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A Comparative Study of Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's Translations of the Seven *Mu'allaqāt*

by

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Translation Studies

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Note on Translation and Transliteration

All translations of lines of the *Mu'allaqāt* or verses from the Quran which appear directly after the Arabic lines or in footnotes are mine. Transliteration from Arabic follows the system of *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (*IJMES*). I follow this system throughout the thesis, unless when I quote other translators, scholars, or critics.

IJMES Transliteration System for Arabic

Consonnats

Arabic	English	Arabic	English	Arabic	English
ء	ʾ	ز	z	ق	q
ب	b	س	s	ك	k
ت	t	ش	sh	ل	l
ث	th	ص	ṣ	م	m
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y
ذ	dh	غ	gh	ال	al-
ر	r	ف	f	ة	-a

Vowels

Long	ا or ى	ā
	و	ū
	ي	ī
Doubled	ـِيّ	iyy
	ـُوّ	uww
Diphthongs	وَ	au *or* aw
	ىَ	ai *or* ay
Short	ـَ	a
	ـُ	u
	ـِ	i

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Finally, I would like to thank my friends.

Declaration

I declare that the thesis is my own work. I also confirm that the thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Abstract

This study investigates the politicisation of Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's translations of the seven *Mu'allqāt*, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's sociologicl theory. It presents a sociology of translation that is based on five of the conceptual tools that Bourdieu employs in understanding social reality in studying the influence of the social norms on the two translators's decisions. The study foregrounds the fact that Arberry's and O'Grady's translations were similarly produced in highly politicised societies due to the British and later the American involvement in the Middle East, and it argues that British and American propaganda respectively formed the *doxa* about Arabs at the times the translations were produced and influenced the representation of Arabs in each translation. The study aims to advance the understanding of the influence of the socio-political context on poetry translation which has rarely been studied.

A review of extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* defines the boundaries of the field; specifies its key players, and the factors that shaped their *habitus*; highlights the major types of capital over which these players struggle; and thus helps to situate Arberry's and O'Grady's translations in the field.

The theoretical framework of this study draws on Bourdieu's sociology in order to establish the link between politics and Anglophone literary fields during the time the translations were produced. It thus tests Bourdieu's sociology in the study of poetry translation.The theoretical framework employs *Skopostheorie* to explain the different approaches that the two translators adopt to the translation; it also draws on the domestication/foreignisation model.

The study analyses and compares the two translators' choices of methodologies which ultimately result in characterising their representations of the Arab reality described in the *Mu'allaqāt* by essentialism, absence, and otherness that have been the three characteristics of Orientalist representation of the non-West since the eighteenth century. The analysis reveals how the decisions of both translators result in problems such as distorting or altering Arab reality, or in obstructing the message of the original *qaṣīdas*.

The study concludes that the socio-political context had its impact on Arberry's and O'Grady's translation choices in spite of the different purposes of their translations. It also concludes that the socio-political context seems to have influenced O'Grady's choices relating to style. Furthermore, it sheds light on the problems that result from the influence of the socio-political circumstances on the translators' decisions, and offers suggestions for avoiding such problems.

Abbreviations

ST	source text
SL	source language
TT	target text
TL	target language

1.Introduction

1.1. Rationale for Undertaking the Research

This study examines the politicisation of Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's translations of the seven *Mu'allaqāt*, in the context of the socio-political circumstances that underpinned the production and reception of their translations. I draw on Pierre Bourdeiu's sociology in the investigation of the influence of the socio-political context on the two translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*.The *Mu'allaqāt* are some of the few surviving poems of what seems to have been a vast body of pre-Islamic poetry (Arberry, *Seven Odes* 14). The poems are widely regarded as the finest in Arabic poetry and a testament to the Arabs' excellence in the genre. Sa'ad Isma'īl Shalabī observes that "there is general consensus that the artistic foundations upon which was constructed our Arabic poetry during the *Jahiliyya* period remained foundational across the various literary periods" (5). Shalabī adds that all Arabic poetry has in fact branched out from these *Jahiliyya* roots (5). Due to their literary, historical, and cultural importance, the *Mu'allaqāt* were, for many years, an integral part of the Arabic Literature curriculum in countries such as Egypt, Syria and Lebanon.[1] Today, this pedagogical practice is no longer the norm.[2] However, the importance and status of the *Mu'allaqāt* continue to exist in the minds of the general

---

[1] Naṣereddīn al-Asad recounts that his connection to *Jahiliyya* poetry is old, dating back to more than twenty years, to the days when [he] used to memorise the *Mu'allaqāt* (5).

[2] Ghāzī Ṭulaimāt and 'Erfān al-Ashqar discuss the difficulties that contemporary students face in accessing the content and context of these ancient poems, and they argue that such difficulties are the result of modern education with its leniency and complacency (5).

public through the production of television series and films about the lives of some of the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

Central to this study is the political dimension of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Poets in Ancient Arabia played a political role in their tribes, and their *qaṣīdas* performed a political function. Translating the *Mu'allaqāt* thus carries potential political implication, since changes made in the process of the translation to the lines serving political functions in the original *qaṣīdas* would likely alter the political message of the *qaṣīdas*.

The *Mu'allaqāt* have been rendered into English by many translators. Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's are two among the few complete translations of the poems. Their translations were published during parallel socio-political circumstances as Anglophone powers were directly involved in the Middle East. This study claims that Arberry and O'Grady caught the sense of political urgency as members of the Western bloc that was involved in the Middle East out of political interests, and that the sense of political urgency is reflected in their translation decisions which are in line with the stereotypical representation of Arabs which was promulgated by propaganda machines when the translations were produced. A review of the literary and socio-political contexts explores the doxic (orthodox) discourse about Arabs when the translations were produced, and the analysis of both translations reveals the influence of *doxa*, albeit with varying degrees. This study explores and compares the approaches each translator adopts in rendering the *Mu'allaqāt* into English in the context of the socio-political circumstances that are relevant to the production of the translations.

Bourdieu's sociology is employed to explore the history of the translations in a multi-causational manner, to place the translations in their socio-political context,

and to investigate its influence on them. *Skopostheorie* is the basis for the comparison between the different approaches the translators take to translating the *Mu'allaqāt.* While the study attempts to avoid the limitations in previous studies that employed Bourdieu's sociology, it aims to test it by expanding its use to include studying the translation of literary genres other than fiction. Sameh Hanna observes that Bourdieu's sociology inspired translation scholarship, but he notes that research in translation studies has not fully explored the potential of all the conceptual tools in Bourdieu's sociology; he also notes that studies in literary translation have focused on fiction, and that "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" (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 5-6). In addition to the conceptual tools of field, capital, *habitus*, and *illusio*, this study employs the concept of *doxa* in exploring the orthodox discourse, mainly shaped by the governments and their supporting propaganda machines, which seemed to influence the two translators' decisions in relation to their representational recognition of the Arab reality at the time they were translating the *Mu'allaqāt*. This study also explores the relevance of Bourdieu's sociology to the translation of poetry, especially the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. It is based on what Sameh Hanna calls a relational understanding of translation which "takes into account the wider socio-political space within which the field of translation is located" (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 200)

My personal investment in this study stems from being an Egyptian who received a Western form of education but who was brought up in a country (Egypt) that was formerly dominated by Britain. My first-hand experience with the setting of the *Mu'allaqāt*, i.e. the Gulf countries today, and my own understanding of the *Mu'allaqāt* as an Arab, help me assess where the translators depart from the original

setting and its culture as described in the texts, and where they make changes that sharpen the distinction between both Eastern and Western blocs or alter the identity of Arabs.

1. 2. Statement of the Problem

Translating the *Mu‘allaqāt* is problematic because of their literary nature and cultural character. Mohamed Enani observes that the aim of literary translation is not restricted to transferring the meaning alone, but that it also extends to conveying the significance and creating an equivalent effect upon the TT reader; therefore, the literary translator should be armed with literary and critical knowledge (6-8). Yet the translator's task is harder since he [3] has to work within the limits of the ideas of the original author.

Susan Bassnett observes that the task of the literary translator becomes harder in the case of translating poetry, noting, "more time has been devoted to investigating the problems of translating poetry than any other literary mode" (*Translation Studies* 92). She further explains that studies dedicated to poetry translation are mainly either evaluations of different translations of the same poem, or observations and statements of translators on how they dealt with the problems they faced during the process of translating poetry, and she clarifies that theoretical studies on the methodological problems of poetry translation are rare (*Translation Studies* 92).

The difficulty of translating poetry lies in the complex nature of poetry itself as a form of literature. Giuseppe Natale claims that once a poem is formed, it transforms into a unique entity that does not allow modification (1). However, it is

[3] Since both translators and all the poets of the seven *Mu‘allaqāt* are male, I am using the third-person pronoun "he" to refer to the translators and the poets throughout the thesis.

impossible to avoid alterations in translation to the form or even content of the poem. Loss of meaning or effect is inevitable in any translation process, even if it involves contexts that are of socio-cultural closeness (Hatim and Mason 14). Consequently, the loss of meaning involved in translation becomes more considerable when the linguistic and cultural gap is wider between the ST and the TT. The fact that the original poem puts control on the translator adds to the difficulty of its translation. Hala Shureteh argues that the task of the translator is more arduous than that of the poet, because the poet writes freely while the translator is restricted by the poet's ideas and by the effect of the original poem (24).

The difficulty of translating poetry has led some translation scholars to argue that it is impossible. One famous opponent to poetry translation is al-Jāhiẓ. In his book *Kitāb al-Ḩayawān* (*Book of Animals*), al-Jāhiẓ posits his opinion that the faculty of writing poetry is exclusive to the Arabs and those who speak Arabic, and that Arabic poetry is therefore untranslatable; he adds that when Arabic poetry is translated, its rhyme and metre would disappear, and its beauty fades away (75). Natale comments that the belief that poetry is untranslatable has its roots in the utopian idea of translation as an activity which results in reproducing a replica; but he notes that this idea changed due to a shift in the concept of faithfulness in the eighteenth century, because the impossibility of reproducing a replica was seen as a result of the gap between languages and cultures (7). Viewing translation as a process of approximation between two texts that belong to different cultural and linguistic systems has encouraged the interpretation of the translation of poetry as a process of transference that involves loss and gain (Natale 7).

The literary and cultural contexts are determining factors in the loss and gain of meaning. Therefore, the context of reception that constitutes the *doxa*, the *habitus*

of translators, and their expectations about the background knowledge of the readers contributes to the translators' response to the representation of the Arab reality. Translators may reproduce the doxic discourse, or defy it. In the case of Arberry and O'Grady, the *habitus* of the translators seem to be in harmony with the doxic assumptions and values which constituted the doxic discourse about *Arabs* at the time they translated the *Mu'allaqāt*, resulting in the politicisation of their translations to varying degrees. The study analyses the changes in the two translations and reveals how they result in silencing the poets or in altering the reality of Arabs as represented in the ST, and it offers suggestions regarding the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

It is noteworthy that this study does not suggest that the translators were deliberately making decisions with the aim of serving a certain political agenda in mind, nor does it suggest that the *habitus* of the translators did not grant their translations any form of distinction which made them different from previous English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Rather, it suggests that politics had an influence on the Anglophone societies, literary fields, and authors, even if unconsciously, in relation to the representational recognition of the Arabs at the highly politicised times of the 1950s and the 1980s.

1. 3. Survey of Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's Contributions to the Field of Translation

Arthur John Arberry was a British Orientalist who was born in 1905 in Portsmouth in a small house in the working class quarter of Fratton (Arberry, *Oriental Essays* 232). In *Oriental Essays*, Arberry states that he desired to have an academic career from a young age, and that he worked hard to obtain a fellowship in Classics (234-35) and that Sir Ellis Minns, who was then Dr. Minns, advised him to study Arabic and Persian because there was a big field of research that could earn him

a studentship (235); Arberry reveals that R.A. Nicholson accepted him as a pupil and introduced him to Dr. A. E. Affifi who taught him Arabic in Cambridge where he later started his academic life as a junior research fellow (236). He then left Cambridge in search of income that would support him and his wife, and he worked abroad. He travelled to Egypt, where he became head of the Department of Classics at Cairo University in 1932, then worked at the India Office from 1934 until 1940 when he returned to London to work for the Ministry of Information in propaganda; he explains that he edited several newspapers in Persian and Arabic, confessing that, as a patriot, he found it “heartening” that he could employ his “rare skill” in serving his country and fighting “the forces of cruelty and oppression” (*Oriental Essay* 237). He taught Persian at London University in 1944; he was promoted to the position of Professor of Arabic and Head of the Near and Middle East Department in 1946, before returning to Cambridge where he worked as Sir Thomas Adam’s Professor of Arabic, a post he held until the end of his life (Lyons).

In the context of his documentation of his work with the Ministry of Information, Arberry reveals that his work as a propagandist influenced him as an academic and an Orientalist; he explains that—before becoming a propagandist—he had “served… pure scholarship”, and that his work in propaganda taught him the “relevance of publicity…to oriental studies”, and he clarified that his work was partly to show the interest of British Orientalists in Asian civilisations, and to highlight their efforts “in promoting international goodwill” away from politics (*Oriental Essays* 239). Thus, Arberry’s views on publicity in relation to Oriental studies reveal the influence of his work as a propagandist on structuring his *habitus* as a scholar.

Arberry also reveals that politics of the time had an impact on Oriental studies (*Oriental Essays* 242). He explains that in 1944, Anthony Eden—who was then the

Foreign Secretary and who read Oriental languages when he was an undergraduate student at Oxford—appointed a commission in the post-war period to investigate the facilities that were available for the British educational institutions to study Oriental, Eastern European, and African languages and cultures; he adds that the commission issued the Scarbrough report (or the Charter of Modern Orientalism) in 1947 which discussed the necessity to study these languages and cultures in order to be able to understand how to promote the policies of the British government in African and Asian countries, and Arberry supports this view especially after the decline of British influence in countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon (*Oriental Essays* 240-43)

Arberry translated many Arabic and Persian texts, the majority of which were classical. His translation of Persian poetry included *Fifty Poem of Hāfiz*; *Mystical Poems of Rumī*, in two volumes; *Classical Persian Literature*, an anthology of translations of different poets including Firdausī, the Saljūq poets, and Jāmī among many others; *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyaám and Other Persian Poems: An Anthology of Verse Translations*; and *Discourses of Rūmī*. He also translated excerpts from Persian poetry and prose, and included these translations in the books he dedicated to discussing Sufism and mystics of Islam. These books include *Sufism: An Account of the Mystics of Islam,* and *Muslim Saints and Mystics: Episodes from the "Tadhkirat al-Auliya" ("Memorial of the Saints").*

Arberry's translations of Arabic poetry include *The Seven Odes: The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* and *Modern Arabic Poetry: An Anthology with English Verse Translations*. Additionally, he translated Arabic prose in *The Mawáqif and Mukhátabát of Muhammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Jabbár al-Niffari: With Other Fragments*.

Furthermore, his translation of the Quran was published in two volumes under the title *The Koran Interpreted*.

Desmond O'Grady was an Irish poet, academic and translator. O'Grady was a teaching fellow at Harvard University, where he obtained his MA and PhD, and was a professor at Cairo University and Alexandria University (Healy). O'Grady explained that he translated poetry when he did not write poetry, and that the criterion for choosing the texts for his translations was his interest in the poets or poems concerned (*Trawling Tradition* xi). Relevant to this thesis is his interest in the translation of Arabic texts, to which an Iraqi colleague in Paris introduced him. He then studied old Arabic and old Welsh for his doctorate in Celtic and Comparative literature (*Trawling Tradition* xi), and he translated the *Mu'allaqāt* in order to understand the culture of the poets (*Trawling Tradition* xii).

O'Grady produced numerous translations of non-English poems, some of which, such as his translations of Armenian poems, were based on prose translations produced for him by friends (*Off License* 10). His translations include *Off License*, which is a translation from Irish, Armernian, and Italian; *The Gododdin*, a translation from Welsh; *A Limerick Rake*, a translation from Irish; *Grecian Glances*, which includes translations from Greek; *The Seven Arab Odes*; *Ten Modern Arab Poets*; *Alternative Manners*, which is a selection of translation of Constantine Cavafy's Greek poems; *Trawling Tradition: Translations 1954 -1994*, an anthology of translations of Irish, Italian, Armenian, and Arabic poems ; *C.P Cavafy: Selected Poems*; and *Kurdish Poems of Love and Liberty*.

O'Grady sometimes explained his translation philosophy in the introductions to his translations. In the introduction to *A Limerick Rake*, O'Grady explained that his aim was to "produce a poem in English from the original poem", and that he changed

much of the text to achieve this aim (11). In the introduction to *Off License*, he explained that the changes he made included omitting stanzas (10), and that he sometimes changed the entire poem to highlight or focus on a certain theme (9).

After his death, the Irish President Michael D. Higgins descrbied him as Ireland's best-known poet (Healy).

1. 4. Definitions of Key Terms

For reasons of clarity, I would like to define the following terms central to this study:

Domestication: The term is used in this study to refer to the idea of bringing the text closer to the reader. Lawrence Venuti's definition of the term is on p. 171.

Foreignisation: The term is used in this study to refer to the reproduction of all the details of the original text, especially the culture-specific details, in the translation. Lawrence Venuti's definition of the term is on p. 171.

***Qaṣīda*:** In this study, I use William Alexander Clouston's definition of the term: a long poem "composed in verses, [lines,] or couplets (called bayts) … and consisting of two halves, or hemistichs; the two hemistichs of the first bayt invariably rhyming with each other, and with the second hemistich of each succeeding couplet" (Clouston xxxv). It is composed in one metre, which is often the metre of Rajz and ends with the same rhyme (Clouston xxxv)

Mu'allaqa: One of the classical Arabic *qaṣīdas* that was recognised in pre-Islamic Arabia as a masterpiece of Arabic poetry. The plural noun, *Mu'allaqāt*, is the title of the anthology.[4]

1. 5. Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters:

1. **Introduction:** The first chapter articulates the rationale for undertaking the research, sets the problem, provides a survey of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations and their contributions to the field of translation, and defines the key terms of the thesis.
2. **Review of the Literature:** The second chapter employs a Bourdiesuian sociological approach to the critical review of the extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* except for Arberry's and O'Grady's and specifies the criteria that these translations do not meet and thus do not fall within the scope of this study. The review defines the boundaries of the field, specifies the key players in it and the types of capital over which they struggle, and explores the factors which formed the key players' *habitus.* Furthermore, it discusses retranslation and the concept of distinction.
3. **Theoretical and Intellectual Framework:** The Bourdieusian sociology of translation in the third chapter draws on five of the conceptual tools of Bourdieu's sociology in order to place Arberry's and O'Grady's translations in their socio-political contexts. In order to investigate the different manners in which the ST

[4] There are different opinions regarding the number of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Some critics recognise seven *qaṣīdas* as the *Mu'allaqāt*, while some others recognise ten. A discussion of the number of the *Mu'allaqāt* is in the section dedicated to defining the boundaries of the field of the extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* on pp. 33-35.

was rendered and the varying degrees in which it was politicised, the theoretical framework draws on *Skopostheorie*. The chapter also discusses the techniques of domestication and foreignisation, and problematises Venuti's views regarding the use of foreignisation as a tool of resistance against European cultural hegemony.

4. **Analysis:** The fourth chapter analyses the paratext in order to find clues regarding each translator's *skopos*. It also analyses the core text of each translation under the four topics of detaching the text from its cultural and temporal contexts, Orientalisation, changing the image of the Arab master or hero, and translating tribal pride and war propaganda.
5. **Conclusion:** The fifth chapter presents a summery of the main part of the thesis, states the contribution of the thesis to the field of translation studies, offers suggestions about translating the *Mu'allaqāt* into English, cites the study's limitations, and suggests topics for future research.

2. Review of the Literature

2.1. Introduction: A Bourdieusian Approach to Studying the History of the Field of English Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* were preceded and followed by many other English translations of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas*. Few of these translations were complete, and the majority adopted a selective approach, translating only a few poems or even a few lines of the poems of the anthology of the *Mu'allaqāt*. The importance of extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* resides in the fact that they provide a history of the field of translating the *Mu'allaqāt* into English. Drawing on five of the conceptual tools that Pierre Bourdieu employs in explaining social reality, this chapter explores the rich and complex socio-political dynamics that shaped the history of the field in a multi-causational manner. It investigates the genesis of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in England, the key players in the field, the kind of capital over which the struggle evolves, and the factors that shape the translators' *habitus*. The aim of studying the history of the field is to situate Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* within the field in the Bourdieusian sense of the term. The Bourdieusian approach to the history of the field highlights the importance of socio-political circumstances in shaping the *habitus* of the translators and in their decision-making.

Arberry's and O'Grady's translations have been selected for three reasons: they are complete translations of the seven *Mu'allaqāt*; they were produced by Western translators at times of political tension between the West and the Arab countries; and they were politicised in line with political propaganda which coincided

with their production. The Review of the Literature further illustrates the rationale for excluding other translations.

Oxford English Dictionary (*OED*) defines politicisation as the "action or process of making political or of establishing upon a political basis." According to K.S. Krishnaswamy, the term "politicisation" often implies partiality and departure from the norms of validity because being political has often been linked to benefiting a government or serving the agenda of a party (383). In this study, "politicisation" refers to the changes effected in the translation of the ST which concur with the *doxa* that was shaped by political propaganda during the time the translations were produced. It does not imply that the translator was consciously serving any political agendas with his choices; it only suggests the politics shaped the *doxa* of the day and influenced the decisions of the translators in relation the representation of the Arab reality in their translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

In the context of his discussion of forming a theory about translation history, Anthony Pym criticises linguistic approaches which view the ST as the only factor that conditions the translation (*Method* 157). He considers the social time and space as crucial principles of studying the history of translation and argues that the history of translation "should address the problems of social causation" (*Method* ix). This principle is central to Bourdieu's approach to understanding history and sociology. He places cultural works in their socio-cultural context and highlights the fact that they were brought about by multiple causes, taking into consideration the objective structure of the field of cultural production as well as the dispositions of these works' producers which either contribute to the continuation of the doxic practices in the field or attempt to challenge them. The social context— as Bourdieu perceives it— is

history which is engraved in the institutions and minds of agents, products, and practices (*Sociology in Question* 46).

Bourdieu claims that his “whole effort aims to discover history where it is best hidden, in people’s heads” (*Sociology in Question* 46). Since literary works and translations are evidence of how the authors and translators make sense of the world, discovering the history of the field is realised through exploring these works. Studying the history of the field is done under two sections: the first section analyses the extant English translations of the *Mu‘allaqāt*, drawing on five conceptual tools Bourdieu uses to explain social reality: field, capital, *habitus*, *illusio*, and *doxa*;[1] the second section discusses the heritage of translation practices and possible uses which the (re)translations of the *Mu‘allaqāt* build up, and eplores the concept of retranslation.

In *The Rules of Art*, Bourdieu defines field as “a network of objective relations…between positions” (231) which are available for the agents in the field to occupy; “each position is objectively defined by its objective relationship with other positions” or by the distribution of the kinds of capital or power possessed by the agents occupying these positions (231), and the field is structured in such a way that the available positions are distributed in an oppositional manner (239). According to Bourdieu, the boundaries of the cultural fields are not fixed or static; they are constantly changing as a result of the internal struggle between groups of cultural production in the field over the definition of these boundaries (*The Rules of Art* 223);

[1] The section presents only a brief introduction to Bourdieu’s conceptual tools which the chapter draws upon in the critical review of the extant English translations of the *Mu‘allaqāt*. The third chapter provides a more detailed and critical discussion of these conceptual tools.

each group attempts to impose the boundaries which best serve its interests or the "definition of conditions of true membership of the field" which justifies the status-quo (*The Rules of Art* 223).

Newcomers often bring about change in the field, but their entry into the field and the change they bring are constrained. Bourdieu states that the collective work in the field presents a heritage in which the new agents find a space of possibilities; he explains that the agents see in these possibilities the restrictions which define the possible uses, and he states that "absolute freedom" of coming up with alternatives to the established norms belongs to "the naïve and the ignorant" (*The Rules of Art* 235). In order to enter the field, the newcomer has to acquire "*a specific code* of conduct and expression", and to understand the limited world of "*freedom under constraints*" and the possible uses it offers which include solving problems, exploiting possibilities, overcoming contradictions, or even causing innovative or "revolutionary ruptures" (*The Rules of Art* 235).

The control over the entry into the field is one of the properties of the field that protects its boundaries, and it is exercised through codification. There are two types of codification: a high degree of codification, where entering the field requires abiding by explicit rules and a minimum consensus on them, and a weak degree of codification, where the rules are negotiable (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 226). Bourdieu claims that the artistic and literary fields are characterised by weak codification in contrast to the fields of economy, university, or senior civil service, for example (*The Rules of Art* 226).[2]

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[2] Bourdieu states that artistic and literary fields are characterised 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"; he adds that these fields do not require the possession of an economic capital like the

The entry of newcomers into a field depends on the form of capital distributed among the agents in the field. Bourdieu defines capital as "accumulated labor… which… enables [agents] to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor." ("The Forms of Capital" 241). In Bourdieu's theory, the concept of capital can be material and immaterial; it accumulates overtime "as a potential capacity to produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form" and "contains a tendency to persist in its being, [it] is a force inscribed in the objectivity of things so that everything is not equally possible or impossible." ("The Forms of Capital" 241-42). Bourdieu adds that the distribution of forms of capital at a certain moment in time represents the structure of the field, including the constraints that govern the functioning of the field, the possible uses, and their chances of success ("The Forms of Capital" 242). In Bourdieu's theory of field, there are three types of capital: economic, cultural, and social ("Forms of Capital" 243). [3]

The distribution of capital in the field is conditioned by the objective structures of the field as well as by the *habitus* of the agents. Bourdieu defines *habitus* as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures" (*The Logic of Practice* 53). *Habitus*, as Bourdieu defines it, is a product of history (*The Logic of Practice* 54) which means the agent's experiences as a member of a given society. Such experiences are acquired through socialisation and education (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 43). Since social circumstances are subject to change, so is the *habitus* of the individual agent.

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field of economy nor an educational capital like the university field or some sectors in the field of power (*The Rules of Art* 226).

[3] A detailed discussion of the three main types of capital from Bourdieu's point of view is on pp.117-19.

Bourdieu later confirms that *habitus* can change structures (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 133).[4]

The fourth conceptual tool is *illusion*. It involves interest that makes the agent accept the game as a game and abide by its rules (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 333). The fifth conceptual tool is *doxa*, by which Bourdieu means the synchronised relationship between the *habitus* of the agent and the objective structure of the field (*The Logic of Practice* 68). Doxic ideas and practices are those which are in line with the orthodox or generally accepted ideas or practices in the field, and heterodox practices are those which defy them (Bourdieu, *Outline* 164).

Before critically reviewing the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* using the briefly discussed five conceptual tools, the next section uses the concept of genesis, which is central to Bourdieu's approach to historiography, as a starting point of exploring the history of the field.

2.2. Genesis of the Field of English Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

Bourdieu's concept of genesis opposes the tradition that traces the cultural work to a point of absolute beginning. According to Bourdieu, the cultural work in this case can be understood through "retrospective illusion" which means that the cultural work is regarded as the outcome of "an initial experience or behavior" (*The Field of Cultural Production* 193). Bourdieu offers genetic sociology as an alternative mode to the substantialist mode of thought "which is inclined to treat the activities…at a certain moment as if they were substantial properties, inscribed once and for all in a sort of biological or cultural *essence*" (*Practical Reason* 4). Bourdieu's mode of thought makes sense of cultural works in terms of multiple causation. It

[4] A discussion of the criticism of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and his revision of the concept in response to this criticism is on pp. 123-25.

contextualises the cultural work and makes it the result of the interaction between the objective structure of the field and the dispositions of the key players in it.

Pym observes that translation historians have focused on reviewing past translation theories more than on studying the practices of translators (*Method* 10). He adds that historians have even tended to trace the translation theories they reviewed to one origin, thus reducing the theory to one concept and establishing a logical order for their account of the history of the field (*Method* 10). The reason behind such reduction is the separation between the social and the historical that Bourdieu describes as "a disastrous division" which he addresses by employing genetic analysis:

> 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, *An Invitation* 90)

There are structural and functional links between the fields of politics and literature. Therefore, an exploration of the genesis of the extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* should go beyond the boundaries of the literary field and should examine the influence of the field of politics on structuring the field of literary translation in England during the final third of the eighteenth century.

Sir William Jones's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* is the result of the interaction between imperialism, Orientalism, and literature. They preceded Jones's translation and shaped the social space and the field of literary translation in Europe and particularly England towards the end of the eighteenth century. The next section

investigates the problematics that shaped the field of literary translation from Arabic and consequently the new field of the English translations of the *Muʿallaqāt* through an investigation of the internal dynamics of the fields of politics and literary translation in the West and in England around the time that Sir William Jones's translation of the *Muʿallaqāt* was published. The section also draws the boundaries of the field by employing the Bourdieusian concept of the power of naming.

2.2.1. Imperialism and the Field of English Translation of Arabic Literature in the Final Third of the Eighteenth Century

Translation, as Tarek Shamma suggests, rarely if ever initiates intercultural relations (121). He argues that even first translations are preceded and influenced by a history of representation of the source culture, and that the perception of what is an accurate or adequate description of the source culture is based on such history (121). It is unrealistic to think of translation as the main driving force behind the process of intercultural communication and to disregard external factors that play a major role in constituting the image of the source culture. Therefore, the translation of Arabic literature in England cannot be studied in isolation from the political field and the historical environment of reception "which over a long period had centred on polarized images and was further complicated by growing British and European colonial intervention in the Middle East" (Shamma 121).

The influence of the field of politics on the field of English translations of Arabic literary works can be discerned in three aspects: first, the European imperialist endeavours in the Middle East nourished social interest in the region; second, the change in the relations of power between Europe and the Arabs and Muslims entailed an alteration of their representation in literary works and translations; and third, the

imperialist interest offered new possible uses for agents in the field of translation from Arabic.

2.2.1.1. European Imperialist Endeavours and the Increasing Interest in Translating Literature from the Middle East

The genesis of the field of English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt* coincided with the genesis of a new imperial European attitude towards Muslim countries in the eighteenth century. Norman Daniel claims that what he calls "the myth of empire" had its roots in "the myth of Crusade" which considered Jerusalem and other lands in the Near East as part of Christendom (67). In the face of Ottoman[5] invasions, Europe developed a defensive attitude towards Muslims and encompassed the past in an aura of romantic heroism (Daniel 67). However, the eighteenth century marked the change in the power relations in the world as the power of the Ottomans dwindled and the Europeans progressed in the realms of science, technology, and military advancement. The conviction of European superiority was the result of a long tradition of European technological expertise in Muslim countries. Daniel deems this factor "the deepest root of assumed superiority; and instruction, whether by advice… or command" as it granted Europeans the position of experts which implies the possession of abilities and skills which the people in the Near East lacked (69-71). The sense of superiority was also substantiated in the European political and military domination over the Middle East. Daniel observes that Europeans carried an aggressive conviction of their

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[5] The study is mainly about Arabs, and I mainly use the terms "Middle East", "Near East", "Orient", "East", and "non-West" in this study to refer to the Arab nations on which the study focuses. However, I shed light on the European attitude towards Ottomans in this chapter and towards the Iranians in the third chapter because it had an impact on attitudes towards Arabs. Arabs, Turks and Iranians were stereotyped as similar because they have Muslim majorities, though Arabs, Turks and Persians have different cultures; the Arab culture itself is a mosaic of many different cultures.

superiority into new conditions whereby the legal right to regain a territory from the hands of Muslims was substituted by a moral right to civilise them and “any alien people” (67). Furthermore, imperial interest in the Middle East—especially in Egypt—was catalysed by the struggle between Britain and France over India (Shamma 20). [6]

According to Tejaswini Niranjana, the British imperial endeavours called for studying the dominated countries and their people (11). Consequently, it initiated a movement and a way of studying and describing the Orient, which Edward Said calls Orientalism (*Orientalism* 1). The British interest in Egypt during the final third of the eighteenth century, for example, resulted in extensive study of the country, and by the first half of the eighteenth century, Egypt was entirely “surveyed by scholars and anthropologists, mapped out by geographers and archeologists, and travelled by travellers” (Shamma 24).

[6] Shamma explains that Britain’s imperial interest in Egypt was raised by the latter’s position on the route to India which was a main source of trade and goods for Britain with the establishment of the East India Company (20). Shamma states that the British were competing in India with France and Holland and were advancing their political and economic interests there at the cost of the other two colonial powers, until 1763, when the Seven Years’ War ended and the Treaty of Paris was signed, giving Britain domination over all the French and Dutch possessions in India (20-21). In order to disturb English communication with India, the French tried to have more influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Egypt (Shamma 21). Shamma notes that the French-British rivalry over “political control and trade concession in Egypt “eventually led to the appointment of George Baldwin as the first English consul in Egypt in 1786 (21). The French put their plans for controlling Egypt into action in 1798 with the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt: Napoleon wanted to turn Egypt into “a stepping stone to the conquest of India” (Elgood qtd. in Shamma 22). Shamma notes that the British recognised the French threat and sent a naval force to Egypt and that the British fleet led by Admiral Nelson destroyed the French fleet in Alexandria on August 1, 1798 and left the French stranded (22). Shamma observes that the British directed “all their diplomatic and military power” to their attempts to end the French invasion of Egypt which was indeed short as the last French troops left Egypt in 1801 (22). Egypt continued to be a locus of interest for Britain throughout the nineteenth century, and from 1882 until 1950s, Egypt was under British domination.

Niranjana notes that translation constituted "a part of the colonial discourse of Orientalism… from late eighteenth century" (11). Literal translation of the literature of the future colonised nations was a trend that served the imperialist agendas in at least two ways: first, it was one of the tools of gathering information about these nations; second, it distorted their cultural attributes (Shamma 47). Therefore, imperialist endeavours were usually accompanied by translation movements (Shamma 47). Since the British colonial expansion in the Middle East influenced the field of literary translation, the choice of the translations of Arabic works produced then was significant.

2.2.1.2. A Shift in European Views of the Arabs

The political and military developments in the eighteenth century had its impact on the relations between Europe and Muslims and were accompanied by a change in the European view of Muslims and consequently Arabs. Although this study focuses on the relation between Anglophone countries and Arabs, the European view of the Turks is significant because Turks were representatives of Islam, and the fear of Turks, as Daniel suggests, mostly contributed to the formation of the image of Muslims at large (65). Daniel observes that, when the centres of power in the world shifted, fear was substituted by patronage (10), the medieval notion of equality of enemies gave way to a notion of European superiority as the imperial notions started to be dominant, and Europeans were liberated from respect of the Turks (65) and of the people who lived in the countries under domination of the Ottoman Empire, which were chiefly Arab countries.

The change of the European view of Arab countries brought about a change in the image of Arabs who were portrayed as inferior and, more importantly, exotic. Daniel states that it was an imperialist strategy to highlight the differences between

both cultures and to cover the basic similarity, and that literature made use of this strategy when representing Arabs.[7] He also states that this type of literature formed the first ideas of "young men appointed to posts in provinces of empire, in State and Church and commerce" about Arabs (60-61). Thereby, the field of politics governed the representation of Arabs in the field of literature and the latter contributed to the continuity of these norms, gave them strength, and consequently influenced the agents in the field of politics in the eighteenth century.[8]

Shamma explains that the relation between Europe and the Arab world was characterised by confrontation that produced a body of negative stereotypical representations of the Arabs. He notes that—by the eighteenth century—the image of the threatening and fearful Arab enemy disappeared, whereas the other images of sensuousness and superstition were highlighted, and Arabs were transferred into the unthreatening spheres of exoticism and even romanticism (10).

Daniel observes that the imperialist strategy of exoticising the East overrode the production of works about the East including travellers' accounts which are supposed to present an objective portrayal of what the traveller sees and experiences during his travels (42). Travellers paid attention to detail in a way that made the usual seem bizarre (Daniel 42). Orientalist writers could not free themselves and their works entirely from the image of the East that Orientalism crafted because they presented

[7] The fact that highlighting the differences between the European cultures and the cultures of the colonised people, in Asia, Africa, and the Arab World, was an imperialist strategy challenges Lawrence Venuti's limited view of foreignisation in his early writings. The automatic view of domestication and foreignisations as tools of dominance or resistance is problematised in the third chapter on pp. 171-80.

[8] Following the norms of representing Arabs in the field was not always the case since some translators challenged the doxic practices in the field and attempted to bring change as is evident in the critical review of Anne and Wilfrid Blunt's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

the East as an exhibition of the Other and of "the power that made it so" (Shamma 45). The image of the Other was distributed over a range of representative acts including translation which created new knowledge (Wolf 20).

Because of the shift in the European attitude towards Arabs, the representation of Arabs in English translation and the positions available for translators in the field of translation of Arabic literature were influenced by British imperialist endeavours in the Middle East and by the institutionalisation of Orientalism as a way of collecting information and dominating the Other using the power of knowledge.

2.2.1.3. The English Realistic Representation of Arabs in Fiction and the New Possible Uses in the Field of Translation of Arabic Literature

Before the eighteenth century, Oriental fiction in England basically consisted of writings of travellers and historians, or translations of French heroic romances and French Orientalist works (Conant xxi). Martha Pike Conant suggests that the entire English movement in the realm of Oriental fiction was an echo of the French movement to a certain extent (xxii), and she observes that when Antoine Galland published his French translation of the *Arabian Nights* at the beginning of the eighteenth century, his translation had its impact both on the French and English movements: the French translation was enthusiastically received in France and had numerous editions, and it was translated into English and opened a new chapter in the field of translating Oriental literature in England (xxii). The *Arabian Nights*, which had "substantial ground underfoot", was followed by the *Persian Tales* which was "far more sentimental, more fantastic, more brilliant in colour", but while the latter was as successful as the former in France, the former continued to be a greater favourite in England (Conant 25). Conant explains that—among the exotic

atmosphere of magic and wonder—the *Arabian Nights* had a sense of reality and a "verisimilitude" that contributed to its popularity in England (5).

The difference between the French romantic representations of Arabs and the English realistic representations of Arabs stems from Britain's imperialist presence in India that was

> an actual British possession; to pass through the Near Orient was therefore to pass en route to a major colony. Already, then, the room available for imaginative play was limited by the realities of administration, territorial legality, and executive power (Said, *Orientalism* 169).

During the eighteenth century, the British advanced their political interests in the Middle East at the cost of the French who had "no sovereign presence" there (Said, *Orientalism* 170).

In his review of Edward William Lane's translation of the *Nights*, Stanley Lane-Pole criticises early English versions of the *Nights* because the reader of such version would, in his opinion, "say that the tales consisted mainly of impossible adventures with genies and afrits, and suchlike supernatural elements" ("The Arabian Nights" 192). According to Shamma, Lane-Poole's comment reflects the change in English Orientalists' scholarship (16) because the representations of Arabs in English versions got more and more realistic in the eighteenth century. The *Nights* were treated in England as accounts of customs and manners in the Eastern nations, and the English travellers who had constituted their knowledge of the East on the basis of the *Nights* were searching for the world described in the book in the Eastern lands they visited (Shamma 17). English translations were still not free from the traces of exoticism which overstated the difference between the British and Arab cultures.

However, there was still a difference between the English and French translations in terms of exoticising the Orient. French exoticism was predominantly "romantic" and "fanciful", while English exoticism was grotesque (Shamma 14-15).

The British imperial expansion in the final third of the eighteenth century called for a more genuine representation of the East, catalysed the movement of direct English translations from Oriental languages, and greatly changed the nature of the British attitude towards the East: there was a "difference between representations of the Orient before the final third of the eighteenth century and those after it (that is, those belonging to… modern Orientalism)…Europe came to know the Orient more scientifically, to live in it with greater authority and discipline than before" (Said, *Orientalism* 22).

Orientalism had its roots in the individual observations of the East until the final third of the eighteenth century, when the imperialist need to collect information about the colonised nations led to the institutionalisation of studying the East by which the individual observations evolved into "a scholarly discipline that presented itself as grounded on verifiable facts" and "scientific methodology" (Shamma 8). Because of the relations between the fields of politics and literary translation and because of the generative nature of the field, the field of literary translation of Arabic literature provided new positions for the literary translators. Granting the literary texts new functions as documents or informative accounts about the history and culture of the Other or as scholarly literary examples for students of Oriental languages was a new position in the field of English translation of Arabic literature which was made available for translators in the final third of the eighteenth century. Backed by imperialist agendas, the Orientalist approach to translating literary fiction turned the aesthetic works of art into exhibitions of life, science, language and culture in the East

and made these exhibitions available for the scholarly observation and scrutiny of the Western Orientalists from all disciplines.

Such was the new possible uses available for Sir William Jones when he translated the *Mu'allaqāt*. Jones's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* became not merely aesthetic, it also became informative. Jones made use of the newly available possibility of making the *Mu'allaqāt* function as more than aesthetic, expressive texts in his attempt to revolutionise English poetry, and his attempt resulted in expanding the boundaries of the field of translating Arabic literature to include the translation of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas*, particularly the *Mu'allaqāt*, establishing a new field of cultural production.

In "An Essay on the Poetry of Eastern Nations", Jones expressed his admiration for the beauty of the Arabic metaphors describing nature and the celestial bodies (530), saying that Arabs excelled in the "liveliness of their fancy, and the richness of their invention" (533). Jones observed that European poetry "subsisted too long on the perpetual repetition of the same images, and incessant allusions to the same fables" ("An Essay" 547). He suggested that translating Arabic literature would open "a new and ample field… for speculation" which would provide "a new set of images and similitudes ; and a number of excellent compositions… which future scholars might explain, and future poets might imitate" ("An Essay" 547).

Jones's views of the benefits of translating pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* into English underpins Jones's exploitation of the new possible uses of the ST in his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* which was published in 1782. His translation was functioning as an educational and informative text: he presented the poems and their imagery as examples of new forms of composition that English poets could speculate and imitate, in an attempt to revolutionise English poetry.

Furthermore, Jones used the *qaṣīdas* as documents of life in pre-Islamic Arabia which illustrated "ideas and customs of eastern nations" as he stated in the advertisement of his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* ("Moallakát" 245). However, his translation coloured some of the Arabic customs with an Orientalist hue and did not escape the stereotypical Orientalist representation of Arabs in the final third of the eighteenth century. His translation performed new functions which are not performed by the ST.

In summery, Sir William Jones exploited the new possible uses of the ST in the target field—which were made available for translators by the imperialist need to gather information about the future colonised nations and the Orientalist scholarly approach to literary texts—in attempting to revolutionise the English poetry, and in changing the boundaries of the field of translating Arabic works through the exploration of new literary territories.

2.2.2. Defining the Boundaries of the Field of English Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

The emergence of a new field entails the definition of its boundaries and its structure. According to Bourdieu, the field is the locus of struggle between agents over the definition of its boundaries or "of the legitimate principles of division of the field" (*Language and Symbolic Power* 242). Bourdieu defines official or legitimate naming as the "official… imposition of the legitimate vision of the social world", and he adds that it includes the personally authorised point of view of an agent such as a prestigious critic or an established author, and it also includes "the legitimate point of view of an authorized spokesman" or "the delegate of the state" (*Language and Symbolic Power* 239). Bourdieu observes that when agents engage in the action of

naming the field and defining its boundary, they invest all the symbolic capital they possess in the process (*Language and Symbolic Power* 239).

The field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* was personally authorised by Sir William Jones who exploited the need for knowing more about the future colonised nations in supporting his suggestion of renewing the field of English poetry through offering samples of pre-Islamic Arabic poems. The status of the field prioritised collecting information about the life and culture of the future colonised nations. Therefore, the field was prone to receiving a foreign reality, and Sir William Jones made use of the status of the field in presenting a foreign reality and making sense of it through translation.

Sir William Jones makes sense of the *Mu'allaqāt* as a foreign form of poetry in two ways: first, he specifies the word he chooses to label this new poetic form in English and also the term for naming the anthology of the *Mu'allaqāt* as a whole, and second, he selects the pre-Islamic poems which constitute the anthology of the *Mu'allaqāt* to him, and he thus establishes the canon and sets the boundaries within which only seven poems fit.

The *mu'allaqa* is a *qaṣīd*a which is the poetic form that emerged in the oral Arabic poetry (*Greene et al.* 1136). Some Arab critics refer to the *Mu'allaqāt* as simply al-Qaṣā'id (The Qaṣīdas). These include Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qasim al-Anbārī in his *Sharḥ al-Qasā'id al-Sab' al-Ṭuwāl al-Jahiliyyāt* (*Explication of the Seven Jahilī Long Qaṣīdas*) and al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī in his *Sharḥ al-Qaṣā'id al-'Ashr (Explication of the Ten Qaṣīdas).* The difference between the *mu'allaqa* and other pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* can be understood in light of the popular narrative of the naming

of the *Mu'allaqāt* which was told by Ḥammād al-Rawiyya[9] who claimed that al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir commanded writing down the *Mu'allaqāt* which he later found (Daif 141). According to the popular narrative, the Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia organised contests between poets in the annual fair of 'Ukāẓ where poets from the different tribes competed by reciting their *qaṣīdas* (Clouston xxxi). The *qaṣīdas* which were considered most excellent were written in gold on silk and hung on the Ka'aba in Mecca (Clouston xxxii). Therefore, the term *Mu'allaqāt*, which literally means the hung poems, comes from the Arabic verb علق ('allaqa) which means "to hang," and it became the most popular title of the anthology. Clouston says that they were also called *Mudhahabāt* which means the gilded (xxxii). The popular narrative of the reason behind the naming of the *Mu'allaqāt* in Ancient Arabia suggests that the *Mu'allaqāt* were *qaṣīdas* that were distinguished as masterpieces of excellence and mastery among Ancient Arabs.[10]

The popular narrative of the naming of the anthology of the *Mu'allaqāt* is the one Jones used in "An Essay on the Poetry of the Eastern Nations", and he transliterated the title of the anthology "*Moallakát*", explaining that it meant the "*Suspended*" in Arabic, and used the transliteration as a loan word to label the anthology of this foreign poetic form (535). He also used the other names of *"Modhahebat", or "Golden*", and explained that "the poems of this sort were called

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[9] The popular narrative was challenged and questioned by critics, including Shawqī Daif who described it as a myth (141). However, the narrative continued to be the most accepted in popular culture and in schools across the Arab world. This narrative of the naming of the *Mu'allaqāt* was the one I learned as a high school student.

[10] Because the *Mu'allaqāt* were actually *qaṣīdas* (a form of Arabic poem) which were hung on the Ka'aba for their excellence, I use the terms *qaṣīda*, *mu'allaqa*, and *poem* interchangeably throughout the thesis.

Casseida's" ("An Essay" 535).[11] Nevertheless, in the advertisement which was published with the first edition of his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*, Jones used only the transliteration "Moallakát" and briefly referred to the narrative behind their naming in Ancient Arabia ("Moallakát" 246). He also referred to his future plan of producing "Discourse" and "Notes" to guide the reading of the poems ("Moallakát" 246-47). Garland Hampton Cannon observes that the translations were first published as unbound sheets so that the readers could bind the translations with the notes and annotations Jones promised to publish (188). However, Jones never finished his project and never produced the "Discourse" and "Notes" (Arberry, *Seven Odes* 13). Thus, the transliteration of the title of these poems that appeared on the title-page of Jones's translations— followed by the explanatory title *Seven Arabian Poems Which Were Suspended on the Temple at Mecca*—is the name Jones chose to label these poems.

Transliterating the title of the anthology as *Moallakát* or using the singular form *"Mo'allaqa*" in case of translating one of the poems—in its various transliterated forms— or referring to the *Mu'allaqāt* as the seven poems became a dominant practice among most of the translators who attempted rendering the *Mu'allaqāt* into English after Jones. However, Wilfred Scawn Blunt and Anne Blunt introduced a new name with their 1903 translation, entitled *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, Known Also as the Moallakat*. The Blunts used the adjective "golden" which was another famous name of the poems according to the popular narrative, and they added the term "ode" to the title. Thereby, they tried to achieve the *illusio* by presenting the

[11] The wrong transliteration which adds an apostrophe before the plural "s" is in the original.

qaṣīda form as one that is equivalent to a poetic form that already existed in English literature.

According to George Nauman Shuster, no satisfactory definition of the ode in modern usage has been formed (3).[12] The ode in modern usage means different things to different poets, and as J.F. Pyre states, it "has been applied very loosely in our literature, and its metrical implications are only occasional and often very indefinite" (qtd. in Shuster 4). The *mu'allaqa* has one form as it only refers to a long, monorhymed *qaṣīda* consisting of one block of continuous lines, each line divided into two hemistichs where the final syllable of all the lines is repeated at the end of each line. From the translation of the Blunts, it can be concluded that the ode to them meant a long poem of different metres (xxii) divided into stanzas according to theme, where each line—or couplet as they called it (xxi)— was treated as an independent unit. The form of ode the Blunts presented in their translation was different from the pre-Islamic Arabic *qaṣīda* form. However, their use of the term as an equivalent of the *mu'allaqa* became a new popular practice, as many of the subsequent translators (including Arberry and O'Grady) used the term "odes" to refer to the *Mu'allaqāt*.

The second stage of making sense of the anthology of the *Mu'allaqāt* is to specify the number of these pre-Islamic poems and to select the ones which make up the anthology. Arab critics differed in specifying the number of the *Mu'allaqāt*: some critics specified seven long *qaṣīdas*, namely, the *qaṣīdas* of Imru' al-Qais, Ṭarfa ibn

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[12] Shuster observes that "there is a prevailing modern feeling that an ode is a poem of address written about a theme of universal interest", but he notes that there are in fact various definitions of the ode (4). Edmund Gosse defines the ode as "any strain of enthusiastic and exalted lyrical verse, directed to a fixed purpose, and dealing progressively with a dignified theme" (qtd. in Shuster 4). Lascelles Abercrombie defines it as "a kind of major lyric" which may take many forms", it may consist of "a series of regular stanzas", or "a series of irregular stanzas", or "a series of large masses of varied versification", or "continuous versification of varied line-length" (qtd. in Shuster 4).

al-‘Abd, Zuhair ibn Abi Sulma, Labīd ibn Rabī‘a, ‘Antara ibn Shaddād, al-Ḥārith ibn Ḥilza, and ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm, while others added three more *qaṣīdas*, namely those of of al-A‘sha, ‘Ubaid ibn al-Abras, and al-Nābigha al-Dhubiāny. Critics who identify seven long *qaṣīdas* as the *Mu‘allaqāt* include Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Qasim al-Anbārī in his *Sharḥ al-Qasā’id al-Sab’ al-Ṭuwāl al-Jahiliyyāt* (*Explication of the Seven Jahilī Long Qaşīdas*) and Abu Abdullah al-Ḥussain ibn Aḥmad al-Zauzani in his *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-Sab‘ (Explication of the Seven Mu‘allaqāt).* Critics who identify ten poems include al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrīzī in his *Sharḥ al-Qasā’id al-‘Ashr (Explication of the Ten Qaṣīdas)* and Aḥmad al-Amīn al-Shanqiṭī in his *Sharḥ al-Mu‘allaqāt al-‘Ashr wa Akhbār Shu‘rā’aha (Explication of the Ten Mu‘allaqāt and Biographies of Their Poets).* Of the two opinions, identifying seven pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* rather than ten has been dominant in the Arabic literary field (al-Ashtar 6-12). Arberry refers to the other different opinions in relation to the identification of the poems which make up the anthology of the *Mu‘allaqāt* in the introduction to his translations of them:

> The philologist al-Aṣma‘ī knew of a collection of six odes, but it is not clear whether this bore any relation to the *Mu‘allaqāt*. His contemporary Abū ‘Ubaida seems to have been aware of a group of seven; while Ibn Qutaiba… speaks definitely of the ode of ‘Amr son of Kulthūm as ‘one of the seven.’ The oldest book in which the *Mu‘allaqāt* are reproduced as a separate collection is Jamharet ash‘ār al-‘Arab, an annotated anthpology of Arabic poetry compiled by one Abū Zaid al-Qurashi…What is…curious, in the printed text (Cairo 1891) his list contains eight and not seven items: Imr Al Qais, Zuhair, al-Nābigha, al-A‘shā, Labīd, ‘Amr, Ṭarfa, ‘Antara. (*Seven Odes* 23)

Although Jones read one of the books which identified ten pre-Islamic poems as the *Mu'allaqāt* because he cited al-Tabrīzī as one of the commentaries he depended upon while translating the *Mu'allaqāt* ("Moallakát" 264), he never referred to the different opinions related to the number of the poems which make up the anthology, neither in "An Essay on the Poetry of Eastern Nations" nor in his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. He selected the poems of Imru' al-Qais, Ṭarfa, Zuhair, Labīd, 'Antara, al-Ḥārith and 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, and established the canon that all subsequent translators of the complete anthology, with the exception of Christopher Nouryeh who published his translation in 1993, followed.

2.3. Critical Review of Extant English Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

In order to understand the dynamics which shaped the history of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, the extant English translation are reviewed against the backdrop of Bourdieu's sociological approach to history which situates the translations in their socio-political context. Using five of the conceptual tools which Bourdieu uses to explain social reality, the literature review explores the history of field in terms of the translators' decisions and the transations' forms of distinction, the types of capital distributed in the field over which the key agents in the field struggle, the factors which form the translators' *habitus*, and the doxic practices and believes in the field. The translations are reviewed in a chronological order.

2.3.1. Extant English Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

2.3.1.1. Sir William Jones

Sir William Jones was the first European translator of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Under the influence of the British imperialist interests in the Orient that triggered the need for collecting information about the future colonised nations in the final third of the eighteenth century, the literary field was susceptible to the reception of foreign poetic

forms. With his long experience in the literary field, to which the author of the review of Jones's work in the *Monthly Review* refers ("Moallakat" 296), Jones knew the boundaries of the field of English translation of Arabic literature and new possible uses available for translators, and he expanded the boundaries of the field to include the *Mu'allaqāt* accordingly. His knowledge of the availability of a new possibility is reflected in the advertisement of the first edition of his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*, in which it was made evident that the translation was a documentation of the manners of Arabs and in which he expressed his intention to comment on these traditions as well as the different dialects of the tribes to which the poets belonged and on the lives of these poets in the "Discourse" he planned to publish later ("Moallakát" 245). The "Discourse" was never produced (Arberry, *Seven Odes* 13), but the translations survived as English documents of these manners and of the literary poetic tradition in pre-Islamic Arabia. Jones noted that one of the advantages of contemporary Arabs was that they preserved "the manners and customs of their ancestors who … were settled in Yemen more than three thousand years ago" ("An Essay" 531). By translating a document of the ancient manners modern Arabs preserved, Jones was providing a glimpse into the manners of modern Arabs as well and gathering information about them. In addition to its historical function, Jones's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* also had an educational function since he presented the texts for the English poets as examples of new imagery.

Jones's decision to make the *Mu'allaqāt* function as a document of life in pre-Islamic Arabia was translated in his decision to transfer all the details of the original poems into the translation, and to explain the cultural peculiarities in paratext: he preceded the translation of each poem with an introduction in which he explained the metre of the original *qaṣīda*, and in which he elaborated on the details of some of the

culture-bound events. According to Raja Lahiani, Jones's correspondence with Shultens reveals that he consulted the commentaries of al-Tabrīzī, al-Zauzani, and 'Ubaid Allah (43-44). Jones cited the name of al-Tabrīzī in the advertisement as an evidence of having a good access to the original texts ("Moallakát" 246).

