the activities of other agents and institutions that renders the concepts of 'creation' and 'creator' reductive. The viable alternative for the sociologist of culture is not only to try to identify the co-producers who contributed to the formation of the cultural work but also to ask the long 'forbidden question': who created the creator? (Bourdieu 1996: 167). This iconoclastic questioning of the monistic conception of 'creation' sets the sociological analysis of cultural works at a new level, where the artist/writer/

intellectual is not set apart from his/her work after becoming a commodity that is subject to the mechanisms of supply and demand. Writers and intellectuals in general become, according to this view, part of the economy of cultural practice; their names and the positions they occupy in the hierarchy of the names of other intellectuals are made, re-made, consecrated or marginalized, rendered fashionable/innovative or obsolete/out of date by the cultural and ideological labour of such other producers in the field as critics, writers of prefaces, publishers, cultural publicists, historians of culture and academics (ibid.: 167). However, the relationship between producers and producers of producers should not be viewed as a relation of exploitation of intellectuals by those who contribute to making their names in the field. It is rather a relationship of mutual interest, of alliance, not opposition. When publishers commodify the manuscript of a writer by putting it on the market of symbolic goods, they do not only gain economic profit, but they also allow this particular writer to gain consecration (ibid.: 167). And when a historian of translation draws attention to a long forgotten translator, he or she not only remakes the name of this translator and gives it a new life, but this historian also gains consecration for him or herself as an authority and as an owner of the power of consecration.

However, the initial question of 'who created the creator?' should not, as Bourdieu suggests, take us in an endless regressive search for 'first beginnings' (1996: 169). This theological logic, as Bourdieu describes it, needs to be suspended in favour of a *relational reasoning* of the process of cultural production. In other words, one cannot at this stage raise the simplistic question of 'who made and authorized the producers of producers', for the authority of publishers, historians or writers of prefaces is not granted to them by individual agents; their authority as producers and consecrators of producers lies in their relational existence in the field of cultural production. The alliance and opposition they develop with other groups of publishers, writers and consecrators, and the forms and degrees of capital (economic, social or/and symbolic) they accumulate in the field determine their authority of making and consecrating producers of culture. The relational position in the field and the form and degree of accumulated capital also determine the *effect* of the act of consecration exercised by producers of producers. The authority of the private publisher that was available for Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet* in 1902 is significantly less influential than the authority possessed by the leading government publisher in Egypt, al-Majlis al-A'la lil-Thaqāfa (the Supreme Council of Culture), which republished the translation in 2005 in the translation series *Mirāth al-Tarjama* (Heritage of Translation). The republishing of the translation by this influential institution in a series devoted to the revival of significant literary translations into Arabic,[27] accompanied by an introduction[28] that sheds light on the translator and his socio-historical milieu, all bring life to and consecrate this translation in a more forceful way than was the case when it was first published.

Describing cultural production in all its complexity should be grounded in the sociologist's awareness that the circulation of the cultural product (through commentary, catalogues, anthologies, publication, publicity, etc.) is not *derivative* of and *dependent* on a ready-made product. The circulation of the cultural work is rather part and parcel of its production, understood in its complex sense. "The discourse on the work", Bourdieu asserts, "is not a simple side-effect, designed to encourage its apprehension and appreciation, but a moment which is part of the production of the work, of its meaning and its value" (1996: 170).

Limiting the sociological enterprise to identifying the 'creator' as the one and ultimate cause of the cultural work is induced by a linear understanding of cultural production. Bourdieu's genetic sociology substitutes this linearity with a model which conceives cultural production in terms of a network of relations between individual agents and institutions. This wide scope of cultural production, as seen by Bourdieu, makes him include the consumers themselves, who play a vital role in the making of the cultural work and its apparent producer (Bourdieu 1993a: 78). Consumers help determine the value of the cultural product, and hence its hierarchical position in the field, by promoting/discrediting it, either materially (buying a book, a painting, an album of music) or symbolically (through, for instance, surveys of the best/worst book, translation, film, etc., of the year).

4 GENETIC SOCIOLOGY AND TRANSLATION HISTORIOGRAPHY

Because this book is mainly concerned with the sociology of historical rather than contemporary translation products, it takes particular interest in Bourdieu's conceived relation between his 'genetic sociology' and history. Bourdieu uses the term 'genetic sociology' in the context of his critique of Sartre's sociology of Flaubert's works. Sartre, argues Bourdieu, reduces Flaubert's works to an "*originating* consciousness" (ibid.: 193, emphasis added) and in so doing advocates a methodology which "seeks the explanatory principle of a work in the author taken in isolation" (ibid.: 192). The notions of origin and genesis suggest two modes of thinking about the sociology of cultural works. The first mode conceives of cultural works as constituted by and starting from 'an absolute beginning', hence these works can only be understood through what Bourdieu terms the "retrospective illusion", whereby a cultural work is seen as the end result of "an initial experience or behaviour" (ibid.: 193). Given that any cultural product according to this mode of thinking is *uni-determined*, that is, the outcome of one social determinant, understanding it is necessarily subject to a linear reasoning that traces the connection between the work and a preconceived origin. The origin here could be the biography of the artist who produced the work in question or even a presupposed generative principle, structure or genre.

The second mode, genetic sociology, in its dismissal of the reductionist reasoning characteristic of the first mode, is Bourdieu's alternative. Unlike the *substantialist* reading, which views socio-cultural practices of individuals and groups as "substantial properties, inscribed once and for all in a sort of biological or cultural *essence*" (Bourdieu 1998: 4, emphasis in original), Bourdieu's *relational* model problematizes the social conditioning of cultural works. It locates these practices in a social universe of available positions to be occupied by agents with particular dispositions. Thus said, Bourdieu's relational model guarantees a multidirectional understanding of socio-cultural practices that takes into consideration not only the objective structure of the cultural field within which they are produced but also the *trajectories* of the agents who contribute to the making of these practices. Genetic sociology, in a word, takes issue with the linearity of teleological reasoning which posits that socio-cultural practice is a mechanical response to a unitary stimulus. Instead, it conceives of this practice in terms of multiple causation and as the product of the dialectical relation between objective social structures and the subjectivity of social agents. In Bourdieu's terms, socio-cultural practices emerge at the conjuncture of "history in things"—the history inscribed in institutional practices, social, economic and political structures—and "history in bodies"—the history hidden in people's heads and which shapes their bodily and intellectual behaviour (Bourdieu 1993b: 46).

History is not accidentally deployed in Bourdieu's genetic sociology; it is deemed indispensable for understanding the multi-determined nature of socio-cultural phenomena. As Bourdieu has commented:

> *the separation of sociology and history is a disastrous division*, and one totally devoid of epistemological justifications: all sociology should be historical and all history sociological [. . .] we cannot grasp the dynamics of a field if not by a synchronic analysis of its structure and, simultaneously, we cannot grasp this structure without a historical, that is, genetic analysis of its constitution and of the tensions that exist between positions in it, as well as between this field and other fields, and especially the field of power.
>
> (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 90, emphasis in original)

The notion of 'genesis' informs Bourdieu's understanding of both sociology and history. Like sociology, history for him is about the multiple causation of historical phenomena. His attempt to develop a mode of sociological analysis that subverts the metaphysics of origin is underpinned by an understanding of history that seeks to escape the trap of "unidimensional evolutionism" (ibid.: 91). The infusion of sociological research with historical analysis makes visible the unperceived complexity and multi-determined nature of socio-cultural practice.

Translation historiography has paid little attention to the social genesis of historical translational phenomena. The fact that translation historians

have been mostly concerned with constructing narratives of past translation theories rather than the actual social practices of individual translators, as Pym (1998: 10) rightly observes, may account for their disregard for sociology. Even in telling their stories of past theories, and in order to make their accounts as coherent as possible, they strove to structure their theories around one principle—one *origin* that engenders them, justifies their existence and lends them a logical sequence in the historical narrative. Thus there have been histories of theories of translation that have been constructed around and reduced to such concepts as 'fidelity' and 'logocentricity' (ibid.: 10). The reductionism of this mode of historiography is mainly due to an underlying dissociation of the 'historical' from the 'social'. An emerging awareness in translation studies has sought to remedy this reductionism by linking the social to the historical. The first principle Pym formulates in devising a method for translation history is as follows:

> translation history should explain why translations were produced in a particular social time and space. In other words, *translation history should address problems of social causation*. This seems straightforward until you realize that narrowly empirical methods—the kind we find in many systemic descriptive approaches—are fundamentally unable to model social causation.
>
> (1998: ix, emphasis added)

Pym criticizes what he perceives to be the flawed histories constructed by linguistic and systems theory approaches to translation history. Linguistic approaches view the translation text as conditioned *only* by the source text. In systems theories, the text is regarded as the effect of an abstract construct of structural relations. In neither case is the subjectivity of the translator foregrounded. In linguistic approaches, translators are diminished to "a mechanical extension" of the source text, whereas in systems theory they become "a bearer of functions" within the target system (ibid.: 157). Both approaches are anchored, although in different ways, to an underlying notion of *origin*, in the sense of attributing historical translational phenomena to just one cause or one set of causes. Pym's critique of this notion and his emphasis on multiple causation echo Bourdieu's genetic approach to both history and sociology.

Historiographies of early translations of Shakespeare's drama into Arabic have traditionally embraced an approach that can be characterized, as discussed earlier, as 'unidimensional evolutionism'. In particular, the mode of historiography that has most dominated Arabic translations has given value to philological parameters, while overlooking a whole range of social factors that condition translation.

The detailed discussion of Bourdieu's sociological model of the fields of cultural production is meant to show the viability of his methodology and theoretical framework for studying drama translation as a socially situated

activity. Bourdieu's sociology has been shown to be useful in exploring drama translation at different interrelated levels: the field of drama translation within which the translation product in question is produced and the type of capital which structures it; the translation product itself, its characteristics, the positions it occupies in the field of drama translation, and its relation to other products occupying other positions; the translator, the type and amount of capital he or she possesses and the way it is invested in the field in order to maximize the translator's profits, his or her trajectory in the field and other adjacent fields; and the positions he or she occupies in the field in terms of the poetics and politics of translation. In the following chapters, these conceptual tools will be deployed in reading the genesis and development of the field of drama translation in Egypt, with particular reference to the translation of the main Shakespearean tragedies of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Othello*.

NOTES

1 Bourdieu sometimes terms it the 'experiential' meaning (1990: 27).
2 Bourdieu's preoccupation throughout his career with overcoming binarisms is clearly expressed in his interview with Beate Krais, published in *The Craft of Sociology*, where he says: "Sociology is a very difficult science. You're always moving between two opposite dangers . . . That's why I've spent my life demolishing dualisms. One of the points I would stress more strongly . . . is the need to move beyond couples of oppositions, which are often expressed by concepts ending in 'ism' " (Krais 1991: 251).
3 'Political' and 'politics' in this context are not used in the narrow sense of 'political governance', but in the sense of self-interested gains which individuals in a certain field of activity strive to achieve in opposition to other gains sought by other individuals within the same field.
4 During the first half of the nineteenth century, scientific translation and translators were key factors in the process of modernization launched by Muḥammad 'Ali (1805–48), the then viceroy of Egypt. For a detailed study of translation during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ali, see al-Shayyāl (1946/2000).
5 These delineations might also apply to the field of literary translation.
6 The socialist ideology of the Nasirist regime (1954–70) made it imperative for producers of culture in general, and theatre in particular, to produce works with socialist and near-socialist leanings. This was not only true of translated drama but also of original drama authored by Egyptian playwrights. Hence the works of such Egyptian playwrights as Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm, Nu'mān 'Ashūr, Luṭfī al-Khūli, Sa'd al-Dīn Wahba, etc., which addressed issues relevant to the class structure of the Egyptian society and the social changes effected by the 1952 revolution.
7 For a detailed study of the factors that condition the distribution and hierarchy of literary traditions in the world literary space, see Casanova (2004).
8 To further invest in the cultural capital he possesses, al-Juraydīni mentions on the cover a number of publications which he himself authored (see figure 2.1 this volume).
9 On the political references to Khedive 'Abbas in the translation, see Badr (1963: 9).

10 On the semantics of 'riwāya' and its use by translators to denote 'a play' in the earliest phases of the genesis of the field of drama translation, see chapter 3, section 5.1 this volume.
11 This is the name given to both Egypt and Syria on their declared union during the presidency of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir. Although Syria seceded from the union in September 1961, Nasir continued to use the same name until it was changed in 1971 into "The Arab Republic of Egypt".
12 Generally speaking, the process of delegation in the context of modern Egyptian society happens through the state. For a discussion of official delegation in the context of Egyptian theatre and drama translation in Egypt, see Hanna (2005a).
13 *Al-Azhar* is the Muslim mosque-university, founded in Cairo in 972. It was originally meant to be a centre for training Fatimid Shi'a propagandists but later became the most prestigious centre for training *'ulamā'* (scholars of religion) and *fuqahā'* (scholars of Islamic jurisprudence and Arabic language). Al-Azhar has always played a significant role in the political and cultural history of modern Egypt. Since the mid-1930s al-Azhar has become more like a modern university with specialized colleges for *Shari'a* (Islamic law),*'Uṣul al-dīn* (theology) and Arabic language. *Dar al-'Ulūm* is a higher education institution founded in Cairo by 'Ali Mubārak in 1872. It soon became a rival for al-Azhar as a source of government schoolteachers of Arabic and Islamic subjects. Some of the leading figures in modern poetry and Arabic linguistics have been graduates of *Dar al-'Ulūm*. For further details see Goldschmidt and Johnston (2003).
14 It took al-Bustānī 15 years to finish the translation, as he had to earn his living by doing other jobs. This proves that the accumulation of cultural capital, in the form of writing a book and having it published, is conditioned by the economic capital available to the individual, which would allow him or her to work without worrying about immediate monetary profit.
15 Some interpretations of Bourdieu's writings fail to see this in his sociological model and claim that his concept of 'habitus' is itself deterministic in the sense of being "a conceptual straight-jacket that provides no room for modification or escape" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 132, n.85).
16 The immigration of Syrian translators to Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be taken as one example in this context. For a detailed discussion of the activities of Syrian translators in Egypt, see chapter three this volume.
17 For a discussion of the representation of 'translation' and 'translator' in Arabic discourses on translation, see Hanna (2006).
18 For a detailed discussion of the genesis of the field of drama translation in Egypt, see Hanna (2005a).
19 See Aaltonen (2000: 33) for the distinction between the two terms of 'drama translation' and 'theatre translation'.
20 Although this characterization of the distinction between published drama translation and stage translation is generally valid, it is not without exceptions. Whereas some translations produced for the stage have avant-garde orientations and do not prioritize economic success, certain types of published drama translation prioritize economic profit more than cultural prestige. Examples of the latter include abridged or simplified versions of world drama which are produced in series with clear commercial purposes. For the translators producing these versions, the aesthetic integrity of the source text is not a priority.
21 A term that is itself problematic, the 'ethics' of translation is used by Bassnett in this context to mean 'faithfulness' to the source text.

22 In its special issue on Egyptian theatre after the 1952 revolution, *al-Masraḥ* monthly (1966: 116) reports that *iqtibās* during this period was remunerated at the rate of 150 to 200 Egyptian pounds, whereas translation was remunerated at the rate of 75 to 150 Egyptian pounds.
23 The Egyptian playwright and novelist Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm (1898–1987) coined the term 'third language' in reference to a proposed variety of Arabic suitable for the language of drama; in Cachia's words, this is "a 'simplified', but 'correct' Arabic . . . in effect, a colloquial purged of distinctively regional expressions and favouring constructions close to those of the classical, though without its inflections" (1990: 69).
24 Elsewhere, Pavis (1989: 25) states that "the phenomenon of translation for the stage . . . goes beyond the rather limited phenomenon of the *interlingual* translation of the dramatic text".
25 Translators are similarly believed to function as bridges or disinterested mediators among cultures.
26 Although Bourdieu here speaks mainly of avant-garde products, the idea is generally true with regard to all other cultural products.
27 The first issue of this series was a republication of the first Arabic translation of *The Illiad* by Sulaymān al-Bustānī.
28 This introduction is based on my research on the genesis of the field of drama translation in Egypt. See Fekry Hanna (2005).

3 Genesis of the Field of Drama Translation in Egypt
The First Arabic *Hamlet*

Drawing on the theoretical framework developed in chapter two, this chapter explores the genesis of drama translation as a new cultural product in Egypt. The complexity of this product will be studied against the backdrop of a postulated field of drama translation which was in the making in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with particular reference to the earliest Arabic version of *Hamlet* which was first translated for the stage in 1901 by Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu and published a year later.

Understanding the incipient field of drama translation is not possible without locating it within the socio-cultural context which conceived it. Egyptian society in the late nineteenth century experienced a number of changes which contributed to the making of what may be described as ʻa culture at the crossroads'. Egypt was then caught between contradictory social and cultural forces, the effect of which is detectable in the cultural products on offer at the time. This chapter begins with an attempt to delineate the key issues or, to use Bourdieu's term, the *problematics* which conditioned and structured both social space and within it the fields of cultural production in Egypt during the period extending from the second half of the nineteenth century to the early decades of the twentieth century. Through contextualizing Abdu's version of *Hamlet*, the early beginnings of an emerging field of drama translation are mapped out. The chapter also looks into how Western theatre was appropriated by Arab and Egyptian culture producers, including theatre makers, translators and historians. Using Bourdieu's concept of the 'power of naming', or the struggle over definitions, is relevant in delineating the semantic and social boundaries of what was then an emerging socio-cultural space.

1 EGYPT IN THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES: A CULTURE AT THE CROSSROADS

Most historiography of Egyptian culture during the period extending through the second half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth century, generally known as *Nahḍa*,[1] usually attributes cultural phenomena during that time to a social structure which is bifurcated and

caught between two socio-cultural forces. The first strove to effect a rupture with a tradition that was associated with an outworn value system and social institutions that were seen as impediments to a modernized Egypt. The other force, according to this view, saw in the then resounding calls for reform and innovation a straightforward threat to national and religious identity and hence sought to counter them by holding fast to tradition in its social, religious as well as cultural manifestations. This opposition between what became known as the 'modernists' and the 'traditionalists' is usually attributed to the then growing cultural contact between Egypt and the West. The term 'modernists' in this opposition is usually used to refer to Egyptians (and Syrian immigrants to Egypt) who happened to have a European education, either through government-funded scholarships to Europe, mainly France, or through the foreign missionary schools which were established in Syria and Egypt in the mid-nineteenth century and which gradually gained popularity towards the end of the century. The term 'traditionalists', however, is used to refer to all those who received a traditional, mainly religious, education. In this *constructed* opposition, the modernists are projected as representatives of European culture in the region and 'carriers' of European values, whereas the 'traditionalists' are generally regarded as an obstacle to modernization, which is usually used in this context to mean westernization. Thus this postulated opposition between the 'modernists' and the 'traditionalists', according to this mode of historiography, is in essence the product of a conceived conflict between European cultural values and Egyptian Arabic-Islamic values. Gibb could not have been clearer in describing this opposition in the following terms:

> For many decades the partisans of the "old" and the "new" have engaged in a struggle for the soul of the Arabic world, a struggle in which the victory of one side over the other is even yet not assured. The protagonists are (to classify them roughly for practical purposes) the European-educated classes of Egyptians and Syrians on the one hand, and those in Egypt and the less advanced Arabic lands whose education has followed traditional lines on the other. Whatever the ultimate result may be, however, there can be no question that the conflict has torn the Arabic world from its ancient moorings, and that the contemporary literature of Egypt and Syria breathes, in its more recent developments, a spirit foreign to the old traditions.
>
> (Gibb 1928: 747)

Two interrelated methodological problems underlie this mode of reasoning about the socio-cultural history of Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. First, it tends to blur, consciously (as the case of Gibb reveals) or unconsciously, the complexity of socio-cultural processes which engendered Egyptian *Nahḍa*, reducing it to a binary opposition between Western and Egyptian cultures, the latter usually confined to

the Arabic-Islamic component. The second interrelated problem is that all socio-cultural phenomena which emerged during that period are seen in light of this reasoning as engendered only by the impact of the West and its culture on Egyptian society. This has arguably led to obscuring the internal social and historical processes which contributed to the making of Egyptian modernity. This mode of historiography, according to Toledano (1998: 255), conceives of Egyptian society during that period in terms of a *reactive* reality. This type of reasoning, typically exemplified by such metaphors and concepts as "the impact of the west" and "the European challenge and the Egyptian response" (ibid.), overlooks the internal socio-cultural mechanisms of Egyptian society during that time and generally succumbs to the orientalist mode of historiography of the modern Middle East, in which the encounter with the West is seen as the only stimulus which triggered the formation of modern Middle Eastern societies and the emergence of *Nahḍa*. Against this traditional trend in Middle Eastern studies, Toledano suggests a mode of historiography which is alert to an *interactive* reality, where the influence of the cultural encounter with the West is considered one among several internal factors engendering the formation of Egyptian society and culture at that time (ibid.). The difference between these two modes of historiography is a difference between *a history from within* and *a history from without*. The latter gives priority to the Western factor in making the history of modern Egypt, whereas the former views the internal structure and inherent characteristics of Egyptian society at the time as the main determinant in the making of its modern history.

A 'history from within' of cultural production in turn-of-the-century Egypt is only possible through problematizing this binary opposition between the 'West' and 'Egypt' which presupposes two monolithic, undifferentiated entities.[2] In order to unravel the nuances eclipsed by this opposition, the 'interactive reality' of the Egyptian society at that time needs to be captured through what Bourdieu would call a 'relational reasoning' that posits Western cultural influence as one factor among others that shaped cultural production during *Nahḍa*. Understanding this 'interactive reality' entails identifying the 'field of power', to use another Bourdieusian term, that is, the network of factors operating in the social space and which together determine the genesis and development of fields of cultural production; these factors can be social, political, economic, etc. The field of drama translation, which emerged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Egypt, is largely the product of this field of power.

2 EGYPTIAN CULTURE FROM WITHIN: CULTURAL PROBLEMATICS OF TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY EGYPT

The struggle among foreign powers over cultural dominance in Egypt during the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century was not the only factor that helped engender the genesis of fields of cultural

production during Egyptian *Nahḍa*. The internal problematics of Egyptian culture at the time played an important role in shaping the dynamics of cultural production. It is true that as a result of contact with other cultures during this period, new cultural elements were introduced which helped restructure the then current processes of cultural production and consumption. But it is equally true that Egyptian society itself was undergoing a process of internal change which also conditioned the way culture was produced and circulated. Attending to the external as well as the internal factors which helped shape cultural production during that period is a step towards siting the *interactive* reality of turn-of-the-century Egypt.

In order to understand the specific problematics around which fields of cultural production were structured during Egyptian *Nahḍa*, one needs to attend to the socio-cultural formation of Egyptian society during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and the internal changes within this formation, which ultimately led to the genesis of new cultural fields such as drama translation as well as the restructuring of already existing fields. I will confine myself in this context to three socio-cultural groups which I assume to be particularly relevant to my analysis of fields of cultural production in Egypt at the time, especially the two emerging fields of theatre and drama translation. These groups are the traditional intellectual elite, the new intellectual elite who emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century and the masses. Apart from the ruling class, studies on Egypt during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries usually speak of two types of traditional 'elite': the military and the *'ulamā'*, i.e. scholars of religion or what El-Sayed described as 'the men of the sword' and 'the men of the pen' (1968: 264). Whereas the military were in charge of administration and ruling the state (ibid.), the role of *'ulamā'* in society was more consequential: they "were in charge of the intellectual and social life of the law and its application; that is, they were the teachers, the scholars, the *qāḍis*[3] and the *muftīs*"[4] (ibid.). To evoke Bourdieu's concept of 'capital', the *'ulamā'* were rich in social and cultural capital, and this is what gave them a powerful position in Egyptian society under Ottoman rule. Tied to their socio-cultural status was the power they exercised as managers of *awqāf*[5] (Goldschmidt and Johnston 2003: 397). In contrast with the military, and based on their unique social position, the *'ulamā'* were trusted by both rulers and ruled. They functioned socially as intermediaries between the Ottoman ruling class, who hardly spoke any Arabic, and the Egyptian masses. Hence they normally safeguarded against political unrest and civil disturbance against the rulers, although at times of weakness of the Ottoman rulers they led the people in uprisings against them.

Due to their multi-faceted roles as scholars of religion, educators and intellectuals, the *'ulamā'*, or individuals who learnt under *'ulamā'*, generally exercised full control over the canonical culture produced during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries. This culture can be described as 'elitist', in the sense that it generally took the form of books on

religious interpretation and exegesis, treatises on grammar and rhetoric of the Arabic language, or writings in imitation of Classical Arabic poetry and prose. This elitist culture was generally anchored to the classical literary tradition, as well as Qur'ānic and Ḥadīth learning. The expected consumers of this range of cultural products were fellow *'ulamā'* or students at al-Azhar, because the majority of Egyptians were illiterate. Despite all the efforts of Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors, particularly Isma'īl, by 1881, illiteracy in Egypt stood at 91.7 percent (Hafez 1993: 66) and at 93 percent by 1908 (Toledano 1998: 279). This majority of Egyptians, mainly comprising peasants, artisans, small traders, urban workers, etc., produced and consumed their own mass culture. Two main characteristics of this mass culture can be recognized. First, because this type of culture was produced by and for the non-elite segment of Egyptian society, it defied rules of grammaticality, decorum and the canonized aesthetics of medieval Arabic. It invested, instead, in the aesthetics of colloquial Egyptian Arabic. Although the mass culture produced and consumed by Egyptians under Ottoman rule partially drew upon the thematic repertoire of Classical Arabic and addressed stories of heroism from the Arabic and Islamic traditions, these themes were communicated in a language variety and aesthetics suited to the needs of the masses. Second, the mass culture of Egyptians during that time was characterized by significant use of nonverbal media of expression. Language was not the only component of folk tales, heroic epics and shadow plays presented in cafes, streets and markets. Besides singing and narration, elements of bodily performance were also involved. These two characteristics of mass culture would later influence the way drama was first translated and staged in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Egypt.

This socio-cultural structure of Egyptian society was significantly reshaped in the nineteenth century, mainly because of the reforms introduced by Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors. The authority of the institution which had always been the stronghold of *'ulamā'*, i.e. al-Azhar, was undermined by a number of reforms (Reid 1977: 351). The role of the *'ulamā'* as teachers and *qāḍis* was undermined by Muḥammad 'Alī's founding of secular schools and secular, French-like law courts (ibid.). The secularization of educational institutions led to the emergence of new generations of young Egyptians who were obviously disillusioned by classical culture and whose aesthetic needs called for new modes of cultural production. The emergence of a new elite in the second half of the nineteenth century coincided with waves of emigration of Christian Levantines to Egypt, especially after the interfaith violence in 1860 between Christians on one side and both Muslims and Druze on the other[6] (Philipp 1985: 78–9). Besides being educated in French missionary schools, these immigrants, because of their Christian background, had found it easy to break away from the classical norms and aesthetics of the Arabic-Islamic literary tradition. It was through these immigrants, together with a few Egyptians, that new forms of culture well suited to the needs of the new elite were

produced. These new forms included translated fiction and drama, mainly from French, and journalism.

What made the forms of culture offered by the new producers qualitatively different from the old elitist culture offered by the *'ulamā'* was the economic factor. Unlike the *'ulamā'* who were financially supported by the government and who had other means of earning their living than the meagre royalties of their books, such as managing and controlling religious endowments, the new producers of culture were secular, usually self-employed professionals, for whom producing culture was the main source of living. What was of great concern for the network of freelance translators, journalists, theatre makers and writers who emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century, mainly as a result of the increasing waves of Levantine émigrés during that time, was not the means of cultural production, but rather and more importantly the marketability of cultural products in a way that would secure them a reasonable life and guarantee continuity of production. Philipp (1985: 82) suggests that the "deteriorating economic situation" in the Levant was a major reason for the rising waves of Levantine emigration to Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century. Young, professional and well-educated Levantines, whose society could not meet the increasing demand for employment from graduates of a flourishing educational system, found in Egypt a viable alternative for investing in their professional, mainly language, skills (ibid.: 83–4). This being the case, ignoring the large non-elite segment of Egyptian consumers of culture was not an option.

The central problematic, then, around which fields of cultural production in turn-of-the-century Egypt were structured had to do with meeting the needs of three different types of consumer: first, the traditional old elite; despite their waning authority, their recognition of cultural products was still sought by producers in order to guarantee a minimum of canonization; second, the emerging new elite with their secular education and openness to cultures and aesthetics different from what their predecessors used to produce and consume; third, the larger sector of uneducated illiterate consumers of culture. In order to place this categorization of the consumers of culture during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century within a broader perspective, two points need to be highlighted. First, although meeting the needs of these three categories of consumer was well-recognized by producers of culture, their prioritization was conditioned by the nature of the cultural product in question, the media of production and circulation and the agenda of the producer. In this context, producers of published drama translation, as will be discussed later, prioritized these consumers differently from producers of staged drama translation. Second, the division between the old and the new elite, especially during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, was not so rigid as to exclude mutual influences permeating through the two groups. This was mainly due to the duality of the educational system

during that time "where shaykhs from the theological colleges and graduates of European universities teach side by side" (Gibb 1929: 312). At the heart of this problematic lies a choice that producers of culture at the time had to make between canonization and commercialization, the recognition of the cultural work by the elite, old and new, leading to its canonization, and the economic success of this same work as a result of addressing the needs of the largest sector of consumers. This problematic and within it the choices it imposed on producers of culture at the time conditioned the genesis of fields of cultural production in turn-of-the-century Egypt, including theatre, literature and drama translation. The following section looks into the first published Arabic *Hamlet*, using it as a case study that brings to light the socio-cultural processes which shaped the beginnings of the field of drama translation in Egypt.

3 EARLY TRANSLATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMA IN ARABIC: THE CASE OF 'ABDU'S *HAMLET*

Although it is not the oldest version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Arabic,[7] Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's is the first published Arabic translation of the play. 'Abdu's translation was commissioned specifically for the stage in 1901 by Iskandar Faraḥ, the Syrian-born[8] owner, manager and director of one of the pioneering theatre troupes in the history of Egyptian theatre.[9] It remained the only staged version known to theatre goers in Egypt until 1918, when the Lebanese-born poet Khalīl Muṭrān was commissioned by the theatre actor, manager and director Jurj Abyaḍ to produce another translation. In addition to the stage success, 'Abdu's translation went into two editions. However, the remarkable success of 'Abdu's translation did not save it from the sharp criticism of translation historians who regarded 'Abdu, together with his translation, as the icon of infidelity.

In his evaluation of 'Abdu's translation, Najm passes the following verdict:

> The undeniable fact is that the translator availed himself of all the means of distortion, which he brought to his translation . . . The translator pioneered a school known for deformation and distortion in translation practice. No story or play he translated was left unchanged.
>
> (1956:241; my translation)

Histories of the early translations of Shakespeare's drama in Egypt reveal a primary interest in the philological proximity of the target text to the source text. The philological judgements they pronounced usually led to moral judgements as well (see Pym 1998: 5). Some commentators went as far as accusing Ṭanyūs 'Abdu (and with him all the literary and theatre translators who produced translations from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century) of unfaithfulness, not only in philological

terms but also in religious and political terms. Some literary historians saw a betrayal of religious beliefs in the output of the early translators (al-Dusūqī 1948/2000a: 370–2).[10] Others regarded the efforts of these translators, particularly Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu's, as encouraging the Arab and Egyptian public to fall under the spell of the West, hence facilitating the subjugation of the Arab world to the colonial dominance of the French and the British (al-Jindī 1964: 85–9).

The charge of philological infidelity was based on three major areas of textual evidence in ʻAbdu's translation. The first relates to changes in the Shakespearean plot. In ʻAbdu's version, the play is given a happy ending, with the ghost of the late king appearing in the last scene to hand the throne to Hamlet, who does not die in this version. After granting his forgiveness to the dying Gertrude and Laertes, and sending Claudius cursed to hell, the ghost addresses Hamlet thus in a frequently quoted passage:

> وأنت فلتعش سعيداً علي الأرض مغفوراً لك في السماء، فاصعد أمامي إلي مقام عمك، فما خلق إلا لأجلك هذا العرش (هملت يصعد درجات العرش ناظراً إلي أبيه نظرة اعجاب والخيال ينزل تباعاً فى جوف الأرض وهو ينظر باسماً إلي هملت، فينزل الستار تدريجياً، والجميع من الخارج ينشدون).
>
> And you may happily live on earth, forgiven by Heaven. Go before me to where your uncle sat; this throne was made but for you (Hamlet ascends the throne, looking admiringly at his father, while the ghost gradually descends into the depths of the earth, smiling at Hamlet. The curtain falls slowly, while the public is chanting outside).
>
> (ʻAbdu 1902: 110, my translation)

The second charge was that changing the plot in effect meant changing the generic structure of the play. Although some tragic elements were kept in ʻAbdu's version, the changes he introduced in the text ultimately neutralized the tragic effects of the play. ʻAbdu's translation of Hamlet's monologues is one example where the *tragic* is infused, and sometimes replaced, by what I would call the *lyrical*. Monologues in Shakespeare's tragedies are primarily meant to voice the inner dialogue of the tragic hero, which textually functions as an explanation of his or her public behaviour, and ultimately of the tragic ending of the play. The tragic effect in Hamlet's monologues is achieved through underscoring the divided identity of the speaking subject. This divided identity is the outcome of a conflict between the tragic hero's public and private selves, a conflict that erupts in the blurred area between the conscious and the subconscious. This bifurcation of the self finds expression in a bifurcated language that borders on meaningfulness and meaninglessness, what is communal/conventional and what is individual/idiosyncratic, what is sociolectal and what is idiolectal. Formally, this language is characterized by "distorted syntax" (Hussey 1982: 100), especially when Shakespeare attempts to "convey the impression of a character thinking as he spoke" (ibid.). In order to heighten the speaking subject's split

awareness between the private and the public selves, the language of the monologues makes frequent use of the interrogative (Levin 1959: 17–43),[11] as well as synaesthetic imagery where the tangible and the abstract, thoughts and feelings are associated.

These characteristic qualities of Shakespeare's monologues find their best expression in *Hamlet*, particularly in his famous 'To be or not to be' speech. In this monologue, the opposite images of death and life, sleep and wakefulness are used to foreground the pivotal theme of the monologue, that is, the oscillation between action and inaction, resolution and irresolution. This thematic content becomes clear towards the end of the monologue, where Hamlet speaks of the conscience that "does make cowards of us all" resolution "sicklied . . . with the pale cast of thought", and "enterprises of great pitch and moment" losing "the name of action" (III. i: 83–88).[12] In 'Abdu's version, the opposite images of 'death' and 'life', 'slumber' and wakefulness are maintained at the expense of the thematic line they serve in Shakespeare's text. In other words, 'Abdu's translation overlooks the pivotal theme of the inner conflict between action and inaction and remakes Hamlet's monologue into a melodramatic lyric on human mortality and the solace that death brings. The 35 lines in Shakespeare's text are replaced by 15 lines in 'Abdu's version, where Hamlet dwells merely on "the happy sleep of death" (1902: 47–8). The following lines from the monologue in Arabic illustrate the point:

إذا كان الردي نوماً سعيداً فكيف يخيفك النوم السعيد
هنالك حيث لا غدر فيخشي ولا حقد يشين ولا حقود
ولا حب بلا أمل و عمر تضيعه بما قد لا يفيد
ولا نفس تضئ بها الأماني فيطفئ نورها اليأس الشديد

If death is happy sleep, what makes you fear the happy sleep?
There one fears neither unfaithfulness, shameful envy, nor the envious
Nor does one fear a hopeless love, nor a life wasted for nothing
Nor a glimmering hopeful soul to be disheartened by great despair.
('Abdu 1902: 48; my translation)

In this context, the change in thematic content in 'Abdu's version is noticeable right from the opening of the monologue, where Shakespeare's 'To be or not to be' is rendered 'What is beyond death: extinction or immortality, nothingness or being?'[13] The interpretive possibilities in Shakespeare's line, which could mean either death and life or action and inaction, are narrowed in 'Abdu's translation to the theme of life and death.

The thematic change in 'Abdu's translation blurs the inner conflict which marks Hamlet's tragedy and infuses Shakespeare's play with a lyrical character. In contrast with the whispered language of Shakespeare's Hamlet, where the discourse of the speaking subject is impeded by pauses, question marks and repetitions, the language of 'Abdu's Hamlet is fluent and smooth.

To further assert this lyrical character, ʻAbdu versifies his monologue and uses a regular rhythm and rhyme throughout, unlike Shakespeare who uses iambic pentameter, with no regular rhyme scheme. The use of this kind of strongly rhythmic and versified language can only be understood if we know that the actor who used to act Hamlet at the time was the well-known Egyptian singer Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī (1852–1917), who played the title role in ʻAbdu's version during the period from 1901 to 1917. ʻAbdu translated the monologues with an eye on the performer, as well as the Egyptian audience at the time, for whom singing was an indispensable element in any theatrical performance.

The third charge that historians of theatre translation in Egypt levelled at the early translators of Shakespeare's drama, particularly Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu, and which, for them, distanced these translations philologically from Shakespeare's source texts, concerned the kind of hybrid language the translators used in their translations. They juxtaposed the conventional language of neoclassical Arabic, with its characteristic rhymed prose (*sajʻ*), parallel structures and archaic lexis, with the plain prose characteristic of modern Egyptian Arabic. Najm (1956: 245) speculates that the first anonymous translation of *Othello* into Arabic, entitled *Utillo Aw Ḥiyal al-Rijāl* (Utillo, or the Trickeries of Men),[14] was produced by ²anyūs ʻAbdu and judges it to be closer to the colloquial than the classical.

Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu's translation of *Hamlet*, as representative of the early translations of Shakespeare's tragedies in Egypt, is thus evaluated by translation historians mainly in terms of its philological proximity to the source text. It is considered "an awkward translation" marked by "deviations from the source text", which ultimately renders it "a ghostly resemblance of the original" (Alshetawi 2000: 78). This retrospective analysis, endorsed by historical criticism of the translation, holds up the philology of the translation against that of the original. In doing so, it loses sight of the multiple socio-cultural factors that condition the translation in its target milieu.

Bourdieu's 'genetic sociology' challenges this substantialist reasoning, offering as an alternative what Randal Johnson (1993: 9) has termed a "radical contextualization" of cultural phenomena. This involves an analysis of the structure of the cultural field, the strategies and trajectories of the producers of the cultural product in question and the field of power, that is, the power relations between the different kinds of capital and the agents who possess them, which are all capable of effecting structural changes in the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1998: 34).

In the following sections, a reading of the genesis of the theatre field in Egypt and within it the subfield of drama translation will be provided. I will examine the trajectory of the early translators of Shakespeare's drama and outline the distribution of symbolic and economic capital within the field of drama translation. This framework will be used to reconsider the three charges against Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu's translation discussed earlier.

4 GENESIS OF THE THEATRE FIELD IN EGYPT: THE POWER OF NAMING

The fact that Classical Arabic literature did not know drama in Western terms (Badawi 1992: 329) and that translation was the primary, if not the only, means of importing the dramatic genre, means that our understanding of early drama translation in Egypt is conditioned by an understanding of the genesis of the theatre field itself. The birth of modern Arabic drama is attributed to the Lebanese playwright Mārūn al-Naqqāsh (1817–55), who wrote and produced in his own house in Beirut the first Arabic play, *al-Bakhīl* (The Miser), in 1847; this was inspired by Molière's *L'Avare* (Badawi 1992; Sadgrove 1996; Isma'īl 1998).[15] However, long before al-Naqqāsh there had been contacts between Egyptians and Western drama through Western troupes which visited Egypt during Napoleon Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798–1801) and Egyptians who had been sent on scholarships to the West, where they witnessed European theatre first-hand. These contacts resulted in writings in which Egyptian intellectuals tried to encode their observations of this cultural phenomenon in Arabic, to create a semantic field for it in their own language. In naming the phenomenon and designating it in language, these early writings did not only map out its semantic boundaries, but they also created a social space for it in the Arab and Egyptian culture, which in turn conditioned the later translation and production of theatre in Egypt. Before looking more closely at the inception of the semantic, and hence social field of theatre in Arabic, it would help in this context to first look at what Bourdieu terms *the power of naming* (1991: 239).

4.1 The Power of Naming: The Struggle Over Definitions

For Bourdieu, "every field is the site of a more or less openly declared struggle for the definition of the legitimate principles of division of the field" (1991: 242). These legitimate principles of division establish the boundaries of the field and hence determine the definition of true membership of that field (Bourdieu 1996: 223). What defines the writer, the theatre artist or the drama translator is determined by the outcome of a struggle between different *visions* of the members of the field—visions they seek to impose and turn into a legitimate *division* that distinguishes the members of that field from others in adjacent or remote fields. The legitimacy of the imposed boundaries of the field is conditioned by the symbolic capital which the agents involved possess and in relation to their positions within the field (Bourdieu 1992: 239). The establishment of legitimate boundaries is achieved, in part, through *official naming*, which Bourdieu defines as "a symbolic act of imposition which has on its side all the strength of the collective, of the consensus, of common sense, because it is performed by a delegated agent of the state, the holder of legitimate symbolic violence" (ibid.).

Official naming, or what Bourdieu sometimes refers to as the 'authorized point of view', may be performed by a "delegated agent of the state", or it may be "personally authorized", as is the case, for example, with "a great critic or prestigious preface-writer or established author" (Bourdieu 1992: 239). Both types of naming exert a symbolic effect by virtue of being officially recognized as legitimate. Authorized agents within a field "produce namings—of themselves and others—that are particular and self-interested" (ibid.), imposing public division in the form of titles, academic degrees, awards or professional qualifications, for example.

It is important to note, however, that acts of naming performed by different agents within the field do not operate in isolation. The status of the field—the constancy or transformation of its boundaries—is subject to the struggle between delegated and personally authorized agents. This struggle is itself conditioned by the demands of the market(s) which accommodate the products of that field. The outcome of this struggle, in the case of fields of cultural production, may turn out in favour of a market that prioritizes the economic over the symbolic or in favour of a field free from any external constraints (Bourdieu 1993a: 45–6). Understanding the translational behaviour of the early translators of Shakespeare in Egypt, including that of ²anyūs 'Abdu, is only possible, I would argue, in the context of the series of namings through which early Egyptian intellectuals endeavoured to establish the semantic/social boundaries of the theatre field in their own culture. And importantly, the establishment of the legitimacy of these namings did not operate independently of the symbolic capital these intellectuals possessed.

4.2. Mapping Out the Semantic/Social Boundaries of the Theatre Field in Egypt: Naming the Foreign

In their early encounters with what was for them a culturally unfamiliar phenomenon, Egyptian intellectuals sought to make sense of this foreign experience *in their own language*. The terms they used to designate Western theatre as they witnessed it were in effect a means of forging the boundaries of the emerging field of theatre in Egypt.

Perhaps the first known encounter with Western theatre can be said to have occurred in 1800, when the Egyptian historian 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1756–1825) described in his famous chronicles *'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fī al- Tarājim wal-Akhbār* (*The Wondrous Traces on Biographies and Chronicles*) the theatre built by Bonaparte in Ezbekieh, Cairo, and the performances presented in it:

> It is a place where they meet for one night every ten nights, to watch trickeries (*mala'īb*) played (*yal'abuha*) by a group of them, for pastime and entertainment. This lasts for four hours at night, in their language; and nobody is allowed into this place without the right paper and unless he is specially dressed [for the occasion].
>
> (1986: 202, my translation)

This description is significant at more than one level, because it highlights the earliest known moment of consciousness of this nonindigenous art by an Egyptian intellectual. This new consciousness issued by al-Jabartī in a particular *vision* of this unfamiliar art, and hence a *division*, which distinguished and separated this phenomenon from other social practices. Performing indoors, in a building especially built for this kind of performance and where people were admitted in a specific dress code and according to a previously made arrangement marked a new social practice which al-Jabartī tried to identify in his description. The distinctiveness of this new societal and cultural institution is highlighted by al-Jabartī in terms of the distinct consumers who frequented this institution. Elsewhere we read about that 'specially dressed audience' who had the right to access this new institution. The French Expedition's newspaper *Courrier d'Égypte* mentions in its account of one of the performances presented in this theatre that the play was seen by "a large number of distinguished dignitaries, Turks . . . as well as many Christians and European ladies" (cited in Isma'īl 1998: 14, my translation). The kind of audience who consumed this new cultural product marked theatre as a distinct social and cultural practice. At this point, it would seem that the majority of Egyptians were unfamiliar with theatre and did not have direct access to it.

