Salim al Dawudi and the beginnings of translation into Arabic of Modern Hebrew Literature

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This article deals with the beginnings of the translation of Modern Hebrew literature into Arabic, and at the same time with the beginnings of Arabic literary writing by Jewish intellectuals. We will focus on Salim al-Dawudi's translation of the first Hebrew novel, Avraham Mapu's *Ahavat Tsiyon* [The love of Zion] (1853), one of the most important texts to advocate the renewal of ties between Jews and Palestine. Al-Dawudi's translation was published in Egypt in two non-identical editions in 1899 and 1921–1922, and is probably the first Arabic translation of Modern Hebrew literature. When he declared that his translation was designed to remind his people that Hebrew was a living language, al-Dawudi accorded his translation Jewish national aspirations, which is perhaps the reason for the mixed aims of his translation's policy. On the one hand, there are phenomena that illustrate his desire to be accepted in the target culture, such as neglect of the integrity of the text, raising its stylistic register, preserving the ethical norms of the source text and even a tendency to paraphrase. On the other hand, there are places that display over-consideration of the source language and text, such as numerous deviations from the standard linguistic, syntactical and grammatical rules of Arabic, preservation of elements unique to Jewish culture and a multitude of Hebrew interferences in the Arabic translation. This unsystematic behavior apparently reflects a lack of literary skills, deep admiration of the source text (and language), and the fact that the translation was addressed mainly to a Jewish audience.

Keywords: Revival of Hebrew, literature of the Jewish Enlightenment, Jews in Arab countries, cultural hegemony, Arabic writing by Jews, Hebrew-Arabic translations, translational norms

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1. Introduction

In this article, I seek to clarify the motives and characteristics of the beginnings of translational activity from Modern Hebrew literature into Arabic, and particularly the relationships between this activity and the Zionist idea of the revival of Hebrew. An attempt will also be made to examine the relationship between this activity and the beginnings of literary writing of Jewish intellectuals in Arabic. Salim al-Dawudi's translation of Avraham Mapu's *Ahavat Tsiyon* [The love of Zion] constitutes an ideal test case for discussing the Arabic translational and literary activity of Jewish intellectuals living in the Middle East.

The cultural activity of these intellectuals, which came in the wake of an ever-growing process of modernization and secularization in the Jewish communities, reflected their desire to integrate into the culture of the Arab majority in the area, on the one hand, and to preserve their own cultural heritage and revive their language, on the other.[1] Al-Dawudi's translation, which marks an attempt to combine these two trends, will be remembered not merely because it was the first literary translation from modern Hebrew into Arabic, but rather because it was one of the first texts to be written in Arabic rather than Judeo-Arabic (i.e. Arabic written in Hebrew characters) by a Jewish intellectual in modern times.

Furthermore, in view of the cultural hegemony of the Arab majority over the Jewish minority living in the Arabic-speaking countries, al-Dawudi's translation can be examined in the context of majority–minority relationships. It would make sense to assume that in translating from the language of a minority into that of the majority, a translator would tend to adjust his or her text to the norms of the hegemonic culture. Nevertheless, at times, and under specific historical conditions, translation from the language of the minority can undermine that hegemony (see Jacquemond 1992: 155–156).

2. Historical background

Since the beginning of the 19th century, the influence of the European powers on the Orient has intensified. This influence brought about deep social and economic changes to the Jewish minority living in these countries. The reforms enacted in the Ottoman Empire during the time of Sultan Mahmoud II (1808–1839), which were the result of pressure exerted by the great European powers, benefited the religious (i.e. non-Islamic) minorities, among them the Jews. In addition, the modernization of the economic and educational systems raised numerous Jewish communities in the East to the status of a modern society in various spheres: health, life expectancy, professional distribution, etc. The Jews also grew closer to

the rulers, due both to their own strength as a dynamic economic factor and to the powerful influence of the international Jewish organizations in Western Europe (Tobi 1986: 22–23, 72).

At the same time, the centrality of Palestine in the spiritual-social consciousness of the Jewish communities of the East was gathering momentum in the 19th century. Political, geo-political and spiritual factors contributed to strengthening the Jewish communities in Palestine and facilitated greater mobility between the Eastern communities and Palestine. Among these factors were the tolerant reign of Ibrahim Pasha (1832–1840); the Ottoman reforms (*Tanzimat*) which as of 1839 improved the status of religious minorities; the decrees enacted regarding the Jews in the Maghreb, which, as of 1807, exacerbated congestion in their neighborhoods; the improvement of maritime passage following the defeat of the Algerian pirates at the beginning of the 19th century and the invention of steamships; the spiritual influence of the Jewish community in Palestine over the North African Jews, who were suffering from considerable decline; the deep respect of the majority of Eastern communities for the emissaries from the Holy Land who came to collect donations; and finally, the rumors that circulated in the Maghreb in the 1840s, which claimed that affluent Jews were about to buy Palestine from the Turks (Bar-Asher 1986: 355–356; Tobi 1986: 162, 164).