The book reviews of Jones's translation in British periodicals reveal that it was generally well received. A reviewer in the *Monthly Review* praised the work as well as the talents of Jones ("Moallakat" 296), so did a reviewer of his work in the *London Magazine* ("Moallakat" 55). Due to the success of the first edition of the work, a second edition was published in 1783 (Cannon xix). However, the work did not go without criticism. In the context of his discussion of the poetry of the Eastern Nations, Jones expressed his preference for imitating poetry in verse so "that the merit of the poet [might] not be wholly lost in a verbal translation" ("An Essay" 536). However, he translated the *Mu'allaqāt* in prose, a practice that was lamented by the reviewer in the *London Magazine* who expressed a preference for reading "a poetical translation of these productions of the Arabian Bards" ("Moallakat" 59).

Information[13] about books as a commodity in the final third of the eighteenth century implies that books in general were by no means cheap. James Raven observes that the laws as well as the practices of publishers and booksellers kept the price of the books high, despite mass publication of books and magazines which should have reduced the prices (85-86). In addition to the publishing circumstances, the good quality of the cover and printing of the first edition of Jones's translation suggests that

[13] I looked for the price of William Jones's translation and for information about Peter Elmsley who was the publisher of the book according to the 1782 edition available at the British Library, but I failed to find any information about them in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol 5,* and *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book.*

the book was not cheap,[14] and was not affordable for all classes, and that it was published for the elite readers. However, capital in the Bourdieusian sense of the term is also symbolic: cultural or social. Before the publication of his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*, William Jones possessed cultural capital which he accumulated over the years and which was invested in the works he presented, including his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Michael J. Franklin states that Jones published many books on Oriental languages and literature, particularly Arabic and Persian, and that he established his reputation as a linguist and an Orientalist in 1774 with the publication of his *Commentariorum* (88); Cannon states that Jones was "one of the most famous Orientalists in Europe" and was given the epithets of Persian Jones and Oriental Jones by 1775 (40). The reviewer of the *Monthly Review* referred to the cultural capital Jones invested in the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* when he stated that "literary world" in the eighteenth century "had long been acquainted with [Jones's] splendid talents" which had been "favoured with the valuable fruits of his studies" ("Moallakat" 296).

By publishing his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*, Jones gained more cultural capital. As the reviewer of the *Monthly Review* observed, the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* added "a fresh branch of laurel to [Jones's] wreath" ("Moallakat" 297). Arberry states that the book was "soon recognized as a most important contribution to literary studies" (*Seven Odes* 25). Jones became the translator who broke "fresh and fertile ground by introducing to the English public the splendor of the *Mu'allaqāt*", (Arberry, *Oriental Essays* 55). According to Lahiani, Jones's translation inspired

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[14] Gerald Cannon suggests that Jones's books were expensive, and sites the cost of Jones's Thesaurus as an example: he states that the book was initially sold for sixty guineas, and that the publishers John and William Richardson delivered the work in sheets and reduced the cost to six guineas at the time of subscription in order to reduce the cost (92). Cannon also states that Jones asked East India Company for financial assistance to publish his book, and that his request was not answered (92).

Western authors to try “the oriental style”; one was Goethe who read Jones’s translation of the *Mu‘allaqāt* before writing a German translation of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* (44-45).Thus, Jones’s innovative enterprise of translating the *Mu‘allaqāt* enhanced his scholarly reputation and cultural capital.

In addition to cultural capital, Jones sought social capital from his work on oriental languages and literature. Cannon observes that Jones had an“assumption that ambassadorships were awarded for relevant scholarship and language competence”, but he did not fulfill his ambition of becoming an ambassador in an Oriental country through learning Oriental languages and studying Oriental scholarly literature (45). However, his work as an Orientalist granted him social capital which materialised in his becoming a member of elite groups. By 1774 he was elected to the Royal Societies of London and Copenhagen, and to Johnson’s exclusive Turk’s Head Club where he met the “glitterati of the day” (Franklin 88). Franklin states that “Asiatic Jones” did not ignore the social graces that his reputation as an Orientalist brought him, and that he attended London’s dances and balls, frequently in Persian dress, and that he “used the reflected glamour of the Oriental vogue to transform the public conception of the Orientalist” (87). Jones was more than a scholar, he was—as Franklin puts it—“an intellectual celebrity” (87). After the publication of the *Mu‘allaqāt* , Jones’s social capital materialised again, but in the form of a social title. According to the reviewer of Jones’s translation of the *Mu‘allaqāt* in the *Monthly Review*, Jones was knighted after the publication of his translation of the *Mu‘allaqāt* (“Moallakat” 296).

Jones’s attempt to revolutionise the field was limited by the factors that shaped his *habitus* as a member of the English society and as an agent in the English literary field during the final third of the eighteenth century. His literary project was curbed by the conventions of the receiving literary field. Jones’s translation presented new

images and stories, but did not keep the abrupt shift from one theme to another which characterised the one-block ancient Arabian *qaṣīda*. In order to achieve the *illusio*, he presented the contents of the original poems in a literary form which was familiar to the target audience.

Ismaīl Sa'ad Shalabī suggests that the nomadic lifestyle of Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia is reflected in the lack of connection between the different themes in their *qaṣīdas*. Shalabī clarifies that the poet moves from one theme to another within the same *qaṣīda* without establishing a tight connection between the different themes (86). This point is further reinforced by Ghāzī Ṭulaimāt and 'Erfān al-Ashqar who explain that the *Jahiliyya* poets adopted a nomadic lifestyle which required them to move from one area to the next, in search of water and grass; this physical migration is reflected in the intellectual journey that is experienced by the listeners (or readers) of the *qaṣīda*, as they too are transported from one mental image to the next in a sporadic fashion (31).

This abrupt shift between themes which was one of the features of a pre-Islamic Arabic *qaṣīda* was not reproduced in Jones's work. Jones brought the Ancient Arabian *qaṣīda* closer to English poetry by forming an "argument", that is, a story which linked the different themes of the *mu'allaqa* together. Such "arguments" with which Jones preceded each translation established a thematic unity for the translated *mu'allaqa*. An example comes from the argument of the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais in which Jones inserted a detailed account of the day at the lake of Dārat Juljul into the story he wove around the *qaṣīda* and provided the target reader with the unfamiliar background of the story ("Moallakát" 247- 48). Although Imru' al-Qais did not state in the body of his *qaṣīda* that slaughtering his riding beast for the girls on the day of Dārat Juljul was the reason why he jumped into 'Unaiza's litter, Jones

connected the two incidents in the "argument", overcoming the abrupt shift from the bonfire at Dārat Juljul to the frolics in 'Unaiza's litter, providing smooth transitions between the different themes, and helping to establish a thematic unity that the original *qaṣīda* lacks.

The second and more important factor that influenced Jones's *habitus* was the political circumstances in the final third of the eighteenth century. Jones was a member of a society whose views of the people of the Orient were shaped by the imperialist interests in the Orient, and an agent in a literary field whose boundaries were expanding under the imperialist needs to collect information about the Eastern nations and whose norms of representing the Eastern people—in this case the Arabs—was governed by Orientalism which accompanied and served British imperialism.

Arberry claims that Sir William Jones was a revolutionary and an anti-imperialist (*Asiatic Jones* 13). According to Arberry, Jones was critical of King George III and the political situation in Britain in the eighteenth century; he "deplored the decline of the British constitution and the tyrannical tendencies of George III" and he was an opponent of colonialism (*Asiatic Jones* 13).[15] Arberry argues that Jones found "the spirit of sturdy independence and love of freedom" in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry inspiring and that the political inspiration he found in the seven *qaṣīdas* motivated him to render them into English (*Seven Odes* 8), thus implying that Jones's choice of the

[15] Arberry states that Jones shared the views of his friend, the bishop of St. Asaph, who was the diplomatic agent of the American colonies in Europe and who brought him into contact with Benjamin Franklin (*Asiatic Jones* 13). The bishop was a staunch advocate of the American colonists in their fight against imperialism, and his views were echoed in Jones's correspondence (Arberry, *Asiatic Jones* 13).

Muʻallaqāt was driven by a support of the colonised people against British imperialism.

However, some of Jones's views regarding the Asiatics and his career in the East India Company undermines Arberry's claim that Jones was truly an anti-imperialist. In a letter to Lord Althorp, William Jones described the Indians as "incapable of civil liberty" because "few of them [had] an idea of it, and those, who [had], [did] not wish it" (qtd. in Niranjana 14). Jones did not oppose British imperialism in Eastern countries, and he even highlighted the importance of Oriental studies and translations as tools that could lead to a more efficient administration of the British colonies in Asia ("Grammar of the Persian Language" 127).[16] In 1783, Jones traveled to India to take place on the bench of the Supreme Court of Calcutta (Niranjana 12), serving the imperialist government he attacked (Cannon 194). Niranjana observes that Jones and his fellow members of the Asiatic Society—who were officials in the East India Company—had a political role since they contributed to roping off India through their work there (12). Jones became the president of the Asiatic Society, and, according to Niranjana, his translations were done to "domesticate the Orient and thereby turn it into a province of European learning" (12). Although Jones was against imperialism in North America, his views regarding Asiatics and his career in India reveal that he supported it in India and that his *habitus* was shaped by the politics of the time.

The influence of politics on Jones's *habitus* is evident in some of the changes he made in his translations of the *Muʻallaqāt* which were in line with the Orientalist

[16] In the preface to his "Grammar of the Persian Language", Jones stated that studying the languages and culture of Asia was crucial, for then "the manners and sentiments of the eastern nation [would] be known, and the limits of our knowledge [would] be no less extended than the bounds of our empire" (127).

stereotypical representation of the Orientals. An example[17] can be found in Jones's translation of the following line of the *qaṣīda* of Imru' al-Qais:

فَقَالَـتْ يَمِيْنَ اللهِ مَا لَكَ حِيْلَةٌ   وَمَا إِنْ أَرَى عَنْكَ الغَوَايَةَ تَنْجَلِـي

> She said, "By God, you will not get away with this!
>
> I see folly has not left you yet!"

Jones made significant alterations in his translation:

> She said—"By him who created me (and gave me her lovely hand), I am unable to refuse thee; for I perceive, that the blindness of thy passion is not to be removed." ("Moallakát" 252)

In Jones's translation, the lady surrenders to Imru' al-Qais by immediately giving him her hands, but Imru' al-Qais does not mention this in the original *qaṣīda*. The tradition of a lady resisting her seducer, even if she eventually succumbs to him, is not conveyed in the translation and is even contradicted. The change makes the lady appear more submissive, a description that conforms to the Orientalist concept of an Arab woman.

Jones also omitted many of the original lines in his translation. This may be due to his dependence on the version of ST he appended to the translation ("Moallakát" 337- 95). It is notable that one of the commentaries on which Jones relied, namely the one by al-Tabrīzī, includes the lines omitted from the ST he appended to his translation ("Moallakát" 246), but Jones's translation does not include many lines that appeared in al-Tabrīzī's commentary.

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[17] Due to lack of space, I provide only one example for each translation in this chapter when discussing the changes the translator makes.

Despite the problematic alterations Jones enacted to the text which are critically objectionable, his translation enjoyed success even after the publication of subsequent English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt*, and it even had an obvious impact on them. For example, the impact of Jones's translation can be discerned in the work of Arberry, who published extensively on the life and influence of Sir William Jones. In his translation of the *Muʻallaqāt*; Arberry dedicated much of his prologue to discussing Jones's work and its impact, and quoted Jones's arguments in the introductions which preceded his translation of each *qaṣīda* (*Seven Odes* 7-30). Thereby, Jones's translation outlived its time of publication and passed into history.

Although Jones's work was politicised as he followed the doxic practices of Orientalists in terms of making the aesthetic texts function as historical documents of the life and manners of Ancient Arabs (thus gathering information about the Orientals) and in terms of introducing changes into the representation of Arabs, and although the production of the translation itself was practically the outcome of the British imperialist needs to study the languages and literature of the Orient, the translation does not fall within the scope of the thesis which concentrates on works published during time of direct involvement of the West in the Arab countries.

2.3.1.2. Joseph Dacre Carlyle

Joseph Dacre Carlyle retranslated only seventeen lines of Labīd's *muʻallaqa* which appeared in his book *Specimens of Arabian Poetry* which was published in 1796. Carlyle explained the criteria for selecting the texts in the preface to his book where he stated that the various Arabic texts he included in the book "happened to fall under" his "perusal" (i). Since Carlyle treated the texts as historical documents of the eras to which they belonged, he organised them chronologically, and he preceded

each text by a preface containing a short biography of the author and a brief explanation of the occasion that led to writing the *qaṣīda*. By compiling an anthology of chronologically ordered texts from different epochs, his translation functioned as "a history of manners" for those interested in studying "the operations of the human mind in distant countries and various situations" (ii). He admitted that the history he presented in that way might have been "slight indeed and imperfect", but he added that it was "perhaps not uninstructive" to the English reader (i-ii).

Furthermore, Carlyle adopted an educational approach as he provided the texts in the book as examples of the Arabic poetic form of the *qaṣīda* across different eras. He appended the originals, making them available for comparison and for readers interested in learning about them in Arabic. The selection was offered to acquaint readers with some of the texts of prominent Arab poets and with the different types of composition in Arabic poetry (ii). However, he admitted that the merit and aesthetic value of the original texts could not be completely conveyed in the translation, and that he was producing "rather an imitation than a version of the original poems" (viii) because he only wanted to give his readers "a general idea of Arabian Poetry" (ix). In doing so, he inserted lines, omitted words or phrases, and sometimes changed the meaning of some of the lines in his translation.

Carlyle was familiar with Jones's translation (5) which might have influenced his decision of making the translations function as historical documents and as educational texts. However, he depended on the text that was available at the public

library of Cambridge[18] which was different in some places from that provided by Jones (5).

Carlyle's translation deviated from Jones's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* by rendering the seventeen lines of Labīd's *mu'allaqa* into English in verse (5-10). He made a different decision from Jones's[19] in relation to the position relevant to the poetics of the translation by using a different language variety than the one Jones used.

Carlyle also sought distinction through claiming better access to the ST by drawing the readers' attention to his institutionalised cultural capital as he placed his academic title on the title-page of the book, namely, chancellor of Carlisle and professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge. By referring to the consecrated position Carlyle occupied in the field, the title-page of Carlyle's translation promised an informed rendering of the content of the ST based on the translator's academic expertise.

The overpricing of books as commodities during the final third of the eighteenth century implies that there was no industry around the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* and that economic capital was not necessarily the type of capital translators sought by producing their translations.[20] It thus seems that the retranslation of the *Mu'allaqāt* in a field that was publishing for the elite sought cultural capital.

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[18] By the "public library of Cambridge", Carlyle refers to the "Cambridge University Library", which was not public in the modern sense, but was rather public only to the University's members and was not restricted to the members of a particular college.

[19] Jones's decision to translate the *Mu'allaqāt* in prose was lamented by the anonymous critic in the *London Magazine* ("Moallakat" 59).

[20] I also found no information in *the Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 5*, regarding the prices of literary books sold by W.H. Lunn and J. Deighton, T. Payne and Son, B. & J. White, R. Faulder, J. Sewell, and Fletcher and Cooke who sold the book.

The anonymous book reviewer of Carlyle's work published in the *Monthly Review* praised "the unequal merit of the learned Professor's versions" ("Specimens" 45), and stated that the task of producing a translation of these "foreign beauties" alone was enough to command "an honourable mention" of Carlyle ("Specimens" 44). By producing a translation of foreign texts in a field which was encouraging translations of Oriental works, Carlyle was attaining more cultural capital.

It seems that politics contributed to structuring the *habitus* of Carlyle. The influence of imperialism on Carlyle' *habitus* shows in the lack of objectivity characteristic of the era which is reflected in his discussion of Labīd's *mu'allaqa* in which Carlyle offered a biased account of history as he stated that Prophet Muḥammad produced the sūra of al-Baqara (2). His account contradicts more objective accounts of the Prophet's attitude towards poets and poetry which was generally negative (O'Grady, *Golden Odes*1). However, Carlyle's lack of objectivity can be understood in light of the political circumstances of the era during which the translations were produced. Islam was the religion of the Ottoman Empire, namely, the Other that Europe confronted for centuries until it gradually weakened. There was a heritage of bias on the basis of which the attitude towards the Other was formed.

Carlyle employed the imperialist strategy of highlighting the difference between Eastern and Western cultures by transliterating the cultural nomenclature without explaining its significance. When Jones transliterated the culture-specific names, he inserted a generic noun or short definition before or after the name to explain its significance. Carlyle's strategy became a practice which was carried out across many of the subsequent translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, even ones which bore no other traces of politicisation.

Finally, Carlyle's *habitus* was structured by the literary conventions of the receiving literary field. An example is evident in Carlyle's choice of the term "Elegy" as a title of the selected lines from a *mu'allaqa* which is characterised by abrupt shifts from one theme to another. It seems that the theme of weeping at the location of the deserted abode was the factor that triggered Carlyle's choice of "Elegy" as a title of the lines he selected to translate. However, such selection was misleading because the *Mu'allaqāt* were no elegies. Although Carlyle stated that he would offer his readership samples of the *qaṣīda* form across the different eras, his decision to call it an elegy imposed the conventions of the target literary field on the foreign *mu'allaqa* form and was therefore misrepresentive. Thus, the literary conventions of the receiving literary field limited the innovative side of Carlyle's *habitus* which tried to offer a specimen of the *mu'allaqa* form to the readers of his translation.

Despite the examples of the influence of politics on Carlyle's decisions, his translation does not fall within the scope of this study because it renders only seventeen lines of one *mu'allaqa* into English.

2.3.1.3. The Moallakat (Anonymous)

This anonymous translation was published as an article in the *Retrospective Review* in 1822. The title of the article suggests that it is a review of Jones's translation of the seven *Mu'allaqāt*, yet it refers to Jones's translation only twice. The author translated only parts of each *mu'allaqa*, with the exception of Labīd's *mu'allaqa* for which he quoted parts of Carlyle's and Jones's translations when he referred to it (332-42).

This retranslation of some of the lines or passages did not contribute something new to the field. On the contrary, the anonymous translator followed the

practices of Jones and Carlyle. Each translated passage was preceded by a short biography of the poet. The translator inserted his explanation of the background of the *qaṣīda* or a synopsis of the untranslated passages between the extracts he chose to translate. He did not explain his motive for translating some parts of the *qaṣīdas* and excluding others, but stated in the introductory paragraph that his aim was to offer the audience "specimens of the poetical talents of the Arabians" (333). In the conclusion, he observed that the motive behind his translation was "the hope" that he might "succeed in calling some degree of attention" to Arabic poetry (342). Thereby, the translator's decision regarding the function the text performed in translation as an example of foreign literature was similar to Jones's and Carlyle's decisions.

Due to the anonymity of the translator, there is no information about the type of capital the author possessed. No symbolic capital can be attached to an anonymous author; therefore, no educated guess can be made about the capital the anonymous translator sought. Because the translation is not complete, it does not fall within the scope of the thesis.

2.3.1.4. William Wright

William Wright translated the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd in 1850. He did not publish his translation, and the earliest reference to this translation is made by Arberry who states that it can be found in a copy of August Arnold's book *Septem Mo'allakát*, which is kept at the library of the Institute of Oriental Studies at Cambridge (*Seven Odes* 137). Ursula Schedler notes that the version available at Cambridge, which consists of four loose sheets and which she reproduces in her review of Wright's translation, does not include a translation of the last two lines of Labīd's *mu'allaqa* (97).

When Wright produced his translation, he was still a student at the University of Halle, studying Semitic languages with the German Professor Emil Rödiger (Roper). Arberry observes that the four sheets on which the translation was written did not seem to be fanciful, and he suggests that the translation was most probably "a souvenir of class with Rödiger" (*Seven Odes* 137). Wright did not seek any of the types of capital distributed in the field at the time he translated the *mu'allaqa* as he did not present it to the field in the first place. This does not mean that he gained nothing from the action (which might be the mere joy of translating the ST, or practicing translation); however, the fact that he did not present his work to the field means that he did not target the three types of capital distributed in it.

There is no evidence that the then-student William Wright read Jones's and Carlyle's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*,[21] but his translation did not have a form of distinction.[22] Like Jones, he produced the translation in prose, and he followed the Orientalist practice of highlighting the difference through transliterating cultural nomenclature without explaining its significance. However, loading the text with the names was not accompanied by further changes, and since Labīd's *mu'allaqa* did not document unfamiliar events and was almost entirely dedicated to the description of Labīd's she-camel, close adherence to the wording of the original did not change the overall meaning of the *mu'allaqa*. Therefore, Wright's translation was not politicised in general.

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[21] Wright's later career shows that he joined East India Company, serving an imperialist government (Roper). However, I found little information about what Wright studied at that time and how he reacted to British imperialism. Therefore, I cannot specify the factors that shaped the *habitus* of the then-student Wright when he produced this translation.

[22] I did not refer to the symbolic capital Wright later acquired over the years because I study the types of capital the translator possesses or seeks at the time of producing the translation.

2.3.1.5. Edward Henry Palmer

Palmer translated the *mu'allaqa* of 'Antara under the title "An Ancient Arabic Prize Poem", and included it in his book *The Song of the Reed, and Other Pieces* which was an anthology of translations of texts from the Arabic published in 1877. Palmer did not state the criteria for choosing the translated texts, nor the motives behind collecting the anthology. His translation of 'Antara's *mu'allaqa* is the only translated text in the book that he preceded with an introduction in which he offered background information about Arabic poetry in the sixth century and a brief biography of 'Antara (98-99).

Exploring the conditions of the industry during the time Palmer and subsequent translators of Arabic literature in general and of the *Mu'allaqāt* in particular produced their translations reveals that the economic capital was not necessarily one of the types of capital the translators of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century were seeking. In their discussion of the mass markets of literature from 1830 to 1914, Simon Eliot and Andrew Nash observe that two factors influenced the literary publication during the period, namely, the growth of British population and the rise in literacy rates over the period (418-19). Eliot and Nash note that both factors resulted in an increasing demand for books (418), and were accompanied by development in the serial market (425) which contributed to the gradual cheapening of the literary books (441). However, the increase in the demand for books did not mean an increase in the demand for all literary genres. According to Eliot and Nash, fiction was the most popular literary genre, and its popularity was reflected in the borrowing rates for fiction in the libraries (419). Although they discuss other less popular genres such as poetry and drama produced by British authors, they do not refer to the publication of translated literary works.

The circumstances of literary production in Britain around the turn of the nineteenth century suggest that there was no industry around English translation of the *Muʿallaqāt*, that economic capital was not one of the main types of capital sought by the translators of the *Muʿallaqāt* then, and that translated Arabic poetry was for the elite readers. They also suggest that the cultural and social capital continued to be the two types of capital over which agents in the field of English translation of the *Muʿallaqāt* were struggling until the beginning of the twentieth century.

When Palmer produced his book, he enjoyed cultural capital which had already been institutionalised and to which he referred on the title-page as "Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Cambridge". The cultural capital Palmer possessed itself was turned into a material entity. [23] The translation of the *Muʿallaqāt* was an addition to Palmer's cultural capital as a professor of Arabic.

Palmer's retranslation of ʿAntara's *muʿallaqa* did not deviate from previous works. His *habitus* as a translator was to some extent influenced by previous attempts to translate the *Muʿallaqāt* in the field: he preceded his translation of the *muʿallaqa* with an argument like Jones, and he transliterated cultural nomenclature without explicating what they labeled like Carlyle. However, his overall translation did not effect major changes in the content of the *muʿallaqa*.

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[23] I searched for information about pricing of all publishers of the extant translations of the *Muʿallaqāt* from the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century in *the Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vols. 5 and 6*.

Palmer later put his career as an Orientalist at the service of the British imperialist government that had interests in Egypt.[24] However, his work –which was produced during a time that witnessed no direct confrontation between Britain and the Middle Eastern countries—did not change the overall content of ‘Antara’s poem and was therefore not politicised, and his *habitus* at the time of the translation’s publication does not seem to have been influenced by the stereotypical representation of Arabs that Orientalism has presented since the final third of the eighteenth century.

2.3.1.6. Charles James Lyall

In the introduction to his translation of the *mu‘allaqa* of Labīd, Lyall stated that he proposed to translate all the seven *Mu‘allaqāt* of Ancient Arabia, together with the “notices” of their authors that were included in *Kitāb al-Aghanī*, (*The Book of Songs*) that was written by Abul-Farag al-Asfahani. He explained that the *mu‘allaqa* of Labīd was offered as a specimen of the proposed project (*Mo'allaqah of Zuheyr* 61). However, Lyall did not accomplish his project as he translated only three *qaṣīdas* from the anthology of the *Mu‘allaqāt*: the *mu‘allaqa* of Labīd, published in1877; the *mu‘allaqa* of Zuhair, published in 1878 and 1885; and a section from the *mu‘allaqa* of Imru’ al-Qais, published in 1885.

Lyall abided by the conventions of the receiving literary field in that he preceded the *qaṣīdas* of Labīd and Zuhair with arguments and created a thematic unity for them, and in that he divided the translated poem into stanzas. However, he

[24] In 1869, Palmer was chosen to join the survey of Sinai, for the Palestine Exploration Fund. His main mission was to “collect from the Bedouin the correct names of places on the Sinai peninsula” (Baigent). He later travelled to Egypt during the ‘Urabī revolution in 1882 to convince the Bedouin tribes of Sinai not to support the Egyptian cause, and was thus taking part in planning for a British invasion of Egypt by trying to influence the Bedouin’s attitude, but his mission ended with his own murder (Arberry, *Oriental Essays* 149-150).

deviated from previous translations in that he provided explanatory notes in which he presented historic and prosodic information about the poems and in that he tried to reproduce the form of the original *mu'allaqa* as much as the difference between English and Arabic allows, imitating the original metre and double-hemistich form. However, his translation was in prose not verse, because he did not want to "depart too widely from the faithful rendering" (*Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry* vii-viii). Lyall did not make any changes in the content of the original text, and his translation was not politicised.

Lyall used "faithful rendering" in the sense of what Mark Shuttleworth and Moira Cowie describe as the translation that is traditionally understood to "[bear] a strong resemblance to its ST, usually in terms of its literal adherence to source meaning" (57). Shuttleworth and Cowie observe that the terms faithfulness and fidelity have generally been used as yardsticks to measure the quality of translation (57). Up until the seventeenth century, a faithful translation was supposed to reproduce each element of the ST and to render the ST as literally as the syntax and semantics of the TL allowed; faithfulness was equal to sameness due to the feeling of trust in literal translation as Susan Bassnett and André Lefevre suggest (2). However, a more liberal approach to translation emerged towards the end of the seventeenth century as evident in the views of scholars like John Dryden, who reduced translation to the three strategies of metaphrase, paraphrase, and imitation (cited in Munday 24-25), and Alexander Fraser Tytler, who suggested that a translation should transform the merit of the ST into the TT and that such transformation was possible through introducing changes into the translation that would help the translator convey the sense of the original to the target readers (14-15). Faithfulness was thus challenged by

the concept of equivalence[25] which came into existence with the advent of the printing press (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 21) and which gradually replaced faithfulness; however, contemporary writers continued to use the term faithfulness but in various and "often innovative ways" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 57). Thus, the term is problematic due to the change in the meaning of faithfulness in translation over the passage of time and due to the fact that it meant different things to translators.[26]

Lyall already possessed social and cultural capital as he was a Bengal civil servant—a title he placed on the title-age of his translation—and one of Britain's most important scholars of Eastern languages (Foster). Thirst for Oriental literature was behind the praise of Lyall's work in the anonymous review of his work published in the *Athenaeum*, where the author started his review with suggesting that the nature of the Arabs themselves as "a people who have…so far learnt nothing from other civilizations" bore the freshness and sincerity of Arabs as one of the "primitive nations" ("Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry" 427). The condescending statement of the reviewer reveals that Arabs continued to be viewed as inferior in the nineteenth century, and that their inferiority that resided in remaining primitive was a source of fascination for the British who moved the Arabs and their culture into the realm of the exotic where their mysterious freshness of thoughts could be observed. It also reveals that this exotic literature continued to be fascinating for those interested in the literature of such nation.

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[25] I reflect on the concept of equivalence in more detail on pp. 166-69.

[26] For example, Eugene Nida and Charles Taber define faithful translation as one which "evokes in a receptor essentially the same response as that displayed by the receptor of the original message" (201). A faithful translation to them is one which produces an equivalent effect to that of the ST. Peter Newmark sees faithful translation as one that "attempts to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the original within the constraints of the TL grammatical structures" (46). His definition is thus ST oriented, unlike Nida and Taber's.

The author of the translation's review published in the *Spectator* did not provide a critical review of the translator's work, stating that the reviewer would "take for granted what [had]… been generally conceded by experts, that [Lyall's translation] adequately [represented] its original," and commanded Lyall for translating these admired ancient poems ("Mr. Lyall's Ancient Arabian Poetry" 21). The translations were important due the consecration of the ST; thus, they guaranteed more cultural capital for the translator.

Although Lyall served the British government in India (Foster),[27] politics does not seem to have influenced his translation decisions and therefore his *habitus* as a translator at the time the translation was produced.

2.3.1.7. Frank E. Johnson

Johnson translated all seven *Mu'allaqāt* in his book which was first published in 1893, titled *The Hanged Poems*. He collaborated in this work with Shaik Faizu-Ullah-Bhai, who revised the proof sheets, and wrote an introduction, which included a synopsis and a critical analysis of each poem (*Seven Poems* v-xxiii). An edited version of the book was published in 1917, but included only the translations of the poems of Imru' al-Qais, 'Antara, and Zuhair.

Johnson's translation deviated from previous English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in two ways: first, through collaboration with a native speaker of Arabic who proofread his work, thus claiming better access to the ST; and second, by using the loan word *qaṣīda* as a new name to label the foreign poetic form. He adopted a pedagogic approach to the translation as he explained that he translated the work as an

[27] Lyall served as under-secretary to the revenue, agriculture, and commerce department of the government of India from 1873 until 1879 and had several other official duties there (Foster)

"aid for students" (*Seven Poems*, "Preface"). Therefore, he closely adhered to the wording of the original texts and added notes and explanations to clear obscurities when needed. He included in the "notes" all the "different readings, and different interpretations which [had] good authority and [had] come to hand" (*Seven Poems*, "Preface"). He provided each line in Arabic, followed by its English translation, and defined some of the obscure terms in the line. Producing a translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* as an aid to students guaranteed cultural capital for the author whose work did not change the content of the original texts. Thus, the *habitus* of the translator does not seem to be influenced by politics.

3.2.1.8. Wilfred Scawn Blunt and Anne Blunt

Wilfred Scawn Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt produced a verse translation of the seven *Mu'allaqāt* in 1903. The poems were translated into English prose by Anne Blunt, and were then versified by Wilfred, her husband (xxi). In the context of referring to the distinction of their translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* from previous ones, the Blunts stated that their translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* was not presenting a new work to the English audience since the work had already been available in Latin and kept at the British Museum (xi) — a claim that Arberry questions (*Seven Odes* 23) — and they added that it had already been translated into English by Sir William Jones, Frank E. Johnson, and Sir Charles Lyall; [28] but they stated that their work was different because it was presenting to the English audience the first complete translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* in "English verse form", which would "fill a gap in

[28] The Blunts explained that Jones translated the work into prose and that he used English "of the eighteenth century, polite, latinised, and little suggestive of the wild vigour of the original Arabic" (xi); that Frank E. Johnson's translation was also done in prose and was "an excellent work of its kind, but nothing more" (xi); and that Lyall had translated only one *mu'allaqa* and "made a commencement which promised well in verse" (xi).

English translated literature" (xix). Therefore, the first form of distinction of the Blunts' translation was that they deviated from the previous works by translating the complete anthology in verse (xxi). In doing so, the Blunts addressed a criticism of Jone's complete translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*, namely the translation of the *qaṣīdas* in prose which was lamented by the reviewer of *London Magazine* ("Moallakat" 59).

The second form of distinction was promising to produce a fluent translation (xxi). They made it clear that their translation attempted to make the lines "run easily and intelligibly to English ears," thus making them more fluent (xxi). However, they clarified that the changes they made were few and were done within the limits the original *qaṣīdas* imposed upon them (xxi). Although the translators targeted fluency, their adherence to the limits of the ST still pushed them out of their hiding places, making them visible in notes where they explained the significance of cultural nomenclature they transliterated in the TT (xxi).

The third form of distinction was claiming a better access to the ST and Bedouin culture which helped them overcome the obscurity of the *Mu'allaqāt*. The Blunts observed that the *Mu'allaqāt* had been "obscured by medieval commentators, learned in everything except personal knowledge of the customs and ways of Bedouin thought" because they were "townsmen by birth" (xx). The Blunts claimed that their knowledge of the culture was better for two reasons. First, their travels to the Arabian Peninsula gave them an advantage in understanding "desert and desert practices, and… desert politics" (xx). Second, the net of connections they had with Arab scholars who helped them to better understand the *qaṣīdas*. These scholars included "el Shagiti", whose commentary on the *Mu'allaqāt* they followed; "the grand Mufti-Sheykh Mohammed Abdu", who revised the commentary that had recently been

published in Cairo; "Sheykh Abderrahmán Aléysh" of the Azhar University; and "Abdallah Effendi el Ansári" of Cairo (xx).

The fourth form of distinction in the Blunts' translation was their attempt to bring the Eastern and Western cultures closer by highlighting similarities and covering differences. The practice—which was politically motivated— overturned the imperialist strategy of overstating the difference between both cultures through domesticating the translation of some of the lines in order to "tone down practices and customs that might have looked objectionable or bizarre to English readers (Shamma 111). Shamma refers to several examples (111-12), including their translation of the following lines from the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais where Imru' al-Qais brags about sexual exploitation of women:

فمثلك حبلى قد طرقت ومرضع   فألهيتها عن ذي تمائم محول

إذا مابكى من خلفها انصرفت له   بشق وتحتي شقها لم يحتول

Many a nursing pregnant woman I visited like I visited you,

and distracted her from her amulet-adorned baby,

When he cried she turned to him with one half,

under me was her other half still.

The Blunts translated this poem after dropping the graphic description of Imru' al-Qais's sexual encounter with the nursing mother as well as the reference to her baby:

Wooed have I thy equals, maidens and wedded ones.

Her, the nursling's mother, did I not win to her? (4)

Three of these forms of distinction were praised in the anonymous book review of the Blunts' translation published in the *Athenaeum*. The reviewer praised the Blunts for "[enriching] the library of English poetical translation with a volume of rare distinction" ("Seven Golden Odes" 299), and described their "free-handed-method" as "wise" as it resulted in a "noble rendering of the poetry which a more literal version must have dissipated and obscured" ("Seven Golden Odes" 299). Furthermore, the reviewer described the introduction as an entertaining guide about life in Bedouin Arabia as portrayed in the source texts, which was backed by a good understanding of the environment that the reviewer attributed to the translators' "outdoor knowledge based on personal observation of the life and ways of the desert" and their "insight which only the experienced traveller [could] hope to obtain" ("Seven Golden Odes" 299). The reviewer glossed over the fourth form of distinction which established parallels between both cultures, and he even regarded the Blunts' work as one that "[belonged] less, perhaps, to Oriental scholarship than to English literature" ("Seven Golden Odes" 299). Therefore, the reviewer seemed to regard the Blunts' translation —which did not employ the imperialist strategy of exoticising the Other—as an aesthetic work more than a scholarly account of life and manners in Arabia.

The final form of distinction in the Blunts' translation, which was covering the cultural differences between the British and Arabic cultures, was the outcome of the influence of Wilfred Blunt's upbringing, and the change in the socio-political circumstances in Britain during the nineteenth century. These two factors structured Wilfred Blunt's dispositions, which were the basis for his activism against imperialism.

Wilfred Blunt was the son of a Sussex squire and owner of the 2,000 acre Crabbet Park estate (Shamma 87), but his blissful childhood was interrupted by the death of his father after which his mother moved with her three children for many years from one place to another, in England and on the Continent (Shamma 88). Furthermore, his mother converted to Roman Catholicism; the children followed her reluctantly because of the social isolation that the Roman Catholics faced (Longford 13). This was especially the case for Wilfred, who suffered from bullying at school because he was the youngest and physically weakest boy in his class (Shamma 88). This experience made Wilfred Blunt face "the dilemma of religion and doctrinal difference" at an early age, and enhanced his feeling of uprootedness which grew stronger with the death of his mother and turned into a sense of singularity and distinction (Shamma 88). These feelings were the catalyst of his battle against all forms of tyranny and of his passionate defense of the oppressed (Shamma 88-89). His religious dilemma kindled his positive view of Islam, which he encountered for the first time when he travelled to Constantinople, and formed the basis for his acceptance of the existence of more than one faith; this position which was characterised by awareness of the Other was rare in Orientalist accounts (Shamma 89).

The second factor that structured Wilfred's *habitus* was his attempt to support the values he idealized which were disappearing in English society. As a son of a squire, he had an idealized view of the squire as a "benign patriarch on his estate, who… ruled a hierarchy in which everyone respected their rank and none was wronged" (Shamma 87). These were the values of the British aristocracy, who were facing a crisis because of the successive reform acts during the nineteenth century which "forced it to release its hold on English politics and culture" (Shamma 92). Furthermore, wealth generated through trade and industry facilitated social mobility,

enabling the newly wealthy to use their wealth to gain the political and social influence that had previously been available only through the possession of inherited property and tradition (Brent 25). Some of the gentlemen who belonged to landowning aristocracy started to look abroad for places which they thought still had codes of leadership and conduct similar to the ones they idealized (Brent 26). The new situation made some Englishmen suddenly find familiarity in Arabic mannerisms and codes of leadership that for centuries had been viewed as radically different, and the "fascination of Arabia, once a matter of distance, of bizarre practices and rival mystery, had become instead a nostalgia for the standards of Sir Lancelot, the nobility of Lyonesse" (Brent 26).

Wilfred Blunt's sense of uprootedness and the change in the British society made him react to imperialism differently from the majority of scholars and travellers who studied the East back then. He became an activist against imperialism in Egypt,[29] and supported the Egyptian revolution led by Aḥmad ʻUrabī in 1881.[30] Blunt also

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[29] Wilfred Blunt befriended some of the Egyptian nationalists during his visits to the country including ʻUrabī who lead the army in 1881 to a revolution against the Khedive, who—according to Shamma—was the British appointed ruler of Egypt (102). Triggered by fear for European interests in the Suez Canal, Britain and France warned the Egyptian army, and when the warning was not taken heed of, Britain sent its army which defeated the Egyptian army led by ʻUrabī at al-Tal al-Kabīr and invaded Egypt in 1882 (Shamma 102). During the crisis, Wilfred Blunt defended the Egyptian nationalists in British newspapers, and considered travelling to Egypt to support them, but was warned that he would be arrested if he landed in Alexandria (Longford 179). Although his activism was supported by a small number of friends, he was mostly smeared as unpatriotic: he was called a traitor (Longford 184), and one Lord Houghton said that "both Blunt and Arabi ought to be shot" (qtd. in Longford 185). However, such accusation did not prevent Blunt from continuing to support the Egyptians. When ʻUrabī was defeated, Blunt endeavoured to save ʻUrabī from execution by founding the "Arabi defence fund" and by hiring two lawyers who eventually succeeded in "[commuting] the death sentence to exile". (Shamma 102)

[30] ʻUrabī is the correct form of pronouncing and transliterating the name of the Egyptian nationalist leader which was transliterated incorrectly by Tarek Shamma and Elizabeth Longford as Arabi.

supported the Irish Home Rule and he went to Ireland to protest ongoing evictions (Longford 221). He held a meeting there for which he was sent to prison for violating the Crimes Act in 1887 (Shamma 103). After his release from prison, he gave up on direct political activism and chose intellectual activitism as a tool to serve the causes he supported, and he dedicated more time to poetry and translation (Shamnma 104). It can be concluded that his personal crisis made him aware of the doxic imperialist practices that worked underneath the levels of consciousness and language, and triggered his heterodox practices that included his attempt to highlight the similarities between Anglophone and Arab cultures.

By defying the stereotypical representation of Arabs in their translation, the Blunts were struggling to change the boundaries of the field of English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt*. They attempted to drag the ST closer to the target reader: a rare—and perhaps the only—attempt among English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt* that either kept the original poems where they were without making considerable changes that would drag the ST in an extreme direction, or pushed them farther from the reader by exoticising them in line with the imperialist strategies of representing the Other.

Arberry suggests that the work did not achieve much success at the time of its publication when he states that the Blunts' work received scant attention, and was never reprinted due to the indifference of the public (*Seven Odes* 30). Shamma also states that the translation that defied the orthodox practice in relation to portraying the Arabs was not successful at the time of its publication, implying the influence of politics on the reception of the Blunts' work and stating that "the individual efforts of Blunt were easy to marginalize. In this regard, the fate of Blunt's translations was not different from that of his political campaigns, even those conducted by literary means" (117). Shamma adds that Wilfred Blunt was understandably marginalised by

his contemporaries, but he finds it problematic that the work of Wilfred Blunt was ignored in modern postcolonial studies (118) as his name appeared only once in Edward Said's *Orientalism* (237). Wilfred Blunt, as Shamma puts it, was regarded as "a minor exception that does not affect the validity of the overall argument" of Said whom Shamma criticises for his exclusive approach to Orientalism (118). The Blunts' attempt to change the boundaries of the field had little success although the work was published fifteen years after 'Urabī's revolution.

2.3.1.9. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson

Nicholson translated excerpts from the seven *Mu'allaqāt* and included his translations in the books he published in 1907 and 1922. He included excerpts from all the seven *qaṣīdas* in the first book *A Literary History of the Arabs*, but did not include those from the *qaṣīdas* of al-Ḥārtith and 'Antara in the second book *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose*.

Nicholson selected the excerpts on the basis of personal preference (*Translations* vii), and he used the translated excerpts in the two books differently. He presented his first book as an introduction to the history of Arabic literature for both laypeople and students of Arabic literature and he used the excerpts as part of an outline of the Arab thought because he regarded Arabic poetry as "a true mirror of Arabian life" (*A Literary History* xi). In the second book, Nicholson grouped the excerpts with a selection of examples representing poems from different epochs, and he arranged the selected passages chronologically (*Translations* vii), thus presenting a linear history of Arabic literature. Nicholson's approach was historical and educational as his translation decisions made the TT function as historical accounts of

thought of the Arabs or as historical documents of poetics in Arabic literature, and his approach fit his work as an academic.

It seems that cultural capital was the type of capital Nicholson was seeking from being a prolific scholar of Arabic. Nicholson referred to the cultural capital he possessed on the title-page of his two books which included his translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. On the title-page of *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Nicholson's name was followed by a reference to his affiliation to Cambridge and his academic post there as a "Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge, and sometime Fellow of Trinity College." He also did the same on the title-page of *Translations of Eastern Poetry and Prose* where his name was followed by a reference to his academic career as "Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge. Formerly Fellow of Trinity College." Nicholson drew the attention to his good access to the content due to his academic knowledge of Arabic, which he seemed to find sufficient for him to produce translations from Arabic even though he could not speak Arabic nor did he find pleasure in writing in it as Arberry claims (*Oriental Essays* 224). Arberry observes that Nicholson's translation was not appealing to modern taste, and that Nicholson produced the translations mainly as scholarly works (*Oriental Essays* 205). The translation of the canonised *Mu'allaqāt* guaranteed more cultural capital. Nicholson's productivity as an Arabic scholar gradually led to materialising his symbolic capital in an academic title he earned from the University of Aberdeen which conferred on him the honoury LL.D in 1922 and in his election as a Fellow of the British Academy (Arberry, *Oriental Essays* 220).

Reading Nicholson's translation reveals that his *habitus* was shaped by his role as an academic and by Orientalism. Being an academic governed some of his decisions. Having students of Arabic literature in mind, Nicholson deemed the

transliteration of names of Arabic words inevitable even though they seemed "superfluous" for readers who did not know the language (*A Literary History* xi). His decision to keep culture-specific nomenclature for educational purposes reveals the influence of his career on his *habitus*. However, he does not explain the significance of transliterated words through the use of short definitions, generic nouns, and so forth; thereby, he overloads the message with unfamiliar details which obliterate boundaries, and presents an Orientalist image of the lands of Arabs as one that lacks order.

Another example of Nicholson's adherence to Orientalist stereotyping of Arabs can be seen in his rendering of the following lines from the *mu'allaqa* of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm:

صَبَنْتِ الكَأْسَ عَنَّا أَمَّ عَمْرٍو   وَكَانَ الكَأْسُ مَجْرَاهَا اليَمِيْنَا

وَمَا شَرُّ الثَّلاَثَةِ أَمَّ عَمْرٍو   بِصَاحِبِكِ الذِي لاَ تَصْبَحِيْنَا

Um 'Amr took the cup away from us

and the cup was running to the right.

The worst of the trio, Um 'Amr,

is not your friend whom you denied the morning draught.

Nicholson translated these lines as follows:

Pass round from left to right! Why let'st thou, maiden,

Me and my comrades thirst?

Yet am I, whom thou wilt not serve this morning.

Of us three not the worst! (*A Literary History* 111)

Nicholson did not mention the name of the lady bearing the cups of wine, Um 'Amr, and referred to her only as a maiden; and the speaker in his translation ordered her to pass the cups from left to right instead of gently reminding her that cups should be

passed from left to right. Additionally, Nicholson's speaker did not refer to the lady as a friend (unlike 'Amr ibn Kulthūm). This translation presented the woman as a humble, obedient servant rather than one who participated in a joyous gathering. It reflected the Orientalist image of women in Arabia.

Nicholson stated that he attempted to make the translations as "faithful… as can or should be" (*A Literary History* xi), but he did not clarify what faithfulness meant to him because he made changes which did not produce a literal translation of the ST and sometimes did not succeed in transforming the spirit of the original. However, the translation is not complete; therefore, it does not fall within the scope of this study.

2.3.1.10. Herbert Howarth and Ibrahim Shukrallah

During the Second World War, English poet Herbert Howarth and Egyptian Ibrahim Shukrallah collaborated in producing an anthology of translated texts from Arabic (al-Hamdallah 36), which included their translation of the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais and was published in 1944. The translators claimed that their translation deviated from previous English translations by correcting the faulty image of the Eastern nations because European translations of Oriental literature had propagated the belief that "the sum message of the Near Eastern mind was the passed cup, the ultimate blackout, and the contemplation of these things" (xi). They stated that their plan was to present the real image without "trying to bring over to … English versions" of the selected texts "anything that was not susceptible of interesting the English reader" (xi). Paraphrase is a strategy to which the translators resorted in order to "bring relief from flatness", as Charles Madge notes (vii-viii). However, he observes that the resulting poem was "alien" to the original (ix).

The translators expected that their translation would "please neither the new poets nor the old" (xii) and they paid much attention to constructing the translation in such a way that would make it interesting to the readers which suggests that they sought popular success.[31] Books became cheaper in Britain in the twentieth century with the democratisation of knowledge in Britain that came with the appearance of Penguin publications in 1935 (McCleery 155).[32]As a result, books became relatively cheaper. However, fiction was still the most popular genre (McCleery166). Little information is available about the commercial success of the book, but the retranslation of canonised Arabic texts guarantees the translators cultural capital in the literary and academic fields that simultaneously influenced the *habitus* of the translators.[33]

2.3.1.11. Mary Catherine Bateson

Bateson translated the poems of Imru' al-Qais, Ṭarfa, Zuhair, Labīd, and 'Antara. Her approach was argumentative as the book, which was published in 1970, was a revision of her Harvard doctoral thesis, dated 1963 (Hendricks 150). The distinction that Bateson claimed she was bringing in her book was developing a

[31] This suggests that they sought economic capital. However, I failed to find information about the price of the book when I searched for information about the publisher. I also failed to find book reviews about the book in the *Times Literary Supplement* or in Google search engine which could have provided information about the book's reception among the critics or the readers.
[32] Penguin followed in the footsteps of German publishers to make knowledge available to the masses, and the most important step was moving from hardback to paperback publication (McCleery 164).
[33] Herbert Howarth later became a professor of English. He received his Masters of Arts degree in 1944 and taught at several American universities including the University of Michigan, the University of Pittsburgh, Montana State University, the University of Manitoba, and finally, the University of Pennsylvania ("In Memoriam" 8)

linguistic methodology of segmenting the Ancient Arabian *qaṣīdas* into passages (127).

Bateson appended her prose translations of the five *qaṣīdas* she selected. She transliterated each line of the original *qaṣīda*, then rendered it with close adherence to the wording of the original poems into English; but she was aware that the resulting form of her approach was not pleasing to the eyes of readers who sought “aesthetic pleasure” (40-41). Her translations performed an argumentative function; they were produced without a change in content.

Bateson sought cultural capital as the work earned her the academic title, and the publication of the dissertation gained her more cultural capital in the academic field as she presented the book to scholars working in the area of poetics and linguistic stylistics (Hendricks 148). The type of capital Bateson sought and the nature of her book reveal that her *habitus* was mainly influenced by her role as a member in the academic field.

2.3.1.12. William Roe Polk

Polk translated the *mu‘allaqa* of Labīd and published it in 1974 in a book titled *the Golden Ode by Labid ibn Rabiah.* The form of distinction of Polk’s work is that his translation seemed to function as a work of travel literature: he crossed the desert “on camelback to experience the feelings, the sights, and the concerns of the poet” and his translation was an “attempt… to make the impulses, the pictures, and the emotions of the poet understandable to a Western audience” (vii). He was accompanied on his trip by a photographer, William Mars, who took photos of the desert during the trip in order “to capture the mood presented in each verse” (vii). He translated each line on a separate page, and followed each line by the Arabic line in

addition to explanatory notes and commentaries, and paired the translation of each line with a photograph that served the distinctive function of the work.

The printing quality of Polk's work is extravagant and is one of the features on which some reviewers comment. Suhail ibn-Salim Hanna observes that Labīd's *mu'allaqa* "recieves a treatment more lavish than any that has been bestowed by Western scholars on the brilliant bards of pre-Islamic Arabia" (178). He explains that Polk's book appeared on pages the size of LP-record covers and was adorned by Arabic calligraphy (178). Such lavish quality of the book is criticised by Alfred Felix Landon Beeston who observes that the book format is inconvenient for shelving, and that it belongs more to the species of "coffee table books" ("The Golden Ode" 431).[34] Reviewers also praise the practice of coupling the translation with photographs, but disagree over the photographs' value. For example, Irfan Shahid describes the translation as a "breakthrough" in the field of translating into Western languages (301) because the new strategy of providing photography portrays a visual image of culture-specific elements. Although Shahid admits that the translation suffers from minor flaws in calligraphy and misprints in the transliteration of words and although he notes that the introduction to the translation lacks a short biography of Labīd (300-301), Shahid finds the translation useful for the students of pre-Islamic poetry who, in their majority, do not have firsthand knowledge of life in Arabia (301). Beeston recognises the value of photography in clarifying the meaning of unfamiliar elements, but states that the new strategy loses its value in Polk's book because it has no captions to guide the reading experience, and adds that the lack of such captions

[34] Regardless of its convenience, the book format implies that it was not cheap; therefore, it implies that the translator did not seek economic capital from publishing his lavishly illustrated, hardback book. New copies of the book available online are relatively expensive.

makes some of the photos irrelevant ("The Golden Ode" 431). Beeston refers to the many inaccuracies due to Polk's failure in understanding grammatical structure, and concludes that the book cannot be used by students of Arabic ("The Golden Ode" 432). Regardless of the success or failure of the attempt, it adds to Polk's cultural capital as an Orientalist.

It seems that Polk's education and personal experience influenced his *habitus* as a translator. According to Shahid, Polk's choice of the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd was triggered by "a nostalgia for his days as a student at Oxford [where he studied] pre-Islamic poetry" (300). The trip was motivated by his desire to have a final taste of what he studied and was still preserved before it disappeared with the advent of modern technology (299). The trip bore fruit to the translation that transformed Polk's personal experience into a property available for those interested in it (299). Because Polk does not offer a complete translation of the seven *Mu'allaqāt*, his work does not fall within the scope of this study.

2.3.1.13. Arthur Wormhoudt

Wormhoudt translated the *qaṣīdas* of Imru' al-Qais, published in 1974; 'Antara, published in 1974; and Labīd, published in 1976. He preceded his translations with forewords in which he gave a brief account of each poet's life and poetry and cited the commentaries he read (*Diwan of Imru' al-Qais* i). He rendered the poems into English prose without omissions or additions. The distinction of Wormhoudt's translation was his attempt to imitate the form of the original lines. In addition to keeping the one block form, he indented the lines in order to indicate their binary relations (Lahiani 74).

Wormhoudt was a prolific translator of Arabic poems. He translated *qaṣīdas* and anthologies that were composed in different epochs, and translating some of the poems of the *Mu'allaqāt* was a guaranteed addition to his cultural capital.[35]

2.3.1.14. Alfred Felix Landon Beeston

In 1976, Beeston published his prose translation of the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd. His approach was argumentative as he used the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd as material for his philological study of Arabic language. Beeston had interest in the analysis of languages since he was a child (Irvine 119),[36] and he applied his analytical method throughout his study of Arabic and Persian (Irvine 117), and used Arabic texts as material for his philological investigation, including the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd.

The distinction of Beeston's translation of Labīd's *mu'allaqa* was suggesting a linguistic method for translating the Arabic *qaṣīda* by paying attention to microstructures or "the sense each individual image is built up" which eventually build the complete images ("An Experiment with Labid" 1). His translation was not aesthetically motivated; rather, it was "an experiment" that aimed at assessing the success of the adopted strategy in making the Arabic poems appeal to an Anglophone reader who was not familiar with the Arabic language in order to determine its value and thus its usefulness as a principle in translating ("An Experiment with Labid" 1-2).

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[35] The prices of Wormhoudt's books available online are affordable, implying that economic capital might have been another form of capital he sought from his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. However, I failed to find any information regarding the reception of his works by the public or by the critics.

[36] Since his early days as a student at Westminster school, Beeston showed interest in the investigation of languages, especially exotic ones, and—with the financial assistance of his father—he attempted to teach himself Chinese and Arabic with which he was fascinated (Irvine 117). When he joined Christ Church College, he realised that Semitic languages offered more scope for his analytical mind, and he therefore chose to study Arabic and Persian (Irvine 119).

By suggesting a new linguistic method for translating the *qaṣīda*, Beeston's work—which was published as an article in *the Journal of Arabic Literature*—added to his cultural capital in the academic field of the study of Semitic languages, and his symbolic capital in the field was translated in the honours that were bestowed upon him, especially the Lidzbarski Medal for Semitic Epigraphy by Deutsche Morgenlaindische Gesellschaft in 1983, and an Honorary Fellowship of SOAS, where he served on the Governing Body from 1980 to 1985 (Irvine 122).

Beeston's interest in analytical studying of languages, which was enhanced by the opportunity he was given to learn Arabic better through his military service in Egypt and then Palestine in the 1940s (Irvine 119), and his career in academia influenced his *habitus* as a translator which influenced his translation decisions in relation to the function of translated Arabic texts.

2.3.1.15. Adnan Haydar

Haydar published his translation of the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais in 1977. His decision was to make the translation perform a pedagogical function as he used the *mu'allaqa* as a part of an article, the purpose of which was to examine the classical Arabic poem as a manifestation of the vision of the pre-Islamic man, and to explain the system of the *mu'allaqa*, referring to the internal relations among its elements as well as the relations between the text itself and other texts, and contextualising it in its contemporary social environment ("The Mu'allaqa" 228). Haydar's translation, which was an aid to the reader of his article and which was

published in the journal of *Edebiyat*, was thus adding to his cultural capital in the academic field which contributed to structuring his *habitus*. [37]

2.3.1.16. Charles Greville Tuetey

Tuetey translated the *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais, which was included in his translation of a selection of the poet's *qaṣīdas* which he published in 1977. Tuetey's decision was to make the translation function as aesthetic and pedagogical text. The attention he gave to the aesthetic aspect is reflected in his declaration that his strategy was to translate the *Mu'allaqāt* in a way that would "prompt in the English reader the same response that he [experienced] when reading the Arabic" (xviii). Therefore, he translated the lines communicatively, giving the overall meaning of the line. His pedagogical approach is evident in his use of paratext in which he provided for students "technicalities and critical comments" (xix), explaining his translation choices, especially omission of words or lines which he retained in the notes.