Because of the unfamiliar character of theatre, al-Jabartī made sense of this new practice in terms of the then available forms of entertainment of which he was aware. In other words, he translated this new cultural practice in terms of local cultural codes. His use of the two Arabic words *mala' īb* and *yal' abūha* is significant in this context. These words are derivatives of the root verb *la'iba* which, according to *Muḥīṭ ul-Muḥīṭ Arabic Dictionary*, means "doing something of no use"; the noun form *la'ib* means "futility, vanity, or leaving what is useful for what is useless" (1870/1987: 817, my translation).

The negative sense of the word is doubled by the derivative *mala'īb*, used by al-Jabartī to denote the performance of this group, which in Egyptian Arabic means 'trickeries', or 'acts of deception'. This negative sense of the root verb and its derivatives is invoked in an expression that was commonly used at that time and used by al-Jabartī himself in his chronicles, *arbāb al-malā'ib*, to denote a range of entertainers that included conjurers, tightrope walkers, acrobats, monkey handlers as well as street singers, male and female dancers and those who worked in gambling (Sadgrove 1996: 13).[16] Conceiving of theatre in terms of local popular forms of entertainment is asserted by al-Jabartī's understanding of its function. For him, the performances presented by this group were only meant for 'pastime and entertainment' (*al-tasliyya wal-malāhi*), despite the fact that the theatre in question was originally built to present "some of the most agreeable works of the French repertoire" (Sadgrove 1996: 28).

The 'naming' of Western theatre in Arabic by al-Jabartī, hence establishing its boundaries as a new social and cultural practice, can be viewed as an

effect of the functioning of *habitus*, that is, the attitudes and dispositions he acquired through socialization and education, and which conditioned his practices and *di-visions* of cultural phenomena. Al-Jabartī came from a religious background. His father, Shaykh Ḥasan al-Jabartī, was one of the distinguished *'ulamā'* (scholars of religion) of Al-Azhar, the highly prestigious and authoritative theological university, where al-Jabartī himself was later educated. For an Azharite scholar of religion, activities that do not relate to religious knowledge were considered futile and useless. Al-Jabartī was thus predisposed to conceive of theatre as just one among a range of other popular forms of entertainment. The symbolic power attached to the name of al-Jabartī, father and son, in the intellectual field of late-eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Egypt lent legitimacy and authority to his naming of theatre. Besides being a scholar of religion, Ḥasan al-Jabartī, the father, was a scientist and engineer and had one of the largest libraries of the period (Hafez 1993: 272). Al-Jabartī, the son, added to the symbolic capital he inherited from his father through his own authoritative historiography of the French Expedition in Egypt, *Maẓhar al-Taqdīs Bī-Zawāl Dawlat al-Faransīs* (*On the Decline of the French State*), which was highly appreciated by both the common reader and the Turkish sultan, Selim III, who ordered it to be translated into Turkish in 1807 (*Turāth al-Insaniyya IV*: 556).

The second attempt at naming the cultural phenomenon of theatre was made 25 years later by another Azharite, Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī (1801–1873). Al-Ṭahṭāwī was sent by Muḥammad 'Alī (1805–1849), the viceroy of Egypt, to Paris as imam to the first Egyptian educational mission in France from 1826 to 1831 (Sadgrove 1996: 34). In his attempt to establish new semantic/social boundaries for the theatre field in Egypt, al-Ṭahṭāwī occupied a more advantageous position than al-Jabartī in more than one respect. First, he was sent to France as an official 'delegate of the state'. Second, the power of naming exercised by al-Ṭahṭāwī was not only due to his being delegated by the state, but he was also consolidated by the fact that he was delegated by the cultural institution represented by Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (1766–1835), al-Ṭahṭāwī's mentor and distinguished intellectual and scholar of religion.[17] In the opening section of *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fi Talkhīṣ Barīz* (*The Purification of Gold on the Summation of Paris*), his diaries of the mission to Paris, al-Ṭahṭāwī underscores this double delegation by both the state and Egyptian intellectuals:

> When my name was listed among those who were travelling [to Paris] and I decided to leave [for Paris], some of my relatives and loved ones, especially our Shaykh al-'Aṭṭār, advised me to report on what would happen in this journey, the wondrous matters I would come across and to write this down so as to help in unmasking the face of this region; this would become a guide for those who would travel to this land, given that there is as yet nothing in the Arabic language, as far as I know,

> about the history of the city of Paris, its conditions and the conditions of its inhabitants. Praise be to Allah who made this possible through the will of our benefactor [Muḥammad ʻAlī] and during his reign and because of his care for and support of the sciences and arts.
>
> (1834/2001: 11, my translation)

The official delegation by the head of the state and the symbolic delegation by such an established intellectual figure as Shaykh al-ʻAṭṭār, who urged al-Ṭahṭāwī to encode in Arabic the unfamiliar phenomena he would experience, lend al-Ṭahṭāwī's naming of theatre more authority than was the case with al-Jabartī. In addition, al-Ṭahṭāwī studied the French language and experienced French culture from the proximity of Paris, a position unavailable to al-Jabartī. Furthermore, in Paris and back in Egypt, al-Ṭahṭāwī embarked on what was later regarded as the first pioneering and systematic effort of translation into Arabic in modern times.[18] His experience as a translator conditioned subsequent efforts of translating for the stage during the second half of the nineteenth century. It was through the efforts of al-Ṭahṭāwī that the first school of languages in the Arab world, *Madrast al-Alsun*, was founded in Egypt in 1835.

In his published diaries of the mission to Paris, *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Barīz*, al-Ṭahṭāwī gives us a fairly detailed account of French theatre as he witnessed it in Paris. His attempt to define French theatre as a cultural practice was partly influenced by al-Jabartī's first attempt to encode theatre in Arabic. In his book, al-Ṭahṭāwī still spoke of plays as *alʻāb* ('futile activities'). However, an emerging awareness that plays involved more than mere 'futile pastime' drove al-Ṭahṭāwī to refrain at some points in his book from using *alʻāb*, opting instead for *sbiktaklāt*, a transliteration of the French *spectacle*. Here he voices a reserved dissatisfaction with the Arabic *laʻib* ('playing', in the negative sense of practising futile activities) and its derivatives, previously used by al-Jabartī to denote theatre as a cultural practice:

> I know not of any Arabic noun meaning "spectacle" or "théâtre". However, the word "spectacle" means view, a recreation ground, or something similar; and the word "théâtre" originally has the same meaning. Later, these were used for the act and site of playing. An equivalent [in Arabic] could possibly be 'the people versed in playing' (*ahl al-laʻib*) which is designated as imaginative. However, 'imaginative' is only one kind of playing. This [kind of playing] is known among the Turks as "kamdaba"[19] which falls short of the meaning unless we further explore it. The word "théâtre" or "spectacle" can be translated into "imaginative", whose meaning needs to be further explored.
>
> (Al-Ṭahṭāwī 1834/2001: 136, my translation)

Al-Ṭahṭāwī's use of the transliterated French words and his admission that there was no proper translation for them in Arabic goes a step beyond

al-Jabartī's representation of theatre as a cultural practice. Although he ends up using *ahl al-laʿib*, which is close to al-Jabartī's *arbāb al-malāʿib*, he qualifies *laʿib* (playing) with *khayālī* (imaginative). This qualification helps distinguish theatre as perceived by al-Ṭahṭāwī from such forms of *laʿib* as tight-rope walking, acrobatics and monkey handling. The qualifying *khayālī* here serves the function of flagging the borders of a new social/cultural field.

Al-Ṭahṭāwī's *di-vision* of theatrical practice is manifest at other levels. In his account of the function served by theatre, he says:

> In reality these plays (*alʿāb*) are serious matters in a humorous form: one is usually taught good lessons[20] because one sees both good and evil deeds enacted; the former is praised while the latter is condemned, so that the French say they reform morals and refine men's characters. [Plays] contain things to laugh at and to bring tears to the eyes.[21] On the curtain, which is lowered at the end of the play (*laʿib*),[22] is written in Latin: "Customs may be improved by plays [*Castigat ridendo mores*]".
>
> (Al-Ṭahṭāwī 1834/2001: 133, translated in Sadgrove 1996: 35)

In highlighting the social relevance of *laʿib* (playing), al-Ṭahṭāwī goes beyond the conventional dictionary meaning of *laʿib* and *malāʿ īb*, as previously used by al-Jabartī, and relates theatre-going to the social, hence establishing new boundaries for theatre in Arabic. Unlike popular forms of *malāʿib*, theatre is here perceived as serving other functions than being mere 'pastime and entertainment'. For al-Ṭahṭāwī, the seemingly fictitious—or *khayālī* (imaginative), as he puts it—form of theatre does not imply dissociation from the real; rather, theatre is perceived as relating to society and asserting a particular value system. It becomes a means of socialization, "a school for teaching the educated and the uneducated" (Al-Ṭahṭāwī 1834/2001: 134, my translation).

This perception of theatre as a means of 'improving social customs' would later become one of the constitutive *doxa* of the newly formed field of theatre in Egypt, particularly when Ṣannūʿ (1839–1912) starts his own theatre in 1870. The agents active in the theatre field in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mainly theatre translators,[23] were well aware of the need to make their cultural products relevant to the world of their audience and hence had to reformulate the original plots of the plays they translated in order to relate them to the social reality of their audience. It is interesting to note that the theatrical genre to which al-Ṭahṭāwī was exposed to in Paris, i.e. comedy, was the one that was widely diffused in Egypt through the visits of Italian and French troupes, and later through the plays of Ṣannūʿ. The Egyptian audience's familiarity with comedy would become an important factor that influenced the production of translation, particularly that of Shakespeare's tragedies.

The attempt to establish distinct boundaries for theatre in Arabic is further evidenced in al-Ṭahṭāwī's account of the actors and actresses (*al-lāʿibūna*

wa al-lā'ibāt) in the performances he watched in Paris. He highlights a distinction between popular entertainers and theatre actors in terms of both social status and professional qualifications. To counter a widely held perception of artists as lacking the manners and virtues that would win them social respect, al-Ṭahṭāwī draws a dividing line between local popular entertainers known to Egyptians and who did not enjoy social esteem at that time, and theatre actors. Although he sees a certain similarity between these actors and the category of local Egyptian performers known as *'awālim* (belly dancers),[24] he identifies a major difference: Parisian actors are people of "great grace (*faḍl*) and eloquence" (ibid.). In terms of professional qualifications, actors are perceived by al-Ṭahṭāwī as people who possess the eloquence of poets and writers, capable even of writing "literary works and poetry" (ibid.). This attempt by al-Ṭahṭāwī to disentangle theatre from the field of popular entertainment and place it closer to the more respected field of *adab* (literature)[25] is also characteristic of the efforts of theatre translators in Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Theatre translators during that time were caught between the need to relate to the audience's preconceived ideas about theatre in order for their translations to gain success and popularity, and their awareness of the distinctive quality of theatre and the need to signal this distinctiveness in their translations.

5 GENESIS OF THE FIELD OF DRAMA TRANSLATION IN EGYPT: AUTONOMY AND HETERONOMY

The two distinctive acts of naming of the art of theatre that evolved in the early to mid-nineteenth century established a struggle between two possible classifications of the emerging subfield of drama translation in Egypt. Al-Jabartī's attempt at encoding the new field of theatre in Arabic in terms of the field of 'popular entertainment' was conditioned by the familiarity of the Egyptian audience with popular forms of entertainment. With al-Jabartī, theatre was conceived as a predominantly *heteronomous* cultural field whose primary orientation was to adapt to the pre-existing criteria of the field of popular entertainment and as prioritizing economic profit as the major marker of success. In contrast, al-Ṭahṭāwī's encoding of theatre as a distinct cultural practice—his attempt to push it towards the realm of high literature—represented the beginnings of a shift toward the relative *autonomy* of the field of theatre in Arabic.

The tension that emerges from these two distinctive modes of naming by two authoritative intellectual figures—the former based on an understanding of theatre production as a *heteronomous* field and the latter on conceptualizing theatre as an *autonomous* activity—was to have a significant influence over the production of early drama translation in Egypt. The subfield of drama translation in Egypt, particularly after 1912, increasingly sought to

operate independently of the needs of mainstream theatre goers, serving its own *nomos*, its own fundamental laws, and introducing the foreign on its own terms, not on the terms of the mainstream target theatre audience at the time.[26] In practice, however, although drama translations produced from the late nineteenth century until 1912 were generally oriented to the expectations of theatre goers at that time, there had been instances of more autonomous practices that attempted to free translations of external constraints or at least to signal the boundaries of this field. Likewise, drama translation after 1912 was not a totally autonomous activity: the struggle to position the field as autonomous or heteronomous thus continues to this day (see Hermans 1999: 135–6).

5.1 Heteronomy: Catering for the Needs of a Diverse Audience

Between the late 1860s and the first decade of the twentieth century, the challenge for theatre translators in Egypt, such as Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu, was to translate Western classics in ways that would appeal to a local audience for whom theatre in its Western definition was not yet palatable. This prioritization of the local audience is echoed in the terms used to designate the theatrical genre. These terms bear resemblance in certain respects to the two foundational acts of naming by al-Jabartī and al-Ṭahṭāwī discussed earlier and again reveal the awareness of producers of drama translation of the social groups they set out to target.

On the cover of his translation of *Hamlet*, Ṭanyūs ʻAbdu labels Shakespeare's play as *riwāya*,[27] a term he also used in his translation of *Romeo and Juliet*. ʻAbdu was not alone in this practice. Labelling plays as *riwāyāt*[28] was common probably from the late 1860s to the 1890s, when the term started to be used to refer to the genre of the novel. The year 1868 witnessed the publication of an anonymous book entitled *Hīlāna al-Jamīla: Riwāya Tyātriyya* (The Beautiful Hīlāna: A Theatrical Riwāya) (Ibrahim 1990: 221).[29] It is not clear whether or not the book is a translation, but what is significant here is the use of the word *riwāya*, qualified by the transliterated word *tyātriyya* (theatrical). Although *riwāya* is given a new meaning here, signalled by the qualifying word, this new meaning finds reverberations in the available senses for *riwāya* in Arabic. Apart from the current meaning of the word in Arabic, *riwāya* has a complex of three distinct senses. The first sense goes back to the pre-Islamic era when it was used to refer to the recitation of poetry. After the rise of Islam, the word was used by Muslim scholars of religion to refer to the recitation and handing down of *ḥadīth*, that is, the sayings of the Prophet. The same word was later used to refer to the recitation of popular narratives such as *The Arabian Nights* and folk epics such as *Abu Zayd al-Hilālī* in local gatherings; the derivative *rāwī* denotes the performer who recites these narratives, usually accompanied by folk musical instruments. The first and third senses of the word reiterate the boundaries of the emerging field of drama translation[30] and point to the

two categories of audience for whom drama translators catered during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The first category of audience comprised those who had been educated in religious schools and whose knowledge of Arabic was mainly acquired through the Qur'ānic text and neoclassical writings, poetry and prose. The poetics of Arabic neoclassicism, especially with regard to prose, mainly found expression in such language features as the frequent use of *saj'* (rhyming structures), parallel structures and stock images and expressions. These features can be identified in early drama translation, although to a relatively lesser degree than what we have in prose writings. This is due to the fact that early theatre translators were equally catering for the needs of another larger, and more influential, category of audience that included those who had no education at all,[31] and for whom popular forms of entertainment, particularly singing, were the main element of attraction in any theatrical performance. In addition to the two main categories identified earlier, a third group included those who had been educated in "secular schools, according to new educational concepts and methods, and introduced to European models and ideals" (Hafez 1993: 66). It was this last group of audience whose knowledge of Arabic was mainly formed through the rising institution of the press and the then available published translations of popular fiction. Although this last group was too marginal to impose its own needs on theatre translators when directly translating for the *stage*, it played a significant role in conditioning *published* drama translation.

Attending to the needs of all these groups resulted in a translation product whose language was condemned by historians as hybrid—partly classical, partly colloquial. This charge, which was levelled against Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation, is only understandable in terms of the dominant poetics at that time. During the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the poetics of Arabic was torn between two necessities: reviving the glorious past of Classical Arabic and its literature after centuries of stalemate sensibility on the one hand, and accommodating and naturalizing a host of foreign writings that were being introduced through translation on the other. These two opposed constraints resulted in what I call a *Janusian*[32] poetics. The bidirectionality of this poetics is due to the need to gain the sanction of the literary elite by conforming to the already established parameters of what Peled (1979: 136) calls "explicit poetics" as well as the need to introduce foreign literatures through codes that are palatable to the majority of Egyptians. It is this hybrid poetics on which 'Abdu and the early theatre translators drew.

5.2 Hamlet Lives and Sings: The Doxic Practices of Early Theatre Translation in Egypt

The *doxa* of early drama translation in Egypt consisted mainly in producing translations to be performed by singers-cum-actors for an audience for whom

singing made good theatre. To commission a translation for the stage in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Egypt presupposed a translation product that would first attract the largest sector of the audience and, second, create opportunities for using the performing capabilities of the leading actors. Singing was what the audience wanted and what the leading theatre performers of the time had mastered. The vast majority of theatre troupes working in Egypt during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relied heavily on singing to guarantee economic success. The hierarchization of troupes within the theatre field at the time was determined by which singer the troupe had for the leading role and the popularity of this singer.

The most popular and influential singer of the time, Shaykh Salāmā Hijāzī (1852–1917), "seemed to have decided the fate of whole companies as he transferred his services from one to the other . . . before he formed his own in 1905" (Cachia 1990: 127). His voice was sufficient to secure a box-office hit. When he was paralysed towards the end of his life, "he was carried onto the stage to sing the highlights", while "another actor substituted for him in connecting scenes" (ibid.). All the translators, including those of Shakespeare, who were commissioned to translate plays where Shaykh Salāmā Hijāzī would perform the leading role knew that an indispensable part of their job was to invest in those parts in their source texts that lent themselves to singing, and if necessary to author textual segments that could be utilized by the singer-cum-actor Salāmā Hijāzī. Najm (1956: 260) reports that when Salāmā Hijāzī came under pressure from some reviewers to rid his performance of *Hamlet* of music, he gave in and acted Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's version without singing. The unfavourable response from the audience, who would not allow Hijāzī to have the curtain lowered without singing, forced him to refrain from performing *Hamlet* for some time. Meanwhile, Hijāzī went in search of Ṭanyūs 'Abdu to ask him to add some extra lyrical pieces to his translation. When he could not find him, he asked the renowned Egyptian poet Aḥmad Shawqī (1869–1932) to compose a poem that could be sung by Hamlet. Shawqī's poem, which was kept by 'Abdu when he later published his own translation, is a melodramatic summation of the disasters that befell Hamlet. It opens with Hamlet saying:

دهرٌ مَصَائبه عِندي بِلا عدد لم يجن أمثالها قبلي عَلَيَّ أحد
عمٌ يخونُ وأمٌ لا وفاءَ لها أمٌ ولكن بلا قلبٍ و لا كَبِد
جَنَت عليَّ هموُم العيشِ قاطبةً وقبلها ما جنت أمٌ علي ولد

Countless disasters have befallen me,
And before me, nobody has seen their likes.
A treacherous uncle, and an unfaithful mother,
A mother, but with no heart or compassion.
All the worries of life have befallen me
And before her no mother has ever victimised her son.
('Abdu 1902: 86–7, my translation)

Two points are worth considering in this context. First, having Aḥmad Shawqī write this poem added a symbolic value to a practice driven by economic considerations. Shawqī's name, endowed as it was with a great deal of symbolic capital, is used to further legitimate the doxic practice of interpolating textual segments for singing.

Second, when Ṭanyūs 'Abdu later published his translation of *Hamlet*, he kept Shawqī's poem and highlighted Shawqī's presence in his translation in a footnote in which he wrote, "This poem is composed by the honourable friend Aḥmad Bek[33] Shawqī, prince of poetry and poet of the prince" ('Abdu 1902: 86, my translation).[34] The fact that some early drama translators like Ṭanyūs 'Abdu were keen to publish their translations after they were staged and hence make them available to a different kind of audience, signals an attempt at disengaging drama translation from the economic pressures imposed by the mainstream theatre goers of the time. In Bourdieu's terms, there was an emerging tendency to *autonomize* the field of drama translation and free it from the requirements of the market of popular entertainment.

However, discrediting the doxic practices of commercial theatre translation was risky and thus conditioned by the position of the translator in the field and the symbolic capital he[35] already possessed. Translators such as Ṭanyūs 'Abdu, who embodied the struggle between heteronomy and autonomy within the field of drama translation, could only 'flag' that Shawqī's poem was added to the text. Other translators, who were arguably in possession of a great deal of symbolic capital and less tied economically to commercial theatre translation, highlighted these interpolations and actively criticized them. In a footnote to interpolated poems in his published translation of Alexander Dumas' *Le Tour de Nesle*, entitled in Arabic *al-Burj al-Hā'il* (*The Tower of Horror*),[36] the translator, dramatist, journalist and social thinker Faraḥ Anṭūn (1847–1922) writes as follows:

> These verses were composed for this *riwāya* (play) . . . by the respected, modern inventive poet Eliās Effandī Fayyāḍ . . . As for the previous verses, these were composed by the poet of the court, the respected Aḥmad Bek Shawqī . . . The arabizer[37] (*mu'arrib*) would like to seize this opportunity not to extend his apologies for the lack of versification and melodies in this *riwāya* (play), since he believes that poetry and singing have nothing to do with this kind of play; suffice it to say that the original has none of these. I mentioned these verses and their likes in this version out of consideration for the taste of the audience, though I find that this [practice] goes against customs and established norms.
>
> (Anṭūn 1899: 94–6, cited in Isma'īl 2003: 22, my translation)

Anṭūn was compelled to keep these interpolations "out of consideration for the taste of the audience" despite his opposition to this kind of practice. It was not until 1912, when Khalīl Muṭrān and a number of other translators published their translations of Shakespeare's drama, that we have a

significant autonomization of the field of theatre translation and an avowed disengagement from the practices of commercial theatre translation. It is at this point that theatre translators dared to "break the silence of the *doxa*" (Bourdieu 1993a: 83) and question the 'unproblematic' and 'taken-for-granted' status of versified interpolations in theatre translation practice.

The change introduced by Ṭanyūs 'Abdu to the ending of *Hamlet*, which affected the generic structure of the play, was part of another doxic practice of early theatre translators in Egypt. In relating to the mainstream theatre audience in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both theatre translators and playwrights needed to be aware of two factors: the social reality of their audience and the range of familiar folk narratives which formed their world view and conditioned their appreciation of all other forms of popular entertainment. Breaching the social or aesthetic codes of this audience would have had negative consequences for the theatre performance, whether translated or original. Two cases illustrate this fact. The first, mentioned by al-Rā'ī (1968: 22–3), is a play written and directed by the Egyptian dramatist, journalist and caricaturist Ya'qūb Ṣannū' (1839–1912). Ṣafṣaf, the title heroine of Ṣannū''s play, is a coquette who flirts with two young men at the same time. Ṣannū' thought that the right ending for this play was to have Ṣafṣaf deserted by her lovers and potential husbands as a kind of punishment for her social and moral misbehaviour. The audience thought otherwise: rather than allowing her to remain unmarried, marrying Ṣafṣaf off to someone would, from the point of view of the audience, ensure that she was prevented from behaving immorally and would also protect other young men from being seduced by her. The audience, as reported by al-Ra'ī (ibid.), threatened to boycott the play if Ṣannū' did not change the ending. Ṣannū' gave in and added a concluding scene in which Ṣafṣaf acquired the more respectable social title of 'wife'.

The second case is Najīb al-Ḥaddād's (1867–1899) translation of Hugo's *Hernani*, which was staged posthumously by Iskandar Faraḥ's troupe in 1900. In this arabization, al-Ḥaddād transposes the plot and characters of Hugo's play from the Spanish to the Arab-Andalusian milieu. All the characters are given Arabic names, and instead of ending the play with Hernani (arabized as Ḥimdān) committing suicide by taking poison, al-Ḥaddād had him marry the Spanish princess.

These examples demonstrate that the audience in early twentieth-century Egypt would not have accepted a dead Hamlet after all the perils he experiences in the play. This would have been a stark breach of their social as well as aesthetic codes.

6 TRAJECTORY OF EARLY DRAMA TRANSLATORS IN EGYPT

Bourdieu introduces the concept of 'trajectory' as an alternative to the *essentializing* concept of biography, because the latter presupposes a transcendental

and static consciousness that conditions the choices and decisions made by writers. Trajectory, by contrast, describes the "series of positions successively occupied by the same writer in the successive states of the literary field" (Bourdieu 1993a: 189). The trajectory of a particular writer or translator in a field is understandable only in relation to the structure of the field and the positions it makes available at a certain historical moment, as well as the kinds of symbolic and economic capital around which a field is structured. The trajectories of particular translators can be identified by examining the positions they successively occupy in the field of translation—their transition from one preferred genre to another, shifts in translation strategies across time and genres, their membership in adjacent fields (e.g. journalism, publishing, etc.) and shifts from one medium to another. Their trajectories are also determined by the network of social relations that are obtained between the translator and other agents in the translation field and in adjacent fields.

The fact that early theatre translators in Egypt were mainly Lebanese Christians who had immigrated in the last decades of the nineteenth century sheds light on their trajectories in the field of drama translation in Egypt. Being Christian, the early theatre translators in Egypt endeavoured to use a kind of Arabic stylistically distinct from that used in Islamic religious discourses. They attempted to rid their language of all the neoclassical constraints that one finds in the writings and translations of an Azharite such as al-Ṭahṭāwī.[38] However, finding themselves in a new environment with relatively different norms of translation, these Lebanese immigrants had to compromise and devise a language that reflected their own norms and at the same time met the norms of the literary establishment in Egypt. This resulted in what historians of translation condemned as a 'hybrid language'.

The case of Ṭanyūs 'Abdu is representative of the trajectories of early Lebanese translators who contributed to the field of drama translation in Egypt. Like other Lebanese immigrants who became the principal agents in the newly emerging field of journalism in Egypt, Ṭanyūs 'Abdu, in addition to his translation and writing for the theatre, wrote and translated for a number of newspapers and weeklies. Most of his translations of popular fiction were published serially in weeklies before they were issued as books. Translating for newspapers influenced the translation practice of 'Abdu in two respects. First, it gave him access to the reading public, allowing him to establish what they did and did not want. In the introduction to his translation, republished in book form, of Michel Zevaco's *Le Chevalier de Pardaillan*, 'Abdu recounts the response of the reading public after the publication of part of his translation in his bimonthly magazine, *al-Rāwī*, as follows: "many of the subscribers were too anxious to wait for the next issue of the magazine; they would write to me asking about the destinies of the heroes, and many of them would call" (cited in Zaytūnī 1994: 134, my translation). 'Abdu mentions that one of the issues of *al-Rāwī*, where part of his translation of *Pardaillan* was published, sold ten thousand copies (ibid.).

Second, the high demand for translated popular fiction in newspapers which influenced 'Abdu and his fellow translators was typical of a mode of

production that Bourdieu terms 'large-scale', where cultural products are produced not for the sake of consecration by the official cultural institutions but in response to demand from a group of consumers (Bourdieu 1993a: 125). Zaytūnī records that 'Abdu translated six hundred stories and plays, and Landau (1958: 112) raises this figure to seven hundred. It was this mode of production and the economic success it achieved which was replicated in the field of early drama translation and which strongly influenced 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet*. His change of the plot and generic structure of *Hamlet* was effectively a response to this mode of production.

Reading 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet* into Arabic in terms of Bourdieu's genetic sociology is revealing, not only of the translation practice of an individual translator or the overall genesis and structure of the field of drama translation in Egypt during that period but also of the potential that Bourdieu's genetic sociology has for translation studies. A number of implications of Bourdieu's sociology can be identified in relation to the data and time span investigated in this chapter. First, Bourdieu's sociology provides the translation scholar with the conceptual tools which make possible the identification and explanation of the networks of collective perceptions that shape individual translation practices. Bourdieu's concept of the 'power of naming' frees sociological research and translation studies alike from being confined to the mere observation of actual practices and turns attention to the deep mental structures that fashion these practices. Projecting this concept in terms of a 'struggle over definitions', rather than as an *essentializing* and once-and-for-all naming of objects and practices, makes possible the exploration of conflicting perceptions of translation practices and the possible shifts in these practices.

The concept of the 'socio-cultural problematic', as the locus around which fields of cultural production and cultural practices are structured, also proves helpful in explaining the characteristics of translations of drama as cultural products. Understanding the contradictions within both the social space and the field of cultural production itself provides insights into practices that might seem anomalous and inexplicable on the surface, such as introducing a different ending in a translation or opting for what appears to be an inappropriate generic structure. Finally, a 'field-oriented' understanding of translation, as seen in the case of the early beginnings of drama translation in Arabic, is a safeguard against static conceptualizations of translation that are content with a priori answers to questions about what translation is, how it functions in the social space, who the translators are and how they position themselves in relation to both institutions and other translation agents.

NOTES

1 Although most historians suggest that *Nahḍa*, literally 'renaissance', spans the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, no fixed dates are given for the beginning and end of this era. Starkey

(1998a: 574) suggests as an "end-date" the 1920s when "most of the initial problems involved in adapting Western literary forms for use in an Arabic context had been tackled". Badawi (1993: 11), likewise, historicizes the period of *Nahḍa*, which he alternatively terms 'the age of translation and adaptation', in literary terms; he sets the year 1834 as its beginning, when al-Ṭahṭāwī's account of his trip to France was published, and the year 1914 as its end, when significant literary works in which direct emulation of Western literary forms was replaced by original writing were published by Egyptian authors.

2 This opposition, which is premised on what Edward Said (1978/2003) would call 'the ontological inequality between West and East', underlies the dominant historiography of Egyptian modernity which is seen as the direct outcome of Western cultural influence (see Gran 1999). This assumed inequality also motivates most of the *Nahḍa* intellectuals' discourse on such cultural products as 'adaptation' and 'rewriting' of Western texts: for them, these products are condemned on the grounds that they blur the distinction between the cultural products (and values permeating them) of the West and Egypt (see Selim 2004).

3 The judiciary.

4 The *muftī* is the highest religious position in the hierarchy of *'ulamā'*. He is the man invested with the power of issuing rulings (fatwa) in religious as well as worldly matters.

5 Religious endowments in the form of land or property.

6 Levantines had been immigrating to Egypt since the eighteenth century, although their numbers significantly increased in the second half of the nineteenth century. See Philipp (1985).

7 'Awaḍ (1986: 84) mentions two other translations that were staged in the last decade of the nineteenth century, one by Amīn al-Ḥaddād and the other by Jurj Merza.

8 Syria at that time included Lebanon.

9 *Al-Mu'ayyad Newspaper* (October 5, 1901) reports that Iskandar Effendi Faraḥ would that night open the premier of *Riwāyat Hamlet* on 'Abd al-'Azīz Street Theatre (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998b: 32).

10 The majority of texts chosen for translation during that time were popular fiction and drama in which romance was the main theme. Even canonical texts such as Shakespeare's tragedies were given a lyrical and romantic flavour; this was deemed immoral by traditional literary historians, who mainly came from a religious background.

11 Levin observes that Shakespeare more frequently uses the interrogative form in *Hamlet* than in his other plays. In *Hamlet's* graveyard scene, for instance, Levin counts seventy question marks in 322 lines. The word 'question' itself "occurs in *Hamlet* no less than seventeen times, much more frequently than in any of Shakespeare's other plays" (1959: 19–20).

12 Quotations from *Hamlet* are taken from the Arden edition edited by Harold Jenkins.

13 The line in Arabic goes: فناء بعد موتك أم خلود وهل عدم مصيرك أم وجود

14 This translation was probably staged for the first time in 1898. In the two Egyptian newspapers *al-Muqaṭṭam* and *Miṣr*, published on April 2 of that year, we read that "the troupe of Iskandar Effendi Faraḥ is going to present tonight *Riwāyat Heyal al-Rijāl*" (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998a: 160).

15 Al-Naqqāsh knew both French and Italian and had visited Italy in 1846, where he acquired a fair knowledge of Italian theatre and opera at that time.

16 The site for all of these forms of entertainment was Ezbekieh, the same site where the French built their theatre.

17 The prominent position occupied by Shaykh al-'Aṭṭār in the intellectual field of early nineteenth-century Egypt made him an authoritative intellectual figure par excellence. His distinguished role within al-Azhar as a scholar and reformer led Muḥammad 'Alī to appoint him rector in 1830. He also developed interests in non-religious knowledge and wrote a number of essays, first published in 1866 with the title *al-Rasā'il*, which "covered law, logic, grammar, medicine, and other sciences" (Goldschmidt and Johnston 2003: 65). Given his position as a distinguished intellectual, Muḥammad 'Alī appointed him in 1828 the first editor of *al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya*, Egypt's official journal (ibid). Al-'Aṭṭār's interest in non-religious learning deeply influenced al-Ṭahṭāwī, and this influence is echoed in *Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz*.
18 Muḥammad 'Alī had demanded of students sent abroad that they translate the books they used in their study (Cachia 1990: 31). Understandably, most of the translation output of al-Ṭahṭāwī was mainly in the scientific and legal fields; translations from these fields were badly needed by Muḥammad 'Alī, who had already started his project of modernizing Egypt. The only literary translation known to be undertaken by al-Ṭahṭāwī is his translation of Fénélon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque*.
19 I failed to identify the original Turkish word al-Ṭahṭāwī refers to here.
20 This could alternatively be rendered as 'amazing lessons'.
21 This sentence could alternatively be rendered as 'For, although these plays contain things to laugh at, they also contain much that brings tears to the eyes'.
22 Sadgrove (1996: 35) translates the word as 'performance'.
23 Writing original plays in Arabic did not materialize in Egypt until the 1920s.
24 He does not elaborate on this similarity. Perhaps he was just trying to draw the idea of a theatre actor close to the minds of fellow Egyptians by using the image of *'awālim*, although he swiftly underscores the distinctions between actors and *'awālim*.
25 It seems that al-Ṭahṭāwī found in theatre a primarily verbal art, where language, preferably versified, is given priority over dramatic action. It is striking in this context that the Arabic word he used for 'stage' in his account of the inner architecture of the theatre he saw in Paris is *maq'ad*, which literally means *seat* in Arabic and connotes immobility and inaction. It is this prioritizing of language over dramatic action that has characterized Egyptian theatre since its inception and conditioned theatre translation for a long time; see al-Ṭahṭāwī (1834/2001: 133–4).
26 The year 1912 witnessed the publication of a number of translations whose translators were keen on ridding drama translation from such external pressures as the expectations of the mainstream theatre goers and the performing capabilities of the leading actors, who were primarily singers. Three significant translations could be identified in this regard: Khalīl Muṭrān's translation of *Othello* and the two translations of *Julius Caesar* by Sāmī al-Juraydīnī and Muḥammad Ḥamdī.
27 In modern Standard Arabic, the word is used to refer to the genre of the novel. However, it did not take on this meaning until the 1890s. According to Cachia (1992: 30), when discussing novels in 1881, Muḥammad 'Abdu did not find at his disposal a designating term other than *rumāniyyāt*, a transliteration from the French 'roman'.
28 The plural of *riwāya*.
29 Sadgrove (1996: 6) suggests that this was a translation of Offenbach's operetta *La Belle Hélène* and that it was translated under the supervision of al-Ṭahṭāwī himself.
30 The religious connotation of the second sense echoes some practices in the theatre field at that time when the leading actors-singers were previously

qurrā' (reciters of the *Qur'ān*) who, even after they started working in the theatre, kept the religious title *shaykh*. The best known examples are Shaykh Salāma Hijāzī, Shaykh Ḥamid Mursī and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Shāmī. 'Awaḍ (1986: 86) mentions that the day before Shaykh al-Shāmī presented *Hamlet* in the city of Banha in Egypt, he recited *Sūrat al-Kahf* from the *Qur'ān* in a mosque packed with people in an attempt to promote his performance among the locals. Likewise, *al-Akhbār* newspaper published an advertisement in October 3, 1918 about a performance (*riwāya*) by the troupe of Jurj Abyaḍ entitled *Salāḥ al-Dīn wa 'Ūrshalīm* (*Saladin and Jerusalem*) in which Shaykh Ḥamid Mursī would recite verses from the Holy Qur'ān (see *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 8: 284).

31 Hafez (1993: 66) mentions that by 1881 91.7 percent of Egyptians were still illiterate, whereas only 8.3 percent were literate and formed the base for an emerging reading public.

32 *Janus* is the Roman god of gates, boundaries and transitions (Holland 1961: 3). Paradoxically, he is the guardian of both "the line between homeland and stranger" (ibid.: 305) and the passage which bridges this boundary (ibid.: 51). He is, then, the god of both *boundary making* and *boundary crossing*. In Roman iconography, he is represented as a two-headed form looking both *backwards* and *forwards*.

33 A Turkish title granted by the monarch of Egypt at the time.

34 Shawqī was the official poet of Khedive 'Abbās, the viceroy of Egypt at that time.

35 There is no historical evidence that women practised drama translation at that time.

36 This play was staged by Iskandar Faraḥ's troupe in 1898 and published a year later. See Isma'īl (2003: 19–20).

37 Like all translators during that time, Faraḥ Anṭūn refers to himself as *mu'arrib* (arabizer); 'arabization' was the word used to denote translation. The Arabic word currently in use, *tarjama,* was introduced at a later stage. The naming of translation as *arabization* is itself reiterative of the constitutive *doxa* of the field of theatre translation at that time.

38 On the difference between the translation norms common among Lebanese translators and those dominant among Egyptian translators in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Somekh (1991: 81–2).

4 Translators' Agency and New Translation Products

De-commercializing the 'Arabic Shakespeare'

The 1910s saw the rise of a second generation of drama translators in Egypt whose practices effected significant structural changes in the field. These were concomitant with changes in other homologous fields, including literary production, publishing, theatre criticism and, most importantly, theatre production. The option of publishing translated drama, rather than staging it, was one new factor that reshaped the modes of production in the field of drama translation in Egypt and the forms of capital sought by drama translators. Using one of the norm-setting Arabic translations of *Othello* (i.e. Khalīl Muṭrān's version, staged and published in 1912) as a case study, this chapter seeks to map out the changes in the field of drama translation in Egypt during the second decade of the twentieth century. In describing these changes, I will look into the agency of the second generation of drama translators, the new thematic and generic options, forms of capital and modes of production that became available to them (or what Bourdieu would call 'positions') and the different 'position-takings' these translators chose to embrace.

The rise of new troupes and agents in the field of theatre production during that period was the main force behind the change in the field of drama translation. The new theatre troupes, particularly the one run by Jurj Abyaḍ (1880–1959), aimed to produce new staged versions of foreign plays that were generically and aesthetically different from those produced by other commercially oriented troupes. This necessitated forming an alliance with a new generation of translators other than those recruited by commercial theatres. The most prominent of this generation was the writer, poet, drama translator and theatre administrator Khalīl Muṭrān (1872–1949), whose translations of three of Shakespeare's tragedies for the troupe of Jurj Abyaḍ marked a significant shift in the practices of drama translators in Egypt. In addition to discussing the changes that took place in the field of theatre production, this chapter will also engage with what Bourdieu terms the 'field of power', i.e. the political and economic forces which conditioned modes of production in the two fields of theatre production and drama translation during that period.

1 SHIFTING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE FIELD OF THEATRE PRODUCTION

Until the 1910s, theatre production in Egypt was mainly limited to the kind of plays which depended for their success on the singing capabilities of such leading singers as Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī. The small number of musical theatres,[1] which were active at that time, did not allow for much competition.

Starting from the second decade of the twentieth century, the boundaries of the field of theatre production began to shift, bringing about changes in the structure of the field. During this period, the influence of the forerunners of Egyptian theatre began to wane, while new players found their way into the field and managed to challenge the norms established by the more consecrated members. Ya'qūb Ṣannū' died in France in 1912, followed a few years later, in 1917, by Salāma Ḥijāzī, whose influence had already started to diminish since 1909 due to serious illness (Isma'īl 2003: 107). Meanwhile, new troupes started to emerge in the field: some of these troupes continued to produce the same musical theatre first introduced by Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī (1842–1902) and developed by Salāma Ḥijāzī, whereas others attempted new forms of theatre with new dramatic genres. These emerging troupes still relied on translation for their performances, but they encouraged different modes of drama translation which appealed to the different audiences they targeted. In order to understand the different modes of drama translation available at that time, one needs first to locate the trajectories of these different troupes in the field of theatre production and examine the ways in which they positioned themselves with regard to translation. Three main trends of theatre production can be identified among the troupes active at the time: musical theatre represented by the troupe of Shaykh Salāma Hijāzī and later by the 'Ukāsha troupe and the troupe of Munīra al-Mahdiyya, serious theatre (*al-masraḥ al-jiddī*) represented by the two troupes of Jurj Abyaḍ and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rushdī and popular and comic theatre represented by the troupes of 'Azīz 'Īd and Najīb al-Riḥānī. Because comic theatre at the time relied only occasionally on drama translation, the following sections focus on the profiles and trajectories of musical and serious theatre, with particular attention to the work of Salāma Ḥijāzī and Jurj Abyaḍ.

1.1 Salāma Ḥijāzī and the Dominance of Musical Theatre

Egyptian theatre opted for the musical form in its early beginnings. The first play ever written by an Egyptian and presented to an Egyptian audience in Arabic was a one-act operetta written by Ya'qūb Ṣannū' in 1870. The play, entitled *Ghinā'iyya fi al-Lugha al-'Ammiyya* (*An Operetta in the Colloquial*), was a comedy whose "couplets were set to the music of specially adapted popular airs" (Sadgrove 1996: 91). This theatrical formula which involves both the comic and the musical dominated all theatrical activities in the late nineteenth century and ensured success and popularity.

This continued to be the case in the early twentieth century, especially with the overwhelming success achieved by Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī[2] (1852–1917), whose position as a leading singer-actor in the troupe of Iskandar Faraḥ placed this troupe at the centre of the field of theatre production until the early years of the twentieth century. It is mainly because of the singing and musical[3] talents of Ḥijāzī that the Iskandar Faraḥ troupe could dominate the Egyptian theatre for almost 18 years (Barbour 1935: 176). Through investing in the voice and music of Ḥijāzī, Faraḥ was able to secure enough profit to pay his actors a salary as high as 30 guineas a month and his translators and authors a fee as high as 60 guineas for a play text (ibid.).

In 1905, and following disagreements with the Faraḥ brothers, Ḥijāzī left the troupe[4] and formed his own. He continued to use some of the play texts which were written or translated for him while he was working for the troupe of Iskandar Faraḥ. Most of his performances were based on translations specially made for the kind of theatre he presented. He also continued to support the same translation practice of interpolating textual segments in the form of lyrics to be sung by him. A similar example to that of Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet* can be seen in the Arabic translation of Victor Hugo's *Angelo, Tyran de Padoue* which was commissioned by Ḥijāzī and staged for the first time in 1905[5] under the title *Tisba aw Shahīdat al-Wafā'* (Tisba, or the Martyr of Faithfulness). During rehearsals, Ḥijāzī discovered that the translation, which was done by writer and translator Zakī Mabrū, was lacking in rhyming verses suitable for singing. Because the translator was away in the Levant at the time, Ḥijāzī asked writer Jurj Ṭanūs to author some mono-rhyming verses to be sung by the actress playing Tisba, the leading female character in the play. When the translation was published in book form in 1906, the translator retained the interpolated verses and explained the whole context in his introduction (Isma'īl 2003: 78).

It would then seem that interpolating mono-rhyming verses still constituted a *doxic* practice in both published and staged translations in the first decade of the twentieth century. The majority of writers and drama translators who produced play texts for Ḥijāzī could not distinguish between the different requirements of published and staged translation. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of an emerging awareness among these writers and translators that published and staged translations belonged to two different fields of activity. Najīb al-Ḥaddād's[6] (1867–1899) play entitled *Ṣalāḥ al-dīn al-Ayūbī* (*Saladin Ayūbī*)[7] provides a good example. When asked by friends to publish the play after it was staged, al-Ḥaddād was not welcoming at the beginning; in his introduction to a second edition of the play, posthumously published in 1902, he explains his reasons as follows:

> It has been some time since this *riwāya* (play) was composed and staged. Many friends have been asking me to publish it, but I was opposed to the idea, being aware of its compositional shortcomings and the play's lacking in the requirements of creativity in this field; I was also aware

> that gaffes tolerated on stage, given fast recitation and the rhetoric of acting, would not be overlooked by witty readers and insightful critics.
> (Cited in Isma'īl 2003: 67, my translation)

Al-Ḥaddād confirms that he published the play at the end but explains that he first had to "rectify it", "make up for the gaffes" necessitated by acting and rewrite some parts in line with the conventions of published composition (cited in Isma'īl 2003: 68, my translation).