However, despite renewed emigration to Palestine from all the Eastern countries in the second half of that century, no regular ties were created between the basically European Zionist movement, which was in a process of organization, and the Jewish communities in the East, from the official founding of the movement in 1897 to the end of World War I. It appears that this was mainly due to a lack of awareness on the part of the Eastern Jews of the nascent ideological-national organization and institutionalized activity designed to fulfill the age-old vision of the redemption of Israel. Their unawareness apparently derived from two factors: religious conservatism and the inferiority of their legal and civil status. In any event, before Zionist activity in these countries became intensive and overt, there were initial overtures and individual activity. Now and again emissaries on behalf of Zionist movements in Palestine were sent to train youth and become active in the field of education in the Eastern countries with the objective of bringing the youth closer to the Zionist ideas (Tobi 1986: 130–131, 179).

For example, the Egyptian Jews, and particularly the intellectuals among them, displayed indifference towards Zionist activities, and it appears that the absence of Hebrew or Jewish education contributed to this indifference. Approximately half of the Jewish children attended Christian elementary schools, while secondary school education was provided exclusively in Christian schools, which promoted the special status of the French language. No Jewish religious education whatsoever was offered. As of 1906, modern Hebrew education was provided by Hebrew

teachers who came over from Palestine, first in Alexandria and later in Cairo, but this education was limited to community schools whose students were from the lower social strata. The affluent Jews continued to send their children to Christian schools; not only high schools but also elementary schools (Yehuda 1981: 251).

3. Arabic literary writing among Jewish intellectuals

Hebrew was not the spoken language, let alone the mother tongue, in any of the Jewish communities in the East. Like all other residents, these communities used spoken Arabic in their daily life. Hebrew was studied in traditional, religion-oriented Jewish educational institutions, and consisted of studying the Bible, prayers, and other classic literary works. The Hebrew that graduates of the traditional school system were able to use was far from a day-to-day spoken language, and it was surely not influenced by modern Hebrew as it had developed in Europe since the *Haskala* (Enlightenment period). Nevertheless, numerous Jewish intellectuals were active in reviving Hebrew as a spoken and literary language since they regarded it as a tool for enhancing unity in the Eastern Jewish communities (Barnai 1986: 243; Tobi 1986: 128–129).

Spiritual isolation characteristic of both Jewish and Islamic societies over hundreds of years brought about a certain degree of segregation of Jewish spiritual life in comparison with that of Islam, particularly in relation to the canonical cultural works of Jewish intellectuals and scholars. On the lower level of folk literature there were closer contacts, sharing as the two did a common spoken language. With the expansion of education, the diminishing status of religion and the rise of standard of living as of the mid-19th century, knowledge of Hebrew diminished, particularly among the younger generation who acquired their education in secular or Christian schools. Spoken Arabic, which they used in their daily life, lacked a specific orthographic system. As a result, even when folk literature, widespread among Jews, was written down, Hebrew rather than Arabic script was used. Based on a desire to integrate into the neighboring society, Jewish intellectuals were thus self-motivated in deepening their knowledge of standard Arabic, using it actively and seeking excellence in their writings (Tobi 1986: 140; Snir 2005: 52, 62).

Writing in standard Arabic among the Jewish intellectuals began towards the end of the century and became popular among Jews after World War I, with the intensification of modernization and Westernization. In its first years, the writing of Jews in standard Arabic was mainly journalistic. The development of interest in journalism was coupled with a certain degree of Jewish interest in political activity, in contrast with their previous passivity (Snir 2005: 63–64).

The Arabic writings of Jews reflect their unremitting attempt to integrate into Arab culture. In the spheres of poetry and theater, the active involvement of Jews seems to have been *creatio ex nihilo*, while in the short story genre the texts reflect a period of "incubation" and a transition from the popular literature of a secluded community to one with pan-Arab characteristics, written in standard language (Snir 2005: 137).