Although Tuetey resorted to omissions frequently, the omissions he made did not bear the traces of Orientalism that nourished Western political propaganda after the Arab-Israeli War. The explanation Tuetey presented in the paratext makes it clear that the motive behind the omissions was either aesthetic or driven by suspicion in the authenticity of the omitted lines. Given that the omissions were accompanied by an explanation in the notes which made omitted parts of the text still accessible, they did not affect the overall meaning nor the image of Imru' al-Qais and Arabia. The

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[37] Haydar is a professor of world languages and literature at the University of Arkansas (Haydar, "Adnan Haydar Faculty Page").

translation of the canonised *mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais added to the cultural capital of Tuetey. [38]

2.3.1.17. Michael A. Sells

Sells published his unrhymed verse translations of the *mu'allaqa* of Ṭarfa in 1986 and the ones of Labīd and 'Antara in 1989. The function of Sells's translation was aesthetic, as he stated that he sought to produce a "natural, idiomatic, and poetic" translation that would transmit the message of the original poem in spite of the cultural distance, and match its poetic concerns and values with those of the Anglophone readers (*Mu'allaqa of Tarfa* 21). In his attempt to recreate the cadence and resonance in accordance with the conventions of English poetry, Sells was creating a new poem; however, he neither sacrificed the cultural details nor altered the content. Sells argued that a translation was a new poem that "should not be too alien to be appreciated" and that it had to "retain enough of the distinctive character of the original to provide a true encounter" (*Desert Tracings* 9). He even preceded the *qaṣīdas* of Labīd and 'Antara with an introduction in which he discussed the *qaṣīda* form (*Desert Tracings* 3-10), and he confirmed having good access to the ST through citing the Arabic commentaries he read (*Desert Tracings* 10). Although he did not change the overall meaning of the translation, he overloaded it with cultural nomenclature whose significance he did not explain. However, he made no other choices that politicised the text in general.

Reconstructing the translation to function as a new English poem was the distinction of Sells's translation. He turned each Arabic line into an unrhymed

[38] The price of Tuetey's books available online is relatively expensive, implying that symbolic capital was mainly the type of capital the publication of this hardback book was targeting.

quatrain, and he positioned one quatrain on the left, the second quatrain on the right, followed by the third placed under the first, thus playing "the syntactical cadence against the line breaks" (*Mu'allaqa of Tarfa* 23). He divided the quatrains according to themes.

Considering the translation a new poem is praised by Raymond P. Scheindlin who reviewed *Desert Tracings* and admired the fact that Sells did not fall into the trap of imposing a thematic unity on each classical *qaṣīda* (158) and commended him for "[aiming]…to write English poetry… to avoid alienness and to strike an appropriate balance between poetic quality and the representation of tradition" and for prioritising diction and natural tone over versification which is a preference in modern American verse (159).

Scheindlin suggests that Sells's book was one that was "addressed primarily to the reader of poetry" which "the professional Arabist [could] admire" (160).[39] His translation decisions which reflect his *habitus* reveals that his *habitus* was constructed by his role as an academic,[40] which made him do not sacrifice the cultural character of the text or alter its content, and as a member of the American literary field, which preferred naturalness and contributed to forming Sells's concept of translation as new work of art.

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[39] The price of Sells's two publications which included his English rendering of three of the *Mu'allaqāt* and the fact that he aimed at having an aesthetic effect upon the reader by considering the translation a new English poem with a distinct effect imply that the publications were after economic as well as cultural capital.

[40] Michael Sells is a professor at the Divinity School, University of Chicago. He teaches in the areas of Quranic studies; Sufism; Arabic and Islamic love poetry; mystical literature (Greek, Islamic, Christian, and Jewish); and religion and violence (Sells, "Michael Sells").

2.3.1.18. Alan Jones

Jones translated the *Mu'allaqāt* of Imru' al-Qais and Labīd, and published his prose translations in 1992 in his *Early Arabic Poetry: Selected Poems*. Jones's approach was educational; his purpose was to produce a book that would help students of classic Arabic poetry to form their own understanding of it instead of relying on "rigid" commentary (*Early Arabic Poetry* viii). As his purpose was educational, he advised that the translations be read along with the original texts (*Early Arabic Poetry* vii). To serve the purpose of his book, Jones transcribed every verse, translated it, and commented on it. At the end of the book, he presented the TT without the commentaries and explanations under the title "English Translations" and appended the original texts in Arabic. He also confirmed his access to the ST through listing the Arabic commentaries he depended upon to understand the original texts (*Early Arabic Poetry* x). He revealed that he was aware of the translations of Sir William Jones, Lyall, Nicholson, Beeston, and Arberry (*Early Arabic Poetry* ix-xi). It seems that Jones's *habitus*, which is evident in his educational approach to the translation, was constructed by his experience as an academic. Presenting a translation of the canonised *Mu'allaqāt* guaranteed adding to the cultural capital of Jones in the field.[41]

2.3.1.19. Christopher Nouryeh

Nouryeh translated the *Mu'allaqāt* and presented them in his book *Translation and Critical Study of Ten Pre-Islamic Odes* which was published in 1993. Nouryeh deviated from previous complete English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in that he

[41] According to the online newsletter of the publisher, namely *the Levant*: *Ithaca Press Newsletter on Middle Eastern Studies,* Alan Jones is a professor and a distinguished Arabist ("Early Arabic Poetry")

broke the doxic practice of translating the seven *Muʻallaqāt* that Sir William Jones translated, and translated the ten that appeared in the commentary of al-Tabrīzī which Nouryeh cited as one of the books he drew upon in his translation of the *Muʻallaqāt* (1). Otherwise, Nouryeh did not make major changes, and his translation strategies reveal his educational approach. His translation of each *muʻallaqa* was preceded by an introduction that presented a commentary on its content, and was followed by notes which offered comparison to other translations and an explanation of the translator's decisions.

Nouryeh's decision to make the translation perform an educational function matched his role as an academic[42] which was part of Nouryeh's history which formed his *habitus* as a translator, together with his Arabic origins. [43] Thus, he had a better understanding of the texts. His being a native Arab differentiated him from other translators of the complete anthology in that his native experience, which formed his understanding and perception of the *Muʻallaqāt*, was different from the presupposed observations of non-natives whom Bourdieu describes as outsiders (*Outline* 2). Therefore, Nouryeh's translation does not fall within the scope of this study which focuses on the influence of political circumstances on complete English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt* produced by Western translators at moments of political tension.

2.3.1.20. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych

Stetkevych translated the *Muʻallaqāt* of Labīd and Imru' al-Qais in her anthology of selected *qaṣīdas* which was published in 1993. Her approach was argumentative as she declared that she presented her book "to form a subcorpus from

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[42] Nouryeh taught at Canton College of Technology, New York City (Lahiani 87).
[43] Nouryeh was born in Syria and he graduated from the University of Damascus before he travelled to the United States where he was awarded the PhD degree at City University, New York (Lahiani 87).

which the reader of English [could] get a sense of the dense intertextuality, the thematic canon, and even the distinct poetic lexicon of the pre-Islamic Arabic *qasīdah*" (*The Mute Immortals* xiv). She argued that pre-Islamic poetry had a huge influence upon Arabic literature which was second only to that of the Quran, and that the impact stemmed from the use of the *qaṣīdas* as ritual forms to serve ritual functions (*The Mute Immortals* xii), and she used the source texts she translated to support her argument. Such approach reveals the influence of academia on constructing the *habitus* of Stetkevych as the translation was not important for what it was, but mainly as material to support her argument which was complemented by paratext. She preceded each translated poem with an introduction in which she gave a brief biography of each poet, a discussion of his poetry, and an analysis of the verses of the *qaṣīdas* she rendered into English. She also appended the Arabic source texts she translated.

Stetkevych's book sought more cultural capital for the author in the field of literary theorisation.[44] Susan Slyomovics stated that Stetkevych "[ventured] into such various fields as anthropology, religion, gender studies, history, philology, and folklore to augment her effectiveness as a literary theorist" (438). The fact that the author succeeded in this aspect is evident in the praise and recommendation her book gets in book reviews. Slyomovics notes that the book did reveal "an impressive breadth of scholarship and clarity of thought" (349), and Sells recommends it for serious students or scholars of Arabic literature ("The Mute Immortals" 140).[45]

[44] Stetkevych is a professor of Arabic and Islamic studies at Georgia Town University ("Susan Stetkevych Faculty Page").
[45] Stetkevych's book available online is affordable, which implies that the book as a material cultural capital sought economic capital as well.

2.3.1.21. Paul Smith

Smith translated the *Mu'allaqāt* in his book *The Seven Golden Odes of Arabia (The Mu'allaqāt)* which was published in 2012.Smith presented his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* as historical documents as well as examples of literary excellence, and he claimed that the distinction he was trying to bring was to produce a translation that was "as close to the true meaning as possible" (148). He also reproduced cultural nomenclature and explained their significance by accompanying them with generic nouns, and he tried to imitate the form of the original as he did not divide the poem into stanzas according to themes and as he translated each line as a couplet whose second part always eneded with the same sound throughout the translated poem. In a display of his knowledge of the field and his access to the original texts, Smith listed his sources or recommendations for further readings at the end of the introduction and each brief biography which preceded his translation of each *mu'allaqa*. The lists testified to his knowledge of the translations of Bateson, Sells, Alan Jones (21), William Jones, Johnson, Lyall, O'Grady, Tuetey, Arberry, the Blunts, and Nicholson (26).

The back cover of Smith's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* reveals that Smith is a poet, author, and translator of over 80 Persian and Arabic books, and lists a number of the books he translated in reference to the labour he accumulated over the years. By translating the canonised *Mu'allaqāt*, he was enhancing his status as a literary translator of Arabic poetry in the target field. Furthermore, his book is affordable, suggesting that it was after both cultural and economic capital.

Smith's translation decisions suggest that his *habitus* was influenced by the literary field, namely, by the work of previous translators whose translation choices stereotyped Arabs and Arabia to varying extents. Although Smith claimed that his

translation was as close to the original texts as possible, it included a few changes which bore traces of the influence of previous translators.However, the changes Smith introduced into his translation were few and they did not alter the overall meaning of the source texts.

2.3.2. Overview

2.3.2.1. Building Up a Heritage

The critical review of the extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* reveals that entry to field has been controlled by a high level of codification, and it therefore contradicts Bourdieu's claim that literary and artistic fields have a weak degree of codification (*The Rules of Art* 226). The majority of the translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* had an academic degree in Arabic studies, were affiliated to an academic institution, or were prolific authors in the field of translation of Arabic literature and Oriental studies. In other words, the majority of translators who entered the field possessed cultural capital, usually institutionalised.

The field is a space of positions and position-takings (or choices and decisions), and the existence of these depend on their situation "in the structure and distribution of [the different] kinds of capital (or of power) whose possession governs the obtaining of specific profits (such as literary prestige) put into play in the field" (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 231). Each position has corresponding position-takings as well as political acts and discourses outside the field, and each position is associated with certain interests; therefore, the space of positions governs the space of position-takings (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 231). In their pursuit of certain interests in the field, that is the different types of capital distributed in the field, the translators attempt to occupy the positions associated with these interests by choosing the position-takings (translation decisions) which correspond to these positions.

The field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* was related to— and even a product of—the field of politics because the British imperialist movement in the final third of the eighteenth century required gathering information about the culture of the future colonised nations. Therefore, imperialism was accompanied by a scholarly study of the Orient and by a movement of translation of the literature of Oriental nations which influenced literary translation as well as academia. As my critical review shows, obtaining cultural capital in the field of English translations of Arabic literature and in the field of academia— in which the majority of the translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* operated since the final third of the eighteenth century— has been associated with translating specific types of texts (canonised, informative, etc) and with the manner in which the texts were rendered into English to quench the thirst for information about the Orient. Since certain interests have been associated with certain positions, as Bourdieu claims (*The Rules of Art* 231), the pursuit of such interests has contributed to the existence of the positions to which the interests relate.

On the basis of the relation between positions, position-takings, and the structure and distribution of capital in the field outlined by Bourdieu, I can define the following positions in the field of extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*:[46]

1. *Positions relevant to the consumers of the translation*. Two positions can be delineated, namely, translation for students of Arabic literature and translation for laypeople.

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[46] Sameh Hanna delineated eight positions in his study of the field of drama translation in Egypt; I have adapted five of these positions into the list of the positions available in the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*: "positions relevant to the medium and consumers of translation," to "the consecration of the translator," to "the strategies used," to "the poetics of the translation," and to "the politics of the translator" (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 26-34)

2. *Positions relevant to the consecration of the translators.* These include the consecrated and the margenalised. The position of a consecrated translator is occupied by those who previously translated canonised works. It is also occupied by translators who are affiliated to academic institutions or recognised by them through obtaining an academic degree or teaching in these institutions. The achievements and the general profile of the translator also grant the translator consecration in the field. For example, an original author of works has the image of a "creator" which is more respected than that of the translator who is generally thought of as an imitator (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 32).
3. *Positions relevant to the translation methods.* These include translation that closely adheres to the wording of the original poet versus communicative translation that refers to transferring the overall meaning of the text without closely adhering to the wording of the original poet.
4. *Positions relevant to the poetics of the translation*. In this context, I use Sameh Hanna's definition of poetics who uses the term to refer to "the language variety used in translation as well as whether the translation is in prose or verse" (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 33). In the context of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, two positions are available in relation to poetics, namely, translations done in prose versus translations done in verse.
5. *Positions relevant to politics.* In the case of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, these positions are related to the influence of politics on the stereotypical representation of the Arab culture in the poems. These include three positions: representing the culture without a change and without dragging the ST closer to or farther from the target culture, exoticising the text

through following the imperialist strategy of overstating the difference between the British culture and the Arab culture, and highlighting the similarities between both cultures.

6. *Positions relevant to the function of the translation*. In the context of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, there are four positions in relation to the choice the translator makes regarding how the translation should function. Various translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* functioned as aesthetic texts, as historical documents of life in Ancient Arabia, as educational texts for students, or as material substantiating the translators' arguments and linguistic methods.

The collective work in the field builds up a heritage of positions, position-takings, and practices in which newcomers find a space of the possibilities or limited possible uses defined by the key players in the field. In the case of the field of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, the possible uses are defined by the heritage formed by works of previous translators and by the response of critics to the works. An awareness of such heritage provides the newcomers with the required knowledge regarding the possible forms of distinction.

The critical review reveals that there is a dialectic relationship between the *habitus* of translators and the heritage which builds up with each retranslation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. The heritage defines the boundaries of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, specifies the norms and conventions which make new attempts acceptable or adequate, and consequently influences the dispositions of the translators. Simultaneously, the *habitus* of the translators reproduce the norms in new forms. The *habitus* sometimes manage to change the norms to various degrees of

success, to change the boundaries of the field in the attempt to achieve distinction, or to serve the translators' personal agendas. [47]

The translators were the main agents in the field as it seems that they were basically the commissioners of the act of translation. The majority of those who translated the *Mu'allaqāt* were academic scholars or prolific Orientalists who rendered the Ancient Arabian *qaṣīdas* into English for those who could read/were interested in reading the canonised foreign poems or who could afford to buy them. The translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* were first produced by the elite for the elite, and continued to be restricted to elite, educational, or academic circles until recently since few of the translators stated that they targeted audiences other than scholars or students of literature. Even some of those which were produced in the twentieth century after the cheapening of books which did not seem to be targeting a specialist audience were still lavish and considerably expensive (e.g. Polk's translation of Labīd's *mu'allaqa*). While some struggled for recognition as an end in itself, others sought recognition as a way to achieve other goals. Such struggles resulted in continuous changes to the boundaries of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. However, the translators were not the only agents in the field since the critics too highlighted deficiencies and praised certain position-takings and consequently played a role in defining the possible uses in the field. Furthermore, the targeted audience were agents in the field since the type of audience, which was

[47] An example is Wilfred Blunt whose sense of uprootendness and political stance as an anti-imperialist influenced his *habitus* and motivated his heterodox strategy of highlighting the similarities between the British and Arab cultures. Another example is Bateson whose membership in the circle of academia influenced her *habitus* and contributed to introducing the new practice of directly using the texts as material to substantiate arguments in other fields and thus expanded the boundaries of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* to include argumentative, linguistic uses of the Ancient Arabian *qaṣīdas*.

usually specified in the introductions or prefaces of the translations, influenced the translators' decisions and approaches to the translations.

The factors which influenced the *habitus* of the translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* are the role the translators played in the literary or academic field to which they belonged; their personal experience, which included their upbringing or contact with the foreign culture; and the influence of the socio-political circumstances of their societies at the time the translations were produced.

The high degree of codification which has been controlling the entry into the field, the circumstances of publication, the status of books as expensive commodities in England since the final third of the eighteenth century until the beginning of the twentieth century, the low percentage of literacy among the population of England and Wales until the nineteenth century, the preference for fiction over poetry, and the motives behind the translations which were stated by many of the translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* suggest that there has not been a major industry around the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Three types of capital were distributed in the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*: cultural, social and economic. The most sought after type of capital was cultural since the majority of the translations were produced by academics or Orientalists for educational/ academic/argumentative reasons. A few were published in academic and literary journals, and books were not affordable for everyone until the twentieth century. The translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* and similar canonised works guaranteed cultural capital, and they sometimes granted the translators social capital as in the case of Sir William Jones. It should be noted that the economic capital was available for a few translations which targeted laypeople and offered the translations at affordable prices. In these few instances, the cultural capital was transformed into a material form that could convert into monetary profit.

The critical review also shows that the (re)translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* built up a body of translation practices and that some of these practices become doxic. However, *doxa* changes from time to time. While close adherence to the wording of the original poet was the doxic practice in the early stages of the field, communicative or fluent translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* became the popular practice towards the end of the twentieth century. This was due to the change in the needs and tastes of the audience as well as in the trends in the field as natural tone became a priority (Scheindlin 159).

2.3.2.2. Retranslation and Forms of Distinction

The field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* started with the translation of Sir William Jones, and was gradually built up by subsequent partial or complete retranslations of the same ST. Consequently, it is mainly a field of retranslation in which many translators sought distinction through being compared to other translations that already existed in the field and through being recognised as different from them.

In this study, I use Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva's definition of the term "retranslations" which refers to "translations of a text, or part of a text, carried out after the initial translation which introduced this text to the 'same' target language" (2). Susam-Sarajeva observes that retranslation is often understood in light of a "history-as-progress model" (2), explaining that translation scholars often view retranslations as "things that come up as the time *passes*, and *succeeds* the previous translations(s) in a linear fashion" (2). The two connotations of the term "succeeds", namely "to come next after somebody or something" and "to be successful", suggest that retranslation is often associated with improvement (Susam-Sarajeva 2). The possible space for improvement—in light of this perception—is usually associated

with aging or changing than with attending to a deficiency in previous translations. However, the field of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* reveals that retranslations can also be attempted to serve needs, or follow a dominant trend in the field which receives the retranslation.

"Aging" of translated works is the reason usually associated with retranslation, particularly in the case of canonised works in the field of literature, due to the assumption that a retranslation updates the text in compliance with the evolution of the audience as well as their tastes and needs (Yves Gambier qtd. in Susam-Sarajeva 4). However, aging in this sense cannot be the reason behind every retranslation. Sometimes, several retranslations appear within a short span of time and function side by side as a result of "the synchronous struggle in the receiving system to create the target discourse into which these [retranslations] will be incorporated" (Susam-Sarajeva 5). This is evident in the case of partial English retranslations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in the 1970s when Polk's (1974), Wormhoudts's (1976), and Beeston's (1976) retranslations of Labīd's *qaṣīda* existed side by side, performed different functions, and appealed to different tastes.[48]

Bourdieu redefines aging, creating more space to include factors other than "the mechanical sliding into the past" as reasons behind retranslation (*The Rules of Art* 157). He sees time as a space in which agents struggle for survival through being ahead of time (*The Rules of Art* 157). Bourdieu distinguishes between two types of

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[48] Polk's retranslation incorporated the *mu'allaqa* into the realm of travel literature of exotic lands whose difference was glaring in the gold Arabic calligraphy which accompanied each line, Wormhoudt's retranslation imitated the form of the original and presented the attempt to those interested in studying the form of the *qaṣīda*, and Beeston's retranslation offered a linguistically analytical method of translating poems through paying attention to microstructures which construct the overall image and applied his method to the *mu'allaqa* of Labīd. In this manner, the retranslations of Labīd in the 1970s reached out for new readers, expanded the boundaries of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, and made the field overlap with other fields.

cultural products. The first type of cultural products is those which gain much success at the time of their production then they age, become outdated, and get thrown out of history (*The Rules of Art* 156). The second type of cultural products is those which also gain success at the time of their production but manage to leave a mark which makes them canonised and helps them "pass into history" or "into the eternal present of consecrated *culture*" (*The Rules of Art* 156). Bourdieu states cultural producers and productions age when "they remain attached…to modes of production which… inevitably become dated" (*The Rules of Art* 156). Therefore, cultural products which aim at achieving consecration attempt to be suitable for all times in order to avoid being pushed out of history when challenged by other retranslations. In light of Bourdieu's sociology, the importance of distinction as a tool in the struggle of cultural products for life becomes evident.

The value of a cultural work arises from its distinction which is measured in relation to other works and is achieved through the deviation from the ordinary (Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* 60). However, distinctive deviation is restricted as it is always underlain and restricted by "the strategies of assimilation and dissimilation" (Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* 64). Sameh Hanna explains that the attempts of newcomers to achieve distinction should have a minimum degree of compliance with the objective structures of the field which is "a fee" that newcomers pay for being members of the field (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 139).Therefore, newcomers have to be aware of the heritage of positions, practices, and norms in order to be aware of what makes any given attempt to produce a cultural product in the field adequate.

My critical review reveals that many of the translators who rendered the *Mu'allaqāt* into English read the works of their predecessors or were at least aware of

the translations that became consecrated as they indicated in introductions or prefaces to their translations. Of course, the translation of Sir William Jones gets the most attention, not only because he was the first translator to undertake the task of rendering the *Mu'allaqāt* into English, but also because of his consecrated name which was his "mark of distinction" (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 157) which granted his translation the status of a classic and made it survive beyond its time of publication despite all the challenges posed to it by subsequent updated or versified complete English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Bourdieu explains that marks of distinction "aim to pinpoint the most superficial and visible of the properties attached to a set of works of producers" (*The Rules of Art* 157). He observes that these marks of distinctions include "[words], names of schools or groups, [and] proper names" and other "distinctive signs" which "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)" (*The Rules of Art* 157). [49]

English retranslations of the *Mu'allaqāt* which succeeded Sir William Jones's did not try to push the work out of history, but endeavoured to be recognised through seeking to be different from it, and then from each other. Drawing on the critical

[49] The consecration of Sir William Jones's name resides in the symbolic capital he accumulated over the years because of his works as a pioneering Orientalist and his affiliation to important societies and communities, particularly the Asiatic society of India which he founded in 1784. In addition to frequent references to his name in the prefaces and introductions of many of the subsequent English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, Sir William Jones's influence which lives beyond his time shows in the fact that two of the translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* wrote about his life and work as an Orientalist. One is Arthur John Arberry who dedicated a chapter of his *Oriental Essays* to the biography of Sir William Jones, and the other is Alan Jones who dedicated the book chapter of "Sir William Jones as an Arabist" to the life and achievements of Sir William Jones.

review of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, I can identify the following forms of distinction in the field:[50]

1. *Claiming a better access to the source text, its culture, or its author.* The translators who rendered the *Mu'allaqāt* into English demonstrated their good access to the ST, the poets, and the Arabic culture in four ways. The first is citing the translator's academic degree or post or affiliation to an academic institution on the title-page of the translation. This practice which was initiated by Carlyle in the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* highlights the translator's expertise and direct access to the text. The second way is to refer to the commentaries the translator read to understand the ST. The third way is to refer to the translator's journey to the Middle East which means that the translator has a first-hand experience of where the original poets dwelt. The fourth way is to collaborate with native speakers in order to imply that the translation is enriched by the advice and collaborative work of natives.
2. *Claiming a distinct function in the receiving literary field and reaching out for a new audience.* The majority of (re)translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* function as more than English translations of a foreign aesthetic text. Sir William Jones's translation had educational and historical functions. The majority of retranslations which followed Jones's work claimed a distinct

[50] I have also adapted Sameh Hanna's categorisation of the forms of distinction in the field of drama translation in Egypt into a categorisation of the forms of distinction of (re)translations in the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Sameh Hanna lists three means of distinction in the field of drama translation in Egypt: "claiming better access to the source text/culture/author," "attending to textual deficiencies in earlier translations," and "claiming a distinct function in the target language/culture (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 140-60)

function from that of the *Mu'allaqāt* or a distinct function from Jones's and other previous translations (as analytical or argumentative texts or as travel literature). Even translators who followed the same approach towards the ST employed different translation methods from each other.[51]

Claiming a distinct function sometimes entails reaching out for new audiences. The English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* were often done by academics for academic, historical, or educational reasons; therefore, it seems that they usually targeted the readership in the academic and educational circles or laypeople interested in studying Arabic literature and culture. Polk stepped out of these circles and reached out for readers interested in getting a glimpse of exotic life in distant places by including photographs of the places where Labīd supposedly lived.

Regarding the translation as a new work of art is one of the forms of claiming a distinct function in the receiving literary field. This claim is first made in the field by Sells who regards his English translation of the *qaṣīda* a new poem in its own right and constructs his translation in accordance with the values and needs of the Anglophone readership.

3. *Addressing criticisms of previous translations.* Deficiencies or problems in the English (re)translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* were sometimes highlighted by critics who reviewed complete or partial translations of the Ancient

[51] For example, translators who aimed at making their translations function as aid for students or as educational texts for those interested in studying the Arabic poetry (Lyall and Haydar) followed different methods: Lyall introduced the use of notes that accompanied his translations and provided prosodic information, and Haydar provided the translations as a manifestation of the vision of Ancient Arabs. In other words, some translators made their translations educational like previous ones, but were different from these previous translations in that they focused on the specific aspect they aimed to educate their audience about.

Arabian *qaṣīdas*. An example is criticising the use of prose in translating the *Mu'allaqāt*.

Understanding the concept of achieving distinction through the retranslation of the same ST explains retranslating the *Mu'allaqāt* many times although there has not been a major industry around translating the *Mu'allaqāt* into English. Deviation from previous translations may help the translator achieve distiction and gain capital (usually cultural) in the field where he operates.

2.4. Chapter Conclusion

Drawing on the Bourdieusian approach to historiography, this chapter places the extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in their sociological context. The sociological approach to the history of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* regards each translation as a result of multiple causation, including the translation of Sir William Jones which is the end result of the interaction between multiple factors. Therefore, the genesis of the field should be understood in light of the interaction between factors inside and outside the literary field which eventually gave rise to the field.

The critical review of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* draws on the conceptual tools of field, *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, and *doxa* in order to explore the dynamics which shaped the history of the field. It reveals that the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* came to existence due to the influence of the field of politics on the field of literary translation. It also emphasises the fact that the field is dynamic and that its boundaries are constantly changing due to changes in the context of reception and due to the attempts of the translators to achieve distinction by deviating from norms or practices of previous translators of the same ST through attendance to criticism highlighted by critics or reaching out to a new type of

audience. Their efforts in the field aim at attaining the types of capital distributed in the field. These many attempts at translating the same ST build up a heritage of positions and practices which specifies possible uses available for Arberry and O'Grady.

Having explored the different dynamics in the field and specified the criteria for which Arberry's and O'Grady's translations were selected, the next chapters investigate the influence of the socio-political circumstances on Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, drawing on a theoretical framework which is based on Bourdieu's sociology, *Skopostheorie*, and the model of domestication and foreignisation.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. The *Mu'allaqāt* as Political Statements

W. K. Wismatt, JR. and M. C. Beardsley state that no poem "[comes] into existence by accident", but they argue that considering "intellect as *cause* of a poem is not to grant the… intention as a *standard*" (469). They add that what is important about the poem is that it works as an artefact (469) and that the intention of its composer is neither available nor desirable for the appreciation or understanding of its meaning (468). Tim Parks states that critics and readers "disagree as to the intentions of any particular author" which leads to various interpretations of the literary text (9). The meaning of a poem can be inferred from internal elements (semantics and syntax of the poem) or external ones (e.g. the poet's membership in a certain group) (Wismatt and Beardsley 478). Claiming knowledge of the intentions of the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt* is an intentional fallacy, which is "the problem inherent in trying to judge a work of art by assuming the intent or purpose of the artist who created it" (Young), because the intentions are not available. However, what can be inferred from the socio-politoical context of the *Mu'allaqāt* is the function of the poems because of the political role of their composers, reflected in the themes of the poems. Some of the themes of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīda* were political in nature due to the poet's role in his tribe. Charles James Lyall sheds light on the role that the power of a tribe played in recording pre-Islamic history; he observes that many poets' rise to fame coincided with the ascendance of their tribes to power; therefore, he doubts the extent to which their poems could be considered as reliable historical archives of life in pre-Islamic Arabia ("Ancient Arabian Poetry", 61-66). Lyall notes that pre-Islamic poets tended to be partial in documenting warfare, because they glorified their own tribes in an exaggerated manner and denigrated their enemies ("Ancient Arabian Poetry" 68). The

element of exaggeration can be explained in relation to the role of the poet in his tribe. As Arthur John Arberry puts it, a poet was "the public relations officer of his tribe" (*Seven Odes*14).

Ghāzī Ṭulaimāt and 'Erfān al-Ashqar explain that tribes in Ancient Arabia celebrated the appearance of a poet by throwing festive banquets that were attended by guests from other tribes; the tribes allocated a *rāwia* (a narrator) who used to accompany the poet and record his verse (55). The poet was like a modern-day Minister of Foreign Affairs: he would attend the trade fairs where he would receive special treatment and stay in a tent of leather; he would employ his poetry to immortalise the virtues of his people, and defend his tribe's honour by refuting the enemies' claims against his own tribe or by mocking them; and he would act as his tribe's ambassador by visiting masters and kings, and would work on boosting the tribe's benefits by bringing its views closer to the kings', turning them against the tribe's enemies, and making allies (Ṭulaimāt and al-Ashqar 54). In the realm of war, a poet fought with two weapons, his tongue and his sword, as he would participate in the fight and document in his verses the great valour of his people on the battlefield. When the battles came to an end, he would compose elegies to immortalise the tribe's heroes who had fallen in the war (Ṭulaimāt and al-Ashqar 54). The political role of the poet means that poems in pre-Islamic Arabia, or at least parts of them, were political statements.

The *Mu'allaqāt* include political statements. The *qaṣīda* of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm is almost entirely dedicated to celebrating the virtues of his tribe, immortalising the valour of his tribe's warriors, and slandering the tribe of al-Ḥārith; and al-Ḥārith responds to 'Amr ibn Kulthūm's attack and defends his tribe's honour in his *qaṣīda*. The *qaṣīdas* of Imru' al-Qais and 'Antara portray an image of the Arabian hero in

times of peace and war. The *qaṣīdas* of Labīd, Ṭarfa, and Zuhair revolve around the personal lives of noble masters whose experience, values, and wisdom reflect those of their tribes, and whose nobility and eminence mirror those of their people. The feeling of kinship, which united members of tribes in pre-Islamic Arabia made all free men of the tribe equals; consequently, each tribesman was representative of all men of his tribe (Clouston xxvi- xxvii).Such a feeling often resulted in the outbreak of wars which could begin after a fight between two individuals.

The nature of the *Mu'allaqāt* and the time at which Arthur John Arberry's and Desmond O'Grady's translations were produced make their attempts more than translated examples of the *qaṣīda* genre. Both translations were produced in parallel circumstances: they were written at a time of much political propaganda that tried to manipulate the public into accepting the Western governments' policies in the Middle East, giving a sense of political urgency to the target societies and reintroducing the stereotypical image of Arabs to the West.

This study investigates the approaches that Arberry and O'Grady adopt to their translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in light of the socio-political circumstances of the receiving literary fields. In the course of examining the changes introduced into the translations, the present study draws on Bourdieu's sociology, using the five conceptual tools of field, capital, *habitus*, *illusio*, and *doxa* to explore the influence of politics on the translations of Arberry and O'Grady by placing them in their socio-political contexts. The theoretical framework is complemented with *Skopostheorie* to explain the different ways in which the translators deal with the ST.

3.2. Bourdieu‘s Sociology in Translation Studies

3.2.1. Contextualising Bourdieu's Theory of Action: The French Cultural Scene in the Late 1950s and the 1960s

In the late 1950s and 1960s, the French intellectual scene witnessed an antagonistic opposition between the then dominant school of existentialism and the school of structuralism. Existentialism, which was championed by Jean Paul Sartre, suggests that "the world of action…is …[a] universe of interchangeable possibles, entirely dependent on the decrees of the consciousness that creates it, and therefore entirely devoid of objectivity," and that "if it is moving because the subject chooses to be moved, revolting because he chooses to be revolted, then emotions, passions, and also actions, are merely games of bad faith" (Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* 42), which means that the human subject initiates every action. The Sartarian subject seems to be unchecked by the objective world; however, the mind operates as a restraining power to limit the infinite ambitions of the subject to reconstruct the world in accordance with its wishes (Durkheim cited in Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* 44). Existentialism was opposed by structuralism, championed by the anthropologhist Claude Lévi-Strauss. Lévi-Strauss's work emphasised "the casual power of structures operating independently of the consciousness of agents" (Brubaker 746).

Due to the influence of Sartre and Lévi-Strauss, the French intellectual scene in the 1960s witnessed two opposing lines of reasoning in relation to the sociological practice. Both lines of reasoning are not adequate for an explanation and understanding of the social world. Existentialism ignores the constraints the social objective structure imposes upon the human subject and the role they play in the formation of the subject's dispositions, while structuralism ignores the "objectivity of the subjective" because it does not take into consideration the role of the human

subject's experience in partly constructing the social reality (Brubaker 750). In other words, the two lines ignore the dialectic relationship between society and the dispositions of its individuals.

Bourdieu found the antagonistic opposition between these two extreme lines of reasoning an obstacle to the formation of an adequate theory to perceive social reality (Brubaker 746). He observed that existentialism and structuralism prompted two modes of reasoning in sociology: "social phenomenology" which reflected the experience of the human subjects and "social physics" which constructed the objective meaning (*The Logic of Practice* 27). According to John R. W. Speller, Bourdieu regarded existentialism and structuralism as two sides of false alternative, and he sought to overcome the opposition between them by offering a theory of dialectical relation between field and *habitus* which suggested that the human subject's ability to make sense of the social reality was limited by the objective structures of the social world (27-28). Bourdieu described his work as "constructivist structuralism" or "structuralist constructivism" ("Social Space" 14).[1]

Sergey Tyulenev explains that Bourdieu connects agent and structure, the two ends of the social continuum, and argues that Bourdieu manages to establish this connection by considering structure a "flexible" constraint which poses limits on the

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[1] Bourdieu explained that he used the terms of structuralism and objectivism as follows:

> By structuralism or structuralist, I mean that there exist…objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations. By constructivism, I mean that there is a twofold social genesis, on the one hand of the schemes of perception… and on the other hand of social structures, and particularly of what I call fields and of groups, notably those we ordinarily call social classes. ("Social Space" 14)

actions of agents through modification or resistance but allows them to choose from a repertoire and to act innovatively (171). Tyulenev explains that there are objective structures which regulate social behaviour and which are independent from the agents; these structures define the boundaries within which the agents operate (171). Although the agents obey the regulatory rules formed by the objective structures of society, they act as "willful agents" and they can change the structure to varying degrees of success through their willful actions (Tyulenev 171).

Commenting on Bourdieu's sociology, Loïc Wacquant states that Bourdieu views sociology —and other social sciences—as a "system of relations of power and relations of meaning between groups and classes" and argues that the science of society should effect "a double reading" (*An Invitation* 7) in order to "recapture the double reality of the social world" (*An Invitation* 11). Therefore, Wacquant explains that Bourdieu develops a methodology which makes use of "a set of double-focus analytic lenses that capitalize on the epistemic virtues of each reading while skirting the vices of both" (*An Invitation* 7).

Wacquant states that the first reading adopts the mode of reasoning of social physics: it studies society from the outside and views it as an objective structure whose regulatory rules are formed independently from the individuals (*An Invitation* 7-8). Wacquant explains that the virtue of this reading, in Bourdieu's view, is that it uncovers the objective regularities which control the behaviour of the individuals in a given society, but observes that the downside of this reading is that it lacks a norm of generation of these regularities and does not recognise the role of agents in changing the structures (*An Invitation* 8). Wacquant states that the second reading adopts the mode of reasoning which Bourdieu calls social phenomenology; this reading deems the consciousness of the agents central to the interpretation of the social world these

agents experience (*An Invitation* 9). Social agents, as Wacquant explains, possess the practical knowledge that they invest in their practical activity in order to make sense of the social reality; the agents' experience of the objective structures is an integral part of the overall meaning of the experience (*An Invitation* 9). In contrast to social physics, social phenomenology views society as the product of the actions of willful and conscious agents. Wacquant observes that the virtue of this reading is that it recognises the role the individuals play in the "continual production of society" (*An Invitation* 9). However, he notes that this reading has two flaws: first, it conceives social structures as "the mere aggregate of individual strategies and acts of classification" and thus makes those structures unaccountable for controlling the actions through resilience; second, it cannot uncover the reasons or principles which produce the work of social production of reality as it suggests that interactions of individuals produce social reality partially or collectively but overlooks the fact that these individuals "have not constructed the categories they put to work in this work of construction" (*An Invitation* 10). By developing a bidirectional method of understanding social reality, Bourdieu uses each mode of reasoning to solve the problem of the other.Wacquant states that subjectivism and objectivism in Bourdieu's paradigm are not exclusive of each other; Bourdieu turns them into "moments" of "social praxeology" (*An Invitation* 11). He thus offers praxeological knowledge as a "sort of third-order knowledge" (*Outline* 4)

Wacquant states that the most prominent feature of Bourdieu's sociological work is his obsession with reflexivity and observes that Bourdieu "turned the instruments of his science upon himself" (*An Invitation* 36). According to Tyulenev, Bourdieu regards himself and other sociologists as agents-in-structure because social

work is not fully objective [2] since "every sociologist has a social background that prompts the choice of topics, angles of observation and the ways of constructing the social" (172).[3] In his comment on Bourdieu's sociology, Tyulenev states that all social practices in Bourdieu's view involve interest even if the agents are not fully aware of these interests and even if these interests are not material (172). Bourdieu's more comprehensive approach to studying social reality influenced many fields, including Translation Studies.

3.2.2. Bourdieu's Impact on Translation Studies

Bourdieu's sociology opened up new potentials for the sociological approaches to translation. Sociological approaches to translation gained momentum with the sociological turn[4] in 1990 as old paradigms were defied and questioned; a

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[2] Bourdieu also claims—as Wacquant observes— that sociologists' work may be influenced by bias and suggests "three types of biases [that] may blur the sociological base" (*An Invitation* 39). The first type is the sociologist's "social origins and coordinates" which includes ethnicity, gender, and social class and which Wacquant describes as the most obvious type and most likely to be governed through criticism (*An Invitation* 39). The second type is the sociologist's position in the academic field; therefore, Wacquant argues that the sociologist's views are influenced by his situation which is defined in relational terms through comparison with the standpoint of other competing sociologists in the field (*An Invitation* 39). The third type Wacquant lists is "the intellectualist's bias" which makes the sociologist view the world as a "spectacle" which is the most "distorting" of the three types (*An Invitation* 39). Bourdieu calls this type "the scholastic view" or "the academic vision" (*Practical Reason* 127).

[3] Bourdieu introduces the term homo academicus in a book he dedicates to situating the work of the sociologist in social life (*Homo Academicus*). The term refers to the academic person who is taught as a student that the job of the scholar is to uncover the objective structure of the social world or to objectify the world then to observe it from the outside as a "neutral professional academic" (Tyulenev 172).

[4] Sameh Hanna states that a "turn" is more than a "signpoint to the main strands of research in the field" since the field is characterised by constant tensions between these strands, which means that the field is a complex and dynamic locus (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 3). The concept of "turn" in its academic sense, as Mary Snell-Hornby observes, signifies a change of direction and a recognition of progress in a particular direction since turns in academia are not taken but are "only fully recognized in retrospect" ("What's in a Turn?"42)

reason behind the shift in the sociological direction was the abandonment of traditional approaches in linguistic studies, which had conventionally seen language as “a non-biased medium of communication”, and the demise of the traditional linguistic view which coincided with the rise of cultural studies (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 2). A major contribution of the cultural studies was introducing the concept of “interdiscipline” and calling for studying cultural phenomena through different methodological perspectives, and translation studies were influenced by the new notion of “interdiscipline” which “became the guiding principle of translation” towards the end of the 1990s (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 2).

Moira Inghilleri explains that sociological approaches to translation focus on issues relating to the contextualisation of translation in its culture or society by studying the reception of translation as a cultural product, the influence of social forces such as the market on the translator’s practices and decisions, the role the translation plays in “articulating socio political and symbolic claims of the nation state”, “translation and globalization”, “translation and activism”, and the agency of translators (“Sociological Approaches” 279). Thus, sociological approaches to translation confirm that the text is not produced in a vacuum and that the socio-cultural and political world contributes to shaping translation as a cultural product.

Sameh Hanna observes that Bourdieu’s sociology matches the sociological approaches to translation since both promote interdisciplinarity and focus on macro level structures of language instead of micro-level structures (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 4). Language in Bourdieu’s view is encompassed within a socio-cultural space, and language’s power is “the *delegated power* of the institution” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 147). Consequently, Bourdieu suggests that a thorough

understanding of language calls for placing linguistic practices in the context of their field which overlaps with other fields and he also calls for examining the dispositions of the agents (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 149).

Sameh Hanna observes that Bourdieu's sociology gained the attention of translation scholars in response to the problems of the polysystem theory in Gideon Toury's descriptive translation studies (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 6). Gouanvic highlights Toury's contribution to translation studies by stating that "the development of polysystem theory has played a role in making it possible to approach translation as "a theoretical *and* a historical object of study" and explains that "these two approaches to the study of translation were generally dissociated from one another" ("Translation and the Shape of Things to Come" 126). However, Gouanvic finds Toury's work lacking in terms of providing a social interpretation of "the role of institutions and practices in the emergence and reproduction of symbolic goods" and he states that such explanation is already available in the work of Bourdieu but explains that Bourdieu's work is not done in relation to translation studies, and states that his own study uses Bourdieu's sociology in translation studies ("Translation and the Shape of Things to Come" 126). Thus, Gouanvic opens up potentials for translation theorists working on social approaches to translation, and his article is followed by many others which employ Bourdieu's sociology in translation studies but in different manners.

According to Inghilleri, Pierre Bourdieu was one of the most influential social theorists, and the impact of his work reached all approaches which are based in social sciences. His work has been employed in investigating the social dimension of translation practices ("Social Approaches" 280). In "The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus", Daniel Simeoni employs his understanding of the concept of

habitus in supporting his argument that the translator is subservient to the objective structures in the field.[5] In "A Bourdieusian Theory of Translation," Jean-Marc Gouanvic develops a translation theory on the basis of four conceptual tools of Bourdieu's sociology (field, *habitus*, capital, and *illusio*). In "The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the Object in Translation and Interpreting Studies" Inghilleri discusses four key conceptual tools of Bourdieu's sociology (field, *habitus*, capital, and *illusio*) and their relevance to translation studies; in "Habitus, Field and Discourse: Interpreting as a Socially Situated Activity," she uses Bourdieu's concepts of field and *habitus* in the investigation of the relation of the translational norms and the context and culture of the interpreter's training and practice; and in "Mediating Zones," she explores the norms of the field in relation to concept of interpreting *habitus*. In "How to Be a (Recognized) Translator: Rethinking Habitus, Norms, and the Field of Translation," Rakefet Stela-Sheffy employs Bourdieu's conceptual tools of field and *habitus* in explaining the tension between the actions of translators as members of a group and their position in the field where they operate. In *Bourdieu in Translation Studies: The Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Shakespeare in Translation in Egypt*, Sameh Hanna uses Bourdieu's sociology in exploring the modes of producing and consuming drama translation in Egypt in light of the socio-cultural contexts of the translations, especially the translations of Shakespeare; in "Hamlet Lives Happily Ever After in Egypt," he adopts the sociological approach to historiography and challenges the early readings of the history of the translations of Shakespeare drama

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[5] Inghilleri criticises Simioni's view that translators or interpreters are eternally caged inside "their socially constituted selves" in the context of her work on interpreting ("Habitus, Field, and Discourse" 261). She explains that the practice of interpreters involve points of struggle between the internalised training which is compatible with objective norms, and the discursive practices in the interpreting situation ("Habitus, Field, and Discourse" 262).

through his reading of the first Arabic translation of Hamlet; and in "Othello in the Egyptian Vernacular," he discusses the cultural practices relating to drama translation in Egypt in light of Bourdieu's concept of *doxa* through the investigation of Moustafa Safouan's translation of Othello. In *Translation and the Construction of the Religious Other*, Ahmed Elgindy employs Bourdieu's sociology in studying Islamic political discourse.

Inghilleri considers how Bourdieu's sociology can generally be employed in constructing the object in translation and interpreting studies. As Inghilleri explains:

> Bourdieu's approach to the subject/object relation would suggest that the starting point for any attempt to objectify translation or interpreting …is the empirical investigation of the relevant social practices, their location within particular fields and the *relational* features of capital involved in both *acts* of translation or interpreting …as well as the academic *scholarly activity* which takes place in relation to such acts, and their relationship to the field of power. This would include an account of the 'taken for granted' sets of dispositions of the individuals and institutions involved... It would involve the recognition of the social determinations that motivate the research and/or practice, including the presuppositions inherent in researchers' 'scientific' stance … as well as the social and biological trajectories of translators or interpreters. ("The Sociology of Bourdieu" 129-30)

Inspired by Bourdieu's sociology about cultural production which is captured in his conceptual tools and by insights into employing his sociology in translation studies, this study develops a theoretical framework which draws on Bourdieu's

sociology in order to explore the influence of politics on Arberry's then O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* and the field which received them.

3.2.3. Bourdieu's Theory of Action: An Outline

Bourdieu's theory of action suggests that people who participate in any social activity are affected by the circumstances surrounding it, and that their participation is simultaneously affected by their past experiences. Jeremy F. Lane observes that, from a Bourdieusian point of view, people depend on their past experiences in developing a "practical sense" of what could happen in the future and include it in their *habitus* (25). Bourdieu argues that the *habitus* of a certain person, or of a group of people who occupy similar or adjacent positions in society, is systematic in the sense that all the elements of the behaviour of this person or group have something in common; it is, as Bourdieu puts it, "a kind of affinity of style" ("Habitus" 44). The style that brands a human being's structure of perception or action does not mean that human behaviour is monolithic. According to Bourdieu, it is diverse within limits ("Habitus" 45).

Bourdieu states that people who participate in action contribute to reproducing *habitus*, explaining that *habitus* is a set of patterns and structures incorporated in the human mind and that people act according to these structures ("Habitus" 46). These structures do not merely repeat themselves; they interact with one another and they have the generative capacity to reproduce more structures within definite limits (Bourdieu "Habitus" 46). However, this *habitus* can sometimes change the structure as it interacts with the objective structures of the field. Objective structures do not necessarily shape the dispositions of the agents in the same manner as some agents (especially newcomers) may defy the structures in their attempt to seek distinction in the field through deviation from norms.

In light of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, it can be argued that a translator's decisions are not always consciously calculated, but are influenced by the social conditions which shape the translator's *habitus*. It would seem, therefore, that Arberry's and O'Grady's choices were not necessarily calculated in order to produce representations which were in line with orthodox discourse at the time of the translations' production. The set of structures incorporated into the minds of both translators, who were affected by the social conditions of the Western countries which were involved in war in the Middle East, played a role in the translation process.

Translation is a matter of transferring a message between two languages and two cultures; thus, the Anglophone translator of an Arabic text is an outside observer of Arabic culture. When coming into contact with a different culture, even a translator's native experience is affected by his position as an "outside observer" who is "inclined to introduce into the object the principles of his relation to the object" (*Outline* 2). Both Arberry and O'Grady had native experience of the Middle East since both of them lived in Egypt and taught in Egyptian universities. Still, they were outsiders and their presuppositions about Arab culture must have influenced their decision-making during the translation process.

The image of the Arab world in Anglophone cultures has been affected by the Orientalists' representation of it. Edward Said claims that the Orient has been the Other against which Europe could confirm its superiority (*Orientalism* 1-2). Said claims that Orientalism was a European invention and has been part of Europe's material civilisation (*Orientalism* 2), explaining that the relation of power and dominance between the East and the West in which the West has been the dominant side enabled the Occident to orientalise the Orient (*Orientalism* 5). Rana Kabbani claims that that the stereotypical image of the East was politically motivated, and

suggests that European imperialists attempted to create an honourable image of their empires on a civilising mission to mask political and economic exploitation (24).

In light of Bourdieu's theory, I argue that the stereotypical image which was employed by propaganda machines when Arberry's and O'Grady's translations were produced influenced their *habitus* as translators and their translation decisions in different ways according to the *skopos* of each translation. This argument does not imply that the translators did not attempt to bring something new to the field through the deviation from norms. However, the deviation from norms at the time of the production of the translations does not seem to be done in terms of representing Arabs.

The concept of deviation from norms or doxic concepts and practices to seek distinction means that Arberry's and O'Grady's acts of retranslating the *Mu'allaqāt* inevitably involve interestedness in capital. In Bourdieu's sociology, all agents have interest in their actions (*Practical Reason* 76). He builds his understanding of "interest" on the classical philosophical "principle of sufficient reason" which—as Bourdieu explains—suggests that agents "don't do just anything", and that their actions are guided by reasons, and he explains that "social agents do not engage in gratuitous acts" (*Practical Reason* 75-76). In other words, agents always seek to gain something from the action they engage in (*Practical Reason* 77). In the field of translation, what the translators gain may be economic or symbolic capital distributed in the field, and may be the sheer joy of taking the action that might bring personal satisfaction. Even if the translation is not published, the action is always profitable.

The interest to take part in the action is the basis of the conceptual tool of *illusio* which is the willingness to take part in the game and play by its rules (*Practical Reason* 76-77). Bourdieu suggests that interest is bred by the circumstances

which make the effort of engaging in the action seem infutile (*Practical Reason* 77). If the agent operates in a society/situation where the action is generally unprofitable, if the dispositions of the agent are not structured by the objective structure of the situation, and if the rules which govern how the action should be taken are not in the agent's mind; the agent will find the action "ridiculous" (*Practical Reason* 77).

3.3. A Bourdieusian Sociology of Translation

In order to explore the dynamics of the field and the relationship between its objective structure and the *habitus* of Arberry and O'Grady—consequently the possible influence of politics on the translations—this study adapts the basic concepts of Bourdieu's sociology into a methodology for the study of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. It draws on five of the tools Bourdieu uses to explain social reality: field, capital, *habitus*, *illusio*, and *doxa*. The sociology of translation in this study also takes into consideration criticism of the concept of *habitus* in Bourdieu's early writings and accounts for the role of human agency in changing the norms of the objective structures of the field.

3.3.1. Field

Field in Bourdieu's sociology is "a network of objective relations… between positions" which are defined in relation to other positions (*The Rules of Art* 231). Field is narrower than social space which consists of many fields (cultural, political, etc), and the social space of the individual comprises of the various fields in which this individual operates (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 21). In Bourdieusian sociology, field is the core unit of analysis. According to Sameh Hanna, field in Bourdieu's sociology has two merits: first, it does not make sense of cultural production in a linear manner which traces the cultural product to one origin or cause because it conceives of cultural production as a process of multiple causation that

results from the interaction between objective structures and human subjects which means that the field is a dynamic structure; second, it is an investigative concept which is not regarded as a tool to attain reality but rather as a tool to observe reality (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 5).

The focus of this study is the literary field: a socially structured space where Arberry and O'Grady operate at different points in time. Translations of literary works can themselves be regarded as new literary works; O'Grady clearly states that he endavours to produce translations which read as English poems in their own right (*Limerick* 11). The field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* is a subfield of the literary field in the Anglophone social space. In order to understand its characterestics, I draw on Bourdieu's following definition of the literary field:

> I would say that the literary field is a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to the strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital. (*In Other Words*143)

Bourdieu's definition clarifies several characteristics of the literary field in general and consequently of the subfield of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*: (1) the field is characterised by struggle between its agents, (2) the struggle is done for a certain gain (capital), (3) the agents position themselves in the field according to the

force (capital) they possess and they invest in their work, and the self-positioning means that cultural production involves consciousness.[6]

The attempts to achieve recognition and to change the boundaries of a translation field seem to be constrained by the field's function as a market. The field is a translation market in the sense that it offers the translators forms of capital in exchange for their cultural products or translations. It is a network of power relations which can be seen as a hierarchy. At the top of this heirarchy is the agent who initiates the translation (a publisher, an academic institution which considers translation one of the requirements to complete a course/get a degree) that is aware of the objective structures and norms of the market. Other agents involve the translators who may also be the initiators of the translation, which seems to be the case in the majority of English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt*, and who are also aware of the structures because they are the experts in the translation situation and may choose to abide by the norms or defy them (even if conformity to the rules is required by the translation's comissioner); the critics who may play a role in guiding the reception of the translation; and the audience whose expectations and needs may also play a role in the formation of the norms. Michaela Wolf suggests that agents that dispose massive capital (such as publishers and institutions) are at the heart of centres dominated by power relations; such centres "have ideological and aesthetic interests" and "engage in the struggle for acceptance of translation products" (5). The norms or "the laws of the

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[6] Due to the importance of these concepts about the field in sociological historiography, I discuss the change of the boundaries of the field, the oppositional relations between positions, the degree of codification which regulates the entrance of the agents to the field in the second chapter, and I do not reproduce them here to avoid repetition (pp.13-18) I draw on such concepts in the overview of the second chapter where I map out the boundaries of the field of the English translations of the *Muʻallaqāt*, observe the high degree of codification of entry to the field, and shed light on the constant chang of the boundaries of the field over more than two centuries (pp. 81-87).

market" are useful for the initiators of the translation act (Wolf 6) whom Bourdieu calls the "gate-keepers" (qtd. in Wolf, 6). Wolf observes that "the more official a market is, the more the translation's acceptability depends on the norms determining the translation market" (6). Translators have the freedom to produce their translations in the manner they choose, but their attempts are constrained by a minimum degree of adherence to the norms of the field if they wish for their produced translations to succeed.

Due to the relations between the different fields in the same social space, it seems that the field of power tends to contribute to the formation of the norms of the literary field— as well as other fields within the social space—at moments of high political tension. The powerful institutions of government and press/media employ stereotypes in the representation of their own reality which is different from the reality of their rivals (who were the Arabs at the time of the publication of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations) in the social space and in the literary field which acts as a market. Different agents/translators react to the impact of politics in various ways (the translator's response to propaganda can take the form of embracing the propaganda's portrayal of the Other or defying it). Therefore, this study places Arberry's and O'Grady's translations in their socio-political contexts in order to explore the influence of politics on the literary field in Britain in the 1950s and in the United States in 1980s.