The dominant position occupied by Ḥijāzī and his troupe in the field of theatre production during the 1910s was the result of meeting the expectations of mainstream theatre goers at the time. Consumers of theatre at that time expected Shaykh Salāma to sing more than to act, to represent good and valiant characters in plays of a heroic or adventurous nature. These expectations constituted an implicit contract between the producers and consumers of musical theatre at the time, and when they were not met, economic success was not guaranteed. Ḥijāzī 's staging of a play entitled *Ibn al-Sha'b* (*Son of the People*), a translation by Faraḥ Anṭūn thought to be of Alexandre Dumas, fils' *Le Fils Naturel*, does illustrate the point. This play did not achieve success, running for no more than two nights (Isma'īl 2003: 75), and did not attract the attention of theatre reviewers at the time. Isma'īl (ibid.: 76) suggests that this failure was due to a number of reasons, the most important of which is the lack of mono-rhyming verses in the translation and the fact that Ḥijāzī sang no more than 25 verses throughout the five acts of the play.

Ḥijāzī continued to present this kind of musical theatre with great success, relying on a number of drama translators who provided him with the play texts which took both his capabilities as a singer and the taste of consumers of mainstream theatre at the time into account. His success was also due to the support he received from most theatre reviewers during this period. However, towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, dissident voices from within the field of theatre criticism, which had already begun to take shape, criticized the musical theatre of Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī and the kind of drama translation it produced. In a theatre review published in *al-Akhbār* newspaper in 1909, an anonymous reviewer evaluated the then current condition of Arab theatre, directing most of his criticism to the musical theatre of Salāma Ḥijāzī and the kind of drama translations it encouraged:

> As for the *riwāyāt* [plays] produced in the above mentioned [Arabic] language, none of these is worth mentioning since they are nothing but trivial and meaningless *riwāyāt*. It is true that some writers translated some works of Shakespeare, Corneille and Hugo; but these translations were written only to be given to Shaykh Salāma to distort with his bad acting or to sing a few verses in them, nothing more.
> (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998c: 203, my translation)

The significance of this criticism is that it reiterated a new theatrical taste, at least among intellectuals, as regards what theatre is, its modes of production and, most importantly, the ways in which theatre makers should approach translated play texts.

The emergence of new voices in the field of theatre criticism who expressed their disillusion with the musical theatre presented by Salāma Ḥijāzī led to the undermining of his authority in the field of theatre production and ultimately contributed to the re-hierarchization of the field. In 1909, the same year this sharp critical comment was made about Ḥijāzī 's theatre, he became paralysed during the troupe's summer tour to the Levant. From 1909 until his death in 1917, Ḥijāzī still maintained a presence in the field of theatre production, although on a very limited scale, through singing between acts, managing troupes and making partnerships with other troupes. The declining influence of Salāma Ḥijāzī and the mode of theatre production he represented in late 1910s left a vacuum in the field of theatre production at the time. Although other troupes which offered musical theatre emerged and achieved success during the second decade of that century, it became clear that another mode of theatre production was needed—a mode that could meet the expectations of a new generation of intellectuals and theatre reviewers. This was achieved through the theatrical contributions of another prominent figure in the history of Egyptian theatre, namely Jurj Abyaḍ. Abyaḍ's theatrical career, which began in 1910, led to the creation of a new 'position' in the field of theatre production at the time. Musical theatre was no longer the only theatrical product available for theatre consumers after Abyaḍ started producing what was later designated 'al-tamthīl al-fannī' (artistic acting)[8] (Taymūr 1973: 87) or '*al-tamthīl al-jiddī*' (serious theatre)[9] ('Īd 1962: 133).

1.2 Jurj Abyaḍ and the Rise of 'Serious Theatre'

Abyaḍ was born in Beirut in 1880 and moved to Egypt in 1898, where he lived until the end of his life. In 1904 he managed to secure a stipend from Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī II to study acting at the Paris Conservatoire. His talent for acting tragic roles was polished when he practised professional acting with his French teacher, Sylvain, for a whole year in the latter's troupe (Abyaḍ 1970: 109). On his return to Egypt in 1910 he brought with him a troupe of French actors with whom he presented performances to the French community and French-educated Egyptians in Egypt. The premiere of his French performances took place on April 12, 1910, when he presented Corneille's *Horace* (ibid.: 114) at the old Opera House. Abyaḍ continued to stage tragedies for two years. Meanwhile, he was encouraged by nationalist leader Sa'd Zaghlūl to stage his plays in Arabic. Zaghlūl, who served as education minister from 1906 to 1910, had at the top of his agenda the arabization of educational curricula and found in the gifted, well-educated Abyaḍ and the kind of respectable theatre he offered a viable means for promoting this policy of arabization (ibid.: 115).

In response to Zaghlūl's request, Abyaḍ started looking for play texts in Arabic that he could put on stage. The play texts available at the time did not meet the requirements of Abyaḍ, who was aiming to present a form of theatre different from the then popular musical theatre championed by Salāma Ḥijāzī. In 1911, he commissioned renowned Egyptian and Levantine writers of the day to translate world theatre classics. The majority of these writers, such as Khalīl Muṭrān, were translating theatre for the first time, whereas some had already produced translations for the stage. The latter included Faraḥ Anṭūn[10] and Ilyās Fayyāḍ.[11] In its issue of April 27, 1911, *Al-Akhbār* newspaper reported that Jurj Abyaḍ had been trying to commission "the great poets and writers" to translate plays into "Classical Arabic" (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998d: 23, my translation). The same newspaper reported later that Jurj Abyaḍ managed to reach agreements with a group of writers who would arabize a number of dramatic works, and among these writers, the name of 'Khalīl Effendī Muṭrān' was mentioned as the would-be translator of *Othello* (ibid.: 29). The reporter was also keen to mention that Abyaḍ commissioned a specialist in *'ilqā'* (declamation), Filīb Effendī Makhlūf, who would "instruct and train actors on how to declaim properly in Arabic" (ibid.). This news item tells us a number of interesting things about this newcomer to the field of theatre production in Egypt: first, Jurj Abyaḍ disapproved of the quality of existing translations and sought new translations that followed different norms; second, he contacted first-rate translators and men of letters to produce these translations; third, Abyaḍ sought to distance himself from troupes which compromised classical literary Arabic for the sake of appealing to the largest sector of the audience; fourth, by not mentioning anything about singing in his early performances, Abyaḍ was arguably trying to distance himself from the then popular musical theatre of Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī.

The plays Abyaḍ first presented with his troupe initiated a new mode of theatre production; they underlined the distinct position which Abyaḍ had tried since his return from France to establish for himself in relation to other troupes that were then active in the field. In March 1912, he opened his first theatrical season with a programme of four plays, one originally written in Arabic and three translated. *Garīḥ Bayrūt* (*Beirut's Wounded Man*) was authored by the poet Ḥāfiz Ibrahīm at the request of the Egyptian government, which asked him to write a verse drama commemorating the military aggression against Lebanon by the Italian forces; this aggression was part of the conflict between Italy and the Ottoman Empire. In this play, Ibrahīm stresses the duty of Arabs to defend the frontiers of their countries against aggressors and uses the play as a tool for political propaganda to promote Pan-Arabism and unity among Arab nations (Abyaḍ 1970: 118). This Pan-Arab sentiment is echoed, as will be discussed later, in Muṭrān's translation of *Othello*, which was premiered by Abyaḍ's troupe on March 30 of the same year; the sentiment, which underlies Muṭrān's depiction of the character of Othello, was clearly expressed in his introduction to the translation

when it was published shortly after being staged. The other two plays were a translation of *Oedipus* by Faraḥ Anṭūn, premiered on March 21, and a translation of Casimir Delavigne's *Louis XI*, premiered on March 25 (ibid.: 119). All four plays were staged at the old Opera House with the support of the khedive of Egypt.

In spite of the elitist nature of his theatre, the first theatrical season for Abyaḍ's troupe was generally successful. It seems that the support of the khedive and the prestige conferred on Abyaḍ by newspapers, which presented him to the public as the first Egyptian who had a degree from France in dramatic arts, formed the symbolic capital that placed Abyaḍ and his troupe in a more advantageous position than other theatre makers. In spite of the absence of any references to singing and comic scenes from newspaper advertisements of Abyaḍ's performances,[12] the performances presented by the troupe during this season were so successful that tickets were almost sold out every night, as *al-Muqaṭam* newspaper reports in its issue dated March 19, 1912 (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998d: 53). Like most newspapers at the time, *al-Muqaṭam* attributed this success to a number of reasons, including Abyaḍ's selection of major classics to be translated by great Arab writers and poets (ibid.).

The theatrical output of Abyaḍ during the 1912 season was not driven by commercial motivations, and the fact that the translators he commissioned did not compromise the generic identity[13] of the original texts in order to appeal to the local Egyptian audience distanced Abyaḍ's troupe from the translation practices associated with the musical theatre of Ḥijāzī and others. Abyaḍ's staging of tragedies during this season without mitigating their dramatic effect by either changing the plot, introducing lyrics for singing or even presenting comic scenes in the intervals positioned his theatre closer to the 'autonomous' mode of cultural production. However, the success Abyaḍ achieved during this season, mainly because of the symbolic capital he had accumulated within a short period of time since he came back from France and the support of the khedive and elite theatre goers, was short lived (Barbour 1935: 178). The sophisticated audience needed for Abyaḍ's 'serious theatre' was not yet large enough to keep his troupe going with the same mode of production for more than one season. It seems that towards the end of his first season, Abyaḍ had already concluded that he could not count on the limited elite audience of Cairo for long-term success. Hence in his second season, which started in September 1912, he tried to reach out to a wider sector of Egyptian audience. To achieve this goal, he deployed a number of strategies. First, he commissioned translations of plays where the leading role was not that of a notable or a person with a high social status as was the case with *Oedipus*, *Louis XI* and *Othello*. He staged for this purpose two texts by Victor Hugo, both translated by Ilyās Fayyāḍ: one was *al-Aḥdab* (*The Hunchback*), a dramatization of *Notre-Dame de Paris*, and the other *Muḍḥik al-Malik* (*The King's Jester*), a translation of *Le Roi s'amuse*. The second strategy Abyaḍ used in order to appeal to a wider

audience involved staging translations in colloquial Egyptian. Still keen on maintaining the position he occupied in the field of theatre production as the producer of serious and artistic theatre, he used the much respected translations of Molière's *L'École des maris*, *L'École des femmes* and *Le Tartuffe* by Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl.

The dilemma which faced Abyaḍ as a new member in the field of theatre, especially after his first theatrical season, was to offer a theatrical product that would at least retain, if not maximize, the symbolic capital he accumulated as the originator and guardian of 'serious theatre' and at the same time secure the economic capital necessary for the survival of his troupe. This dilemma became particularly intense because of the economic crisis induced by the First World War and because of the fierce competition over theatre goers, especially with the increasing number of troupes which joined the field during the second decade of the twentieth century; apart from musical troupes, a significant number of the new troupes offered various forms of comedy which proved to be very attractive to the mainstream theatre audience of the time. Under the pressure of economic crisis and competition with troupes occupying other positions in the field, Abyaḍ had to compromise his position at certain moments of his career. Staging translations in colloquial Egyptian Arabic and producing plays whose leading characters were common people were not the ways in which he compromised his position. On occasion, he had to form partnerships with such leading musical troupes as 'Ukāsha in 1913 and Salāma Ḥijāzī in 1914 (Najm 1956: 155–6). He even tried to sing in an operetta[14] produced by himself and Shaykh Salāma during their partnership, which lasted for two years. He also produced social comedies where he acted modern characters, although these roles were not as successful as his roles in tragedies and histories (Taymūr 1973: 170). Abyaḍ's trajectory during the 1910s continued to swing between 'serious theatre' and semi-commercial theatre. However, despite increasing economic pressure, he always made sure that his programme included a classical piece in every season, especially a tragedy where he could excel as an actor. For example, he produced two translations of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* by Muṭrān in 1917 and 1918, respectively. There is no doubt that the contribution of Jurj Abyaḍ and his troupe during this decade helped introduce significant changes to drama translation. In addition to the considerable number of translations he commissioned during this period, the quality of these translations demonstrates Abyaḍ's determination to produce autonomous or semi-autonomous theatre. When asked about his criteria for play texts that can be put on stage he said:

> In my view, the *riwāya* [play] most appropriate for theatrical acting is one which elevates art above commercialisation and the need to satisfy the desires of the plebs and to appease their instincts; it is one which addresses a problem suffered by people and conceives of a solution for it that both satisfies the intellectual elite and benefits the common people. This is the successful *riwāya* [play] which is appropriate for theatrical

> acting. It does not matter whether this [play] is translated, inspired [by another text] or originally written [for theatre].
>
> (Abyaḍ 1970: 329–30, my translation)

Abyaḍ's criteria for selecting play texts, translated or authored, reveals this problematic which underlies his theatrical productions, namely, the need to maintain the position of the 'serious theatre' which appeals to intellectuals and reaching out, at the same time, to the common Egyptian theatre goer in order to secure the minimum economic profit. Other producers of theatre during this period tried to replicate the same trajectory of Jurj Abyaḍ. A prominent example is that of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rushdī, who was originally an actor in Abyaḍ's troupe and who formed his own troupe in 1917. Rushdī's troupe staged a number of performances based on translated play texts. Rushdī did not achieve significant success, possibly because he did not possess the same symbolic capital accumulated by Abyaḍ.

The three main positions, i.e. musical, serious and comic theatres, which constituted the structure of the field of theatre production during the second decade of the twentieth century, gave rise to different modes of drama translation which will be considered in the following section. Heteronomous modes of drama translation continued to exist, although increasing attempts to distance drama translation from the commercial dictates of theatre production, i.e. to autonomize it, could be identified. Understanding instances of *autonomization* in the field of drama translation during this period, especially as exemplified by Muṭrān's translations of *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*, requires understanding the available positions in the field, the translators occupying them and the practices typical of these positions.

2 THE FIELD OF DRAMA TRANSLATION DURING THE SECOND DECADE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

2.1 New Positions: Expanding 'The Space of Possibles'

The structure of the field of drama translation during the 1910s was influenced by two main developments: an emerging trend of producing drama translations for publication, and the rise of new practices of drama translation in response to the needs of new troupes which emerged in the field of theatre production. In contrast with the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century, which were dominated by the heteronomous mode of drama translation production, the field of drama translation during the 1910s diversified into a number of positions along the continuum of autonomy—heteronomy. These positions can be broadly outlined as follows:

- *Autonomous drama translation*. This position was occupied by translators who conceived of readers rather than spectators as consumers of

their translation product. Thus their practice of drama translation was free from the economic pressures which shaped the field of theatre production. Translators occupying this position introduced and promoted the ideal of 'fidelity' (*al-amāna*) to the source text and its author. Some were keen to elaborate this ideal in prefaces and introductory notes to their translations. Examples of translators who occupied this position during the 1910s include Muḥammd 'Iffat al-Qāḍī, Aḥmad Muḥammd Ṣāliḥ, Muḥammad Ḥamdī and Samī al-Juraydinī. The first two published two different translations of *Macbeth* in 1911 and the latter two published two different translations of *Julius Caesar* in 1912.

- *Semi-autonomous drama translation*. This position was occupied by translators who were commissioned to produce translations for the 'serious theatre' of Jurj Abyaḍ and the troupe of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rushdī. These translations were produced for the theatre but nevertheless managed to retain a considerable degree of autonomy. The generally non-commercial orientation of Jurj Abyaḍ's troupe allowed translators occupying this position some freedom from the dictates of commercial translation. Because translations produced from this position tended to enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy, their translators usually published them after they were staged. Although the ideal of 'fidelity' was flagged by these translators in the published versions of their stage translations, their translation practice demonstrated instances of divergence from the source texts to meet the requirements of theatre. Examples of translators who occupied this position include Khalīl Muṭrān and Faraḥ Anṭūn.
- *Semi-heteronomous drama translation*. This position was occupied by translators who were commissioned to produce translations for the musical troupes operating at the time, particularly the two troupes of Salāma Ḥijāzī and 'Ukāsha. Translators occupying this position prioritized the production of play texts that attended to the capabilities of performers in these troupes, who were mainly singers, and at the same time appealed to the audience who expected a great deal of singing. Whereas translators occupying this position took great liberty with the source texts they translated, a minimum of autonomy was retained. This was signalled by maintaining the general structure of the source play and acknowledging the foreign author. Some of the translations produced by translators occupying this position were published. Examples of translators in this position include Zakī Mabrū, Samī Nawār and 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Dalāwir.[15]
- *Heteronomous drama translation*. This position was occupied by translators/adaptors/writers who were commissioned to produce stage translations inspired by foreign texts for the troupes of comic theatre, a practice known at the time as *iqtibās*. Translators occupying this position fully succumbed to the demands of the audience frequenting these theatres, at the expense of the source texts and their authors. It is indeed often difficult to tell whether the play texts produced by

translators working for these groups are translations, adaptations or original writings. There was often no mention of the original authors and the texts seem to be radically Egyptianized, although their foreign origins, signalled by names and events, can be detected. There is no evidence that plays produced by translators occupying this position were published. Examples of translators occupying this position include 'Azīz 'Īd and Amīn Ṣidqī.

Translators occupying the 'autonomous' pole of the field did not compromise their position and hence did not produce translations revealing features of the other positions. Translations produced from this position did not even attract the attention of theatre makers (whether of serious or musical theatre) who could have adapted them into stage versions. Obviously, producers of serious and musical theatre did not find these translations suitable for stage production. Similarly, translations produced from the heteronomous position were also markedly different from translations produced in the other positions. In contrast with these two poles of the field, the dividing line separating the semi-autonomous and the semi-heteronomous positions is not rigid.

Some translators who produced drama translation from the semi-autonomous position are known to have crossed over and produced translations that were typical of the semi-heteronomous position. Perhaps the best example is the three translators who were commissioned by Jurj Abyaḍ in his first season in 1912, namely, Khalīl Muṭrān, Faraḥ Anṭūn and Ilyās Fayyāḍ. Although these three names were associated with Abyaḍ's 'serious theatre', they are known to have produced at certain moments of their trajectories translations for the troupes presenting musical dramas and comedies at that time. Muṭrān, who translated *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *Merchant of Venice* for Jurj Abyaḍ, is known to have produced only one translation for the 'Ukāsha troupe in 1914 with the Arabic title *Al-Qaḍā' wa al-Qadar* (*Destiny*).[16] In contrast with Muṭrān, Ilyās Fayyāḍ, who translated around six plays[17] for Abyaḍ, including *Louis XI* in 1912, is known to have produced numerous translations for the musical troupes of Iskandar Faraḥ, Salāma Ḥijāzī and 'Ukāsha.[18] Faraḥ Anṭūn also collaborated with the troupes of Ḥijāzī, 'Ukāsha as well as troupes presenting comic theatre.[19] Despite the fact that translators occupying the semi-autonomous and semi-heteronomous positions of drama translation mostly published the staged versions of their translations, their reasons for publication are different from those motivating others who produced drama translation from a clear 'autonomous' position. Publication for translators who subscribed to the autonomous mode of production was a means of freeing their translation practice and product from the economic pressures associated with theatre production; it was also a reiteration of their belief that dramatic texts, especially the classics, constitute a literary genre to be consumed through reading. In publishing their staged versions, translators occupying the semi-autonomous and semi-heteronomous positions probably wanted to preserve

their translations from manipulation by actors and managers of troupes.[20] Translations produced from the semi-autonomous and semi-heteronomous positions, which were in line with the requirements of the leading troupes of musical and serious theatre, were also used by other minor troupes who very often made changes in the translations to suit their own needs, without prior permission of the translator. The aforementioned published version of Najīb al-Ḥaddād's *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayūbi* (*Saladin Ayūbi*) is a case in point. In the introduction to this version, al-Ḥaddād says:

> This *riwāya* [play] has long been circulated by copyists in most Arab troupes in this country. This being the case, it was not safe from distortion and was subject to so much manipulation that I thought it appropriate to bring this to the attention of readers in this published *riwāya* and let them know that this is the version I hope will be used for acting from now on, to avoid the previous errors committed by actors and which have been rectified.
>
> (Cited in Isma'īl 2003: 76, my translation)

Some translators indicated on the covers of their published translations that the rights of "publishing and *acting* are reserved for the arabizer". This is what appeared on the cover of Fatḥī 'Azmī's translation of a Turkish play with the Arabic title *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (*Conquest of Andalusia*), published in 1912 (Isma'īl 2003: 174). As discussed later in this chapter, there are indications that this could be one reason why Muṭrān published his translations of *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* and *Merchant of Venice* after they had been put on stage by Jurj Abyaḍ. In addition to publishing translations in order to preserve the play text produced by the translator from distortion by minor troupes, publishing was sometimes used as a means of publicity for the performance in question. In this case, the translation was published almost simultaneously with the staged version. One example is Ilyās Fayyāḍ's translation of a French play with the Arabic title *'Awāṭif al-Banīn* (*Sons' Passions*) which was published in 1909, simultaneously with its staging by the troupe of Salāma Ḥijāzī. In its issue dated April 3, 1909 the editor of *al-Muqaṭam* newspaper encourages readers to buy the published translation which is available at Dar al-Tamthīl al-'Arabī, the theatre where the play is presented (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998c: 214).

The diversification of the field of drama translation during the 1910s into different positions involving various modes of production attracted new members to the field and also gave rise to new practices.

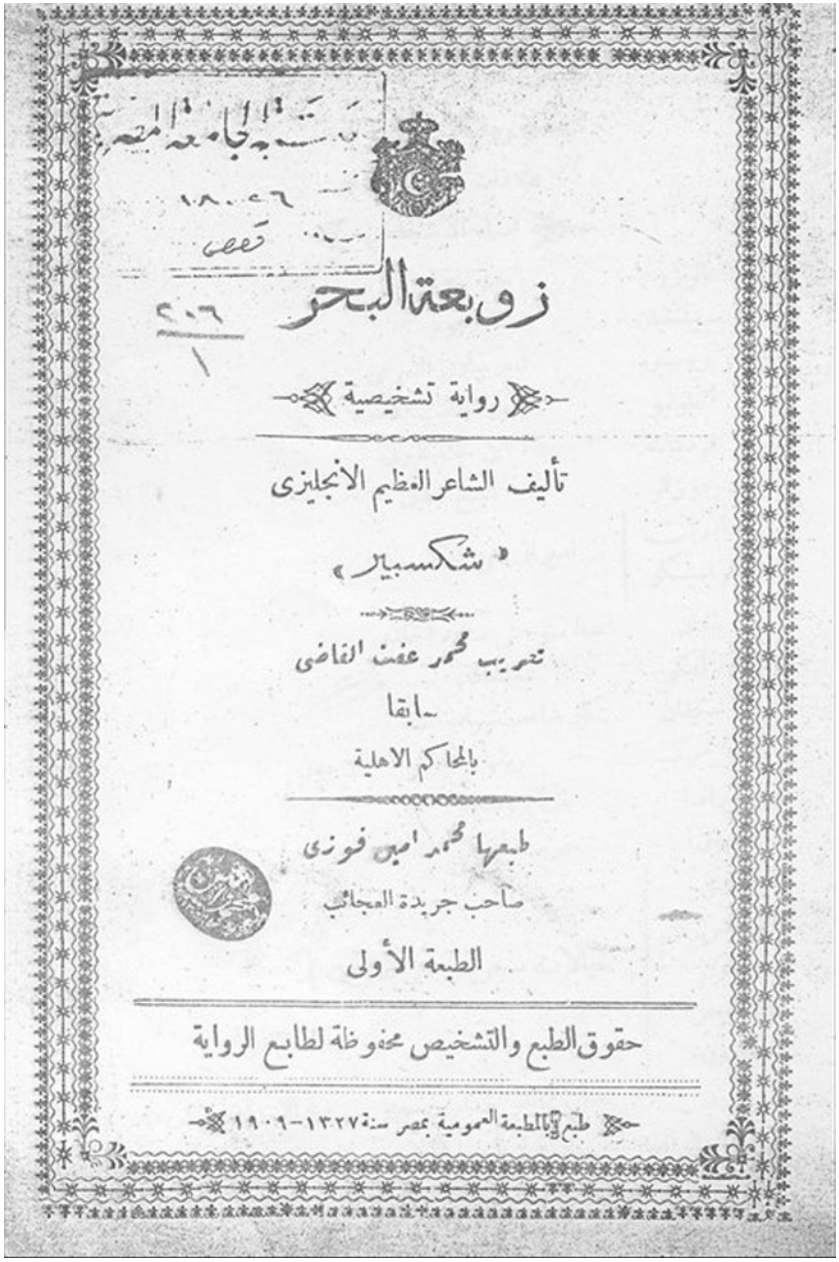
2.2 New Members

Two groups of translators can be identified in the field of drama translation during the 1910s. The first is the same old group of translators who dominated the field of drama translation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

centuries and which included Ṭanyūs 'Abdu. As the case of 'Abdu illustrates, this group depended on translation for a living and usually adopted a large-scale and commercial mode of production. Translators belonging to this group were largely freelance writers and journalists for whom translation was a main source of income. This group mainly operated from the heteronomous and semi-heteronomous positions and, to a lesser degree, from the semi-autonomous position. During the second decade of the twentieth century, a new group of translators emerged. Translators belonging to this group were not economically dependent on translation. They were mainly middle-class professionals who already had jobs as judges, lawyers, university professors, teachers of translation and foreign languages, doctors and government officials.[21] They occupied the autonomous and semi-autonomous positions and, to a lesser degree, the semi-heteronomous position.

Looking for recognition, the newcomers to the field deployed the cultural and social capital they possessed. By flagging their cultural and educational assets and their social resources, especially on the covers of published translations, these new members strove to challenge the authority of the old group whose legitimacy in the field was mainly dependent on the economic success they achieved for the troupes they translated for. Thus, Muḥammad Ḥamdī, a newcomer to the field in 1912, writes under his name on the cover of his published translation of *Julius Caesar* "a teacher of translation at the Higher School of Teachers".[22] Similarly, Fatḥī Bek 'Azmi, the translator of a Turkish play entitled in Arabic *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (*Conquest of Andalusia*), describes himself on the cover of the translation which was published in 1912 as "head teacher and founder of the National Ottoman School".[23] Other newcomers sought to gain recognition by flagging their position in society and the social resources they possessed. Muḥammad 'Iffat describes himself on the cover of the first edition of his translation of *Macbeth* in 1911 as "the son of Khalīl Pasha[24] 'Iffat" and on the cover of his translation of *The Tempest* (1909) as "an ex-judge in civil courts" (see figure 4.1). 'Iffat also invests in his social capital by highlighting his connections with prominent figures of the day: on the cover of his translation of *Macbeth*, he dedicates the translation to the then foreign minister of the Egyptian government (see figure 2.3); and in the short preface to his translation of *The Tempest*, he underlines his connection to the prominent intellectual figure at the time, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdu, when he says that Shaykh 'Abdu endorsed the translation and "encouraged me to publish it" ('Iffat 1909: i). Invoking the support of an intellectual figure such as Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abdu and investing in the social, cultural and religious capital associated with his name established the legitimacy of the translation and consolidated the membership of a newcomer in the field of drama translation.

The emergence of new members in the field injected the field with a new awareness of the process of drama translation and what it entails. This also triggered a tension between the translation practices introduced by the new members and the practices of established members.


زوبعة البحر

رواية تشخيصية

تأليف الشاعر العظيم الانجليزى

« شكسبير »

تعريب محمد عفت القاضى

سابقا

بالمحاكم الاهلية

طبعها محمد امين فوزى

صاحب جريدة المجائب

الطبعة الأولى

حقوق الطبع والتشخيص محفوظة لطابع الرواية

طبع بالمطبعة العمومية بمصر سنة ١٣٢٧-١٩٠٩

Figure 4.1 Front cover of Muḥammad ʻIffat's Arabic translation of *The Tempest* (1909) on which he flags his social and cultural capital as an ex-judge in the Egyptian civil courts.

2.3 Practices in the Field of Drama Translation: Tension Between the 'Old' and the 'New'

The long-standing practices of drama translation and the conceptions underlying them, which dominated the field in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were gradually challenged by new practices and a fresh understanding of what is at stake in drama translation. The debates which arose during the second decade of the twentieth century about translation in general and drama translation in particular demonstrate this new understanding.

Perhaps the most significant debate during this period is the one initiated by Sāmī al-Juraydīnī, himself a newcomer to the field of drama translation, about authorship and translation rights. In 1913, al-Juraydīnī wrote a lengthy article[25] on the topic in *Sarkīs* magazine, published in two consecutive issues. As a lawyer, he approached the issue from a legal perspective and drew the attention of his readers to the fact that Egypt did not have a law that secures intellectual property, in contrast with Europe and America. He emphasized the illegality of copying, imitating and republishing original writings without the prior permission of the author ('Awaḍ 1979: 258). Al-Juraydīnī ultimately wanted to highlight the way in which translators distorted the foreign works they rendered into Arabic. Like his readers, he must have been well aware of the large number of foreign texts (whether plays or fiction) which were translated, arabized or Egyptianzied without even acknowledging the original author. This pioneering article by a young drama translator had implications that went beyond the legal aspect of the issue. Al-Juraydīnī openly condemned a common cultural practice in translation, namely, prioritizing the demands of the cultural market at the expense of original authors and their texts. No wonder, then, that in his translation of *Julius Caesar* (1912), which was his first published translation, he underscored the importance of doing justice to Shakespeare's text. In his preface to this translation, he asserts that he did his best to make the translation "*identical* with the original, in meaning and structure" (cited in Najm 1956: 253, my translation, emphasis added). In the same preface, al-Juraydīnī implies that translating for the stage is responsible for distortions introduced in Shakespeare's texts and hence seeks to disengage the translation of Shakespeare's plays from the factors conditioning theatre production. For him, Shakespeare's plays are not for the "ephemeral pleasure of viewing and hearing", they are rather to be *read* in order for us to "explore the noble meanings and profound thoughts" they contain (ibid.: 252, my translation). In the same vein, Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ writes in the preface to his translation of *Macbeth* (1911) that he did his best to make his arabization "as *identical* as possible to the original" (Salih 1911: 4, my translation, emphasis added). Paying tribute to original authors and texts, especially in relation to iconic figures such as Shakespeare, was a new practice introduced and promoted by the new generation of drama translators,

which included Muḥammad Ḥamdī, Muḥammad 'Iffat and Khalīl Muṭrān, among others. Almost all new members of the field occupying the autonomous position and most members occupying the semi-autonomous position during the second decade of the twentieth century flagged this new practice in prefaces to their published translations.

This norm received increasing support from a rising group of theatre critics and reviewers who showed interest in the realities of drama translation at the time. These critics disapproved of the practices of drama translators working for musical and comic troupes, especially the tendency of these translators to disregard the source text and its author. For their part, the translators justified their distortion of dramatic texts by what was termed at the time 'theatrical *iqtibās*'. The term *iqtibās* was first used in the context of theatre production by Faraḥ Anṭūn, according to Taymūr (1973: 124). As Tawfīq al-Hakīm explains in his book *Ḥayātī* (*My Life*), *iqtibās* literally means "lighting a piece of wood from a fire, hence 'acquisition' or 'adoption'" (cited and translated in Cachia 1990: 37). In the early days of Egyptian theatre, al-Hakīm goes on to say, "theatrical *iqtibās* . . . amounted almost to semi-authorship" (ibid.). The practice of theatrical *iqtibās* by translators and writers was discussed in a series of articles written by Muḥammad Taymūr, a prominent theatre critic and playwright at that time, and published in *al-Sufūr* newspaper in 1920.[26] This series of articles, which was significantly entitled 'The Trial of Playwrights' (*Muḥakamat Mu'alifī al-Riwayāt al-Tamthīliyya*), was written in the form of a fictional trial of playwrights and drama translators who dominated the fields of theatre and drama translation in Egypt at the time. Significantly, the judges and the prosecutor in this fictional trial include all the major foreign playwrights whose texts were used by Egyptian playwrights and translators in one way or another. The judges were Shakespeare, Molière, Corneille, Goethe and Racine, and the prosecutor was the French playwright Edmund Rostand. In these fictional articles, the foreign playwrights are used by Taymūr to draw attention to the textual abuses of foreign plays by Arab drama translators and playwrights. The defendants included such prominent playwrights and translators as Faraḥ Anṭūn, Ibrahīm Ramzī, Luṭfī Jum'a and Khalīl Muṭrān. After outlining his contributions to Egyptian theatre, the prosecutor levels the following charge against Faraḥ Anṭūn:

> But Faraḥ Effendī Anṭūn came up with a new invention he called *iqtibās* [acquisition] . . . He picked the old vaudeville *riwayāt* [plays] and rendered them in a strange, astounding and distorted translation that is half colloquial, half classical, and mixed it with some Syrian jokes . . . to make the audience laugh.
>
> (Taymūr 1973: 124–5, my translation)

The verdict Faraḥ Anṭūn receives in this fictional trial demonstrates the rejection of the new generation of drama translators, together with their allies in

the field of theatre criticism, of this practice. Anṭūn is sentenced to ten years of refraining from *iqtibās*. According to the judges, this was sufficient time for the Egyptian audience to forget this "worthless type" of drama translation (Taymūr 1973: 129). The charges and sentence levelled against Faraḥ Anṭūn in this fictional trial echo an article written in *al-Afkār* newspaper on April 9, 1917, by theatre critic Mikha'īl Armanyūs about Anṭūn's translation of Bizet's *Carmen* for the troupe of Munīra al-Mahdiyya.[27] In this article, Anṭūn is criticized by Armanyūs for his failure to grasp the "intentions of the original playwright" (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 2001: 114, my translation).

In representing foreign playwrights as judges of drama translators, Taymūr meant to establish the long ignored authority of original playwrights in the process of translation and the necessity for drama translators to submit to this authority if they want their translations to gain recognition. As such, Taymūr's series of articles voiced the ideals of a new generation of drama translators. However, these ideals could not be easily put into effect in a field of theatre production that was largely controlled by economic considerations. In contrast with Faraḥ Anṭūn who generally succumbed throughout his trajectory to the economic pressures of theatre production (except for those instances when he produced translations for Jurj Abyaḍ), several translators subscribed to the new ideals and defended them against these pressures. Ḥasan al-Sharīf, who translated Victorien Sardou's *La Tosca* for the troupe of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Rushdī in 1918, is a good example. When al-Sharīf's translation was staged, a number of reviews criticized it, describing it as "incomplete and distorted" (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 2001: 231, my translation). He even received letters from people criticizing him for committing what he blamed other translators for: "infidelity in translation" (ibid., my translation). In response to these reviews and letters, Ḥasan al-Sharīf wrote an article in *al-Ahrām* newspaper on April 22, 1918, where he defended his translation and the translation practices he stood for.[28] He begins his article by admitting that what his critics saw on the stage was nothing but "mere deformation of the interesting tragedy by Victorien Sardou" (ibid., my translation). But he then quickly defends himself as follows:

> I am innocent of all the charges levelled against me. I rendered into Arabic with all commitment to the duty of translation [*naql*] the *riwāya* [play] of *Tosca* with its five acts and six scenes. I give witness before God and all those who read the original and the translation that I did not allow myself to omit any of the events of the *riwāya* or change any of its happenings; I did not manipulate any of the author's ideas, nor any of his meanings or expressions.
>
> (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 2001: 232, my translation)

Al-Sharīf then points out that he gave the translation, which he completed "with all care, faithfulness and caution" (ibid., my translation), to the

troupe of Rushdī after it was passed by the censorship department without omissions. Although Rushdī Effendī, the troupe's manager, promised to stage the translation as it was, it was eventually distorted on stage. In his criticism of the troupe's approach to the translation, al-Sharīf highlights two obstacles which stood in the way of the new generation of translators who strove to follow the new ideal of 'fidelity': disregard for the authority of the original playwright and the unfavourable effect of economic pressures on the production of drama translation. The troupe justified their omission of one-third of act one and a large part of act three by claiming that these parts were unnecessary and boring and would not be understood by the Egyptian audience. They also justified omitting all of act two by saying that "it would cost them three pounds to buy costumes needed for the actors" in this act (ibid., my translation). Al-Sharīf condemns this way of thinking about theatre production and concludes by saying that commercializing arts can only lead to debased art products.

The emerging call to 'maintain closeness to the source text' and honour the 'intentions of the original playwright' did not only generate new translation practices, but it also created a problematic which influenced both the ensuing debates about drama translation and the work of drama translators themselves, especially those occupying a semi-autonomous position in the field. The problematic that practitioners of drama translation at the time needed to resolve is posed by the following question: how can 'fidelity' to the playwright's intentions be maintained while at the same time producing a translation that is accessible to theatre goers of the day? Drama translators during that time tried to resolve the problematic in ways that were compatible with their position. Feeling free from the economic pressures of theatre production, translators occupying the autonomous position tended to resolve the problematic in favour of 'fidelity' while maintaining a minimum of acceptability for an audience of educated readers. Translators occupying the semi-heteronomous and heteronomous positions generally tended to resolve the problematic in favour of accessibility. To achieve the highest degree of acceptability, these translators, who worked for musical and comic troupes, generally employed 'adaptation' as a means of suppressing the 'foreignness' of source texts. However, the versions produced by these translators were usually condemned as a tasteless blend of opposites. Mikha'īl Armanyūs's criticism of Amīn Ṣidqī's adaptation of a text by Maupassant for the troupe of 'Ukāsha and 'Īd[29] is a case in point. Armanyūs described Ṣidqī's adaptation in the following terms:

> The social theme of this *riwāya* he [Amīn Ṣidqī] took from Maupassant and then tried to relate its happenings to the peasants of a village in the town of Dusūq . . . He thus damaged the *riwāya* [play] of the author after he made it into a deformed concoction of Western and Oriental customs. He [the author] was thus like someone dressed in foreign clothes with a Moroccan pair of slippers. He [Ṣidqī] neither produced

> the *riwāya* according to its original taste nor did he make the adaptation relevant to the customs of Egyptians living in Northern Egypt.
> (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 2000: 247, my translation)

It was the translators occupying the semi-autonomous position, however, who faced the most difficult challenge. They were expected to achieve a high degree of closeness to the source text and at the same time produce a play that met the minimum requirements of theatre production and consumption. Khalīl Muṭrān's translations of *Othello*, *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* for the Jurj Abyaḍ troupe provide an illustrative example of the way translators in the semi-autonomous position addressed this problematic. Against the backdrop of the different positions in the field of drama translation and the problematic facing translators in all these positions, the following section will discuss Muṭrān's translations, with particular emphasis on *Othello*.

3 KHALĪL MUṬRĀN: *HABITUS*, TRAJECTORY AND TRANSLATIONS

The early education, socialization and events which formed the *habitus* of the Lebanese-born poet Khalīl Muṭrān (1872–1949) help shed light on the translation decisions he made when he started drama translation in 1912. Two important factors in his early education seem to have affected his practice in the field of drama translation. The first was his early affiliation with French culture through the French education he received at the Roman Catholic Patriarchate College in Beirut, and the second was the distinguished Arabic training he was given by the Lebanese linguist and language reformer Ibrahīm al-Yazijī (1847–1906). His affiliation with the French language and culture was strengthened when he spent two years in Paris from 1890 to 1892. His training in Classical Arabic with al-Yazijī developed into a lifelong infatuation with and commitment to the poetics of classical literary Arabic. His defence of Arabic as a marker of a Pan-Arab identity was motivated by his avowed opposition to Turkish as an emblem of the Ottoman authority. It was because of this opposition that Muṭrān was persecuted by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's police, who accused him of plotting against the sultan's rule in Ottoman territories (Khouri 1971: 141). Eventually, he had to leave Beirut and flee to Paris, and from there he went to Egypt where he stayed until the end of his life. Muṭrān's translation of four of Shakespeare's plays through the French into classical literary Arabic demonstrates the influence of his *habitus*-forming education and experience on his translation practice.

Muṭrān's trajectory in the fields of cultural production in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is also revealing of both his *habitus* and the conditions of cultural production in Egypt during that time. Apart

from drama translation, he contributed to such diverse fields as fiction translation, journalism and poetry. He also worked as a theatre administrator when he was appointed in 1935 as artistic and general director of the then newly founded National Theatre (Abyaḍ 1970: 287).

Muṭrān translated fiction from French as early as 1894, although with a small-scale production compared to his drama translation output.[30] The fact that he did not practise drama translation until 1912, when he was asked by Jurj Abyaḍ to produce a translation of *Othello* to be staged in Abyaḍ's first season of Arabic plays, is important for understanding his translation practice and the position he later occupied in the field of drama translation. Unlike fellow Levantines, who made considerable contributions to drama translation at the time, Muṭrān chose not to produce translations of plays. As Ṣidqī (1960: 50) suggests, the chaotic status of drama translation in turn-of-the-century Egypt was not inviting for someone with the linguistic and literary calibre of Muṭrān. Thus when he was first asked to translate *Othello* for Abyaḍ, he was hesitant to accept the offer. He eventually agreed to do the translation after he saw Abyaḍ and his troupe rehearsing *Oedipus* and admired their performance, as he explains in his introduction to the published translation of *Othello* (Muṭrān 1912a).

In addition to *Othello*, Muṭrān translated two of Shakespeare's tragedies, *Macbeth* in 1917 and *Hamlet* in 1918; he also translated *Merchant of Venice* in 1922. Although he mentions in the introduction to his translation of *Merchant of Venice* that he translated eight of Shakespeare's plays, only these four are attributed to him in the literature. The five years separating Muṭrān's first and second translations for Jurj Abyaḍ and the four years separating his third and fourth translations can probably be explained by his disappointment with the sad realities of both drama translation and theatre production at the time. Taymūr suggests in his fictional articles on the trial of playwrights and translators that Muṭrān was so unhappy with the performance of some actors in *Othello* that he had to delay taking up the following translation project. Taymūr also suggests that other minor troupes hijacked Muṭrān's translations and used them to serve their commercial interests. This motivated Muṭrān to publish his translations within short periods of their first staging in order to protect them from manipulation by these minor troupes (Taymūr 1973: 145–6).

In contrast with Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's and Najīb al-Ḥaddād's translations of Shakespeare's plays, Muṭrān's translations reveal a higher degree of closeness to the source texts. Although there are no significant interpolations in the form of mono-rhyming verses for singing or major changes of the thematic structure as was the case with previous translators, Muṭrān tended to leave out some scenes for reasons to do with the requirements of theatrical production. He makes this clear in the introduction to his published translation of *Hamlet*, where he says that he turned the five acts of Shakespeare's text into four. This introduction offers a good example of the problematic underlying the semi-autonomous position in the field of drama

translation: maintaining a high degree of faithfulness and achieving a degree of accessibility required for theatre production. On this Muṭrān says:

> I translated this story as it is in the original. However, to make its beauties stand out in Arabic acting, it was thought that its scenes should not be kept as they are in the original, because they are too lengthy in terms of time and the requirements of modern acting . . . Everything included in the dialogue that implies . . . noble meanings was translated literally and thoroughly. Some unusual talk included in the dialogue, which did not fall within the core theme, was unanimously thought by the artists in charge to be better left out of the *riwāya*. This would be more appropriate for acting and more effective for the spectators.
>
> (Muṭrān 1918/1976: 5)

The statement Muṭrān makes about his translation in this introduction underscores the compromise needed by translators occupying the semi-autonomous position of drama translation in order to resolve the aforementioned problematic. However, attributing all omissions to the 'requirements of acting' cannot be taken at face value. For instance, the omission of the initial scene of the witches in *Macbeth* and playing down the presence of the witches in other scenes could be attributed to self-censorship, possibly exercised by the translator or the troupe of Abyaḍ as a result of, reported during that time, plays representing witchcraft. In 1913, the ministry of interior banned a performance by the troupe of Jurj Abyaḍ based on a translation by Faraḥ Anṭūn of Victorien Sardou's *The Witch*. The play was reported to have provoked complaints from heads of religious communities (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998d: 100).