Over the years, Western-educated Jewish intellectuals strove to broaden their readers' horizons, both by publishing in standard Jewish journalism, which was one of the important trademarks of the modern era, and by publishing adapted translations of some of the classical works of French literature, Jewish philosophy, or the Hebrew literature of the Enlightenment (Abitbul 1986: 406–407).

4. Translation from Hebrew to Arabic from the end of the 19th century up to 1948

As mentioned earlier, from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era Arabic culture had also been the culture of the Jewish communities that lived in Arab-speaking countries. Consequently, there was a need to translate the basic texts of Jewish religion, written in classical Hebrew, into Arabic. Attention in those communities was naturally focused on the Bible and its commentaries. And, indeed, in the Modern Era the Bible enjoyed a variety of translations and adaptations into Arabic and Judeo-Arabic. The majority of translators used the Jewish translations of Sa'adia Gaon (882–942), rendered into the classical Arabic of the medieval period (Avishur 1991: 181–183). In Arab society as well, interest in the 18th and 19th centuries focused on Bible translation into Arabic, encouraged and initiated by Christian missionaries who also took part in the translation itself. These translations, which are often based on ancient translations of the Bible, had a unique character and style in Arabic (Blau 1966: 54). In fact, in order to read the Bible, some of those translations are used by Arabic readers to this day (Somekh 1995: 186).

However, intensification of Zionist activity and acceleration of the revival of the Hebrew language deepened the need to translate secular Zionist texts as well. The first "secular" book to be translated from Hebrew into Arabic in the Modern Era was apparently *Ahavat Tsiyon* [The love of Zion (1853)] by Avraham Mapu (1808–1867), which critics regard as the first Hebrew novel that succeeded in according its plot, based on a Biblical story, an appropriate artistic structure. The novel was translated by Salim al-Dawudi (1870–1952) who served as secretary of the rabbinical court of the Cairo Jewish community. The translation itself was published in Egypt in two non-identical editions: the first, which comprised the first

part of the book, appeared in 1899, and the book in its entirety was then published in two parts; the first in 1921 and the second in 1922.

Exacerbation of the struggle between the Palestinian national movement and Zionism as of the beginning of the 20th century, harnessed Arab and Jewish translators to become involved in *engagé* translational activity for and against Zionism. This is particularly notable in view of the fact that at the time, the main thrust of the efforts and resources of Arab intellectuals was directed to translations from the European dominant literatures, particularly English and French. The "weaker" and "marginal" literatures were of less interest to both publishers and translators (ʿAllush 1987: 290–294). Hebrew literature of the time was doubtlessly perceived by Arab intellectuals as marginal, its formation still incomplete, and therefore the general feeling was that it had nothing to offer to Arab readers. Nevertheless, as stated above, *engagé* literature that supported one of the parties involved in the Zionist-Palestinian struggle did get published. Thus, for example, in 1929, following some brutal clashes between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, Aharon Reuveni (1886–1971) published in the newspaper *Doʾar Ha-Yom* a militant poem about the courageousness of Jews and the ignobility and unmanliness of Arabs. A few days after its Hebrew publication the poem was translated into Arabic and printed in the *Filasṭin* journal. The translated poem aroused an incensed Palestinian response, particularly on the part of the poet Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān (1905–1941), who wrote a passionate poem, in which he denounced the Jews (al-Usṭā 1993: 18–24).

On the other hand, the Jewish translators who supported Zionist activity devoted themselves to translating texts that supported the movement's interests. One of the notable translators was the Safed-born Nissim Maloul, who studied and taught at Cairo University (Shamir 1993: 97). Maloul published Arabic newspapers in Palestine, such as *al-Salām* (1920–1930), and corresponded with Egyptian newspapers with the objective of promoting and protecting Zionist activity (see Naṣṣār 1993: 390). He also translated Hebrew texts, which displayed a clear-cut Zionist standpoint, into Arabic. Among these texts there were two books whose very titles are indicative of their content: *Kalimat ḥaqq wa-salām fī khawf al-ʿarab min al-ṣuhīūniyah* [A word of truth and peace vis-à-vis the Arabs' fear of Zionism] by Yosef Klausner, the translation of which was published in 1924, and *al-Istiʿmār al-yahūdī wal-fallāḥ, ḥusn taʾthīr Istiʿmār al-yahūd fī Filasṭīn ʿalā al-qurā al-ʿarabiyah wa-ʿalā taqaddum al-zirāʿah al-filasṭīniyah ijmāl(an)* [Jewish settlement and the *falāḥ*: The effect of Jewish settlement in Palestine on conditions in the Arab villages and on overall agricultural progress in Palestine], by Moshe Smilansky, whose translation was published in 1930.