The field in which Arberry's translation was received was post-war Britain, which was facing liberation movements in its colonies as well as the danger of communism. The literary field in Britain during the 1950s was therefore directly influenced by politics. According to Alan Sinfield, the working class was very important to the government in post-war Britain where the government wanted to

fight communism and the ideals of the Soviet regime; the state censored the media and closed down the *Daily Worker* (47), and intellectuals fought against the spread of the Soviet regime ideas (49). The government planned to use literature in the fight against communism (Sinfield 48). Consequently, literary writing started to target new classes: literature was made simpler and more accessible (Sinfield 53).

Britain also had a problem in Egypt which was undergoing a significant change. The 1952 Revolution put an end to the reign of Muḥammad Alī's dynasty in Egypt, abolished constitutional monarchy, and established the Republic. The Free Officers who led this movement tried to end the British domination of Egypt, to empower the country by campaigning for a national purpose, and to support developing countries, especially Arab countries, in their fight for independence. Nasser, whose presidency succeeded that of Muḥammad Nagīb, the Republic's first president, tried to empower Egypt and argued that the unity of Arabian countries could help them gain their independence. To this end, he championed the movement of pan-Arabism and collaborated with anti-imperialist leaders (Ahmad 21).[7] Nasser also signed a treaty that put an end to the British military presence in Egypt and nationalised the Suez Canal, which had been under British and French control since 1876. In response to Nasser's decision to nationalise the Suez Canal, Britain and France launched a military attack against Egypt in 1956.

With Britain in a confrontation with Nasser, and the people whom Nasser represented, Arabic culture and literature were stereotyped and exoticised in British literature. According to Alexandra Bückler et al, the literary field was dominated by

[7] Nasser often expressed his view on Pan-Arabism and anti-imperialism in his talks and public speeches. An example of his anti-imperialism view comes from a speech he gave in March 1955 in which he stated that Egypt was against colonialism and that Egypt supported freedom and independence of all nations (Aḥmad 51).

the Orientalist notion that Arabic literature was irrelevant to outsiders, and that it was valued as social commentary not as literary work (20). The literary field, with its dominating Orientalist viewpoint, was trying to maintain the power relations that had been perpetuated for long.

Consequently, two factors affected the field: government censorship in Britain, which attempted to employ literature in the service of the government's policies; and the confrontation between Britain and Egypt's Nasser. These factors would have posed limits within which the agent (author, producer) had to work. Arberry's translation, published after the Suez Crisis, was therefore received in a highly politicised social space which lent a sense of political urgency to its literary field.

The receiving literary field of O'Grady's translation was the United States of America, as he prepared his translation for his doctorate in Celtic and Comparative Literatures at Harvard University (*Trawling Tradition* xi). The US was also the new imperial power that dictated the norm in politics and literature. According to Said, the US took the place of France and Britain which gradually lost their power after the Second World War (*Orientalism* 285). As a result of the shift of power, European-based disciplines, including Orientalism, became linked to the US, and the vast knowledge of modern European Orientalism was dissolved and reproduced into new forms (Said, *Orientalism* 285).

The Arab world has been important to American culture for economic and political reasons. Its wealth in petroleum strengthened its position as a significant player on the world's economic and social stages. The American approach to the study of the Middle East is different from the European approach. Said states that the Orientalists no longer have to study the languages nor do they have to study its literature; Orientalists can instead begin as "trained social [scientists]" who apply their

textual knowledge to the Orient. (*Orientalism* 290). That, according to Said, was the main contribution of American Orientalists to the discipline (*Orientalism* 290).

American economic and political interests in the region override American knowledge of the Middle East and are characterised by hostility. The oil-rich Arab countries played a major role in the Arab-Israeli war because of the oil boycott of 1973-1974. The image of the Arabs as main suppliers of oil was thus negative as Westerners were suspicious of the presence of "any Arab moral qualifications for owning such vast oil reserves" which led the Americans to think of the necessity of an American military presence in the Arabian Gulf (Said, *Orientalism* 286). Said explains that the negative image of the Arabs has been reflected in the films and television programmes which always portrayed the Arabs as "oversexed degenerate, capable… of cleverly devious intrigues, but essentially sadistic, treacherous, low" and violent (*Orientalism* 287). Such negative images formed the basis for the American propaganda which supported the American government's policies in the Middle East.

Two factors thus affected the representation of Arabs in the 1980s: the United States' political and economic interest in the strategically important Middle East, and the negative image of Arabia that was enhanced in widely popular American films and TV programmes. Both factors necessarily influenced the field which received O'Grady's translation.

3.3.2. Capital

Bourdieu defines capital as "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" ("The Forms of Capital" 241). It is what Inghilleri describes as "the social goods that become associated with material or symbolic

wealth and power in a given period" which earn their possessor prestige and which position agents in the field ("Mediating Zones" 70). Bourdieu borrows the definition of capital from Marxisan economic theory and adapts it into a conceptual tool to explain and understand social reality. Bourdieu suggests that capital in the economic theory is problematic because it reduces "the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange" which is "oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) *self-interested,*" and therefore implies that other forms of capital are "*disinterested*" ("The Forms of Capital" 242). However, cultural production involves an exchange of non-monetary forms of profit. Bourdieu produces a more comprehensive "science of the economy of practice" which explains all forms of capital and profit. In his article "The Forms of Capital", he refers to three types of capital: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital. Economic capital is "immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights" (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 243).

Cultural capital exists in three states: the embodied state which is in the "form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body", the objectified state which is materialised in the form of cultural goods such as books and instruments, and the institutionalised state which is materialised in academic qualifications and degrees (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 243).

The embodied state is the fundamental state which is linked to the body, and its accumulation in the "embodied state" of culture assumes a process of incorporation which takes time that is invested by the agents who acquire capital through self-improvement (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 244). However, it can also be acquired unconsciously due to the agent's social class or the time in which the agent

lives; and it "thus manages to combine the prestige of innate property with the merits of acquisition" (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 245).

The objectified state of cultural capital is "transmissible in its materiality" which means that the transmission of the cultural goods is a transmission of "legal ownership" but not the possession of embodied culture which enables the owner to consume the cultural good (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 246-47). This suggests that it is easier to transmit cultural capital in its objectified state than in its embodied state and that it maximises the cultural and economic profits of the agent (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 39).

The institutionalised state of cultural capital that is materialised in the form of academic degrees or affiliation to academic institutions grants the agent "a certificate of cultural competence" which gives its holder "a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture" because it is legally authorised by centres of power (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 247-48).

Bourdieu defines social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" or as "membership in a group" which grants all its members "the backing of the collectively-owned capital" ("The Forms of Capital" 248-49). He observes that the amount of social capital an agent possesses is based on the network of connections the agent can "effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed…by each of those to whom he is connected" ("The Forms of Capital" 249). Although the capital of an entire group cannot be reduced to economic or cultural capital, it still benefits each individual member of the group, and the group's benefits are the bond which connects the members and keeps the group solid

(Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 249). These benefits can be symbolic such as the ones that come from affiliation with a rare group, and can be material such as the services the group offers to its individual members (Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" 249).

Both cultural capital and social capital are symbolic capital which Bourdieu describes as a form of credit or advance that only the group bestows upon the agents who have symbolic or even economic guarantees which indicate that those agents possess the prestige that makes them liable for the credit (*The Logic of Practice* 129). Therefore, the agents' exhibition of the symbolic capital they possess is one of the strategies of acquiring more capital in the field (Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* 120).[8] In the field of translation, it has to be noted that source texts and authors also have symbolic capital which can be conferred on the translators by translating canonised works or works of consecrated authors.

When rendering the *Muʻallaqāt* into English, both Arberry and O'Grady benefit from the symbolic capital of the texts and their poets. According to Arberry, the *Muʻallaqāt* are "the most famous survivors of what appears to have been a vast mass of poetry, composed in and about the Arabian desert during the sixth century AD" (*Seven Odes* 14). They are important examples of poetry as the only form of art surviving from pre-Islamic Arabia (Lyall, "The Pictorial Aspects" 135). Furthermore, they document Arabs' culture before Islam: al-Jāḥidh observes that, in the Age of Ignorance, Arabs used poetry to record and immortalise their virtues (72), and al-

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[8] The literature review in the second chapter sheds light on the tendency of some translators of the *Muʻallaqāt* such as Carlyle and Nicholson to exhibit their symbolic capital (particularly institutionalised cultural capital) by citing their degrees and affiliation to academic institutions on the title-pages of their translations to highlight their expertise and position in the field. They use the institutionalised cultural capital they possess to gain more cultural capital in the field.

Jumāhī states that “verse in the Days of Ignorance was to the Arabs the register of all they knew and the utmost compass of their wisdom; with it they began their affairs, and with it they ended them” (qtd. in Arberry 14).The anthology of the *Mu‘allaqāt* is thus the most famous record of Arabic morality, lifestyle, traditions, and history that survived from the pre-Islamic Age.

The authors of the *Mu‘allaqāt* are consecrated because their symbolic capital stems from their reputation as great poets as well as their status in their tribes. Imru’ al-Qais was the son of a king; Labīd, al-Ḥārith, Ṭarfa, Zuhair, and ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm were nobles; and ‘Antara was a great warrior. Four of the poets, namely Imru' al-Qais, ‘Antara, Ṭarfa, and ‘Amr, are famous because of stories from their lives that later became part of the folklore. Imru’ al-Qais is known for his many affairs and his love for entertainment and wine; and a TV series about his life was produced in 2002. Ṭarfa is famous for the story of his death as he carried the message in which the receiver was ordered to kill him and he refused to run away even after knowing its content and died at the age of 26. ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm is known for being the man who killed the king of Manādhera, ‘Amr ibn Hind, because the king’s mother insulted his mother. ‘Antara is known for his personal history as a slave who gained his liberty because of his valour and fighting skills. His narrative of his love for ‘Abla rivals the story of Romeo and Juliet in English literature, and the lines he composed in the praise of her grace and the description of his great love for her have been immortalised in TV series and films. In Egypt, the most famous of these films was produced in 1961 and starred the popular actor Farīd Shawqī. The memory of these men thus continued to live through folklore and popular culture, and enhanced the importance of their *qaṣīdas*. The translation of such canonised works which were composed by consecrated authors thus guarantees the translators symbolic capital.

3.3.3. *Habitus*

Habitus, in Bourdieu's sociology, is the system of "durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structure" (*The Logic of Practice* 53). It is the set of "principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* 53).

According to Sameh Hanna, Bourdieu's definition of *habitus* highlights three distinctive features of the concept: first, the *habitus* of an agent is structured, not inherent or haphazardly formed, and is acquired through social experiences which are accessible through socialisation; second, it has a structuring function in the sense that it "orients the practices of the individual within the social space"; third, it produces dispositions or "strategies for action, rather than rules for implementation" (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 43).Therefore, *habitus* is an acquired system of generative dispositions that is open to change.

Habitus generates history in accordance with norms which regulate future experience which are practically the schemes produced by past personal experience. Bourdieu observes that such schemes are the past present which tends to give continuity to itself in the future by "reactivation in similarly structured practices", forming an "internal law through which the law of external necessities… is constantly exerted" (*The Logic of Practice* 54). Bourdieu explains that harmony between the objective forces outside the body and the internal forces which spring from free will happens through the "internalization of externality" which allows the external forces to perpetuate themselves but in compliance with the logic of the "organisms in which they are incorporated" which should be in a "durable, systematic, and non-mechanic"

manner (*The Logic of Practice* 55). *Habitus* is a "capacity" to generate infinite cultural products within the limits imposed on production by history and society; such limits make the conditioned and conditional freedom it provides "as remote from creation of unpredictable novelty as it is from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning" (Bourdeiu, *The Logic of Practice* 55).

However, Bourdieu suggests that it is an illusion to believe that every practice or cultural product is preceded by an essence; he gives the example of a mature artistic style which is not delimited in a new inspiration but is always defined and redefined in the conflict between the norms and the *habitus* of the agent (*The Logic of Practice* 55). Bourdieu and Loïk Wacquant describe the relation between the two as one that works 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. (*An Invitation* 127)

Bourdieu explains that even if there is a "very close coordination" between the structured norms of the field and the subjective motivations of the agents, the correlation is not necessarily the result of a conscious calculation on the part of the agents; he suggests that such correlation is the result of a continual process of durable inculcation of dispositions— by the "the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions"—which "generate dispositions" which are harmonious with the objective structures of the field (*The Logic of Practice* 54). On that basis, agents—as Bourdieu

observes— refrain from "unthinkable" practices because they refrain from what is already denied (*The Logic of Practice* 54).

Bourdieu criticises the one-dimensional visions which either stress consciousness on the part of the agent or mechanistic determinism of objective structures and exclude the possibility of effecting change in these structures, and he suggests that these visions should be replaced by a comprehensive vision which captures the real logic of action (*The Logic of Practice* 56-57). He explains that this comprehensive view considers the cultural product as the result of a conflict between the "expressive dispositions" of the agent and the "instituted means of expression" which can be perceived in the "intentionless invention of regulated improvisation" (*The Logic of Practice* 57). The reproduction of the objective structures is not a process of replication in Bourdieu's sociology; it is a process of inculcation and appropriation which is necessary to keep the social products and institutions in activity (*The Logic of Practice* 57). The appropriation of the objective structures of a field is realised when the *habitus* of the agent imposes its logic on the objective structures, takes them out from the state of stagnation, and recovers the "sense deposited in them", revises them, and effects change necessary for their continuity; *habitus* in this sense helps in the full realisation of the institutions (Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* 57). Thus, Bourdieu's comprehensive logic combats determinism which views the function of the agents' *habitus* as the replication of pre-existing norms specified by the objective structures of the field, which leads to predictable results and eliminates the possibility of change.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* in his early writings was criticised for being deterministic, for tending to to exclude change, and for lacking full appreciation of the role of human agency in effecting change. One of the critics of Bourdieu's early

writings is Anthony King who observes that the concept of *habitus* in Bourdieu's early writings slips into the objectivism he rejects (418). King suggests that the very definition of *habitus* as durable structuring structures does not challenge the timelessness of the objective structures which structure the agents' dispositions (422), and that it does not challenge the idea that "individuals unconsciously internalize their objective social conditions" and tend to reproduce them, which means that the actions of the individuals are always determined by objective structures (423). The deterministic and circular nature of *habitus* as described by Bourdieu in his early writings is also critiqued by Richard Jenkins who states that Bourdieu turns objective structures into cultural arbitraries that tend to reproduce themselves in the actions of agents through the mediation of their *habitus* in which the objective structures are internalised (272-73). It is similarly criticised by David Swartz.[9]

Another critic of Bourdieu's sociology is James Collins who criticises Bourdieu's description of the dialectic relationship between field and *habitus* because it does not stress contradiction and suggests that the strategies of action override creative agency in the realm of language use (134). Collins explains that the linkage Bourdieu establishes between field, capital, and *habitus* challenges pure objectivism and pure subjectivism, but observes that Bourdieu's sociology misses the appreciation of the role of agency in modifying social structure and lacks the insight into the ethnographic information and the respect for the "complexity of classification struggles" which means that it does not account for the gap between "interaction and social structural pregivens" (127), and attributes change only to the readiness of the

[9] Swartz criticises Bourdieu's notion of self-selection which suggests that the educational aspirations of the working-class students in France is limited because of the requirements of university education which includes the possession of the linguistic capital of the bourgeoisie; and he notes that Bourdieu ignores cases of working-class students who defy tradition and attend French universities (548-49).

field for change (117). Collins critiques the notion that the social structures seem to lead to expected results (123). He stresses the important role of human agency embodied in action-in- interaction that stems from the idiosyncrasies of the encounter, not from its pregivens (123). Paul Willis suggests that the attempts to change the social structures have more potential in the contradiction between *habitus* employed in action and the objective structures that is the rebellion against the established norms regardless of the acceptance of meritocracy (cited in Collins 128).[10] Collins notes that social contradiction is found in crisis as well as in "individual consciousness and interactional arrangements" (128). The same criticism of Bourdieu's failing to recognise the role of human agency in effecting change is echoed by Kathryn A.Woolard.[11]

In order to address this critique of Bourdieu's early definition of *habitus*, Bourdieu highlights two features of *habitus* in his later writings. The first feature is that *habitus* is "durable but not eternal" and that it is open to experience in a manner that constantly modifies its structure (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 133). However, he immediately states that *habitus* tends to be reinforced more than to be modified due to what he calls "*relative irreversibility*" and suggests that the personal experiences which can condition the agent's *habitus* are "perceived through categories already constructed by prior experiences" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 133). Although Bourdieu addresses the critique of his concept of *habitus*, this comment seems to suggest that norms are still stronger than *habitus* in his view.

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[10] An example Paul Willis gives is the rebellion of the working class which is limited by racism and sexism but is an ongoing interactional creation that is brought about by the rejection on the part of the working class members and not by the acceptance of the ruling class in society (cited in Collins 128).
[11] Woolard cites the ability of the Catalans to preserve the prestige of their regional language in spite of the willingness of the Spanish central government as an example of the power of human agency (741-42).

The second feature of *habitus* that Bourdieu stresses is that it is the product of history in two senses: *habitus* is the product of the history of the field in which the agent operates, and is the history of the agent's social trajectory in the field that is irreducible to any other (*Outline* 87). Bourdieu explains that *habitus* is a subjective but not individual system of dispositions in the sense that these dispositions are common to all members of a certain class but that these commonly shared dispositions in a given class or group are further defined by the experiences that each individual goes through in a social trajectory which Bourdieu defines as "a chronologically ordered series of structuring determinations" (*Outline* 86). The experience of each individual has a "personal style" which "marks all the products of the same habitus" (Bourdieu, *Outline* 86). The *habitus* of the individual subject changes at every moment with each experience the individual goes through, and the change brings about a distinctive incorporation of the experiences that are common to all the members of class or community under the domination of previous experiences (Bourdieu, *Outline* 87).

Thinking of *habitus* as an open system of dispositions that undergoes constant change because of the individual's social trajectory suggests that the *habitus* of the translator is influenced by experiences outside the professional field of translation. These experiences include social or economic changes (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 45), personal experiences such as encountering a foreign culture, or the socio-political circumstances at the time the translation is being produced.

The revised concept of *habitus* thus challenges Gouanvic's suggestion that the translator is merely an agent whose role is to serve the writer by employing his capacity to "[actualize] the writer's habitus in the literary field" ("A Bourdieusian Theory" 158). Since the translator's *habitus* is the product of his personal history

inside and outside the field, and since the *habitus* of the translator can influence the translator's decisions in a way that effects changes in the text being translated, the translator can be regarded as a co-author of the text, and can even be regarded as the writer of a new text. Susan Bassnett and Peter Bush discuss the debate which revolves around the role of the translator as a writer when they investigate approaches to the idea that "the translator rewrites what is written by someone else," and they include in their book the experiences of translators who regard their role as more than that of actualising the original writer's vision,[12] concluding that such practical experiences of the translators form "a holistic view" which "challenges stock responses that seem …to mould public, critical and academic opinion of translators as betrayers rather than as creators who give new lives to literary works in other languages" (1-2).

Investigating the extent to which the *habitus* of Arberry and O'Grady reproduce or defy the social structures in their translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* calls for an exploration of the factors which contribute to structuring the *habitus* of the translators. In the case of Arberry, three factors seem to be influential: (1) his role in the academic and literary fields in which he operated, (2) the socio-political circumstances at the time of his translation's production, and (3) his propaganda work for the Ministry of Information from 1940 to 1944 (*Oriental Essays* 238).[13] In the case of O'Grady's translation, two factors seem to be influential: (1) his role as a poet, and (2) the socio-political circumstances at the time his translation was produced.

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[12] John Rutherford, who is one of the translators who wrote about his experience as a translator, stated that he considered himself a co-author of Miguel Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (77) in order to defeat the translator's modesty and approach the *skopos* of his translation (79). Don Quixote was originally a comical book that was turned by German translations into a solemn and serious book, and Rutherford attempted to regain the comical sense by rewriting the translation in a manner that would make it funny to modern Anglophone readership (71-73).

[13] A discussion of the influence of Arberry's work as a propagandist during the Second World War on his *habitus* as an academic is on pp. 7-8.

3.3.4. *Illusio*

Bourdieu defines *illusio* as "adherence to the game as a game, the acceptance of the fundamental premise that the game, literary or scientific, is worth being played", and he observes, it "is the precondition… of the aesthetic pleasure, which is always, in part, the pleasure of playing the game" (*The Rules of Art* 333). According to Bourdieu, the *illusio* is a requirement of entering any field (*Practical Reason* 78). Even new agents who attempt to change the relations of force in the field take these relations seriously in order to be able to subvert them and are therefore "not indifferent", because there is an implied agreement between all the members of the field that "it is worth the effort to struggle for the things that are in play in the field" (Bourdieu, *Practical Reason* 78). This agreement between the agents "pits them against each other" (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 228). *Illusio* is the opposite of disinterestedness which is generally viewed as a characteristic of intellectual or artistic production (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 116). Interest in a field is developed by the *habitus* constructed by the objective structures of the field; it has nothing to do with "emanation of some human nature" (Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art* 228).

In relation to the field of translation, Gouanvic explains that translators should pass adherence to the game, meaning that the translator should render the text into the TL in a manner which incites the adherence of the reader of a text that belongs to the same genre in the TL ("A Bourdieusian Theory" 163). Inghilleri notes that *illusio* is the implicit knowledge which informs the translator's decision in order to act appropriately ("Sociological Approaches" 280) which means that the translator's decisions are governed to a minimum degree by what is regarded acceptable according to the rules of the game at a particular moment in time. Gouanvic explains

that passing the *illusio* is achieved if the translator remakes the rules of the genre to which the text belongs ("A Bourdieusian Theory" 163). The translator's responsibility of provoking the *illusio* of the target readers requires an awareness of what interests them and makes them ready to be involved in the game (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 60).

Gouanvic articulates his belief that the task of the translator to create the *illusio* is difficult because of the "interplay between resemblance and difference, a source work being neither exactly the same nor entirely different in translation" (163). He also states that "a specific *illusio* [characterizes] each field" ("A Bourdieusian Theory" 163). Passing the *illusio* requires trying to assess the target readers' knowledge and expectations and predicting what interests them.[14] In the case of translating the *Mu'allaqāt*, the limitations on the ability to transform social reality resides in the cultural gap and temporal distance between the source and target cultures as well as the dominant image of the Other in the target culture which is part of the *doxa* in the target society at a particular moment in history.

3.3.5. *Doxa*

Bourdieu defines *Doxa* as the synchronised relationship between the *habitus* of the agent and the objective structure of the field (*The Logic of Practice* 68). It is the "set of assumed beliefs that motivate the agency of producers of culture and their

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[14] Predicting what interests the target readers and what they need requires great linguistic and cultural proficiency on the part of the translator, as well as practical imagination (Nord, *Text Analysis* 32). The task is further complicated by the fact that the translator must cast himself into three roles: ST receiver, analyst, and target reader (Nord, *Text Analysis* 15-16). According to Christiane Nord, playing these three roles necessitates an analysis of external factors of the text that include the sender's intention, recipient, text function, time, and place (*Text Analysis* 39) as well as medium or channel (*Text Analysis* 56). The success of the translation depends on succeeding in understanding the interests of the target readers and reconstructing the text in a manner that would provoke their *illusio*.

struggle over capital" (Sameh Hanna, "Othello" 159). The concept of *doxa* comes from ancient Greece; it has its roots in the concept of *endoxa* which Aristotle defines as what is generally viewed as true to everybody (cited in Amossy 371). It was the opposite of *paradoxa* which meant "shameful or problematic opinion" in Greek philosophy (Amossy 371). However, Peter I. von Moos observes that *endoxa* at the time of Aristotle is different from *endoxa* now, because "everybody" included only the free male citizens of Athens and excluded barbarians, slaves, and women (cited in Amossy 371). Von Moos also notes that it was possible in Aristotle's view to substitute the whole body of the Athenians with their elite representatives and that what was generally accepted as true was respected because it was circulated by those the Athenians regarded as the legitimate representatives of power (cited in Amossy 371). The fact that *endoxa* is related to power suggests that the impact of *doxa* resides in its being generally accepted at a particular point in time and that it has nothing to do with truth (Amossy 371). Sameh Hanna states that *doxa* can change from time to time: what can be doxic at one moment in time can later be replaced by anther *doxa* (*Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 45).

In his sociology, Bourdieu uses the concept of *doxa* to "delineate the set of assumed beliefs that motivate the agency of producers of culture and their struggle over capital" (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdieu in Translation Studies* 159). In the realm of sociocriticism of texts, *doxa* is the web of common opinions that constitute "the sociohistorical dimension of the text" (Amossy 380). Jean-Louis Dufays states that *doxa* is an ideological stereotype (447). *Doxa* appears in many forms. It may be "the commonplace or received ideas" (Sameh Hanna, *Bourdeiu in Translation Studies* 46), or "the reservoir of convictions…whose origin or place one does not know, but only their enunciators" as Charles Grivel states (qtd. in Dufays 445). *Doxa* can also

manifest itself in "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 conceptions" (Safarti 494).

Bourdieu states that doxic practices are those which are in harmony with the "collective rhythm" which is what is generally agreed to be the suitable "rhythm of every action" (*Outline* 162). *Doxa* is "the immediate adherence" between the *habitus* and the field (*The Logic of Practice* 68). Because of the "quasi-perfect fit" between *habitus* and objective structures, doxic practices are taken for granted and the established system is regarded "self-evident and natural" and therefore goes without being questioned (Bourdieu, *Outline* 166). *Doxa* functions underneath the level of consciousness and language; once the agent becomes conscious of it, unquestioned beliefs become subject to orthodoxy or heterodoxy (Bourdieu, *Outline* 164). According to Bourdieu, orthodoxy is the discourse created by agents who possess power and authority in the field to keep the power relations as they are (*Sociology in Question* 73). He defines heterodoxy as the discourse which represents the break of *doxa* which forces dominant agents to produce the defensive orthodox discourse, or—as Bourdieu describes it—"the right-wing thought that is aimed at restoring the equivalent of silent assent to doxa" (*Sociology in Question* 73).

Bourdieu specifies two factors which push *doxa* above the levels of consciousness and language and make it subject to practical questioning: the first is "cultural contact", and the second is "the political and economic crises correlative with class division" (*Outline* 168) as in the case of Wilfred Blunt who came into contact with the Other when he travelled to Egypt. He defended Egyptian and Irish causes because of the crisis of the English land-owning aristocracy, and his defiance

of *doxa* showed in his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* by trying to abolish some of the differences between the British and Arab cultures.

At the times Arberry's and O'Grady's translations were produced, the press in Britain in the 1950s and the media in the US in the 1980s were contributing to and shaping the doxic beliefs and doxic practices of representing Arabs. *Doxa* changes from time to time, and the translations were produced at highly politicised times. The British Press of the 1950s and the American media of the 1980s were key players in the war of propaganda which often served the agenda of the British or American administration at the specified epochs; they employed Orientalist stereotypes in their propaganda campaigns which formed the generally accepted image of the Arabs. In order to contextualise Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* to study them in light of Bourdieu's sociology, the socio-political circumstances and the role of propaganda in forming the doxic beliefs and assumptions about the Arabs at the time the translations were produced are explored in detail.

3.4. The Power of Politics

3.4.1. Politics and Orientalism: Textual Knowledge of the Other

Edward Said states that "[anyone] who teaches, writes about or researches the Orient…is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism" (*Orientalism* 2). Since the eighteenth century, Orientalism accompanied imperialism, studied the people of the Orient, and stereotyped them in a way that served imperialist agendas. Said states that the concept of Orientalism includes all the elements of the "badly intentioned" will of domination over others (*Power* 187). It had "an organized presence that a lot of people [participated] in" that was formed around the consensus over the will to dominate; such presence disappeared from sight but did not cease to exist (Said, *Power* 188). He dedicates his book *Orientalism* to discussing this will to

dominate, especially in the Arab World, and describes it as a kind of "negative… devastating thing" (*Power* 188). Said's approach to explaining the relationship between East and West is useful because he focuses on the influence of politics and the will of the Western imperialists to keep their power in the East by portraying Orientals as inferior; I argue that such portrayal surfaces at highly politicised times and constitutes the doxic beliefs and assumptions about the Other.

Said argues that the scientific study and observation of the Orient, as carried out by travellers, authors, scientists, etc. who accompanied European imperialists, has turned the Orient into "a living tableau of queerness" (*Orientalism* 103), and has reduced the Orient to a "topos" or a group of references and characteristics that come from the Orientalists' commentary on the Orient or even their imagination about it (*Orientalism* 177). Orientalism was not built over a body of lies; it was a representation of the observations about and the description of the Orient (Said, *Orientalism* 177). Furthermore, he argues that Orientalists consciously suppressed the individuality in their descriptions as the consciousness accessed "a kind of impersonal and continental control over the Orient" (*Orientalism* 179).

Said's notion that Orientalism has been based on the relations of power between the East and the West in the eighteenth century finds its basis in Michel Foucault's notion of discourse. Foucault states that there are notions which can help us understand historical continuities in thought: those notions include tradition, influence, and spirit (21-22).[15] He explains that these pre-existing forms of continuity lead people to interpret each event on the basis of an "incorporeal discourse" that

[15] Tradition traces every event to an origin and compares the present discourse to a background of permanence; influence provides support for transmission, development and successive groups; and spirit makes people able to find relationships between events which take place simultaneously or successively (Foucault 21-22).

consists of a selection of what was said before or written before and does not give much importance to the process of forming the event which involves the "historical determinations" that operated upon the author (24). Said finds this notion of discourse to be useful in his identification of Orientalism as a European way for dominating and restructuring the Orient, and he claims that approaching Orientalism as a discourse is helpful in understanding the systematic discipline that European culture demonstrated in dealing with and even producing the Orient (*Orientalism* 3). He adds that Orientalism as a discourse has placed limitations on thought and action relating to the Orient (*Orientalism* 3)

The textual knowledge of the Orient was put to imperialist use. According to Derek Gregory, the European representation of the Orient was a remapping of an exotic identity within the European System: it helped the colonisers see the colonies on paper in a way they could not see in reality (154-55). Timothy Mitchelll explains that the mapping and textual knowledge of the colonies give them "an exhibitionary order", and he argues that the idea of the world-as-an-exhibition separates the viewer from the object of surveillance and turns the world being gazed at into a panorama; the texts and the maps are "the viewing platforms" which give the occupiers the advantage of seeing "without being seen" (*Colonising Egypt* 12-13).

Said states that uncovering the Orient and bringing it to light were central to the European Orientalist projects (*Orientalism* 127). Orientalism was a power tool of the Napoleonic expedition, and therefore a military act with an amicable face; it aimed at shaping a visual field in order to win the battle of dominance. The Orientalists produced a visual image through the production of a detailed description of the Eastern plateau and the way its inhabitants looked, dressed and behaved. Orientalist stereotypes needed to gain force in order to become part of a collective

social consciousness, and Said argues that this force was derived from the relationship between the Orient and the Occident, which is one of power and domination (*Orientalism* 5). He argues that "cultural hegemony" grants Orientalism continuity, and he explains that Orientalism relies on "flexible positional superiority" whereby the Westerner can be part of a series of relationships with the Orient while keeping his relative superiority; the confirmation of Western superiority was continued with the continual and gradual ascendancy of the West from the Renaissance to the present time (*Orientalism* 7).

Orientalism has imposed limitations on the manner in which the East has been represented. According to Said, residents of the East had to shape their personal experiences in a manner that would take such experiences from the personal to the official domain in order for them to be accepted as a contribution to Orientalism which was becoming an archive of the Orient (*Orientalism* 157). Said considers the limits that Orientalism imposes upon texts as filters that control the material Orientalists collect in a two-stage process: first, Orientalists gather as much information as possible about the Orient and its inhabitants by residing in the Orient, and studying its literature, languages and religions, etc; then, this information is filtered through "regulatory codes, classifications, specimen cases" and so on (*Orientalism* 166). The Orient was being reshaped by Europe for Europe. Orientalist texts made the Orient silent and available and ready for Europeans to realise their projects for it, and the inhabitants of the Orient could not speak for themselves and fight back in the context of Orientalism (Said, *Orientalism* 94-95).

Said argues that imperial powers imparted a sense of political urgency to their civil societies which would serve their imperial interests abroad and that imperialist texts were used to make Europeans feel that they were encountering the Orient first

not as individuals, but as Europeans (*Orientalism* 11). The emphasis on belonging to Europe underlined the individual's sense of belonging to a European power, of realising that his country had certain interests in the region, and that he belonged to a society whose history of involvement in and dominance over the Orient went back to the time of the Greeks (*Orientalism* 11).

The Western study of the Orient— particularly during and after the Napoleonic Egyptian expedition— has given the West a vast body of textual knowledge and provided the West with a textual attitude towards the Orient. According to Said, a textual attitude is favourable in two cases: first, when confronting something unknown; and second, when it has the appearance of success (*Orientalism* 93-94).[16]

The vast body of textual knowledge that has been employed in stereotyping the Arabs has formed the basis for political propaganda at times of confrontation. The following section explores the effect of textual knowledge of the Other on political propaganda and establishes a link between political propaganda, the creation of the doxic representation of Arabs, and the influence of *doxa* on literary translation.

3.4.2. Propaganda, Literature, and *Doxa*

The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers various definitions of the term "propaganda". The one that I use in this study defines propaganda as "systematic dissemination of information, [especially] in a biased or misleading way, in order to promote a political cause or point of view." Propaganda is not a body of lies; rather it is a way of manipulating the truth or information to promote a particular agenda.This

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[16] If a book helps an individual deal with a certain situation, it is most likely that this individual will employ the use of this book when dealing with similar situations (Said, *Orientalism* 94).

study addresses political and sociological propaganda in which pro-government media made a systematic use of information to gain public support during the Suez Crisis in Britain and later in the US in the 1980s which witnessed an increasing political and military presence of the US in the Gulf region.

One of the tools most often deployed in political and social propaganda is literature. A. Peter Foulkes observes that history shows literature to be one of "the… agencies of socialisation which introduce the individual to the schemes of interpretation dominant in his society" (45), and he argues that language helps people put their awareness of the world into words, and that literature "seemingly develops and refines this awareness" through the use of words in the exploration of reality (45). In other words, literature is a politicised product of the culture that produces it.

The idea of literature as a politicised product has been a controversial one. Foulkes refers to a popular view that art should rise above circumstances and be detached from reality (2). This view of literature remained dominant until the 1970s (Cronin 313). Maynard Solomon argues that art is in itself a demystifying strategy, and suggests that art offers new ways of perceiving realities (20). Sinfield opposes the idea that literature transcends its conditions of production or reception as well as social and political matters; he argues that the literary text represents an author's intervention to convince the people of certain ideas (35). The view of literature as a cultural product that affects the culture suggests that propaganda is a defining component of literature. George Orwell states that "all art is to some extent propaganda" (276). He observes that "propaganda in some form or other lurks in every book, that every work of art has a meaning and a purpose— a political, social and religious purpose— that our aesthetic judgments are always coloured by our prejudices and beliefs" (152).

Foulkes states that propaganda does not always “come marching towards us” and that its real strength lies in its ability to be invisible (3). He adds that language is the medium of transmitting ideologies in its social context although it does not seem to do so (6). Consequently, literature, which is a refined form of the use of the language, can also transmit ideologies without seeming to do so. In this respect, Jaques Ellul stresses that propaganda is not a body of lies. He rather sees it as “an enterprise for perverting the significance of events” behind the mask of “factuality” (58). Propaganda depends on facts, but interprets and manipulates them in a manner that serves its purpose.

A central idea to this study is that the propagandist cannot always be identified as the author of propaganda; the propagandist can be a member of the society that reproduces the dominant ideas in his milieu (Foulkes 9). The role of the crowds as propagandists themselves can be understood in the light of the theory of *habitus* which states that the actions of humans are influenced by their experiences.

When addressing ideas or becoming involved in action, people bring the experience they have acquired in their field into their perception of ideas or formation of decisions as they take action. These personal experiences which form the *habitus* of the people change from time to time and may consequently change the *habitus* of the people since *habitus* is open to change and is not eternal (Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation* 133). While some people do not reproduce the dominant ideas if they challenge or defy them, others—whose *habitus* is in harmony with the dominant ideas propagated by influential individuals and institutions in their society— reproduce them, and may thus act as propagandists. Significant individuals or institutions are the authors of propaganda, and the members of the society whose *habitus* is in harmony

with the dominant ideas are the propagandists who are affected by the propaganda and who contribute to keeping it alive by reproducing it.

A translator may likewise be a propagandist of his society's collective ideas about that society and the Other if his *habitus* is harmonious with the dominant ideas propagated by the dominant institutions. Each translated novel or poem has an "empirical meaning" which Willard Quine defines as "what the sentences of one language and their firm translation in a completely alien language have in common" (94). However, this empirical meaning changes as the translator transfers the meaning from the semantic system and cultural context of the ST to their target equivalents (Foulkes 20). When decoding the semantic and cultural message of the original text, the translator necessarily uses the experience which he has acquired in his culture, and his experience inevitably affects his translation decisions. In case his *habitus* is in harmony with the orthodox discourse in his society, he may reproduce the objective structures in a new form in his work.

Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* are examples of literature that produces the common beliefs of a target society about Arabs and sounds factual. The fame of the *Mu'allaqāt* as a few of the surviving accounts of life in pre-Islamic Arabia grants the translators the advantage of factuality; however, these accounts are manipulated and changed—whether spontaneously or deliberately— to reproduce the dominant ideas about Arabs in the target culture. The classical poets' pieces of political propaganda for their tribes are transformed into texts which convey stereotypical ideas about Arabs employed by the British Press during the Suez Crisis and by the American media since the 1980s. Having examined the close relation between propaganda and literature, the following section explores the dominant ideas about Arabs in Western societies which were formed by social and political

propaganda during the time of the publication of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Muʿallaqāt*.

3.4.2.1. Propaganda and the Suez Crisis 1945- 1956

After the Second World War, propaganda started to play a vital role in policy-making in the West. William Jackson, the chairman of a seminal 1953 enquiry into American overseas propaganda, said that "[there was] widespread agreement on both the terminology and functions of the diplomatic, economic and military means of promoting national objectives. There [was] also general agreement that there [was] a fourth area of national effort" which he defined as the effort to influence "public opinion by any means whatsoever" (qtd. in Vaughan 2). Propaganda did play a major role during the Suez Crisis after which Arberry's translation of the *Muʿallaqāt* was published.

Britain's need for propaganda in the Middle East increased with the emergence of tensions between Egypt and Britain. Due to the increasing closeness between Nasser and both the Russians and Chinese, the Americans and the British withrew their offer to give Nasser a loan to finance the High Dam project (Shaw 3). In need for cash to fund the High Dam project and in order to confirm Egypt's newly gained independence, Nasser turned to the Suez Canal (Shaw 4). Nasser realised the importance of propaganda to gain support for his policies, and he was "one of its most skilful exponents in the Middle East in the 1950s" (Shaw 4). Tony Shaw states that Nasser's success was boosted by the coincidence of two phenomena and the symbolic relation between them: the revolution of communications and the rise of revolutionary Arab nationalism (4). Nasser himself was a pioneer in harnessing the influence of the radio: in 1953, he launched the Voice of the Arabs radio station, which supported Arab nationalism and delineated criteria by which Arabs could identify their

imperialist enemies (Shaw 4). He considered the radio a popular university, and he designed a comprehensive propaganda program that addressed the Arabs and antagonised Britain in particular (Shaw 4-5).

In the face of Nasser's successful propaganda, Britain and the US put much effort into creating propaganda machines that would influence their citizens as well as the people in the Middle East, in order to gain support for their policies in the region. In post-war Britain, the Ministry of Information developed a Middle East Information Department and employed Egyptian journalists who wrote in favour of Britain's policies (Vaughan 16), and the British Council was also playing a role as an agent of cultural diplomacy (Vaughan 22). However, British propaganda was not successful in the Middle East, and this failure may be due to Britain's Orientalist image about the Arabs. This hindered British attempts to create a propaganda programme that would influence Middle Easterners in the 1950s (Vaughan 55). The British government was well aware that Egyptian propaganda was ahead of its British counterpart in its management of the Suez Crisis (Shaw 56).

More important than British propaganda in the Middle East was the propaganda campaign that was launched within Britain. Anthony Eden's government was attempting to maintain its position in overturning nationalisation: Eden threatened Nasser with the use of force, and backing down by reaching a compromise with the Egyptian regime was political suicide for Eden's government, which thought that the only alternatives that would solve their dilemma were to overthrow Nasser or to humiliate him (Shaw 55). However, this plan could not be carried out without a propaganda campaign that would convince the British people as well as the international community (Shaw 55).

The nationalisation of the Suez Canal shocked Britain, and the newspapers labelled it a "coup", even though the action was legal: the Canal was within the Egyptian territory and was still run by an international company that legally owned it (Partmentier 436). The reaction of the press towards the legal procedure of the nationalisation had to be cautious: the attack had to be directed towards the manner in which Nasser nationalised the Canal, not against the nationalisation itself (Partmentier 436). However, the press ended up attacking Egyptians in general and employed stereotypes in the propaganda campaign against the nationalisation.

The immediate response to the nationalisation of the Suez Canal in the British Press was an expected show for distaste of Nasser. In the wake of the nationalisation, the majority of newspapers demonstrated a rigorous reaction against Nasser, who was commonly described as a despot (Negrine 976). Photographs of Nasser addressing the masses presented him as a dictator in the style of Mussolini, and emphasised the difference between Nasser and the British politicians (Partmentier 443), whose intervention thus seemed to be justified: the battle against Nasser was one against dictatorship.

Eden clung to the idea of the war as one between freedom and dictatorship until the very end. In a final message he gave before sailing to New Zealand, Eden said: "the difference between the West and Egypt has not been colonialism – it is the difference between democracy and dictatorship" (584). Though Nasser was a popular leader in his homeland, the British newspapers conventionally depicted him negatively and attributed support for him to the Orientalist tendency to accept

despotism.[17] A review of the British newspapers' discourse during the Suez Crisis reveals considerable use of the idea of despotism in the context of justifying British intervention. According to William Clark of the *Observer*, the nationalisation of the Suez Canal was a legal action, and Britain had no legal basis to undo it (9). However, some British newspapers still characterised the legal act of nationalisation as a "seizure" of the canal by a dictator. In the *Times*, an editorial article entitled "Resisting the Aggressor" supports punishing Nasser and not allowing him to "[shelter] behind legalities." It reproduces the opinion of a British MP who served in Egypt to substantiate the argument for intervention: the author claims that Mr Morrison, who was against Imperialism, was in favour of taking action against Nasser because his experience of Abaden, (the Egyptian presidential palace), "led him to draw several lessons on the way to deal with dictators claiming to speak for their countries" (9). Another *Times* editorial piece, titled "Suez", calls Nasser a dictator (9), while the author of an article entitled "Suez Choice", published in the *Observer*, brands Nasser as a "dictatorial power" (4). An article titled "Bedevilled", published in the *Manchester Guardian*, describes Nasser as a dictator who would sacrifice the material good of his subjects to maintain his power (6). Don Iddon of the *Daily Mail* uses stronger language, describing Nasser as a "robber dictator", referring to the act of nationalisation as a "theft" (4). Ralph Izzard of the *Daily Mail* describes the people's

[17] The concept of dictatorship as a characteristic of all political systems in the Orient proves to be wrong when considering the tribal system of Ancient Arabia. The chief of the tribe was assisted by free men who were equals, but their destiny was not subject to the will of the tribal chief (Ṭulaimāt and al-Ashqar 30). Contrary to the European concept about Asiatic regimes, the tribal chief in pre-Islamic Arabia was not a despot, but the idea of a despot was still part of a legacy of thoughts about regimes in the Orient that had accumulated over the centuries, and it sprang at the time of this confrontation with Nasser.

support for Nasser as “Nasser worship” (1), implying that Nasser is popular because the people are accustomed to despotism.

The newspapers focused on making ad hominem attacks on Nasser, which went beyond accusation of dictatorship and drew heavily on Western stereotypes of the Arabs. “Suez Choice” casts Nasser as “irresponsible” (4), while “Suez” reflects a general understanding of his actions as an “irritated reaction… under a clumsy financial rebuff over the Aswan dam”, describing Nasser’s decision as “sudden, arbitrary, and vengeful”, and suggesting that Nasser is not a “worthy representative of [Arabs]” whose unity behind Nasser was taken by Britain into consideration while deliberating the appropriate response to the nationalisation of the Suez Canal (9). Iddon suggests that American and British politicians share the same opinion on Nasser, quoting Senator Joseph McCarthy’s opinion that “Nasser is a crackpot and a screwball” (4). This article is accompanied by a cartoon by Leslie Illingworth that features Eden looking serene and calm as he addresses the nation, and Nasser shouting angrily as he addresses his public through Radio Cairo, and tearing the files on the desk before him; the caption under the cartoon reads “Which Will the World Trust?” (4). In the *Daily Mail*, Patrick Sergeant, in an article entitled “Nasser Holds a Gun at All Our Heads”, claims that Nasser is not “sensitive to good sense or economic argument” (4). This article is coupled with an Illingworth cartoon in which Nasser is depicted frowning at British car drivers, pointing the pump handle at them as if it were a gun (4). Nasser is thus a reckless, violent, unreliable despot who poses a threat to the interests of the Free World.

The newspapers’ attack was also based on the ideas of the Other and Western superiority that characterised the relations of power between East and West. According to Guillaume Partmentier, British newspapers claimed that the

nationalistaion of the Suez Canal was performed to offer a clear affront to the Western world (438). He observes that the majority of British newspapers supported the use of force against Egypt to teach Nasser a lesson (438) for challenging the West. The word "challenge" recurs very often in the articles discussing the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. "Nasser Grabs Suez Canal", in the *Daily Mail*, describes the nationalistaion as Nasser's "biggest challenge to the West" (1). The author of "Suez", in the *Times*, also calls Nasser's act a "challenge" and argues that it is a political act, aimed at humiliating the West (9). Sir Miles Lampson, 1st Baron Killearn, and former British ambassador to Egypt views Nasser's act as a deliberate challenge to Britain. He finds the pressure on Egypt insufficient, calls for "something more spectacular and dramatic to show the people of Egypt—and indeed the world at large—that [the British] still hold the initiative and are prepared to use it", stresses that the nationalisation seriously shakes Britain's political power and prestige, and suggests that a delay in acting negatively affects Britain's position (7).

Another reason given by the British Press for using force was the claim that the Egyptians would not be able to manage the Suez Canal by themselves. The idea can be traced to the stereotype of the Orientals' limited ability to govern, a stereotype often used by the "white man" to justify Western intervention in the Orient since the eighteenth century. Thus, when listing the essential motives behind taking an action against Nasser, the author of the "Suez" article in the *Times* suggests that the Egyptians do not have the experience to run the Suez Canal efficiently (9). Due to the importance of the Suez Canal to the free countries, as the author of "Resisting the Aggressor" argues, it should be run by "proper international safeguards" (9), an opinion shared by the author of "Suez", who argues that the canal should be in "trustworthy hands" (9).

While Nasser depended on the radio to gain public support for the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, Eden's government depended on newspapers which appealed to the nation's patriotic feelings. William Haley's editorial piece in the *Times* attempted to persuade the audience that British sense of self-guilt was a disease that crippled the government's efforts to preserve the greatness of Britain, which could only be achieved in this crisis through the use of force (9). According to Shaw, newspapers that joined the campaign and produced editorials expressing the same message included *Daily Telegraph, Daily Express, Daily Mail, Daily Sketch and Financial Times*; these newspapers reached over 26 million readers every day (63). They appealed to national pride and attempted to communicate the message that Britain's greatness had to be preserved from the threat posed by Nasser's rebellious move.

In an attempt to influence the audience's attitude towards the crisis, the press tried to link Nasser to Nazism. Eden's plan was twofold, and the second part of the plan involved traducing Nasser himself. In his memoirs, Eden compared Nasser to Hitler, and stated that Nasser was a dictator who "used Goebbels pattern of propaganda in all its lying ruthlessness." (431). The British Press followed the plan. Shaw states that claims were made that Egypt hosted concentration camps run by ex-Nazis (59).

However, the British propaganda did not pass without opposition and even pro-government newspapers started to lose their enthusiasm. The popular newspapers were filled with rumours about the low morale of the troops, kept for action, and the decision to wage war still did not have popular support by September 1956 (Shaw 65). As a result, Eden acknowledged the need for more government propaganda (Shaw

65).[18] Eden's government planned that Israel would strike Egypt, then Britain and France would intervene to protect the Suez Canal (Shaw 67). The plan was put into action in October 1956. Eden's government controlled the media's coverage of the events in Egypt. This included concealing the real number of casualties on the Egyptian side, because the government would lose its credibility if its image as a peacekeeper were shaken (Shaw 84).

Orientalist views of the Arabs played a role in Western policy-making. According to Mathew Connelly, the "us-them" constructions influenced high-level political decisions in Europe (149). Such Orientalist views thus influenced the propaganda that attempted to persuade the people of the government's policies.

The review of the portrayal of Nasser and the Egyptians in the British Press during the Suez Crisis reveals that the representation of the Egyptians was characterised by three main features: essentialism of stereotypical traits attributed to Nasser and the Egyptians as Orientals (such as despotism and submissiveness), absence of positive traits (lack of sense of rationality or responsibility, and lack of the ability to run the Suez Canal), and otherness (the war is between Western democracy and Eastern despotism). The three features are characteristic of stereotypical representation of the reality of the non-West since the eighteenth century which was the result of the Western view of the world as an exhibition (Mitchelll, "Orientalism").

[18] Lord Privy Seal, R. A. Butler, was appointed as the government's chief publicity coordinator; his job was to approach the members of the Cabinet, while the Conservative party chairman, Oliver Poole, coordinated with ministers to increase publicity to ministerial speeches and the features of the government's policies and plans, and to put more pressure on BBC to improve its service overseas (Shaw 65).

3.4.2.2. Propaganda and the Gulf War 1979- 1990

Since the discovery of oil in the region of the Arabian Gulf, the region has become of great importance to the West to the extent that Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the US, declared in 1943 that the "defense of Saudi Arabia" was "vital to the defense of the United States" (qtd. in Stork and Wenger 22). Due to the importance of the region, the American presidents constantly looked for allies who would help them protect US interests in the region. The first of these was the Shah of Iran; however, the Islamic Revolution that overthrew the Shah brought about a change in American strategy (Stork and Wenger 22).

In 1980, President Jimmy Carter stated that an "attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region" would be "regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States" (qtd. in Stork and Wenger 22). The US needed to fortify its presence in the region to guard its interests. By 1978, US military bases were already being established in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, but the outbreak of the war between Iraq and Iran aroused Saudi fears and triggered greater collaboration with the US, and US naval intervention became a reality in 1987 when Kuwait requested that the US protect its oil tankers (Stork and Wenger 37). In addition to establishing military bases, the US searched for a strong ally in the region, and the new ally was Ṣaddām Ḥussein.

According to John R. Macarthur, holding the American Embassy staff as hostages by supporters of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 guaranteed the least level of neutrality on the part of the US during the Iraq-Iran War (38). Iran posed a threat to American interests in the region after the Islamic Revolution, and the Americans had to support another regional force to keep the region under control, and Ṣaddām,

although a despot, was eligible to play the role that the Shah had previously played. [19] Ṣaddām was a dictator who committed crimes against his own people, but his crimes were overlooked. Macarthur observes that the administration of President George H.W. Bush often tried to clean up Ṣaddām's image and attempted to manipulate the media to improve Ṣaddām's questionable reputation (40).[20]

One of the ways of supporting Ṣaddām was through the Pentagon's portrayal of him as what Macarthur calls "a rather ordinary Middle Eastern dictator" (41). His despotism was thus accepted and taken for granted because those were the rules of politics in the Orient. Paradoxically, the same administration compared the same despot to Hitler a short time later when he invaded Kuwait, whose reputation as a US ally was also precarious since the small, oil-rich country and its government were not democratic (Macarthur 43). It was therefore challenging to portray Kuwait as a martyred nation, but the media presented the American participation in the Gulf War as "vital to the American interests" (Macarthur xii). Macarthur argues that,

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[19] The Study focuses on the Western recognition of Arabs. The reference to Iran is made because the change in the US policy which followed the Islamic Revolution in Iran influenced the Arab World and its representation in the American media in the 1980s.

[20] Macarthur cites by way of example the American administration's response to Diane Sawyer's interview with Ṣaddām (40). In the interview, which aired on ABC, Ṣaddām appeared to be an isolated man. Sawyer highlighted Ṣaddām's admiration for Stalin and stated that Nicolae Ceauceşcu, the Romanian dictator who was executed by his own people, was "very much on Hussein's mind". Sawyer also asked Ṣaddām about the revolutionary decree that authorised the death penalty for insulting the president and he replied that the President of Iraq was "regarded by the Iraqi people as… a representing symbol" and that there were rules for survival in the Third World where liberty had to be controlled (Ḥussein). According to Macarthur, the American administration found Sawyer's profile "cheap and unjust", and the American ambassador to Iraq "wished out loud for an 'appearance in the media, even for five minutes,' by the Iraqi President that 'would help [the Administration] explain Iraq to the American people.'" (40). Macarthur also states that the American ambassador remarked that President Bush's job would be easier if his administration controlled the American media more (40).

historically, the American media was fully controlled by the government during combat and that "with rare exceptions, American mainstream news… [was] much like the hired bards of medieval monarchs… [American] journalists [become] propagandists" (xi). Even after the liberation of Kuwait, the US presence continued in the Arabian Gulf region since the war was followed by "a tense standoff between the United States and Iraq, lasting the rest of the 1990s" (Brands 24), and the deadlock with Ṣaddām continued until he was toppled in 2003 (Brands 24-25).

American policy towards events and rulers in the Middle East altered with the constantly changing situation in the region, and the media was obliged to offer justification for the US government's changing policies and for its intervention in the region, whether physical, by building military bases, or logistical, by supporting rulers who helped the US protect its interests in the region. Nevertheless, regardless of the side the Americans were taking, the Oriental stereotype was evoked, accepted, and taken for granted. The Shah, Ṣaddām Ḥussein, and then the Kuwaiti rulers were all despots; the media took this fact for granted because of their reliance on an Orientalist legacy that the Orientals are submissive by nature, incapable of governing others, and therefore should be controlled; thus, American collaboration with despots should be accepted in order to guarantee the protection of American interests in an ever changing-region. The mainstream media shapes the ideas of its audience, and some of the texts produced in this kind of environment reproduce ideas sown by the media.

Jack G. Shaheen has analysed the representation of Arabs in American television and has interviewed television executives to investigate the stereotyping process that has been ongoing in American television since the Arab-Israeli war in 1973. Shaheen explains that television is the "predominant source and distributor of popular culture" in the US (6). In an interview with George Gerbner, Dean of

Annenberg School of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania , Gerbner tells Shaheen that "[television] more than any single institution molds American behavioral norms and values" (7).