Maintaining a high degree of closeness to the source text, or claiming to do so, was not the only means of asserting the semi-autonomous position of Muṭrān's translation. He achieved a high degree of autonomy by grounding his linguistic choices in political and nationalist, rather than economic, motivations. Muṭrān's published translation of *Othello* and his introduction to it reveal to us a translator who distances himself from the colloquial translations of comic theatres and the half-colloquial-half-classical translations of musical theatre. For Muṭrān, opting for Classical Arabic in his translation of *Othello* serves a great political cause that lifts his translation well above the commercially oriented translations occupying the heteronomous and semi-heteronomous positions. The following section focuses on Muṭrān's translation of *Othello* and the way he politicizes his choice of Classical Arabic as a medium in order to assert the autonomy of his translation. The symbolic power of Classical Arabic and the political implications it has for a proposed Pan-Arab identity further assert the autonomy of Muṭrān's translation of *Othello* from the economic dictates of theatre production at the time.

3.1 Asserting the Autonomy of Drama Translation: Othello in Classical Arabic

In the introduction to his translation of *Othello*, Muṭrān reveals a striking awareness of the connection between language and national identity; he asks which language variety and style would be most suitable for his translation: "would it be that patchy style where the standard is blemished by the rags of the vernacular?" After a categorical 'no', Muṭrān aggressively attacks Arabic vernaculars: "By God, if I could put my hands on the vernacular, I would have killed it unremorsefully, and this I would have done in revenge for a glory [of the past] that is elevated above all glory . . . and for a nation whose unity has been shattered by its vernaculars" (1912a: 8 my translation).

Standard Arabic, alternatively termed 'Classical Arabic', according to Muṭrān, is not only a means of communication, a function shared by all human languages. It also serves a political as well as a symbolic function: it is capable of both unifying the Arab nations whose unity "had been shattered by the vernaculars", and invoking the glorious past of the Arabs. Most pan-nationalist discourses in the Arab Middle East have always been aware of this symbolic function of Standard Arabic and have hence raised their stakes for the Standard against the vernaculars. Suleiman (2003: 10) rightly notes that it is through Standard Arabic that "nationalism in the Arab Middle East can define for itself a usable past, a source of tradition and authenticity which can enable it to stand its ground in relation to other nationalisms inside and outside its immediate geographical context". This accounts for the marginality of territorial nationalist projects which distanced themselves from the Standard and hence from the Arab past (ibid.). The remarkable presence of the 'glorious past', as instantiated by the poetics of Standard Arabic, is not only identifiable in Muṭrān's translations but also marks a major component of his overall poetic project. In his introduction to the first volume of his *Diwān*, published in 1908, Muṭrān describes his experience and understanding of poetry as follows:

> I followed the example of the pre-Islamic Arabs in adapting . . . to the spontaneity of their thoughts and innermost feelings, and I met the needs of my own age by the use of bold wording and phraseology. I have no fear of occasionally employing unconventional language and metaphor, but, at the same time, I safeguard the fundamental and basic rules of the language.
>
> (Cited and translated in Khouri 1971: 144)

Embracing the poetics of pre-Islamic Arabic is what makes Muṭrān in his translation of *Othello* keen to remove not only traces of the vernacular but also traces of foreignness. He adopts a strategy of 'arabization' (*ta'rīb*)[31] by means of which Shakespeare's text is given a distinctive Arab character. This

strategy is enacted at more than one level. First, Muṭrān arabizes the source on which Shakespeare drew in writing his text. In other words, he maintains that the story of the Moor is originally an Arabic story, which Shakespeare must have read in Arabic or in translation (Muṭrān 1912a: 7), and hence in arabizing *Othello*, Muṭrān is simply redeeming it into the language and tradition from which it was dispossessed: "I approached this play", he says, "to arabize it, as if I am intending to retrieve it into its origin" (ibid.: 8, my translation). The interesting thing here is the shifting of positions by means of which Shakespeare's text becomes a translation, whereas Muṭrān's 'arabization' occupies the place of the source text. This *de-hierarchization* of the relation between the Shakespearean source text and the 'arabized' version is further asserted when Muṭrān claims that the name of the title hero must have been the deformed Anglicization of an originally Arabic name. Thus when Muṭrān renders Othello into 'Uṭayl he claims that he is rectifying the name used by Shakespeare into its correct Arabic original (ibid.: 3–4). The strategy of arabization is extended a step further: Muṭrān arabizes not only the source of Shakespeare's plot and the name of the title hero, but he also arabizes Shakespeare himself: "In Shakespeare's soul", he says, "there is definitely something of an Arab . . . in all he writes, in general, there is something of the spirit of Bedouins, something grounded in the constant return to the free instinct" (ibid.: 7–8, my translation).

The strategy of arabization is worked out in the discourse of translation mainly through the character of Othello and the characteristic language he uses. Classical Arabic, with its almost archaic diction[32] and highly polished and stylized structures, is the medium of Othello's discourse. Muṭrān imbues Othello's address to the Venetian Senate (I, iii), where he explains how Desdemona willingly gave him her heart, with all the qualities of an enchanting Arab storyteller. His arabization is easily detected in this scene:

> Othello: And little of this great world can I speak
> More than pertains to feats of broil and battle,
> And little shall I grace my cause
> In speaking for myself.
>
> (*Othello*. I, iii, 87–90)[33]

In Muṭrān's translation the lines are rendered as follows:

> عطيل: وفيما عدا وقائع الحرب والجِلاد لا أجد شيئاً ينطلق به لساني إلا اليسير من أحوال هذا العالم الواسع فإذا دافعت عن نفسي فلا قِبلَ لي بتحلية الدفاع ولا خشية عليكم من *تأثير محسناتي اللفظية*.
>
> 'Uṭayl: Apart from the feats of broil and battle, I find little that my tongue can utter of the conditions of this huge world, and if I speak for myself, I cannot *sweeten* my defence, *and there is no need to worry about the effect of my rhetorical devices on you*.[34]
>
> (Muṭrān 1912b: 29–30, emphasis added, my translation)[35]

In addition to the use of such lexical items as 'tongue' and expressions such as 'sweeten my defence', the interpolated sentence "and one should not worry about the effect of my rhetorical devices on you" gives the impression that Othello's power lies in his discourse and that he is capable of relating to others and manipulating them through the unusual effects of his language. Muṭrān's translation subverts the presuppositions of Shakespeare's text: substituting 'defence' in the translation for 'cause' places the arabized Othello in the position of a powerless victim and projects him as an Arab defendant in a Western court. However, the seemingly powerless character insinuates himself into the position of the powerful by way of a weapon that his jurors lack: 'sweetened' discourse and 'rhetorical devices'. Muṭrān's translation highlights the power of language as a means for shifting positions from object to subject, from a defendant who must respond to his judges' questions to a rhetorician whose language tricks are capable of controlling his audience. Throughout the play, Muṭrān maintains for Othello this powerful discourse, which remains stylized, heroic and consistent, even at those moments when Othello, in Shakespeare's text, seems to lose control over his discourse. In act IV, scene I, when Othello finally falls prey to Iago's insinuations that Desdemona committed adultery with Cassio, his discourse changes into a series of questions and exclamations that he addresses to Iago. When Iago answers Othello's question about what Cassio did, using the single punning word 'lie', Othello's response, in Shakespeare's text, is as follows:

> Othello: Lie with her? lie on her? We say lie on her
> When they belie her! Lie with her, zounds, that's
> Fulsome!—Handkerchief! Confessions! Handkerchief!
> (*Othello*. IV, i, 35–7)

In Muṭrān's translation the three lines are rendered into the following line:

> عطيل: معها . . . بقربها . . . خطبٌ رائع. المنديل . . . الإقرارات . . . المنديل.
>
> 'Uṭayl: With her . . . close to her . . . terrifying matter. The handkerchief . . . the confessions . . . the handkerchief.
> (Muṭrān 1912b: 115)

In order to avoid Othello's bewilderment at the punning in Iago's 'lie', Muṭrān translates it as *bāta* (spent the night). Overlooking the pun in the English word 'lie' helps to maintain Othello's control over his discourse. He does not have to look for answers from Iago. In Shakespeare's text, the punning 'lie' shatters Othello's discourse and makes him dependent on someone else's in order to make sense of what is going on. By contrast, Othello's discourse in Muṭrān's translation is self-sufficient. The arabized Othello does not need explanations from the outside; traces of questioning

and exclamation are removed from his discourse. Not only does the arabized Othello maintain control over his discourse, but his language also remains ennobled, poetic and distanced from the profanity suggested by such expressions as 'lie with her' and 'lie on her'.

Foregrounding the Pan-Arab identity of Othello by endowing him with the symbolic power of Classical Arabic is effected in Muṭrān's translation at the expense of other non-Arab identities that show up in Shakespeare's text. In arabizing *Othello*, Muṭrān leaves out all references to religions and ethnicities. He omits references to heathen gods and Christian oaths. For instance, in act IV, scene II, when Othello confronts Desdemona with his suspicions and asks, "Are you a strumpet?", her answer is, "No, as I am a *Christian*" (*Othello*. IV, ii, 84, emphasis added). In Muṭrān's translation, this becomes:

عطيل: ألست عاهرة؟
ديدمونة: لا والذي خلقني متقية.

'Uṭayl: Are you not a whore?
Daydamuna:[36] No, by He who created me a devout woman.
(Muṭrān 1912b: 131)

Muṭrān even avoids direct references to the 'Turks' or 'Ottomans' as 'enemy'. In act I, scene III, the duke of Venice says to Othello:

Duke: Valiant Othello, we must straight employ you
Against the general enemy Ottoman.
(*Othello*. I, iii, 49–50)

Muṭrān renders this as follows:

الدوق: يجب علينا يا عطيل الباسل أن نستعين بك عاجلًا علي عدو الوطن.

Duke: Valiant 'Uṭayl, we must straight employ you against the enemy of the country.
(Muṭrān 1912b: 28)

There were still then a large number of families in Egypt who came from a Turkish background and who still had some affiliation with their culture of origin; these included the family of the renowned Egyptian poet Aḥmad Shawqī, who was still alive at the time. Referring to these families as 'enemy' would have undermined Muṭrān's inclusive agenda of Arabism.

Muṭrān's vision of a homogenizing and inclusive Arabism, founded mainly on Standard Arabic as the common bond among the Arabs, prioritizes the collective identity over individual, regional, ethnic as well as religious identities. This vision is embedded in his translation. No wonder,

then, that when the cultural committee of the Arab League launched a project for translating Shakespeare's complete works into Arabic in the mid-1950s, it did not commission a translation of *Othello*; the committee found in Muṭrān's translation an actualization of Arabism, which featured at the top of the Arab League's political and cultural agenda.

It was Muṭrān's political agenda, flagged in the preface to his version of *Othello* and deployed through the translation, which ushered in a new era of Shakespeare translation into Arabic. This agenda and Muṭrān's avowed commitment to the ideal of 'fidelity' to the author set Muṭrān's translations apart from what was seen by translation and theatre historians as commercially driven translations of Shakespeare.

The next chapter looks into attempts by later translators to challenge the authority of Muṭrān and the canonicity of his translations. Together with other translation cases, the next chapter explores the socio-cultural issues surrounding *retranslation* and the conceptual tools inspired by Bourdieu's sociology which lend themselves to the description and interpretation of retranslation.

NOTES

1 Apart from the troupe of Salāma Ḥijāzī, which occupied the dominant position in the field of theatre production at the time, only three other main troupes survived into the first decade of the twentieth century: the troupes of Iskandar Faraḥ, Sulaymān Ḥaddād and Sulaymān al-Qirdāḥī. There were also minor local troupes in small towns and villages, in addition to occasional troupes organized by charity associations, social clubs and schools as well as foreign troupes which presented seasonal performances. For details of these troupes, see Isma'īl (1998, 2003). Besides the fact that these troupes presented their performances to small audiences and did not attract much attention from theatre reviewers at the time, they did not commission new translations; they merely reproduced already existing translations, hence the decision to exclude these troupes from the current study.

2 Ḥijāzī, who was born in Alexandria to a sailor father and a Bedouin mother, started his life as a *muezzin* and then as a reciter of the Qur'an in private houses. His interest in theatre made him frequent the performances presented by the European troupes which used to visit Egypt at the time. In Cairo and before he joined the troupe of Iskandar Faraḥ, he worked for the Sulaymān al-Qirdāḥī troupe for a few years. For a more detailed biographical note on Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī, see Barbour (1935: 177) and Goldschmidt Jr. (2000: 77).

3 Ḥijāzī composed music for all the songs he presented on stage.

4 Barbour (1935: 176) mentions that after Ḥijāzī left, Faraḥ formed a new troupe which attempted to present theatre without music, although the experience did not achieve much success.

5 The premiere of this performance was announced in *Miṣr* newspaper on November 11, 1905, and was briefly mentioned in *al-Waṭan* newspaper on November 14, 1905. It was reviewed in *al-Waṭan* on November 17, 1905. See *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* (1998b: 231–3).

6 For a detailed biography of both Najīb and Amīn al-Ḥaddād, see Yusuf (1969/2001: 469–76).

7 This play was first staged by Faraḥ's troupe in 1894, when Ḥijāzī was still a member of the troupe, and it was later restaged on February 16, 1905, by Ḥijāzī 's new troupe (Isma'īl 2003: 65). It is not clear whether it was al-Ḥaddād's own creation or an adaptation of some other foreign source. In his dedication of the play in its published form, al-Ḥaddād mentions that it is not an arabization, whereas in his introduction to the second edition he says that he relied on some historical material in writing the play. Because it was a common practice among translators at the time to adapt plays and fiction from foreign sources and attribute these works to themselves, it is not possible to tell whether the 'historical material' al-Ḥaddād refers to consisted of books on history or literary pieces on historical events. For a detailed citation of both al-Ḥaddād's dedication of the published play to his uncle, linguist and reformist Ibrahīm al-Yazijī (1847–1906), and his introduction to the second edition, see Isma'īl (2003: 66–8).

8 Taymūr, a playwright, theatre critic and short story writer who was contemporary to developments in the Egyptian theatre during the first two decades of the twentieth century, used this term in contradistinction with '*al-tamthīl al-la-fannī*' (non-artistic theatre), which denotes both musical and slapstick theatre.

9 This term is used in contradistinction with *al-tamthīl al-hazlī* (slapstick theatre), which was in vogue in the 1910s.

10 Faraḥ Anṭūn is exemplary of a group of translators who were capable of translating drama in ways that would appeal to different theatre troupes, including troupes presenting 'serious' theatre or others presenting musical or comic theatre.

11 In its issue on July 1, 1911, *Al-Akhbār* newspaper reported that Jurj Effendī Abyaḍ "sent for Ilyās Effendī Fayyāḍ [who was living abroad at that time] to help with the selection of foreign *riwayāt* (plays) that are worth acting in this country and to help with translating them into Arabic". The newspaper adds, "he [Abyaḍ] wrote asking him [Fayyāḍ] to come back and he proposed an agreement with him" (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998d: 27, my translation).

12 These ingredients always featured prominently in advertisements by troupes presenting comedy and musicals at the time.

13 Some changes were made in the translations, but these did not amount to distorting the generic character of the source texts, as was the case, for instance, with Ṭanyūs 'Abdu's translation of *Hamlet*.

14 This was based on a translation of Corneille's *Horace*. Abyaḍ's attempt to sing was badly received by critics and audience. For a critical review of this performance, see the article published in *al-Afkār* newspaper on October 4, 1915, and reprinted in *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī,* vol. 6 (1998: 270–1).

15 For details of the troupes of musical theatre and the translators/writers who worked for them, see Isma'īl (2003: 61–388).

16 In the theatre programme of this performance, which was premiered on March 22, 1914, the play was described as a travesty (*mu'āraḍa*) with four acts by Khalīl Effendī Muṭrān (Isma'īl 2003: 175). Whereas the original play on which this travesty is based is not known, newspapers during this year referred to it as an arabization (*ta'rīb*) by Khalīl Muṭrān. See the advertisement published in *al-Mu'ayyad* newspaper, dated December 5, 1914, in *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī*, vol. 6 (1998: 184).

17 See the list of translated and authored plays which were staged by the troupe of Jurj Abyaḍ in Abyaḍ (1970: 380–5).

18 In an advertisement on the 'Ukāsha troupe published in *al-Akhbār* newspaper on August 30, 1911, Ilyās Fayyaḍ is said to have promised to arabize a play for the troupe every month. Fayyāḍ is also known to have translated one play, *Laylat al-Zifāf* (*Wedding Night*), for the comic troupe of 'Azīz 'Īd in 1915. See *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 6 (1998d: 268).
19 See how Faraḥ Anṭūn is represented in Taymūr's fictional trial of the playwrights and drama translators working at that time, discussed in section 2.3.
20 This also applies to plays originally written in Arabic for troupes presenting 'serious' and musical theatre. Some authors of these plays wanted to make sure their texts were not distorted by other troupes and hence produced published versions of their scripts at later stages.
21 Muḥammad 'Iffat, translator of *The Tempest* (1909) and *Macbeth* (1911), and Ṣāliḥ Bek Gawdat were judges in civil courts, whereas Sāmī al-Jurayḍīnī, translator of *Julius Caesar* (1912) and *Hamlet* (1922/32), Ilyās Fayyāḍ and Isma'īl Wahbī were lawyers. Niqūlā Fayyāḍ, translator of a French play with the Arabic title *al-Khidā' wa al-Ḥub* (Deception and Love, 1912), was trained as a doctor. Examples of university professors include Muḥammad Ḥamdī and Ḥusayn Ramzī. Examples of government officials include Ibrahīm Ramzī, translator of *King Lear* (1932), who worked for some time as a technical translator in the ministry of agriculture, and Khalīl Muṭrān, who worked for some time as secretary to the Agricultural Syndicate, and in 1935 was appointed director of the then newly founded National Theatre.
22 This is also how he was described in an advertisement of the translation published in *Miṣr* newspaper on August 10, 1912. See *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī, vol. 6* (1998: 67). On the cover of the third edition of the translation, published in 1928, he adds to his name the Turkish honorary title 'Bek' and writes underneath "Head of the Higher School of Commerce and previously a teacher of translation at the Higher School of Teachers".
23 See the cover of this published translation in Isma'īl (2003: 174).
24 'Pasha' was a distinguished honorary title granted by the viceroy of Egypt to notables and men of distinction. For the front cover of this translation, see figure 2.3.
25 This article is reported in 'Awaḍ (1979: 258–9).
26 These were collected with other articles in *Ḥayātunā al-Tamthīliyya* (*Our Theatre Life*), which was published in 1973.
27 The article is reproduced in full in *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī*, vol. 8, pp. 113–5.
28 Ibid., pp. 231–3.
29 The troupes of 'Ukāsha and 'Azīz 'Īd formed a short-lived partnership in 1916.
30 He published a translation of two novels, one with the Arabic title *al-Intiqām* (*The Revenge*) whose foreign author is not known and the other was a novel by the French novelist Paul Bourget, translated with the Arabic title *al-Gharīb* (*The Stranger*, ibid). See Ṣidqī (1960: 44).
31 *Ta'rīb* (arabization) and *tamṣīr* (Egyptianization), the two major translation strategies used by translators of literature, and drama in particular, in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, meant, as Cachia (1990: 36) explains, more than using Standard Arabic or the Egyptian vernacular. They both implied domesticating the source text and giving the translation a local colour. However, domestication was not uniformly used by all translators during that period. For instance, whereas 'arabization' for some translators meant radical change of the plot of a dramatic text and the transposition of its thematic structure into an Arab environment, for others 'arabization' was exercised more subtly at the level of language and indirectly through paratextual references, such as prefaces and notes to translations. In contrast with the

first generation of drama translators in Egypt, who manipulated the overall structures of dramatic texts, Muṭrān's arabization was employed mainly at the linguistic and paratextual levels. For a detailed study of the translation strategies of early drama translators in Egypt, see Hanna (2005a).

32 In an act of intralingual translation, Muṭrān frequently elaborates the meanings of archaic words in footnotes.

33 All references to Shakespeare's texts discussed in this study are from the Arden edition. The Arden editions used are *Othello*, edited by E. A. J. Honigmann (1999/2002); *Hamlet*, edited by Harold Jenkins (1982/2001); *King Lear*, edited by R. A. Foakes (1997/2002); and *Macbeth*, edited by Kenneth Muir (1951/2002). It is believed that Muṭrān used a French translation, which he does not specify.

34 It is worth noting that Muṭrān did not write his translation in verse, neither did he use the rhyming prose (*saj'*) which was characteristic of both literary and theatre translations at the time. The only reason that might explain this is that he was producing this translation for the troupe of actor and director Jurj Abyaḍ who, unlike all the other leading actors of the time, was not a singer and did not have a singer in his troupe at the time of staging *Othello*. Rhyming prose and versified speech were characteristic of the stage translations specifically produced for actors-singers such as Shaykh Salāma Hijazī (1855–1917). Although unversified, Muṭrān maintained in his translations all the qualities of classical literary Arabic, at the level of lexis, syntax and style.

35 Because Muṭrān does not use numbered lines in the Arabic translation, I use page numbers.

36 This is Muṭrān's Arabic transliteration of 'Desdemona'.

5 Explaining Retranslation
The Dialectic of 'Ageing' and 'Distinction'

I argued in chapter four that the rise of translators of the calibre of poet Khalīl Muṭrān in the field of drama translation helped introduce new positions into the field and hence injected the activities of drama translation in Egypt with the dynamism characteristic of fields of cultural production as described by Bourdieu. This dynamism found expression not only in the diversification of the field into different positions but also in the diverse range of new translators who joined the field, the new forms of capital which emerged, and the heightened struggle among translators over the legitimization of particular forms of capital.

Another phenomenon which signalled the dynamism of the field of drama translation is the ensuing tension between established and canonical translations on the one hand and new translations by new members of the field on the other. In response to the early translations of Shakespeare's 'great tragedies', a range of retranslations by newcomers were produced with different purposes and effects. Traditional arguments about retranslation are revisited in this chapter and an alternative perspective is suggested whereby the two Bourdieusian concepts of 'distinction' and 'social ageing' of the cultural product are used in order to see retranslation in a different light.

1 RETRANSLATION REVISITED

Discussions of 'retranslation', as Susam-Sarajeva rightly observes, tend to conceive this phenomenon in terms of "a history-as-progress model" (2003: 2). In other words, retranslation is often seen as an act of 'betterment' of an initial translation that is thought to be 'blind' and 'hesitant', as Berman puts it (1990: 5, cited and translated in Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 3). With the benefit of hindsight, the retranslator is generally seen as 'rectifying' the textual deficiencies of the first translation, identifying what these earlier translations failed to identify in the source text. This 'blindness' of earlier translations has one of two senses in discussions on 'retranslation': either the earlier translations were blind to the meaning and stylistic effects of the source text, or they were blind to the needs and expectations of their target readership

(or spectators in the case of drama translation). In the first case, an earlier translation is branded 'adaptive', 'domesticating' or even 'unfaithful' to the source text. In the latter case, the translation is condemned as 'literal' or 'inarticulate'. In both cases, as Susam-Sarajeva suggests, one's understanding of retranslation is "often based on a linear idea of progress" (ibid.: 3). This line of progress "leads either towards the source text, its otherness . . . or towards contemporary readers' imagined expectations" (ibid.). The act of 'betterment', which is associated with 'retranslation', is then seen either as making up for earlier textual deviations from the source text or as producing a text that is more accessible to consumers of translation at a certain point in time. In either case, retranslation is seen as an effect of "a certain kind of 'evolution' in the receiving system" (ibid.) and as a movement towards a textual *telos*, towards a better and more 'accomplished' translation. This teleological view informs many discussions of 'retranslation', as the following quote from Jianzhon (2003: 194) demonstrates:

> The significance of retranslation lies in surpassing. If the retranslation is not better than the former one(s), the retranslation will not be worth a penny, and it will not be encouraged but criticized.

From this teleological perspective, 'retranslation' is often legitimated by a perceived 'ageing' of existing translations. 'Ageing' in this context is usually associated with translations of canonical literary texts (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 2) and refers to an 'outdated' language of translation that fails to meet the linguistic and aesthetic expectations of readers other than its first audience. Explaining 'retranslation' merely in terms of a perceived 'linguistic ageing' of existing translations raises a number of problems for research in this area. The first concerns the fact that "more than one translation of the same source text may come about within a short span of time" (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 5). Whereas Susam-Sarajeva observes that the great majority of retranslations of Roland Barthes's works into Turkish were produced during the relatively short period from 1975 to 1990 (ibid.: 6), Jianzhon identifies at least five Chinese translations of Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* in the period from 1996 to 1998 (2003: 195), which means that more than one translation appeared within the same year. Two similar cases can be identified in connection with the Arabic retranslations of Shakespeare's tragedies. The first is the publication of two different retranslations of *Macbeth* in 1911, one in Cairo by Muḥammad 'Iffat al-Qāḍī and the other in Alexandria by Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ.[1] The second is the publication of two retranslations of *Hamlet*, one by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Qiṭ in 1971 and the other by Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad in 1972. In all these examples, the short periods of time separating the (re)translations do not support the claim that 'linguistic ageing' can offer a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon.

The second problem associated with the notion of 'ageing' concerns the assumption that the more recent the translation, the more accessible it is

to present-time readers and, conversely, the older it is in time, the more obsolete and less accessible. But this is not always true. Perhaps the clearest example is the experiment described by Gideon Toury (1999: 29–30): he exposed a number of subjects to three Hebrew translations of Hemingway's famous short story 'The Killers'. The three translations were published "at almost identical intervals, and not very long ones" (ibid.: 29): the first (A) was published in 1955, the second (B) in 1973 and the third (C) in 1988. The subjects included "complete newcomers to thinking about translation" as well as "experienced translators, teachers of translation and translation scholars" (ibid.). When they were asked to put these translations in the right chronological order, they all gave the following order: versions (A), (C) then (B). When asked to justify this order, the subjects identified a range of linguistic and translation markers which they "seem to have associated with 'typical behaviour' of literary translators into Hebrew at the three different points in time (or at least of its gradual change along time)" (ibid.). Toury concludes from this experiment that whereas "only one of the three translations was appropriate for the time at which it was produced and the expectations of its intended consumers", "two versions were either *ahead of their time* (B) or somewhat *obsolete* (C)" (ibid., emphasis added). Two points can be made in connection with this experiment: first, the real age of a given translation (in terms of the point in history at which it was produced) is not necessarily the same as its perceived age, i.e. the way its consumers perceive it as typical of either 'mainstream', 'avant-garde' or 'outdated' translation strategies. Second, Toury seems to suggest through this experiment that the only criterion on the basis of which translations are judged as 'ahead of time' or 'obsolete', i.e. ageing, is, as he puts it, the range of "semantic, grammatical, syntactic, pragmatic and stylistic markers, as well as translation relationships" which are thought to typify translation behaviour at particular points in time (ibid.). This is partially true and seems to coincide with the general understanding of 'retranslation' mentioned earlier, whereby the 'ageing' of a certain translation is only judged in terms of its language and the way it is perceived by readers. I will come back to Toury's experiment when I discuss an alternative view of 'ageing' in the next sections.

Against this overall tendency to conceptualize the 'ageing' of translations in terms of the mere *outdatedness* of the language used, a few recent attempts have been made to shift the discussion of 'retranslation' to a different level. Pym (1998: 82–3) contends that explaining retranslation in terms of changes in linguistic and aesthetic norms in the target culture is unsatisfactory. For Pym, studying retranslations simply to prove this change is a 'redundant procedure', because change is inherent in language use and hence there is no need to prove it through studying retranslations (ibid.: 83). Retranslations which are motivated merely by changes in target-culture norms are 'passive', according to Pym, by contrast with 'active' retranslations where the motivations for undertaking a new translation tend to be "far closer to the translator, especially in the entourage of patrons, publishers, readers and

intercultural politics" (ibid.). Although the distinction between 'passive' and 'active' retranslations is helpful in challenging the long-held assumption that 'retranslation' is the outcome of the linguistic ageing of existing translations, Pym does not elaborate on the category of 'active retranslation' and does not delineate the motivations for retranslation that are 'closer to the translator'. Apart from suggesting that in 'active retranslation' there exists "active rivalry between different versions" (ibid.: 82), there is no detailed discussion of the nature and mechanisms of this 'rivalry', the ways in which producers of the different versions are involved in this dynamic and the ways in which the different versions fare in the translation market and become canonized or marginalized. Even the examples provided are not particularly revealing of the nature of 'active retranslation'.

In addressing 'retranslation', Venuti (2003), like Pym, emphasizes the idea of rivalry between different versions of one source text. Unlike Pym, however, Venuti sets out to pinpoint the nature of this 'rivalry' in some detail. Although he admits that retranslations "may be inspired primarily by the foreign text and produced without any awareness of a preexisting translation", he finds it more useful to invest in studying retranslations which "possess this crucial awareness and justify themselves by establishing their differences from one or more previous versions" (ibid.: 25). Retranslations, according to Venuti, are based on a negation of, or a challenge to, the interpretation(s) on which previous translations are premised (ibid.: 26). The very decision to produce a new translation of a foreign text marks a claim against the interpretation underlying previous translations, a claim that this interpretation is "no longer acceptable because it has come to be judged as insufficient in some sense, perhaps erroneous, lacking linguistic correctness" (ibid.). The interpretation endorsed and promoted by a retranslation is not dissociated from the social or institutional setting in which the retranslation functions. Through the new competing interpretations they encode, retranslations "are designed deliberately . . . to have particular institutional effects" (ibid.). These effects help to assert the authority of a particular social institution against another or, alternatively, to challenge it "in an effort to change the institution or found a new one" (ibid.). Religious retranslations, for instance, have been used to inscribe sacred canonical texts with interpretations that buttress, or subvert, the institutionalized interpretation. In this context, Venuti cites the example of the King James Version of the Bible, which was meant to reinforce the authority of the Anglican Church during the early seventeenth century (ibid.). It achieved this end by ignoring canonized translations and drawing instead on previously banned English translations with Protestant orientations, such as William Tyndale's and Richard Taverner's (ibid.). Similarly, retranslations in academic institutions have been used to inculcate and promote interpretations of canonical literary texts that prevail in scholarly disciplines (ibid.). Furthermore, retranslations by academics, as Venuti points out, have also been used to assert the authority of academic specialists vis-à-vis non-academic translators (ibid.: 26–7). The retranslations of

Thomas Mann's fiction by the Germanist David Luke in the 1970s were used to reinforce the authority of academic specialists in German literature (ibid.: 26). This was necessarily at the expense of previous translations by the non-academic Helen Lowe-Porter, which were challenged by foregrounding and correcting their "linguistic errors" (ibid.: 27). Retranslations of Mann's work into English did not establish their 'difference' by only challenging what was seen as 'linguistic errors' in previous translations; this difference was justified by the constituency of readers each retranslation targeted. Unlike Helen Lowe-Porter's translations of Mann's work, which were mainly meant for "a general readership in the United States during the early twentieth century", Luke's retranslations targeted academic readers (ibid.: 27). In the 1990s, Luke's retranslations were challenged by John Woods' retranslations of Mann's fiction, which mainly addressed "a new generation of general readers" (ibid.: 27). The history of the retranslations of Thomas Mann's fiction into English, Venuti concludes, reveals a competition between two institutions over the interpretation of Mann's texts: the academic institution and the commercial publisher (ibid.). Venuti's view of 'retranslation' as a process premised on 'difference' and 'competition' over interpretations goes beyond the general understanding of 'retranslation' as a response to a mere linguistic ageing of previous translations. This view also echoes, although with some differences, Bourdieu's understanding of cultural products as the outcome of a 'conflict' over distinction among producers of culture. Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production can be used to develop a new understanding of 'retranslation' and what it means for a particular translation to 'age' and to be branded as 'ageing'. The following section attempts to redefine the concept of 'ageing translation' in terms of Bourdieu's sociology, linking this redefinition to the arguments on 'retranslation' discussed earlier.

2 REDEFINING 'AGEING'

Bourdieu describes the field of cultural production as a 'temporal structure' (1993a: 108). As elaborated in chapter two, this means that 'time' is one site of struggle among producers of culture. The struggle within the field is not only over symbolic or economic capital, but it is also over which cultural product or producer is to be classified as 'ahead of time', i.e. avant-garde, and who is to be branded 'mainstream' or even 'outmoded':

> The ageing of authors, works or schools is something quite different from a mechanical sliding into the past. It is engendered in the fight between those who have already left their mark and are trying to endure, and those who cannot make their own marks in their turn without consigning to the past those who have an interest in stopping time, in eternalizing the present state; between the dominants whose strategy

> is tied to continuity, identity and reproduction, and the dominated, the new entrants, whose interest is in discontinuity, rupture, difference and revolution.
>
> (Bourdieu 1996: 157)

This dynamic understanding of the ageing of cultural products and their producers runs counter to traditional views about the ageing of translations and hence the necessity of retranslation. The 'ageing' of a certain translation, in terms of Bourdieu's sociology, is neither the effect of a chronological lagging behind or outdatedness, nor is it solely due to some feature inherent to the text of the translation and its language. To attribute the 'ageing' of any particular translation to the mere 'passing of time' is to eclipse the complex nature of 'time' and the way cultural products relate to it. In terms of Bourdieu's sociology, one can distinguish between *real time* and *symbolic time*. The 'real time' of any cultural product, including drama translation, is when this cultural product is first produced and made available for the public. 'Symbolic time', on the other hand, is the value attached to cultural products after they move away from their 'real time' and become history. Here Bourdieu distinguishes between two types of cultural product: the first leaves a mark in its real time but is later "thrown outside history"; the second, after making its mark, 'passes into history', "into the eternal present of consecrated culture" (Bourdieu 1996: 156). The first lives only through its real time, i.e. through the cycle of its production and consumption by its first consumers. This is typical of cultural products produced near the 'heteronomous' pole of the field of cultural production. These products are meant to achieve instant economic success, without much regard to the prestige gained through consecration by cultural authorities. Unlike the first type, which ages beyond its real time, the second type of cultural product manages, through a number of factors, to acquire 'symbolic time'. In other words, this second type occupies a position in the field that enables it to project itself as 'befitting all times', as a universal cultural product that is capable of addressing all patterns of perception and appreciation. In terms of this view, the status of any single translation of a particular foreign text as 'in' or 'out' of history is decided by the succeeding retranslations of the same text, if any.[2] These retranslations set out to challenge previous translations, and the outcome of this challenge decides the status of a previous translation as either a 'classic' or 'out of date'. The idea of the *classic* in Bourdieu's sociology is associated with cultural products which in their lifetime may seem "totally incompatible", or 'ahead of their time' (ibid.). When they move away from their 'real time', these products tend to "peacefully coexist" (ibid.) with future products and hence become attuned to the needs and expectations of future consumers: in other words, they acquire the status of the 'classic', i.e. a cultural product that is capable of functioning beyond the time frame in which it was first produced and consumed.

The status of a certain translation of a dramatic text as a 'classic', compared to other translations of the same source text which precede and

succeed it, is *partly* decided by its specific textual and aesthetic qualities, but it is also influenced by a number of other factors. The first has to do with the ability of the translation to free itself from the mode of production through which it was first made available for consumers and attach itself to newer modes of production. Ageing, according to Bourdieu, occurs when cultural products "remain attached (actively or passively) to modes of production which . . . inevitably become dated" and when "they lock themselves into patterns of perception or appreciation that . . . prohibit the acceptance or even the perception of novelty" (Bourdieu 1996: 156). In the field of drama translation, translations which are produced solely for the stage are usually attached to 'patterns of perception and appreciation' that are typical of a particular moment in time. Translations for the stage are produced against the backdrop of the 'here' and 'now': in comparison with published drama translation, stage translation needs to accommodate the needs of contemporary theatre audiences in order to be successful, and hence aspiring to be totally 'ahead of time' (i.e. avant-garde) is as risky as being 'behind time' (i.e. obsolete). This implies that stage translations which were successful in their own lifetime are not necessarily successful when they are published later: in Bourdieusian terms, they are likely, except for some exceptional cases, to be 'thrown out of history'. The early stage translations of Shakespeare's 'great tragedies' in Egypt are a case in point. When these translations were later published they did not achieve the same success they received when they were first put on stage. This is mainly due to the fact that these translations remained attached to the 'patterns of perception and appreciation' of their initial production; even in their published forms, they retained the interpolated songs which were originally added by the translators to be performed by specific performers and to meet the expectations of specific audiences. Maintaining these time-bound interpolations in the published form pushed these translations out of history, and hence the need arose for retranslation of the same works.

Freeing a certain translation from its first mode of production and giving it a new life in a new mode of production is not necessarily effected by its direct producer, i.e. the translator. Bourdieu's idea of the 'co-producers', discussed in chapter two, is useful to draw on here. The availability of co-producers in the form of reviewers, publishers, theatre directors, anthologizers, historians and translation scholars contributes to investing a translation with 'symbolic time', i.e. making it a 'classic'. Thus the 'ageing' or persistence of a certain translation as a 'classic' is not necessarily due to its innate linguistic qualities: it is also the outcome of different cultural agents and institutions undermining the efficiency of this translation or otherwise asserting its status as a translation that is suitable for all times. Retranslation, accordingly, is also conditioned by this conflict over time and is not a mere response to the textual deficiencies of previous translations. Highlighting the textual deficiencies of a previous translation is just one way, among others, of pushing it 'out of history'.

In this struggle over 'symbolic time', where producers and co-producers strive to ensure that their cultural products resist ageing beyond their 'real time', and hence guard against being superseded by other products, all available symbolic assets are employed to achieve distinction. 'Marks of distinction' which are deployed by both producers and co-producers of cultural products serve to assert the position of their products in their rivalry with both synchronous and earlier products. This is what Bourdieu means when he speaks of the competition between each agent in the field of cultural production and those who are "ahead of and behind him in the social space and in time" (Bourdieu 1991: 64). The function performed by 'marks of distinction' in managing this struggle in the field of cultural production is described by Bourdieu as follows:

> In this struggle for life, for survival, one can understand the role given to *marks of distinction* which, in the best of cases, aim to pinpoint the most superficial and visible of the properties attached to a set of works or producers. Words, names of schools or groups, proper names—they only have such importance because they make things into something: distinctive signs, they produce existence in a universe where to exist is to be different, 'to make oneself a name', a proper name or a name in common (that of a group).
>
> (Bourdieu 1996: 157, emphasis in original)

It is in the names of agents, institutions, groups, movements and schools that symbolic capital is concentrated. The distinctive function performed by names in the field of cultural production is based on the symbolic capital with which these names are invested; and the more symbolic capital a name signifies, the more distinctive it is in comparison with other names. The names of producers of culture whose products take mainly the form of language, such as writers, translators and critics, are generally associated in the minds of their consumers with characteristic styles and distinctive uses of language that are typical of specific moments in the history of the field. In other words, the names of these writers or translators function as signposts in the field: they encapsulate stylistic features, aesthetic qualities and so on which are characteristic of certain phases in its development. At this point, I would like to go back to Toury's 'pseudo-experiment', as he describes it. After Toury's subjects gave the wrong chronological order for the three Hebrew translations of Hemingway's 'The Killers', he disclosed the names of the translators. The result was that a significant number of the subjects were able to correct their initial ordering, as Toury reports (1999: 29). Toury explains this by suggesting that his subjects "had *cultural knowledge* as to *who* was more or less likely to count as 'dated', 'mainstream' or 'avant-garde' in their translational behaviour" (ibid., emphasis added). In terms of Bourdieu's sociology, what Toury calls 'cultural knowledge' is the effect of the way the names of these translators fare in the field of translation

and the way they contract symbolic capital because of the work of their 'co-producers', i.e. publishers, publicists, reviewers, etc. What this example tells us is that the ageing or persistence of a given translation, among other cultural products, is not only due to its innate qualities but also to the amount of symbolic capital associated with the name of the translator.

3 KHALĪL MUṬRĀN: THE PARADOX OF THE 'LIVING' NAME AND THE 'AGEING' TRANSLATION

Khalīl Muṭrān's Arabic translations of four Shakespearean plays, including three tragedies, offer a striking example of the interplay between ageing and distinction in the Egyptian context. The enduring appeal of Muṭrān's translations in the field of drama translation and the distinguished position they occupied as classics that 'stood the test of time' cannot be explained only by their textual qualities. One can even argue that Muṭrān's translations, if judged solely on linguistic grounds, can be shown to reveal features of ageing, even within a short period of their original production. Indeed, Muṭrān was criticized by his contemporaries for his frequent use of 'archaic' lexicon and 'obsolete' structures. In an attempt to distinguish himself from early translators of Shakespeare's plays, who mostly used a diluted variety of Classical Arabic along with some colloquialisms, Muṭrān used an extremely classical form of Arabic. His chosen variety of Classical Arabic was thought by some writers to be 'out of date'. One such writer was Mikha'īl Nu'ayma, who published an article in 1927 on Muṭrān's translation of *The Merchant of Venice*.[3] Apart from a number of faults he found with the translation, Nu'ayma focused on Muṭrān's use of obsolete language. After criticizing Muṭrān for using the strangest and most archaic of Arabic words at the expense of an accurate rendering of the original, Nu'ayma says:

> If he [Muṭrān] was to read Shakespeare in the original, he would have no doubt observed that the English language had discarded in three generations much of Shakespeare's vocabulary and structures. And he would then have realised that language is a living organism, that it is always bound to acquire and discard [words and structures]; that what dies out can never be brought back until the end of days; and that it is of no avail for the writer or the poet to search for a dead word or an obsolete structure among the graveyards of language, unless he means to amaze us with his extensive knowledge of language.
>
> (Nu'ayma 1927/1981: 171, my translation)

What Nu'ayma says about Muṭrān's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* is equally true of the latter's translations of *Othello*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*. Muṭrān's tendency to use archaic words and obsolete structures goes hand in hand with his reliance on footnotes to gloss such unfamiliar uses of language.

Despite the 'linguistic ageing' of Muṭrān's translations, most Egyptian theatre makers were keen to use them in their performances. The paradox of the culturally prestigious and symbolically 'living' name of Muṭrān and the outdated character of his translations proved problematic for theatre makers who used his translations, at least since the 1960s. On the one hand, Muṭrān's name was guaranteed to secure sufficient success for a performance: one performance of *Macbeth* in the theatrical season of 1962/63, based on Muṭrān's translation and directed by Nabīl al-Alfī at the National Theatre, ran for 26 nights.[4] At that time, this was seen as a reasonable success, compared with such other performances presented during the same season as Luṭfī al-Khūlī's *al-Qaḍiyya* (*The Case*), which ran for five nights, and Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm's *al-Ṣafqa* (The Deal), which ran for only two nights.[5] On the other hand, the maximum success achieved by performances based on Muṭrān's translations fell very short of that achieved by other performances, both originally written by Egyptian playwrights and translations. Plays written in 'āmmiyya (colloquial Arabic) by such Egyptian playwrights as Sa'd al-Dīn Wahba and Nu'mān 'Ashūr were much more successful. For instance, 'Ashūr's *'Ilat al-Dughrī* (al-Dughrī Family), staged on the National Theatre during the same season, ran for 44 nights. A performance based on a translation of Lorca's *The House of Bernarda Alba* produced for the National Theatre during the same season ran for 31 nights.[6] Thus whereas most theatre makers were keen on investing in the name of Muṭrān by basing their performances on his translations, a few theatre directors and theatre critics have recently questioned the relevance and accessibility of his translations for theatre goers. When theatre critic Nehad Selaiha remembers in a review[7] of a new version of *Othello* an early 1960s performance of the same play starring the Egyptian actor Ḥamdī Ghayth, she describes Muṭrān's version, which was used in that performance, as a "recondite classical Arabic translation" which gave Ghayth "ample opportunity to flex his declamatory muscles" (Selaiha 2000). What has remained of this experience, as she explains, "is an impression of heroic bombast and grandiloquent pathos" (ibid.). Selaiha, who is mildly critical of the 1960s performance based on Muṭrān's translation, is unreservedly critical of a 2002 performance based on the same translation. The 2002 performance was directed by Moḥammad al-Khūlī for Al-Hanager Theatre and highlights the dilemma of a theatre director who is lured by the 'living' symbolic power of Muṭrān's name but is unable to bring his linguistically 'ageing' translation to life. Conscious of the dilemma of choosing a translation produced in 1912 to stage for an audience in 2002, Selaiha (2002a) describes al-Khūlī's choice of Muṭrān's "unwieldy, bombastic translation" as "unfortunate".[8] Assuming that Muṭrān's name would make up for the limitations of the translation, the director set out to update some of the archaic words and reword some of the "heavily rhetorical passages in commonplace, often banal language" (ibid.). The result, according to Selaiha, was that he presented the audience with "a disconcerting verbal patchwork" that involved both "the spuriously

sublime and turgidly grandiloquent" and "the pompously ridiculous and flatly mundane" (ibid.). Selaiha stresses the irrelevance of Muṭrān's translation of *Othello* for contemporary theatre goers and argues that the director could have avoided this situation by choosing a more recent translation. Muntaṣir (1991) similarly criticizes a 1991 performance of *Macbeth* based on Muṭrān's translation. She explains that this performance did not win either critical acclaim or box-office success, just like another performance of the same play presented 30 years earlier[9] despite the prominent actors and actresses performing in both.[10] In her article, significantly entitled 'La'nat *Macbeth*!' ('The Curse of *Macbeth*!'), Muntaṣir asks what can possibly cause this common failure: whether it has to do with the textual characteristics of Shakespeare's dramatic works in their entirety or with the text of *Macbeth* in particular (ibid.). The main reason she identifies for this failure is the use of Muṭrān's translation, which is cloaked in an ancient, obsolete and pretentious language (ibid.).