5. Who was Salim (Shalom) al-Dawudi and what were his motives in translating *Ahavat Tsiyon*?[2]

The al-Dawudi family emigrated from Marrakech in Morocco to Palestine in 1825, settling in Safed. The father, Rabbi Makhlouf al-Dawudi, was appointed the *ḥakham bāšī* of the Acre community and region in 1889, and some time later he was made Chief Rabbi of Haifa.[3] His son, Salim, born in Safed in 1870, studied the Bible with his father and the Sephardic sages of Safed, and Arabic language and literature with Rabbi Zaki Cohen in Beirut.

Salim al-Dawudi worked as a teacher in the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in Tiberias and Jerusalem and later taught in Egyptian cities — Hebrew in Tanata and Arabic in Cairo and Alexandria. In Cairo he also served as secretary to the rabbinical court of the Jewish community, whose president was Chief Rabbi Aharon Ben-Shimon. Later he returned to Palestine and worked as a teacher in the general education system in Rosh Pina, Safed, Ekron and Rishon Le-Zion. He also taught Arabic to Jews at the Herzliyya Gymnasium in Tel Aviv and the Reali High School in Haifa.

Al-Dawudi acted towards promoting two fundamental viewpoints in which he deeply believed:

1. The redemption of the Land of Israel by the Jewish people: as a member of a family that had fulfilled its dream and emigrated to Palestine, al-Dawudi regarded the immigration of Jews to the Holy Land as a religious commandment and as redemption from the sufferings of the Diaspora. To promote this view al-Dawudi wrote for Egyptian newspapers in Arabic about the love of the People of Israel for their homeland. He also visited Morocco twice and spoke to the Jewish communities about settling in the Land of Israel.
2. The revival of the Hebrew language: al-Dawudi regarded Hebrew as a factor uniting all Jewish communities and connecting them to their religious tradition. The attraction of Jewish youth to foreign languages following their studies in Christian or secular schools caused him much concern. Therefore, he chose to act as teacher and educator, and in our case as translator, for inculcating Hebrew to the younger generation in Jewish communities.

Here the question has to be asked: What was the connection between these two perceptions and al-Dawudi's decision to translate *Ahavat Tsiyon*? To understand al-Dawudi's motives, several details concerning the author and his work need to be taken into account. The author, Avraham Mapu (1808–1868), was born to a poor Jewish family in Lithuania. He studied in a *Heder* [traditional Jewish teaching room] in which his father served as teacher. Later he began studying *Kabbalah*. When his father-in-law went bankrupt, he was forced to take a job as a

teacher in a number of cities. He then joined the Enlightenment movement and studied some modern languages: German, French and Russian. His books, which embody romantic-national ideas, were adopted as an ideological basis for the Zionist movement.

In 1853 Mapu published *Ahavat Tsiyon* at his own expense. In the book, which has come to be considered the first Hebrew novel, he describes life during the reign of the biblical King Hezekiah as a symbol of a period of security and national freedom. The book also tells the moving love story of Tamar, the daughter of Jedidyah, the chief of Judea, and Amnon the shepherd who saved her from the teeth of a lion. This love story, in addition to the passionate love of Teman, Tamar's brother, and Peninah, Amnon's sister, is described against the vibrant and stimulating background of the landscape of Jerusalem. No wonder that the book fired the imagination of Jewish youth, who until then had been familiar only with Midrashic casuistry and prayers. It thus played a central role in stimulating the hearts and renewing ties with Palestine.[4] Mapu apparently used the names of the two protagonists, Amnon and Tamar — taken from the gruesome Biblical story in which Amnon, son of King David, desires his paternal sister Tamar, and rapes her (Samuelis II:13) — in order to present a positive and ideal image to these tragic Biblical names (Cohen 1989: 171).

The presence of elements of narrative folktale in this novel, taken from fateful stories, mainly of the type of "the marriage arranged by heaven", brought it closer to folk literature which was dominant in the non-religious spiritual life of the Eastern Jewish community until the beginning of the 20th century. Hence it is not surprising that this novel, or at least some of its chapters, was translated into Ladino (Judeo-Spanish), Judeo-Persian and Judeo-Arabic. In Morocco and Tunisia several of the novel's chapters were translated into spoken Arabic and printed in Hebrew letters in various journals (Ya'ari 1932: 11–12).