Shaheen observes that Arabs on television are usually "billionaires, bombers, and belly dancers" (4). They are violent, deceitful, and evil, and this stereotyping ranges over all types of programmes. Shaheen notes that many television shows made for both younger children and teenagers enhance such stereotypes, and he supports his argument with a list of examples[21] of stereotyped Arabs in cartoons and other programmes made for younger children or teenage audiences (24-25). Shaheen states that these cartoons and programmes sometimes have mythical settings inhabited by outlandish creatures (26). Shaheen says that Egypt is the setting of one of the episodes of *Scooby-Doo* in which the heroes are chased by a mummy who eventually turns out to be their own Egyptian friend, Dr Naseeb, who has posed as a mummy to steal a valuable coin that Scooby had found (26). In an episode of *Jonny Quest*, another Egyptian, Dr Ahmed Kareem, steals an ancient Egyptian statue and he later attempts

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[21] Wonder Woman rescues the Superfriends from "the inner world of a genie's lamp".
Woody Woodpecker stuffs a ruthless genie back into his bottle.
Popeye's muscles humble Arab fighters.
Heckle and Jeckle pull the rug from under "the desert rat."
Plastic Man flattens an Arab sultan with "egg in the face."
Porky Pig, in *Ali Baba Bound*, dumps a blackhearted Arab into a barrel of syrup.
Bugs Bunny, in *Ali Baba Bunny*, escapes from being "boiled in oil" by satisfying the whims of sheikh's story-hungry nephew—"the son of an unnamed goat."
Fonz saves Princess Charisma from the clutches of her Uncle Abdul—"Abdul-O, the Un-Cool-O," says Fonz.
Laverne and Shirley stop oil-sheikh Ha-Mean-le from conquering "the U. S. and the world."
Laurel and Hardy rescue a heroine held hostage in Aba Ben Daba's harem.
Mork and Mindy are held hostage by Egyptians in a "pyramid snake chamber."
Richie Rich topples an outlandish sheikh.
Scooby and his pals outwit Uncle Abdullah and his slippery genie. (Shaheen 24-25)

to kill the Quests, but a mummy appears and throws him into a cave, and he is killed (Shaheen 26). As Shaheen comments, such is the end of "Egyptian explorers who fool around with Western adventurers" (27).

In relation to the stereotypes of Arabs in the realm of humour, Shaheen says that comedy focuses on the political climate of the day, and argues that the "comedy of the Seventies and Eighties might well be dubbed the era of the Arab joke" (55). Examples of TV programmes which contribute to the stereotyping process include the *Sonny and Cher Comedy Hour*. In one of the episodes in 1980, an Arab in grey Cadillac drives into a petrol station and orders the attendant to fill the car up; the attendant does fill the car up, not with fuel, but with bags of loot in the boot, and the Arab says "Same time tomorrow" and drives away (Shaheen 59). Another example Shaheen lists comes from a *Saturday Night Live* episode aired "The Bel-Airabs" in which the Arabs are shown to be "stupid and unattractive, with crude manners" (59). Shaheen states that the following lyrics introduce the segment of "The Bel-Airabs":

> Come and listen to my story
>
> 'Bout a man named Abdul
>
> A poor Bedouin barely kept his family fed
>
> And then one day he was shootin' at some Jews
>
> And up through the sand came a bubblin' crude
>
> Oil, that is.
>
> Persian Perrier.
>
> Kuwait Kool-Aid.
>
> Saudi soda. (60)

Part of the point of lyrics of the "Bel-Airabs" is that it is a parody of the theme song of *The Beverly Hillbillies*, which was a popular American sitcom in the 1960s about a

poor family that gets rich and moves to Beverly Hills where the family shook the privileged society with their unsophisticated manners ("The Beverly Hillbillies")· [22]

An important type of programme in the stereotyping process is documentaries. These do not invent materials, but use "fragments of reality and arrange them in a meaningful manner" (Shaheen 83). One example that Shaheen offers is an episode of *60 Minutes* called "The Arabs Are Coming" in which the presenter sits next to an actor playing the role of an Arab in the back-seat of a Rolls-Royce; when the car stops and the driver asks the Arab what to do with the car, he replies, "Keep it" (84). Another of Shaheen's examples is an episode of NBC's *White Paper*, entitled "No More Vietnams, But…". Shaheen describes the episode as opening with footage showing "angry and frustrated Americans waiting at the gas pumps" (86) and focuses on American dependence on Saudi oil; he quotes Garrick Utley as saying in the programme that "the United States has been forced into a new relationship with a country and a region with which it has no cultural ties, no long-standing political partnership. A relationship which has one common denominator—oil" (86).

It is noteworthy that the representation of Arabs in the American media since the 1980s has also been characterised by essentialism of stereotypes of the Arabs (violence, greed, etc), absence (lack of ability to protect themselves), and otherness (Arabs live in exotic places and keep company with monstrous genies and enslaved women; they represent everything that the West is not: the Arabs in the programmes

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[22] The theme song of the Beverly Hillbillies goes as follows:

> Come and listen to my story about a man named Jed
> A poor mountaineer, barely kept his family fed,
> And then one day he was shootin' at some food,
> And up through the ground come a bubblin' crude.
> Oil that is, black gold, Texas tea. ("The Beverly Hillbillies")

are feeble-minded, and outwitted by the heroes who abolish the threat the evil Arabs pose to the world).

As the biggest world power since the Second World War, the US has been leading the world politically as well as culturally as the American lifestyle became influential. The world has become familiar with the dominant ideas Americans have about themselves and about others through exposure to popular American television programmes watched across the world. Due to the influence of the fields of media and power, they seem to have had an impact on O'Grady's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

3.5. *Skopostheorie*

Skopos is a Greek word which means "purpose" or "aim" (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 86). In their book about *Skopostheorie* in translation, Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer use the terms *skopos*, purpose, aim, and function as synonyms (*Towards a General Theory* 86). The basic idea of this theory is that there is an aim, purpose, or *skopos* behind each translation or *translatum* as Reiss and Vermeer call it (*Towards a General Theory* 107), and that the translator should try to achieve this *skopos* by making decisions which are in line with it (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 44). According to Pym, *skopos* can be what the translator thinks it should be, but it can also be determined by people other than the translator such as the person who asks the translator to translate the ST or by the end user of the translation (*Exploring Translation Theories* 44). Either way, the translator in this theory as explained by Vermeer gives priority to achieving the *skopos* of the translation.

3.5.1. Text Types: The Origins of *Skopostheorie*

The functional approach has its roots in the word-for-word versus sense-for-sense debate which dates back to the time of the Romans and has basically been within the paradigm of equivalence which showed a gap between theory and practice in translation and revealed the need for a new theory (Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 8). *Skopostheorie* which Vermeer outlined and which attempted to bridge this gap had its origins in Katharina Reiss's text typology which she presented in a book she published in German in 1971 under the title *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik*, which was translated in 2000 as *Translation Criticism: The Potential and Limitations*. Although she was working within the paradigm of equivalence, her work had the roots of a functional theory because she paid attention to the language function the translator may choose in accordance with the text type of the ST.

Reiss draws on Karl Bühler's typology of language functions when she classifies texts into types in accordance with the dominant language function in them. Bühler observes that language simultaneously performs three functions: representative (objective), expressive (subjective), and persuasive (cited in Reiss, *Translation Criticism* 25). Reiss notes that these language functions are not represented equally in each text or fragment of text, and explains that there is one dominant language function in each linguistic expression (*Translation Criticism* 25). She maintains that no text is wholly dedicated to one language function, and that there is constant overlapping between the different functions, but she argues that the inevitable dominance of only one of the functions in the linguistic expression justifies classifying texts into types on the basis of the dominant language function (*Translation Criticism* 25).

Reiss explains that the transference of all the elements of ST is impossible, and that translation should begin with the identification of the type of the ST in order to understand the priorities of each text and choose the translation method most suitable for it (*Translation Criticism* 47-48). She divides text into three types: content focused text, form-focused text, and appeal-focused text. To these, she adds a fourth type which is the audio-medial text.

The content-focused text type includes informative texts which perform the representational function of language (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 182). Reiss stresses that a translation of this text type should give priority to content in order to make a statement or to pass knowledge (*Translation criticism* 28).

The form-focused text type is the text which offers the content in an artistically organised manner and is thus associated with the expressive function of language (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory*182). Reiss states that the translation of a form-focused text necessitates finding an analogous form in the TL (Reiss, *Translation Criticism* 31).

The appeal-focused text is the operative text which offers the persuasively organised content to encourage the audience to take specific actions (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory*182). In translating this text type, Reiss deems it essential to achieve the same effect as that of the ST, which means that the translator should make adequate change to produce the required effect (*Translation Criticism* 41).

In addition to the three types based on the language functions, Reiss identifies auto-medial text as a fourth type. The audio-medial texts depend on graphic and acoustic means of representation, and they combine with other components that make the whole complex achieve completion (Reiss, *Translation Criticism* 43). The

translation of this text type also requires achieving a similar effect to that of the ST, which requires success at using extra-linguistic means (Reiss, *Translation Criticism* 46).

Although Reiss's work was within the paradigm of equivalence, the fact that she paid attention to role of the language function of the ST in defining the adequate translation method led to calling her position"functionalist" (Pym, *Exploring Translation Studies* 47). The influence of her approach shows in the works of functionalist translation scholars such as Christiane Nord's *Text Analysis in Translation*[23] and *Translating as a Purposeful Activity.*[24]

Reiss adapts her text typology into a theory within the framework of *Skopostheorie* formed by Vermeer. In the context of Vermeer's framework, her typology becomes relevant in certain communicative cases as Nord explains:

> Since functional equivalence is no longer regarded as the normal aim of translation, the analysis of text types can no longer provide the decisive criteria for methodological choices. The classification of the source text as belonging to a particular text-type is thus relevant only in special cases where the intended function of the target text is to represent a textual equivalence of the source text. (*Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 10)

[23] Nord dedicates *Text Analysis in Translation* to the description of the analysis of source text before the beginning of the translation process to understand it better (1).
[24] Nord echoes Reiss's typology of text function in the typology she presents in *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* as a simple model with a clear focus on translation (40-45).

3.5.2. Outline and Basic Concepts of *Skopostheorie*

Vermeer argues that translation itself may be regarded as an action, and that it has an aim or purpose just like any action ("Skopos and Commission" 192). He clarifies that *skopos* is a technical term for aim or purpose, and maintains that each action leads to a new object or situation; consequently, translation results in a TT or *translatum* ("Skopos and Commission" 192). Vermeer emphasises the involvement of consciousness and intentionality in the translational action ("Skopos and Commission" 201). The translational action is intentional in two ways: "it is intended to be appropriate to the situation and it is intended to achieve an aim in a given situation" (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 87). Vermeer explains that the purpose as well as the mode of translation are defined by a person who commissions the translation, and maintains that this is true in the case of translation proper ("Skopos and Commission" 191-92).

Reiss and Vermeer define the TT as "an information offer for a target language and culture… about an information offer from a source language and culture" (*Towards a General Theory* 69). They state that the theory of translation starts with a situation that includes a previous text which is the ST, and they maintain that the important question when performing a translational action is how to continue this previous action (*Towards a General Theory* 85). This means that undertaking the action involves thinking of what is being transferred and how it is being transferred, and they state that "[a] trasnslational action is governed by its purpose" (*Towards a General Theory* 85). This is the *skopos* rule in the field of translation that Reiss and Vermeer explain as follows:

> For translational action, we can say that 'the end justifies the means'. There may be a number of elements in a set of purposes…in hierarchal

> order. Purposes must be justifiable (reasonable). (*Towards a General Theory* 90)

By considering the text as a mere offer of information and by prioritising the *skopos* of the *translatum*, the theory dethrones the ST. Pym explains that the shift of focus from the ST to the TT sheds light on the role of clients in specifying the *skopos* of the translation, the importance of providing clear instructions for the translator, and the possibility of translating the same ST in different ways in accordance with the different purposes behind the translations (*Exploring Translation Theories* 49).

Vermeer uses the term "aim" to refer to the final result the translator attempts to achieve, defines the term "function" as what the text should mean from the point of view of the receiver (cited in Nord *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 28), and explains that "intention" is an "aim-oriented plan of action" (qtd. in Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 28).

In the translational situation, the translator is the expert who is responsible for achieving the aim defined by the commissioner of the translation. The expert is supposed to know more than outsiders of the field, and should have a say in how the aim should be achieved ("Skopos and Commission" 192). Therefore, the translator has the freedom to decide the course of action even if the action is commissioned by another agent.

The translation process involves three phases of decision making: the first is the phase of "setting the *skopos*" which cannot be done without specifying and assessing the target audience because the knowledge of the target audience informs the translator's decision regarding the function of the TT and whether it would make sense to the target audience or not; the second phase is "[redefining] the relevance of certain aspects of the source text according to the *skopos* set"; and the final phase is

"[accomplishing] the *skopos*" which involves conveying the message of the ST functionally in accordance with the expectations of the target audience (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 91-92). Reiss and Vermeer note that the first two phases require a good knowledge of the target culture, while the third requires "competence in the target language" (*Towards a General Theory* 92).

The fact that the communicative function is culture-bound suggests that the function of the ST can be different from that of the TT. The ST is focused on the source culture, and the TT can sometimes be focused on the target culture. In this case, the ST and the TT can be considerably different not only in terms of form and distribution of semantic features but also in terms of goals each text attempts to achieve (Vermeer, "Skopos and Commission 193"). There are other cases in which the function of the TT may be the same as that of the ST, but even in this case, translating the text is not a process of transcoding since the TT in this case is planned to be ST oriented (Vermeer "Skopos and Commission 193").

The difference between the *skopos* of the *Mu'allaqāt* in Arabic and the *skopos* of the various English translations of the text can be understood within the framework of *Skopostheorie*. In their original situation, the *Mu'allaqāt* functioned as aesthetic texts in general, but they also had segments which served their tribes politically. The different translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* had different purposes, and they took translation decisions relating to form and content—which are subordinate to the functionality of the text—accordingly. Since the way the function of the text makes sense to the target readers is governed by cultural context, the *skopos* is specified by different factors in the target culture.

3.5.3. Translation and Commission

The translational action is triggered by a deliberate decision to translate or by request of a client/an agent other than the translator (publisher, editor, etc), that is, by a commission. Vermeer defines commission as “the instruction given by oneself or by someone else, to carry out a given action—here: to translate” (“Skopos and Commission” 199). The commission should include detailed information about the goal of the translation as well as the conditions under which the goal should be achieved (such as deadline or fees) (Vermeer, “Skopos and Commission” 199).

The translator may set his own commission. In cases where the translational action is initiated by someone other than the translator, commission is often explicitly specified by the clients, but even in the case of not receiving clear instructions, the translator can understand the purpose of the translation from the commission situation (“Skopos and Commission” 199). The commission situation occurs at a particular time and space and has at least two participants who are willing to communicate for a certain aim through the use of a text that is transferred through a suitable channel of communication (Nord, “The Relationship between Text Function and Meaning” 91). The situation consists of the following factors: “the cultural background, the specific environment in which interaction takes place, the psychological and social circumstances of the communication partners and the relationship existing between them” (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 17). Nord notes that the manner in which the *skopos* is to be achieved is not specified by the commissioner of the action (in case the commissioner is not the translator) and observes that the strategy or method of translation are left for the translator to decide (*Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 30).

While the commission is partially dependent on the ST, the realisability of the commission is dependent on the circumstances in the target culture. Vermeer states that the viability of the *skopos* depends on the relation between the ST and the target culture which he calls "intertextual coherence" ("Skopos and Commission" 193), and he states that translation is not possible in case the difference is "too great"; however, he notes that "the target culture offers a wide range of potential, including…possible extension through the adoption of phenomena from other cultures" ("Skopos and Commission"199).

Another factor which determines the form of the relation between the ST and the target culture is the manners in which the translator and the audience perceive the ST. Nord clarifies that the meaning of the text is not inherent in its linguistic components, that it is made meaningful for the receiver and by the receiver, and that the same linguistic message of a text may have different meanings due to the different ways in which the receivers of that text understand the message (*Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 31). Therefore, Nord claims that the same text may have as many meanings as there are receivers ("The Relationship between Text Function and Meaning" 91).

Within the framework of *Skopostheorie*, taking the expectations of the target audience into consideration is a priority. Reiss and Vermeer argue that the translated message should be coherent in itself, and should also be "coherent with the situation in which it is received"; they call such coherence "intratextual coherence" (*Towards a General Theory* 98). Making a message intelligible to the target audience requires relating the message to the receiver's situation and the message's implicit background knowledge, and the understanding of the message is confirmed by feedback (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 98). Reiss and Vermeer observe that

intratextual coherence is more important than intertextual coherence of the TT because an “incomprehensible *translatum* cannot be analysed as a ‘text’” (*Towards a General Theory* 103).

It has to be noted that the translational action is also shaped by internal factors. Apart from being agents operating in a socio-cultural community, the translator and the audience have their “histories” and “personal features” (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 17) which govern their reactions to texts which are themselves cultural products. Nord explains that

> [the] translator selects certain items from the source-language offer of information (originally meant for source-culture addressees) and processes them in order to form a new offer of information in the target language, from which the target-culture addressees can in turn select what they consider to be meaningful in their own situation. In these terms, the translation process is irreversible. (*Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 32)

Nord’s suggestion that the translators “select” elements which they find meaningful and transfer them into their translations is important in assessing the translation decisions of Arberry and O’Grady when translating the *Mu‘allaqāt* since both translators choose to highlight specific elements and to downplay or even leave out others. O’Grady almost echoes Nord’s words when he explains the strategy he follows in his translations by saying that he highlights specific themes and omits words or even entire stanzas that he finds irrelevant (*Off License* 9-10).

An important feature of the functional paradigm is that it fully condones the strategies of omission or addition because it accepts that the translator offers more or

less information than that of the ST in accordance with the specified *skopos*. Although the strategies of omission and addition have been recognised in the equivalence paradigm, they have not been generally encouraged or fully condoned (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 51). Pym explains that the equivalence paradigm "does not legitimize cases of outright addition or omission", and suggests that the tendency not to fully accept these strategies is based on a long history of translation theory and practice in which modification of sacred texts has not been encouraged and even prohibited and in which the authorship of the ST has been respected (*Exploring Translation Theories* 51). These strategies are legitimate in the functional paradigm under the principle of the necessary degree of precision, formed by Hans Hőng and Paul Kussmaul, which suggests that the suitable amount of information is determined by the specified *skopos* of the *translatum* (cited in Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 51).

Although Vermeer highlights the major role of the target culture in realising the commission, he stresses that this does not mean that the TT always has to abide by the expectations or behaviour of the target culure. He states that his model also accommodates translations which are set out to convey the features of the source culture by using the means of the target culture, and he notes that everything between these two extremes is possible which may include "hybrid cases" ("Skopos and Commission" 201). Vermeer concludes that the goal of *Skopostheorie* is "to be conscious of the action" and to battle the idea that "translation is a purposeless activity" ("Skopos and Commission" 201).

3.5.4. The Concept of Culture

The role of the commission situation and TT reception in translation means that the act of assigning meaning to texts is culture-specific. Vermeer defines culture

as “the entire setting of norms and conventions an individual as a member of his society must know in order to be ‘like everybody’- or to be able to be different from everybody” (“What Does It Mean to Translate?” 28). Reiss and Vermeer regard culture as the deepest structure which regulates the way utterances are planned and formed (*Towards a General Theory* 17). Culture engulfs all the components of society—including language—and regulates their expression (*Towards a General Theory* 24).

Vermeer uses the term “cultureme” to describe a culture-specific phenomenon, and defines it as a phenomenon that exists in a specific culture and is considered relevant by the members of this culture, but does not exist in another specific culture (cited in Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 34).[25] Translators interpret “culturemes” in accordance with their own perception of them. In case the translator is a native of the target culture, his perception of the source culture and its culturemes is regarded as that of an outsider—in Pierre Bourdieu’s view (*Outline* 2)—even if he has a first-hand experience of the source culture (by living abroad, making journeys, etc).

Although *Skopostheorie* stresses the importance of culture in the realisability of the function or aim of the TT, it does not adequately explain the influence of culture on the translational action. Therefore, it needs to be complemented with a Bourdieusian sociology of translation in order to situate the translational action and the TT within the socio-cultural contexts which influence and produce them.

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[25] Nord notes that Vermeer does not mean that a cultureme exists in only one culture, and clarifies that a cultureme may exist in only one of two comparable cultures, which means that it may exist in cultures other than one of the two being compared (*Translating as a Purposeful Activity* 34).

3.5.5. *Skopos*, Adequacy, and Equivalence

According to Reiss and Vermeer, equivalence is one of the fuzziest terms in translation; they maintain that scholars agree that equivalence refers to the relationship between the ST and the TT, but they note that the nature of this relationship remains vague (*Towards a General Theory* 115). Theo Hermans also finds equivalence a "troubled notion" (217). The problematic nature of the term can partially be attributed to the fact that "the term is…[a] standard polysemous English word, with the result that the precise sense in which *translation* equivalence is understood varies from writer to writer", and because it is "impossible to use the term with the level of precision assumed by some writers" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 49). Since the 1950s, equivalence appeared in definitions of translation, but many of these were problematic because they proposed that "the natural equivalent actually [existed] prior to the act of the translation" (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 27). For example, J.C .Catford defines translation as the "replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL)" (20) and suggests that a translation theory should specify the nature and conditions of equivalence (21) which suggests that he sees equivalence as something "quantifiable" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 50). Snell-Hornby regards this view as one which "[distorts] the basic problems of translation" because it ignores the role of cultural and situational factors in translation (*Translation Studies* 22). As the notion that translational equivalence has increasingly become more about similarity than sameness (Chesterman, "On Similarity" 159), which suggests that equivalence can be directional and not reciprocal (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 25), some translation theorists subdivided equivalence in different ways. For instance, Eugene Nide spoke of two types of equivalence, namely formal equivalence and dynamic

equivalence (*Toward a Science of Translating* 159-60), and Otto Kade developed a four-mode typology of equivalence at word or phrase level: one-to-one, one-to-many one-to-part, and zero (cited in Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 28). Shuttleworth and Cowie observe that typologies of equivalence have made the term of equivalence "increasingly complex and fragmented" (50)

While problematic, Reiss and Vermeer state that "equivalence" should not be abandoned completely, and they offer their understanding of the term in relation to adequacy within the functional paradigm (*Towards a General Theory* 115). They define adequacy as "the relationship between a source text and a target text, where consistent attention is paid to the purpose (skopos) of the translation process" (*Towards a General Theory* 127). Reiss explains that adequacy is appropriateness in relation to the action or process of translation, and that a translation is adequate when the translator takes decisions which are appropriate for the specified *skopos* of the translation ("Adequacy and Equivalence" 301). Reiss and Vermeer define equivalence as "the relationship between a target and a source text which (can) achieve the same communicative function at the same level in the two cultures involved" (*Towards a General Theory* 128). They explain that the relation is between two elements of the same rank and same category in their own systems (texts, words, etc) (*Towards a General Theory* 128). Equivalence describes translation units (words, sentences, etc), while adequacy describes the translational process. Reiss and Vermeer observe that the translation process cannot be equivalent, and that an adequate translation process can produce an equivalent TT (*Towards a General Theory* 128).

The concept of adequacy within the functional paradigm accepts the existence of several adequate translations of the same ST which serve different functions and are thus suitable for the *skopos* specified in the commission. When considering

Arberry's and O'Grady's translations, one may observe that the translators render the texts adequately in accordance with the *skopos* of each translation, but the decisions they make take their translations in two different directions because of the different functions their translations serve. While Arberry approaches the translation as an academic and seems to aim at achieving equivalence at the level of words and sentences, O'Grady approaches the translation as a poet and seems to aim at making the translation read as if it were an English poem in its own right. Thereby, his translation seems to aim at achieving equivalence at text level. It should be noted that the influence of the socio-political context is embodied in some of the decisions of both translators, which reveals the fact that the socio-cultural circumstances—which are part and parcel of the commission and reception situations—influenced both translations. However, the extent to which the translations are politicised seems to be influenced by the translation technique each translator chooses in order to serve the *skopos* of his translation.

Reiss refers to two principles governing the translation decisions in relation to equivalence: the principle of selection and the hierarchical principle ("Adequacy and Equivalence" 306). She explains that a translator makes selections on the basis of his analysis of the distinguishing components of the ST, then places the selected elements in a hierarchy of levels of equivalence in which priority is given to specific elements which should remain in the TT at the expense of elements which come under them in the hierarchy ("Adequacy and Equivalence" 306). The priority given to the elements is guided by the *skopos* of the translaion. Constructing a hierarchy of levels of equivalence for each text in accordance with the *skopos* of the translation means that equivalence is a dynamic concept as each translator has to specify and organise priorities of each text and select elements which eventually contribute to the

functional or textual equivalence of the TT. The selection is subjective and is the result of the translator's role as a member in a society and an agent in a literary field and his response to socio-political circumstances in his society at a particular moment in time. However, subjectivity is not arbitrary, and is governed by signs and factors in the text which objectively influence the phases of text analysis and reverbalisation (Reiss and Vermeer, *Towards a General Theory* 16).

3.5.6. Virtues and Arguments

Skopostheorie has a number of virtues which give it advantage over the equivalence paradigm: first, it recognises that the translator works in a professional milieu and that he sometimes has obligations to an initiator of the translational action as well as to the text; second, it grants the translator more freedom since it suggests that linguistic rules are not the only factors governing the translator's decisions; third, it sheds light on the many factors involved in the translation process as it dethrones the ST because it describes the translation process itself as more than "work on just one text"; and fourth, it recognises the fact that translation involves consciousness and tackles ethical issues in light of the translator's free choice (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 55). These points can help to explain the choices Arberry and O'Grady make when they render the *Mu'allaqāt* into English and to explore why both translators take the ST in different directions in light of the *skopos* of each TT.

According to Pym, there have been some critiques of *Skopostheorie*, but few of these have been addressed (*Exploring Translation Theories* 55). Pym briefly refers to several arguments against *Skopostheorie*. Among these is the argument that words are "all that is there, on the page" (Newmark 37) and that translators translate words not functions (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 55). It is true that purposes are not always stated; however, translators sometimes state their *skopos* in the prefaces or

introductions. In this case, *Skopostheorie* can be helpful in studying their decisions in light of the *skopos* they specify.[26] Furthermore, knowledge of their personal history can provide information about their *skopos* which can be reflected in the decisions they make. Such knowledge necessitates a sociological approach to the translation.

A related critique of the theory is that identifying the purpose of text requires a linguistic analysis of the ST which implies that the linguistic context is the leading factor in the translation process, but Pym observes that this critique is not valid in case there are several translations of the ST (*Exploring Translation Theories* 56). Another critique is that the theory is unfalsifiable because the translators define the purpose that they try to achieve, which implies that it is achieved once they produce the translation (Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 56). One more critique is that the theory does not take into consideration the "dominant concept" that translation attempts to achieve equivalence at one level or another, but Pym states that a counter argument is that there are now forms of translation where equivalence becomes the special case rather than the norm such as "dialogue interpreting" (*Exploring Translation Theories* 56-57). Another argument is that the theory is not cost-effective as translators usually stick to the historical norms of their profession without paying much attention to purposes, but Pym argues that many translations "would be much better if they were done in terms of specific purposes rather than by following endemic norms" (*Exploring Translation Theories* 57). One more critique is Peter Newmark's opposition to "the ideal of commercial *skopos*" because he regards translation as "a noble, truth- seeking activity… that…should normally be accurate"

[26] Most of the translators of the *Mu'allaqāt* I review in the second chapter state the function of their translations in the context of their explanation of the way they deviate from previous translations, or articulate the final aim of the target texts in the introductions or prefaces of their translations.

(qtd. in Pym, *Exploring Translation Theories* 58). Pym deems this critique "unsophisticated" and "technically wrong", but states that Newmark's opinion reflects the opinion of many translation initiators as well as the opinion of many translators (*Exploring Translation Theories* 58).

Although *Skopostheorie* has its problems, it is more suitable than the equivalence paradigm in addressing the different ways in which Arberry and O'Grady tackle the translation of the *Muʿallaqāt* because the paratexts provide clues as to the *skopos* of each translation. However, *Skopostheorie* is limited in terms of explaining the influence of the socio-political circumstances on the agents and on the realisability of translation. This lacking aspect of *Skopostheorie* is complemented by Bourdieu's sociology.

3.6. Domestication and Foreignisation as Tools of Oppression and Resistance

Lawrence Venuti uses the term "domestication" to refer to a translation method that involves "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home" (*The Translator's Invisibility* 20). He uses the term "foreignisation" to describe the type of translation that involves "an ethnodeviant pressure on … [target-language cultural] values to register the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad" (*The Translator's Invisibility* 20).

Although the strategies of domestication and foreignisation are often linked to Venuti, he is not the first translation scholar to discuss them. Venuti traces the origin of the concepts of domestication and foreignisation to the German translator Friedrich Schleiermacher who reduced translation to only two methods in an article he wrote in 1813. He described the two methods in the following words: "there are only two. Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the

reader toward him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author toward him" (49). Schleiermacher expressed a preference for foreignisation (51), and so did Antoine Berman in an essay he wrote in 1984, titled "Translation and the Trials of the Foreign".

Venuti states that the process of translation is usually concerned with looking for similarities between the cultures and linguistic systems because similarities help the translator to transfer the meaning more than disimilarities (*The Translator's Invisibility* 306). Venuti stresses that the translation should not omit dissimilarities; on the contrary, he advocates making these dissimilarities prominent in the translation as much as possible in order to make the translated text "the site where a different culture emerges, where a reader gets a glimpse of a cultural other" (*The Translator's Invisibility* 306). In this manner, Venuti's perception of foreignisation in translation has an educational dimension since foreignisation means recognising the foreign culture and leads to learning about it.

Central to this thesis is the relation of domestication and foreignisation to politicisation which has created debate around the use of domestication and foreignisation as tools of oppression of the source culture or of resistance against the hegemony of the target culture. The transparent discourse, as Venuti claims, has been dominant in the Anglo-American field of translation since the seventeenth century (*The Translator's Invisibility* 40) and it has been an imperialist strategy that silenced the colonised nations and deprived them from presenting their true identity. According to Eric Cheyfitz, enforcing the American identity as defined by the government on the American Indians was one of the forms of American imperialism as he argues that the US foreign policy craved "this response: the 'barbarian' or 'savage'…coming to claim the United States, not in the barbarian's terms. . . but

purely in America's terms, the savage in loving submission to our will, willingly speaking proper English, the language of 'civilization'"(3). Consequently, revealing the identity of the Other even in language is an act of subversion which is oppressed in fluent or transparent translation. Venuti sees this tendency to render foreign texts in accordance with the conventions of the source culture as a case of "cultural narcissism" that seeks to preserve its identity and to gain recognition (*The Translator's Invisibility* 306). Yet, in Venuti's point of view, it misses the main point of translation, which is that of recognising the other (*The Translator's Invisibility* 306). Fluent translation in his view is a form of oppression against the translator since he has to hide or to be invisible in order to create the illusion that the text is not a translation. Invisibility is an important term here: Venuti uses it to refer to "the translator's situation and activity in contemporary Anglo-American culture" (*The Translator's Invisibility* 1). He claims that the translator's invisibility involves two phenomena: the first is the translator's manipulation of the language in a way that deludes the target readers into believing that the TT is an original work; the other is the prevailing tendency in most English speaking communities to read fluent translations and evaluate them on the basis of fluency (*The Translator's Invisbility1*). Transparency or fluency is achieved by abiding by the rules of current usage, maintaining certain syntax and adhering to a single style which are supposed to guarantee easy reading for the target receivers (*The Translator's Invisibility*1).

Another reason that Venuti gives for the translator's invisibility is the prevailing idea about authorship in Anglo-American cultures, which suggests that the author of the original work expresses his views without limitations; thus, the author's work is thought to be original and authentic (*The Translator's Invisibility* 6-7). This idea has two consequences: the first is regarding translation as "a false copy" rather

than an authentic, original work, since the translation itself is limited by the ideas and the sense of the original work; the second consequence is that the produced translation should hide its status as a copy of the original through the use of "transparent discourse" which should create the illusion that the TT is an original work (*The Translator's Invisibility* 7). In this manner, the translator's originality is subject to oppression since the translator is not capable of showing his personality, which can be felt through his interventions, and by expressing his own style and importing the peculiarities of the source culture and explaining them. He also states that the source culture is another victim of the domesticating method which has created cultures that are "aggressively monolingual, unreceptive to the foreign, accustomed to fluent translations that invisibly inscribe foreign texts with English language values and provide readers with narcissistic experience of recognizing their own culture in a cultural other" (*The Translator's Invisibility* 15).

Venuti sees translation in the hands of the Anglo-American cultures as a tool of violent ethnocentrism, racism, and even cultural imperialism against less hegemonic cultures (*The Translator's Invisibility* 20). By making the source culture less visible in the translation, the dominating cultures impose their views on the target culture. Venuti suggests that foreignising translation can be a valid tool of cultural resistance against the dominance of the "hegemonic English-language nations and the unequal cultural exchanges in which they engage their global others" (*The Translator's Invisibility* 20).

Venuti's views on foreignisation as a tool of resistance against Western cultural hegemony have been embraced and promoted in postcolonial studies. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak advocates literalness in translation as she claims that "the task of the translator is to surrender herself to the linguistic rhetoricity of the original text"

and she states that literalness has “political implications” because it can be used as a tool against “the ethno-cultural agenda” of imperialists which aims at the “obliteration of Third World specifity” (187). Tejaswini Niranjana criticises the tendency to create “coherent and transparent texts through the repression of difference” and to “[offer] authoritative versions of the Eastern self” which, in her view, is a participation “in the process of colonial domination” (43). Niranjana supports translation practices which combat the colonialist violent translation which “erases or distorts beyond recognition” the culture-specific elements of the colonised, as in the case of the translation of names (183). She advocates the use of the deliberately rough “literalness” as a tool to “[interrupt] ‘the transparency’ and smoothness” which she describes as the “the strategies of the containment typical of colonial discourse” (185). Niranjana considers literalness the solution that enables the post-colonial translator “to re-mark textuality, to dislodge or disturb the fixation on any one term or meaning, to substitute *translation* for representation in the strict sense” (185-86).

Advocating literalness or foreignisation per se as a tool of resistance against the Eurocentric hegemonic practice in translation seems theoretical and problematic in light of the sociological historiography of English translations of the *Mu‘allaqāt*. Overstating the difference between the Eastern and Western cultures has been an imperialist strategy while abolishing differences has been a tool of resisting the imperialist discourse under certain socio-political circumstances as demonstrated in the critical review of the Blunts’ translation of the *Mu‘allaqāt* in the second chapter. The contextual elements—particularly the socio-political ones—should be taken into consideration when selecting and evaluating the translation strategy.

The weakness of Venuti’s argument is evident when studying the strategies of representing the Other in Western texts in the translations of the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries of Arabic texts while placing them in their colonial context. Timothy Mitchell observes that the task of the cultural translator of the East was "not just to make a picture of the East but to set up the East as a picture" ("Orientalism" 305). Tarek Shamma explains that what the reader saw in these translations was not the exhibition of the East as it was, but an exhibition of the East which was "fashioned… to be experienced by the dominant European gaze" (45). He explains that the aim of the representations of the East was to "show the *colonial* power in action as it imposed order and meaning on the Oriental world" (45).

Such aim was achieved through a number of strategies that all led to recreating the Orient in accordance with the colonial discourse. The first strategy is creating a "deliberate difference in time and displacement in space that separated the representation from the real thing" (Mitchell, "Orientalism" 297). In other words, Orientalists effected a division between the real Oriental world and its representation in their works through detaching it from its time and place.

The second strategy is literalism (Shamma 47) which loads the translated message with unfamiliar details that make much of the difference between the source and target cultures. In other words, foreignisation has been an imperialist strategy that enforced the colonial representation of the East as the different Other on the East. An example of this strategy is found in Edward William Lane's translation of the *Arabian Nights* which was notable for "the conscious effort to reproduce the linguistic and cultural features of the foreign text as meticulously… as possible" (Shamma 47). Shamma articulates two ways in which Lane's literal approach could serve the imperialist agenda. First, reproducing all the details of the original text was one of the means of gathering information about the future colonised nations; thereby, Lane's literal translation was a "timely contribution to the growing interest of British

colonialism in Egypt" (Shamma 47). Second, the meticulous rendering of each detail at a time of power disparity did not encourage people who lived in the dominating countries to have respect for the culture of the colonised (Shamma 47). Shamma observes that a translation strategy such as transliteration eliminates the Other through estrangement, transforms "the most mundane actions and situations into curiosities" (55), and emphasises the outlandish character of the Other (5). Instead of giving voice to the colonised and the less powerful, foreignisation in particular socio-political contexts can be a tool in the hand of the imperialist powers to limit the Eastern people to their pejorative stereotypical image as exotically different.

The nature of the text and socio-political context and time are of utmost importance for the choice of the strategy that best serves the aim of the translator here. Shamma observes that "political, social, literary, historical, [and] personal" contextual elements play a major role in the choice of the translation strategies and influence the reception of the translation (Shamma 121). In other words, it is the response of the translator to the context of reception that governs the translation strategies, and it is also the response of the target audience to the political circumstances which informs their reception of the translation. Venuti misses this point in his early writings by advocating the use of foreignisation as a tool of resistance of hegemonic transparent translation. Shamma states that Venuti ignores the power of the political context and its influence on translation without considering the context of reception (79). Maria Tymoczko observes that "Venuti's normative stance about foreignizing and resistant translation is highly specific in its cultural application; it pertains to translation in powerful countries in the West in general and to translation in the United States in particular" (39). Consequently, foreignisation can be a form of resistance in

translations between European cultures (Shamma 79), but not between European and Oriental countries under circumstances of power disparity.

It is also important to account for the literary context of the translation because no translation can be "read in isolation from other representations that already exist in the target language", with the exception of the very first translations from a particular language (Shamma 79). The representations build up a heritage, an "archive" (Said, *Orientalism* 41), or "a constellation of ideas, motifs, perceptions, and images" which accumulate over time and create "an interpretive framework" which filters products in the linguistic or literary fields (Shamma 79).What the target readers believe about their own culture determines what they think about other cultures which they necessarily compare to theirs. For example, translations from Arabic and other Oriental cultures (which were generally regarded by the average nineteenth-century English reader as inferior or at least different) "could not disturb his/her entrenched beliefs" (79-80). The heritage of representation of the Other, which is a history of how the target culture makes sense of the Other under the different socio-political circumstances, should be accounted for when selecting the strategy with which the translator may attempt to challenge the hegemonic discourse. Additionally, the nature of the ST is important, because the ST itself may enforce or subvert the colonial discourse.

Venuti is exclusive in his approach as he seems to focus on cases that substantiate his argument and to ignore ones that expose its weakness. Shamma observes that Venuti's study of translation in Victorian England focuses on transparent translations which were well received or foreignising translations which were overlooked or even "condemned by the contemporary regimes of transparent translation" because these translations posed a threat to "their political and intellectual

assumptions" (77). Shamma states that Venuti does not include in this study translators who worked on Eastern languages although some of these translators resorted to the strategy he was promoting such as the translators of the *Arabian Nights* (77).

The problem with Venuti's argument is that it reduces the impact of translation to the selected strategy of domestication or foreignisation. Shamma observes that the main weakness of this argument is the problem of causality that "confuses the strategy of translation (which is confined to the textual level) with its effect, which is realized only in its socio-political and intertextual dimension" (80). Paul Bennet states that "it is simply not enough to declare that a particular action can have some effects, without explaining just how these effects are likely to arise" (80). Bennet adds that foreignisation cannot be a solution if it is limited to the level of selecting words or sentences or by aiming to challenge the established values in the target culture, but by selecting texts which have a "revolutionary political and social message" (133). It is noteworthy here that Venuti does not suggest that any foreignising translation can challenge the hegemonic discourse; however, his research regarding translation and its political implications focuses on foreignising translation as a solution to political hegemony and racial bias (Shamma 80). As Shamma observes (80) and as my critical review of the extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* demonstrates, foreignisation can be an imperialist strategy as well as a subversive one, depending on the socio-political and literary contexts which receive the translation and depending on the nature of the ST. Therefore, Venuti's model is "too limited to describe the social and political function of translation" because it fails to capture and describe the influence of the larger context of reception on the translator's decisions (Shamma 4).

Venuti's position towards foreignisation changed over the years. Pym refers to the change in Venuti's position from promoting foreignising translation as a strategy of resistance in his first reading of Schleiermacher ("Venuti's Visibility" 173), to its incorporation with strategies to resist transparency in the first edition of the *Translator's Invisibility* ("Venuti's Visibility" 174), to making a distinction between the translation strategy and its impact in the second revised edition of the same book where Venuti states that "the domesticating work on the foreign text can be a foreignizing intervention, pitched to question existing cultural hierarchies" (qtd. in Shamma 85). Venuti's new position in the second revised edition of the *Translator's Invisibility* points to a complex strategy he calls "foreignizing fluency" which "produces the illusion of transparency and enables the translation to pass for an original composition, ultimately reforming the literary or scholarly canon in the translating language" (qtd. in Shamma 85).

The complexity of Venuti's reformulated vision calls to question Schleiermacher's rigid view on the position of the translator regarding the translation of a foreign culture that recognises only two poles of a model that cannot be mixed (49). Schleiermacher's view fails to capture the complexity of translation that may result in the use of techniques that belong to the two poles simultaneously in order to serve the aim of the translator.

3.7. Chapter Conclusion

The theoretical framework of the thesis draws on three models which complement each other and provide a methodology for the analysis of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*: Bourdieu's sociology, *Skopostheorie*, and the domestication/foreignisation model.

This study employs five of Bourdieu's conceptual tools in studying the influence of the socio-political circumstances on Arberry's and O'Grady's translations. These concepts are field, *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, and *doxa*. Bourdieu's sociology was developed in response to the two dominant lines of reasoning in France in the late 1950s and the 1960s, namely existentialism and structuralism; which he regarded complementary instead of oppositional; he thereby joined both ends and highlighted the dialectical relationship between the objective structures and the *habitus* of human subjects. However, Bourdieu's early writings suffered from the problem of determinism as they overstated the power of norms in reproducing themselves through the medium of *habitus*. Therefore, the framework depends on Bourdieu's reformulation of the concept of *habitus*, and it stresses the power of human agency in changing the field.

Although both translations seem to be influenced by similar doxic representations of the Arabs, the translators approach the ST in two different ways; such difference is explained in light of *Skopostheorie* that cites purpose as the main determining force behind the translator's translational action. The theory is lacking in the aspect of describing in detail how the professional and socio-political contexts contribute to the specification and realisation of the *skopos*, but this aspect can be understood in light of Bourdieu's sociology. Both theories complement each other within the framework of the thesis.

Understanding the positions of the translators regarding the rendering of the culture-bound text of the *Mu'allaqāt* into English is done in light of the domestication/foreignisation model. The study takes into consideration the importance of the context of reception and the nature of the ST, as well as the difference between

the technique and its impact, which Venuti fails to capture in his early writings, and the possibility of using both techniques together to fulfill the *skopos* of the translation.

4. Analysis

Political propaganda contributed to forming the doxic discourse about Arabs in Anglophone countries at times of political involvement in the Middle East. Drawing on Bourdieu's sociology explained in the previous chapter, I analyse the influence of the doxic discourse about Arabs in the British Press in the 1950s and in the American media from the 1980s until the Gulf War in 1990 on the decisions of Arthur John Arberry and Desmond O'Grady in their translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. I explore how the two translators employ domestication and foreignisation to deal with various elements in the culture-bound text of the *Mu'allaqāt* and how their employed techniques are in line with the *doxa* created by the political propaganda at the time the translations were produced.

In order to address Arberry's and O'Grady's different approaches to the translation of the same ST, my analysis takes into consideration the *skopos* of each translation. Clues regarding the *skopos* of each translation can be found in the material that surrounds the core text. Therefore, my analysis of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* is divided into two main sections: the first section analyses the paratext, and the second analyses the core text of each translation.

4.1 Paratextual Analysis

4.1.1. Introduction to Paratext

Gérard Genette observes that a literary text is rarely published without the company of adornments or verbal productions that "surround" and "extend" the core text in order to present it (1). Genette states that such verbal and non-verbal productions constitute what he calls "paratext" (1), and Valerie Pellatt uses the term to

refer to any material which is added to the core text to perform functions of "explaining, defining, instructing, or supporting, adding background information, or the relevant opinions and attitudes of scholars, translators and reviewers" (1). Genette explains that when he states that the paratext presents the core text, he means that the paratext makes the text present, "[ensures] the text's presence in the world", and guides the text's "reception and consumption" (1).Therefore, it is the "threshold" at which the author meets the reader (Genette 2).

Genette refers to two subdivisions of paratext. The first one is peritext (Genette 5) which refers to elements physically contained within the book (Wu and Shen 106). These include title, foreword, acknowledgements, visual presentations, and so forth. The second one is epitext (Genette 3) which refers to elements that do not physically belong to the text (Wu and Shen 105). These include interviews, autoreviews, marketing materials, and so on.

Genette observes that paratextual materials are not characterised by uniformity in terms of length or content or by systematic presence around the core text (3). He explains that some books, for instance, do not have a preface, that some authors refuse to be interviewed, and that names of authors or even book titles were not recorded in some periods when this practice was not obligatory (3). He notes that ways and means of presenting paratexts constantly change and vary according to "period, culture, genre, author, work, and edition" (3). This means that the *skopos* of the translator and the influence of the socio-political context on his decisions contribute to the different arrangements of paratexts. Differently designed paratexts even for the same text may illicit different emotions in the receivers even before they start reading it, which indicates that each translator can "[initiate] readers into a biased pre-designed reading experience" (Hou 36-37).

Genette identifies five features that can be used to describe the status of the paratextual element or message: spatial, temporal, substantial, pragmatic and functional (4). The spatial feature refers to the location of the paratextual element, and the temporal refers to the date of its appearance or disappearance (Genette 4). The substantial refers to “its mode of existence” (Genette 4); this can be verbal (titles, prefaces, interview), iconic (illustrations), material (everything that may originate from the decisions relating to the production of a print book), and factual (a fact whose existence can influence the reception of the text or commentary on it if this fact is known to the audience) (Genette 7).The pragmatic feature relates to the element’s situation of communication and the participants in it; therefore, it relates to the “sender’s degree of authority and responsibility,” as well as “the illocutionary force of the sender’s message” (Genette 8). The functional feature relates to the functions which the paratextual message or element fulfills (Genette 4). Gennete observes that a paratextual element such as a title or preface may have a defined status, but can also have “several purposes at once” (12).

Paratextual elements generally have the typical functions of offering information, advertising the text, or presenting it aesthetically. In the case of translation, a paratext may also have an explicative function as it may help the reader of the translation to “overcome the difference of the social-cultural context and linguistic and terminological distinctions, particularly features of the source language… and/or coping with distinctions in substance and content, such as local names and names of institutions” (Müllerová 69).

Paratext can also reframe a translation because it can be a powerful interpretive frame (Summers 9). A paratext is “the most socialised side of the practice of literature” (Genette 14) as it is “the most easily identifiable site of interaction

between the text and its surrounding discourse" (Summers 13). Richard Watts states that "it is only in circulation that a text assumes its significance, and the paratext is perhaps the most useful site for understanding how, for whom, and at what potential cost the significance was constructed" (qtd. in Genette 14). In other words, the paratext is a locus of "control and authority" (Summers 5). Kieth Harvey states that the paratext can control the audience's experience of cultural reading of a TT, build context, and shape or limit the expectations of the target audience (cited in Summers 14). Genette always attributes this authority to the author of the work because he claims that what unifies the paratext is that its material be "characterised by an authorial intention and assumption of responsibility" (3) which means that he excludes other sites where commentary on the text is not authored by the constructor of the text. Summers finds Genette's approach to authority problematic, and argues that other parties may share this authority with the author/translator such as publishers or institutions that commission the translation (14, 15). In other words, power is not exclusive to the author/translator since the *skopos* of the translation, the selection of texts, etc. can be done by a third party that shares the authority over the translated work with the translator. Consequently, even the power of the author of the ST and his identity is subject to change according to "the institutions of the receiving discourse and their narratives of self, over which the writer has no control" (Summers 12-13). In summary, the institutional context in the target culture plays a major role in determining the authorial identity, and it reveals its dominance over "the interpretative frame of the text" in the paratext (Summers 11).

Since paratext has more than the linguistic function, the following two sections analyse the paratextual elements in Arberry's translation and in the two editions of O'Grady's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* in search for clues to infer

information about the authority of the translator/author, the influence of the institutions, the *skopos* of each translation, and the type of audience that each translation seems to target.

4.1.2. Paratextual Analysis of Arberry's Translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*

At the top of the title-page of Arberry's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* appears the title of the translation *The Seven Odes* in large font size, followed by the subtitle *The First Chapter in Arabic Literature* in smaller font size, but the transliteration of the title of the original anthology does not appear on the title-page. The title here functions as the narrative that unites the selected poems. The subtitle, which immediately follows the title, both controls the expectations and guides the reading experience of the readers. The subtitle suggests that the poems Arberry selects for translation represent the earliest stage of Arabic literature. Ḥussain 'Atwān observes that the pre-Islamic Arabic poetry of the sixth century that came down to us is a trace of a long literary tradition and the final stage of many previous stages (55) that spanned over more than two hundred years (68). However, Arberry describes the *Mu'allaqāt* as the most famous survivors of what appears to have been a vast mass of poetry, composed in and about the Arabian desert during the sixth century A.D."(*Seven Odes* 14), suggesting that the poetry of the sixth century is the starting point of the tradition and is the origin to which Arabic literature can be traced back. Such suggestion is reflected in the terms "*First Chapter*" in the subtitle which guides the readers to consider these poems as a starting point of Arabic poetry which came after it.

After the subtitle comes Arberry's name in a font size that is larger than that of the subtitle but smaller than that of the title. Arberry's name is followed by Litt. D (Doctor of Letters) and F.B.A (Fellow of the British Academy) which refer to his

academic degree and affiliation. In addition to highlighting the translator's good access to the ST due to his expertise in the field, and in addition to investing the translator's institutionalised cultural capital in the work in order to gain more capital, the reference to Arberry's cultural capital performs a third function; it guides the readers to approach his translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* as an academic work and places it in the field in this capacity. Therefore, the reference to Arberry's institutionalised cultural capital provides the first clue regarding the *skopos* of the translation that seems to be academic or educational.

Like all the full translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, the names of the original authors do not appear on the title-page of Arberry's translation. Dropping the names of the original authors plays a role in the authorial construction; by placing his name only on the title-page the translator is given more authority than the original authors. At the bottom of the title-page, the name of the publisher appears in bold, and its font size is similar to that of the translator. The book includes no information about who commissioned the translation or about the directions that the commissioner might have given in a translation brief. Therefore, no speculations can be made about the extent to which the publishers share authority with Arberry. The title page is preceded by a list of some of Arberry's works, particularly in the field of translation from Arabic and Persian. The list sheds more light on Arberry's expertise; it enhances the translator's authority and builds the professionally authoritative image of the work.

The table of contents is the first place where the names of the original authors of the *Mu'allaqāt* appear, and they are given descriptive titles or phrases. The translations of the poems are treated like numbered chapters. Each chapter begins with an introduction headed by the title Arberry selects for the poet of the original author, and the introduction is followed by Arberry's translation of each poem. The table of

contents reveals how Arberry uses his authority to frame the authors of the original poems and control the reading experience: Imru' al-Qais becomes "The Wondering King," Ṭarfa is the poet "Whom the Gods Loved," Zuhair is "The Moralist," Labīd is "The Centenarian," 'Antara is "The Black Knight," 'Amr is "The Regicide," and al-Ḥārith is "The Leper." Thereby, the reader's perception of the original poet is shaped by the title Arberry gives him even before the reader starts reading about the poet's life or poetry. The cultural reading is controlled by the information Arberry provides from the start.

The "prologue", which is authored by Arberry, foregrounds the audience with general information about the life of Sir William Jones, an exploration of his motives, a timeline of his work on the translation, the commentaries he depended upon, his connections and friendships, and his involvement in politics. It also offers information about the *Mu'allaqāt*, their social context, their number, and their themes. Furthermore, it offers a summarized history of the translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, particularly in English and German. Such detailed account of information about the *Mu'allaqāt* and some of their translations reveals that the "prologue" seems to be written to meet the expectations of a scholarly audience or students of literary translation and/or of readers interested in the subject of translating the *Mu'allaqāt*. Such readers are not expected to know as much information about the *Mu'allaqāt* as the Arab students who studied the poems at school, and the "prologue" provides them with the information they seem to need or expect from an academic work.

More specific background information is given in introductions that precede each poem and are headed by titles that describe each poet of the *Mu'allaqāt*. In the introduction which precedes the translation of the *qaṣīda* of Imru' al-Qais, for example, Arberry offers a detailed biography of Imru' al-Qais in the context of which

he describes the socio-political circumstances in Ancient Arabia. Then, he includes in the biography an explanation of some of the incidents that Imru' al-Qais refers to but does not explain as Arberry seemingly presupposes the target reader's unfamiliarity with the background information necessary to understand these incidents. Additionally, Arberry offers a detailed account of how Imru' al-Qais's poetry— and the *Mu'allaqāt*— was orally transmitted and recorded, followed by the comments of the Prophet, Muslim caliphs and literary critics, and Western scholars on the poetry of Imru' al-Qais, and a discussion of his impact on Arabic poetry and imagination. Finally, he quotes Sir William Jones's argument, offers extracts from older English, Latin, German, and Italian renderings of Imru' al-Qais's *mu'allaqa*, and briefly comments on them. He precedes his translations of the other six poems by similar introductions. Thus, the introductions that precede each translation of a *mu'allaqa* are other clues that the book is an academic one with an educational purpose.

The final clue about the *skopos* of the translation comes in the epilogue at the end of the book, in which Arberry refers to the debate surrounding the authenticity of the *Mu'allaqāt* and surviving pre-Islamic poetry in general, explains the meaning of *Jahiliyya*, and sheds light on the problems of translating pre-Islamic poetry. The book is primarily an academic one; trying to reach out to readers who are only interested in the aesthetic experience seems to be secondary since, as Arberry observes, the translations of these poems generally failed to "[capture] the passionate interest of the man in the street" (*Seven Odes* 245). Arberry states that a translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* "can furnish European readers with just an idea of the original, a literal version least of all" (*Seven Odes* 245) and claims that the poems are replete with unfamiliar information that "only a full commentary can make intelligible," even if

such commentary "to modern taste is absolutely incongruous with the poetic style" (*Seven Odes* 245).

At the end of the introductory section which precedes his translation of Imru' al-Qais's poem, Arberry explains the challenge he faces when translating these poems and the strategy of translation he chooses:

> Apart from the divergences of opinion admitted by the old commentators…the problem which confronts the translator is the usual one, how best to convey in his own idiom the impression made upon his mind by words uttered fourteen hundred years ago, at the first dawn of an exotic literature. Most of those who have faced this enigma appear to have felt that 'antique' Arabic demands for its adequate presentation some kind of 'antique' English. For my own part, I cannot share this view; Imr al-Qais and his kind speak into my ear as natural… [Such], I feel sure, was the effect they produced on their first audience. In the versions which I have made I have sought to resolve the difficulty of idiomatic equivalence on these lines, and I think that the result is a gain in vigour and clarity. I have also tried to follow the original rhythms, without rhyming, but not so slavishly as to be compelled by the rigour of the verse to contract or interpolate. (*Seven Odes* 59-60)

Arberry's description of the *Mu'allaqāt* as "exotic literature" highlights the difference between the Anglophone and Arab cultures. This description thus shapes the readers' expectations as it prepares them for leaving their place and coming closer to the ST. Arberry attempts to render the ST into English in a manner that keeps the vigour of

the original poetry, but not at the expense of the close adherence to the wording of the original poets. Therefore, he suggests that his translation refrains from additions and omissions.

4.1.3. Paratextual Analysis of O'Grady's Translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*

On the front cover of Desmond O'Grady's translation, his name appears at the top of the cover in large font size. The translator's name is not followed by his academic qualifications or any reference to the cultural capital he possesses in the field. Furthermore, it is not followed by the names of the authors of the original poems, like all the complete translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, giving the translator much authority.

In the 1990 edition, O'Grady's name is followed by *The Seven Arab Odes* in larger font size, functioning as the narrative which unites the selected poems. This title is followed by the subtitle *An English Verse Rendering with Brief Lives of the Seven Poets* in small font size. It informs the reader at the threshold of the text that the translator is a poet who presents his verse translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* with only brief biographies of the poets. Thus, the subtitle limits the reader's expectations by revealing the translation's *skopos*. At the bottom of the page, the name of the publisher appears in small font size.