In spite of the peculiar linguistic character of Muṭrān's translations which makes them, according to his critics, appear 'dated' and susceptible to ageing quickly, these translations have been canonized as the most distinguished Arabic versions of Shakespeare's plays. Shukrī (1995: 180) mentions that more accurate and elegant translations of Shakespeare's dramatic works have failed to gain the same prestige and status. As mentioned in chapter four, Muṭrān enjoyed a considerable amount of symbolic capital, not only as a translator but also as a poet. His reputation as a poet was associated with the emergence of a new movement of modernist Arab poetry in the early twentieth century. It was this movement, led by Muṭrān, that challenged the dominance of neoclassical Arabic poetry (Khouri 1971: 134). His trajectory in the field of Arabic literature in early-twentieth-century Egypt was generally on the rise. Early in his career he was given by the Egyptian public the title of 'The Poet of the Two Countries' (*sha'ir al-quṭrayn*), in reference to his country of origin, Lebanon, and his country of residence, Egypt (al-Ghaḍbān 1960: 150). In the summer of 1924 and after a long journey he made through Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, where he read his poetry, he was given the title of 'The Poet of the Arab Countries' (*sha'ir al-aqṭār al-'arabiyya*)[11] (al-Ṭanāḥī 1960: 114). The symbolic capital accrued by Muṭrān was also due to the names of distinguished cultural agents and institutions with whom he was associated. Early in his education, Muṭrān was associated with the name of Ibrahīm al-Yazijī, the prominent language reformer; in the field of poetry he was associated with the then emerging group of innovative poets; in the field of journalism his name was associated with the Egyptian *Al-Ahram* newspaper, for which he worked for some time, and two distinguished literary magazines he edited, *al-Mjalla al-Miṣriyya* and *al-Jawā'ib al-Mi·riyya*; in the field of translation, his name was associated with such canonical authors as Shakespeare, Racine, Corneille, Victor Hugo and Paul Bourget and was also associated with Egyptian poet Ḥāfiz Ibrahīm with whom he collaborated in translating a book from the French

on political economy;[12] and in the field of theatre, his name was associated with Jurj Abyaḍ and the National Theatre, of which he became director in 1935. This prestigious trajectory in most fields of cultural production in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century turned Muṭrān into a brand name and ultimately made it virtually impossible to challenge his drama translations. The following section discusses a number of retranslations of the great tragedies which set out to subtly challenge Muṭrān's versions. These retranslations are examined in terms of the forms of distinction employed by retranslators and other co-producers in order to establish the legitimacy of their new products, especially in relation to Muṭrān's canonical versions.

4 FORMS OF DISTINCTION: CHALLENGING MUṬRĀN'S TRANSLATIONS

The value of any new cultural product is determined in relation to other products within the same field of cultural production. Conscious of this fact, new producers attempt to achieve 'distinction' for their products, i.e. they attempt to attach to their products qualities that are considered lacking in existing products. Hence achieving distinction for a certain cultural product is necessarily associated with effecting a degree of 'deviation' from what is seen as 'familiar' or 'commonplace' in the field. For Bourdieu, achieving 'originality' for a literary work in the field of literary production, for instance, occurs through this process of deviation:

> The work performed in the literary field produces the appearances [sic] of an original language by resorting to a set of derivations whose common principle is that of deviation from the most frequent, i.e. 'common', ordinary', 'vulgar', usages. Value always arises from deviation, *deliberate or not*, with respect to the most widespread usage, 'commonplaces', 'ordinary sentiment', 'trivial' phrases, 'vulgar' expressions, 'facile' style.
> (Bourdieu 1991: 60, emphasis in original)

It is this process of deviation from what has become familiar or is beginning to 'age' that brings about change in the field. However, the process of deviation, according to Bourdieu, is not unconstrained. It always occurs within what Bourdieu calls the 'strategies of assimilation and dissimilation' (Bourdieu 1991: 64). In other words, the attempt by new producers to gain 'distinction' from existing producers has to be balanced by a minimum compliance with the conventions that make up the structure of the field: this minimum compliance is the fee that new producers pay in order to gain and maintain membership in the field.

Although retranslations of Shakespeare's great tragedies which were produced in the field of drama translation in Egypt after Muṭrān did not directly

set out to subvert the canonical status of his translations, they strove to distinguish themselves from these translations through one or more of the following means: claiming to have more direct access to the source texts, given that Muṭrān was known to have translated from the French (section 4.1); attending to what was seen as 'translation gaps' or 'textual deficiencies' in previous translations (section 4.2); and claiming a new and distinct function in the target language/culture (section 4.3).

4.1 Claiming 'Better' Access to the Source Text/Culture/Author

Claiming direct access to the language of the source text and knowledge of the author and his/her cultural context has generally been considered a 'mark of distinction' that sets one translation off from another. In his introductory article to the translation section of the *Cultural Register of 1959*, Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad reviews published translations in Egypt during that year and criticizes translations that were previously produced through a third language: for him, "it goes without saying that translating from the original language has a great advantage over translating through a translation" (1962: 226, my translation). For the first generation of Arab translators in Egypt, translating a text from its original language was not as important as rendering it into the type of language and with the stylistic features expected by Arab readers. As previously mentioned, the rise of a second generation of translators in the early twentieth century in Egypt was associated with a growing awareness that direct access to the foreign text constitutes an asset for the translator. No wonder then that as early as 1909, Muḥammad 'Iffat stated in a prefatory note to his Arabic translation of *The Tempes*t that he translated Shakespeare's play "from the English language, aided by the French language" ('Iffat 1909, my translation). In his 1911 translation of *Macbeth*, he went one step further and stated on the cover that this was "a translation in verse from the English language" without making any reference to French, which remained for a long time the only foreign language mastered by most translators working into Arabic. Aḥmad Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ published another translation of *Macbeth* in 1911 and was also keen to suggest in his preface that he had access to Shakespeare's text "in the English language" and that his translation was "as equivalent as possible to the original" (1911: 4, my translation). In the following year, translators Sāmī al-Juraydīnī and Muḥammad Ḥamdī, who produced two different translations of *Julius Caesar*, wanted to distance their translations from the stage translations produced at that time and which were mostly done from the French. In their prefaces, they both flagged, in different ways, the fact that they had direct access to the Shakespearean text in its original language as well as good knowledge of the author's works and cultural context. In addition to stating that he did his utmost to ensure the translation was equivalent to the original "in meaning and structure", al-Juraydīnī was keen to indicate that he was so intent on understanding the original fully

that he consulted "more than one of Shakespeare's commentators" (cited in Najm 1956: 253, my translation). Similarly, Ḥamdī emphasized in his preface that his translation was "a true image of the English text" (1912/1928b: 3, my translation). He further highlighted the 'professional' access he had to the original text (compared to the amateur translators who worked for theatre troupes at the time) by adding under his name on the cover that he worked as "a professor of translation at the Higher College of Teachers". He also signalled his close knowledge of Shakespeare's work by prefacing the translation with a brief note on Shakespeare's art of characterization.

Muṭrān was not known to have direct access to Shakespeare's texts in English. Apart from the fact that French was the only foreign language he was taught at the Roman Catholic Patriarchal College in Beirut, there is some textual evidence that suggests that he translated Shakespeare through French translations.[13] In the introduction to his translation of *Othello*, he makes references to the French translations of Shakespeare by Emile Montégut and Pierre Le Tourneur as examples of the dissemination of Shakespeare's work in most major world cultures. He also praises these translations as two of the best and most valued translations in French. In the same introduction he speaks of Shakespeare's influence on such great writers as Victor Hugo. In this context, Muṭrān highlights Hugo's admiration for the 'unbounded genius' of Shakespeare in a way that suggests that he must have read Hugo's extensive preface to the translation by his son Francois-Victor of Shakespeare's work and, quite likely, the translation itself. There is a striking resemblance between the way Muṭrān projects Shakespeare in this introduction and the way Victor Hugo perceives and represents Shakespeare in the introduction to his son's translation. Muṭrān's portrayal of Shakespeare's creativity and his attempt to attribute it to a purported 'Arab' or 'Bedouin' mode of imagination that Shakespeare might have acquired through possible contact with Arab culture is very similar to the way Hugo describes Shakespeare's imaginative powers as 'arabesque': "What is *The Tempest*, *Troilus*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, etc.; it is fantasy, it is arabesque. Arabesque in art is the same phenomenon as vegetation in nature" (translated and cited in Boorsch 1964: 71).

Critics and translators after Muṭrān called attention, although in different ways, to his failure to gain direct access to Shakespeare's texts in English. Some were so explicit in their criticism that they highlighted parts in his translations that echo a French version. One such criticism came from Mikha'īl Nu'ayma; in his review of Muṭrān's translation of *The Merchant of Venice*, Nu'ayma voiced his suspicion that Muṭrān might have translated via French:

> We wish that the arabizer had indicated the sources to which he resorted in translating this play. It seems to us from some of his lines that he transposed it from a French translation, not from its English original. Otherwise, where could he have come up with the word "monsieur"

> and what linguistic trick could have enabled him to translate "gentile" (which means Christian or all that is non-Hebraic) into "nice" in Gratiano's speech about Jessica, the daughter of Shylock the Jew!
>
> (Nu'ayma 1927/1981: 167, my translation)

Despite translating Shakespeare via French, Muṭrān strove to achieve 'distinction' for his translations, to set them off from previous translations of Shakespeare, which were also mostly done via French. He tried to make up for his inability to gain direct access to Shakespeare's originals by stating in his introductions to the translations that his versions represent what Shakespeare said "letter for letter, word for word" (1912a: 9, my translation), except where he had to omit parts of the original for staging purposes (1918/1976: 5). However, Muṭrān's inability to demonstrate direct access to the originals was underlined by later translators as a 'point of weakness' that necessitated and legitimated retranslations, although without straightforwardly questioning the canonical status of his translations.

Unlike Muṭrān, who refrained from stating whether he used the English originals or not, most translators of Shakespeare's tragedies who joined the field at later stages were keen to make it clear in their paratexts that they translated from English. Sāmī al-Juraydīnī states in the introduction to the second edition of his translation of *Hamlet*, which was first published in 1922, that he did his best to "render the English original into Arabic in both meaning and structure", despite the great disparity between the two languages (al-Juraydīnī 1922/1932: 8, my translation). The year 1932 saw the publication of a second edition of al-Juraydīnī's translation of *Hamlet*, but there is another reason why it marks an important date in the history of Shakespeare translation in Egypt in general, and the translation of the great tragedies in particular, namely the publication of the first Arabic translation of Shakespeare's *King Lear* by translator, playwright and education administrator Ibrahīm Ramzī (1884–1949). Ibrahīm Ramzī's entry into the field of drama translation marked the emergence of a new line of Shakespeare translators who had better access to the original texts than Muṭrān, and before him Ṭanyūs 'Abdu. Unlike previous translators of Shakespeare's work, Ramzī had direct contact with English culture and theatre.[14] All the plays translated by Ramzī are known to have been translated directly from English.[15] His translations include Shakespeare's *King Lear*, in addition to Bernard Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1914), Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1928), Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People* (1932) and *The Taming of the Shrew* (1933).[16] The front cover of Ramzī's translation of *King Lear* signals the direct access he had to the source text (see figure 5.1): the English title appears under the Arabic title to indicate that no third language was used in the translation. The phrase *naqalaha 'an al-īnjliziyya* (transferred from English) appears above Ramzī's name. It is significant that the two terms *ta'rīb* and *mu'arrib* ('arabization' and 'arabizer') practically disappeared from the front covers of most published translations towards the late 1920s and were

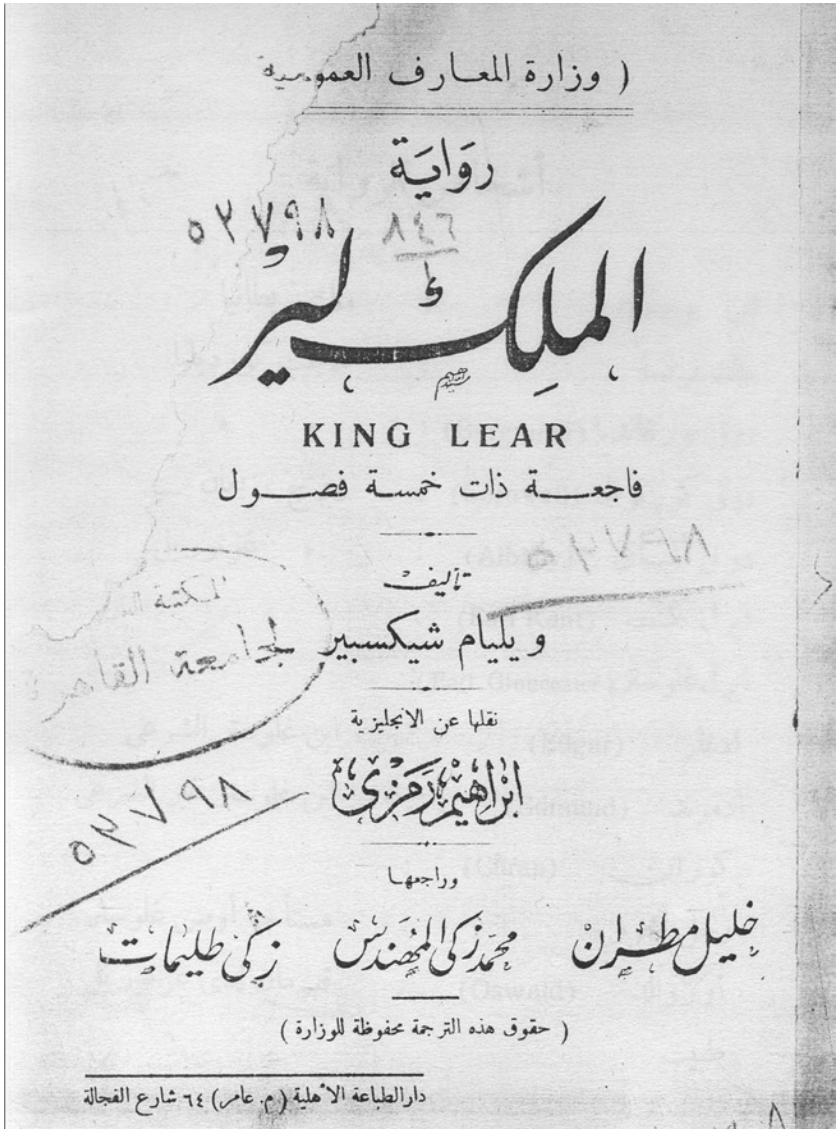


Figure 5.1 Front cover of Ramzī's translation of *King Lear* in which he notes that it was translated from English.

replaced by either *naql* (transference) or *tarjama* (translation),[17] which suggests a tendency by translators during that period to prioritize closeness to the source text over appropriating it in order to meet the needs of target consumers. Ramzī's ability to directly access Shakespeare's texts as a 'mark of distinction' that set him apart from previous translators of Shakespeare

is further asserted in a short preface to his translation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, where he outlines the debate between him and the editors of the translation over the exact meaning of 'shrew' in English: after discussing the different senses of the word in English, he justifies his choice of the Arabic word *namira* (lioness).

Signalling the translators' direct access to Shakespeare's original texts as a 'mark of distinction' was also a feature of later translations, although at a more subtle level. Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd's[18] translation of *Macbeth*, published in 1959, marks a shift in the history of the translation of Shakespeare's great tragedies in Egypt at more than one level. First and foremost, his direct access to Shakespeare's work ensured that his translation acquired a more distinctive position in relation to previous translations of *Macbeth* as well as translations of Shakespeare's other works. His knowledge of the English language and its literature was highlighted, not only in his translations but also in some of his articles, where he demonstrated considerable knowledge of the works of T. S. Eliot, Matthew Arnold, William Blake, William Wordsworth and others (Hijāzī 1997). In addition to his translation of *Macbeth*, he published translations of extracts from Shakespeare's plays in the literary magazines *al-Risāla* and *al-Thaqāfa* and a full translation in blank verse of Matthew Arnold's narrative poem, 'Sohrab and Rustum', in 1918.

Abū Ḥadīd's introduction to his translation, which is only comparable in length to Ḥasan 'Uthmān's introduction to his own translation of *Divina Commedia* (also published in 1959), is divided into three sections. In the first, he outlines the history of England, the rise and development of the English language, the formation of English culture, the rise of English theatre and the role played by Shakespeare in developing both the English language and theatre. In the second section, he discusses Shakespeare's writings in some detail, focusing particularly on *Macbeth*. He also examines Shakespeare's world view and imagery and compares them to those of Arab writers. He then engages in a critical analysis of *Macbeth*, locating its sources in Raphael Honlinshed's *Chronicles* and assessing its textual strengths and weaknesses as well as its reception at the time of Shakespeare. In the third section of the introduction, Abū Ḥadīd turns his attention to his own translation and outlines his experience of translating *Macbeth*, setting it in the context of both translation into Arabic and the issues at stake in Arabic literature at the time. This part of the introduction will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Abū Ḥadīd's introduction, which reveals his extensive knowledge of the source language, culture and the oeuvre of Shakespeare, is an attempt to attach a 'mark of distinction' to his translation vis-à-vis the three earlier translations of *Macbeth*, namely, those by Muḥammad 'Iffat (1911); Amad Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (1911) and Muṭrān (1917). Neither Muṭrān[19] nor 'Iffat wrote an introduction to their translations, whereas Ṣāliḥ provided a two-page preface where he briefly mentions the difficulty of arabizing Shakespeare.

Other translators flagged their ability to access Shakespeare's original texts directly by drawing attention to the institutionalized cultural capital they possessed in the form of academic degrees in English literature and theatre. These translators included a distinguished group of graduates from the English department of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University, who appeared on the Egyptian cultural scene from the 1950s onwards and comprised three different generations—extending from the pioneering generation of Liwīs ʻAwaḍ and Rashād Rushdī, through that of Faṭima Mūsa, to the generation of Muḥammad Enānī, Samīr Sarḥān and ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Ḥamūda. Upon obtaining their PhDs in English literature from British and American universities, these academics contributed to the cultural activities at the time and engaged in differing degrees with drama translation. Three names featured prominently in connection with Shakespeare translation: Liwīs ʻAwaḍ, Faṭima Mūsa and Muḥammad Enānī. It was with the translation of *Love's Labour's Lost* by Liwīs ʻAwaḍ in 1960 as part of the Shakespeare translation project launched by the Cultural Department of the Arab League in 1955 that the contribution of these academics to Shakespeare translation began to gain momentum.[20]

The appearance of this group of academics on the scene and their involvement in translation activities resulted in narrowing the boundaries of the field of drama translation, especially the translation of Shakespeare's work. Conditions of membership in the field started to change gradually. The minimum cultural capital needed for a translator of a Shakespearean play was redefined at different points during the twentieth century. In early-twentieth-century Egypt, the only requirement for a translator of Shakespeare was an *embodied cultural capital*, claimed by the translator and assumed by consumers of translation, in the form of language and, most importantly, adaptation skills. Since the second decade of the twentieth century, a translator of Shakespeare has been expected to possess, in addition to embodied cultural capital, a *visible* symbolic capital in the form of a minimum recognition from producers of culture in general and producers of drama translation in particular. This recognition was facilitated when the translator joining the field of drama translation was able to demonstrate other cultural achievements outside the field of translation, as was the case with Muṭrān, Ramzī and Abū Ḥadīd. With the emergence of the group of academics mentioned earlier, the requirements needed for a translator of Shakespeare took the form of *institutionalized cultural capital*, which mainly materialized in PhD degrees as well as other accredited professional skills.

The publication of Faṭima Mūsa's translation of *King Lear*[21] in 1970[22] reinforced the new boundaries of the field of drama translation as established by Liwīs ʻAwaḍ, together with other fellow academics, in the early and mid-1960s through his translation of two of Shakespeare's works. The institutionalized cultural capital possessed by Mūsa is invoked in her published translation as a 'mark of distinction' that demonstrates 'better' access to Shakespeare's originals. In addition to her academic title, which features

on the front cover of the translation, the two introductions accompanying the first and second editions are used to demonstrate her superior access to the source text/culture and help place her translation in a 'distinctive' position in relation to Ramzī's first translation of *King Lear* as well as translations of other Shakespearean plays. Several marks of scholarly knowledge of Shakespeare and his work are flagged in the two introductions. For instance, Mūsa explicitly mentions the edition she relied on in her translation, i.e. the Arden Shakespeare, edited by Kenneth Muir and published in Methuen Paperbacks in 1967. The merits of this edition are detailed; according to Mūsa, the Arden Shakespeare is "the most comprehensive and accurate edition available in the market and includes the *closest texts to what Shakespeare actually wrote*" (1970/1997b: 21, my translation, emphasis added). Besides relying on the 'closest' edition to the Shakespearean original, Mūsa's 'better' access to the source text is signalled by her scholarly knowledge of this text, which she acquired through teaching it frequently to her students, reading research about it and watching many stage versions of it in England (ibid.).

Apart from scholarly knowledge of the play and direct access to the original, frequently signalled in the two introductions of the first and second editions of Mūsa's translation, two points can be made about the mode of production typical of Shakespeare translations produced by academics in Egypt, especially Mūsa and Enānī. The first concerns the long period of time Mūsa took before embarking on a translation of *King Lear*. This eagerness to acquire thorough knowledge of the text through teaching and researching it, however long this might take, is indicative of an autonomous mode of production in which priority is given to the product and the way it might be received by fellow producers, rather than to the consumers and their expectations. This contrasts with translators occupying the 'heteronomous' and 'semi-heteronomous' positions in the field of drama translation, for whom the time taken in completing the translation[23] is important. In contrast with large-scale producers of translation in turn-of-the-century Egypt, the group of academics who emerged in the field of drama translation in the 1950s challenged a previous translation norm whereby translation competence and access to the language of the foreign text were measured by the speed with which the translator could complete his/her work. Two examples from the 1950s and 1960s can be cited in this context: the first is that of academic Ḥasan 'Uthmān who took 13 years to finish translating the first two books of the *Divina Commedia*; and the second is that of academic Ṭaha Maḥmūd Ṭaha who took 14 years to finish his translation of Joyce's *Ulysses*,[24] This norm influenced non-academic translators of Shakespeare: Abū Ḥadīd mentions in the introduction to his translation of *Macbeth* that he finished the translation in two years (Abū-Ḥadīd 1959a: 55).

The second observation on the mode of production typical of translations of Shakespeare by academics in Egypt concerns Mūsa's comment on her translation not being a reaction to any previous Arabic translation of

King Lear and her assertion that the only factors which conditioned her translation, apart from her love for the play, were her direct access to the play and research published in English on it as well as her experience of the different stage versions of the play. Besides capitalizing on her institutionalized cultural capital as a specialist in English literature and on the advantageous position from which she had 'unmediated' access to English culture and theatre, this comment underlines Mūsa's attempt to achieve a higher degree of autonomy and to create a distance between her enterprise and the interests or motivations which gave rise to previous translations of *King Lear*. As a scholar, she seems to be distancing herself from both the conditions of production in the field of drama translation and the socio-cultural contingencies of the social space at large.

In addition to identifying the edition on which she relied in her translation, Mūsa further asserts her superior access to Shakespeare's original text by outlining the historical and interpretive contexts of *King Lear* in the introduction to the first edition. After establishing the possible dates for the writing, staging and first publication of the play, Mūsa provides an interpretive summary of the play in which she delineates the main and secondary plots. This summary, which takes up almost three pages of the eleven-page introduction to the first edition, underscores the classical interpretation of the play as a story about filial ingratitude. As we shall see later, this is in line with the generally moralistic interpretation which informed all translations of Shakespeare and their stage versions in Egyptian theatre since its beginning. In one section of the introduction, Mūsa not only locates the sources on which Shakespeare drew in writing the play, but she also demonstrates her access to these sources when she translates the whole section relating to Lear in Holinshed's *Chronicles* cited in A. Nicoll and Josephine Nicoll's edited volume *Holinshed's Chronicle as Used in Shakespeare's Plays*. Mūsa's introduction to the first edition of the translation highlights her superior access not only to the original text of *King Lear*, but also to the stage history of the play. She mentions, albeit briefly, the difficulty of staging the play and the various stage interpretations it received, giving as an example the version produced by the British director Peter Brook in 1964 on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, showing how Brook had employed the techniques and vision associated with Antonin Artaud's 'theatre of cruelty' in staging the play.

More than 25 years after the release of the first edition, a second edition of Mūsa's translation was published, with no substantial additions. In order to maintain the claim of a superior access to the source text/culture, a new four-page introduction is added to this edition. Here the translator discusses the dissemination of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, not only in the various traditions of world theatre but also in other artistic genres, such as the novel and cinema: she mentions new experiments which tried to approach Shakespeare's text in different ways, including Edward Bond's *Lear* and Elaine Feinstein's *Lear's Daughters* in the field of theatre, Jane Smiley's *A*

Thousand Acres in fiction and Kurosawa's *Ran* in cinema. However, after demonstrating her knowledge of the various ways in which Shakespeare's *King Lear* has been disseminated in different interpretations, Mūsa quickly distances herself from these experiments which invest in new interpretations rather than reproduce the 'same' Shakespearean text. By contrast to these new interpretations, she stresses that her text is "a faithful translation of Shakespeare's play in its 'New Arden' edition" (1970/1997c: 11, my translation). She also defends her 'distinctive' position as a translator of Shakespeare who is also a Shakespeare specialist. Mūsa further engages with arguments that stress the necessity of translating Shakespeare's drama in verse, a practice she does not adopt in her own translation:

> Since the publication of the first edition of this translation, there have been many debates and writings on the theory of translation, the translation of poetry and the translation of verse drama in particular. Many have agreed on the necessity of using verse in translating verse drama. This view might prevent competent translators who are specialists in the literature of Shakespeare or other poets from translating texts which they are more capable than others of understanding and assessing. This view remains the subject of much debate and we are unable to reach a definitive opinion in this regard.
>
> (Mūsa 1970/1997c: 11, my translation)

In her attempt to defend the 'distinction' of her translation and to refute claims that it might have 'aged' more than 25 years after the release of the first edition, especially with the emergence of new arguments about translating Shakespeare into Arabic, Mūsa foregrounds her claim of 'faithfulness', supported by her institutionalized cultural capital as a specialist. At least one attempt at 'rewriting' Shakespeare's *King Lear* in Arabic verse was made during the period between the publication of Mūsa's first and second editions, and she might have been aware of this translation when she wrote her new introduction. This is Mahdī Bunduq's 'rewrite' of *King Lear* in Arabic verse, published in 1979.[25] In his introduction to this version, which was not widely received in either its written or stage forms, Bunduq imagines Shakespeare talking to him and making a statement about translations of his work which used only prose as their medium. The 'great poet', as projected by Bunduq, announces that "translating him in prose did not fully satisfy him" (1979: 3, my translation). Throughout the introduction, Bunduq contends that tragedy is best expressed in verse and that the inner conflict and agony of tragic heroes cannot be fully appreciated in prose. Mūsa's aforementioned comment might have been in response to Bunduq's version and his introduction, given that he is not a specialist in Shakespeare nor is his version an exact representation of Shakespeare's text, as he himself admits in the introduction.

Another translator who belongs to the third generation of academic translators and whose work must have been known to Mūsa is Muḥammad

Enānī (1939-). Enānī's translation of *King Lear* was published in 1996a by the same publisher of Mūsa's translation. Mūsa might not have been able to read Enānī's translation of *King Lear* before she sent her manuscript to press, since her introduction to the second edition is dated 1995. However, Enānī's contribution to Shakespeare translation into Arabic has been in circulation since 1964, when he published in *al-Masraḥ Monthly* a translation in prose of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which he republished in 1992 in a new revised edition in both verse and prose. Since then Enānī's contribution to the field has been widely acknowledged. By 1996, he had already published, in addition to his translations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *King Lear*, translations of *Merchant of Venice* (1988), *Julius Caesar* (1991) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1993). He also contributed significantly to promoting awareness of the problems of translation into Arabic in general and the problems of translating Shakespeare in particular through the introductions to his published translations as well as a number of other publications on translation.[26]

Enānī's foreword and introduction to his version of *King Lear* similarly provide an opportunity for signalling that his translation occupies a 'distinctive' position in the field of drama translation in relation to previous translations of the Bard. Although Enānī does not directly refer to Mūsa's translation and introduction, he implicitly engages with them in both his foreword and introduction. In a reference to Mūsa's translation of *King Lear*, as well as translations of other Shakespearean plays, Enānī states that he will not confine his introduction to what all editors and translators of Shakespeare's texts usually do, i.e. informing their readers about the sources of the plot, possible dates of writing, publishing and staging the play and other similar issues. These ritualistic and rather "boringly repetitive" introductions, we are told (1996b: 1), are of no use to the Arab reader. Apart from a brief mention of the 'routine' historical facts relating to the play, Enānī uses the introduction to demonstrate his superior access not only to the source text in its original version but also to the hermeneutic history of the play within English literary as well as theatre studies. Equipped with an up-to-date knowledge of the conceptual apparatus of modern literary theory, which culminated in his published dictionary of modern literary terms, Enānī outlines the diverse interpretations of the play by different approaches and at different times of its reception. He offers an extensive discussion of these critical approaches, distinguishing between readings of the play offered by literary and theatre critics and the textual explanations put forward by commentators. In translating the play, he says, he distanced himself from the interpretations of the critics but made sure he was fully familiar with the findings of commentators published with the different editions of the play he consulted:

> As for my own conception of the play and after almost forty years in the company of this text, I find myself in the position of being unbiased to

> any one particular "interpretation", however appealing. I tried to delve into the depths of the text before translating it, guided by the suggestions of the commentators, not the interpreters; and I found that the most true Arabic image [to the original] is one that "allows" for any interpretation sought by the reader, as long as the original text "allows" for it.
>
> (1996c: 46, my translation)

By contrast with Mūsa, who seems to adopt a moral interpretation of the play as her analytic summary of the work shows, Enānī contends that in translating *King Lear*, he remained detached from any one specific interpretive approach that might have influenced his choices and would have ultimately reduced the translation to a single interpretation. Embracing one interpretation in the process of translating, Enānī suggests, might deny the end product the plurality of meanings enjoyed by the original text and hence accelerate its 'ageing'. This keenness to keep the translation as open to different interpretations as the original explains Enānī's methodical way of translating in which he prioritizes the textual explanations provided by commentators and editors in ten different editions of *King Lear* over interpretive readings. His method of translating the play, which he outlines in the introduction, demonstrates his eagerness to achieve the best possible access to what Shakespeare wrote:

> After reading the text in the Arden edition, I used to check the annotations and commentaries in all of these [other] editions,[27] in search of the clearest meaning, making sure it is correct. I frequently came across disagreements [among commentators] on explanation: what was agreed upon by the majority [of commentators] I accepted and what was controversial I judged in terms of the logic underlying the context, not in terms of which view is the "oldest" or the "most recent"; it is meaningless to accept an explanation that does not coincide with the context. In all that I was aided by what I understood of the play through the works of critics.
>
> (1996c: 47, my translation)

This methodical approach to translation, which supports Enānī's implicit claim of 'better' access to the source text/culture than in Mūsa's translation, is put into practice throughout the translation and flagged to the reader through his frequent annotations of the text. Annotations in Enānī's translation of *King Lear* are different in their function from the footnotes used by Muṭrān in his translations. Whereas Muṭrān uses the footnotes mostly to gloss the archaic vocabulary he generally opted for, Enānī's annotations are used to draw the readers closer to the world of the Shakespearean text, to make them aware of the particular difficulties of translating Shakespeare, especially in the presence of more than one edition of the same text and ultimately demonstrate the distinction of this translation in relation to previous

translations of *King Lear*. In addition to establishing the available meanings of certain textual segments in the different editions and commentaries,[28] Enānī uses the annotations to fill in the cultural gaps that exist between the Shakespearean text and the Arab reader: he explains allusions to myths, material culture, idiomatic expressions and intertextual references to the Bible, old ballads and folk tales.

4.2 Attending to Textual Deficiencies in Earlier Translations

The implicit and/or explicit claim of 'better' access to the source text/culture articulated in the paratexts of translations (e.g. front and back covers, introductions, etc.) may be further tested against the actual practice of a translator. As mentioned earlier in connection with Bourdieu's discussion of 'distinction' in the literary field, the distinctive linguistic choices made by translators partly determine whether or not the new translation is capable of pushing the earlier one 'into the past' and hence achieving distinction in the field.

Examples of translation losses and textual deficiencies in earlier translations used by retranslators to claim distinction and legitimate a new version range from omitted scenes to mistranslation of polysemic or ambiguous words, idiomatic expressions, cultural allusions and intertextual references. These also include interpolated scenes and part of scenes, failure to reproduce the different levels of language in the Shakespearean text and failure to translate Shakespeare's verse.

Omitting scenes, as previously mentioned, was a common practice in the early years of drama translation in Egypt. Muṭrān's translations continued this practice, although to a lesser degree. The fact that Muṭrān's translations were commissioned for the theatre encouraged him to omit some scenes to adhere to the requirements of the stage. He made it clear in the introduction to his translation of *Hamlet* that the "requirements of modern acting" compelled him to omit what he and Abyaḍ saw as irrelevant parts which have no function in the play other than the mere embellishing of dialogue (1918/1976: 5, my translation). Thus he rendered the five acts of *Hamlet* into four. Four years after the publication of Muṭrān's stage version, Sāmī al-Juraydīnī published the first edition of his translation of the same play. Refuting any justification for omitting scenes, he stated in his introduction that he believed Shakespeare's plays are for reading, not for acting on stage. Al-Juraydīnī maintained the original organization of acts and scenes. In the first edition, he omitted only the dialogue between the king and the queen in the play-within-the-play, but he later included it in the second edition. Apart from omitting Ophelia's songs in act IV, scene VI and a tendency to paraphrase occasionally, the general structure of the play is kept intact in al-Juraydīnī's translation. A later translation of *Hamlet* by Muḥammad 'Awaḍ Muḥammad was published in 1972 as part of the Shakespeare translation project coordinated by the Cultural Department of the Arab League. By highlighting omissions in both translations (Muṭrān's and al-Juraydīnī's),

'Awaḍ Muḥammad called the attention of his readers to the distinctive position of his translation in relation to them:

> The translation we offer now to the reader is subject to the criteria imposed on all translators contributing to this edition of Shakespeare's plays, which is supervised by the Cultural Department of the Arab League. The most important of these criteria is *observing absolute faithfulness and accuracy in transfer*, relying on an authorised English edition. (1972/2000b: 25, my translation, emphasis added)

It is because Muṭrān made it clear in the introduction to his translation of *Hamlet* that he omitted some scenes that the Cultural Department of the Arab League did not include this translation in their project, this despite the fact that his other two translations, *Othello* and *Macbeth*, which were included in the project, featured similar omissions. The fact that his translations of *Othello* and *Macbeth* were included in the project can only be explained by the symbolic power of Muṭrān's name, which could only be challenged by his own explicit acknowledgement of compromised faithfulness for stage purposes in the introduction to his translation of *Hamlet*.

Mistranslation of polysemic words, ambiguous structures and culturally loaded expressions have also been used by retranslators to claim distinction for their versions. Muṭrān tended to omit mythological references or, alternatively, to mistranslate them. In *Macbeth*, for example, he omits Shakespeare's reference to 'Tarquin' in the dagger monologue in act II, scene I and to 'Neptune' in line 59 of act II, scene II when Macbeth speaks of Neptune's oceans being incapable of washing away the blood on his hand. Whereas 'Āmir Biḥīrī follows Muṭrān in omitting the reference to 'Tarquin', both Abū Ḥadīd and Muḥammad Muṣṭafa Badawī retain the reference and gloss it in a footnote, although with different effects. This example shows that footnotes are subtly used by retranslators to refer to and engage with earlier translations and highlight gaps in them, with the aim of achieving 'distinction' for their own versions.

Ambiguous lines in Shakespeare's tragedies always provide an occasion for retranslators to flag the distinction of their work over earlier versions. By highlighting their interpretation (in an introduction or a footnote) of an ambiguous line that is not embraced in earlier translations, retranslators underscore their 'difference'. In the introduction to his translation of *Macbeth*, Badawī calls attention to the different interpretation he offers of the line by Macbeth in act V, scene V when he is told of the death of his wife. Macbeth says:

> She should have died hereafter:
> There would have been a time for such a word
> (V, v, 17–18).

Badawī refers to the two possible interpretations mentioned in Kenneth Muir's edition, on which he relied. The statement in line 17, as Badawī, explains, could mean either "she should have died later at a more convenient

time" or "she would have died sometime anyway" (2001a: 30, my translation). On examining earlier translations we find that Muṭrān, Abū Ḥadīd and 'Āmir Biḥīrī opted for the first interpretation. Badawī chooses to translate this line as follows:

كانت ستموت فى الغد لو لم تمت اليوم.

If not today, she would have died tomorrow (2001b: 176, my translation).

In the same speech, Badawī chooses to translate 'word' in line 18 as *khabar* (news), referring to the news of the death of his wife. Abū Ḥadīd renders it literally as *ḥadīth* (speech), whereas Biḥīrī omits it altogether. Badawī invests in his scholarly knowledge of Shakespeare's language and flags this knowledge in a comment on his translation of the same speech by Macbeth in act V, scene V. He says that the images invoked by the words used by Macbeth in this speech hark back to each other: they are so closely woven together that the translator needs to select the equivalent Arabic words very carefully in order to achieve the same Shakespearean effect.

The difficulty of translating puns also provided opportunities for retranslators to claim distinction for their translations in comparison with earlier versions. Footnotes have been used by retranslators to delineate the various possible meanings which were missed in earlier translations. 'Awaḍ Muḥammad's translation of *Hamlet* provides a good example. In a footnote to the punning 'fishmonger' in Hamlet's speech in act II, scene II, when Hamlet says to Polonius that he knows him and that he is a fishmonger, 'Awaḍ Muḥammad mentions that in addition to the literal meaning of the word, which he provides in the translation, an additional possible meaning is that Polonius is fishing for information about the secret that makes Hamlet look so sad (1972/2000a: 83). In the same dialogue, 'Awaḍ Muḥammad adds a footnote to the punning 'conception' in Hamlet's line to Polonius about Ophelia, where he says:

> Let her not walk i'th' sun. Conception is a blessing,
> but as your daughter may conceive—friend, look
> to't.
>
> (II, ii, 184–186)

In the footnote he explains that the word in this context also means 'becoming pregnant'. Muṭrān omits this scene altogether, whereas Sāmī al-Juraydīnī does not maintain the pun.

4.3 Claiming a 'Distinct' Function in the Target Language/Culture

Retranslators of Shakespeare's great tragedies in Egypt also sought to achieve distinction in the field of drama translation by suggesting that their

translations fulfilled functions that were not purportedly fulfilled by earlier translations. The functions claimed for these retranslations may have to do with the introduction of new literary forms that do not exist in the target culture, targeting a different consumer or using the retranslation to promote a certain ideological agenda. Retranslation as a means of flagging an ideological agenda will be discussed in detail in chapter six in connection with the politics of *fuṣḥa* (Classical Arabic) and *'āmmiyya* (Egyptian colloquial Arabic), with reference to Mustapha Safouan's translation of *Othello*. This section will be confined to discussing the two other functions claimed by retranslators to legitimate a new version of an already translated foreign text, namely, introducing new literary forms/devices and addressing a different consumer.

In the introduction to his translation of *Macbeth*, Abū Ḥadīd suggests that most translators of literature into Arabic are not aware of the aesthetic functions their translations should fulfil in their target language/culture. He outlines his view on the function that Arabic translations of literature should attempt to fulfil in the target language/culture as follows:

> I think that translations of literary masterpieces into Arabic should add to the Arabic literary tradition something new that is worth preserving and worth reading in its own right as Arabic literary production. If a translation fails to fulfil this [function], it is no more than an introduction to a foreign literary work or a mere recording of it as foreign literature. The difference is huge between a translation becoming part of Arabic literature and a translation that makes a literary work known, while keeping it foreign.
>
> (1959a: 41, my translation)

After citing examples of literary translation into Arabic that illustrate his view, such as the translations produced by al-Manfalūṭī, Aḥmad Zakī and Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt, Abū Ḥadīd stresses that translations of Shakespeare should not function as mere reports on a foreign work by a great author. He calls upon those who take the responsibility of translating Shakespeare into Arabic to produce a literary image that reflects Shakespeare's work and at the same time stands as a cultural product that enriches Arabic literature. It is for this reason, Abū Ḥadīd tells us, that he decided to translate *Macbeth* in blank verse, a form that is not known in Arabic poetry. Although he mentions that blank verse is the form in which Shakespeare wrote his plays, he justifies his decision to translate into this form solely on target language/literature grounds. He believes that the use of blank verse can empower talented Arab writers to create and experiment with literary genres that have not yet taken root in Arabic literature, such as drama and epic (ibid.: 44). In his introduction, he contends that blank verse will dominate the future of Arabic literary writing. He supports his argument by suggesting that the new generation of Arab writers tend

to break away from the constraints of traditional mono-rhyming poetry. Arab readers of literature too are more inclined to read poetry written in blank verse than conventional poetry. To make his point, Abū Ḥadīd says he published his translation in verse of a few passages from Shakespeare's plays in *al-Risāla* literary magazine alongside translations in prose by others[29] and asked readers to send him their feedback. The result, he tells us, was "a victory for blank verse" (1959a: 46, my translation). 'Āmir Biḥīrī's translation of *Macbeth* came as a direct reaction to Abū Ḥadīd's call for blank verse. Although he agrees with Abū Ḥadīd that verse should be translated into verse, he does not seem to favour using blank verse. He invokes examples of Egyptian writers who wrote drama in mono-rhyming verse, such as Aḥmad Shawqī and 'Azīz Abāza, which proved successful. In the introduction to his translation of *Macbeth*, Biḥīrī speaks from the position of a published poet who was then a member of the poetry committee of the Higher Council for Arts, Literature and Social Sciences. Members of this committee were predominantly traditional poets who wrote in mono-rhyming verse. Biḥīrī had also won a poetry award in mono-rhyming verse named after poet Aḥmad Shawqī.

The 'distinct' function claimed by some retranslators for their versions related to the kind of consumers they had in mind when they produced the translation. Faṭima Mūsa's translation of *King Lear* is a good example in this respect. She makes it clear in her introduction that her translation is mainly for the theatre and secondly for the average common reader. The fact that she wanted to produce a text that could be performed on stage is highlighted on the front cover of the published translation, which features a picture of the renowned British actor John Gielgud playing Lear in 1955[30] (see figure 5.2). Mūsa thus strives in her translation to challenge a deeply rooted image of Shakespeare in the minds of Arab readers and theatre goers which associates his work with classical rhetoric and bombastic declamation. This was mainly the image promoted and reinforced by Muṭrān's translations and the acting of Jurj Abyaḍ. To justify the tendency in her translation to simplify the language of Shakespeare and make it accessible to a wider circle of consumers of theatre, she argues that Shakespeare was primarily a man of theatre who attended to all tastes of theatre goers of his time and that his success was as dependent on the uneducated audience as it was on intellectuals (1970/1997b: 23). This is echoed, Mūsa (ibid.) tells us, in the different language levels employed by Shakespeare in his plays.