In the 1997 edition, the dust jacket is headed by a different title: *The Golden Odes of Love*, typed in large font, which still functions as the narrative that unites the selected poems (Figure 1). The title is followed by the transliterated title of the collection which is *The Mu'allaqat*[1] in smaller font size, then the term المعلقات written in Arabic calligraphy. At the bottom of the dust jacket, Desmond O'Grady 's name

[1] This is how the term is transliterated in O'Grady's translation.

appears in the same font size as that of the transliteration of the *Mu'allaqāt*, and the authority he enjoys as displayed on the dust jacket is not shared by the poets of the original texts.

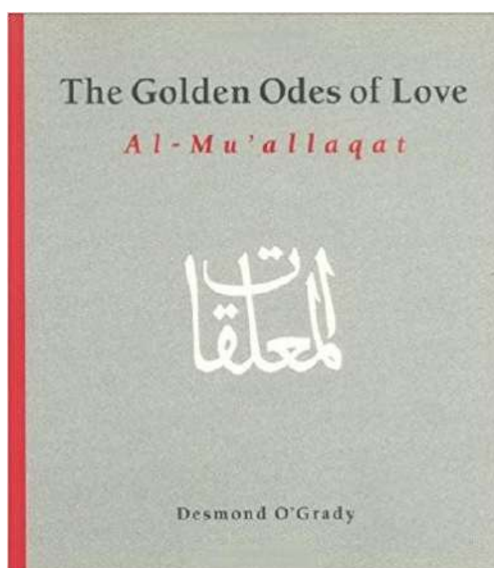

Figure1: Dust jacket cover of Desmond O'Grady's *The Golden Odes of Love*.

The new titles and the Arabic calligraphy of the 1997 edition make the work more attractive. By suggesting that the work is a translation of love poems and by adorning the dust jacket with calligraphy, the new edition markets the work by visually highlighting its otherness and evoking the image of the Orient as the land of exotic romance.

In the 1990 edition, a list of O'Grady's works—which includes poems he wrote in English as well as his verse translations from other languages—precedes the title page. Such list demonstrates the cultural capital O'Grady possesses as a poet which is materialised in all the books he produced in verse; thus, it situates O'Grady's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* in the literary field as the work of a poet.

The table of contents is the first place where the names of the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt* appears. In addition to revealing the authority O'Grady possesses in framing the translations and the original poets as well as guiding the cultural

experience of the target readers, the table of contents reveals the influence of Arberry's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* on O'Grady's. Each translation is preceded by a short biography that is headed by a title or phrase that O'Grady chooses (or seems to borrow from Arberry) to describe the original poets. Imru' al-Qais becomes "The Vagabond Prince," Ṭarfa is "The Ones the Gods Loved," Zuhair is "The Moralist," Labīd is "The Man with the Crooked Staff," 'Antara is "The Black Knight," 'Amr ibn Kulthūm is "The King Killer", and al-Ḥārith is "The Leper." In the "Acknowledgements", O'Grady lists Arberry's translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* as one of the basic references he draw upon in his project. In the "Acknowledgements" of the 1990 edition, O'Grady mentions the name of some Arab scholars who helped him with his translation. These names indicate his good access to the ST.

The 1990 edition has a "foreword" which offers a brief account of information about poetry in pre-Islamic Arabia and the *Mu'allaqāt* in particular. It is followed by "A Personal Note" which offers more clues regarding the *skopos* of the translation:

> One problem I faced rendering this transcribed oral poetry into readable modern English verse was the transference from oral to literary form, from ear-attention to eye-attention. To do this I took as much license in writing my page as any Arab rawī or reciter, would have done with his recitation. By indenting and varying the length of the line, I try to vary the immediate tempo and overall rhythm for the reader's expectant eye, much as a *rawī* would for his listener's expectant ear. However, I have kept to the architectural structure of the three parts of their interstructural modules. Other licenses have been to drop Arabic monorhyme as unsuitable to English verse and to leave out

> place and tribal names as distractions from and impediments to the compulsion of the passion in the poetry.
>
> These renderings do not pretend to be scholarly translations. (*Seven Arab Odes* 8)

O'Grady's personal note reveals that the purpose of his translations is mainly to present a *verse* translation, that he grants himself the freedom of a poet, and that the poetry he produces is more important than the details the poems present about different aspects of life in Arabia. The *skopos* of the translation overrides his translation decisions that include the visual arrangement of the poems on the page in an attempt to influence the reception of the translation as well as the liberty he takes which involves the omission of elements he finds distracting from the passion of poetry. His decision of dropping elements or features he finds "unsuitable to English verse" echoes his view regarding the translation of poetry that he cites in *A Limerick Rake* and *Off License*. In the introduction to *A Limerick Rake*, he explains that his aim is to "produce a poem in English from the original poem", and that he changes much of the text to achieve this aim (*Limerick* 11). In the introduction to *Off License*, he explains that the changes he makes include omitting stanzas or material he finds irrelevant (10), and that he sometimes changes the entire poem to highlight or focus on a certain theme (9). Therefore, it seems that O'Grady's philosophy is to produce a verse translation that reads like an English translation in its own right. In summary, the personal note in the 1990 edition reveals the *skopos* of the translation, presents O'Grady as a poet, reveals that the translation seems to target readers who are interested in the aesthetic aspect of the work, and limits the readers' expectations about the translation. In the 1997 edition, the "foreword" and "Personal Note" are dropped, and the brief account of background information about the *Mu'allaqāt* is

provided on the back of the dust jacket. The short length of the biographies which precede O'Grady's translations is another clue that the translation seems to target a popular audience among Anglophone readers and prioritises poetry over foregrounding the readers with information about the specific incidents documented in these poems.

In the 1997 edition, there is an additional feature which also guides the cultural experience of reading the translation. Some of the lines or words of the original poems (Figure 2) as well as the name of each poet are written in Arabic calligraphy which visually highlights the otherness of those descried in the poems and which appeals to readers interested in poetry situated in exotic sittings. O'Grady thus presents a fluent verse translation of the *qaṣīdas* which can be read as English poems which are set in exotic lands.

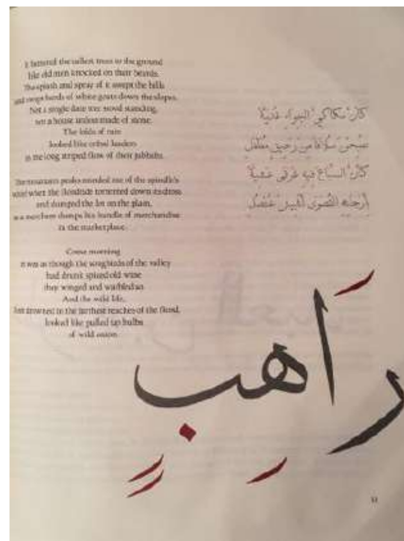

Figure 2: An Example of Arabic Calligraphy in Desmond O'Grady's *The Golden Odes of Love*.

4.2. Textual Analysis of Arberry's and O'Grady's Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

The British Press in the 1950s and the American media in the 1980s, both of which contributed to the creation of the doxic representations of Arabs at the time,

and reproduced the Orientalist reality that is characterised by the three features of essentialism, otherness, and absence. These characteristics were the result of the visual arrangement of the Orient according to the exhibitionary view or the concept of the world-as-exhibition (Mitchell, "Orientalism" 290) which carefully organised the world to "evoke some larger meaning, such as History or Empire or Progress" (Mitchell, "Orientalism" 293). Essentialism, as Timothy Mitchell notes, means that the Orientals' reality is the result of "unchanging racial or cultural essences", and that the Orientals' reality which is essentially characterised by fundamental absences is "the polar opposite of the West" which is essentially positive ("Orientalism" 289). He claims that the East was not represented as it was, but as a picture ("Orientalism" 305) which transferred into the Orient or the Other "the principles of one's relation to it" ("Orientalism" 308). These principles were translated in the three features that seem to be usually repeated in the representations of the Other. Mitchell suggests that by accessing eastern cultures through Orientalist representations of the Orient, Anglophone readers grasp it "as the reoccurrence of a picture one had seen before" ("Orientalism" 312). Therefore, the representation of the Orient "obeyed…this logic" which was determined "not by any intellectual failure of the European mind but by its search for the certainty of representation" (Mitchell, "Orientalism" 312).

These characteristics of the Western description of non-Western reality, which resulted from the Western Orientalists' transformation of their relation to the Orient into the Orient's description, resulted in creating a "national identity and imperial purpose" (Mitchell, "Orientalism" 289), and they are repeated in the representations of Arabs in the British Press during the Suez Crisis and in the American media in the 1980s. The ability of propaganda machines to stereotype and ideologically distort

Arabs was itself a reflection of the Western power and was convenient to the maintenance of the global political order.

Both Arberry and O'Grady achieve the *illusio* (i.e. make the game of fiction worth playing for the target readers) by translating the foreign literary form of the *qaṣīda* in accordance with the literary norms of the genre in the target literary field. Each translator makes choices which suite his *skopos* best. Arberry abandons the dull monorhyme and the single block form; he employs blank verse, and the iambic pentameter and unrhymed verse seem to suit his academic translation that transmits almost all the details of the original. O'Grady grants himself more liberty by translating the *qaṣīda* in free verse that enables him to produce a fluent translation, which would appeal to the American taste that favoured fluency and natural tone in modern verse (Scheindlin 159).[2] The segmentation of the *qaṣīdas* into stanzas according to themes in both translations overcomes the abrupt shift uncommon in the reciving literary tradition by providing visual spatial separators between groups of lines united by the same theme.

In addition to form, both translators seem to be trying to achieve the *illusio* through the manipulation of the content in relation to the representation of the Arab reality. Although Arberry and O'Grady are experienced translators, they make many deviations from the ST that can be explained in light of the socio-political circumstances that formed the doxic assumptions and beliefs about Arabs at the time the translations were produced. *Doxa* at the specified epochs was formed, at least partially, by the propaganda machines supported, and even sometimes controlled, by a

[2] Dorothy Benson praises "the rich alliterative sequences" and "the concise, sparce language" which grants "rhythm and movement to the verse" in O'Grady's translation, and which she prefers more than the ornate language of previous translatios of the same ST (123).

dominant force in society (the government). The *doxa* of each specified epoch seems to have influenced the decisions of Arberry and O'Grady in relation to the representations of the Arab reality in the *Mu'allaqāt* which are characterised by the three features of essentialism, otherness, and absence. Tim Parks states that a better appreciation of translation can be achieved by "looking at the original and the translation side by side and identifying… places" of difficulty (14). Here, I read the ST and the translations side by side and identify the places where there are instances of overload with details (which result in difficulty), manipulation, and (over)simplification in order to explore the influence of *doxa* on Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt.* This section traces the three characteristics of the doxic representational grasping of Arab reality in the translations under four main topics:

1. Detaching the text from its cultural and temporal contexts.
2. Orientalisation.
3. Change of the image of an Arab master or hero.
4. Translating tribal pride and war propaganda.

The methodology of my analysis is to group selected lines under these four topics, analyse the two translators' decisions of each line in light of the influence of *doxa* on the translations, and compare the approaches of the translators in light of the *skopos* of each translation. Suggestions about what I regard as the satisfactory alternative approach to the translation of the selected lines are offered after groups of lines which are translated using the same strategy. The three features of essentialism, otherness, and absence which simultaneously characterise the representation of Arabs are explained— in the concluding note after the discussion of each topic— in terms of understanding domestication and foreignisation not as two oppositional poles, but as

complementary techniques which can be simultaneously employed by the translator to fulfil the *skopos* of his translation.

4.2.1. Detaching the Text from Its Cultural and Temporal Contexts

The *Mu'allaqāt* have such a strong local character that even modern Arabs are not familiar with due to the difference between the culture of the nomads who lived in the Arabian Peninsula 1400 years ago and that of modern inhabitants of the Peninsula or that of the peoples who have always been sedentary and who knew art and science since ancient times (Egyptians, North Africans, Iraqis, and people of the Levant). Historians use the phrase "the Age of Ignorance" (*Jahiliyya*) to refer to pre-Islamic times in Ancient Arabia. According to Ghāzī Ṭulaimāt and 'Erfān al-Ashqar, scholars find it difficult to specify the beginning of that period: some use the term to refer to the period between the advent of Jesus Christ and that of Prophet Muḥammad, while others use it to label the period between the fall of the last state in the Peninsula before Islam (the Ḥamiriyya) in AD 525 and the advent of Islam (30). Ṭulaimāt and al-Ashqar also state that the term *Jahiliyya* is mainly used in Arabic to refer to the Ancient Arab culture which was characterised by traditions deemed immoral by Islam (29).

According to Ṭulaimāt and al-Ashqar, the tribe in Ancient Arabia had three strata: the masters and the free tribesmen whose job was to fight and protect the tribe, the slaves whose job was to serve the free, and the *mawalī* or refugees who would take refuge among the tribesmen in search for protection and who were below the free tribesmen and above the slaves in the hierarchal construction of the tribe (31-32). W.A. Clouston states that the religion of most Ancient Arabs was rank idolatry (xxiii). He adds that there were also a considerable number of Christians and Jews who lived among pagan Arabs (xxiii). However, Clouston clarifies that pagan Arabs worshiped

one supreme God beside their "imaginary" deities (xxiii) and that some tribes believed in the "Day of Reckoning", while some others did not believe in resurrection (xiv).

Clouston observes that the virtues,vices, customs, and traditions of the Ancient Arabs can be learnt from their poetry (xxiv). Poetry was the Arabs' archive. According to E. H. Palmer, "it was [a necessity]; for as their own proverb has it, 'the records of the Arabs are the verses of their bards'" (qtd. in Clouston xxx). The detail-rich account of life in Ancient Arabia in the *Mu'allaqāt* acquires a new character when the original texts are translated. Each translation has a character that reflects the attitudes of Arberry and O'Grady towards the *qaṣīdas* which are governed by the purposes of their translations and their roles in the field. Arberry's role as a scholar and the *skopos* of his translation seem to be behid his decision to transliterate each name and to reproduce the details of each description of place or event. However, it is noteworthy that he often offers the transliteration of names unaccompanied by generic nouns or adjectives that would clarify their identity or function. The *skopos* of O'Grady's translation is primarily to present a verse English rendering of the *Mu'allaqāt*, and it seems to be determined by his wish to present works which read like original poems (*Limerick* 11). Therefore, O'Grady omits names and other culture-specific elements which may be "impediments to the compulsion of the passion in the poetry" (*Seven Arab Odes* 8). Although Arberry and O'Grady employ different translation strategies when they translate culture-specific nomenclature because of the different aims they seek to fulfill, nonetheless the two translators reproduce the *doxa* in their representations of the Arab reality because their different strategies lead to abolishing order and identity.

The opening lines of the *qaṣīdas*, often dedicated to the theme of halting at the lady's deserted abode, are culture-specific because they are often replete with names of people that shaped the poet's experience and of locations that sharpen the features of his specific surroundings. Such is the case in the opening lines [3] of Imru'al-Qais's *qaṣīda*:

قِفَا نَبْكِ مِنْ ذِكْرَى حَبِيبٍ ومَنْزِل   بِسِقْطِ اللِّوَى بَيْنَ الدَّخُولِ فَحَوْمَلِ

فَتُوْضِحَ فَالمِقْراةِ لَمْ يَعْفُ رَسْمُها   لمـا نسـجتْها من جَنُـوب وَشَمْأَلِ

Halt, both friends. Let us weep over a lover and a deserted abode,

by the rim of the twisted sands between al-Dakhūl, Ḥaumal,

Tauḍiḥ, and al-Miqrāh. The abode's trace was not erased

by the Northern and Southern winds.

Arberry attempts to produce all the details in the original *qaṣīda*, including the exotic culture-specific names which are unfamiliar to the readers of translation. In this way, he keeps the cultural flavour of the text and its local character, which is convenient for his academic purpose:

Halt friends both! Let us weep, recalling a love and a lodging

by the rim of the twisted sands between Ed- Dàkhool and Haumal,

Toodih and El-Mikràt, whose trace is not yet effaced

for all the spinning of the south winds and the northern blasts; (*Seven Odes* 61)

The names of the four places are omitted in O'Grady's translation:

Halt here friends

Allow me private pause alone,

[3] Due to limited space, I could not cite all examples of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of culture-specific nomenclature in the seven *Mu'allaqāt*.

to remember a love, a longing, an unrequited right

here where the sand dune's rim whorls between where

we've abandoned and where we're bound for.

Here you'll still see

the old camp markers

despite that dangerous whirl

of the south wind,

nerves' nag of the north wind,

(*Seven Arab Odes* 13)

O'Grady omits the culture-specific names of the places Imru' al-Qais mentions in his *qaṣīda*, and replaces them with phrases which refer to directions. The new phrases are more convenient for O'Grady's purpose, given his prioritisation of verse over details of the places which shaped the poet's experience because they produce verbal effects. The words, "where we've… where we're," present an instance of alliteration, while the repeated consonant cluster at the end of "abandoned" and "bound" exhibit consonance. O'Grady drops monorhyme because it is unsuitable for English verse and drops the unfamiliar names (*Seven Arab Odes* 8); he also attempts to produce verbal effects through the substitution of unfamiliar names with words that create literary stylistic devices such as alliteration and consonance in the specified phrases.

However, O'Grady's strategy of omitting names detaches the text from its context. By dropping the names of the places which shaped Imru' al-Qais's experience, the sense of place turns into a sense of space. His representation of the reality described by the original poet is thus characterised by *absence* and *otherness* because it abolishes the boundaries or markers of places, and turns the locus where

Imru' al-Qais passes by into a space which lacks order. This absence of order is the opposite of Western order.

Both translators stick to their strategies when translating the opening lines of each *qaṣīda*, like the first line of Ṭarfa's:

لِخَـوْلَةَ أطْـلالٌ بِبُرْقَةِ ثَهْمَـدِ   تلُوحُ كَبَاقِي الوَشْمِ فِي ظَاهِرِ اليَدِ

> There are traces of Khaula's encampment in the stony path of
>
> Thahmad
>
> shimmering like tattoo marks on the back of the hand.

Arberry does not change the tattoo image Ṭarfa uses to describe the land where the beloved's house used to be:

> There are traces yet of Khawla in the stony tract of Thahamad
>
> apparent like the tattoo-marks seen on the back of the hand; (*Seven Odes* 83)

O'Grady totally changes the theme of the first line when he rewrites the first hemistick of the Arabic line:

I find no fine line of her face

profiled in my presence

like tattoo-marks might emerge

from a presented hand.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 25)

Instead of reminiscing about the beloved lady when he halts at her deserted encampment, the speaker in O'Grady's verse translation describes her beautiful face. He drops the name of the place and the lady's name, and he rewrites the line to produce verbal effect by employing the stylistic devices of alliteration (find-fine-face) and internal rhyme (fine-line). Although O'Grady's decision fulfils the *skopos* of his

translation, it detaches the text from it cultural and literary contexts because it does not convey the meaning of the line, which is a traditional literary theme in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, and because he obliterates the identity of the lady and the place where she dwelt. His translation decision leads to absence of identity and order in his representation of the Oriental reality.

Both translators follow their respective strategies when translating the opening line of Zuhair's *qaṣīda*:

أَمِنْ أُمِّ أَوْفَى دِمْنَـةٌ لَمْ تَكَلَّـمِ بِحَـوْمَانَةِ الـدُّرَّاجِ فَالمُتَثَلَّـمِ

> Is there still apparent blackened soot of Umm Aufa's [encampment]
>
> at the sand waste of Darrāj and al-Mutathallam?

Arberry translates this line without an omission or addition:

> Are there still blackened orts in the stone-waste of Ed-Darràj
>
> and El-Mutathallam, mute witnesses to where Umm Aufà once dwelt?
>
> (*Seven Odes* 114)

O'Grady again detaches the text from its cultural setting and replaces the name of the lady as well as the two places with words he employs to produce verbal effects:

> Are those black boughed orchards still back there
>
> in that stray ground of our old place?
>
> Mute witness to where
>
> my lovely lady lived?
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 34)

The names of the two places are replaced by the words "back there," and the first word alliterate with other words in the line (black-boughed-back), while the name of Umm Aufa is replaced by "loved lady," which alliterate with the word "lived."

Both translators stick to their strategies when translating the opining two lines of Labīd‘s *qaṣīda*:

عَفَتِ الدِّيَارُ مَحَلُّهَا فَمُقَامُهَا   بِمِنَىً تَأَبَّدَ غَوْلُهَا فَرِجَامُـهَا

فَمَدَافِعُ الرَّيَّانِ عُرِّيَ رَسْمُهَا   خَلَقَاً كَمَا ضَمِنَ الوُحِيَّ سِلامُهَا

> Desolate are the abodes, encampment and ruins,
> at Mina; deserted are the abodes by the mountains of Ghaul and Rijām,
> and the torrent beds at al-Rayān mountain —their traces are unclothed,
> like writings recorded on stone;

Arberry reproduces all the culture-specific names of places in his academic translation:

> The abodes are desolate, halting-place and encampment too,
> at Miná; deserted lies Ghaul, deserted alike Rijám,
> and the torrent beds at Er-Raiyán – naked shows their trace,
> rubbed smooth, like letterings long since scored on a stony slab; (*Seven Odes* 142)

Arberry’s translation presents the reader with a cluster of unfamiliar names and depends on the context to clarify that these names refer to the surroundings, but the result is obliterating the clear features of the setting since he does not tell the difference between names that label a location in general (Mina) and others that label the mountains (Ghaul, Rijām, and al-Rayān). Although his translation reproduces the names, it makes it difficult for the reader to get a clear picture of the scene and offers a hazy description instead. He burdens the text with clusters of unfamiliar names which only emphasise the cultural distance and otherness of the text because it does not distinguish between the different geographic features of the scene and turns the

sense of place into a sense of space. The transliteration of names of geographic features without clarifying what these names label leads to absence of order.

O’Grady’s text omits culture-specific nomenclature:

Her lodge lies levelled,
their well–water stop and composite desolate.
The dry beds of the ditch drains scorched day,
their tracks pumiced smooth as script
long since sand-eroded from a slab.
(*Seven Arab Odes* 39)

O’Grady omits the names of places and mountains from the lines and prioritises the production of verbal effects through the use of words which alliterate together (lodge-lies-levelled/ dry-ditch-drains-day). The omission results in absence of identity and order which are present in the ST.

The detachment of the text from its literary and cultural contexts continues in O’Grady’s translation of the first three lines of ‘Antara’s *qaṣīda*:

هَلْ غَادَرَ الشُّعَرَاءُ منْ مُتَـرَدَّمِ   أم هَلْ عَرَفْـتَ الدَّارَ بعدَ تَوَهُّـمِ
يَا دَارَ عَبْلَـــةَ بِالجـَواءِ تَكَلّمِـي   وَعِمِّي صَبَاحاً دَارَ عبْلَةَ واسلَمِ
فَوَقّفْتُ فيها نَـــاقَـــتي وكَـــأنَّهَ   فَـدَنٌ لأقْضي حَاجَةَ المُتـَلَـــوّمِ

Have the poets left a spot to be patched?
Or did you recognise the abode after uncertainty?
O abode of ‘Abla at al-Jewa’, speak;
I wish you good morning, abode of ‘Abla, and peace
There I halted my she-camel, which was
huge as a castle, to satisfy my desire of longing for her;

Arberry's academic translation reproduces the meaning and the themes of the lines without a change:

Have the poets left a single spot for a patch to be sewn?

Or did you recognise the abode after long mediation?

O abode of Abla at El-Jewå, let me hear you speak;

I give you good morning, abode of Abla, and greetings to you!

For there I halted my she-camel, huge-bodied as a castle,

that I might satisfy the hankering of a lingerer; (*Seven Odes* 179)

O'Grady amalgamates the second and third lines in this three-line opening of the *qaṣīda*, making 'Antara salute his lover without halting at the encampment:

Have the poets left a place

to sew on a patch?

From my camel

I salute the composite of my longed–for lady

to satisfy my love of her gone absent.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 47)

In addition to substituting 'Abla's name with alliterated words (longed-for lady), O'Grady's translation fails to reintroduce the image of decay that befalls the lady's encampment traditionally portrayed when addressing the theme of halting at the beloved's deserted abode.

The suppression of the identity of the place continues in both translators' renderings of the opening lines of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm's *qaṣīda*:

أَلاَ هُبِّي بِصَحْنِكِ فَاصْبَحِيْنَا   وَلاَ تُبْقِي خُمُوْرَ الأَنْدَرِيْنَا

Up, girl! Grab your bowl and quench our morning draught,

> and don’t spare us the fine wines of the Levantine village of al-Andarīn,

al-Andarīn is a village in the Levant known for its fine wine (al-Zauzani 173). Arberry’s translation reproduces the name of the village without clarifying its identity:

> Ha, girl! Up with your bowl! Give us our dawn-draught
>
> and do not spare the wines of El-Andarína, (*Seven Odes* 204)

Arberry’s translation turns the specified village into a location where the size does not matter and the boundary is unlimited. It does not matter whether it is a village, town, or city, or even a known location along the tracts of the Arabian Desert. It simply joins the bulk of unfamiliar nomenclature as the name of yet another undefined location. Thus, his decision of transliterating the village’s name— which is unaccompanied by any terms which may explain its significe— results in lack of order.

O’Grady conveys the meaning without referring to the name of the village:

> Get up out of it girl.
>
> Glasses of wine to start our day.
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 53)

The commentary on Arberry’s and O’Grady’s translations of the opening lines shows how the poets adopt different approaches to translate the names of people and places which suit the purposes of their translations, but which politicise the translations. Arberry’s academic translation, which often transliterates names without explaining their significance, presents a hazy scene which is characterised by absence

of order that is not in the original poems,[4] and the resultant load of unfamiliar names makes the translation stress distance as a form of otherness. O'Grady verse translation, which substitutes cultural nomenclature with words which produce verbal effects, builds up an atmosphere of nothingness which is characterised by absence of identity and order. Such absence of order implies the otherness of the described people and setting.

In order to preserve the character of the ST without producing a cluster of unfamiliar details in the TT, I suggest retaining the culture specific nomenclature and adding a generic noun or short descriptive phrase or definition, like I do in my translation of the Levantine village of al-Andarīn for instance.[5] Retaining the names preseveres the identity of the people and identifies the features which represent order in the surroundings of the poets, and the generic nouns clarify the significance of culture-specific nomenclature.

Moving on, both translators follow the same strategies when translating most of the culture-specific nomenclature in the rest of the *qaṣīdas*. Examples include their translations of Manshim's perfume that Zuhair uses to describe the intensity of the war between the tribes of ʻAbs and Dhubyān:

تَدَارَكْتُمَا عَبْسًا وَذُبْيَانَ بَعْدَمَا　　　تَفَانَوْا وَدَقُّوا بَيْنَهُمْ عِطْرَ مَنْشَمِ

You two saved the tries of ʻAbs and Dhubyān

after warring, and much grinding of the ominous perfume of the lady

perfume seller, Manshim,

---

[4] The strategies that Arberry and O'Grady use to translate cultural nomenclature—and traditions as the section later explains— in the *Muʻallaqāt* result in a portrayal of the Arabs that resembles Lamartine's description of the Orient. Lamartine describes the Orient as nations without territory and without rights or laws (cited in Said, *Orientalism* 179).

[5] This stategy was employed by Sir William Jones and Paul Smith when they translated culture-specific nomenclature in the *Muʻallaqāt*.

The term "منشم" is the name of a female perfume seller in Ancient Arabia. Some men bought perfume from her and dipped their hands in this perfume after vowing that they would fight their enemies together; then, they went to war, fought until the last man and were all killed (al-Zauzani116). Because of this incident, Arabs thought that this perfume brought bad luck (al-Zauzani 116). By saying that ʻAbs and Dhubyān used the perfume of this woman, Zuhair means that many men were killed in the war between both tribes. Arberry translates the line as follows:

> You alone mended the rift between Abs and Dhubyán
> after long slaughter, and much grinding of the perfume of Manshim,
> (*Seven Odes* 115)

Arberry reintroduces the perfume of Manshim in his translation, yet he does not explain its significance as an indication of bad omen. He depends on the context in elaborating that the perfume is related to bloodshed, but he does not explain how it is related to the annihilation of warriors. A possible adequate apoproach is to add an adjective to describe the perfume and a descriptive phrase before Manshim in order to explain the name's significance to the reader. On the other hand, O'Grady does not translate this line. The omission simplifies the message, but makes absent the identity of tribes that were powerhouses in politics of Arabia. Consequently, it obliterates the order represented in the map of tribes in Zuhair's society.

Names of people and tribes are particularly significant in the *muʻallaqa* of ʻAmr ibn Kulthūm in which he draws a map of political relations among the tribes at his time. The context of the *qaṣīda* often explains the significance of the names and their relations to ʻAmr ibn Kulthūm, but there are some lines where the context does not do this, since the poet presupposes his audience's awareness of the net of tribal relations of alliance or rivalry. The failure of reproducing this map of relations clearly

leads to a sense of unfamiliarity with the politics of the tribes, or even to the abolishing of their existence. An example comes from the line where ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm asks King ‘Amr ibn Hind a rhetorical question that implies reference to the glory of ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm’s tribe, namely Jusham ibn Bakr: [6]

فَهَلْ حُدِّثْتَ فِي جُشَمٍ بِنْ بَكْرٍ   بِنَقْصٍ فِي خُطُوْبِ الأَوَّلِيْنَا

Have you been told, regarding my people Jusham ibn Bakr,

that they ever failed in the ancients’ great engagements?

Arberry translates the line without specifying the relation between ‘Amr and Jushan ibn Bakr which is not obvious in the lines:

Have you been told, regarding Jusham bin Bakr,

that they ever failed in the ancients’ great engagements? (*Seven Odes* 207)

The context implies that Jusham ibn Bakr are on the side of ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm, but does not clarify the relation as one of kinship. O’Grady omits the line that refers to ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm’s tribe. The omission simplifies the message and removes the burden of unfamiliar details which may not help O’Grady to fulfil his purpose of producing a fluent verse translation. However, his decion leads to the absence of the political map which represents order and identity.

Culture-specific nomenclature in al-Ḥārith’s *qaṣīda* is also particularly important for political reasons, because it was improvised in the presence of King ‘Amr ibn Hind in reply to ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm’s allegations against King ‘Amr ibn Hind and the tribe of al-Ḥārith (al-Tabrīzī 430). An example of the significance of such names in al-Ḥārith’s *qaṣīda* comes from the following lines:

---

[6] His name is ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm ibn Malik ibn ‘Attāb ibn Sa‘ad ibn Zuhair ibn Jusham ibn Bakr… (al-Tabrīzī 22)

إِذ رَفَعنَا الجِمَـالَ مِن سَعَفِ الـ   ـبَحرَينِ سَيراً حَتَّى نَهَاهَاالحِسَاءُ

ثـُمَّ مِلنَـــا عَلَى تَمِيمٍ فَأَحرَمنَـــا   وَفِينـَــا بَــنَــــاتُ مُـــرٍ إِمَـــاءُ

When we rode on our camels from the palm trees of

Bahrian until we reached the oasis of al-Ḥisā’,

then we raided the tribe of Tamīm, and by the sacrosanct truce-months

had the tribe of Murr’s daughters among us as slave girls.

Arberry translates both lines, reproducing the names without specifying what they label:

When we strained on our camels from the palm-trees of

El-Bahrian, till El-Hiså brought them to their goal,

then we swerved against Tameem, and by the truce-months

had in our midst the daughter of Murr as handmaids; (*Seven Odes* 224)

The failure in specifying whether Murr andTamīm refer to a man or to an entire tribe leads to a failure in reflecting the strength of the tribe illustrated in their ability to defeat neighbouring tribes. Thus, Arberry’s work fails to reproduce the message of the ST accurately and offers a cluster of names which results in stressing the otherness of the space and its dwellers.

O’Grady amalgamates these two lines with the two that follow, and presents a translation void of any cultural details:

You know nothing of tribal terror

when we took what we wanted

and no one escaped.

We ruled.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 60)

Omission of any reference to location and the replacement of names of Murr and Tamīm with words which alliterate in "when we took what we wanted" and with words that produce anaphora (the repetition of we in "we took", "we wanted", and "we ruled" instead of naming what they wanted and which places they ruled) produce verbal effects. However, O'Grady's translation makes absent the map of relations between tribes as well as the boundaries of territories of dominance; al-Ḥārith and his people and their rivals turn into a group of Arabs with no identity, warring in the void. Such identity can be clarified by retaining the culture-specific nomenclature and clarifying its significance by using a generic noun or a short definition or descriptive phrase.

Apart from names, O'Grady fails to reproduce traditions which represent order in Ancient Arabia. An example comes from the following line from Zuhair's *qaṣīda* in which he describes how two Arab masters put an end to the long war between 'Abs and Dhubyān by paying atonement to the tribe first assailed:

فَكُـلاً أَرَاهُمْ أَصْبَـــحُـوا يَعْقِلُونَـــهُ   صَحِيْحَـاتِ مَالٍ طَالِعَـاتٍ بِمَخْـرِمِ

I witness that they paid atonement

with fine camels rising up the mountain.

Zuhair clearly states that the *diyya* "دية" (atonement for the killed) is paid in camel (since camels were the Ancient Arabs' wealth). But Arberry substitutes the camels with money:[7]

yet I behold they every one paid in full the bloodwit,

a thousand superadded after a thousand complete. (*Seven Arab Odes* 117)

[7] According to Clouston, the fine that the tribe of the murderer had to pay to the family of the murdered seemed to have been ten camels about the time of the Prophet (xxvii).

Arberry fails to reproduce the tradition of *diyya* payment accurately for the audience he targets who seem to be students or readers interested in learning about Arabic language and culture; however, he still produces the tradition unlike O'Grady who entirely omits the line and the eight lines which precede it from his translation. He omits a rare description of a famous event in the history of pre-Islamic Arabia, and the omission simplifies the text because it removes the details about an unfamiliar event. However, the omission detaches the translation from its cultural context. O'Grady's representation of this reality is characterised by absence of an event which explains their tradition and politics and which make up part of their history. His translation is selective because it does not represent Arab reality as it was represented by the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt*; it selects elements which seem fit for his verse translation and for a picture-like presentation of the Arab reality. His translation portrays them as a people with no politics, no traditions which regulate life, and no order.

O'Grady also decontextualises the text by not reproducing the poets' explanation of tribal politics via their own tribe's points of view in certain important events. An example comes from his translation of the following line in which al-Ḥārith explains, from his tribe's point of view, the rationale behind the tribal war between his tribe and al-Arāqim's. His explanation unfolds over the following three lines:

زَعَمُوا أَنَّ كُلَّ مَن ضَرَبَ العِيرَ　　مُـــوَالٍ لَنَـــا وَأَنَـــا الــــوَلاءُ

أَجمَعُوا أَمـــرَهُم عِشـــاءً فَلَمّـَا　　أَصبَحُوا أَصبَحَت لَهُم ضَوْضَـاءُ

مِن مُنَـــادٍ وَمِن مُجِـيـبٍ وَمِـن　　تَصـــهَالِ خَـيلٍ خِلالَ ذَاكَ رُغَـاءُ

They claimed that all who have smitten the wild ass
are our allies, and that we are their protectors;
they formed their plans by night, and when they

> rose in the morning, they filled the morning with clamour,
>
> some calling and some answering,
>
> a neighing of horses and a grumbling of camels.

Arberry translates the lines as follows:

> They asserted that all who have smitten the wild ass
>
> are clients of ours, and ourselves their protectors;
>
> they concreted their plans by night, and when morning
>
> dawned, they filled the morning with a great clamour,
>
> some calling and some answering, commingled with
>
> a neighing of horses and a grumbling of camels. (*Seven Odes* 223)

O'Grady omits two of the three lines and presents the scene of gathering in the tribe of al-Arāqim as follows:

> Shouting loud mouthed rubbish between them.
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 59)

Omitting the cause behind the problem which led to gathering the men of the tribe to fight for their cause (which was an economic reason because animals constituted the Arabs' wealth in Ancient Arabia) obliterates the explanation of the cause behind the use of force (which is a political act against assailants) and shifts focus to the gathering where the noise of the men (which reflects their large number) is described as "shouts of loud mouthed rubbish." Consequently, the omission distorts the meaning as it turns a scene of preparation for war which is triggered by economic reasons into one of unjustified chaos, and sends tribal reasoning and politics into nothingness. The resultant chaos in the TT scene can be avoided by reproducing all the details of the scene as described in the ST.

The absence of order which characterises O'Grady's representation of the Arab reality also results from his decision to abolish the social classes in the community to which those people belong. An example comes from the translation of the scene of the bonfire banquet that mirrors the hierarchical structure of Ancient Arabian tribes. In Ancient Arabia, masters from the stratum of the free were accompanied by servants. These servants are mentioned in the following line where Ṭarfa describes a banquet:

فَظَلَّ الإِمَاءُ يَمْتَلِلْنَ حُوَارَهَا   ويُسْعَى عَلَيْنَا بِالسَّدِيْفِ المُسَرْهَدِ

The maidservants were busy roasting her little foal,

and the tender shredded hump was hastened to us.

Ṭarfa takes the best parts of the meat, leaving the rest for the handmaids who roast the meat. Arberry makes no significant changes:

Then the maidservants set to roasting her little foal,

while the tender shredded hump was hastened to regale us. (*Seven Odes* 89)

O'Grady does not refer to the handmaids. He changes the scene by making Ṭarfa compete for the choicest parts:

and we competed for the choice cuts of the hump

I won.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 30)

Competing for food is not something a master would take pride in, and the competition removes the boundaries between the people in the group, making them equals. O'Grady's choice to omit parts referring to the servants obliterates the boundaries between the social classes in Ancient Arabian tribes. Similarly, he omits the lines about Antara's servant:

فَبَعَثْتُ جَارِيَتي فَقُلْتُ لها اذْهَبي   فَتَجَسَّسِي أَخْبارَها لِيَ واعْلَمِي

قَالتْ : رَأيتُ مِنَ الأَعادِي غِرَّةً   والشَاةُ مُمْكِنَةٌ لِمَنْ هُو مُرْتَمي

I sent my slave-girl to her, telling her, “Go,

explore her news for me, and tell me”.

She said, “I saw the enemies were inattentive

and the fawn was attainable to any hunter”.

Arberry translates both lines as follows:

I sent my slave-girl to her, telling her, ‘Off with you now,

scout out news of her for me, and tell me truly.’

She said, ‘I saw the enemy were off their guard

and the fawn was attainable to any good marksman.’(*Seven Odes* 182)

O’Grady does not translate these lines. The ownership of a slave girl implies ‘Antara’s status of imminence and affluence among his people after winning his freedom. O’Grady’s decision to omit parts or entire lines which reflect the existence of social classes in tribes makes his representation characterised by absence of social hierarchy and order which can be retained in the TT by retaining the omitted lines.

The failure to reproduce traditions and events which reflect order, reasoning, and politics in the pre-Islamic Arab society is accompanied by failure to reproduce a traditional theme of the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* which reflects traditions that represent order. A traditional concept in Ancient Arabian poetry is the wealth of the lady and her tribe, [8] and this concept is evident in the following line from Zuhair’s *qaṣīda*:

وَدَارٌ لَهَا بِالرَّقْمَتَيْنِ كَأَنَّهَا   مَرَاجِيْعُ وَشْمٍ فِي نَوَاشِرِ مِعْصَمِ

---

[8] The reasons for marriage in the Ancient Arabian culture is reflected in a ḥadīth (saying) of the Prophet.According to the ḥadīth, men marry women for four reasons: wealth, family,beauty, and religious commitment, and the Prophet recommends seeking the one who is religiously committed (al-Bukhārī 1298)

She had two abodes, built over lands with black rocks in Baṣra and

Madīna, which appeared

like criss-cross tattoo upon the wrist.

Zuhair here refers to two different abodes in this line, both built over lands with black rocks: the first is near Başra in Iraq and the other is near Madīna to the west of the Peninsula (al-Zauzani 109-10). The lady thus had two houses, because no house could be close to Baṣra and Madīna at the same time (al-Zauzani 110).

When translating this line, Arberry transliterates al-Raqmatain (probably out of failure to understand it) instead of translating the word's meaning:

A lodging where she abode in Er-Rakmatàn, that appears

like criss-cross tattooings upon the sinews of a wrist— (114)

By transliterating Er-Raqmatain, Arberry turns the two distant places into one place, and gives it a name (which is the transliteration of the Arabic word "رقمة", meaning a land with black rocks).His decision burdens the text with an unfamiliar word, changes the description of the cultural setting, and fails to reproduce the tradition of describing the lady's affluence.

O'Grady voids the line of its cultural significance by omitting the description of the location and only translating the image of the tattoo:

The lines of her lodge crisscrossed like the lines

of tattoos on a stretched hand.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 34)

The omission of culture-specific nomenclature simplifies the translation, but it leads to failures in reproducing the traditional reference to the lady's affluence which is reflected in her procession of two abodes.

Tarfa also follows the tradition of refering to the lady's affluence and her tribe's wealth when he describes the caravan of Khaula's people:

كَأنَّ حُدُوجَ المَالِكِيَّةِ غُدْوَة   خَلاَيَا سَفِيْنٍ بِالنَّوَاصِفِ مِنْ دَد

عَدَوْلِيَّةٌ أَوْ مِنْ سَفِيْنِ ابْنَ يَامِنٍ   يَجُوْرُ بِهَا المَلاَّحُ طَوْراً ويَهْتَدِي

> The litters of Khaula's Malikī tribe that started the journey in the morning
> from the watercourse of the valley Dad were like great ships
> [like vessels] of ‘Adūlī tribe, especially those of ibn Yāmin
> whose mariners steer tack at times, and straight forward at other;

Arberry continues to overload the message with unfamiliar details when he describes the valley of Dad through the insertion of a transliteration of the generic noun "وادي" (valley). Furthermore, his translation does not make it clear what "Malikī" or "Adūlī" refers to:

> The litters of the Màliki camels that morn in the broad
> watercourse of Wadi Dad were like great schooners
> from Adauli, or the vessels of Ibn-i Yàmin
> their mariners steer now tack by tack, now straight forward; (*Seven Odes* 83)

The term "Malikī" can have a variety of meanings, unbeknownst to a reader unfamiliar with the name of Khaula's tribe. It can be a type of camel or an adjective relating to a village, or a community known for its fine riding beasts. Clarifying that the camels belong to Khaula's tribe would have reflected her tribe's wealth, but Arberry's reproduction of the term without clarifying what the noun labels fails to

represent a traditional description of the Ancient Arabian poet's beloved.[9] O'Grady's translation of the line leads to the same result, but through omission:

Covered camels that daybreak

by the broad water currents

sailed like schooners,

tacked as dhows

steer and tack. Tack and steer.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 25)

The omission allows O'Grady to use stylistic devices such as alliteration (sailed-schooners-steer-steer) and antimetabole in "steer and tack. Tack and steer"[10] without the interruption of unfamiliar details which may impede the flow of feelings in his verse. However, omission detaches the text from its literary and cultural contexts because it does not reproduce the tranditional reference to the lady's wealth. His representation of the scene of departure is characterised by absence of social hierarchy and order, and consequently by otherness when compared to Western order. Similarly, O'Grady omits 'Antara's description of the caravan of the lady's people:

فِيهَـا اثْنَتانِ وأَرْبعونَ حَلُوبَـة   سُوداً كَخافيةِ الغُرَابِ الأَسْحَـمِ

There were forty two milch-camels among them

black like the inner wing-feathers of the dark raven.

---

[9] Arberry does employ stylistic devices such as anaphora (*now* tack by tack, *now* straight forward) in the selected lines and other lines, but the words he chooses to create verbal effects do not seem to be influenced by *doxa*; he does not replace the culture-specific names with other words that produce verbal effects. Therefore, his decision to keep culture-specific nomenclature seems to be mainly driven by the *skopos* of his academic translation which attempts to reproduce all the details of the original poems as it seems to target a specialised readership or readers interested in learning the details and background of the original poems.

[10] The antimetabole seems to reflect the emotional effect of movement which one feels when riding an animal through repetition.

Arberry transmits the meaning as follows:

two and forty milch-camels among them, all black

as the inner wing-feathers of the sable raven. (*Seven Odes*179)

O'Grady omits the number of camels, which reflects the wealth of the lady's people. He only describes the colour of the camels in fewer words:

milch camels black as the feathers of ravens.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 47)

By omitting the number of camels in the caravan, O'Grady's translation does not reproduce the description of the wealth of the lady lover's family. The omission makes absent a tradition which represents order and obliterates differentiation between women on the basis of their position in the social hierarchy which is based on wealth and lineage. The reproduction of traditions and social order by translating the entire lines and avoiding omission is the strategy I find satisfactory to present the Arab reality as described in the *Mu'allaqāt* which was a document of the life in pre-Islamic Arabia.

O'Grady also dissolves the temporal distance between the modern Arabs of the Peninsula and their Ancient ancestors. An example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line in which Imru' al-Qais addresses a wolf he passes by, saying that he and the wolf squander everything they gain:

كِــلاَنَا إِذَا مَا نَالَ شَيْئَـاً أَفَاتَـهُ   ومَنْ يَحْتَرِثْ حَرْثِي وحَرْثَك يَهْـزَلِ

Both of us squander whatever we get

and those who till our tilth go slim.

Arberry employs formal language when rendering this line:

It's the same with both of us—whenever we get aught into our hands

we let it slip through our fingers; tillers of our tilth go pretty thin.'

(*Seven Odes* 64)

O'Grady changes the register. The *Mu'allaqāt* is written in classical Arabic, and he uses informal words:

If either of us manage a muckle today,

It's a mickle tomorrow.

Our tillage turns shallow.

Our bargains and barter beggar."

(*Seven Arab Odes* 18)

O'Grady's use of "mickle"[11] and "muckle" creates the verbal effect of close rhyme; both words also alliterate with "manage" in the first line. Although the words serve O'Grady's purpose, the use of modern informal language suppresses the temporal distance of the texts. To keep the ST in their temporal context, I suggest the consistent use of formal language when translating the *Mu'allaqāt*.

Another example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line where Imru' al-Qais describes the details of a bonfire night:

فَظَلَّ طُهَاةُ اللَّحْمِ مِن بَيْنِ مُنْضِجٍ صَفِيفَ شِوَاءٍ أَوْ قَدِيْرٍ مُعَجَّلِ

The cooks were busy with the meat, some roasting

grilled slices, some hastily cooking the slices in a cauldron.

Arberry translates the line as follows:

Busy then were the cooks, some roasting upon a fire

the grilled slices, some stirring the hasty stew. (*Seven Odes* 65)

O'Grady makes a significant change; he uses the term "kebab" to translate the meat:

[11] According to *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term "mickle" which refers to amount, is a non-formal regional word used in Scotland and the north of England.

The rest of the day we spent spitting kebab

and stirring the stew thrown quickly together.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 19-20)

The term "kebab" has been used recently by the Arabs to refer to a certain dish of grilled meat. It was not used in Ancient Arabia, and its use abolishes the temporal distance between the different epochs.

In the following line, in which 'Antara describes his lady's mouth, O'Grady abolishes the temporal distance of the classical *qaṣīda* by using yet another anachronistic word:

إذْ تَسْتَبِيْكَ بِذِي غُروبٍ وَاضِحٍ   عَذْبٍ مُقَبَّلُهُ لَذيذُ المَطْعَمِ

She captures you with a mouth of sharp white teeth,

sweet to kiss, delicious to taste,

The meaning is rendered in Arberry's translation as follows:

When she captures you with that mouthful of sharp white teeth,

sweet indeed the kiss of it, delicious to taste. (*Seven Odes* 179)

O'Grady describes the lady's sharp teeth as a white mosque:

When her kisses took me through the white mosque of her teeth

(*Seven Arab Odes* 47)

The mosque is the worshiping place for Muslims. When O'Grady decides to use the mosque to describe the teeth of 'Antara's lady, he omits the temporal distance between two historic epochs, pre- and post-Advent of Islam. The omission of temporal distance erases the change that the Arabic culture underwent in the transition from paganism to Islam.

O’Grady also uses an anachronistic term when translating the following line where ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm likens the skulls of the heroes his tribesmen killed to camel loads littered upon a pebble path:

تَخَالُ جَمَاجِمَ الْأَبْطَالِ فيها   وُسُوقًا بِالْأَمَاعِزِ يَرْتَمِينَا

you might imagine the heroes’ skulls there,

were loads flung down on the pebble path.

Arberry reproduces the image in ‘Amr’s *qaṣīda* without a change:

you might fancy the heroes’ skulls, riding them,

were camel’s-loads flung down on the pebbles. (*Seven Odes* 206)

O’Grady changes the simile altogether. He likens the skulls of the slain enemies to stones scattered in the “Empty Quarter”:

We’ve scattered skulls like stones

on the wastes of the Empty Quarter.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 54)

The “Empty Quarter” is a modern name for the large sand desert in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula which was anciently known as al-Aḥqāf. The modern name in the TT suppresses the temporal distance between the time at which the poems were composed and the time at which they were translated, making absent the concept of change and progress.

A final example of obliterating temporal distance in O’Grady’s translation is evident in his omission of the following line in which Ṭarfa describes the structure and poise of his she-camel by likening it to a Byzantine bridge:

كَقَنْطَـرةِ الرُّوْمِـيِّ أَقْسَمَ رَبُّهَـا   لَتُكْتَنِفَـنْ حَتَى تُشَـادَ بِقَرْمَـد

Like the bridge of a Byzantine, whose builder swore

it should be all enclosed to be raised in bricks

This idea is conveyed in Arberry's translation as follows:

> like the bridge of a Byzantine, whose builder swore
>
> it should be all encased in bricks to be raised up true. (*Seven Odes* 84)

O'Grady entirely omits the line referring to the Byzantine Empire, which was a neighbouring ancient civilisation of the Ancient Arabs, and which did not last beyond the middle ages.

The omission of the temporal distance between the different historical epochs results in the absence of the sense of time and absence of progress which is brought about by moving from one epoch to another. The people in O'Grady's translation appear to be wandering in a spatial and temporal void, and the suppression of the limits between their time and the present makes the status of the Ancient Arabs applicable to the modern Arabs of the Peninsula, implying lack of development. Consequently, it implies otherness because the stagnancy of the picture of Arabs presented in O'Grady's translation is the opposite of the progressive movement which characterises the Western culture. Making clear the temporal distance between the different historical epochs can be achieved by avoiding the use — or insertion— of anachronistic words, and by using words which do not abolish the temporal distance (such as meat instead of Kebab).[12]

Concluding Remarks

Arberry's and O'Grady's representations of the Arab reality, which are detached from the socio-cultural and temporal contexts, are characterised by *absence of order and progress* and, consequently, by *otherness* which are two of the features which characterise representations of the non-West through transferring the West's

[12] My translations of the secelcted lines throughout the section of the textual analysis employ such neutral words as alternatives which I find more satisfactory for the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

narrative of itself and its relation to the Arabs into the representation of the Arab reality. These two features echo the doxic discourse at the time the translations were produced because they characterised the portrayal of Nasser or Egyptians in the British Press during the Suez Crisis and the portrayal of Arabs in the American media since the 1980s.

The transference of Western imagination of the Arabs into the description of the Arabs is realised in two different manners according to the *skopos* of each translation. Arberry's academic translation employs the foreignising method of reproducing all the culture-specific nomenclature; however, it does not add generic terms or short definitions which imply the significance of the people and places these names label. This strategy often leads to absence of order due to the obliteration of markers of identity or order and produces a bulk of unfamiliar cultural-nomenclature which highlights the otherness of the Arabs. O'Grady's translation which prioritises verse over details employs the domesticating technique of omitting cultural nomenclature; it also often omits lines which describe political events, traditions, social hierarchal order, and words which refer to the temporal setting and set the epoch described off subsequent epochs in the history of Arabs. The result of such frequent omissions is absence of details which signify order and progress. These two features are the opposite of order and progress which characterise the Empire or the Western culture.

4.2.2. Orientalisation

Orientalising non-Westerners by stereotyping them or making much of the difference between the West and non-West is core to Orientalist discourse and to the way in which the non-West has been studied and constructed as a reality since the end of the eighteenth century. Orientalism surfaced in political propaganda campaigns

against Egypt in the British Press during the Suez Crisis and against Arabs (especially from Gulf countries) in the American media since the 1980s. Such campaigns shaped the doxic discourse about Arabs at the specified epochs whose influence can be seen in Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

Making much of the difference between the West and non-West can be seen in Arberry's translation of the following line from Zuhair's *qaṣīda*:

فَـلاَ تَكْتُمُنَّ اللهَ مَا فِي نُفُوسِكُـمْ لِيَخْفَـى وَمَهْمَـا يُكْتَمِ اللهُ يَعْلَـمِ

Do not conceal from God what is in your hearts;

God knows whatever is hidden.

Arberry uses the naturalised term "Allah" in his translation of this line:

Do not conceal from Allah whatever is in your breasts

hoping it may be hidden; Allah knows whatever is concealed, (*Seven Odes* 115)

According to *OED*, "Allah" is "the name of God among Muslims and Arabic people in general". "Allah", used by Arabs in particular instead of the neutral "God," emphasises the idea that the people described in the *qaṣīda* are worshipping an Oriental god and following an Oriental religion, and contributes to further clarifying the line drawn between the target Anglophone readers and the Oriental "Other." On the other hand, O'Grady communicates the meaning of the line without adhering to Zuhair's wording, but his translation of the line does not change the original meaning:

No man can hide from his God

what's in his heart.

God knows all.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 35)

The exoticisation of the milieu in both translations is achieved by substituting neutral elements with ones that typically evoke the stereotypical image of Arabia as a desert, or by inserting such words absent in the original *qaṣīdas*. An example comes from their translations of Imru' al-Qais's description of his lady:

وبَيْضَـةِ خِدْرٍ لاَ يُرَامُ خِبَاؤُهَـا   تَمَتَّعْتُ مِنْ لَهْوٍ بِهَا غَيْرَ مُعْجَـلِ

And a veiled, white like an egg, hard to reach lady

I have enjoyed dallying with, and not in a hurry

Although the "tent" is not mentioned in the *qaṣīda*, Arberry inserts this word into his translation of the first hemistich of the line:

Many's the fair-veiled lady, whose tent few would think of seeking,

I've enjoyed sporting with, and not in a hurry either, (*Seven Odes* 62)

O'Grady turns the tent itself into the focus of the first hemistich, which should have revolved around Imru' al-Qais's fair lover:

Many's the eggshell shaped tent

no one dared enter I got into

and lazily dallied its fair faced lady.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 15)

The tent brings the Bedouin environment to the surface and evokes the stereotypical image of Arabia where tents are the main form of accommodation. In other words, it emphasises the otherness of Arabs.

The tent continues to replace terms that refer to abodes or houses in O'Grady's translation of the following line where Ṭarfa likens the structure of his she-camel's body to an abode with pillars and a ceiling:

أُمِرَّتْ يَدَاهَا فَتْلَ شَزْرٍ وأُجْنِحَـتْ   لَهَـا عَضُدَاهَا فِي سَقِيْفٍ مُسَنَّـدِ

her legs are twined like a twisted rope,

her forelegs thrust aslant under the upheld roof [of her chest].

Arberry translates this line without omission or addition:

her legs are twined like rope uptwisted, her forearms

thrust slantwise up to the propped roof of her breast. (*Seven Odes* 84)

In his translation, O'Grady inserts the image of the tent into the description of the she-camel's structure. Here, the she-camel's breast is likened to the roof of a tent, its forelegs to a tent's supporting sticks:

Broad spanned her lean legs

twined tense as twisted tubers.

The arms of her slant out from her shoulders.