Mūsa invests in the different language levels in *King Lear* in order to attend to the different competences of the potential consumers of her translation. She outlines in her introduction the dramatic function of using verse and prose in Shakespeare's text and explains that these two forms of language are meant to represent two different types of character and two different types of situation. Verse in Shakespeare, she says, is used for characters of noble status and to express emotionally loaded situations, whereas prose is mainly used by characters of common descent and to express mundane,

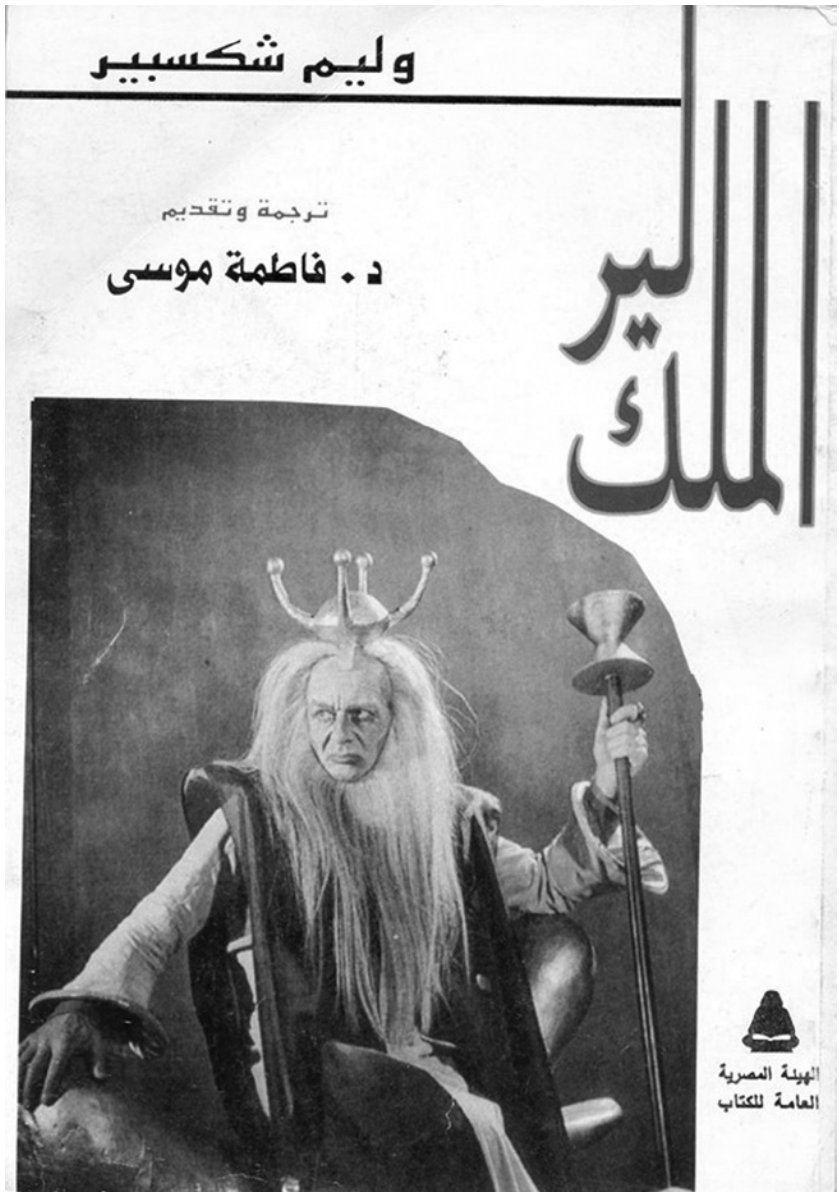


Figure 5.2 Front cover of Fatima Mūsa's translation of *King Lear* (1997)

every day matters (ibid.: 22). Given the wider circle of audience she addresses through her translation, she chooses to substitute Modern Standard Arabic for Shakespeare's verse and colloquial Egyptian Arabic for his prose. The level of language she uses for the Fool or for Edgar when he pretends to be mad is quite representative of the remit of this translation. In act I, scene IV,

when Lear asks what is wrong with Goneril, who seems to be always frowning at him, the Fool has this to say to Lear:

> Thou wast a pretty fellow when thou hadst no need
> to care for her frowning. Now thou art an O without a
> figure; I am better than thou art now. I am a fool, thou
> art nothing. [*to Goneril*] Yes, forsooth, I will hold my
> tongue; so your face bids me, though you say nothing.
> Mum, mum!
>
> He that keeps nor crust nor crumb,
> Weary of all, shall want some.
>
> (I, iv, 182–189)

This is rendered in Mūsa's translation as follows:

> كنت حلو ومبسوط ما كان يهمك تكشيرها، الآن أصبحت صفر
> على الشمال أنا أحسن منك، أنا مهرج وعبيط، إنما أنت لا شئ
> (إلى جونريل) حاضر فهمت، سأمسك لسانى، أرى الأمر فى
> عينيك وإن لم تقولى شيئا
> (يغنى) هس هس ولا حس.
> من يطرد النعمة ولا يترك عنده ولا فتفوتة
> يحتاج يوم للفتافيت.
>
> You were tickled pink and cool [+ col.][31] and didn't care about her frowning [+ col.], now you turned into a big zero [+ col.]
> I'm better than you. I'm a fool and a chump [+col.], but you're nothing
> (**to Goneril**) Yes, I understand, I will hold my tongue, I see it
> In your eyes, even if you did not say anything.
> (**he sings**) shush, no noise [+ col.]
> he that gives away all blessed food and leaves not a single crust [+ col.]
> will one day need crusts [+ col.].
>
> (1970/1997a: 57, my translation)

This level of language is in stark contrast with the language used for the fool in the same situation in Ibrahīm Ramzī's translation of *King Lear* 38 years earlier:

> لقد كنت علي أحسن حال يوم لم تكن تأبه لعبستها.
> أنا أحسن منك حالاً—أما اليوم فأنت صفر لا قدر له.
> إني بهلول القصر أما أنت فلا شئ (إلى غونوريل)
> أجل سأحبس لسانى، هكذا يأمرنى وجهك، وإن لم
> تتكلمى. هوس
> من ليس يبقى كسرة من يبسة أو هنة لغده من أمسه
> لضيق صدر فيه أو لمسة لابد أن يحتاجها لنفسه
> ويلطم الخد لفرط يأسه

You were doing extremely well when you did not care for her frowning face
But now you are a worthless zero—I am better than you
I am the court's fool, but you are nothing (to Goneril)
Well, I will hold my tongue, that is how your face orders me, even if you do not
Speak. Shush
He who does not keep a crust of his dry bread,
Or food from yesterday for tomorrow,
Whether for his impatience or for his madness,
He will surely need them
But he will be so disappointed that he will slap himself.
(Ramzī 1932: 45, my translation)

The higher register in Ramzī's translation is justified by the fact that this translation was addressed to school students. It was even revised by a group of three editors that included Khalil Muṭrān. Using the Egyptian colloquial (*'āmmiyya*) in a school textbook was, and still is, against the country's language and educational policy (see chapter 6 this volume).

The accessible language Mūsa used in her translation of *King Lear* and the use of different registers for different characters and dramatic situations might explain why theatre director Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥalīm chose this version in 2002 to stage at the National Theatre. The remarkable success of this performance was largely due, according to many critics,[32] to the theatrical language Mūsa developed for her translation. For Selaiha, for instance, "Mūsa's lucid and infinitely accessible translation" enabled the director to bring Shakespeare's play closer to the Egyptian audience and achieve "social relevance" for the performance (Selaiha 2002b).

By contrast to Mūsa's translation, Muḥammad Enānī's version of *King Lear* (1996a) tends to be more literary. Enānī's version seems to be primarily targeted at elite readers of literature and academics. The linguistic and stylistic choices made by Enānī, as well as the way he generally frames his translation through his paratexts, support this assumption. Unlike Mūsa, Enānī retains Shakespeare's verse in his version. In his introduction to the translation, he frequently stresses that Shakespeare wrote *King Lear* in a mixture of prose and verse, referring implicitly to Mūsa's version, which was produced mainly in prose. To assert the distinction of his translation, he suggests that failing to reproduce verse in the translation of *King Lear* is an act of infidelity to Shakespeare's text, which he avoided in his translation (Enānī 1996c: 46). In addressing elite readers of literature, Enānī uses a high level of Classical Arabic that comes close to Muṭrān's[33] language in his translations of Shakespeare. This is maintained throughout Enānī's version. Comparing Enānī's and Mūsa's rendering of Edmund's monologue in act I, scene II shows the difference between a translation that seeks to relate to readers of literature and another that strives to draw closer to the theatre

goer. After Edmund's soliloquy to Nature, he addresses an absent Edgar and says:

> Well, then,
> Legitimate Edgar, I must have your land.
> Our father's love is to the bastard Edmund
> As to the legitimate. Fine word, 'legitimate'!
> Well, my legitimate, if this letter speed
> And my invention thrive, Edmund the base
> Shall top the legitimate. I grow, I prosper:
> Now gods, stand up for bastards!
> (*King Lear* 1997/2001: I, ii, 15–22)

Enānī's translation of this extract is as follows:

> اسمَع إذَنْ
> يا أيُّها الشَّرْعيُّ يا إدْجار! لَسَوْف آخُذُ المِيرَاثَ مِنْكَ!
> فلا يَقِلُّ حبُّ والِدِى لابنِ السِّفاح إدموند
> عن حُبِّه لابنِ الحلالِ الشَّرعيّ! الشَّرعى؟ ما أبدَعَ الكَلِمة!
> أَبْشِر إذَنْ يا صاحبِي الشَّرعى! إنْ أَفْلَحَ الخطَاب فى يَدِى
> وأَفْلحَتْ كذاك خُطَّتِى، فَسَوْفَ يَصْعدُ الحَقِيرُ إدموند
> حَتَّى يَفُوقَ ذلِكَ الشَّرعيّ! لسوف أَعْلو! لَسَوْفَ أَنْجَحُ!
> والآن يا أَرْبَاب ناصِرُوا نَسْلَ السِّفَاحِ!

> Listen, then,
> Oh, legitimate Edgar! I will take the inheritance from you!
> My father's love for the baseborn Edmund is not less
> Than his love for the legitimate, lawful child! The legitimate? What a wonderful word!
> Wait for the good news, then, my legitimate friend! If the letter in my hand works out
> And so does my plan, the contemptible Edmund will rise
> Until he surpasses this legitimate! I will advance upwards! I will succeed!
> Oh gods, now support the illegitimate offspring!
> (Enānī 1996a: 73, my translation)

Mūsa renders the same extract as follows:

> طيب يا إدجار يا شرعى لا بد أن آخذ أرضك،
> إن أبانا يحب ابن الحرام بمثل ما يحب ابن الحلال.
> ما أبدعها كلمة: ابن الحلال! طيب يا ابن الحلال،
> إذا أفلح هذا الخطاب وأفلحت خطتى فسيركبك ابن الحرام
> سأكبر وأنجح.
> يا رب انصر أولاد الحرام

> Ok [+ col.], legitimate Edgar, I must take your land,
> Our father loves the bastard the same as he loves the lawful child
> What a wonderful word: lawful child! Ok [+ col.], lawful child,
> If this letter works out and so does my plan, the baseborn will mount you [+ col.].
> I will grow, I will succeed.
> Oh, God, give victory to the baseborn.
>
> (Mūsa 1970/1997a: 43)

This extract from Edmund's monologue is translated in Enānī's version in Classical Arabic and in blank verse.[34] The high register of Classical Arabic in Enānī's translation is manifest in both his lexical choices and grammatical forms. Whereas Mūsa opts for the low-register expression *ibn al-ḥarām*[35] (bastard), Enānī uses the highly classical word *ibn al-sifāḥ* (baseborn). For Shakespeare's 'top' in line 21 Enānī uses *yafūq* (surpasses), whereas Mūsa uses the low-register and almost obscene *yarkab* (mount). For the filler 'well' in lines 15 and 19 in Shakespeare's text, Enānī uses the classical expressions *isma' idhan* (Listen, then) and *abshir* (wait for the good news). Unlike Enānī, Mūsa uses the colloquial *ṭayyib* (ok). Enānī also tends to use grammatical forms that are characteristic of literary Arabic. In addressing Edgar, Edmund in Enānī's version uses the highly formal Arabic vocative expression *ya ayuha* (rendered as 'oh' in my back translation), whereas Mūsa opts for the less formal *ya* (omitted in the back translation). Enānī's use of the grammatical form *la-* in *la-sawfa* (will) is also characteristic of a high register of Classical Arabic. Knowing that his translation is targeted at an elite reader who is capable of appreciating the foreignness of Shakespeare's text, Enānī retains the plural 'gods' in line 22, whereas Mūsa opts for the singular form, which is more palatable for Egyptian theatre goers and common readers, who are monotheists. Enānī's use of classical literary Arabic is maintained throughout the translation, even for characters such as the Fool and Edgar when he pretends to be mad. In addition to Enānī's introduction, where he outlines the hermeneutic history of the play and its various interpretations by different literary approaches, the front cover highlights the literary character of the translation (see figure 5.3). The fact that Jamāl Quṭb, the artist who designed all the front covers of Nobel laureate Najīb Maḥfūz's novels and literary works by most Egyptian writers, designed the front cover of Enānī's translation is significant in this context. Quṭb's distinctive style of character portraits, which is associated with such famous literary works as Maḥfūz's *Cairo Trilogy*, frames Enānī's translation as a literary work for the elite reader, rather than as a text for the common reader or as a script for a theatre director.

All three examples of Abū Ḥadīd's translation of *Macbeth* and Mūsa's and Enānī's translations of *King Lear* suggest that one of the forms of distinction used by retranslators to stand out in the field of drama translation and legitimate a new version of an already translated text is claiming a new function for the new translation in the target culture.

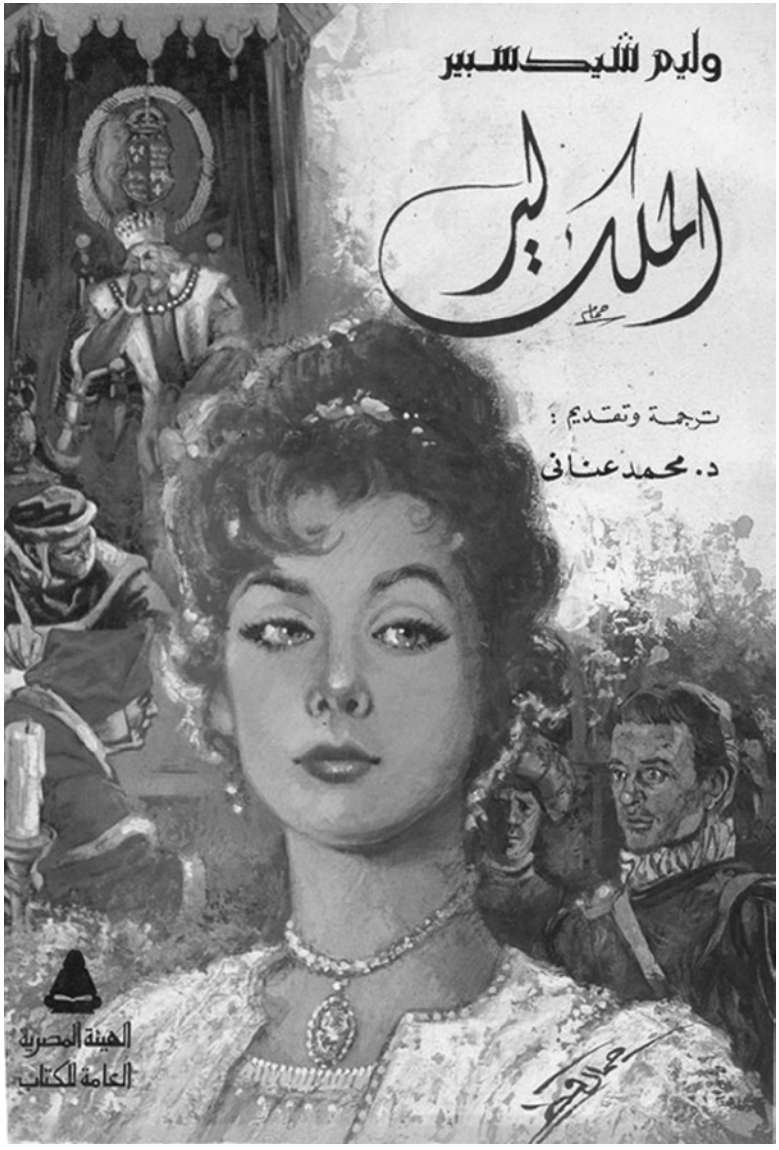


Figure 5.3 Front cover of Muḥammad Enāni's translation of *King Lear* (1996a).

Through these two Bourdieusian concepts of 'social ageing' and 'distinction', this chapter sought to show that the 'ageing' of a translation, and hence the need for a retranslation, is not totally due to its language becoming obsolete. This 'ageing' is not something innate in a translation, but rather it is the declared outcome of a struggle between established translators and the newcomers to the field. As a result of this struggle, translations are either

pushed out of history, i.e. become dated, or are pushed into history, i.e. become classics that are suitable for all times. In addition to the strategies used by retranslators to claim distinction, which have been discussed in this chapter, another strategy is to question one of the foundational assumptions on which the practice of drama translation is premised, i.e. its *doxa*. This is the subject of chapter six.

NOTES

1 The first translation of *Macbeth*, which is now lost, was produced by two translators, 'Abd al-Malik Iskandar and Jirjis 'abd al-Malik, and published in 1900.

2 Susam-Sarajeva observes that the issue of foreign texts not receiving more than one translation is rarely discussed, in comparison with the issue of 'retranslation' (Susam-Sarajeva 2003: 5). In terms of Bourdieu's sociology, the preliminary explanation to the question of foreign texts having 'zero retranslation' would include one of two scenarios. First, the foreign text is probably seen in the target culture as a minor or irrelevant work that is not worth reinvesting in, a scenario which is especially verified when the first translation fails to gain either economic success or prestige for its translator. This is probably true of some of Shakespeare's plays which were translated only once in Arabic. These plays are generally seen by producers of drama translation as having no particular importance for either mainstream consumers or consecrators of drama translation, as in the case of Shakespeare's histories and comedies. According to Alshetawi, *King John*, *I Henry IV*, *I Henry VI* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* were each translated once (2002: 482–90). Other Shakespearean plays which were generally regarded in the market of Arabic drama translation as minor in the Shakespearean corpus were also translated once. These include *Titus Andronicus* and *Troilus and Cressida* (ibid). The second possible explanatory scenario for 'zero retranslation' has to do with the enormous 'instruments of production' that are needed for some translation projects. 'Instruments of production' is a term used by Bourdieu to refer to the "rhetorical devices, genres, legitimate styles and manners" at the disposal of a writer in the field of literary production (1991: 57–8). In the context of translation, 'instruments of production' can be used to refer to the translator's specialized knowledge of the linguistic and cultural specificities of the source text, his/her mastery of the linguistic and cultural sensitivities/particularity of the target culture as well as the institutions which are ready to disseminate and market the translation. The 'instruments of production' necessary for translating and disseminating such works as Dante's *Divina Commedia*, Homer's *Illiad* or Milton's *Paradise Lost* are not always available. For instance, *Divina Commedia*, which was first fully translated by the Egyptian Italianist Ḥasan 'Uthmān and published by a government publisher in 1959, was not retranslated until 2002 when UNESCO sponsored a second translation by the Iraqi translator Kāẓim Jihād. Similarly, the 'instruments of production' available for Muḥammad Enani, translator of *Paradise Lost* into Arabic (1986), with his specialist knowledge of Milton's works and strong ties to the government publisher General Egyptian Book Organisation, were not available for a second translation of the same text. Other explanations for 'zero retranslation' may include the enormous symbolic capital enjoyed by the first translator, which

may discourage subsequent translators from challenging the first translation. These are tentative explanations that need to be verified in detailed studies of situations where we have 'zero retranslation'. In terms of Bourdieu's sociology, however, the initial question raised by Susam-Sarajeva (2003: 5) about 'zero retranslation' needs to be adjusted: instead of wondering "why does a certain text cause more than one translation?", one should ask 'what are the motives, mechanisms and strategies in the field of translation production in the target culture that allow one foreign text, rather than another, to be retranslated?'

3 The translation itself was published in 1922.

4 For detailed statistics of the performances presented in Egyptian theatres during the period from 1952 to 1966, see the special issue of *al-Masraḥ* monthly, published in July 1966.

5 *Al-Qaḍiyya* was directed by 'Abd al-Riḥīm al-Zurqānī and *al-Ṣafqa* by Fattūḥ Nashāṭī.

6 The translation was done by Muḥammad Mikkī.

7 An online version of this article, which was originally published in issue no. 477 of the Egyptian *Al-Ahram Weekly*, can be found at the following link: http://weekly.ahram.org.eg//2000/477/cu3.htm.

8 Selaiha's review of this performance, which was originally published in issue no. 594 of the Egyptian *Al-Ahram Weekly*, can be found at the following link: http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2002/594/cu1.htm.

9 In a review of the 1962 performance of *Macbeth*, Muḥammad Mandūr (n.d: 133–5) highlights the difficulty of putting Muṭrān's translation on stage given its extravagantly classical and rhetorical style. He (ibid: 131–2) criticizes Muṭrān's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* for the same reason, in the context of his review of a performance based on this translation and directed by Fattūḥ Nashāṭī for the National Theatre in the 1963/4 theatre season.

10 Whereas the 1962 performance mentioned earlier starred Ḥamdī Ghayth as Macbeth and Thanā' Gamīl as Lady Macbeth, the 1991 performance, which was directed by Shakir 'Abd al-Laṭīf, starred 'Abdalla Ghayth and Fardūs 'Abd al-Ḥamīd.

11 Conferring titles as a way of signalling status has always been typical of the field of Arabic literature in most of its phases. Titles have been used as 'marks of distinction', indicators of the symbolic capital possessed by writers and the position they occupy in the field in relation to each other. Examples include such titles as 'al-nabigha' (the genius), given to the pre-Islamic poet Ziyād ibn Mu'awiya; 'ustāz al-jīl' (master of the generation), given to modern Egyptian thinker Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid; 'amīr al-shu'arā" (prince of the poets), given to Egyptian poet Aḥmad Shawqī; 'sha'ir al-nīl (poet of the Nile), given to Egyptian poet Ḥafiz Ibrahīm; and "amīd al-adab al-'arabī' (doyen of Arabic literature), given to Egyptian writer Ṭaha Ḥusayn. For a more detailed list of titles of Arab writers see al-Ghaḍbān (1960: 144–6).

12 This translation was commissioned in 1913 by the then Minister of Education Aḥmad Ḥishmat Pasha. It carried the Arabic title *Al-Mujaz fi al-Iqtiṣād* (*An Outline of Economics*), was published in five volumes and was taught in Egyptian secondary schools at the time. See al-Ṭanḥī (1960: 111).

13 Whereas there is no definitive evidence as to which French translation Muṭrān used, Badawi (1985: 198) speculates that he might have relied on Georges Duval's versions.

14 Ramzī went to England in 1907 to study medicine but switched to studying social sciences in London (Badawi 1988: 75). Later in 1921, he obtained a degree by correspondence in social sciences from the Victoria University of Manchester (al-Ḥadīnī 1997: 6). He also worked as a translator from English

in the ministry of agriculture and then an inspector of English teaching in the ministry of education. Later in his life, he became the general inspector of the Educational Missions Department (ibid).

15 Ramzī invested in his good command of English and his professional practice of translation through compiling an Arabic/English Dictionary of colloquial Egyptian, which is now lost (Badawi 1988: 75).

16 Ramzī's translation of *King Lear* was staged at the Royal Opera House by director ʻAzīz ʻĪd in 1935, his translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* was directed by Jurj Abyaḍ in 1914 and his translation of *Pizarro* was staged in 1946 by the Egyptian Troupe for Acting and Music. For a full listing of Ramzī's translated plays and their theatre productions, see al-Hadīnī (1997: 7–8).

17 Samī al-Juraydīnī used the term *tarjama* (translation) on the cover of the second edition of his translation of *Hamlet*. Except for some sporadic uses of *naql* (transfer), *tarjama* and *mutarjim* have been the default terms designating 'translation' and 'translator' since the late 1920s.

18 Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd (1893–1967) was an Egyptian novelist, translator, essayist, playwright and educationalist. He had a degree in teaching from the Higher Training College for Teachers and another in law from Cairo University. He was, together with such writers as Muṣṭafa and ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Rāziq, Ṭaha Ḥusayn and Muḥammad ʻAbdalla ʻAnān, the first to contribute essays to the literary periodical *al-Sufūr*, a liberal publication which was launched in 1915. Other periodicals to which he contributed included *al-Thaqāfa*, *al-Risāla* and *al-Kitāb*. He is mainly remembered for such historical novels as *Ibnat al-Mamlūk* (Mamluk's Daughter), *ʻAntara ibn Shaddād* ('Antara, Son of Shaddād) and *Ana al-Shaʻb* (I, the people). He wrote one play in blank verse, *Khusrū wa Shirīn* (Khusrū and Shirīn), which was published in 1934. Abū Ḥadīd was granted membership in the Arabic Language Academy in 1946 and received two state prizes for literature in 1959 and 1964. For further details on his life and work, see Ḥijāzī (1997); ʻUṣfūr (1997) and Goldschmidt Jr. (2000).

19 An introduction by Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Ghanī Ḥasan (n.d.) was added to Muṭrān's translation of *Macbeth* when it was republished as part of the Shakespeare translation project launched by the Cultural Department of the Arab League in the 1950s. In this introduction, Ḥasan outlines the critics' views of the play, its sources, writing and publication. He also provides an analytical synopsis of the play.

20 In addition to his translation of *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1967); Liwīs ʻAwaḍ (1914–1990) wrote a book on Shakespeare's world and theatre, entitled *al-Baḥth ʻann Shakespeare* (*In Search of Shakespeare*) (1965). His other translations from English include Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (1964), Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1946) and Samuel Johnson's *Rasselas* (1971).

21 Faṭima Mūsa (1927–2007) graduated from the English Department, Fouad I University, now Cairo University, in 1948 and obtained a PhD in English Literature from London University in 1957. Since the 1990s she has headed the translation committee of The Egyptian Supreme Council of Culture and has contributed to the National Translation Project run by the Council. In addition to her translation of *King Lear*, Mūsa produced a translation of *Henry IV* and a translation into English of Najīb Maḥfūz's *Miramar*. She also authored a book in Arabic on Shakespeare, entitled *Shakespeare Shaʻir al-Masraḥ* (*Shakespeare: The Poet of Theatre*) and edited a multi-volume dictionary of theatre in Arabic. Mūsa was awarded the State Award of Merit in 1997.

22 A second edition of this translation was published in 1997.

23 Even translators in early-twentieth-century Egypt, such as Ṣāliḥ and ʻIffat, who tended to produce 'autonomous' translations, were inclined under the

pressure of the dominant 'heteronomous' translations to flag their ability to finish their translations in short periods of time. Ṣāliḥ states in his brief preface to his translation of *Macbeth* that he "translated it in a short period of time" (1911: 4, my translation), and 'Iffat mentions at the end of his version of *Macbeth* the dates he started and finished the translation. He finished the translation within almost three months (from 25 August 1911 to 3 December of the same year) ('Iffat 1911: 130).

24 'Uthmān started his translation of the *Commedia* in 1951 and published the second part in 1964. Ṭaha started his translation of *Ulysses* in 1968 and published it in 1982.

25 This version was staged by Abū al-Ḥasan Sallām in May 1979 at the theatre of the Drama Society of Alexandria.

26 The Arabic books he published on translation include *Fann al-Tarjama* (*Art of Translation* 1992); *Al-Muṣṭalaḥat al-Adabiyya al-Ḥadītha: Dirāsa wa Mu'jam* (*Modern Literary Terms: Study and Dictionary* 1996); *Al-Tarjama al-Adabiyya bayn al-Naẓariyya wa al-Taṭbīq* (*Literary Translation between Theory and Practice* 1997); and *Murshid al-Mutarjim* (*The Translator's Manual* 2000). In 2003, he published a book on recent developments in translation theory, along the line of Jeremy Munday's *Introducing Translation Studies* (2001), with examples from Arabic; the book is entitled *Naẓariyyat al-Tarjama al-Ḥadītha: Madkhal ila Mabḥath Dirasāt al-Tarjama* (*Modern Translation Theory: An Introduction to the Discipline of Translation Studies*).

27 The oldest edition used by Enānī, as he states in his introduction, is Macmillan, edited by K. Deighton and published for the first time in 1891. The most recent edition he used is Applause, published in 1996. Among the other editions he used are New Swan and New Cambridge.

28 A good example is the footnote in scene V, act III on page 175 of the translation, where we have a dialogue between Cornwall and Edmund. Enānī cites a sentence uttered by Cornwall as an example of problematic sentences which drew different explanations from commentators and editors. Cornwall says, "I now perceive, it was not altogether your brother's evil disposition made him seek his death, but a provoking merit, set a-work by a reprovable badness in himself". Enānī highlights the difficulty of translating 'provoking merit' and cites the contradictory explanations provided by such commentators as Bernard Lott, W. Turner, John Russell Brown, David Bevington and Deighton. After outlining the explanations provided by each, he endorses Turner's explanation, which he then double checks against the context.

29 Muṭrān's translations must have been among these, because he was known for translating Shakespeare in prose.

30 This is another way of signalling that the translator had direct access to the play in its original text, as well as to its performance on stage by leading British actors.

31 Colloquial expression.

32 For reviews of this performance, see Barakat (2002); Faraj (2002) and Selaiha (2002b).

33 Elsewhere, Enānī shows his admiration of the classical Arabic used by Muṭrān in his translations of Shakespeare (1997: 242).

34 The segments in blank verse in Enānī's translation, as this extract shows, are marked by special notation for Arabic pronunciation.

35 Besides its moral connotation, *ibn al-ḥarām* has religious undertones; *al-ḥarām* in Arabic suggests a religious taboo.

6 'Breaking the Silence of *Doxa*'
Iconoclastic Translations

As discussed in chapter five, retranslations seek to gain legitimacy in the field of drama translation by flagging their distinction from earlier translations. However, this needs to be well calculated in a way that guarantees that this presumed distinction does not violate the constitutive principles on which the field is founded and does not challenge what is taken for granted in the field. In their attempt to gain distinction, most retranslators make sure they do not 'break the silence of *doxa*', to use Bourdieu's expression (see section 3.8 in chapter 2 of this volume for a detailed discussion of 'doxa'). However, there are cases where retranslators consciously challenge the key assumptions on which the translation field is premised. Mustapha Safouan's translation of *Othello* into the Egyptian vernacular is one such case.

This chapter will discuss a foundational *doxa* in the field of drama translation in Egypt, especially in connection with the translation of classics, namely the use of *fuṣḥa*[1] (Classical Arabic) as the medium of translation, especially in connection with such canonical texts as Shakespeare's. In identifying doxic and non-doxic practices in the field of drama translation, I will attempt to locate them within the wider context of language practices in the fields of literature, literary translation and drama translation. The social economy of *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya*, i.e. the amount of capital attached to them in both the Arabic-Islamic tradition and the social space of modern Egypt, will also be discussed. "The distribution of capital between *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* plays an important role in deciding the linguistic choices made by producers of culture in Egypt, especially translators into Arabic. In this context, I will discuss the use of these two varieties in both the literary field and the field of drama translation in Egypt, with particular reference to Safouan's 'iconoclastic' translation of *Othello*.

1 THE SOCIAL ECONOMY OF *FUṢḤA* AND *'ĀMMIYYA*

1.1 Fuṣḥa in the Arabic-Islamic Tradition

The prestigious position occupied by *fuṣḥa* in fields of cultural production in all Arabic-speaking countries, including Egypt, is due to historical reasons.

Suleiman (2003) discusses a number of these reasons against the backdrop of the rise and development of the discourse of nationalism in Arabic-speaking countries. Perhaps the most obvious reason for *fuṣḥa* to hold such an eminent position for all Arabs, educated and uneducated, is its close association with Islam, the religion of the majority of Arabs. The high status of *fuṣḥa* as the medium of 'God's revelation' is highlighted in both the Qur'ān and *Ḥadīth* (sayings of Prophet) and, hence, learning and using it is deemed a religious obligation for Muslims (Suleiman 2003: 43).

The superiority of Arabic to other languages is accentuated in the Arabic linguistic and intellectual traditions in different fashions. In highlighting the special position of Arabic as a 'divine' language, al-Tha'ālibī (961–1038) claims that God did not only choose Arabic as the medium of his revelation, but He also made sure that this language would remain preserved and 'pure' by calling on a group of pious and God-fearing people, the linguists, to serve it (Chejne 1969: 14). This establishes not only the distinctive position of *fuṣḥa*, compared to other languages but also the authority of Arab linguists, as well as scholars of religion (*fuqahā'*), as the 'custodians' of the divine language.

Failure to comply with the grammatical rules of *fuṣḥa* in speech or writing, known in Arabic as *laḥn* (solecism), was regarded in early Islam as both a religious as well as social offence. The *Ḥadīth* literature relates, as reported by Suleiman (2003: 50), that the Prophet regarded the corrupt speech of any of his followers as a moral deviation (*ḍalāl*) from the correct path. The jurist al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (642–728) considered solecism in reciting the Qur'ān an act of fabrication of God's word, and he also considered solecism in the speech of an *imam* (grand *shaykh*) an offence that requires removing from office (ibid.).

In the Arabic tradition, solecism is also seen as capable of undermining the social standing of an individual (Suleiman 2003: 53). This connection between an individual's mastery of correct and pure Classical Arabic and his or her public image is clearly identifiable during the Umayyad caliphate (661–750). The Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Marawān is reported to have likened solecism to "a face ravaged with smallpox" (ibid.). For this caliph, who was known to have avoided making solecism even in joke-telling, "solecism detracts from the status of a nobleman" (ibid.: 54). It is for this reason that al-Ḥajjāj (661–714), governor of Iraq, sent into exile the grammarian Yaḥya Ibn Ya'mar because he "dared to point instances of solecism in the governor's recitation of the Qur'ān" (ibid.). In the social hierarchy of an Arab-Islamic society during that time, solecism was tolerated "only in the language of slave girls and young and coquettish women" (ibid.). In other words, deviation from *fuṣḥa* as the standard and official language of the Arab-Islamic state either in speech or writing has socio-cultural implications, because it is usually associated with the marginalized and the disadvantaged social classes. In modern Egypt, *fuṣḥa* continues to occupy a position of authority in the socio-cultural space with instances of challenge from *'āmmiyya*.

1.2 Fuṣḥa and 'Āmmiyya in Modern Egypt

The sustained authority of *fuṣḥa* in modern Egypt is again premised on its association with the Qur'ān. In her socio-cultural study of the language situation in Egypt, Haeri (2003: x) reports that many Egyptians told her that "in order to learn Classical Arabic well, one had to study the Qur'an, whose language is the Word of God and the highest exemplar of Classical Arabic". Moreover, the adoption of *fuṣḥa* as the official language of the state has always been accentuated in all Egyptian constitutions (ibid.). Hence all official documents, ranging from presidential speeches[2] to state facility bills, are in *fuṣḥa*. All print media, including newspapers, magazines, books, manuals, brochures, etc., are also in *fuṣḥa*. *'Āmmiyya* is confined to daily conversation and popular culture, including songs, movies and most TV products.

The fact that *fuṣḥa* is regarded as the official language of writing in Egypt is most evident in the existence of what Haeri (2003: 55) terms 'text regulators', i.e. individuals who are entrusted with the privileged task of revising pieces of writing and making sure they conform to the rules of *fuṣḥa* before they send them to be printed. In addition to editors and proofreaders, the category of text regulators in the fields of print media in Egypt include what is known in Arabic as *muṣaḥiḥ al-lugha* (i.e. language corrector). Generally, no 'manuscript' is allowed to become a published 'text' until the *muṣaḥiḥ* has made sure that its language is *fuṣḥa* throughout and that no word or expression that sounds colloquial finds its way to the final text. The language corrector also checks the grammar of the manuscript to make sure it does not break the grammatical rules of *fuṣḥa*, in which he[3] must be well-versed. Although there are numerous reference books on the grammatical rules of Arabic, the competence of the language corrector is measured by how capable he is of recalling these rules without consulting a reference book.[4] The *muṣaḥiḥ* in the context of print media in Egypt is delegated with the authority of Classical Arabic itself, as Haeri (2003: 69) explains:

> The authority behind correctors is the authority of Classical Arabic itself, bolstered somewhat paradoxically through state institutions. In the hierarchy of Classical Arabic, the writer and the text regulator, the former is there to "serve" the language and the latter to make certain of the quality of the service. The only authority that is unquestioned belongs to the language.

In addition to correcting grammar, infelicitous stylistic turns and lexical choices, the language corrector is required to check the accuracy of any cited *Ḥadīth* (tradition and sayings of the Prophet) and verses from the Qur'ān. Having interviewed language correctors in a number of publishing houses based in Cairo, Haeri (2003: 60) remarks that the tools of the trade used by these correctors include not only dictionaries and grammar references but also *Ḥadīth* collections and Qur'ānic concordances. No wonder then that the

majority of them are graduates of al-Azhar religious university. Even those who graduate from Arabic departments in other secular state universities are almost equally exposed to religious texts, which are regarded as exemplary in terms of language correctness. The fact that language correctors are invested with the power of regulating texts and guarding the correctness and purity of *fuṣḥa* might explain why they are mainly male Muslims: individuals from disadvantaged sectors of Egyptian society, such as women[5] and Copts are very rarely entrusted with this task (ibid.: 65). In an interview with an Egyptian *muṣaḥiḥ*, he tells Haeri (ibid.) "we [correctors] have nothing against women, but there are no women in this profession that I know of".

The authority of *fuṣḥa* as delegated to language correctors is most evident in connection with newspaper interviews, which are mostly conducted in *'āmmiyya* (Egyptian Arabic). Before sending these interviews to be printed, they are regulated by language correctors who in most cases 'translate' them into *fuṣḥa*. Sometimes a calculated degree of *'āmmiyya* is allowed in some of these interviews, albeit with socio-cultural implications: *fuṣḥa* in these interviews is used to represent powerful social groups who enjoy a prestigious position in the social space, whereas the different varieties of *'āmmiyya* are deployed to represent less prestigious groups. Haeri (2003: 104) highlights this hierarchical relation between *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* by examining how the speech of four different speakers from four different social groups are regulated and represented in print media. The four language situations examined are a public meeting between the president and Egyptian intellectuals in which the president commented on and responded to issues and questions raised by the intellectuals and three separate interviews with the Egyptian Nobel laureate Najīb Maḥfūz, actor 'Umar al-Sharīf and actor 'Ādil Imām. In examining the ways the speech of these different individuals is reported in print media, Haeri (2003: 104) identifies a hierarchy of individuals who are assigned different degrees of *fuṣḥa* depending on the socio-political prestige they enjoy in the public space: with the president represented as using *fuṣḥa* throughout his speech and the comedian actor 'Ādil Imām using pure *'āmmiyya*, Mahfūz and al-Sharīf are represented as using a combination of *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* in different degrees and for different reasons.

Associating *fuṣḥa* with the politically powerful and the socially prestigious implies that *'āmmiyya* is "officially viewed as *lacking in status*" (ibid.: 98, emphasis added). This imbalance in power relations between *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* in the social space is reiterated in the fields of cultural production in Egypt, particularly the two fields of literature and drama translation.

2 *FUṢḤA* AND *'ĀMMIYYA* IN THE FIELD OF LITERARY PRODUCTION IN EGYPT

Writing in *fuṣḥa* has always been seen as the prime condition for gaining recognition from the literary establishment in the field of literary production

in Arabic and hence becoming canonized. Somekh (1991: 66) remarks that classical literary anthologies, inclusion in which is one mark of canonicity, are full of literary anecdotes which lack in aesthetic qualities; it was only because they were written in exemplary *fuṣḥa*, he argues, that they found their way into these anthologies. *'Āmmiyya*, as a result, has generally been seen in the literary field in Egypt as "low-brow", only suitable for literary contexts that are "less than serious", and as produced by authors "who make no claim to literary leadership" (ibid.: 71–2). Associating canonicity with *faṣāḥa* (using 'pure' and 'correct' *fuṣḥa* as a means of expression) was responsible, Somekh (ibid.: 67) remarks, for the almost total disregard by the literary establishment of a work like *The Arabian Nights*, which has always been considered by the custodians of *fuṣḥa* as marred by non-Arabic lexis, colloquialisms, not to mention 'immoral' anecdotes and references that subvert the codes of decorum in *fuṣḥa*. It was only when *The Arabian Nights* became a centre of attention for Western scholars that it started to gain recognition among Arab scholars.

The fact that canonicity is dependent on *faṣāḥa* is generally valid for all genres in the field of Arabic literature. For such a central genre in Arabic as poetry, writing in 'pure' and 'correct' *fuṣḥa* is a prerequisite for any poet to become canonized. Snir (2001: 17) provides a telling example in connection with one Arab cultural institution which plays a central role in the canonization/marginalization of contemporary Arab poets, namely the Institute of 'Abd al-'Azīz Sa'ūd al-Bābṭīn's Prize. In addition to awarding a prestigious prize for poetry written in Classical Arabic, this Institute published *Mu'jam al-Bābṭīn li-l-Shu'arā' al-'Arab al-Mu'āṣirīn* (1995), an encyclopaedic dictionary with 1,644 entries of twentieth-century Arab poets who write in *fuṣḥa*, together with samples of their work. When the Institute refused to list Palestinian poet Fārūq Mawāsī (b. 1941) in the dictionary, the reasons cited included, apart from defects in metre, the use of dialectal, as well as Hebrew words (ibid.).

In literary fiction, *'āmmiyya* is partly allowed in dialogue, although it is against the *doxa* of the field of Arabic literature to write narrative sections in *'āmmiyya*. The few Arab writers who tried, by way of experimenting, to write and publish narrative sections in *'āmmiyya* have done so supported by the symbolic capital they have already accumulated in the field. One obvious example is Liwīs 'Awaḍ, who wrote his diaries in *'āmmiyya* while he was studying at Cambridge in the early 1940s. 'Awaḍ could not publish these diaries, entitled in Arabic *Mudhakkirāt Ṭālib Ba'tha* (*Diaries of a Student on an Educational Mission*), until 1965, when he started to gain recognition as one of the important names in Arabic literary criticism at the time.

Publishing a novel written completely in *'āmmiyya* is deemed subversive of a foundational *doxa* in the field of literature in Egypt. Apart from being risky in terms of gaining recognition, publishing in Egyptian *'āmmiyya* is financially unrewarding, because it means that the much larger number of consumers in the Arab world are sacrificed for a limited literary market

in Egypt. When publishers take the risk of publishing literary works in *'āmmiyya*, they strive to justify this move to the reader in different ways. Two examples are relevant in this context. The first is *Laban al-'Uṣfūr* (*Sparrow's Milk*), a novel by the Egyptian novelist Yūsuf al-Qa'īd, which was written completely in *'āmmiyya* and published in 1994. In an apologetic note, the publisher writes at the end of the novel: "we reject the use of *'āmmiyya* in prose . . . Still, having completed the building of his narrative world, the author may well be allowed to experiment once in a while and to attempt to revolt against the prevailing situation" (cited and translated in Snir 2001: 18). Obviously, the publisher justifies this risky move in the field of literature by invoking the symbolic capital of the novelist who has already complied with the rules of the literary game (or paid the fees for entering and staying in the field, in Bourdieusian terms) and achieved success and may hence be allowed to experiment. When the symbolic capital of an author who has challenged the literary *doxa* is limited, publishers tend to justify their enterprise by commissioning other writers and critics to write introductions to the work in question. When Mustafa Musharrafa's novel *Qanṭara alladhī Kafar* (*Qanṭara who Disbelieved*), which was completely written in *'āmmiyya*, was republished in 1991, seven different authors wrote prefaces for this edition. As Haeri (2003: 123) remarks, "[the] authority of seven other authors and their justifications seem to have been perceived as necessary for a novel that is written in Egyptian Arabic". The first edition of this novel had taken a long time to get published: it was written in the 1940s, but was not published until the early 1960s, and even then in a limited edition (ibid.: 122).

The fact that canonization is dependent on writing in 'pure' and 'correct' *fuṣḥa* influences the decisions of writers and their choice of the different positions they occupy in the field of literature. Yūsuf al-Sibā'ī's novel *al-Saqqa Māt* (*The Water Seller Died*, 1952) provides a good example. Al-Sibā'ī, who was known to have used *'āmmiyya* in novels previous to *al-Saqqa Māt*, both in dialogue and narration, tells his readers in the introduction that he decided to write this novel in *fuṣḥa* to please the Egyptian Ministry of Education, which had previously refused to include some of his earlier novels in school curricula because they contained "several phrases in *'āmmiyya*" (cited and translated in Snir 2001: 18).

The authority of *fuṣḥa* as a mark and condition of canonization does not only shape the decisions made by producers of literature throughout their trajectory in the field but at times leads them to reconsider previously made decisions. The obvious example here is Maḥmūd Taymūr's play entitled *Kidb fi Kidb* (*Absolute Sham*). Taymūr (1894–1973), who wrote both fiction and drama, tended in the earlier phases of his literary career, as Somekh (1991: 93) reports, to use *'āmmiyya* frequently in both dialogue and narration. Later in his career he tended to use pure *fuṣḥa*. As a result, he was awarded the first prize for fiction in 1947 by the Arabic Language Academy, a major institution entrusted with defending and promoting *fuṣḥa* against *'āmmiyya*.

After becoming an advocate of *fuṣḥa* in literary writing later in his career, he was in the position of either denouncing his earlier writings in *'āmmiyya* or rewriting them in *fuṣḥa*. The dilemma was more acute in connection with his dramatic writings, which were originally written in *'āmmiyya* for the stage. The compromise he finally settled for was to publish these dramatic writings in editions featuring two versions, one in *fuṣḥa* and the other in *'āmmiyya*. This was what he did in 1949 with his play *al-Makhba' Raqam 13* (*Shelter Number 13*). The canonization of Taymūr's work, based on his later preference to write in *fuṣḥa*, reached its peak in 1950 when he was awarded the Fu'ād I Literature Prize and selected as a member of the Arabic Language Academy.[6] At this point in his trajectory in the field of literature, Taymūr "turned into a champion of strict, unadulterated [*fuṣḥa*]" (Somekh 1991: 93). In light of this new position in the field, he started to rewrite most of his earlier works, ridding them of *'āmmiyya* and employing "a more formalized Arabic" (ibid.). He even considered rewriting his social plays, for which the use of Egyptian *'āmmiyya* was most appropriate.

The assumption that writing in *'āmmiyya* is a 'guilt' that, in the case of Taymūr, needed to be 'atoned for' by rewriting an earlier work in *fuṣḥa* was not uncommon in the literary field in Egypt. Many writers spoke of *'āmmiyya* in very derogatory terms, associating it with negative values that should be avoided, if not eradicated. Perhaps the strongest statement on *'āmmiyya* came from Nobel laureate Najīb Maḥfūz (1911–2006), who persisted in using *fuṣḥa* in his novels, even in dialogue, since he started his writing career in the 1930s. In an interview with writer Fu'ād Dawwāra, published in 1965, Maḥfūz described *'āmmiyya* as "one of the failings of our society, exactly like ignorance, poverty and disease" (translated and cited in Cachia 1990: 71–2).

The struggle over writing in *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* in the literary field in Egypt has usually been coupled with identity politics whereby the adopted language variety is seen as the mark and medium of an embraced collective identity: the proponents of *fuṣḥa* have mobilized around a Pan-Arab or Pan-Islamic collective identity against the proponents of *'āmmiyya* who have advocated an Egyptian identity. In most of the debates involving these two groups of intellectuals, the proponents of *fuṣḥa*, in order to side-line their opponents, usually associate them with 'imperialism', 'secularism' (*'almāniyya*[7]), 'anti-Arabism', 'opposition to religion, etc. In one of the early debates between the proponents of *fuṣḥa* and the advocates of Egyptian *'āmmiyya* in which Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid (1872–1963) called for the Egyptianization of *fuṣḥa*,[8] Mustafa Ṣādiq al-Rafi'ī (1880–1937) responded sarcastically, and rather condescendingly, to al-Sayyid's call in an article published in *al-Bayān* magazine in 1913 in which he claimed that any attempt at Egyptianizing *fuṣḥa* is as ludicrous as attempting to Egyptianize Islam itself (cited in al-Jindī 1983: 81, my translation).

Identifying *fuṣḥa* with Islam has always placed the proponents of *fuṣḥa* in a stronger position in their struggles with the advocates of *'āmmiyya*.

This helped consolidate the doxic practice of using *fuṣḥa* as the legitimate medium of expression in the literary field in Egypt. The debate between Luṭfī al-Sayyid and his opponents on Egyptianizing Classical Arabic was neither the first nor the last between the two aforementioned groups of intellectuals. The issue of the status of *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* in all fields of cultural production in Egypt has long been an ideological battlefield of discourses and counter-discourses that sought to accumulate gains in the fields of cultural production, as well as the social space at large. This is also true of discourses that assume the appearance of *disinterested* academic research. The best example in this connection is the classic study by Nafūsa Zakariyya Sa'īd on the call for using *'āmmiyya* and its impacts in Egypt (Sa'īd 1964/1980). The historical narrative Sa'īd constructs of the development of discourses on *'āmmiyya* in Egypt reveals an unmistakable ideological bias in favour of *fuṣḥa*. The book was published when Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir (1956–1970) was in power and Arab nationalism was in full swing, which explains the underlying Pan-Arabist ideology, with its promotion of *fuṣḥa* as the politically unifying language of all Arabs. This is the ideology that informs the narrative and arguments provided by Sa'īd in her book and prompts Suleiman (2004: 63) to describe Sa'īd's project as "not devoid of ideology" and as "driven by a commitment to the standard-language ideology".

Ideologically driven discourses on the use of *fuṣḥa*/*'āmmiyya* in cultural production were first developed by Orientalists who visited and stayed in Egypt to study its culture since the French Expedition (1798–1801). As Suleiman (2004: 64) explains in support of Sa'īd's argument about the contributions of these Orientalists to the issue of the language situation in fields of cultural production, "[there] is in fact direct evidence to support Sa'īd's thesis of the link between the Orientalists' interests in language-related matters and the pursuit of political and other objectives on the part of the European powers". The earliest instance of the contribution of Orientalists to the debate on *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* involved William Willcocks (1852–1932). Willcocks, who was an engineer, missionary and Arabist, first came to Egypt in 1883 as an irrigation expert but soon developed an interest in the cultural scene, particularly the language situation. He gave a speech in the al-Azbakiyya club in Cairo in 1893 in which he held thinking and writing in *fuṣḥa* responsible for the Egyptians' lack of inventiveness and creativity. In this speech, later published in the *al-Azhar* issue of January 1893 with the significant title 'Why Does Not the Power of Invention Exist Among Egyptians Now?', Willcocks called on Egyptians to reject Classical Arabic and use the Egyptian vernacular instead in their literary works. He emphasized the potentials for using *'āmmiyya* in literature, giving the example of the British people who rejected Latin and adopted English as their language of literary expression and hence achieved success (al-Dusuqi 1948/2000b: 44–5). In order to prove the potential of *'āmmiyya* as a means of literary expression, Willcocks embarked on translating and writing in it. His works included a translation in *'āmmiyya* of selected passages from Shakespeare's

Hamlet and *Henry IV*. The translation was published in 1893 in issue number 5 of *al-Azhar* magazine, which he co-edited from late 1892 until October 1893 with Aḥmad al-Azharī.[9] He also translated into *'āmmiyya* parts of the Bible from the Gospel of Mathew, the Book of Genesis, the Book of Psalms and Acts of the Apostles[10] (Sa'īd 1964/1980: 61).

According to Sa'īd (ibid.: 55), Willcocks' attempt to accommodate such writings with high literary quality as Shakespeare's work into *'āmmiyya* did not fully succeed. She points out that at certain points in his translation of Shakespeare, when he was lost for *'āmmiyya* words, he had to use words from *fuṣḥa*. Moreover, both Sa'īd and Suleiman underscore the ideological underpinnings of Willcocks' argument about the necessity of using *'āmmiyya* as a means of literary expression by Egyptians. In his analysis of Willcocks' article on the Egyptians' lack of inventiveness, Suleiman (2004: 66–8) asserts that Willcocks' discourse is premised on "an ideology of power" whereby he speaks from the position of a member of an occupying force (ibid.: 67). The condescending tone in this essay and the religious impulses behind his involvement in this debate made it difficult for his call for *'āmmiyya* to achieve success. In fact, as a result of his ideologically motivated commitment to *'āmmiyya*, Willcocks became a 'hate figure' in the history of the call for *'āmmiyya* in Egypt (Suleiman 2004: 68) and helped cast an air of suspicion on all those who made similar arguments after him, regardless of their agenda and whether or not they were Egyptians. Indeed, the Egyptians' response to Willcocks' call was far more challenging to *'āmmiyya* and more supportive of the doxic practice of writing in *fuṣḥa* than he himself predicted. After publishing his controversial articles, he received responses from Egyptian intellectuals in the form of articles in *fuṣḥa* (ibid.). At first, he published these articles but urged the contributors to try writing in *'āmmiyya* for the benefit of their fellow Egyptians (ibid.). When articles written in *fuṣḥa* continued to be sent to him,[11] he decided to close *al-Azhar* magazine in October 1893 (ibid.). In the last issue, he tried to discuss why his call failed. As Suleiman (ibid.) reports, Willcocks ascribed this failure to "the rigidity of Muslim belief", which does not tolerate departure from established linguistic norms.

The response to Willcocks' call for using *'āmmiyya* in writing, especially in literary expression, was prototypical of all subsequent responses to similar calls from Egyptian intellectuals. Such charges as harbouring 'anti-religious' motives and serving the 'imperialist agenda' were part of the standard reaction to attempts by such intellectual figures as Aḥmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid, Salāma Mūsa and Liwīs 'Awaḍ to challenge the doxic practice of using *fuṣḥa* as the only medium of literary and intellectual expression. Because it is not within the scope of this chapter to provide a detailed analysis of the discourses developed by these intellectuals,[12] I confine myself to a few comments on the strategies they deployed to undermine the dominant position of *fuṣḥa*. This should provide the relevant backdrop against which one can fully appreciate Safouan's iconoclastic version of *Othello* in Egyptian *'āmmiyya*.

In order to promote *'āmmiyya* as a viable medium for literary expression in Egypt, the aforementioned intellectuals deployed a dual *subversion strategy* (see section 3.8.1 of chapter 2 in this volume): first, they sought to challenge the claim that Egypt can be defined solely in terms of an Arab-Islamic identity and suggested the notion of 'Egyptianness' (*al-miṣriyya*) as an alternative collective identity; second, while subverting the Arab-Islamic identity on which the dominance of *fuṣḥa* is premised, these intellectuals also attempted to accentuate the inefficiency of *fuṣḥa*, not only as a medium of daily communication but even as the language of high culture. In his series of articles published in 1913 in *al-Jarīda* newspaper (mentioned earlier), Luṭfī al-Sayyid asserts that Egyptian *'āmmiyya* is more efficient than *fuṣḥa*, because it is more responsive to the exigencies of modern life. Al-Sayyid explains that Egyptian *'āmmiyya* is more capable of accommodating foreign terms than *fuṣḥa* and that in order for *fuṣḥa* to be able to attend to the needs of modern Egyptians, it must follow suit, rather than excavate for archaic, unpalatable equivalents for new concepts, inventions, etc.

In promoting *'āmmiyya* as a medium for cultural expression, al-Sayyid attempts to foster an Egyptian identity that is open to influences from different cultures and capable of naturalizing these foreign influences. Egyptian *'āmmiyya*, with its openness to borrowed terms from foreign languages, is emblematic of this assimilative identity. By contrast with this identity and the *'āmmiyya* with which it shares its openness, al-Sayyid subtly highlights the rigidity of *fuṣḥa* and, implicitly, any conceived Arab-Islamic identity premised on it. He asserts in his articles that borrowing new terms from foreign languages and from *'āmmiyya* is a necessity for *fuṣḥa* in order to meet the challenges of modern civilization. Knowing that he is thus challenging a commonly held belief among Arabs in general that *fuṣḥa* is a 'pure'[13] language and that the duty of every Arab, especially Muslims, is to maintain this purity, he points out that the Qur'ān itself made use of borrowed terms and that medieval Arab translators introduced into Arabic borrowed terms from Greek, Persian and Sanskrit (Suleiman 2003: 172). In criticizing the lexical poverty of *fuṣḥa*, al-Sayyid further argues that Arabic dictionaries available at the time, although rich in entries related to Bedouin life, are utterly lacking in lexis related to modern life (Sa'īd 1964/1980: 129). Hence he urges writers and translators to draw on the resources of *'āmmiyya*, a practice he himself adopts, as well as foreign languages, provided they naturalize the *'āmmiyya* and borrowed terms into *fuṣḥa*-sounding words (ibid.). In his call for linguistic reform, al-Sayyid chose a compromising discourse: he did not call for *'āmmiyya* to wholly supplant *fuṣḥa*. What his discourse on the language situation in Egypt ultimately aimed at is, in the words of Suleiman (2003: 173), effecting "a rapprochement between the colloquial as the language of speech and the standard as the language of writing".

The subversion strategies used by other intellectuals such as Salāma Mūsa and Liwīs 'Awaḍ were much more radical than Luṭfī al-Sayyid's. The discourses of both Mūsa and 'Awaḍ reveal more interest in the language

of literary expression. Both Mūsa and 'Awaḍ are more forthright in challenging the dominance of *fuṣḥa* as the language of canonized literature. For Mūsa, *fuṣḥa*, with its defective lexical resources and grammatical complexity, is not a valid choice for a powerful national literature in Egypt (Suleiman 2003: 182). He finds *fuṣḥa*, with its ornate style and linguistic pomposity, unable to compete with *'āmmiyya* as the powerfully expressive mother tongue of Egyptians (ibid.). Liwīs 'Awaḍ was more radical in attributing Egypt's failure to produce any notable poet during the period from 640 CE, when the Arabs entered Egypt, until the British occupation of Egypt in 1882 to the dominance of *fuṣḥa* as the language of literary expression, further describing *fuṣḥa* as the artificial tongue of the Egyptians (ibid.: 198).

The radical subversion strategies deployed by both Mūsa and 'Awaḍ consisted in using diverse forms of 'naming' (see section 4.1 in chapter 3 this volume) that aim at undermining the dominant position occupied by *fuṣḥa* and the literature written in it, as well as the Arab-Islamic identity which, according to them, sustains the dominance of *fuṣḥa*. In the introduction to his collection of *'āmmiyya* poetry entitled *Plutuland* (1947), 'Awaḍ uses the term "Arab occupation" when he refers to the arrival of Arabs in Egypt (Suleiman 2003: 198). This implies that *fuṣḥa* is the language of the occupier and hence it is legitimate to challenge it and supplant it with the colloquial version of Arabic later used by the Egyptian people, i.e. *'āmmiyya*. In a similar vein, Mūsa regards literature written in *fuṣḥa* as *adab 'ubudiyya* (a literature of slavery) in which the writer using *fuṣḥa* is enslaved to the artificial rhetoric prevalent in canonical Arabic literature at the expense of content (ibid.: 184).

In order to counter the aforementioned subversive discourse, the proponents of *fuṣḥa* employed two interrelated *conservation strategies* (see section 3.8.1 of chapter 2 this volume): first, associating *fuṣḥa* with Islam and with an Arab-Islamic identity; second, branding the proponents of *'āmmiyya* as 'enemies of Islam and the Arab nation', 'atheists', etc. The two strategies are complementary: the first is *preventive*, in the sense that it inhibits thinking about *fuṣḥa* in critical terms, by presenting it as a 'holy' language; the second strategy is *punitive*. A relevant example of the effect of the first strategy in Egypt involves a book published a few years ago on the status of Arabic in the modern age. In this book, entitled in Arabic *Litaḥya al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya: Yasquṭ Sibawayh* (*Long Live the Arabic Language: Down with Sibawayh*[14]), author Shirīf al-Shubāshī calls for "reconsidering the fundamental rules of our language, in order to render it into an effective tool for activating the potential of the Arab mind that is restrained in the holy temple of language" (al-Shubāshī 2004: 17, my translation). Aware that in calling for the 'reformation' of *fuṣḥa* he would be instantly associated by traditionalists with such iconoclasts as Salāma Mūsa and Lūwīs 'Awaḍ, al-Shubāshī adopts a defensive discourse in his book introduction. Fearing that his call for linguistic reform will be immediately taken as an attack on

fuṣḥa, and implicitly Islam, the whole of the canonical Arabic literary tradition and Pan-Arab identity, al-Shubāshī defensively says:

> It is absolutely far from my thinking to discard the Arabic language [*fuṣḥa*] in favour of the vernaculars or to adopt the Latin alphabet[15] [in writing Arabic] and similar suggestions made by those who recognized the failure of *fuṣḥa* to express our current reality. The Arabic language [*fuṣḥa*] produced some of the most important creative works [we know], and anyone who studies the history of world literature cannot help but pay tribute to the poetry of al-Mutanabī, Abī al-'Alā', Abī Nawās and to the prose of Abī Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī and cannot help but pay obeisance to the literature of Najīb Maḥfūz.
>
> (al-Shubāshī 2004: 16, my translation)

Under the pressure of the *preventive conservation strategy*, al-Shubāshī, who is well aware of the history of debates on *fuṣḥa* in modern Egypt and the strong reaction against its critics, makes sure in the introduction that he is not associated with other radical language reformers and is not subjected to the same, almost-ritualistic charges. He admits that he is an advocate of the 'great Arabic tradition' and a supporter of Arab unity. He is also especially keen not to be represented as an 'enemy of Islam', a ready-made charge levelled against intellectuals who made similar calls. In a debate on the book broadcast on *al-Tanwīr* channel of the Egyptian TV, al-Shubāshī was later described by one of his critics, who participated in the debate, as a well-mannered man who referred to Prophet Muḥammad "with all due respect and veneration and always prayed upon him" ('Awaḍ 2004, my translation). Al-Shubāshī was also praised by this critic when he further paid respect in the debate to the companions (*ṣaḥāba*) of Prophet Muḥammad. It is for this deferential attitude showed by al-Shubāshī to the Prophet and prominent figures of Islam that his critic decides not to be "harsh in his criticism of what [al-Shubāshī] wrote" (ibid., my translation). This example highlights two important points: first, it shows how influential the *preventive conservation strategy* can be in protecting *fuṣḥa* from criticism and consolidating its central position in fields of cultural production; second, it shows the powerful position occupied by the 'custodians' of *fuṣḥa* in fields of cultural production in Egypt, who are generally projected in the Egyptian public space not only as defending the primacy of *fuṣḥa* but also as protecting the core of Islamic doctrine.[16]

Punitive conservation strategies have been used especially with the critics of *fuṣḥa* who occupy a weak position in the socio-cultural space. Intellectuals such as Salāma Mūsa and Liwīs 'Awaḍ, who are Copts, are much more vulnerable than fellow Muslim critics of *fuṣḥa*. As mentioned earlier, the conservation strategy usually deployed in response to an attack on *fuṣḥa* involves defaming the intellectual who questioned its primacy through various acts of 'naming' which have very negative connotations and in some cases amount to public verbal abuse.[17] Suleiman (2003: 248, n.15) cites

a whole list of defamatory labels which were flung at Liwīs 'Awaḍ as a punishment for his questioning of both the 'purity' and primacy of Arabic. One critic described 'Awaḍ as a "wicked charlatan, impostor, transgressor, puppet, trash, insane, odious, rotten, depraved, useless thing, missionary errand boy". Another referred to him as "a communist and Christian zealot, an enemy of Islam, the Qur'an, Islamic culture and heritage, and the Arabic language and literature"; and a third branded him an "atheist Marxist Leninist Stalinist radical communist lefty". These conservation strategies did not only discourage writers from producing literature in *'āmmiyya*, but also dissuaded linguists and publishers from producing academic studies and dictionaries that map the features of *'āmmiyy*a (Haeri 2003: 123).

Despite the marginalization of literary writings in *'āmmiyya* as a result of the effect of conservation strategies deployed by the proponents of *fuṣḥa*, some writers, especially poets who write in *'āmmiyya* (*shu'arā' al-'āmmiyya*), managed to become part of the mainstream literary production in Egypt. The socio-historical contingencies of Egypt since the 1950s allowed for the emergence of a group of poets whose use of *'āmmiyya* in addressing issues that touch on the social and political concerns of common Egyptians helped popularize and ultimately consecrate them as central figures in the field of literature in Egypt.[18] They included such well-known figures as Fu'ād Ḥaddād, Ṣalāḥ Jahīn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Abnūdī, Sayyid Ḥijāb and Aḥmad Fu'ād Nijm. The fact that the work of these poets is receiving recognition from the literary establishment in the form of having their works published in state-owned publishing houses and receiving state awards[19] is witness to the rising influence of *'āmmiyya* as a medium for literary expression.

3 *FUṢḤA* AND *'ĀMMIYYA* IN THE FIELD OF DRAMA TRANSLATION: SITING THE DOXIC

In an article written in 1952, significantly entitled 'The Impediments of Playwriting in Our Culture',[20] Egyptian playwright and novelist Tawfīq al-Ḥakīm asked a hypothetical question: what if Shakespeare reappeared in Egypt today and had to write plays under the same conditions experienced by contemporary Egyptian playwrights, for an Egyptian audience and in a language understood by this audience? Starting from this hypothetical question, al-Ḥakīm broached the hurdles which stand in the way of contemporary Egyptian playwrights using as backdrop Shakespeare's dramatic work and the Elizabethan theatre in general. At the end of his article, al-Ḥakīm concludes that Shakespeare was "lucky to have been born in sixteenth century England" (Hafez n.d: 512, my translation). Had he been reborn in Egypt, and given all the obstacles facing contemporary Egyptian playwrights, Shakespeare's genius would have failed him, al-Ḥakīm speculates. The obstacles al-Ḥakīm identifies include the lack of both an established theatre tradition that can inform and inspire the work of contemporary

playwrights and a theatre-friendly environment that would encourage writing, producing and consuming theatre performances. Al-Ḥakīm asserts that two other problems related to the kind of language suitable for playwriting in Egypt that would have stood in the way of Shakespeare had he been reborn in the early 1950s in Egypt. Would the hypothetical 'Egyptian Shakespeare', al-Ḥakīm asks, use Arabic prose or verse, *fuṣḥa* or *'āmmiyya*? (ibid.: 510). Judging that Arabic prose would be more convenient for the language of drama than Arabic verse, al-Ḥakīm then turns to the question of *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* and says:

> If our Egyptian Shakespeare chooses to write in prose, another problem will arise: would he write prose in *fuṣḥa* or *'āmmiyya*? . . . If he overcomes this problem by choosing *fuṣḥa* for historical and serious (plays), modern plays, which depict folk people and a local milieu, cannot still be handled in *fuṣḥa*, except at the expense of accuracy of depiction and honesty of delineation.
>
> (Hafez n.d: 511, my translation)

Al-Ḥakīm here accentuates the problem of language medium for drama in Egypt, authored and translated, and hints at the same time at the doxic practice of both playwrights and translators since the inception of theatre in Egypt.

The question of which language variety is most appropriate for theatre was a pressing issue of which early producers of theatre in Egypt, who were mostly translators and adaptors of foreign plays, were well aware. The pioneer of modern Egyptian theatre, Ya'qūb Ṣannū' (1839–1912), who found in Molière's drama a good adaptable resource for producing social comedies that addressed the concerns of contemporary fellow Egyptians, was aware that *fuṣḥa* was the medium for all forms of prestigious cultural products. In the early 1870s, when he started producing theatre, *fuṣḥa* was the language of canonical literature and religious exegesis, the two main cultural products at the time. *'Āmmiyya* was only associated with popular culture in the form of singing, shadow plays and folk tales narrated or sung in local assemblies, weekly markets, etc. Ṣannū''s choice of *'āmmiyya* as the medium of his adaptations did not go down well with the traditional intellectual elite. He mentions in his autobiographical play *Molière Miṣr wa ma Yuqasīhi* (*The Egyptian Molière and What He Suffers*) that opponents of his theatrical work denounced it for "its disregard of the fundamentals of grammar and for being written in *'āmmiyya*" (cited in 'Āmir 1967: 77, my translation). In this play, as 'Āmir reports (ibid.: 81), Ṣannū' lampoons those who criticized his theatre as snobs who only cared about conforming to the rules of grammar (*yitkalimu bi-l-naḥawī*) and sounding like the authoritative scholars of religion, regardless of whether or not their language makes sense to the common people. To further expose these 'snobs' and to counter the attack on his *'āmmiyya* adaptations of Molière, Ṣannū' introduced in his plays

characters who spoke *fuṣḥa* and who are represented as farcical individuals worthy of ridicule (ibid.). In his autobiographical play, Ṣannū' further justifies his use of *'āmmiyya* in connection with the theatrical genre he used for his performances. "Comedy", says Ṣannū' in *Molière Miṣr wa ma Yuqasīhī*, "deals with what happens among people" and hence it must be a reflection of reality and its language an emulation of the language used by all people in their daily conversations (cited and translated in Ā'mir 1967: 79, my translation). Since Ṣannū', the association between *'āmmiyya* and *staged*[21] comedy became the norm for playwrights, drama translators and adaptors. What further consolidated this association between *'āmmiyya* and comedy is Ṣannū''s use of *'āmmiyya* in the humorous writings which he published in *Abū Naḍḍāra*[22] (*The Man with Spectacles*), a comic newspaper he founded in 1878. Through the political satires Ṣannū' published in *'āmmiyya* in this newspaper, which took the form of dramatic sketches, *'āmmiyya* began to be associated with *published* comedy.

Associating *'āmmiyya* with published comedy was further consolidated through the translation output of Muḥammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (1829–1898). Jalāl, who on graduating from *Madrasat al-Alsun* (School of Languages) started his career as a translator with several Egyptian ministries, became involved in drama translation almost at the same time Ṣannū' started his theatrical activities. In 1871, he published an incomplete translation of Molière's *Le Medecin Malgré Lui* in *'āmmiyya*, with the Arabic title *al-Fakhkh al-Manūb lil-Ḥakīm al-Maghṣūb* (*The Trap Set for the Coerced Doctor*). This translation appeared in three issues of a state-owned journal, *Rawḍat al-Madāris*, and was then discontinued. It seems that the success of the *'āmmiyya* comic performances presented by Ṣannū' in 1870 encouraged Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, who was overseeing the editing of *Rawḍat al-Madāris*[23] to allow his previous student Jalāl to publish his translation of Molière's comedy in *'āmmiyya*. However, the marked difference, in both content and language, between this translation and canonical, 'serious' Arabic literature led the editor to publish it in a section entitled *Kitāb al-Nikāt wa Bāb al-Tiyatrāt* (*The Book of Jokes and the Column of Theatres*). After three instalments, it seems that high officials in the Ministry of Education, which owned and distributed the journal among school students, were unhappy with the very low *'āmmiyya* and bawdiness of Jalāl's translation and hence discontinued the publication of the translation.[24] The publication of this translation in a state-owned journal and its subsequent discontinuation is indicative of an ambivalent position on the part of the literary establishment in terms of recognizing *'āmmiyya* in the context of cultural production. This attitude led Jalāl to publish his next translation, *al-Shaykh Matlūf* (1873), an Egyptianized version of Molière's *Le Tartuffe*, at his own expense, using his initials only rather than his full name on the cover (Cachia 1990: 38; Bardenstein 2005: 115). The negative response to his previous translation in *'āmmiyya* and the fact that *'āmmiyya* was still not seen as the medium of 'serious' and 'respectable' literature might have dissuaded Jalāl from

revealing his full name (Bardenstein 2005: 115). It took him no less than 15 years to later acknowledge that he was the translator of *Le Tartuffe* in an autobiographical entry in 'Alī Mubarak's *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqiyya* (1889) and later in his collection of translations of four comedies by Molière entitled *al-'Arba' Riwayāt min Nukhab al-Tiyātrāt* (*Four Plays from the Best of Theatrical Works* 1890), which included his translation of *Le Tartuffe* (ibid.).

In contrast with Jalāl's first experiment with translating comedy in *'āmmiyya*, the successful publication and performance history of *al-Shaykh Matlūf* seems to have established the use of *'āmmiyya* as the most appropriate medium for translated comedy, in both its staged and printed versions. Indeed, one could argue that the use of *'āmmiyya* became doxic for translated comedy as a direct result of the success of Jalāl's *al-Shaykh Matlūf*. As well as the two editions of the translation which appeared in Jalāl's lifetime, it was republished in two further posthumous editions, one in 1912 and the other in 1964. Although *al-Shaykh Matlūf* took almost 40 years from its first appearance to find its way to the stage, it enjoyed a remarkably successful performance history that ultimately placed this translation in a unique position in the repertoire of Egyptian theatre. Together with three other Molière comedies, *al-Shaykh Matlūf* was performed by the troupe of Jūrj Abyaḍ in 1912. The fact that Jūrj Abyaḍ found for his troupe a more prestigious position than all operating troupes at the time, including those which offered social comedies similar to those of Jalāl's translations, guaranteed for *al-Shaykh Matlūf* a more varied audience than was then available for commercial theatre. Not only did mainstream theatre audience go to see this Egyptianized version of Molière's comedy, but intellectuals who were attracted by the work of Abyaḍ also went to see it. Writer Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, who apparently disapproved of the extreme use of *'āmmiyya* and the bawdy language, could not help but record the enthusiastic reception by the audience in a review of the performances presented by Abyaḍ, based on Jalāl's *'āmmiyya* translations of Molière. In this review, which was published in the May 1, 1913, issue of *al-Jarida*, he says:

> On the stage of 'Abbas Theatre I watched the troupe of Abyad presenting four plays translated in colloquial verse . . . by the late lamented 'Uthmān Bey Jalāl. I sensed people's excitement, their enthusiastic applause, and the tremendous acclaim which greeted these popular plays. I saw everyone [so transported] except for myself and a few of my friends . . . who felt disappointed with the use of the Egyptian dialect . . . which jostled the literary language and forced it off the stage.
>
> (Translated and cited in Wendell 1972: 280)[25]

As Bardenstein (2005: 115) states, citing Najm (1964: ii) and Waṣfī (1964: 29–31), *al-Shaykh Matlūf* continued to be part of the repertoire of the

National Theatre Troupe from 1952 and well into the early 1960s. A new version of the same play was produced by the National Theatre in 1971; this ran for several months and was filmed and shown on National Television for several years later (Bardenstein 2005: 118). The play was also revived in the early 1980s (ibid.). This successful publication and performance history of *al-Shaykh Matlūf*, which is typical of Jalāl's other translations of Molière's comedies, albeit to a lesser degree, made translating comedies in *'āmmiyya* a doxic practice in the field of drama translation.

In 1893, the same year in which Willcocks published translations in *'āmmiyya* of extracts from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Henry IV*, Jalāl published a translation in *'āmmiyya* of three of Racine's tragedies. This anthology, entitled *al-Riwayāt al-Mufīda fi 'Ilm al-Trajīda* (*The Useful Plays in the Science of Tragedy*), included translations of *Esther*, *Iphigénie* and *Alexandre le Grand*. Whereas Jalāl was the first to translate Western tragedy into the Egyptian vernacular, he was not the first to introduce tragedy to the Egyptian consumers of culture. In 1875, Salīm al-Naqqāsh (nephew of the founder of Arabic theatre Marūn al-Naqqāsh) published a translation of two dramatic texts in Beirut, prior to moving with his troupe to Egypt and presenting these texts on the stage. These two translations were entitled in Arabic *'Āyda*, based on Ghislanzoni's libretto, and *Mayy*, based on Corneille's *Horace*. On the covers[26] of both translations and under the Arabic titles, al-Naqqāsh wrote '*trajīdya*', his arabization of 'tragedy'. Both translations are in *fuṣha*, given that al-Naqqāsh is a Levantine and he wanted his translations to be understood by both Egyptians and Levantines (Isma'īl 1998: 129). In the introduction to *Mayy*, al-Naqqāsh states that he introduced changes to the original French text to make the translation appealing to the 'Arab taste' (Najm 1956: 205). His choice of *fuṣha*, which is associated with high intellectual activity, is also consistent with his aim to win the favour of the khedive and the notables of Egypt, in order to support his theatrical work. In the introduction to *'Āyda*, he praises the khedive of Egypt and dedicates the translation to him because, he says, he learnt that the khedive had a special interest in this opera, which he watched in the Opera House earlier in 1875. In his introduction to *Mayy*, which was first performed in Alexandria in 1877, he dedicated the translation to one of the notables of Alexandria, al-khawāja Anṭonyūdis, who seemed to have supported al-Naqqāsh's troupe financially (Isma'īl 1998: 126–7).

Jalāl's translation of Racine's tragedies in *'āmmiyya* can be seen as an attempt to achieve *distinction* in relation to al-Naqqāsh's translations, of which he must have been aware. In his introduction to *al-Riwayāt al-Mufīda fi 'Ilm al-Trajīda*, Jalāl accentuates the distinction of his work in a number of ways,[27] the most important of which is that he produced these translations in such a way as to appeal to the "educated and the un-educated" (*al-khawāṣ wa al-'awām*), unlike Salīm al-Naqqāsh's translations, which were produced with the khedive and the notables of Egypt in mind. However, despite all

his efforts to achieve distinction, Jalāl's translations of Racine's tragedies in *'āmmiyya* did not achieve the same success as his *'āmmiyya* translations of Molière. The three translations of Racine's tragedies were neither republished nor staged (Bardenstein 2005: 170).

The different destinies of Jalāl's *'āmmiyya* translations of Molière's comedies and Racine's tragedies consolidated the association between *'āmmiyya* and comedy, on the one hand, and *fuṣḥa* and tragedy, on the other. The association came to be taken for granted in the early decades of the twentieth century, when the field of theatre production diversified into troupes with interest in accumulating symbolic capital and others which strove to gain economic capital. Other troupes occupied middle positions (see chapter 4 this volume). The first type, exemplified by Jūrj Abyaḍ's troupe, generally tended to produce tragedies in *fuṣḥa*, whereas the second type tended to produce varieties of slapstick comedy, farce and vaudeville using different degrees of *'āmmiyya*. The troupes occupying the middle positions between these two poles used a mixture of *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* for such genres as social comedies, modern tragedies, melodramas, musicals, etc.

As regards published drama translation, it has generally been almost *non-doxic* to publish a translation totally in *'āmmiyya*, especially if the translated text is not a comedy. Jalāl's experiment with Racine's tragedies is one of very few which challenged this doxic practice. *Fuṣḥa* has been generally used in *published* drama translation to mediate an effect of 'foreignness' as well as an effect of the 'tragic'. It has also been used to convey a sense of 'temporal distance' with historical plays. This comes close to the distribution of *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya* among dramatic genres as presented in Somekh (1991: 39) where the two genres of 'translated' and 'historical' plays are assigned *fuṣḥa* as the medium of expression.[28]

It can be safely said, then, that the use of *'āmmiyya* in published drama translation has usually been seen as unacceptable by reviewers and drama critics, even with plays which employ a considerable degree of satire and comic effects. As early as 1914, a translation of Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* was reviewed[29] in *al-Afkār* newspaper, in its issue dated 5 October, in which the use of some *'āmmiyya* words and expressions were denounced:

> Had the arabizer (*mu'arrib*) been cautious in selecting the lexis of this play and had he devoted his effort to refining the style and polishing the composition, this would have been one of the best written Arabic texts. It is disappointing [to us] to see the arabizer use many lexical items from *'āmmiyya* which have equivalents in Arabic [*fuṣḥa*] . . . This is not the only flaw in the play; what made it uglier was his use of many expressions used by the common people.
>
> (*Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī* 1998d: 163)

In another commentary by the same reviewer on the same translation, he likens the use of *'āmmiyya* words and expressions in this translation to a

disease that makes the text look ill; the only way to cure the text from this illness is to get rid of its *'āmmiyya* (ibid.: 172).

Along the 'generic' line, the association of *fuṣḥa* with tragedy and *'āmmiyya* with both comedy and modern social drama has also been maintained as *doxic*, with a few exceptions. This is the case irrespective of whether or not the translation is for publication or the stage. In connection with tragedy, for instance, the more the language of the translation is evocative of the grandeur of literary *fuṣḥa*, the more successful it is likely to be. When directors have to choose between different translations of the same tragedy, they would usually tend to opt for the one with a higher degree of *fuṣḥa*, even if it is less accurate and even if it is not the most recent translation. This is what Jalāl al-'Ashrī claims[30] in *al-Masraḥ* monthly in relation to Sa'd Ardash's choice of Ṭaha Ḥusayn's translation for his performance of *Antigone* in 1965. "For Ardash, the elegance of the linguistic structures" and "lofty style" of Ḥusayn's translation guaranteed that the sense of the 'tragic' would be conveyed most effectively, notwithstanding the accuracy of the translation *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī (1960–1969)*, 1999: 328). *This association of the 'tragic' with fuṣḥa* on the one hand, and the 'comic' with *'āmmiyya* on the other, is most explicitly asserted by the influential theatre and literary critic Muḥammad Mandūr, who says the following in the context of his distinction between *tamṣīr* (Egyptianization) and *ta'rīb* (arabization):

> We believe that comedy is the fertile field for this Egyptianization, because *'āmmiyya* is the most appropriate for this art. As for drama or tragedy, *fuṣḥa* is probably more appropriate for its translation, or arabization, than *'āmmiyya*, given that drama depicts more profound meanings and emotions than *'āmmiyya* is able to express.
>
> (Mandūr 1971: 37)

Against the background of this established 'doxic practice', Mustapha Safouan's translation of *Othello* into Egyptian *'āmmiyya* is looked at in the following section.

4 VERNACULARIZING OTHELLO

4.1 Can Shakespeare Speak 'Āmmiyya?

Apart from Willcocks' translations of extracts from *Hamlet* and *Henry IV* in 1893, there were no translations in Egyptian *'āmmiyya* of any of Shakespeare's tragedies or histories until 1984, when Nu'mān 'Āshūr published his translation of *Othello*. As far as the comedies are concerned, a few translations were produced in *'āmmiyya*, including a translation of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* by Muḥammad Enānī for al-Ṭalī'a Theatre in 1981 and

a translation by Samīr Sarḥān of both *As You Like It* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in 1983 and 1984, respectively (Enānī 2006). Despite favourable reception by theatre goers at the time, critics found Enānī's translation in *'āmmiyya* a 'frivolous' work and 'an act of forgery' that vulgarized the "venerable poet of the English-speaking world" (ibid.). Enānī explains this negative reception by critics of translations in *'āmmiyya* of any of Shakespeare's work in terms of how Shakespeare is projected in the 'popular imagination' of the Egyptians:

> The fact that Shakespeare had remained for too long associated in the popular imagination with the Classical Arabic idiom of pre-Islamic and early Islamic times meant a great deal to any "modern" translator of Shakespeare. Reading or listening to the lines of a king, a military commander or a Roman potentate delivering a speech, the audience expect the oratorical tones of an ancient Arab . . . The language [of an ancient Arab] itself ensures a distance in time, confirming the foreign nature of the work of art presented. People were inured to it, learnt to accept it and indeed developed a taste for it.
>
> (Ibid.)

As Enānī asserts, the association of Shakespeare's work with the classical idiom of Arabic has not only become a given, or a doxic practice, for translators of Shakespeare, but it has also turned into an expectation on the part of consumers of Shakespeare's work in Arabic, especially critics, reviewers and historians of translation. This has automatically rendered any translation in *'āmmiyya* of any of Shakespeare's work 'iconoclastic'. No wonder that one of the reviews of Enānī's *'āmmiyya* translation of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was entitled 'The *Killing* of a Dramatist' (ibid., emphasis added). The rejection of *'āmmiyya* is all the more extreme when the translated work is a Shakespearean tragedy.

In the field of drama translation in Egypt, only two complete translations in *'āmmiyya* of a Shakespearean tragedy can be identified: one of *Othello* by the Egyptian playwright Nu'mān 'Āshūr, published in 1984 in *al-Masraḥ* Egyptian monthly, and another, also of *Othello*, by Mustapha Safouan, published in 1998. Given that 'Āshūr's translation was not published in book form and did not receive much critical attention, it will be discussed briefly, with more attention given to Safouan's translation.

The fact that Egyptian playwright Nu'mān 'Āshūr (1918–1987) did not publish his *'āmmiyya* translation in book form but in a magazine addressed to specialists in theatre implies that he produced it mainly for the stage. Labelling it as a 'translation in the language of theatre', he states the objective of his translation in a prefatory note as "not approximating Shakespeare for the audience in the language they can understand, but transposing him in a *dramatic fashion* that renders him *honestly* for the audience" ('Āshūr 1984: 90, my translation, emphasis added). At the bottom of the page where

the *dramatis personae* are listed, he writes in boldface: "the staging of this text is to be agreed upon by both the translator and the director, and in accordance with the requirements of the performance, and the facilities provided" (ibid.: 91). 'Āshūr's choice of Egyptian *'āmmiyya* as the medium for his translation is then justified in two ways: first, *'āmmiyya*, unlike *fuṣḥa*, is more capable of mediating the dramatic language of Shakespeare, which is turned through *fuṣḥa* into an academic language useful only for school textbooks (ibid.). Second, *'āmmiyya* is closer to the taste and aesthetic sensibility of the Egyptian audience than the 'artificial' *fuṣḥa* with its pretentious undertones (ibid.).

'Āshūr's choice of *'āmmiyya* as the language of his translation of *Othello* is also consistent with the linguistic choices he made throughout his trajectory as a playwright. Being committed to modern social drama throughout his career, 'Āshūr's favourite settings and characters are usually drawn from the middle and low-middle classes in modern Egypt. This being the case, the *'āmmiyya* spoken by these characters is either the *'āmmiyya* of the educated or that spoken by the uneducated.[31] Even when 'Āshūr writes a play which is located in a historical setting, he employs *'āmmiyya* with a minimum of *fuṣḥa*, thus challenging another *doxa*. In a documentary drama he wrote about Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, the pioneer of translation in the Arab world and Egypt, al-Ṭahṭāwī is made to speak the *'āmmiyya* of both the educated and the uneducated with characters of different educational backgrounds. Even when the setting is in France, when *fuṣḥa* is most appropriate for conveying 'foreignness', we see Rifā'a speaking the *'āmmiyya* of the intellectuals, which reveals some features of modern *fuṣḥa*. The only situations where Rifā'a speaks pure *fuṣḥa* are when he is talking to his Egyptian master, Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār, or to his French master, Monsieur Agūb. It is unusual for Egyptian consumers of drama, in its published and staged versions, to find a historical figure such as Rifā'a speaking in *'āmmiyya* to the landlady of the house where he stayed in Paris, as he does when he asks her to help him find a lost list of the works he translated during his stay in France:

رفاعة: ما تأخذنيش..أنا عطلتك وخدت من وقتك كتير، كل ده م البلبلة اللى أنا فيها.

Rifā'a: Forgive me . . . I held you up and took much of your time; this is all because of the muddle I'm in.

('Āshūr 1974: 46, my translation)

In the same situation, and to justify Rifā'a's frequent use of *'āmmiyya*, 'Āshūr has him discuss translation and the different qualities of French, *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya*:

رفاعة: لكل لغة مذاقها..حتى اللغة العامية ذاتها..مذاقها عندى..يكون أحياناً أطعم وأشهى من مذاق الفصحى..

> Rifā'a: Every language has its own taste . . . Even *'āmmiyya* itself . . . its taste, for me, is sometimes more palatable and appealing than the taste of *fuṣḥa*.[32]
>
> ('Āshūr 1974: 46, my translation)

'Āshūr's main motivation for translating *Othello* into *'āmmiyya* could arguably be the desire to assert his capability as a playwright and to demonstrate that the *'āmmiyya* he used in such social dramas as *'Ilit al-Dughrī* (*The Dughri Household*), *il-Nās illī Fū'* (*The People Upstairs*) and *Bilād Barra* (*Countries Abroad*) can accommodate the language of the Moor and make it more dramatic and accessible to theatre goers. In other words, this experiment by 'Āshūr has no obvious ideological motivations as was the case with Willcocks' translations of some extracts from *Hamlet* and *Henry IV* in *'āmmiyya*.

4.2 Shattering the Icon: Challenging a Translational Doxa

Othello's translation into Egyptian *'āmmiyya* by Mustapha Safouan (1921–) is a different case. Safouan is not a dramatist like 'Āshūr, and hence his version, unlike 'Āshūr's, is not a mere dramatic experimentation with *'āmmiyya*. He is a psychoanalyst who studied with Jacques Lacan, and most of his authored books are on psychoanalysis. Apart from his translation of *Othello*, he also translated into Arabic Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*, Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit*, and Noam Chomsky's *Terrorism* (co-authored translation). The ideological agenda which motivates Safouan's version in *'āmmiyya* evokes another translation which is also politically motivated, i.e. Muṭrān's iconic translation in *fuṣḥa*. Safouan's translation, together with its introduction, could be seen as a counter response to Muṭrān's politicized translation and his introduction in more than one way. Although he shares Muṭrān's awareness of the political function of translation and the close relationship between language and identity, Safouan's translation situates itself in a totally different position from that of Muṭrān. Right from the beginning of the introduction, a hetero-doxic stance towards conventional practice in drama translation and received wisdom about national identity is explicitly pronounced.