A tent's roof her forefront.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 26)

The tent continues to be the main form of accommodation in Arabia in Arberry's translation of the following lines where Zuhair narrates the story of Ḥuṣṣain ibn Ḍamḍam's revenge which led to a long tribal war:

فَشَـــــدَّ فَلَمْ يُفْــزِعْ بُيُــوتاً كَثِيـرَةً   لَدَى حَيْثُ أَلْقَــتْ رَحْلَــهَا أُمُّ قَشْعَمِ

So he charged, not frightening many houses

where Death had dropped off its baggage.

Arberry substitutes the neutral "بيوتا" (which means houses) with tents:

So he charged alone, not alarming the many tents

where already the swift rider Death had cast its baggage (*Seven Odes* 116-17)

Inserting tents, even when they are not mentioned in the original *qaṣīdas*, matches the stereotypical representation of Arabia in Orientalist literature. Such representation is

enhanced through the insertion of elements specific to the Arabian culture. O'Grady omits this line.

Another example comes from Arberry's translation of the following line where Ṭarfa describes Khaula's caravan:

أَمُـوْنٍ كَأَلْوَاحِ الإِرَانِ نَصَأْتُهَـا   عَلَى لاحِبٍ كَأَنَّهُ ظَهْرُ بُرْجُـدِ

sure-footed, like the planks of a casket; I beat it with a stick to urge it
down a road that is clear like a striped mantle.

Arberry replaces the casket with a litter, which is a local object in an Arabic context, and thereby adding another culture-specific item that stresses a stereotypical image:

sure-footed, like the planks of a litter; I urge her on
down the bright highway, that back of a striped mantle; (*Seven Odes* 83)

O'Grady omits the simile of the casket and rewrites the line describing the road, making it describe the beast itself and using the word straight to produce verbal effects (it creates assonance with "trail", and it alliterates with "stripe"), but his changes do not alter the overall meaning of the lines:

lean flanked sure footed.
Off and away down the trail
straight as a stripe down a cloak.
(*Seven Arab Odes* 26)

Another example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line in which Imru' al-Qais describes a flock of cows running away from his horse:

فَعَـنَّ لَنَا سِـرْبٌ كَأَنَّ نِعَاجَـهُ   عَـذَارَى دَوَارٍ فِي مُلاءٍ مُذَيَّـلِ

A flock appeared to us, the cows among them

like virgins who go around the sacred rock of Dawār, clad in long-training cloths;

Arberry transliterates the term "دوار" without explaining its significance; thereby, he makes the features of the place hazier, overloading the message with unfamiliar details, and making order absent. However, he does not insert a word not mentioned in the original line:

A flock presented itself to us, the cows among them
like Duwàr virgins mantled in their long-training draperies; (*Seven Odes* 65)

O'Grady changes the simile and uses words specific to the Arabic culture:

Then a herd wheeled our way.
The young ewes looked like child brides
in gay ground-length gallabias.
(*Seven Arab Odes* 19)

The "gallabias" alliterates with "gay" and "ground-length;" however, it is not as neutral as garment. O'Garady's choice highlights the cultural difference even though the verbal effect could have been created through the use of the literal equivalent of the Arabic word. In addition, O'Grady makes modifications to the animals described. The herd in O'Grady's translation is not of bovines but of sheep, whose white colour makes them look like child brides. In this way, O'Grady substitutes Imru' al-Qais's neutral words with ones which suggest the stereotypical image of Arabia and highlight its otherness.

Both Arberry and O'Grady insert animals that evoke the image of the desert—even when animals are not mentioned in the ST—in their translations as in the case of

their translations of the following line in which Imru' al-Qais likens the lady's slender waist to a noose-rein:

وكَشْحٍ لَطِيفٍ كَالجَدِيْلِ مُخَصَّــرٍ   وسَـاقٍ كَأُنْبُوبِ السَّقِيِّ المُذَلَّــل

her waist is slender like a nose-rein,

and her thigh is like the reed of a watered, bent papyrus.

Imru'al-Qais likens the lady's slender body to any given leather nose-rein, but Arberry specifies the riding beast controlled by the nose-rein:

she shows me a waist slender and slight as a camel's nose-rein,

and a smooth shank like the reed of a watered, bent papyrus. (*Seven Odes* 63)

Like Arberry, O'Grady adds the word "camel" to describe the nose-rein and orientalises the text:

Winsome the leather thong winds her waist as the lines

of a camel's slender leather rein hangs loose

in wind. Like a smooth stalk

of shadowed papyrus the smooth sheen of her laggard

lazy leg.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 16)

By specifying the camel, which is the most typical animal of the Arabian Desert, to describe the type of nose-rein, and inserting it into the line, the two translators emphasise the otherness of the described milieu.

The next line is one of the most famous lines dedicated to describing horses in Arabic poetry. Its fame results from its excellence; therefore, the line has been used in

Egyptian sit-coms or songs[13] to imply the attempt of the speaker to show sophisticated knowledge of the Arabic language:

مِكَـرٍّ مِفَـرٍّ مُقْبِلٍ مُدْبِـرٍ مَعـا   كَجُلْمُوْدِ صَخْرٍ حَطَّهُ السَّيْلُ مِنْ عَلِ

charging, fleet-fleeing, head-foremost, headlong, all together

like a rock hurled from high by the torrent,

Arberry's translation reflects the focal meaning of the simile which refers to the strength of the horse matching that of a rock falling from a high place:

charging, fleet-fleeing, head-foremost, headlong, all together

the match of a rugged boulder hurled from on high by the torrent,

(*Seven Odes* 64)

O'Grady's translation does not reproduce two of the horse's actions, and concentrates on the main theme of the line which is the horse's strength. He replaces Imru' al-Qais's simile with two others: the strength of the horse is likened to that of a sandhill's windslide or that of a river's torrent:

full belt headlong in gallop tilt forward

like a sandhill's windslide or great river's cataract.

(*Golden Odes* 8)

The sandhill's windslide is a simile which O'Grady constructs to describe the strength of Imru' al-Qais's horse, but which conjures the atmosphere of the desert.

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[13] In episode 11 of the first part of the Egyptian sit-com *Tamer w Shauqiyya*, one of the characters, Haitham Dabūr, recites this line in order to impress a Russian girl who speaks Arabic well. In the theme song of the movie *Saye' Baḥr* entitled *'Alī*, one of the two poorly educated characters who perform at a party thrown by rich, educated people tries to sound sophisticated by singing this line at the beginning of the song, which makes the song sound absurd because the quoted line does not fit the situation.

In his 1990 edition titled *The Seven Arab Odes*, O'Grady does not turn the horses into camels, but he further orientalises the text by following such practice in his 1997 edition, titled *The Golden Odes of Love*. An example comes from his translation of the following line from 'Antara's *qaṣīda*:

يَدْعُونَ عَنْتَرَ والرِّماحُ كأَنَّها   أشْطَانُ بِئْرٍ في لَبانِ الأَدْهَمِ

"Antara!" they were calling, and the lances were like

well-ropes sinking into the chest of my black horse.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

'Antara!' they were calling, and the lances were like

well-ropes sinking into the breast of my black steed. (*Seven Odes* 183)

O'Grady translates this line as follows:

The shout went up:

"Antara!"

The spears stretched straight as well-ropes

sinking into the breast of my black bull-camel

(*Golden Odes* 38)

O'Grady chooses to substitute the horse with a camel even in battle. An example of this is in his translation of the following line in which 'Amr describes his tribe's riding beasts during battles:

وَتَحْمِلُنَا غَدَاةَ الرَّوْعِ جُرْدٌ   عُرِفْنَ لَنَا نَقَائِذَ وَافْتُلِيْنَا

وَرِثْنَاهُنَّ عَنْ آبَاءِ صِدْقٍ   وَنُوْرِثُهَا إِذَا مُتْنَا بَنِيْنَا

We ride short-haired horses on the morn of terror,

known to us, we won them from the enemy and they save us;

we inherited them from our true fathers,

and we shall bequeath them—when we die—to our sons.

Arberry translates these two lines without a change, keeping the horses:

> Short-haired are our steeds on the morn of terror,
>
> known to us, our weanlings, won from the enemy;
>
> them we inherited from the truest of fathers,
>
> them we shall bequeath dying to our sons. (*Seven Odes* 208)

O'Grady transforms the horses of the battle into camels, evoking a more Oriental scene:

> Our cared for camel herds, well won
>
> from the enemy, we bequeath to our children.
>
> (*Golden Odes* 44)

The translation does not refer to the riding beasts' importance in battle and substitutes the horse with "camel" which alliterates with "cared for", and limits their importance to their being the wealth that the tribe inherits from the fathers and passes onto the sons.

Substituting the horse with a camel is particularly significant in terms of exoticisation in O'Grady's translation of Imru' al-Qais's famous description of his horse during hunting trips:

وَقَـدْ أغْتَدِي والطَّيْرُ فِي وُكُنَاتِهَـا بِمُنْجَـرِدٍ قَيْـدِ الأَوَابِدِ هَيْكَـلِ

> Off it goes in the morning, when the birds are still asleep in their nests,
>
> my horse short-haired, faster than wild beasts, huge-bodied.

Arberry translates this line as follows, keeping the horse in the translation:

> Often I've been off with the morn, the birds yet asleep in their nests,
>
> my horse short-haired, outstripping the wild game, huge-bodied,
>
> (*Seven Odes* 64)

O'Grady orientalises the text by substituting Imru' al-Qais's horse with a riding beast that conjures the atmosphere of the desert:

I'm out early

the birds still nestle in their nests,

humped on my well-groomed, handy high camel

is faster than wildlife

(*Golden Odes* 8)

Imru' al-Qais then describes his horse by comparing it to other animals:

لَهُ أيْطَـلا ظَبْـيٍ وَسَاقَا نَعَـامَةٍ   وإِرْخاءُ سرحان وتَقْريب تَتْفلِ

It has the waist of a gazelle, the legs of an ostrich,

the jog of a wolf, and the gallop of a fox.

Arberry translates the line without a change:

His flanks are the flanks of a fawn, his legs like an ostrich's;

the springy trot of the wolf he has, the fox's gallop; (*Seven Odes* 65)

O'Grady explains the characteristics which Imru' al-Qais's riding beast and the animals he compares them to share in common, except that he turns Imru' al-Qais's horse into a camel:

My camel has the haunches of a gazelle in gallop,

his legs the leanness of ostrich loping.

He sports the jerky jog of the jackal,

looks fox frisky.

(*Golden Odes* 9)

Imru' al-Qais continues to describe the horse in the next line:

ضَلِيْعٍ إِذَا اسْتَـدْبَرْتَهُ سَدَّ فَرْجَـهُ   بِضَافٍ فُوَيْقَ الأَرْضِ لَيْسَ بِأَعْزَلِ

it has a strong body- if you look from behind, and it blocks its legs' gap

with a full tail that almost reaches the ground but does not touch it.

Arberry transfers Imru' al-Qais's detailed description into his translation:

sturdy his body— look from behind, and he bars his legs' gap

with a full tail, not askew, reaching almost to the ground; (*Seven Odes* 65)

O'Grady also transfers all the detailed description of Imru' al-Qais's horse into his translation which transforms the horse into a camel:

Seen from his rump

he's round as a well-ribbed felucca

and flutes his fore and hind legs

with a full straight tail leaves nothing askew.

(*Golden Odes* 9)

However, the problem with O'Grady's translation is that it transforms Imru' al-Qais's riding beast into a strange creature. Substituting the horse with a camel (which is more typical of the clichéd image of Arabia) distorts the image of the beast being described and presents a rather comical portrayal: a camel with a slender waist like that of a gazelle, and a full long tail that touches the ground and completely covers the gap between its legs. Nonetheless, this surreal, exotic creature would still fit the representation of Arabia as an exotic land in the TT. Shaheen observes that Arabia has been represented in American TV shows as a mythical setting hosting outlandish creatures (26). Transforming the horse into a bizarre looking camel highlights the otherness of the Arabic environment. To avoid exoticisation of TT, equivalents of the

words discussed (e.g. houses, garment, horse) in the SL can be used instead of words which suggest a stereotypical representation of Arabia

Arberry exoticises the translation through transliteration of words in the line or the insertion of transliterated Arabic words unaccompanied by any explanation. An example comes from his translation of the following line from the *mu'allaqa* of 'Antara:

مَـا رَاعَنـي إلاَّ حَمولـةُ أَهْلِهـا وسْطَ الدِّيَارِ تَسُفُّ حَبَّ الخِمْخِمِ

Nothing frightened me, but that her people's loaded beasts

were eating dry plants among the abodes.

When translating this line, Arberry transliterates the word "خمخم":

nothing disquieted me, but that her people's burthen-beasts

were champing khimkhim-berries amid their habitations, (*Seven Odes* 179)

The term "خمخم" has an equivalent in English: "dry." Hence, its transliteration only burdens the TT with another unfamiliar term which emphasises the otherness of the described environment.

O'Grady translates the word using a neutral, though inaccurate, equivalent which is wild:

pack camels champing wild berries,

(*Seven Arab Odes* 47)

To avoid the exoticisation of the translation, I suggest avoiding the use of transliterated terms which have equivalents that directly respond to them in the TL and avoiding the insertion of terms which evoke the stereotypical image of Arabia and which are not in the ST. Avoiding the insertion of exoticising words into the TT

should substitute the imperialist strategy of overstating the difference between the two cultures.

The stereotyping of the Arab mind, the sensualisation and the intensification of emotions, and the objectifying representation of women, are the means of exoticising the inhabitants of Arabia. An example of stereotyping the Arab mind comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line in which Imru' al-Qais describes how he contemplates the clouds:

قَعَدْتُ لَهُ وصُحْبَتِي بَيْنَ ضَـارِجٍ   وبَيْنَ العـُذَيْبِ بُعْدَمَا مُتَأَمَّـلِ

> I and my companions sat watching [the cloud] between the mountains of Dārij
>
> and al-Odheib, gazing far.

Arberry translates the line as follows:

> So with my companions I sat watching it between Dàrji
>
> and El-Odheib, far ranging my anxious gaze; (*Seven Odes* 66)

O'Grady changes the scene as well as Imru' al-Qais's motive behind contemplating his environment:

> We crouched and watched
>
> with an anxious eye for the weather
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 20)

In O'Grady's translation, Imru' al-Qais gazes at the clouds to expect the weather, not to appreciate the beauty in his surrounding environment. The word, "weather," produces a verbal effect as it alliterates with "we," "watched," and "with"; however, the shift of attention to the weather reduces Imru' al-Qais to the stereotype of a primitive Other who is not interested in aesthetics. O'Grady's *choices which produce verbal effects seem to be influenced by doxic beliefs and assumptions about Arabs* at

the time his translation was produced. Avoiding exoticisation can be achieved by sticking to the wording in the original to preserve the meaning here.

Another step towards exoticising the representation of the Arabs' reality is to make their feelings and reactions more intense. The intensification of feelings in turn leads to the sensualisation of images and evokes the image of Arabia as a land of exoticism and sensuality. Nasser was repeatedly portrayed by the British Press as an overpassionate speaker and irrational leader. Making the poets' feelings more extreme than they are actually expressed in the original *qaṣīdas* creates a sense of intensity and lack of reason in the translations. An example is O'Grady's translation of the next line in which Imru' al-Qais reminisces about two ladies he was in love with:

إِذَا قَامَتَا تَضَوَّعَ المِسْكُ مِنْهُمَـا   نَسِيْمَ الصَّبَا جَاءَتْ بِرَيَّا القَرَنْفُل

When they rose, musk wafted from them

like a tender breeze bearing the fragrance of cloves.

Arberry's translation reads as follows:

when they arose, the subtle musk wafted from them

sweet as the zephyr's breath that bears the fragrance of cloves. (*Seven Odes* 61)

Arberry reproduces the tenderness of Imru' al-Qais's feeling upon smelling the subtle scent of the women; but O'Grady adds intensity to this feeling:

When they arose and drew close

their subtle musk madness demented the mind

carried from them on the careless eastern breeze

comes bearing scent of cloves.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 14)

The initial sound of the word “madness”, whose equivalent is not in the original line, alliterates with other initial consonants in stressed syllables (musk-second syllable of demented-mind). However, its insertion does not seem to be necessary because the alliteration could have been achieved without its addition; the term adds to the verbal effect, but—more importantly— intensifies the poet’s feeling and orientalises the representation of the reality described in the line. Furthermore, the subtle musk that wafts from the women is described by O’Grady as an “eastern breeze”, and these inserted words again emphasise the otherness of the people described and their environment.

O’Grady also sensualises the scene Imru’ al-Qais describes in the following line:

وتُضْحِي فَتِيْتُ المِسْكِ فَوْقَ فِراشِهَا   نَئُوْمُ الضَّحَى لَمْ تَنْتَطِقْ عَنْ تَفَضُّلِ

In the morning, the grains of musk litter over her bed

and she sleeps in the afternoon, her clothes not girded for work.

Imru’ al-Qais describes the luxurious life that his beloved lady leads. He says that she sleeps a lot during the morning and that she does not work because she has people who serve her. Therefore, her clothes are not girded for work. This meaning is reflected in Arberry’s translation without a change:

In the morning, the grains of musk hang over her couch,

sleeping the forenoon through, not girded and aproned to labour. (63)

However, the line, which describes the lady’s luxurious life, acquires a new sensual meaning in O’Grady’s translation:

Her waking morning’s the mind muddled musk smell

surrounded her night sleep.

Her afternoon’s siesta slumbered

in a gift gallebia shift,

ungirt of her girdle

for foreplay.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 17)

The initial sound of "gallabia" alliterates with the cluster of initial sounds in stressed syllables in these lines (gift, ungirt, girdle). However alliteration could have still been achieved if the lady's clothing garment, which is only implied in the ST, had been translated as "gown" or "garment". Thus, O'Grady's choice which can be explained in terms of the attempt to create a verbal effect seems to be influenced by the doxic representations of Arabs which make much of the difference between the Anglophone and Arab cultures. In other words, the socio-political context and the *doxa* seem to influence O'Grady's decision in relation to style in poetry. Furthermore, the reason O'Grady gives for the fact that the lady's garment is ungirded is that she is ready for foreplay, and for a sexual encounter with her lover. O'Grady's translation decision transforms the luxurious image of the lady's life into a sensual one that evokes a stereotypical image of the Other.

Sensualisation of the text continues in O'Grady's rendering of the following line from Imru' al-Qais's *qaṣīda*:

إِلَى مِثْلِهَا يَرْنُو الحَلِيْمُ صَبَابَــةً   إِذَا مَا اسْبَكَرَّتْ بَيْنَ دِرْعٍ ومِجْوَلِ

Upon the like of her the wise man gazes with passion

as her body grows tall and slender, midway between matron and maiden.

Arberry reproduces the meaning without a change:

Upon the like of her the prudent man will gaze with ardour

eyeing her slim, upstanding, frocked midway between matron and

maiden; (*Seven Odes* 63)

O'Grady, on the other hand, adds words that sensualise the image:

On a girl like that girl an older man gazes

with the adoration of an adolescent.

She's trim, tall, caught between God's clear

outline of the child,

the curvaceous warmth of womanhood,

(*Seven Arab Odes* 17)

O'Grady inserts "adolescent" which creates the verbal effect of assonance together with "adoration". However, the chosen word adds an element of exaggeration that is not in the original line. By saying that the beauty of the lady makes an older man looks at her not only with adoration, but with the adoration of an adolescent— for whom affection is usually not controlled, unlike older men who are expected to be wiser and more reasonable— O'Grady intensifies one's desire when looking at a girl like her and distorts the image of an old Arab man. He also sensualises her image by adding the words "curvaceous" and "warmth" (which alliterates with womanhood) to the description of the woman's body. In this way, O'Grady's choices of words for stylistic reasons seem to be influenced by the doxic representations of Arabs in the media at the time his translation was produced.

Another example of making the poet's feeling more extreme comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line:

تَسَلَّتْ عَمَايَاتُ الرِّجَالِ عَنْ الصِّبَا   ولَيْسَ فُؤَادِي عَنْ هَوَاكِ بِمُنْسَلِ

Men outgrow the follies of love,

but my heart will never forget my love for you.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

> Let the follies of other men forswear fond passion,
>
> my heart forswears not, nor will forget the love I bear you. (*Seven Odes* 63)

O'Grady translates the line as follows:

> Some men may master desire with distraction
>
> My desire reneges all reason
>
> rejects all limitation.
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 17)

O'Grady replaces the word "عشق", which means love, with the word "desire," thereby imbuing the speaker with more of a sensual tone than the original. Moreover, O'Grady changes the meaning of the entire line. In the original *qaṣīda*, Imru' al-Qais declares that he can never and will never forget the love he has for his beloved. In O'Grady's translation, the speaker declares that his desire goes beyond all limits of reason. The decision of the translator to employ alliteration (reneges, reason, rejects) for stylistic reasons seems to be influenced by *doxa* because the chosen words ultimately portray the poet as irrational and distorts his image; thereby, they echo the stereotypical representation of an Arab in the American media.

There is one example where sensualisation is achieved through manipulating the image of night as a component of the exotic setting of Arabia. Imru' al-Qais describes the length of the night by comparing it to a human being that stretches its body:

فَقُلْـتُ لَهُ لَمَّا تَمَطَّـى بِصُلْبِـهِ وأَرْدَفَ أَعْجَـازاً وَنَاءَ بِكَلْكَـلِ

> and I said to the night, when it languidly stretched its loins
>
> followed by its fat buttocks, and boasted its chest,

The burden of Imru' al-Qais's worries makes him feel that the night is longer. In order to reflect his feeling of how long the night is, he personifies the night and portrays it as a human being that stretches, showing his chest and buttocks. There's no grammatical gender in English; if a translator chooses to give "night" a gender, it's of their own volition, rather than part of English language protocols. In his translation, Arberry does not assign the night a gender:

> and I said to the night, when it stretched its lazy loins
> followed by its fat buttocks, and heaved off its heavy breast, (*Seven Odes* 64)

Although the night is a masculine noun in Arabic, and is used as a masculine noun in Imru' al-Qais's *qaṣīda*; O'Grady makes it a feminine noun, and chooses words which further sensualise the image; the night is a lady that stretches her back, shows her "barefaced" fat buttocks, and boasts the "darkling dare" of her breasts to "tease and torment" him:

> maddened me so I shouted back
> when the stretch–curved her spine's column,
> barefaced her fat buttocks, boasted
> that darkling dare of her breasts
> to torment and tease me:
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 17)

The words O'Grady chooses alliterate with others in the lines (barefaced-buttocks-boasted/ darkling-dare/ torment-tease), but his choice which serves the *skopos* of his translation turns the night into a seductive naked lady that teases him by stretching her barefaced body; thereby, he evokes the image of the land of the Other as a place of

sensuality and temptation. His stylistic choices seem to be influenced by the doxic representations of Arabs.

Exoticisation is not a satisfactory approach to the rendering of the *Mu'allaqāt* , particularly in light of the current socio-political circumstances or the ones which shaped the socities which received the translations because it makes much of the difference between the Anglophone and Arab cultures. It can be avoided through reproducing the meaning of original lines without the insertion of words which do not exist in the ST and which intensify emotions or sensualise the images.

Related to the sensualisation of texts is the representation of women in the translations. Women are objects of desire in the exotic land of Arabia in Orientalist literature; making them desirable as the texts suggest entails making them appeal to European tastes. According to Rana Kabbani, paintings by Orientalists usually portray girls who hardly look foreign, for the sake of appealing to European tastes; she explains that an Oriental woman "conformed closely with conventional standards of European beauty. The more desirable prototypes were Circassian (the fair-skinned descendants of the Circassian subjects of the Ottoman Empire) since they were exotic without being unappetisingly dark)" (133). Although Imru' al-Qais refers to the white skin of one of his beloved lady in his *mu'allaqa*,[14] he does not refer to the skin colour of other ladies he reminisces about in the *qaṣīda* as the following examples reveal. Furthermore, darker skin colours were also praised in other pre-Islamic poems such as

[14] Imru' al-Qais describes Fatim, who is one of his lovers mentioned in his *mu'allaqa*, as follows

مهفهفة بيضاء غير مفاضة ترائبها مصقولة كالسجنجل

her belly so shapely, her skin white, flabby
her breast bones polished like a mirror,

one of the *qaṣīdas* of al-A‘sha,[15] which means that seeing beauty in whiteness was a matter of personal preference, not a cultural one. Even verse106 of Sūrat āl-Imrān in the Quran which refers to the whiteness of the believers' faces and the darkness of the non-believers' faces on the Day of Judgment [16] does not refer to a physical state and does not literally mean that the believers' faces turn white. The colours are used metaphorically to refer to the believers' state of happiness or the non-believers' feeling of sadness or shame upon knowing their fates in the afterlife.[17] The meaning of the idiom of ابيضاض واسوداد الوجه (a face turns white/black) can be understood when reading verse 58 of Sūrat al-Naḥl[18] which refers to the face of a father turning black when the news of the birth of his female child is brought to him (because some Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia feared that their daughters would bring them shame when they get older). The father's face does not literally turn black; rather the idiom is used to refer to his emotional state reflected in the look of sadness and shame on his face. The

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[15] Maimūn ibn Qais, better known as al-A‘sha , praises the beauty of his lady lover by comparing her to a dark-skinned gazelle in the following line:

ظبية من ظباء وجرة أدما   ء تسف الكباث تحت الهدال

One of the gazelles of Wajra, dark-skinned
chewing fruits of a [Salvadora persica] tree under its branches (3)

[16] يَوْمَ تَبْيَضُّ وُجُوهٌ وَتَسْوَدُّ وُجُوهٌ فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ اسْوَدَّتْ وُجُوهُهُمْ أَكَفَرْتُمْ بَعْدَ إِيمَانِكُمْ فَذُوقُوا الْعَذَابَ بِمَا كُنْتُمْ تَكْفُرُونَ
(āl-Imrān106)

On the Day [of Judgment] when some faces turn white and some faces turn black (to whom will be said: "Did you reject faith after accepting it? Then taste the torment for rejecting faith"

[17] The faces of the believers will be bright with happiness, contrary to the faces of the non-believers (*al-Tafsīr* 107)

[18] وإذا بشر أحدهم بالأنثى ظل وجهه مسودا وهو كظيم (al-Naḥl 58)

When the news of the birth of a female child is brought to any man of them, his face turns black, and he becomes sad.

idiom is still widely used in Lebanon (يبيض-يسود الوج) and Egypt (يبيض–يسود الوش) to refer to one's emotional state, not physical state.[19]

Since preference of whiteness seems to be a matter of personal preference and since Imru' al-Qais does not describe all the ladies he mentions in the *qaṣīda* as white, the insertion of such description suggests that the insistence on the whiteness of the different ladies in the *qaṣīda* belongs to the translators. It is the translators, not Imru' al-Qais, who insist on describing the skin colour of the women in the *qaṣīdas* as white. An example comes from Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the line in which Imru' al-Qais starts reminiscing about the day of Dārat Juljul:

أَلاَ رُبَّ يَوْمٍ لَكَ مِنْهُنَّ صَالِحٍ   وَلاَ سِيَّمَا يَوْمٍ بِدَارَةِ جُلْجُلِ

> There were many fine days that I dallied with women,
>
> especially the day at the lake of Dārat Juljul.

A notable addition is evident in both translators' practice of describing the women's skin colour. Arberry translates this line as follows:

> Oh yes, many a fine day I've dallied with the white ladies,
>
> and especially I call to mind a day at Dàra Juljul, (*Seven Odes* 61)

O'Grady also inserts the word "white" which alliterates with "watching" and "women" and helps him to produce a verbal effect:

> Many the long day I wasted
>
> watching fine white fleshed women.
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 14)

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[19] Advertisement campaign of kaḥk (which is a type of cookies usually associated with feasts, celebrations and happy occasions in Egypt) by the Egyptian brand, Bisco Misr, in 2015 was entitled كحك يبيض وشك (Kaḥk Yibayyad Wishak), which actually means "kaḥk which will make you proud", although it literally means "kahk which will make your face become white" (Bisco Misr)

Although Imru' al-Qais does not specify the women's skin-colour, both translators describe the women as white-fleshed. O'Grady's choice may be attributed to the priority of style in his translation because his role as a poet seems to override his choices; however, the verbal effect of alliteration could have been achieved (watching, women) without the insertion of the term that is not mentioned in the original line, which suggests that even his stylistic choice is influenced by *doxa*. His choice reproduces the Orientalist practice to which Kabbani refers. Arberry's and O'Grady's representations are characterised by *essentialism*; the women are exotic but they conform to European standards of beauty. This European standard of beauty is applied to the women even in some places where the original poet does not mention them.

Another example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line in which Imru' al-Qais describes how the herd members turn to flee when Imru' al-Qais starts chasing them:

فَأَدْبَرْنَ كَالجِزْعِ المُفَصَّـلِ بَيْنَـهُ   بِجِيْدٍ مُعَمٍّ فِي العَشِيْرَةِ مُخْـوَلِ

turning to flee, they were like the necklace of beads spaced with jewels
around a boy's neck, he nobly uncled in the tribe.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

turning to flee, they were beads of Yemen spaced with cowries
hung on a boy's neck, he nobly uncled in the clan. (*Seven Odes* 65)

Arberry however inserts the term Yemen to describe the beaded necklace and emphasises the distance between the two cultures. In O'Grady's translation, the necklace adorns "a girl's white neck":

When they wheeled away
they looked like necklaces of onyx

on a girl's white neck

fathered and fostered within the family.

(*Golden Odes* 10)

O'Grady's translation substitutes the boy with a girl, and refers to her white flesh, attributing to her an *essential* characteristic of women in Orientalist literature.

Although Arab women in the translations are beautiful in a way that appeals to European taste, their beauty remains flawed. An example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line:

كَبِكْرِ المُقَانَاةِ البَيَاضَ بِصُفْرَةٍ   غَذَاهَا نَمِيْرُ المَاءِ غَيْرُ المُحَلَّلِ

Like the first egg of an ostrich—its white mingled with yellow—

nourished by the pure water of a stream, unsullied by paddlers.

al-Zauzani lists three explanations that scholars have provided for the meaning of Imru' al-Qais's line: the beloved lady is likened to an ostrich egg because of her yellowish white colour, to a pearl within a shell that people can hardly reach, or to the papyrus plant which is also yellowish white (37-38). Arberry translates this line without making a significant change:

Like the first egg of the ostrich—its whiteness mingled with yellow—

nurtured on water pure, unsullied by many paddlers. (63)

However, O'Grady constructs a new simile:

She's pale as the first born babe

nurtured by that unsullied side of the stream

not settled on.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 16)

The new simile O'Grady constructs is based on one of the many meanings of the term "بكر" which is first born. But comparing the lady to a first-born child in terms of

"paleness" changes the meaning of the original simile because paleness would suggest illness. Thus, the meaning of the new simile is the complete opposite to that of the original one which indicates health. O'Grady's desicion distorts the image by making the lady's beauty flawed by sickness, and being flawed is an essential characteristic of the representation of the Arab reality in Orientalist literature.

The representation of women in the translations is further orientalised by producing a stereotypical image of the Arab woman as obedient and weak. Such stereotype misrepresents the status of women in Ancient Arabia. ʻAtwān states that women who belonged to the social stratum of the free were treated with utmost respect; many women led a languid life and did not have to serve themselves nor their households since they had servants. ʻAtwān adds that women in Ancient Arabia mingled with men everywhere, were free to choose their husbands, and were free to leave their husbands if they wished (52). They went to gatherings of entertainment and mingled with men when they worshiped their idols (ʻAtwān 58). They had the right of giving refuge and protection to others and the right to have full control over their properties, and they accompanied men to battle fields to nurse the wounded and motivate the heroes to fight (ʻAtwān 52).

An example of the stereotypical representation of women comes from the two translators' translations of the following line in which Ṭarfa likens the lady to a gazelle that leaves her kids and joins a herd gazing in the lush land:

خَـذُولٌ تُرَاعِـي رَبْرَباً بِخَمِيْلَـةٍ   تَنَـاوَلُ أطْرَافَ البَرِيْرِ وتَرْتَـدِي

abandoning [her kids], she gazes with the herd in the lush thicket,

chewing the tips of the arak-fruit, wrapped in a cloak.

Arberry omits the part of line where the gazelle abandons its little ones, an act which reflects rebellion against tradition:

holding aloof, with the herd gazing in the lush thicket,

nibbling the tips of the arak-fruit, wrapped in her cloak. (*Seven Odes* 83)

Like Arberry, O'Grady translates the line after omitting the part about the gazelle abandoning her kids:

princesses apart, that the herd

may gaze, blink through foliage.

Coddled in her cloak

she labials fruit orally.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 25)

The image in the *qaṣīda* portrays a rebel and breaks the stereotype of submissiveness into which the Arabian woman is conventionally fit. The omission of the element of rebellion in the translations contributes to preserving the Arab women's essential trait of submissiveness.

Another example comes from their translations of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm's description of the ladies of his tribe:

ظَعَائِنَ مِنْ بَنِي جُشَمِ بِنْ بِكْـرٍ   خَلَطْـنَ بِمِيْسَمٍ حَسَباً وَدِيْنَـا

litter-born ladies of Banu-Jusham ibn Bakr

who mingle with good looks, high birth and proper manners.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

litter-borne ladies of Banu Jusham bin Bakr

who mingle, with good looks, high birth and obedience. (*Seven Odes* 209)

Arberry replaces the word "دين", which means "manners" here, with the word "obedience." O'Grady translates the line as follows:

Our ladies sit lofty and lovely

high in their howdahs;

well–bred women with lineage;

obedient, observant of custom.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 55)

O'Grady inserts the term "obedient" which alliterates with "observant", and his decision serves the *skopos* of his translation. However, his decision to insert a stereotype orientalises the image of the women described which suggests that his stylistic choice is influenced by the doxic representations of Arabs at the time his translation was produced. Obedience is an essentialist stereotype of Arab women in Orientalist literature which the two translators insert in their translations.

The stereotypical representation of woman also omits the roles they play in war. O'Grady omits the following line in which 'Amr ibn Kulthūm refers to the presence of the ladies on the battlefield:

عَلَـى آثَارِنَا بِيْـضٌ كرام　　　نُحَـاذِرُ أَنْ تُفارق أَوْ تَـهُوْنَـا

Upon our tracks follow fair, noble ladies

that we take care that they do not leave or get insulted,

Arberry translates this line as follows:

Upon our tracks follow fair, noble ladies

that we take care shall not leave us, nor be insulted, (*Seven Odes* 208)

O'Grady omits this line which implies the Ancient Arab tradition of women's presence on the battlefield which does not fit the essential representation of Arab women in Orientalist literature.

Feeding horses and motivating the warriors are among the roles of the women on the battlefield described in following lines from 'Amr ibn Kulthūm's *qaṣīda*:

أَخَــذْنَ عَلَـى بُعُوْلَتِهِنَّ عَهْداً   إِذَا لاَقَــوْا فـوارس مُعــلِمِيْنَـا

لَيَسْتَلِبُــنَّ أَفْــرَاساً وَبِيْضـاً   وَأَسْـرَى فِي الحَــدِيْدِ مُقـرَّنِيْنَـا

إِذَا مَا رُحْـنَ يَمْشِـيْنَ الـهُوَيْنَـا   كَمَا اضْطَرَبَتْ مُتُوْنُ الشَّارِبِيْنَـا

يَقُتْــنَ جِيَــادَنَا وَيَقُلْنَ لَسْـتُمْ   بُــعُوْلَتَنَــا إِذَا لَــمْ تَمْنَــعُوْنَـا

لِشَــيءٍ بَعدَهُنَّ وَلا حَــيِيــنا   إِذا لَم نَحــمِهِنَّ فَــلا بَــقينــا

وَمَا مَنَعَ الظَّعَائِنَ مِثْلُ ضَـرْبٍ   تَــرَى مِنْهُ السَّــوَاعِدَ كَالقُلِيْنَــا

They have made their husbands a pledge that,

when they meet with signalled horsemen,

they will capture mail-coats and swords

and captives tied up in irons.

When they go forth, they walk serenely

swinging like swaying drinkers.

They feed our horses and say, “You are not

our husbands if you do not protect us”.

We may not live after them for anything,

nor live if we do not defend them.

Nothing protects the litter-born ladies but striking

that sends the arms flying like play-chucks.

Arberry translates the lines as follows:

They have taken a covenant with their husbands

that, when they should meet with signal horsemen,

they will plunder mail-coats and shining sabres

and captives fettered together in irons.

When they fare forth, they walk sedately

swinging their gait like swaying in tipplers.

They provender our horses, saying, ʿYou are not

our husbands, if you do not protect us.'

If we defend them not, may we survive not

nor live on for anything after them!

Nothing protects women like a smiting

that sends the forearms flying like play-chucks. (*Seven Odes* 209)

O'Grady amalgamates the four lines and translates them as follows:

Containers of the marriage covenant.

And we, their warrior men, protect them.

Unto death.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 55)

This short translation simplifies the TT, but it also omits a characteristic of woman in pre-Islamic Arabia as non-passive, which is a characteristic that contradicts the essential trait of women in Orientalist literature as passive followers of men.

A more satisfactory strategy that would preserve the image of women as represented in the *Mu'allaqāt* is to reproduce the meaning of the lines without the insertion of terms which suggest the stereotypical representation of woman in Orientalist literature, and to translate *all* the lines which reproduce the image of women in Arabia that is portrayed in the *Mu'allaqāt*, which is swallowed up by O'Grady's frequent use of omission (which happens to make absent lines that describe women as partners and not followers of men).

The stereotypical representation of women continues with a portrayal of them as being inferior. An example comes from the change O'Grady introduces into his translation of the following line, where 'Amr ibn Kulthūm addresses 'Amr ibn Hind:

تَهَـدَّدُنَـا وَتُوْعِـدُنَا رُوَيْـداً   مَتَـى كُـنَّا لأُمِّـكَ مَقْتَوِيْنَـا

You threaten and menace us gently

When were we your mother's servants?

Arberry translates this line without altering it:

Threaten us then, and menace us; but gently!

When, pray, were we your mother's domestics? (*Seven Odes* 206)

O'Grady makes servitude specific to the ladies of the tribe:

Our ladies never lived your mother's lackeys.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 54)

His choice for the subject in the sentence, "ladies", serves his verse translation because he employs alliteration (ladies-lived-lackeys) and close rhyme (ladies-lackeys) to produce a verbal effect, but his decision directs the insult to women in particular. What I find a satisfactory approach in this case is to simply stick to the wording of the original line to reproduce the meaning of the original which does not make servitude specific to women.

Concluding Remarks

Arberry's and O'Grady's representations of the Arab reality which are in line with the representation of Arabs in Orientalist literature are characterised by *absence, otherness* and *essentialism*, which are the three characterestics of the doxic assumptions and beliefs about Arabs which were formed by propaganda campagins at the times the translations were produced.

The features of absence, essentialism, and otherness which characterise the two translator's representations of the Arab reality are produced through strategies which fit each translator's *skopos*. Although Arberry claims that he translates the *Mu'allaqāt* without omission or addition (*Seven Odes* 59-60), he does insert terms which result in exoticiseing Arabia or attribute traits regarded as essential and

unchanging characterestics of Arabs and Arabia (which usually imply inferiority) to the poets and the people the *qaṣīdas* describe. Arberry's academic translation produces all the details and foreignises the translation, but manipulates some of the representations of Arabs in accordance with the Orientalist heritage in the literary field and the doxic representation of Arabs in the British Press. His representation of the Arab reality is characterised by *otherness* and *essentialism*. O'Grady's verse translation removes details about the source culture, and the words he adds help him to create verbal effects through the employment of various stylistic literary devices. However, the words he inserts or the equivalents he selects, as well as the lines he rewrites for stylistic reasons seem to be influenced by the *doxa*; and the omissions he makes are in line with the representation of the Arab reality in American propaganda against Arabs in the 1980s. His translation produces a representation of the Arab reality which is characterised by *otherness* (which he creates by inserting exoticing words), *essentialism* (witnessed in the attribution of stereotypical traits to the Arabs even if these traits are not in the ST), and *absence* (achieved by the omission of traits which underpin the similarity between the two cultures or which contradict the ones which are regarded as essential traits of the non-West in Orientalist literature). It is noteworthy that O'Grady simultaneously employs the techniques of domestication (omission) and foreignisation (insertion of words which evoke a foreign image typical of the desert), each depending on the line being translated, in order to fulfil the *skopos* of his translation.

4.2.3 Changing the Image of the Arab Master or Hero

The freemen of the tribe celebrated the values they highly esteemed and recorded them in their poetry. They scrupulously kept their word and were praised for "the quickness of their apprehension" and "the vivacity of their wit" (Clouston vvx).

'Atwān states that they elected their masters, and based their election on many qualities (32). One's noble origins was a source of pride, but 'Atwān clarifies that this was not enough to be regarded as a master of the tribe: a master had to be a courageous hero who defended the tribe (32) and was necessarily wise, patient, helpful, generous, mostly rich, and eloquent (33-34). According to 'Atwān, revenge was one of the biggest Arabian vices (33). He adds that the wise masters sometimes broke the tradition of avenging the blood of the murdered in order to prevent more bloodshed (33). He explains that the master had a number of duties that included forging alliances with other tribes, leading his tribe on the battlefield at times of war, paying *diyya* (or the atonement that the Arabs used to pay to the relatives of a murdered man to avoid revenge), discussing the tribe's internal and foreign affairs with free tribesmen, and receiving guests. However, the master was not always obeyed; he was respected, but could not enforce his decisions on all tribesmen since all the free tribesmen were equals ('Atwān 34).

The poets of the *Mu'allaqāt* were heroes or masters in their tribes, and they perpetuated their image as heroes in their *qaṣīdas*. However, their image changed particularly in O'Grady's translation which shows the influence of the *doxa* of the highly politicised time at which he produced his translation on his decisions. The first change introduced into the representation of the Arab hero is to soften his image. The image of the Arab hero is always that of a strong man that does not get broken even at hearing bad news. Imru' al-Qais in particular is famous in Arabic literature for his response to the news of his father's death (Arberry, *Seven Odes* 36). Changing this rigid image in the TT into a man who is too sentimental would negatively influence the hero's image. An example of such change is evident in O'Grady's translation of the following line from the *qaṣīda* of Imru' al-Qais:

كَأنِّي غَدَاةَ البَيْنِ يَوْمَ تَحَمَّلُـوا لَدَى سَمُرَاتِ الحَيِّ نَاقِفُ حَنْظَلِ

On the day of my departure, when the abode's dwellers loaded to move

it was like splitting colocynth from the tribe's trees.

Arberry conveys the meaning without a change:

Upon the morn of separation, the day they loaded to part,

by the tribe's acacias it was like I was splitting a colocynth; (*Seven Odes* 61)

O'Grady intensifies Imru' al-Qais's feeling of sadness in a manner that affects his image as a hero:

On the day of departure,

the dawn they loaded to move on,

by those thornbushes

I broke up like burst fruit.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 13)

O'Grady changes the image and employs alliteration (broke-burst) to produce a verbal effect, but the change distorts Imru' al-Qais's image as it turns his state of sadness and confusion into the state of emotional break up. The change implies that he is too emotional and over-sensitive, which is an essential trait of non-Westerners in their portrayals of Arabs.

Another example comes from Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the following line from Imru' al-Qais *qaṣīda*:

وَمَا ذَرَفَـتْ عَيْنَاكِ إلاَّ لِتَضْرِبِـي بِسَهْمَيْكِ فِي أعْشَارِ قَلْبٍ مُقَتَّـلِ

Your eyes only shed those tears so as to strike

every part of my lovesick heart.

al-Zauzani explains that the term "أعشار" means parts, and that the beloved targets all the parts of Imru' al-Qais's heart with tears like arrows in order to win it all (30-31). Arberry translates this line as follows:

> Your eyes only shed those tears so as to strike and pierce
> with those two shafts of theirs the fragments of a ruined heart. (*Seven Odes* 62)

Arberry's translation suggests that 'Unaiza sheds tears to pierce and consequently break his heart into fragments. A similar choice is made by O'Grady:

> Surely your eyes
> did not well up and weep their tears like daggers
> to mindlessly splinter
> my lovesick heart!''
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 15)

In Arabian culture, the metaphor of the eyes striking the heart of a lover refers to winning the lover's heart rather than fragmenting it and leaving the lover in pain. Both translations thus distort the image as they exaggerate the influence of the lady's love and soften Imru' al-Qais's image. The over-sensetivity of Imru' al-Qais in their translations is an essential trait of Arabs in Orientalist discourse.

Turning the formidable Arab hero into a target of ridicule is another change that O'Grady's translation introduces into the representation of the reality of the Arab hero. An example comes from his translation of the following line in which Imru' al-Qais describes his long night:

ولَيْلٍ كَمَوْجِ البَحْرِ أَرْخَى سُدُوْلَــهُ   عَلَيَّ بِأَنْـوَاعِ الهُـمُوْمِ لِيَبْتَلِــي

> A night like sea waves has dropped its curtains,
> over me, with varied burdens, to try me,

Arberry's translation conveys the meaning without a change:

Oft night like a sea swarming has dropped its curtains,

over me, thick with multifarious cares, to try me, (*Seven Odes* 64)

O'Grady's translation communicates a different meaning:

Night has so often,

like the dark drapes it drops down upon me

and uncovers its gargoyles guffaw me,

(*Seven Arab Odes* 17)

Instead of testing Imru' al-Qais wisdom and patience, the night in O'Grady's translation laughs at Imru' al-Qais, and the translation makes him and his worries a laughing stock. O'Grady chooses words that alliterate, but the choice seems to be influenced by *doxa* because it results in changing the meaning in line with the stereotypical representational recognition of the non-West. Such belittling representation is an unchanging characteristic of the representation of the Arab in Orientalist discourse. More adequate strategies to tanslate the discussed line, in my view, include a close adherence to the wording of the original poets (which is the strategy I follow in my translation of the line) or the reproduction of the meaning without any change or manipulation.

Challenging danger is another trait of the hero which is reflected in the theme of falling in love with a woman from the tribe of the enemies. Abolishing the element of danger in the love affair abolishes the hero's fearlessness. O'Grady's translation does not reproduce the difficulty in reaching the lady after her departure which 'Antara describes in the following lines:

حُيِّيـــْتَ مـــِنْ طَلَلٍ تَـقادَمَ عَهْــدُهُ　　　أَقْـــوى وأَقْفَـرَ بَعدَ أُمِّ الـهَيـْثَـــمِ

حَلَّتْ بِأَرض الزَّائِرينَ فَأَصْبَحَتْ　　　عسِراً عليَّ طِلاَبُكِ ابنَةَ مَخْـرَمِ

Hail to you, ruins of a long-deserted abode,

empty and desolate since the departure of Um al-Haitham

She moved to the land of my enemies, the bellowers; and it has become

difficult for me to reach you, daughter of Makhram.

Both al-Zauzani (203) and al-Tabrīzī (322) elaborate that the lady has moved to the land of ‘Antara’s enemies whom he calls “الزائرين” (literally meaning those who roar) in order to reflect how terrorising they are. Arberry keeps this meaning in his translation:

All hail to you, ruins of a time long since gone by,

empty and desolate since the day Um-Haitham parted

She alighted in the land of bellowers; and it has become

very hard for me to seek you out, daughter of Makhram. (*Seven Odes* 179)

The term “bellowers” indicates the danger that those people might pose to the hero, reflecting the difficulty of reaching the lady after her departure.

O’Grady amalgamates both lines:

The camp’s a ruin now, deserted by departure. To find

her again will prove difficult.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 47)

O’Grady only refers to the difficulty of reaching his lady after her departure without clearly stating that the difficulty stems from the antagonism of the people to whose territory she moves.

‘Antara again mentions the animosity between him and his lady’s people in the following line:

عُلِّقْتُهَا عَرْضاً وأقْتلُ قَوْمَهَا   زعماً لعَمرُ أبيكَ لَيسَ بِمَزْعَمِ

I fell in love with her by chance, as I slaughtered her people

by your father's life, such a declaration is not opportunistic,

Arberry's translation of this line reads as follows:

Casually I fell in love with her, as I slew her folk

(by your father's life, such a declaration is scarce opportune), (*Seven Odes*179)

O'Grady continues to omit the theme of animosity between the poet and the lady's lover by omitting the entire line. In both cases, the poet's fearlessness can be retained by translating all the lines without omitting details.

Being a warrior is one of the qualifications of being a hero, and horse riding is one of the skills that O'Grady does not reproduce in his translation of the following line, where Imru' al-Qais describes the difficulty of riding his horse, implying his own cleverness:

يُزِلُّ الغُلاَمُ الخِفَّ عَنْ صَهَوَاتِهِ   وَيُلْوِي بِأَثْوَابِ العَنِيْفِ المُثَقَّلِ

the lightweight boy slips off its smooth back,

it flings off the garments of the tough, heavy rider;

Arberry translates the line without a change:

the lightweight lad slips landward from his smooth back,

he flings off the burnous of the hard, heavy rider; (*Seven Odes 65*)

O'Grady changes the image, turning the thin boy into a bold one who delights to ride this horse:

Any brazen, bold boy would delight

to bounce down from his sweat drenched back,

and brush back the hood of his burnous

like a hard-riding rascal.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 19)

O'Grady rewrites the line to employ the stylistic device of alliteration (brazen-bold-boy-bounce- brush-back) and assonance (bounce-down). However, he rewrites the line in a way which changes its meaning as he does not reproduce the image of the horse forcing the boy to slip off its back; it thus seems that the *doxa* continues to dictate O'Grady's rephrasing of lines and choice of words which seem to be employed to serve a stylistic aim, but which ultimately result in the absence of the implied skills of the hero.

O'Grady does not reproduce the image of the warrior in his translation of the following line from the *qaṣīda* of Ṭarfa either:

إِذَا القَوْمُ قَالُوا مَنْ فَتَىً خِلْتُ أَنَّنِـي   عُنِيْـتُ فَلَمْ أَكْسَـلْ وَلَمْ أَتَبَلَّـدِ

When the people ask, 'Who's the hero?' I suppose

myself intended, and I am not lazy nor dull of wit.

Arberry reproduces all the elements of the ST in his translation:

When the people demand, 'Who's the hero?' I suppose

myself intended, and I am not sluggish, not dull of wit; (*Seven Odes* 85)

O'Grady omits the characteristics of not being sluggish or dull of wit which Ṭarfa takes pride in possessing, and he simply reproduces the speaker's belief in himself to be a hero:

Which of us is the hero?

Me! Of course!

(*Seven Arab Odes* 27)

Omission simplifies the translation but makes absent the celebrated traits that qualify a man to be a warrior, and the focus on the speaker only makes him sound egoistic.

O’Grady omits another characteristic of the hero when dealing with the translation of the following line from Ṭarfa’s *mu‘allaqa*:

وإِنْ أُدْعَ لِلْجُلَّى أَكُنْ مِنْ حُمَاتِهَا   وإِنْ يأْتِكَ الأَعْدَاءُ بِالجَهْدِ أَجْهَدِ

If summoned in a serious matter, I’m there to defend the tribe,

and if enemies come against you sternly, I act sternly.

Arberry translates this line without a change:

let me be summoned in a serious fix, and I’m there to defend,

or let your enemies come against you sternly, I’m stern to help; (*Seven Odes* 87)

O’Grady omits this line entirely from his translation, and the omission leads to the absence of more traits which gradually build up Ṭarfa’s image as a hero. He also omits the following line:

فَآلَيْتُ لا يَنْفَكُّ كَشْحِي بِطَانَةً   لِعَضْبِ رَقِيْقِ الشَّفْرَتَيْنِ مُهَنَّدِ

I have vowed that my loins would never cease to be the sheath

for a cutting sword, sharp in both edges

Arberry translates this line as follows:

I have vowed my loins cease not to furnish a lining

for an Indian scimitar sharp as to both in edges, (*Seven Odes* 88)

O’Grady’s translation entirely omits this line, and results in the absence of yet another characteristic of Ṭarfa’s image as a hero, and he resorts to the same strategy when translating the following line which reflects the same meaning:

إِذَا ابْتَدَرَ القَوْمُ السِّلاحَ وجَدْتَنِي   مَنِيْعاً إِذَا بَلَّتْ بِقَائِمَهِ يَدِي

When the people hurry to arms, you will find me

invincible, if my hand catches its handle.

Arberry's translation of this line reads as follows:

When the tribesman hurry to arms, you'll surely find me

impregnable, let my hand but be gripping its handle. (*Seven Odes* 88)

O'Grady's decision to omit the lines which describe the Arab warrior or to introduce changes to them becomes more significant when translating the epic *qaṣīda* of ʻAntara, who dedicates most of his poem to the description of his warring skills and the mighty knights he vanquishes. The frequent omission or changes introduced to the lines or hemistitchs that describe ʻAntara's heroism ultimately affects the nature of ʻAntara's *qaṣīda*, turning it from an epic *qaṣīda* into a romantic one. An example of such omission comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line:

يُخْبِـركِ مَنْ شَـهَدَ الوَقيعَةَ أنَّنِـي   أَغْشـى الوَغَـى وأَعِفُّ عِنْد المَغْنَـمِ

Those who witnessed the fight will tell you

that I have no fear of the battle, and that I abstain from booty-sharing.

Arberry reproduces the meaning in his translation:

Those who were present at the engagement will acquaint you

how I plunge into battle, but abstain at the booty-sharing. (*Seven Odes* 181)

O'Grady does not translate the part in which ʻAntara states that he fears not the fight, but only abstaining from booty-sharing:

And I abstain from booty–sharing.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 48)

O'Grady simplifies his translation, but the omission of the detailed description of ʻAntara's reputation as a warrior takes away an important part of his heroic image.

O’Grady also omits the following line in which ‘Antara describes his pride in his fighting skills during the battle:

طَـوْراً يُـجَرَّدُ للطَّعانِ وتَـارَةً   يَأْوِي إلى حَصِدِ القِسِيِّ عَرَمْـرِمِ

At one time, he is detached for the lance-thrusting; and at another

he resorts to the big crowd with their tight bows.

Arberry conveys the meaning without a change:

now detached for the lance-thrusting, and anon

restoring to the great host with their tight bows. (*Seven Odes*181)

O’Grady does not translate this line which celebrates ‘Antara’s fighting skills, and the absence of this part of ‘Antara’s character as a warrior results in the absence of traits that a non-Western may share with a Western knight/fighter. A more adequate approach is to retain all the omitted lines in their entirety.

‘Antara builds up his image as a warrior in the *qaṣīda* through the description of his enemy. The portrait of the mighty, skilled warrior whom ‘Antara defeats reflects an image of ‘Antara as even more mighty and skilled. Accordingly, any change to or omission of the image of the enemy would affect ‘Antara’s portrayal of himself, as evident in O’Grady’s translation of the following line:

ومُـدَّجِجٍ كَـرِهَ الكُماةُ نِزَالَـهُ   لامُمْعنٍ هَـرَباً ولا مُسْتَسْلِـمِ

Many is the armed knight the warriors hate to combat,

one who does not escape or surrender,

Arberry conveys this meaning without making a change in his translation:

Many’s the bristling knight the warriors have shunned to take on,

one who was not in a hurry to flee or capitulate, (*Seven Odes* 181)

O’Grady’s translation simply states that ‘Antara repeatedly confronted men that others avoided:

Many's the man others avoided I've taken on

man to man.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 48)

O'Grady decision to omit the characterestics of the enemy simplifies the translation, but the failure to reproduce the enemy's description in full detail affects 'Antara's image as a warrior in O'Grady's translation of this line. Omission is the strategy O'Grady also employs when dealing with the translatioin of the next line in which 'Antara describes the physical features of his hero opponent:

بَطـلٌ كأَنَّ ثِيـابَهُ في سَرْحـة   يُحْذَى نِعَالَ السِّبْتِ لَيْسَ بِتَـوْأَمِ

a hero, as if he were a clothed tree,

shod in shoes of tanned leather, not twinned.

Arberry emphasises the cultural distance by inserting the transliteration of "sarḥa" which means "tree," but he does not change the image of the hero:

a true hero, as if he were a clothed sarha-tree,

shod in shoes of tanned leather, no weakling twin. (*Seven Odes* 182)

O'Grady entirely omits the line which describes the hero whom 'Antara overcomes, and his decision results in the absence of one more characteristic which builds up the image of the mighty enemy who mirrors 'Antara.

Another celebrated characteristic of masterhood among the Arabs is wisdom, and O'Grady does not reproduce this either in his translation, further erasing some of the details that build up the image of the Arab master or hero. One such example comes from his translation of the following line in which Ṭarfa narrates his problem with his uncle (which originates from an episode in which Ṭarfa, out of generosity, slaughtered his uncle's camels to serve his guests), and the camel owner replies that slaughtering such fine she-camel is a great waste:

يَقُـوْلُ وَقَدْ تَرَّ الوَظِيْفُ وَسَاقُهَـا   أَلَسْتَ تَرَى أَنْ قَدْ أَتَيْتَ بِمُؤَيَّـدِ

he says to me—after her leg and shank were slit—

"Don't you see what a great problem you have caused?"

Arberry translates the old man's disapproval in the form of a question:

> and he remarking to me (for her pastern and shank were slit)
>
> 'Don't you see what ruination you've brought on me now? (*Seven Odes* 88)

O'Grady omits the question from his translation, and also intensifies the old man's tone as the old man now shouts out his protests (changing, in the meantime, the image of old men in Arabia as usually calm and wise):

I houghed her. She fell

He shouted his protests:

(*Seven Arab Odes* 30)

O'Grady rewrites the line in a way which leads to the absence of wisdom.

Ṭarfa himself shows wisdom when he does not rashly follow his anger and sensibly stays with the vulnerable to protect them, showing that he is brave but not impulsive:

ويَـوْمٍ حَبَسْتُ النَّفْسَ عِنْدَ عِرَاكِـهِ   حِفَاظـاً عَلَـى عَـوْرَاتِهِ والتَّهَـدُّدِ

> Many is the day I've braced myself at the fight
>
> guarding the threatened breaches.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

> Many's the day I've braced myself, when the foemen pressed,
>
> guarding the threatened breaches, firm in the face of fear, (*Seven Odes* 89)

O'Grady omits the line entirely from his translation, gradually turning one more characteristic of the Arab hero into nothingness.

More important is the change that O'Grady's translation introduces into the *qaṣīda* of Zuhair, which is known in Arabic literature as a poem of wisdom. An example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line in which Zuhair shows wisdom through warning the tribes against the vice of tribal wars, using the persuasive power of metaphors to show the atrocities of war:

فَتَعْرُكُكُمْ عَرْكَ الرَّحَى بِثِفَالِهَا وَتَلْقَحْ كِشَافاً ثُمَّ تُنْتَجْ فَتُتْئِمِ

فَتُنْتِجْ لَكُمْ غِلْمَانَ أَشْأَمَ كُلُّهُمْ كَأَحْمَرِ عَادٍ ثُمَّ تُرْضِعْ فَتَفْطِمِ

then [war] grinds you as a millstone grinds on its cushion;
yearly it conceives twins, and gives birth upon birth,
it begets ill-omened boys for you , every one of them
as ominous as Ahmar of 'Ad;[20] then it nurses and weans them

Arberry reproduces the details in his translation without a change, including the name of Aḥmar of 'Ad:

then it grinds you as a millstone grinds on its cushion;
yearly it conceives, birth upon birth, and with twins for issue—
very ill-omened are the boys it bears you, every one of them
the like of Ahmar of 'Ad; then it gives suck, and weans them. (*Seven Odes* 116)

O'Grady omits the first metaphor of the millstone and simplifies the image of twins, then omits the second line entirely:

Conceived,

it bears twins.

---

[20] Qadar ibn Salef who slaughtered the she-camel of Thamoud (al-Zauzani121)

(*Seven Arab Odes* 35)

The omission removes many metaphors and culture-specific details from the TT, but it does not stress the wisdom for which Zuhair as an eminent master in Ancient Arabia is known.

O'Grady also omits the following line from Zuhair's *mu'allqa*:

فَتُغْـــلِلْ لَكُمْ مَا لاَ تُغـــــِلُّ   قُـرَىً بِالْعِـرَاقِ مِنْ قَفِيْزٍ وَدِرْهَـمِ

War yields you a harvest that exceeds

the bushels and money that the villages of Iraq yield.

Arberry rewrites the line and compares the harvested results of war to the wealth of Iraq in terms of comparison, not in terms of quantity, but the line's warning against war's catastrophic consequences is retained:

Yes, war yields you a harvest very different from the bushels

and pieces of silver those fields in Iraq yield for the villagers. (*Seven Odes* 116)

O'Grady, on the other hand, continues to omit lines that demonstrate Zuhair's wisdom and advice against war. Such omission gradually dissolves his image as a wise master.

Zuhair's wisdom is also evident in preaching morality, but O'Grady fails to reproduce some of the lines dedicated to moral advice. An example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line:

وَمَنْ يُوْفِ لا يُذْمَمْ وَمَنْ يُهْدَ قَلْبُـهُ   إِلَـى مُطْمَئِـنِّ البِرِّ لا يَتَجَمْجَـمِ

Whoever keeps his word does not get slurred, and whoever sets his heart

on the sure path of piety does not falter.

Arberry translates the line without a change:

Whoever keeps his word goes unblamed; he whose heart is set

on the sure path of piety needs not to fear or falter. (*Seven Odes* 117)

O'Grady omits the first part of the line, but translates the second:

The path of piety fears no fear or falter.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 35)

The omission of the first part obliterates the stress on keeping one's word, a celebrated trait in Ancient Arabia. Removing moral advice from the translation gradually minimises the image of the wise master Zuhair gradually builds for himself throughout the *qaṣīda* by presenting advice concerning celebrated morals in pre-Islamic Arabia.

The image of the master or hero, which gradually erodes by O'Grady's frequent use of omission of lines dedicated to the description of Arab heros and their celebrated traits and values, can be retained through avoiding the complete or partial omission of lines that describe the celebrated traits that gradually make up the image of the Arab hero or master throughout the *Mu'allaqāt*. Translating *all* the lines which describe the Arab hero is, in my view, the adequate way to offer the readers the representation of Arab reality as described by the original poets of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

Apart from warring skills and wisdom, the poets also build up the image of the hero or master through celebrating other characteristics—once again omitted or changed in O'Grady's translation. One of these characteristics is responsibility that Imru' al-Qais brags about in the following line:

وقِـرْبَـةِ أَقْـوَامٍ جَعَلْتُ عِصَامَهَـا   عَلَى كَاهِـلٍ مِنِّي ذَلُوْلٍ مُرَحَّـلِ

Many is the water-skin of folks I have carried

on my shoulder, humbly I often humped it.

Imru' al-Qais is either taking pride in carrying the burdens of his people, which includes returning their rights or paying money to protect them; or in carrying the

water skin and being responsible for offering hospitality to his company during hunting trips (al-Zauzani 47).When translating this line, Arberry chooses to convey the first meaning and relies on the context for clarification:

> Many is the water-skin of all sorts of folk I have slung
> by its strap over my shoulder, as humble as can be, and humped it;
> (*Seven Odes* 64)

O'Grady, on the other hand, decides to insert the word "madness", which suggests an element of wantonness in the hunting trips:

> Many a waterbag of bravura wastrel-brother madness
> I've carried as comrade's crucifixion
> (*Seven Arab Odes* 18)

Even if Imru' al-Qais is taking pride in being responsible for hospitality during the hunting trips, "madness" connotes a sense of debauchery not implied in the original line. This added depravity mars the sense of responsibility Imru' al-Qais communicates in this line and distorts his image as a master. A more satisfactory translation approach would be avoiding the insertion of words which add something that is obviously not celebrated in the original line.

O'Grady rewrites the next line where Ṭarfa expresses his loyalty and gratitude to his uncle:

> ولَكِـنَّ مَوْلايَ امْرُؤٌ هُوَ خَانِقِـي   عَلَى الشُّكْرِ والتَّسْآلِ أَوْ أَنَا مُفْتَـدِ

> but my master is a man who's forever chocking me
> and I must thank him, and praise him, and defend him.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

> but my fine master is a man who's forever throttling me

> and I must thank him, and fawn upon him, and be his ransom. (*Seven Odes* 88)

O'Grady translates this line with four words:

> My Lord is my master
>
> (*Seven Arab Odes*)

When O'Grady rewrites the line, he employs alliteration and simplifies the message by removing many details, but the omission of such details results in the gradual erosion of the image of the hero offered in the original *qaṣīdas*.

Apart from qualities of the master or the hero, O'Grady also omits two lines that refer to the rise of a king who unites and leads the tribes. The king, to whom al-Ḥārith refers, is al-Mundher, who ascends to power the day he passes the test of al-Ḥayārīn battle:

وَهُوَ الرَّبُّ وَالشَّهِيدُ عَلَى يَومِ   الحَيارَينِ وَالبَلاءُ بَلاءُ

مَلِكٌ أَضلَعَ البَرِيَّةِ لا يُوجَدُ   فِيهَا لِمَا لَدَيهِ كِفَاءُ

> he was the master and the witness of the day of
>
> al-Ḥayārīn when the test was terrible,
>
> a king who conquered all mortals,
>
> what he possesses has no equal among them.

The rise of a hero in Arabia is conveyed in Arberry's translation:

> he was the master, he the witness of the day of
>
> El-Hiyaårin, that true and terrible testing,
>
> a king, the most doughty of mortals, the equal
>
> of his stature not being found among them. (*Seven Odes* 224)

O'Grady entirely omits these two lines, and the omission erases the narrative of an Arab hero who is capable of unifying the warring parties and putting an end to chaos;

the absence of a unifying hero generated by omitting this narrative echoes the rhetoric of propaganda machines which formed the *doxa* at the time O'Grady's translation was produced. The extistence of the hero and the traits of the hero swallowed by omission throughout O'Grady's translation can be retained in the TT through translating *all* the lines which describe the Arab hero in their enterity.

Concluding Remarks

Arberry introduces very minimal changes to his representation of the Arab hero or master; he works within the limits imposed by the autonomous *qaṣīdas*, since the context often explains the meaning. Arberry's academic translation, which he explicitly promises neither adds nor removes details of the original, generally keeps the poets' representation of themselves as heroes or masters as well as all events documented in the *Mu'allaqāt*. The one example to the contrary is a manipulation of the image which has the effect of depicting the hero as a more sensitive character than in the original. Otherwise, the academic translation whose *skopos* seems to be educating the audience about the culture and literature of pre-Islamic Arabia keeps all the lines and thus preserves the virtues in which the poets take pride and which build up their images as heroes or masters.

By contrast, O'Grady's translation changes lines for seemingly stylistic reasons and frequently omits entire lines or parts of lines which may overload the message with details. However, it is noteworthy that the omitted lines often refer to the possibility of the existence of a hero that can unify the tribes or to characteristics which build up the image of the poet as a master or hero. It is also noteworthy that even the changes made for stylistic reasons seem to be influenced by *doxa* about Arabs at the time the translation was produced. As a result, O'Grady's representation of the Arabs is characterised by *absence* of characteristics which reflect the image of

the hero or reflect similarity between Westerners and non-Westerners, and by *essentialism* of traits usually attributed to the non-Westerners in Orientalist discourse. O'Grady's representation of the Arab hero or master thus reflects the influence of the socio-political context on his translation decisions.

O'Grady simultaneously employs foreignising translations strategies (rewriting lines and changing images in a manner that forces the stereotypical representation of the non-West on the Arab hero) as well as domesticating ones (frequent omissions). His choice of the suitable strategy seems to be guided by his *skopos* which is fulfilled through the use of domestication and foreignisation at the same time.

4.2.4. Translating Tribal Pride and War Propaganda

'Atwān states that the ethics of Ancient Arabs were influenced by the scarce nature of their environment with regard to resources, and that raids on neighbouring tribes were a means of survival for tribes, and were regarded as acts of valour (44-45). Revenge was another reason behind the bloodshed. Clouston observes that the Arabs had a system of tribal wars and explains that death of a single person could kindle a war between tribes (xxvi- xxvii).

Arab poets were the machines of political propaganda in their tribes, and they employed their talent in taking pride in their tribes' glory and experience at war, recording the tribes' victories, and mocking the enemies. Some parts of the *qaṣīdas* were like modern-day military displays where poets showed off their people's warring skills and weaponry in a chest-pumping display of strength. The poets portrayed an awe-inspiring image of their tribes' warriors, described their artillery, highlighted their large numbers, mentioned their strong allies, gave graphic descriptions of how they killed their enemies in order to threaten them, and listed the names of the places

they controlled to showcase their wide dominance. Thus, the various detailed descriptions of war life in pre-Islamic poetry served a political end, and the omission or change of the details that serve the original poets' agendas would block the political propaganda originating from the pride they took in their tribes.

While Arberry reproduces all the lines of war propaganda and their details, O'Grady omits them. An example comes from O'Grady's strategy of dealing with the translation of the following line in which 'Antara describes how the corpse of a mighty opponent of his looks after the fight:

عَهدِي بِهِ مَدَّ النَّهارِ كَأَنَّما   خُضِبَ البَنَانُ ورَأْسُهُ بِالعَظْلَمِ

all along the day I saw him, as if

his fingers and his head were dyed with indigo,

Arberry translates this line as follows:

and when the sun was high in the heavens I described him

his fingers and his head as it were dyed with indigo— (*Seven Odes* 182)

O'Grady entirely omits this line and removes a load of details from his verse translation; however, the absence of the graphic description of the enemy's corpse obliterates the poem's threat to the enemy, implied in the enemy's dreadful end. In other words, the omission of the graphic scene obstructs the political message of the original *qaṣīda*.

The message of threat is often coupled with a detailed description of the weapons used in killing the enemy, demonstrating how equipped the fighters are in a display of strength. O'Grady's translation simplifies the message by omitting details which serve war propaganda, such as when translating the following line in which 'Antara describes how he kills his enemy and what weapons he uses in the fight:

فَطعنْتُـهُ بِالرُّمْـحِ ثُـمَّ عَلَوْتُـهُ   بِمُهَنَّـدٍ صافِي الحَديدَةِ مِخْـذَمِ

So I thrust him with my spear, then I came on top of him

with a cutting sword of pure steel.

This scene of the fight is reproduced in Arberry's translation in full details:

So I thrust him with the lance, then I came on top of him

with a trenchant Indian blade of shining steel, (*Seven Odes*182)

O'Grady omits the detailed description of 'Antara's weapons:

I gutted him on the spot.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 49)

The omission of the lance and sword and their detailed description simplifies the message, but it leads to loss in meaning and effect and results in obstructing the message of propaganda.

O'Grady follows the same strategy when translating the following line in which 'Antara describes how he takes down his enemy with one thrust, using his strong spear:

جَـادَتْ لهُ كَفِّي بِعـاجِلِ طَعْنـةٍ   بِمُثَقَّـفٍ صَدْقِ الكُعُـوبِ مُقَـوَّمِ

my hands generously gave him a hasty thrust

with a strong- jointed, straightened spear

Arberry's translation portrays the scene in full detail:

my hands have been right generous to with the hasty thrust

of a well-tempered, strong- jointed, straightened spear (*Seven Odes* 182)

O'Grady's translation sums up the fight scene by stating that 'Antara confronted his enemy man to man:

Many's the man others avoided I've taken on

man to man

(*Seven Arab Odes* 48)

O'Grady resorts to omission when dealing with the translation of the following two lines where 'Antara adds more details to the portrayal of his fight with that fearful enemy:

بِرَحِيبَةِ الفَرْعَينِ يهْدي جَرسُها   باللیل معــتسَّ الذئــابِ الضرَّم

فَشَكَكْتُ بِالرُّمْحِ الأَصَمِّ ثِيابــهُ   لیسَ الكَريمُ على القَنا بِمُحَـرَّمِ

giving him a wide, double-sided gash, the hiss of which

guides raiding, hungry wolves at night;

I thrust through his body with my solid lance

for even the noblest is not sacred to the spear.

Arberry translates these two lines as follows:

giving him a board, double-sided gash, the hiss of which

guides in the night-season the prowling, famished wolves;

I split through his accoutrements with my solid lance

(for even the noblest is not sacrosanct to the spear) (*Seven Odes* 182)

O'Grady removes the load of the detailed description by omitting both lines, and the omission continues to obstruct the political propaganda and leads to the absence of the threat implied in the lines. O'Grady also omits the following line from 'Antara's *mu'allaqa*:

أيْقَنْتُ أَنْ سَيكُونُ عِنْدَ لِقَائِهِمْ   ضَرْبٌ يَطيرُ عنِ الفِراخِ الجُثَّمِ

I knew for sure that when meeting them

such a blow would fall as to scare the bird from its chicks.

Arberry's translation of this line reads as follows:

then I knew for sure that when the issue was joined with them

such a blow would fall as to scare the bird from its snuggling chicks.

(*Seven Odes*183)

O'Grady removes the load of details by not translating the effect of the blow on the enemy, but the omission transforms the implied threat into nothingness.

O'Grady omits the following line in which 'Amr mentions the weapons his tribesmen use to defend themselves:

نُطَاعِنُ مَا تَرَاخَى النَّاسُ عَنَّا   وَنَضْرِبُ بِالسُّيُوفِ إِذَا غُشِينَا

بِسُمْرٍ مِنْ قَنَا الخَطِّيِّ لُدْنٍ   ذَوَابِلَ أَوْ بِبِيْضٍ يَخْتَلِيْنَا

We fight with spears when people stand far from us

and strike with swords when they are upon us,

with the dark spears of al-Khatty, flexible

and strong , or with uplifted swords.

Arberry closely adheres to 'Amr's wording in his translation:

When the ranks stand far from us, we thrust with

lances, and strike with swords when they are upon us,

with tawny lances of Khatt, very supple

and slender, or shining , uplifted sword-blades; (*Seven Odes* 205-206)

O'Grady rewrites the line and employs antithesis, which simplifies the image because meaning becomes clear by contrasting ideas; however, the omission of weapons leads to the absence of an element of power whose possession substantiates his claim to the ability of his tribe to attack their enemies or defend themselves:

In attack we're a terror

in defence indomitable.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 54)

O'Grady's translation also omits the message of threat implied in 'Amr's description of how his tribesmen kill their enemies:

نَشُـقُّ بِهَا رُؤُوْسَ القَوْمِ شَقًّـا وَنَخْتَلِـبُ الرِّقَـابَ فَتَخْتَلِيْنَـا

with these we split heads

and cut necks like grasses.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

with these we split the heads of the warriors

and slit through their necks like scythed grasses— (*Seven Odes* 206)

O'Grady does not translate this line and removes more details, but his decision results in the absence of messages of political importance because the lines highlight the Arabs' warring skills and their ability to protect themselves. He also omits the following line in which 'Amr produces a graphic description of a scene from the battlefield:

نَحز رُؤُوْسَهُمْ فِي غَيْرِ بِـرٍّ فَمَـا يَـدْرُوْنَ مَاذَا يَتَّقُوْنَـا

We cut their heads off without compassion

and they do not know how to defend themselves from us

Arberry translates the line without a change:

We hack their heads off without compassion

and they don't know how to defend themselves from us; (*Seven Odes* 206)

Another example of O'Grady's failure to reproduce the description of the artillery in his translation comes from his translation of these lines in which 'Amr ibn Kulthūm addresses King 'Amr ibn Hind:

فَإِنَّ قَنَـاتَنَـا يَا عَمْـــرُو أَعْيَـتْ عَلى الأَعْـدَاءِ بخق قَبَلَكَ أَنْ تَلِيْنَـا

إِذَا عَضَّ الثِّقَافُ بِهَا اشْمَـأَزَّتْ وَوَلَّتْـــهُ عَشَـــوْزَنَـةً زَبُـوْنَـــا

عَشَــوْزَنَةً إِذَا انْقَـلَبَتْ أَرَنَّـتْ   تَشُـــجُّ قـَـفَا المُثَقِّــفِ وَالجَبـِيْنَـا

Our swords, before you ‘Amr, battled

our enemies’ efforts to soften.

When the spear straightener bit into them, they resisted

and drove it back like a strong, stubborn camel,

a stubborn camel; bend [the spears], and with a creaking

they strike back at the straightener’s neck and forehead.

Arberry reproduces ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm’s display of arms:

Be sure, that before your time our lances

baffled our enemies’ efforts to soften them;

when the spear-vice bit into them, they resisted

and drove it back like a stubborn, shoving camel,

a stubborn camel; bend them, and with a creaking

they strike back at the straightener’s neck and forehead. (*Seven Odes* 206-207)

O’Grady rewrites the lines to remove the load of details and employs alliteration (time-tribe-terror) to produce a verbal effect:

Remember,

before your time

our tribe struck terror.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 54-55)

O’Grady’s translation does not reproduce the poet’s description of the tribe’s spears, and thereby makes absent the implied sense of intimidation in the ST.

O’Grady’s translation removes the detailed description of his tribesmen’s artillery when translating the following lines from ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm’s *qaṣīda*:

أَلَمَّا تَعْلَمُوا مِنَّا وَمِنْكُمْ   كَتَائِبَ يَطّعِنَّ وَيَرْتَمِيْنَا

عَلَيْنَا البَيْضُ وَاليَلَبُ اليَمَانِي   وَأسْيَافٌ يَقُمْنَ وَيَنْحَنِيْنَا

عَلَيْنَا كُلُّ سَابِغَةٍ دِلاَصٍ   تَرَى فَوْقَ النِّطَاقِ لَهَا غُضُوْنَا

إِذَا وَضِعَتْ عَنِ الأَبْطَالِ يَوْماً   رَأَيْتَ لَهَا جُلُوْدَ القَوْمِ جُوْنَا

كَأَنَّ متونَهُنَّ مُتُوْنُ غُدْرٍ   تُصَفِّقُهَا الرِّيَاحُ إِذَا جَرَيْنَا

Do not you know how regiments, ours and yours,

thrust lances and throw bolts?

We were clothed in helmets, and Yemeni vests,

holding swords straight and bending,

our bodies were clad with glittering mail-coats

you can see their puckers above the belt.

When those are unbuckled from the warriors

you see their skin rusted from the long wearing,

The ripples of the mail coats were like those in water pools

when the wind strikes their surfaces.

Aberry closely adheres to the wording of the ST as he translates these lines as follows:

Do you not know how the squadrons thrusted

and shot their bolts, ours and yours together?

We were caparisoned in helmets, and Yemeni jerkins,

we were accoutred with swords straight and bending,

our bodies were hung with glittering mail-coats

having visible puckers above the sword-belt

that being unbuckled from the warrior

reveals his skin rusted from the long wearing,

mail-coats that ripple like a pool of water

when the furrowing wind strikes its smooth surface. (*Seven Odes* 20)

O'Grady concisely rewrites the lines and uses words which alliterate (tribal-trimming-tackle) and his decision suites his translation's *skopos*, but he makes absent the detailed description of the weaponry which serves the function of a modern-day military display:

Our tribal trimmings and tackle in battle

shine the celebration of our chronicles.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 55)

O'Grady also rewrites the following line from ʻAmr ibn Kulthūm's *muʻallaqa*:

مَـلأْنَا البَـرَّ حَتَّى ضَاقَ عَنَّـا   وَظَهرَ البَحْـرِ نَمْلَـؤُهُ سَفِيْنَـا

We have filled the land till it became too narrow for us

and we are filling the sea's back with our ships.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

We have filled the land till it's too strait for us

and we are filling the sea's back with our vessels. (*Seven Odes* 209)

O'Grady changes the meaning of the second part of this line in his translation:

We have propagated our people.

Our camels are ships of the desert.

(*Golden Odes* 44)

ʻAmr's tribe in O'Grady's translation does not fill the sea with ships; the only ships they have are their camels which cross the desert. By changing ʻAmr's message, O'Grady pigeonholes the Arabs and Arabia into Western stereotypes of them: Arabia is a desert with no water bodies, and the Arabs are no sailors. More importantly, the vessels are another component of the military display in the *qaṣīda*, and the idea of filling both land and sea shows the huge population of ʻAmr's tribesmen. O'Grady's

failure to reproduce the idea of the huge population of ‘Amr’s tribe makes absent the implied element of threat and obstructs the implied political message. A more satisfactory stategy to the translation of the discussed lines is to reproduce the meaning without change, omission, or addition.

Stressing the tribe’s ability to defend itself and its allies or its capability of attacking enemies, referring to the tribesmen’s experience in war, and taking pride in the tribe’s virtues are all strategies of political propaganda displayed in the *qaṣīdas* of ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm and al-Ḥārith. For example,‘Amr declares that his tribesmen are capable of defending themselves and their neighbours in the following line:

وَنَحْنُ إِذَا عِمَادُ الحَيِّ خَـرَّتْ عَنِ الأَحْفَاضِ نَمْنَعُ مَنْ يَلِيْنَـا

When the tent-poles of the neighbourhood fall

upon the furniture, we defend our neighbours;

The meaning of the line is conveyed without a change in Arberry’s translation:

when the tent-poles of the tribe are fallen

upon the furniture, we defend our neighbours; (*Seven Odes* 205)

O’Grady’s translation dissolves the defensive ability of ‘Amr’s tribe into nothingness by omitting this line. He also omits the tribe’s ability to attack expressed in the following line in ‘Amr’s *mu‘allaqa*:

حُـدَيَّا النَّـاسِ كُلِّهِمُ جَمِيْعـاً مُقَـارَعَةً بَنِيْـهِمْ عَـنْ بَنِيْنَـا

challenging all the people,

combating their sons against ours.

Arberry closely adheres to the wording of the original poet:

a match for the whole of men, all together,

wagering their sons against our sons. (*Seven Odes* 206)

The challenge which reflects the ability of ‘Amr’s tribesmen to vanquish all enemies disappears in O’Grady’s translation too. The omission of the lines simplifies the messages, but leads to the absence of the confirmation on the ability of ‘Amr’s tribemen to defend themselves or attack enemies.

O’Grady’s translation also changes how the plan of attack of ‘Amr’s tribe is presented:

فَأَمَّا يَوْمَ خَشْيَتِنَا عَلَيْهِمْ　　　فَتُصْبِحُ غَارة متلببينَا

وَأَمَّا يَوْمَ لاَ نَخْشَى عَلَيْهِمْ　　　فَنُصْبِحُ فِي مَجَالِسِنَا ثَبِينَا

Upon the day that we fear for our sons

we rise early to attack, all armed,

but on the day we do not fear for them

we separately sit in our assemblies.

Arberry’s translation reproduces the attack tactics of ‘Amr’s tribe without a change:

Upon the day that we tremble for our children

girding our loins we surge early to onslaught,

but on the day we do not tremble for them

we sit about in knots in our tribe-assemblies, (*Seven Odes* 206)

O’Grady translates these lines differently and changes the meaning:

Between wars we gather for council.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 54)

O’Grady’s translation omits all the details relating to the changing tactics between the use of full force or a small legion, and concentrates on the tribe’s gatherings which turn into war councils. This manipulation in the translation does not reflect the involvement of the tribesmen in the fight and the different tactics they employ. The Arabs in O’Grady’s translation of these two lines do not raid others themselves,

neither in large nor in small groups, and do not seem to have the ability to change tactics to allow them to defeat others with the majority of the tribe staying behind and lingering in social gatherings. The gatherings in O'Grady's translation turn from ones of leisure to ones of council, reflecting a feeling of concern. Rewriting the lines distorts the political message and makes absent the Arabs' ability to alternate between war tactics. The meaning can be reproduced by presenting the image that is presented in the ST.

O'Grady's translation continues to obliterate the ability of 'Amr's tribe to assault enemies described in the following line:

بِـرَأْسٍ مِنْ بَنِـي جُشْمٍ بِنْ بَكْـرٍ   نَـدُقُّ بِهِ السُّـهُوْلَةَ وَالحُزُوْنَـا

led by chiefs of Banu Jusham ibn Bakr,

we crush plain lands and uplands.

Arberry translates this line without any omissions:

led by chiefs of the Banu Jusham bin Bakr

with whom we trample on plain and rugged upland. (*Seven Odes* 206)

O'Grady omits this line, as well as the following line from 'Amr's *mu'allaqa*:

مَتَـى نَعْقِـد قَرِيْنَتَنَـا بِحَبْـلٍ   تَجُـذَّ الحَبْلَ أَوْ تَقْصِ القَرِيْنَـا

When we tie with a rope our camel,

it cuts the rope or breaks the neck of the beast tied to it.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

When we tie with a rope our train-camel of battle

or we break the bond, or the neck of the beast tethered to her. (*Seven Odes* 207)

The camel's readiness to fight reflects that of its riders; the omission of such readiness in O'Grady's translation contributes to the effect of obliterating the Arabs' ability to

fight. O'Grady also omits the second hemistich of the following line in which ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm says:

لنا الدنيا ومن أمسى عليها   ونبطش حين نبطش قادرين

Ours is the world, and all who dwell upon it,

and when we assault, we assault with full ability.

Arberry translates this line as follows:

Ours is the world, and all who dwell upon it,

and when we assault, we assault with power. (*Seven Odes* 209)

O'Grady omits ‘Amr's reference to his tribe's fierceness when assaulting their enemy, making absent the implied intimidation in the ST:

This world's ours

and what's in it.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 55)

Erasing the poem's account of the Arabs' ability to defend or assault involves obliterating the element of experience, which the poets highlight in the *qaṣīdas* through the description of their tribes' participation in previous battles. O'Grady also omits the following lines from the *mu'allaqa* of ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm:

كَأَنَّ سُيُـــوْفَنَا منَّـا ومنـْهُـم   مَخَــارِيْقٌ بِأَيْــدِي لاَعِبِيْنَـا

كَـــأَنَّ ثِيَابَنَـــا مِنَّـا وَمِنـْهُـمْ   خُضِــبْنَ بِأَرْجُوَانِ أَوْ طُلِيْنَـا

إِذَا مَا عَيَّ بِالإِسْنَـافِ حـَيٌّ   مِنَ الهَـوْلِ المُشَبَّهِ أَنْ يَكُوْنَـا

نَصَبْنَـا مِثْلَ رَهْوَةِ ذَاتَ حَـدٍّ   مُحَافَظَـــةً وَكُـــنَّا السَّـابِقِيْنَـا

it is as if our and their swords, waving between us,

were wooden swords in the hands of playing children;

it is as if our and their garments

were dyed or smeared with purple pigment.

Whenever a tribe is unable to move forward

because of the fear of what might happen

we stand like Mount Rahwa, razor-sharp,

for defence, and we march foremost.

Arberry translates the lines as follows:

it is as though our swords, flailing between us,

were bladders buffeted by playing children;

it is as though our and their accoutrements

were dyed or smeared over with purple pigment.

Whenever a tribe is important to thrust forward

because of the fear of what well might happen

we plant a veritable Mount Rahwa, razor-sharp,

for a defence, and ourselves march foremost (*Seven Odes* 206)

O'Grady does not translate these lines at all, nor does he translate the following lines which refer to another battle:

وَكُنَّـا الأَيْمَــنِيْـنَ إِذَا التَقَيـْنَـا   وَكَـانَ الأَيْسَـرِيْنَ بَنُو أَبَيْنَـا

فَصَالُـوا صَـوْلَةً فِيْمَنْ يَلِيْهِمْ   وَصُلْنَـا صَـوْلَةً فِيْمَنْ يَلِيْنَـا

فَـآبُوا بِالنِّـــهَابِ وَبِالسَّــبَايَـا   وَأُبْـنَا بِالمُلُــوْكِ مُصَفَّدِيْنَـــا

We kept the right wing in the great encounter

and on the left wing stood our blood-brothers;

they fiercely assaulted their nearest enemies

and we fiercely assaulted our nearest enemies;

they returned with booty and captives,

and we returned with the kings in shackles.

Arberry closely adheres to the ST in his translation of these three lines:

We kept the right wing in the great encounter

and on the left wing stood our blood-brothers;

they loosed a fierce assault on their nearest foemen

we loosed a fierce assault on our nearest foemen;

they returned with much booty and many captives,

we returned leading the kings in fetters. (*Seven Odes* 207)

O'Grady, not surprisingly, skips over these three lines, and the omission of these lines removes many details and simplifies the translation, but it also results in the absence of the tribe's long experience in war, and limits both the message of threat and display of power and experience.

Another example comes from O'Grady's translation of the following line in which 'Amr states that the army of his tribe consists of lads who do not fear death as well as grey-haired men who are experienced in war:

بِّفتيـانٍ يَرَوْنَ القَـتْلَ مَجْـداً وَشِيْـبٍ فِي الحُرُوْبِ مُجَرَّبِيْنَـا

with lads who deem death in battle a glory

and with grey-haired men experienced in warfare

Arberry conveys the meaning in his translation as follows:

with youths who deem death in battle a glory

and with greybeards long tested in warfare (*Seven Odes* 206)

O'Grady, on the other hand, changes the description of the grey haired men:

For the boys in our tribe death in battle

brings tribal glory

and the aged live just as anxious for action

(*Seven Arab Odes* 54)

In O’Grady’s translation, the older men are not adorned with experience as they are in ‘Amr’s *qaṣīda*. In pre-Islamic Arabia, poets traditionally highlighted the wisdom and experience of their elders who had led them through difficult situations. By taking away the experience of these elders, the tribe of ‘Amr is presented as lacking in the knowledge the elderly acquired in previous battles. O’Grady’s decision produces assonance (anxious-action) but it partly distorts the message of the line. A more satisfactory approach to the rendering of the line is to closely adhere to the wording of the original poet, which is the strategy that I follow, or to reproduce the meaning without any change.

The display of strength involves taking pride in the tribe’s dominance, which grants the tribesmen powers and privileges that other tribesmen do not have. An example of reference to such powers comes from the following two lines in ‘Amr’s *mu‘allaqa*:

وَأَنَّا المُنْعِمُـــونَ إِذَا قَـدَرْنَـا   وَأَنَّـــا المـهْلِكُونَ إِذَا أُتــيِنَا

وَأنا الشاربون المَاءَ صَـفْـواً   وَيَشْـرَبُ غَيْرُنَا كَدِراً وَطِيْنَـا

we are the benefactors when we are able,

and we are the destroyers when we are set upon,

we are the drinkers of the purest water

the others drink it sullied and muddy.

Arberry closely adheres to ‘Amr’s wording:

we the benefactors when we are able,

we the destroyers when we are set upon,

we the drinkers of the purest water

the others perforce drink sullied and muddy. (*Seven Odes* 208)

The privileges that ‘Amr’s tribe enjoys, along with the political status such privileges indicate and the political agenda they serve in the original *qaṣīda*, are swallowed by the nothingness, which becomes part of the representation of the Ancient Arabs in O’Grady’s translation. Their absence removes many details and simplifies the translation, but it is in line with the doxic representations of Arabs at the time the translation was produced, in which Arabs were being portrayed as weak.

The power and dominance which ‘Amr’s tribe possess enables them to resist even the king and to set their own rules:

إِذَا مَا المَلْكُ سَامَ النَّاسَ خَسْفاً أَبَيْنَا أَنْ نُقِرَّ الذُّلَّ فِيْنَا

If the king deals with his people unjustly

we refuse to allow injustice among us,

Arberry reproduces ‘Amr’s wording when translating this line:

When kings deal with their peoples unjustly

we refuse to allow injustice among us, (*Seven Odes* 209)

O’Grady, by contrast, changes the meaning. His translation describes the king as just and omits the element of resistance to injustice on the part of the poet’s tribe:

The prince puts just order about him,

protects and defends it.

(*Seven Arab Odes* 55)

O’Grady rewrites the line using words which alliterate (prince-puts-protects) to produce a verbal effect, but he changes the message in accordance with the dominant idea of the Arabs at the time he was producing the translation. The idea of Arab dominance or even resistance to injustice is incompatible with the idea of the weakness of the Arabs. This idea can be retained by closely adhering to the wording of the ST or by reproducing the meaning without a change.

It was the duty of the Ancient Arabian poet to attack his tribes' enemies in his *qaṣīdas* and to refute their claims. Such a role is also absent in O'Grady's translation. For example, O'Grady omits the following line in which al-Ḥarith addresses the man who forges lies about his tribe and tells them to King ʻAmr ibn Hind:

أَيُّهَا النَاطِقُ المُرَقِّشُ عَنَّا   عِندَ عَمرٍو وَهَل لِذَاكَ بَقَاءُ

You big-mouthed embroiderer that talk

about us to ʻAmr, do you think your lies will last long?

Arberry translates his line without a change as follows:

Say, you big-mouthed embroiderer, you whole gabble

about us to Amr, think you your lies are immortal? (*Seven Odes* 223)

This omission removes details from the TT and simplifies the translation, but deprives al-Ḥārith from the opportunity he gives himself to defend his tribe and insult the man who insulted them. Therefore, even the right to represent one's tribe is absent in O'Grady's translation.

O'Grady also omits the following line in which al-Ḥārith insults Taghlib—the tribe of ʻAmr ibn Kulthūm—and their allies Bani al-Arāqim by reminding them of their humiliating defeat at the hands of the tribe of al-Ghallāq. He adds that the tribe of Taghlib did not avenge the murder of their men:

ثُمَّ خَيلٌ مِن بَعدِ ذَاكَ مَعَ الغَلاَّقِ   لا رَأفَةٌ وَلا إِبقَاءُ

مَا أَصَابُوا مِن تَغلَبِي فَمَطَلُولٌ   عَلَيهِ إِذَا أُصِيبَ العَفَاءُ

Then thereafter a band of horsemen came upon you with al-Ghallāq,

no compassion or life sparing;

every Taghlibite they slew, his spilled blood unavenged

and oblivion swept over him when he departed.

Arberry's translation of these two lines reads as follows:

Then thereafter a band of horsemen rode against you

with El-Ghallåk, no compassion or quarter in them;

every Taghlibite they slew, unavenged his blood spilled

and oblivion swept over him when he departed. (*Seven Odes* 225)

O'Grady simply translates both lines as follows:

So, more slaughter

(*Seven Arab Odes* 60)

O'Grady erases the different names and insults from his translation, and this decision effectively silences al-Ḥārith, disallowing him the opportunity to do his political job of verbally attacking his tribe's enemy, and deleting an Arab man's ability to defend himself or represent his tribe even verbally, in any way which deviates from the doxic discourse at the time the translation was produced.

The *Mu'allaqāt* have been regarded and used as some of the rare documents of political life in pre-Islamic Arabia, and their value as histocal documents of political life and war can be preserved by translating *all* the lines dedicated to the description of the warring skills, artillary, and messages of threat to enemies which the poets of the *Mu'allaqāt* composed in fullfiulment of their duties as representatives of their tribes. In light of the socio-political circumstances at the time the translations were produced, the poems themselves could subvert stereotypical representations of Arabs because the image of the Arab master or hero in the poems is the opposite of the stereotypical image of the Arabs in the American media in the decade that preceded the Gulf War in 1990.

Concluding Remarks

Arberry's academic translation reproduces all the lines dedicated to the description of political events or to political propaganda in the *Mu'allaqāt*. On the

contrary, O'Grady's verse translation which prioritises the aesthetic function of the text over all the others, takes liberties in making changes which help him alter or omit parts or lines which might impede compulsion of the passion in the poetry; however, it is noteworthy that the many lines he sacrifices for poetry, and consequently finds irrelevant to his translation, all have political messages which range from display of power to implied threat or warning. His representation of the Arab reality is characterised by *absence* of war tactics and the ability to attack others or defend them; thus, it reproduces the stereotypical representation of Arabs in the American media which has been justifying the policies of the American administration in the Middle East since the 1980s, depending mainly on the domesticating technique in translation. His domesticating strategy of omission results in producing translations which are alien from the ST; in the case of the translations of 'Amr ibn Kulthūm's and al-Ḩārith's poems, this strategy results in producing translations which are considerably shorter than the original poems.

4.3. Chapter Conclusion

The political propaganda which formed the doxic beliefs about and representations of Arabs in the British society during the Suez Crisis and later in the US from the 1980s up until the Gulf War in 1990 influenced Arberry's and O'Grady's representations of the Arab reality in their translations of the *Mu'allaqāt.* Although the translations were generally politicised under the influence of parallel political contexts, the extent of politicisation in each translation differs according to the *skopos* each translator chose for his work. Clues regarding the *skopos* of each translation are found in the paratexts which surround the core text of each translation.

Arberry's translation is academic and it seems to be aiming at educating the audience about the cultural and literal contexts of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Although he

produces everything, his decisions result in overloading the translations with unfamiliar, unexplained details; they also result in the manipulation of some of the words/lines so that they are more in line with the stereotypical image of Arabs shaped by the doxic discourse of the time. His representation of the Arab reality in his translation of the *Muʻallaqāt* is characterised by essentialism, absence, and otherness, which are the three features that characterised the representational recognition of the non-West in imperialist England towards the end of the eighteenth century and which surfaced in the representation of Arabs in the British Press during the Suez Crisis. The translation strategies he employs are foreignising.

O'Grady's translation is done in free verse, and he takes liberties with the translation to remove impediments to compulsion of the passion in the poetry in making changes and frequently omitting lines from the text. The changes help him to employ stylistic devices and serve his *skopos* which prioritises style over the message of the original poem. However, they result in distorting the original message and the portrayal of Arabs and Arabia. While the frequent omissions simplify the poems (unlike Arberry's translation, which retains their complexities), they result in abolishing order and silencing the Arab poets and obstructing their message; the majority of omitted lines happen to be ones which construct a hereoic figure or communicate a political message. Most of his choices which seem to be stylistically motivated also seem to be influenced by the socio-political context since the words he selects or inserts and the lines he rewrites ultimately change the original message and echo the Western stereotypes about Arabs which were employed in political propaganda and which formed the doxic representations of Arabs in the American media in the 1980s. His *skopos* thus gives him more liberty and makes his translation more political than Arberry's because Arberry, who never resorts to omission in his

academic translation, also never breaks the limits the autonomous ST imposes on him and makes changes only within these limits. Like Arberry, O'Grady's representation of the Arab reality in his translation is characterised by essentialism, absence, and otherness which result from his use of both foreignising and domesticating techniques to fulfil the *skopos* of his translation and (consciously or unconsciously) make his concise translation more in line with the *doxa* of the time. By keeping the romantic and highlighting the exotic while obliterating the display of strength and the implied messages of threat, O'Grady's translation moves the Arabs and Arabia portrayed in the *Mu'allaqāt* from the realm of potential threat to the realm of romantic exoticism, which is an imperialist strategy.

5.Conclusion

5.1. Summary: A Sociological Understanding of Arberry's and O'Grady's Translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*

The field of English translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* came into existence due to the influence of the larger social space on the field of literary translation into English towards the end of the eighteenth century. The change in the needs, tastes, socio-political circumstances, and so forth in the social space which received the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* contributed to a constant change in the boundaries of this dynamic field of cultural production.

As the study situates the field in its socio-political context, it defies the tradition of reading the history of the field in a linear fashion which traces it to a point of origin and employs a Bourdieusian approach to the history of the field of Engliah translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in a multi-causational manner. A Bourdieusian approach to the historiography of the field regards translation as the end result of the interaction between factors inside and outside the field. It thus accounts for the influence of politics on the decision of the translators and the role of politics in the availability of new positions in the field of literary translation from Arabic which eventually resulted in the emergence of the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Drawing on Bourdieu's sociology, the study pursues a relational understanding of the different translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. This relational understanding places the translations in their socio-political and professional fields, explores the factors that influenced the *habitus* of the translators and other key players in the field of English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, and identifies the types of capital distributed in it and the possible uses made available at the time the translations were

produced. The relational understanding of translation regards translation as a locus of struggle over the types of capital distributed in the field. This locus is influenced by factors inside the field (publishers or available positions) and outside the field (particularly politics or power) which influence the translator's decision as he tries to achieve distinction. Such relational understanding of translation *answers the question* about the possible reasons— other than the aging of previous translations—*behind translating the same ST many times over the past two hundred years*, although there has not been a major industry around English translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. As the circumstances change in the socio-political and professional fields, new uses become possible and new positions become available for the translators who are interested in the translation and who seek to gain any of the forms of capital distributed in the field. The translators respond to such circumstances in the socio-political and professional fields in different manners: they either reproduce the norms and thus reproduce the *doxa*, or defy the norms. In other words, translators try to gain capital through the translation of the consecrated text of the *Mu'allaqāt*, but their works only become valuable if they contribute something new, that is, if they achieve distinction through deviation from previous translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. The choices they make are relational because they are interrelated with the various contextual factors that influence the translation such as their role in the field as scholars or poets and the audience they seem to target. As translators struggle over capital, the boundaries of the field of the English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* constantly change with the appearance of every new retranslation of the pre-Islamic poems. Such change can be attributed to the dialectical relationship between the *habitus* of the human subject and the objective structures of the field and to the power of human agency in bringing about change.

Arberry and O'Grady make use of the available possible uses in the field when they translate the consecrated ST of the *Mu'allaqāt* in different ways; each translator produces a translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* which functions differently in the field. However, I have argued that the translation decisions of Arberry and O'Grady tend to reproduce the norms in relation to the representational recognition of the Arabs at the time the translations were produced. Drawing on a relational understanding of translation that is based on Bourdieu's sociology, such decisions can be understood in light of the socio-political contexts, as both translations were produced during parallel socio-political circumstances. Arberry's translation was published in 1957 after the Suez Crisis, while O'Grady's was published in 1990 after a decade of increasing US involvement in the Gulf region, which eventually culminated in US participation in the first Gulf War. During the two specified epochs, political propaganda worked on representing Arabs in a stereotypical manner that attempted to gain public support for the political agendas of the Anglophone governments in the Middle East. The propaganda machines thus contributed to the formation of the generally accepted ideas about the Arabs during the times the translations were produced.

This study presents a sociology of translation which is based on the concepts of field, *habitus*, capital, *illusio*, and *doxa*. It has established a link between the imperialist and Orientalist rhetoric employed by the British Press during the Suez Crisis and later by the American media throughout the 1980s until the Gulf War and the representation of Arabs in Arberry's and O'Grady's translations. I have done this by analysing examples of essentialism, absence, and otherness which characterise the representation of Arabs in the discourse of propaganda machines in the two specified epochs and in Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

Due to the difference in the *skopos* of each translation which can be identified from the paratexts which surround the core texts, I have shown that the translators take different kinds of liberties when they approach the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. The different approaches Arberry and O'Grady take to their translations, and the varying degrees of liberties they grant themselves—because of the *skopos* of each translation—are reflected in the varying degrees to which their translations are politicised. Regardless of the degree of liberty each translator takes with the deviation he makes from the ST, both translations show that the *habitus* of Arberry and O'Grady are in harmony with the *doxa* of the specified epochs in relation to the representational recognition of the Arabs.

Arberry's and O'Grady's uses of the techniques of domestication and foreignisation subvert post-colonial perspectives that suggest that foreignisation per se can be used as a tool of resistance against cultural hegemony; on the contrary, the foreignising strategies in Arberry's and O'Grady's translations tend to exoticise Arabs and Arabia, and to transfer imperialist and Orientalist descriptions of Arabia into their transations of the *Mu'allaqāt*. Similarly, O'Grady's alternating use of foreignising and domesticating techniques contradicts the argument that these techniques are fundamentally incompatible, and that they cannot be used synchronically. Contrary to such a claim, domesticating strategies in O'Grady's translation move the Arabs out of the sphere of threat into the sphere of the exotic. My textual analysis of the two translations has emphasised that the influence of the translation technique resides in the way it is used in light of the contextual factors in the field of reception and the nature of the text (whose message may be subversive of the imperialist or Orientalist discourse), not in the strategy itself.

The harmony between Arberry's and O'Grady's *habitus* and the doxic discourse in relation to the representation of Arabs does not mean that the translations do not deviate from previous translations or that they contribute nothing new to the field. Arberry's translation offers an extensive historical background of the *Mu'allaqāt* and a review of some of the German, Italian and Latin translations which preceded his English one. O'Grady offers his verse translation of these pre-Islamic poems as a new work of art. Both translations thus reproduce the norms of the field in terms of representing Arabs, but simultaneously seek distinction by offering the field something new.

5.2. Contribution

The main contribution of this thesis has been to advance the understanding of poetry translation as an activity that takes place in a social context and gets influenced by it. Poetry translation has often been associated with the aesthetic and linguistic factors, and this study has confirmed that it is not dissociated from the socio-political context in which it is produced. The textual analysis of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* has proven that the socio-political circumstances, and their resulting doxic beliefs and assumptions about Arabs at the times the translations were produced, influenced the content of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations and the style of O'Grady's verse translation. The analysis developed from Bourdieu's sociology in the investigation of the influence of the socio-political context on translation allows us to show that socio-political circumstances can influence the translator's decisions that might otherwise be glossed over as stylistic strategies for the sake of lyrical and poetic elegance. Therefore, this study helps better understand the cultural dynamics of of Englsh translatins of the *Mu'allaqāt*, offering a detailed and comprehensive investigation of Arberry's and O'Grady's translations in particular

in light of the socio-political circumstances at the time of their production. Furthermore, the study has tested Bourdieu's sociology on the translation of the poetic form of the Ancient Arabic *qaşīda*.

5.3. Suggestions about the Translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*

The influence of the socio-political contexts on Arberry's and O'Grady's translations proves to be problematic in some places though because it results in instances of unitelligibility, in the distortion of the meaning, and sometimes in the complete obstruction of some of the messages of the ST. On the basis of my analysis of the two translations which makes clear such problems, the study offers the following suggestions for practitioners of translation who undertake the task of translating the *Mu'allaqāt* and similar classical Arabic texts that revolve around the same themes. Such suggestions take into consideration the nature of the ST and the influence of the socio-political circumstances on the context of reception that is currently charactereised by power imbalance between the Anglophone and Arab cultures.

First, the *Mu'allaqāt* are historic documents of Arab culture and politics before Islam due to the fact that they are among rare documents which survived from this era; therefore, they have the element of factuality. They present an image of the Arabs that defies the doxic discourse that employs Orientalist stereotypes in the representation of the Arabs at times of cultural confrontation which is evident nowadays in some of the representations of Arabs in Europe and the US (for example, the "Arab Spring Revolutions" have led to mass migration from the region and to cultural confrontation in the Western societies that received the migrants/refugees ; mass migration and the resulting cultural confrontation have given rise to ongoing debates about the cultural difference between the Arabs and the Westerners which

have influenced political and presidential campaigns). This study does not take sides with any of the current political arguments, but it focuses on the influence of politics and cultural confrontation on doxic practices and beliefs in relation to the representation of Arabs in Anglophone countries. It argues that the nature of the ST itself can contribute to presenting a more realistic image of the Arabs since it documents some of the qualities valued in Arab and Western cultures (such as wisdom, rationality, and generousity) and since it defies the stereotypical portrayal of Arabs (as it offers, for instance, an image of Arab women as strong and self-determining). Therefore, I suggest that close adherence to the wording of the original poets, as much as the difference between the SL and TL allows, can present the image of Arabs as it was presented in the ST not as a picture that matches the Orientalist representation of it which has been employed in political propaganda campaigns. I do not advocate foreignisation per se as a technique of translating Arabic poetry in general; I only suggest the use of foreignisation in the case of the *Mu'allaqāt* in particular, preferably accompanied by commentary for further contextualization of events and explanation of cultural differences, because *the nature of the Mu'allaqāt* defies the Orientalist stereotypes of Arabs employed in political propaganda, and I base my suggestion upon the nature of the ST and the context of reception.

Second, translation is an act of deciphering messages that belong to foreign cultural and linguistic systems. To decode the ciphers is to make the message intilligble to a target audience. While transliteration of cultural nomenclature preserves the cultural character of the text, it may lead to overloading the message with details which eventually overstate perceived differences between the two cultures and obliterate the distinctive features of the foreign, turning it into a cluster of unintelligible codes. To address this issue, I suggest that the transliterated cultural

nomenclature should be accompanied by generic nouns, adjectives, or brief descriptive phrases to clarify the significance of these names to the target readers and remove impediments to the understanding of the message without sacrificing the cultural character of the text. Furthermore, I suggest avoiding transliterating words in the ST instead of providing their equivalents in the TL, avoiding substituting neutral words with exoticising ones, and avoiding inserting words which evoke the stereotypical or Orientalist image of Arabs if they do not exist in the ST.

Third, the translator has the freedom to convey the message of the ST in what may be regarded a new work of art that bears the translator's character. However, I believe that the translation should not be alien from the ST. Although O'Grady's much shorter translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* are simple and thus more fluent and easier to read than the majority of the translations of the *Mu'allaqāt*, they seem to be alien from the ST due to the excessive, frequent omissions of words, or even several successive lines, which all happen to convey the traditions and hierarchal social order and which happen to have implied political messages. Such omissions result in the gradual erosion and, sometimes, distortion of the image of the poet as a hero, and the portrayal of his people and their culture as presented in the ST. They also result in the obstruction of many of the implied messages of the ST. I suggest that omission should be limited if it leads to alienation of the TT from the ST, and should not eliminate entire episodes (or almost half the poem as is the case with O'Grady's translation of the *qaṣīda* of al-Ḥārith). The character of the ST should be retained, and the omission should be limited if it mutilates that character, especially when translating texts which function as more than aesthetic texts and which, for over two centuries, have been regarded a socio-political record of life in pre-Islamic Arabia. Therefore, I advocate the translation of all the lines of the *Mu'allaqāt*.

The concept of self-reflexivity in Bourdieu's sociology suggests that the researchers' dispositions influence their work. I have tried as much as possible to be objective and impartial in my research. However, in light of Bourdieu's concept of the self-reflexivity which defies the scholastic fallacy, it can be said that my interest in the representation of Arabs in Anglophone literary translation, my research, and my suggestions have been influenced by my *habitus*.

5.4. Limitations

This study is one of many studies that employ Bourdieu's sociology in the study of translation; I have attempted to avoid limitations of previous studies and to explore poetry translation that has rarely been studied in light of Bourdieu's sociology. The study draws on Bourdieu's sociology in the exploration of the influence of the socio-political context on the translation of the *Mu'allaqāt*. I have attempted to avoid the limitations discussed in theoretical framework in relation to the deterministic employment of the concept of *habitus* or the mechanistic employment of the techniques of domestication and foreignisation as tools of oppression or resistance by taking into consideration the context of reception, the ability of human agency to bring about change, and the *skopos* of each translation. However, I acknowledge that the study is not comprehensive when analysing the influence of politics on the production of extant English translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* other than Arberry's and O'Grady's in the literature review. While it briefly reviews the English translations of the seven pre-Islamic *qaṣīdas* since the eighteenth century until the present day, this study does not investigate all of their socio-political contexts lengthily, and it provides only few excerpts from some of the reviwed translations mainly due to lack of space. It briefly reviews the translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* in order to elucidate how the field emerged, and to situate Arberry's and O'Grady's translations within it.

5.5. Topics for Future Research

For future research, I suggest the following issues as possible topics of research in translation studies:

1. The concept of the adequacy of the translation technique in relation to the nature and socio-political circumstances of the context of reception can be further studied (for example, by investigating the translation of the same ST at different times and in different circumstances that shaped the *doxa* in various ways).

2. The phenomenon of retranslation of the same ST can further be investigated in light of the socio-political and professional circumstances in the social space that receives the several translations of the same text, particularly in the age of globalisation. The change of taste, expectations, and perception about the source culture due to easy access to other cultures through forms of media (such as the internet) which are not usually as controlled by centres of power in the society as the press or television can be taken into account when considering retranslation of ST in the third millennium.

3. More terretories can be explored in poetry translation drawing on Bourdieu's sociology which can be employed, for instance, in studying the translations of poetic forms other than the classical Arabic *qaşīda*.

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