Safouan opens his introduction with an epigraph from Euripides' *The Bacchae* which reads as follows in its English translation: "No logic will overthrow the traditions we have received from our fathers, traditions as old as time, no matter what clever arguments are thought up by the greatest minds" (Euripides 2000 II: 168–71).[33] In translating this quote into *'āmmiyya*, he sets the iconoclastic tone of the whole introduction. *The Bacchae* is a Greek tragedy about challenging long-standing traditions and religious beliefs. The only legitimacy that these beliefs enjoy derives merely from the fact that they have been taken for granted and handed down by 'our fathers'. By invoking this text at the beginning of the introduction,

Safouan flags up the 'hetero-doxic' character of his translation. Moreover, the *'āmmiyya* he uses in translating this quote also evokes the voice of all those who would oppose Safouan's views, those who stand for 'orthodoxy' as regards the language to be used in translating Shakespeare's tragedy and the identity politics associated with this language practice. The sarcastic tone underlying the *'āmmiyya* translation of this quote is meant to ridicule the 'fathers' and their doxic beliefs.

One of the translational doxas that Safouan challenges in his introduction is the long-standing association between Shakespeare and a small sector of consumers of culture, namely the social elite who come from the upper middle class and who find in foreign cultural products a mark of social 'distinction' that sets them apart from other social classes. Muṭrān and Jurj Abyaḍ, who directed and played the lead role in Muṭrān's 1912 translation of *Othello*, were primarily responsible for taking Shakespeare's work out of the realm of Egyptian popular culture at the turn of the century and making it the private property of the social elite. After Muṭrān's version of *Othello*, Arabic translations of Shakespeare's dramatic work continued to be part of the elitist culture in Egypt with very few attempts by theatre directors and translators to return Shakespeare back to mainstream theatre. Safouan was aware of this fact and herein comes the significance of his dedication of the translation to disadvantaged Egyptians, represented by Muḥammad 'Ali 'Abd al-Mūla, who do not have a university degree nor mastery of Classical Arabic and can only understand and appreciate the language variety they use in everyday life.

Tied to his challenge of this association between Shakespeare and the elitist consumers of culture is his questioning of the claim that *'āmmiyya*, with its 'vulgar' idiom, is allegedly incapable of mediating the sublime language of Shakespeare. Here he also challenges Muṭrān's claim in his introduction to his 1912 translation of *Othello* that *'āmmiyya* falls short of expressing complex ideas and elevated emotions and that when it is mixed with *fuṣḥa*, it does nothing but deform its beauty and blur its glory. Muṭrān even makes a far-fetched claim to the effect that the beauty of Shakespeare's language may be explained in one of two ways: he might have read Arabic *fuṣḥa* directly or had access to it through authorized translations (1912a: 7–8). In his introduction, Safouan questions this claim and asserts that *'āmmiyya* is capable of accommodating the poetics of Shakespeare's text (1998b: 11). In an English version of his introduction, published with a collection of articles on the issues of identity and democracy in the Arab Middle East, Safouan says the following (2007: 52):

> My translation of *Othello* into spoken Egyptian was meant to show that spoken Arabic, as well as any living language, has all the ingredients that make it possible to get an admirable literature out of it. I chose Shakespeare because his greatness is indisputable. If it is possible to translate him into our mother tongue, disdainfully disparaged as

'vulgar', then the proof is given that our mother tongue too can attain the 'sublime'.

Another area where Safouan departs from the iconic translation of Muṭrān concerns the way he relates to the target readership. Muṭrān concludes his introduction by saying that his 'arabization' is simply what Shakespeare said exactly, "letter for letter and word for word", dressed in Arabic garb, which makes it worthy of being "a model of arabization to be followed by school students" (1912a: 9). By making this claim, Muṭrān places his version above history; for him, it is a model of translation to be followed and any translator who thinks of translating Shakespeare should approach him as Muṭrān did. Muṭrān thus turns his version into a *doxa* that defies the movement of history, change in translation norms and the shifting of language poetics. In stark contrast to this attitude, Safouan sees his version as part of the history of translation. In the introduction, he expresses his hope that "better translations will emerge" and indicates in a footnote that most European languages boast more than one translation of Shakespeare's work. He also asks his readers to point out errors in the translation so that he can correct them (1998b: 13). Safouan regards his translation as a hetero-doxic moment in the history of Shakespeare translation in Arabic that should remain so, and simultaneously invite other hetero-doxic ventures. But the negative responses that Safouan's translation drew from intellectual circles means that it has not even made its way onto the stage, apart from an unknown performance based on it by a small theatre troupe outside Cairo.

4.3 Questioning 'National Identity': Challenging a Political/Cultural Doxa

Like Muṭrān, Safouan politicizes the language variety he chooses for his translation. However, his choice of the Egyptian vernacular with its characteristic poetics as the medium for his translation subverts Muṭrān's claims for a homogenous, collective identity that forges unity among the Arab nations by undermining all other forms of identity. Safouan questions Muṭrān's claim that imposing one common language variety on the Arab nations achieves unity. He draws a comparison with Latin, which was used, he says, as a repressive tool in the hands of the clergy. It was through the vernaculars, Safouan argues, that the European nations started to be aware of their cultural differences, which they reproduced in their literatures. The comparison with Latin and the European vernaculars underlines the political implications of using the Arabic vernaculars rather than Classical Arabic. *'Āmmiyya*, according to Safouan, serves two political purposes. First, it bridges the artificial gap between the masses and the intellectuals; this gap, he asserts, has always served the interest of Arab political authorities, because it helps disempower both masses and intellectuals and makes them both susceptible to manipulation. In this context, Safouan cites the example

of the contemporary Arab poet Adonis who, according to Safouan, has isolated himself from the masses by writing in a 'dead language'. About one of Adonis's works, *Al-Kitab* (*The Book*), Safouan says (2007: 48):

> it's written in such a high style that it's a difficult text even for the educated, without taking into account the immense majority of illiterate folk. So, it is no wonder that *The Book* has remained a 'dead letter'. I may say that I once heard Adonis declare that he won't ever write except in 'grammatical' Arabic because he prefers writing in a 'dead language'.

In Safouan's view, Arab political authorities do not care too much about these books, because if they happen to understand them, which is very unlikely, "they know that their message will only reach a very limited number of people" (ibid.). By translating into *'āmmiyya*, Safouan believes that his work will "shatter the wall that was built between us, the educated, and the masses" (1998b: 15).

The second purpose that translating in *'āmmiyya*—a marker of the distinct national identity of Egypt—will serve, according to Safouan, is to challenge the homogenizing function of *fuṣḥa*. The use of *'āmmiyya* in this context is a tool for liberating Egyptians from a prefabricated unity that suppresses difference and downgrades diversity. Safouan's political agenda is not only served by his use of Egyptian *'āmmiyya*, but it is also asserted by his very selection of *Othello* for translation. On this, he says the following (2001: 135, my translation and emphasis), albeit in *fuṣḥa*:

> My selection of *Othello* . . . is purely political. We are a nation where what is heard is not the word of the majority but that of the leader or the Imam, who is to society as the head is to the body . . . [Othello] was obsessed by the appearance of leadership: in all he said and did, he strove to set an ideal to be followed. However, he proved to be no more than a murderer of the person he loved. For whoever is obsessed by his own idealized personal image must detest the human condition with all its limitations, and hence offers sacrifices at the shrine of a god he does not even understand. *Has not Egypt been made a sacrificial offering at the hands of some of its rulers? This is the heart of the matter.*

Both Muṭrān and Safouan, then, are motivated by two diametrically opposed agendas in their choice of *Othello* for translation. Whereas Muṭrān invests in the figure of Othello as an icon of Arab identity, Safouan uses him to deconstruct this identity. He subverts Muṭrān's portrayal of the character of Othello as an idealized and inspiring political leader whose tragedy is merely initiated by Iago's conspiracy. Muṭrān's idealized representation of Othello is most evident in act I, scene iii, where Othello has to defend himself before the Venetian Senate against the charge brought against him by Brabantio, who accuses him of having tricked Desdemona into marriage.

Whereas Muṭrān seems to make translation choices that mitigate the humiliation of Othello in this situation, Safouan's translation choices seek to highlight this humiliation. For Muṭrān, Othello is an image of the 'gallant' Arab leader who cannot accept humiliation in his encounters with his opponents. Safouan, by contrast, sees in Othello a fragile leader who, in times of trouble, is willing to compromise his dignity. In his first speech to the Venetian Senate, Othello addresses the members of the senate thus (Shakespeare 1999 I, iii: 77–8):

> Most potent, grave, and reverend signiors,
> My very noble and approved good masters

Muṭrān (1912b: 29) tones down Othello's submissive attitude and renders the two lines as follows

> يا أولي الاقتدار والرفعة والوقار، سادتى الأمجاد

> (Oh, men of might, nobility and veneration, my glorious masters)

Muṭrān does not translate 'approved' and renders 'signiors' and 'masters' using an Arabic word that is closer to 'misters' than 'masters'. In contrast with Muṭrān, Safouan highlights the submissive attitude of Othello:

> يا أصحاب الأمر والشأن والمقام، ياللى نبلهم جعلني أرضاهم لنفسي أسياد

> (Oh, men of authority, status and position, whose nobility made me willingly accept them as masters for myself)

Whereas Muṭrān leaves out 'approved' from his translation, Safouan formulates the entire clause in the active voice, thus flagging up the fact that Othello willingly acknowledges the authority of members of the senate in a rather humiliating way. *Asyād li-nafsī* (my masters) has a derogative sense in Egyptian Arabic. *'Aṣḥāb il-'amr* (men of authority, or command) further strengthens Safouan's representation of Othello in this situation.

For Safouan, Othello is an example of Arab leaders who believe that they "incarnate a fatherly ideal" (2007: 53), the ideal that their nations should identify with and live up to. Othello, for him, "speaks as if he were constantly looking in a mirror to check that his image has all the perfections that fascinate the eye and please society" (ibid.: 52). In his translation, Safouan seeks to expose the fallibility of this leader and sever the forced identification between the ruler and the ruled, the monarch and the independent existence and identity of his nation. It is this identification between the ruler and his nation and the false ideals that the Arab leader entertains in relation to himself and others who lead him to scapegoat his nation, in the same way that Othello slays the innocent Desdemona (Safouan 2001: 135).[34]

Safouan's understanding of the character of Othello as representative of a fallible Arab leader is echoed in the different levels of *'āmmiyya* used by Othello. In Muṭrān's translation, Othello is always made to use a highly poetical and stylized Arabic, which is maintained in all situations, regardless of the various kinds of pressure to which Othello is exposed. Othello's speech in Muṭrān's version comes close to a formal political speech that is typical of the highly rhetorical speeches of Arab leaders. Safouan, in contrast, uses different levels of *'āmmiyya* to mediate the changing discourse of Othello, from the most poetic to the most profane, particularly towards the end of the play. One example occurs in act IV, scene i, when Iago tries to trick Othello into believing that Desdemona has slept with Cassio by using the punning verb 'lie'. When, confounded by the pun, Othello seeks explanation from Iago, the answer he receives is: "Lie with her, on her, what you will" (IV, i: 34). In response, Othello says (IV, i: 35–37):

> Lie with her? Lie on her? We say lie on her
> When they belie her! Lie with her, zounds, that's
> Fulsome!—Handkerchief! Confessions! Handkerchief!

All we get from Muṭrān for these three lines is seven words where he sanitizes Othello's language into what he deems 'appropriate' for a leader (1912b: 115):

> معها . . . بقربها . . . خطب رائع. المنديل . . . الإقرارات . . . المنديل

> (With her . . . close to her . . . serious matter . . . the handkerchief . . . declarations . . . the handkerchief)

By contrast, Safouan foregrounds the obscenity in Othello's language (1998a: 113):

> عطيل: عليها، معاها؟ الناس تقول قبَّح عليها لما يكون اتكلم بالباطل، قبَّح معاها! ودم المسيح، دا شئ بشع، المنديل! الاعترافات! المنديل

> ('Uṭayl: with her, on her? People say [someone] was filthy to her when [he] had spoken untruthfully of her; filthy with her! Blood of Christ! Confessions! The handkerchief)

The euphemistic dots in Muṭrān's translation of Othello's words are not only meant to mute the obscenities of the Moor but also to mute cultural elements that might offend the Arab reader. Removing 'zounds', a contraction of 'God's wounds', and other religious and cultural references from the translation is in line with Muṭrān's arabization strategy, where Shakespeare and his world are made to meet the expectations of the Arab reader/spectator. Paradoxically, and despite his use of *'āmmiyya*, Safouan is keen to

maintain the foreignness of Shakespeare's text by retaining all religious and cultural allusions. For him, producing a translation in Egyptian *'āmmiyya* does not mean Egyptianizing Shakespeare in the sense meant by Muḥammed 'Uthmān Jalāl, for instance. For Jalāl, Egyptianization merely meant purging the translated text of its cultural identity and bringing it in line with the cultural milieu of the target culture. Safouan asserts that the end result of this practice is a 'self-sufficient' national identity that is steeped in ignorance and hence refuses to associate his work with the translation practice of Muḥammed 'Uthmān Jalāl (2001: 134).

The Arab identity that Muṭrān constructs and caters to in his version of Othello cannot accommodate the questioning of moral and social doxa. When Iago and Roderigo discuss Roderigo's obsessive love for Desdemona, Roderigo admits that it is not in his 'virtue' to change his passion for his beloved. Iago responds as follows (I, iii: 320):

> Virtue? A fig! 'tis in ourselves that we are thus, or thus.

Muṭrān renders 'virtue' into طاقة (literally, power) and does not translate the contemptuous exclamatory 'a fig'. Safouan renders this line as follows (1998a: 43):

> الفضيلة؟ ورقة توت أمك حوه! كوننا كده أو كده، دا شئ موقوف علينا.
>
> (Virtue? The berry leaf of your mum, Eve! To be this or that, is something that is up to us)

Safouan misses the meaning of the exclamatory 'a fig' in Elizabethan English, where it functioned as an expression of contempt, usually accompanied by an obscene gesture. This gesture, according to *OED*, "consisted in thrusting the thumb between two of the closed fingers or into the mouth".[35] The expression he uses instead accentuates the sceptical attitude towards established ideas and ideals which he discusses in his introduction. Iago in Safouan's translation is explicitly made into a Dionysian-like figure of *The Bacchae*; a figure who does not hesitate to ridicule and question customary beliefs.

Safouan not only challenges Muṭrān's arabized version of the character of Othello but also subverts his construction of gendered identities in the play, particularly that of Desdemona. Othello's relationship with Desdemona in Muṭrān's version is projected in terms of subject-object, with Othello always playing the active part in the relationship, whereas Desdemona is usually assigned the typical role of the woman lover in most traditional Arabic narratives: a mere object of love and desire. In Safouan's translation, by contrast, Desdemona is represented as a willing subject. The difference between Safouan's and Muṭrān's translations of Desdemona's speech in act I, scene iii is quite revealing in this respect. In this speech, Desdemona speaks for both

herself and Othello before the Venetian Senate, asserting that she *willingly* gave her heart to Othello:

> Desdemona: That I did love the Moor to live with him
> My downright violence and scorn of fortunes
> May trumpet to the world.
> (*Othello*. I. iii, 150–51)

In Muṭrān's translation (1912b: 36–7), this becomes:

> ديدمونة: لقد أحببت المغربي حباً يقضي عليَّ بألا أفارقه في حياتي. أثبت ذلك بما تعرضت له من سوء الأحدوثة
> والاستسلام للقدر.

> (Daydamuna: I loved the Moor with [the kind of] love that *destined* me not to leave him all my life. My *resignation* to destiny and the misfortunes that befell me prove it.) (my emphasis)

Safouan renders the same lines as follows (1998a: 40, my emphasis):

> دسدمونة: أما إنى حبيت المغربي لدرجة إنى عُزت أعيش وياه، فثورتى الصريحة وزهدى في اللى كان مقدَّر لي
> يعلنوه للدنيا كلها.

> (Desdemona: As for the fact that *I* loved the Moor to the extent that *I willed* to live with him, my *unmitigated rebellion* and scorn of what was to happen to me declare it to the whole world.)

The representation of Desdemona in both cases reveals the translators' different agendas. In Muṭrān's translation, Othello is given centre stage at the expense of all other characters, including Desdemona, who are relegated to the background. He is the patriarch and the icon who, empowered by his 'sweetened discourse' and 'rhetorical devices', all represented in pure *fuṣḥa*, is capable of manipulating the Venetian Senate and winning the heart of Desdemona. In Safouan's translation, by contrast, Othello is projected as a subject relating to other subjects. Desdemona in Safouan's version is assertive of her identity as a woman, whereas in Muṭrān's translation, her existence is only meaningful when identified with Othello's. In his speech in act I, scene iii, Othello recounts how he won the heart of Desdemona by telling her about his adventures and the misfortunes that befell him. He declares that she was amazed by the narration of his unhappy experiences and

> She wished she had not heard it, yet she wished
> That heaven had made her such a man (163–4).

Muṭrān comes very close to Shakespeare's text and renders these two lines as follows (1912b: 33):

تمنت لو لم تسمعها – على أنها قالت فى بعض ماقالت إنها كانت تود لو خلقها الله رجلًا على هذا المثال

(She wished she had not heard it—but said, among other things, that she wished God had created for her a man like this one)

Safouan, who portrays Desdemona as a woman with an independent identity, removes these two lines from his translation. This is in line with his representation of Desdemona in this scene and in most of the play as an independent subject who does not identify with Othello.

5 *PARA-DOXAS* IN SAFOUAN'S TRANSLATION PRACTICE AND DISCOURSE

Safouan's hetero-doxic stance on translation, which he elaborated in his introduction and sought to enact in his translation of *Othello*, betrays some *para-doxic* moments. The first relates to the aim that motivates the whole project, namely, to produce a translation of Shakespeare's tragedy totally in *'āmmiyya*. Whereas this proved mostly feasible, in many instances Safouan had to use *fuṣḥa*, both in his discourse on the translation and in the translation itself. In some of his responses to the issues raised by the critics of the translation, he found himself in a position where he had to use *fuṣḥa* to defend the legitimacy of using *'āmmiyya* in translation. In many instances in the translation, the language used is a mix of both *fuṣḥa* and *'āmmiyya*, and many expressions and structures are indeed hard to box into either of these two constructs.

The second *para-dox* in Safouan's project, which follows from the first one, has to do with the contradiction between the translation strategy Safouan claims to adopt and the audience he targets. In the introduction, he speaks of translation as moving the readers closer to the authors, rather than moving the authors towards the readers (1998b: 15). Safouan denounces the product of the latter mode of translating as 'deaf', because it subdues the foreign text to one's culture (2007: 64). In choosing to foreignize the translation and "subdue one's 'mentality' to the foreign thought that exists in the text to be translated" (ibid.), Safouan is faced with another paradox: how would this foreignizing strategy go down with Muḥammed 'Ali 'Abd al-Mūla (the common man) to whom he dedicates the translation? How would this strategy tie in with Safouan's primary goal of making literary masterpieces accessible to disadvantaged sectors of the Egyptian society? When faced with this *para-dox*, Safouan seems to shift position, admitting that the *'āmmiyya* he used is addressed to

"intellectuals with enlightened minds" (*al-muthaqafīn dhawī al-albāb*) (ibid.: 133). This explains the high register of *'āmmiyya* he uses. It is not the *'āmmiyya* one hears in Cairo's streets or markets from uneducated men and women. It is rather the kind of *'āmmiyya* one hears in discussions among Egyptian intellectuals or the one used by such poets who write in the Cairene vernacular, such as Salah Jahīn (1930–1986), whose work is praised by Safouan in his introduction.

Safouan's project gives rise to a third *para-dox* that relates to the premise underlying the rationale for his translation. This is the premise that there is an arbitrary line that divides Classical Arabic from spoken Arabic, which has been proved faulty (Badawi 1973). Indeed, Safouan's translation practice itself constitutes sufficient evidence that this dividing line is fictitious and that neither *'āmmiyya* nor *fuṣḥa* is a monolithic entity. Variation can be detected in the *'āmmiyya* used by the characters in Safouan's translation. The level of *'āmmiyya* used by Othello, for instance, is different from the one used by Bianca or Emilia. The constructed dichotomy of *'āmmiyya/fuṣḥa*, just like the conceptual dichotomy of orthodoxy/heterodoxy, has long prevented researchers from looking into the complexities of cultural production in modern Egypt, including the production and dissemination of translation and the identity politics it involves. These dichotomies might help in mapping out cultural practices, but they should not lure us into believing that a phenomenon as complex as translation can be captured within clearly identifiable categories. Perhaps the beauty of translation scholarship and the challenge it poses to researchers lie in the many *para-doxes* that hide behind what seems unmistakably *doxic*.

NOTES

1 *Fuṣḥa*, the 'eloquent language' in Arabic, is used in this chapter to refer to the standard variety of Arabic which is used mainly in written and written-to-be-spoken (formal speeches, news broadcasts, etc.) discourses. Although the modern *fuṣḥa* is markedly different from the *fuṣḥa* of pre-Islamic literature and the Qur'ān in terms of lexis, it still retains the same grammatical features. I agree with Haeri (2003: xi) that the term 'Modern Standard Arabic', which was introduced by a number of linguists at Harvard in the 1960s, is problematic in the sense that it takes the 'modernization' of classical Arabic for granted. As Haeri rightly remarks, the use of this term "implies that we understand the 'modernity' of contemporary Classical Arabic and that the modernisation of this language is now an accomplished fact" (ibid). *'Āmmiyya*, the 'common language' in Arabic, is used in this book to refer to the Egyptian variety of Arabic which is mainly used in everyday speech.
2 I refer here to the written records of these speeches. As will be pointed out later, in delivering these speeches, Egyptian presidents tend to use *'āmmiyya* in commenting on and explaining the written speech.
3 As will be pointed out later, the majority of individuals who work as *muṣaḥiḥīn* (language correctors) are male Muslims.

4 The most competent of all *muṣaḥiḥīn* (correctors) is one who is capable of memorizing *Alfiyyat Ibn Malik*, a poem of one thousand verses on the grammatical rules of Arabic.

5 In a previous study by Haeri (1996) on the relation between gender, class and the language situation in Egypt, men are shown to be the propagators of linguistic features that are typical of *fuṣḥa*, whereas women are shown to be more challenging of these features.

6 In addition to the two prizes mentioned earlier, Taymūr was also awarded the Wāṣif Ghālī Franco-Egyptian Prize and the Cedars of Lebanon Medal in 1951. Other marks of distinction and canonization in the field include membership of the Supreme Council for the Arts, Letters, and the Social Sciences in 1965 and a prize being instituted in his name, awarded by both the Egyptian government and the Alexandria branch of the short story club, which he helped found. For a more detailed biography of Maḥmūd Taymūr see Goldschmidt Jr. (2000: 209–10).

7 '*Almāniyya*, the Arabic for 'secularism', has been loaded with negative connotations in Egyptian public consciousness: for a large sector of Egyptians, the word has usually been associated with 'atheism' and 'immorality'.

8 Luṭfī al-Sayyid called for using '*āmmiyya* lexis in *fuṣḥa*, especially names of new inventions which are themselves naturalized from foreign languages. Al-Sayyid pointed out in a series of articles he published in *al-Jarīda* newspaper in 1913 that '*āmmiyya* has been more flexible than *fuṣḥa* in coping with the spirit of the modern age. For details of the debate between Luṭfī al-Sayyid and his opponents, see al-Jindī (1983: 73–81).

9 For extracts from these translations see Sa'īd (1964/1980: 55–60).

10 In addition to his translations, Willcocks wrote a book on nutrition in '*āmmiyya* to prove that it can also accommodate scientific discourse. The book is entitled *al-Akl wa al-Imān* (*Eating and Faith*). The book offers tips on healthy diet mixed with Christian doctrine. For an extract from this book, see Sa'īd (1964/1980: 67–71).

11 Apart from literary expression, some other Egyptian intellectuals wanted to prove that *fua* is also capable of accommodating the language of science. Soon after the publication of Willcocks' controversial article, they established a scientific journal with the title *al-Muhandis* (*The Engineer*) in which articles were published in *fuṣḥa*. See Suleiman (2004: 68).

12 For a more detailed analysis of the discourses of these intellectuals on the language situation in Egypt in connection with the issue of national identity, see Suleiman (2003).

13 This purported 'purity' is premised on the previously mentioned belief in Islamic tradition that Arabic in its *fuṣḥa* version is the language of *ahl al-Janna* (the people of Heaven), not to mention the language of Islamic Revelation. Hence this 'perfect' language, from the Islamic perspective, has the capacity to accommodate every conceivable human idea, without needing to borrow foreign terms.

14 The reference here is to Abū Bishr 'Amr Ibn 'Uthmān Sibawayh (ca. 760-ca. 793), a distinguished Arab grammarian who is known to be the first to set the rules of Arabic grammar as we know them today.

15 One of the criticisms levelled against *fuṣḥa* by such intellectuals as 'Abd al-'Azīz Fahmī (1870–1951) and Salāma Mūsa, among others, is the difficulty of reading it accurately due to a complex system of case endings (*i'rāb*) and hence the call for writing it using the Latin alphabet, as did Kemāl Atatūrk (1881–1938) with Turkish. The call for latinizing Arabic, with its association with the secularism of Atatūrk, was fiercely criticized as misguided and ill intentioned.

16 This association between specialists in the Arabic language and Islam is accentuated in Egyptian society through a number of measures: departments of Arabic language and literature are almost practically restricted to Muslim students; and teachers of Arabic at Egyptian schools are generally responsible for teaching Islamic religion as well. Al-Shubāshī attempts to question this association in a chapter in his book on 'Christians and the Arabic Language', in which he elaborates the contributions of Christian Arabs to the Arabic language. See al-Shubāshī (2004: 93–107).
17 Bourdieu (1991: 239) considers 'insult' as one strategy of naming in any field of activity through which an individual tries to impose his or her point of view. See also section 4.1 of chapter 3 in this volume.
18 For a study on the socio-historical contingencies which conditioned the rise of *'āmmiyya* poetry in modern Egypt, see Booth (1992).
19 Abd al-Ra¯m«n al-Abnūdī was given the State Award of Merit in 2000.
20 This article, entitled in Arabic as 'Awā'iq al-Masraḥiyya 'indana, was later republished together with other articles by al-Ḥakīm in a volume edited by Sabry Hafez (n.d).
21 Ṣannū' was not known to have published any of the 32 comedies which he produced between 1870 and 1872. Except for *Molière Miṣr wa ma Yuqasīhi*, all of these plays were lost.
22 Only 15 issues of this newspaper were published in 1878. When Ṣannū' was sent into exile by the Khedive that year, he continued issuing the newspaper, albeit under different titles (Sa'īd 1964/1980: 78).
23 Al-Ṭahṭāwī's son, 'Alī Fahmī Rifā'a, was editor of this journal (see cover of the journal in Isma'īl 1998: 101).
24 For the text of this translation, see the May, June and July 1871 issues of *Rawḍat al-Madāris*. The same text is republished with commentary in Isma'īl (1998: 95–121). For another commentary on the same translation, see Bardenstein (2005: 99–100, 104–14).
25 Also quoted in Bardenstein (2005: 117).
26 Both covers are reprinted in Isma'īl (1998: 127).
27 In this introduction, Jalāl tries to explain the concept of 'tragedy', which was left unexplained in Salīm al-Naqqāsh's introduction to *Mayy*, and asserts that he kept close to the French original by Racine, unlike al-Naqqāsh who says in his introduction to *Mayy* that he introduced changes to the original so that the translation would appeal to the 'Arab taste'. For a discussion of both these introductions, see Najm (1956: 204–6; 218–21).
28 Although this schematization of the use of *'āmmiyya* and *fuṣḥa* in drama is helpful, it raises a number of problems. One such problem that is relevant to our discussion concerns the category of 'translated plays'. The category 'translated plays' can include both plays translated for the stage and plays translated for publication. In the case of staged translation, as has been shown, a degree of *'āmmiyya* is allowed, depending on the genre of the play, and hence confining 'translated plays' to *fuṣḥa* only might not be quite correct.
29 This review, as well as the response of the translator and a final commentary by the reviewer, are reproduced in full in *Tawthīq al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī 6*, pp. 161–3; 165–6; 171–2.
30 This review of Ardash's *Antigone* is reproduced in full in *Tawthīq al-Masra¯ al-Mi·rī (1960–1969)*, pp. 324–9.
31 It is useful at this point to refer to the work of the Egyptian linguist al-Sa'īd Muhammad Badawī (1973) who argues that neither *fuṣḥa* nor *'āmmiyya* is monolithic. He identified two 'levels' (*mustawayāt*), as he calls them, of *fuṣḥa* (the *fuṣḥa* of tradition and *fuṣḥa* of the modern age) and three levels of

'āmmiyya (the *'āmmiyya* of the intellectuals, the *'āmmiyya* of the educated and the *'āmmiyya* of the uneducated).

32 In this extract, where al-Ṭahṭāwī talks about such an abstract topic as language, 'Āshūr has him use *fuṣḥa*, even when he is praising *'āmmiyya*. This ambivalent attitude by 'Āshūr shows how difficult it is for playwrights to challenge the doxic paractice and write a historical play totally in *'āmmiyya*.

33 Safouan does not mention the source of his quote from Euripides, although he acknowledges the English translation of David Franklin in an English version of the introduction to his translation of *Othello*, recently published in a collection of articles with the title *Why Are the Arabs Not Free?—The Politics of Writing* (2007).

34 In his introduction to *al-Kitāba wa al-sulṭa* (Writing and Power), Safouan (2001) states that Egypt's defeat in the 1967 war against Israel was the main motivation for writing his book. For him this defeat is not only due to the role played by the Western colonial powers; it is mainly the responsibility of a national regime whose leader hears nothing but his own voice, whereas any other voice is destined to one of two ends: prison or the grave.

35 See the explanatory notes on this expression in E. A. J. Honigmann's edition of *Othello*.

7 Towards a Methodology for a Sociology of Translation

In this concluding chapter, I would like to underline three main features which characterize the sociological study of translation as inspired by Bourdieu's work and which need to be further refined and developed in future studies in order to accommodate different translation phenomena and address diverse research questions posed by various language and cultural traditions.

1 RELATIONAL METHODOLOGY

Bourdieu's crucial concept of 'field' has three implications for the methodological study of translation in general and drama translation in particular. First, challenging the subject-object dichotomy and the methodologies it underlies in social and human sciences opens up the possibility for a methodology that is keen to pursue a *relational* understanding of translation, one in which translation phenomena are regarded as the locus of interplay among different forces that include the socio-professional space in which translation takes place; the range of options available for translators in this space; the producers and co-producers of translation, whether individuals or institutions; and the actual decisions taken by them. A relational understanding of translation, inspired by Bourdieu's sociology, also takes account of the wider socio-cultural and political space within which the field of translation is located. Political and economic contingencies in the social space as well as the hierarchy of social classes all condition practices within the field of translation. However, these factors, which constitute what Bourdieu calls the 'field of power', are not directly reflected in translation practices. In attempting to distance his sociology of cultural production from the reductionism of Marxist approaches to culture, where cultural practice is seen as the mirror of social reality, Bourdieu substitutes the concept of *refraction* for the Marxist concept of *reflection*. Whereas Bourdieu's sociology still allows for taking account of the social space as a conditioning force of cultural production, he maintains that the effects of the social space are refracted, i.e. adjusted and modified by the specific mechanisms that govern the functioning of the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1996: 220). This is tied

to his assertion of the relative autonomy of fields of cultural production and their functioning according to a logic different from the one that governs the social space (ibid.). This understanding should safeguard against reading translation merely as a replica of social reality: whereas political, social and economic contingencies should be taken into consideration, their implications need to be always seen in the context of the structure and internal logic of the field of translation.

Bourdieu's conceptualization of human agency, together with the behavioural patterns and decisions that give this agency its unique identity and maintain at the same time its relevance to the social space in which it is activated, is again motivated by a research agenda that is unequivocally critical of the subject-object dichotomy. However, whereas the concept of *habitus* as a mediating mechanism between social structures and individual decisions and practices is helpful in overcoming this dichotomy, its significance for the study of actual choices made by translators is yet to be elaborated. The fact that the constitution of *habitus*, as explained in Bourdieu's sociology, is the outcome of processes of social conditioning and cognitive construction (see section 3.7 of chapter 2 this volume) calls for an analysis of the translator's *habitus* through a sociological-cognitive approach. Through the empirical investigation of a larger number of cases, this approach needs to answer a number of questions: what social institutions are involved in conditioning the dispositions of the translator? What are the roles played by both social institutions in general and institutions of professional apprenticeship operating in the field of (drama) translation in conditioning the translator's dispositions? How and under what conditions are translation norms cognitively rendered and unpacked into translation strategies? What are the factors which govern the dialectic of reproduction and change in the field of translation? In other words, what is it that makes the *habitus* of one translator generate dispositions that comply with existing norms and the *habitus* of another, who has experienced similar socialization and professionalization processes, generate dispositions that challenge these norms? In order for these questions to yield reliable answers, they need to be tested on a wider range of translators from different cultural traditions and different historical periods. Bourdieu's sociology might not provide straightforward answers to these questions, which calls for further *appropriative readings* of his work that take into account the historical and socio-cultural specificity of diverse translation activities. However, the conceptual apparatus enabled by Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production provides us with the tools and the meta-language which are both sensitive to and accommodating of the complexity of translation phenomena.

Bourdieu's *multiple contextualization* of cultural production safeguards against a sociology of translation that is merely focused on the dynamics of the profession without looking into the wider socio-cultural conditions that contribute to the (re)making of these dynamics. In view of a 'relational methodology' for understanding cultural production, *homologous* relations

between the field of translation and other fields in the social space could be identified with the purpose of casting light on the role played by other socio-cultural activities in shaping translation, its practice and the theoretical discourses developed around it. For instance, the postulated homology between the field of drama translation, on the one hand, and the fields of theatre production, literary production, the publishing industry and theatre/literary criticism, on the other, is helpful in mapping the possible choices and decisions (what Bourdieu would call 'positions') available for drama translators. In investigating the structures of the fields of drama translation and theatre production during the 1910s, for example, one can see that the positions available for and created by troupes in the field of theatre were found to have affected the creation of corresponding positions in the field of drama translation. Understanding the choices made by drama translators at the time could not have been possible without locating them at the intersection of positions available in both the fields of theatre production and drama translation. In a similar vein, delineating the homologous relations between drama translation activities and other activities within the fields of theatre journalism, literary journalism and translation studies sharpens one's awareness of the need for a relational methodology that captures the multifarious character of drama translation. These three fields have distinct structures with different distributions of capital as well as clearly defined boundaries. A perceived homology between the field of drama translation and each of these three fields on the one hand, and among the three fields themselves on the other, can be the source of interesting insights into the practices of and discourses on drama translation. One of these insights concerns the interplay between the popular understanding of drama translation as projected in both theatre and literary journalism and the theoretical-empirical understanding of it in translation studies, as well as the influence exercised by the discourses produced in both fields on the actual production of drama translation.

The second methodological implication of the concept of field for the study of translation in general, and drama translation in particular, concerns the logic on which Bourdieu's definition of the concept is based. The fact that the structure and boundaries of the field as well as conditions of membership and recognition or marginalization within it are all subject to a continuous conflict over the accumulation of capital (economic or symbolic) has implications for the definition of what is acceptable and what is not in drama translation. Hence translation scholars, as argued in this study, cannot approach practices in the field of drama translation with an a priori definition of what normative practice in this field can and should be, because this definition is always shifting and dependent on the outcome of the conflict over capital. In this study, no a priori definition of what drama translation should and should not be was adopted. The strategies and practices of drama translators have been shown to be always the outcome of the struggle over capital. A cursory comparison between practices of drama

translators in turn-of-the-century Egypt and practices of such translators as Muṭrān or Enānī is witness to the futility of any attempt to elaborate such a definition.

The third implication of Bourdieu's relational understanding of the field of cultural production concerns his challenge of a mode of causality that underlies traditional sociologies, whereby socio-cultural phenomena are explained by recourse to a single cause (or a limited set of causes) that conditions them. In challenging this mode of causality, Bourdieu's genetic sociology seeks to locate phenomena not in an imagined and unitary origin that determines them, but in a whole nexus of socio-cultural factors. Tied to this understanding of how socio-cultural phenomena can be best explained is Bourdieu's conception of history. For him, explaining socio-cultural practices in terms of a linear, chronological representation does not do justice to the complexity of these practices. Unravelling this complexity is only possible when sociological research is grounded in an awareness of the historicity of these practices.

2 HISTORICIZING SOCIOLOGY

The fact that Bourdieu's sociology is premised on the *historicity* of socio-cultural phenomena should inform any serious attempt to develop a methodology for the sociological study of translation. This methodology needs to account for the *diachronicity*, as well as the synchronicity, of translation and translation-related practices. The case of the Arabic (re)translations of Shakespeare's tragedies show that these practices and the discourses informing and ensuing from them are the product of historical processes. Awareness of these processes is crucial for understanding such translation phenomena as the changing conceptualizations and encodings of 'translation' in any one language and across different points in time, the diversification of the translation field/market into various modes of production and consumption, the different retranslations of one source text and the production of heterodox translations which challenge the rules of the translation game and question deep-rooted assumptions about translation.

One such conceptual tool that proved to be useful in siting the historicity of translation production and consumption is Bourdieu's notion of the 'power of naming'. Far from being an unquestionable given, the naming of socio-cultural practices is shown by Bourdieu to be a source of insights about the socio-cultural forces operating at a specific moment in the history of a field and the kind of struggle among them. Being a Western phenomenon, the two foundational acts of naming theatre in Arabic by both al-Jabartī and al-Ṭahṭāwī with the two different understandings of theatre they invoked anticipated two modes of theatre production that later materialized in Egypt. The words, expressions (e.g. Arabization, Egyptianization) and metaphors (e.g. 'translation as a bridge between cultures', 'translation

as a faithful wife') encoded in the Arabic language to denote the nature of translation and diverse translation strategies are themselves the products of historical socio-cultural processes that need to be accounted for in any sociology of Arabic translation. These encodings, which are not unique to Arabic (see St Andre 2010), frame both translation practice and the discourses on translation.

The assumption that cultural products are fashioned by historical processes can be meaningful only when the decisions and choices made by producers of culture are seen as the outcome of a dynamic agency that adjusts itself in time and different socio-cultural settings. Bourdieu's description of the 'trajectory' made by producers of culture across time and space echoes this understanding of the historicity of human agency. The social and cultural adjustment experienced by early Levantine translators of drama who migrated to Egypt in the late nineteenth century and their movement across different cultural fields, including drama translation, translation of fiction and journalism, provides a good illustration of a shifting professional trajectory that is responsive to both the dictates of the cultural market and the contingencies of the social space.

Studying the continuous restructuring of the field of translation, as illustrated by the case of Shakespeare in Arabic, requires a methodological approach that is capable not only of capturing the manifestations of change but also the logic that both motivates and governs it. If the production of different versions of the same source text is crucial evidence that shows that the field of translation is in a continuous state of flux, Bourdieu's sociology provides us with the methodological tools that enable us to describe and analyse the 'temporality of change' as seen in such phenomena as retranslation. As shown by this study, such tools as 'social ageing' and 'distinction' of cultural products help in reconceptualizing retranslation as part of the struggle over time among translators. It is the outcome of this struggle that determines which translations are seen as 'ahead of time' or avant-garde, 'behind time' or ageing, or even 'above time', i.e. classic. Time, according to this understanding of retranslation, is seen as one form of the symbolic capital that translators and retranslators strive to accumulate. In this struggle over time, winning is conditioned by the ability of retranslators to deploy marks of distinction that may earn them advantageous positions in comparison with previous translators.

One of the issues that was briefly discussed in this study and which can be expanded on in a more detailed methodology concerns the ways in which retranslators manage and maximize their social capital in their struggle for survival against established translators. The social resources which retranslators of drama in Egypt accumulate in the form of connections with co-producers (e.g. publishers, publicists, theatre directors, reviewers, etc.), professional bodies (e.g. translation associations, unions, translation training institutions, etc.), agents of canonization (e.g. translation committees in official cultural bodies, award-giving institutions, historians of drama

translation, etc.) need to be mapped, analysed and interpreted in connection with their translation output and the positions they occupy in the field and other homologous fields. Further studies should also address the convertibility of social capital possessed by these retranslators into both economic and symbolic capital and the conditions under which this conversion is possible.

The 'temporality of change' in translation practice can also be explored through the dialectical relation between 'orthodox' and 'heterodox' discourses on translation, between agents who seek to maintain dominant assumptions about translation and others who seek to problematize these assumptions and unveil the contradictions within them. Although Bourdieu's concept of doxa is useful in reading translation cases that clearly go against the constitutional norms of the field, a number of questions still need to be addressed in connection with the socio-historical conditioning of 'heterodox' translations, i.e. what are the social and historical processes that lead to turning one translator against consensual translation practices and discourses? And what are the forms of negotiating, accommodating or rejecting this dissent by agents occupying dominant positions in the field?

3 SELF-REFLEXIVENESS

To my mind, the ramifications of Bourdieu's analysis of the dynamics of cultural production and consumption could be paradigm-shifting for translation studies. This is only conditioned by the willingness of translation scholars to test these ramifications on different case studies and cultural settings and appropriate Bourdieu's work in creative readings in order to answer questions that might not have been initially addressed in his work. The risk of overplaying or downplaying the significance of Bourdieu's sociology for the study of translation can only be avoided by the translation scholars' awareness of their own 'temporality' and their active role in the construction, description and explanation of their objects of study. This is key to their understanding of the limitations of their work and the hiatuses in Bourdieu's work which demand further theoretical and methodological engagement.

This study is one among others in translation studies that have emerged since the late 1990s and sought in different ways to import the sociological concepts developed by Bourdieu to the study of translation. As stressed in the introduction, this study set out to avoid the limitations of previous research by embracing a broader vision of Bourdieu's sociology and testing it on new material and in a highly under-researched cultural tradition. Whereas this aim has been largely achieved, a number of issues relating to Bourdieu's concepts and their viability for a sociology of translation remain to be further investigated. Apart from the issues raised earlier in connection

with the key questions which motivated the project, the following can be thought of as a suggested future agenda for research in translation studies based on Bourdieu's sociology:

- More engagement with the language of translating is needed in future research drawing on Bourdieu's sociology. Although the approach offered by Bourdieu gives priority to socio-cultural practices at the field level, relating this macro-level analysis to an analysis of the language practices of translators (and interpreters) would invigorate the sociological study of translation and make it more relevant to the nature of the material investigated.
- The viability of Bourdieu's sociology for the study of translation is again dependent on testing it on a wider range of genres, translation phenomena and cultural traditions. In the field of literary translation, for instance, very little research, if any, has been conducted on poetry translation, translation of children's literature, translation of literary criticism, etc. Bourdieu's sociology can also be very useful in exploring the dynamics of political translation in different media and by different institutional bodies with different political allegiances. Another area that can be a good candidate for sociological study inspired by Bourdieu's theory of field is the range of cultural products that depend in their dissemination on translation, such as foreign movies, soap opera series, documentaries, etc.
- Bourdieu's concept of self-reflexivity needs to be exercised in connection with the research tools and methodologies employed in translation studies. The methods used by translation scholars in constructing their objects of enquiry can themselves constitute the object of study. In addition to making translation scholars aware of the *constructedness* of these tools, a self-reflexive study would promote awareness of their limitations. These include the very criteria set by researchers for selecting their material, categorizing them in lists and genres and periodizing them in certain time frames. These tools also include the very concepts translation scholars devise in order to make sense of phenomena and even the back-translations of these phenomena in order to make them eligible for discussion in the language of research.
- A historiography grounded in Bourdieu's genetic sociology can be further elaborated with the aim of rewriting mainstream histories of translation traditions. A social history of translation, inspired by Bourdieu's *relational* sociology, can be developed as an alternative to existing *linear* histories of translators and translated texts.

Although it is hard to predict the outcomes of this research agenda, the fact that Bourdieu's sociology helped to open new vistas in translation studies and point in the direction of untrodden paths in this area has already proven to be a valid enterprise.

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