Al-Dawudi expressed his deep appreciation of *Ahavat Tsiyon* and regarded its translation into Arabic as an important contribution to improving the status of Hebrew. Such a translation could prove to the Jewish people, especially of the younger generation, that the Hebrew language was still alive and was used for writing fiction, like any other literature translated into Arabic.

Al-Dawudi read *Ahavat Tsiyon* 39 years after its first publication. In his diaries he writes that, while visiting his aunt in Hilwan in Egypt (1892), he found the book:

> … I read it twice and a new world opened before me … and *Ašmat Šomron* and *'Ayit Tsavu'a*, written by the same wise author, also fell into my hands. I devoured them with enthusiasm and passion as the hasty fruit before summer. (Ben-Dor 1981: 26)[5]

The extended period between the book's publication and al-Dawudi's first reading of it may be indicative of the weak links that existed between the Jewish Enlightenment movement in Europe and the Eastern Jewish communities. However, al-Dawudi's interest in Mapu's books and his translation of *Ahavat Tsiyon* herald a beginning of the strengthening of these ties.

When he visited Hilwan again four years later he began translating the book into Arabic. This delay perhaps illustrates the scarcity of Mapu's books in the East, or perhaps the translator's hesitancy vis-à-vis the profitability of the translation. However, it appears that his hesitancy and delay were overridden by the nationalist incentives that encouraged him to translate the novel:

> 1896. I began translating *Ahavat Tsiyon* by the sage Mapu, of blessed memory, into Arabic, for the Jewish youth in the land of Egypt, to instill in them the love of the Hebrew language which is considered a dead language. In translating this book I intended to show them that our Hebrew language lacks nothing. (Ben-Dor 1981: 26)

Thus, according to al-Dawudi himself, the translation was intended first and foremost for Jewish readers, and its purpose was to inform them that Hebrew was indeed a living language. The translator's father, Rabbi Makhlouf al-Dawudi, underscored this purpose again in the Hebrew introduction he wrote (as both a father and a Jewish sage) for the first edition of the translation in 1899 (see Figure 1 below: the title page of the first edition and the Hebrew introduction written by al-Dawudi's father):

> When I saw the youth of my people, God bless them, fascinated by stories translated from foreign languages into the language of the country [Arabic], I told my son, God bless him, to translate the beautiful book *Ahavat Tsiyon*, written by the sage Mapu, of blessed memory, into Arabic. Although the book is full of love, it is a pure and loyal love, and has a lesson to teach. When they study it, they will learn to know its profound value in contrast with secular books. Then they will awaken and inhale from the sources of our holy language and enjoy the pleasure of its sublime sayings and the beauty of its pure style, and our language will connect between all Jews who speak it. (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: Introduction)

It is obvious from the passage above that the initiative for this translation was that of al-Dawudi's father, who enjoyed high prestige in the Eastern Jewish communities as a sage from the Holy Land. Salim Al-Dawudi himself made it clear that he had had no experience in Hebrew-Arabic translation or Arabic writing, and therefore he beseeched his readers to ignore the numerous linguistic mistakes and deviations in the Arabic text. He must have been aware of the fact that he was the first translator of a "secular" Hebrew book into Arabic. It is unclear whether any of them knew of the partial attempts to produce a translation into Judeo-Arabic.

The praise heaped on Al-Dawudi's translation by notable members of the Jewish community in Egypt and Palestine in the various introductions to the translation and in the Hebrew and Arabic press only reinforced its didactic and national objectives. The *ḥakham bāšī* of Egypt, Rabbi Raphael Aharon Ben-Shimon (who held this office from 1891 to 1920), for example, writes in his short Arabic introduction to the translation:

> And since this is a famous novel that was widely accepted in its present state (prior to the translation) the hope is that the translation will be accepted by all. (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 2)

In a letter that appeared in an introduction to the second edition (1922), Yosef Manobela, the publisher of the newspaper *Yisrael* (*Israel; hebdomadaire juif independant*) which appeared in Cairo in three languages — Arabic, Hebrew and French — between 1920 and 1939, writes to the translator:

> I am pleased with your translation of the well-known novel *The love of Zion* that comprises most of the events and situations which posed difficulties in understanding for those who do not know Hebrew. The novel also presents many of the customs and ceremonies of the distinguished Israelites in the days of its reign, prophets and independence, which encourage the reader to read the book, and know it thoroughly. Two-fold thanks to you from Arabic readers and the Jewish people. (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 1)

As mentioned above, the translated novel *Maḥabat Ṣuhiūn* [The love of Zion] was published in two editions. The first edition was printed in the publishing house *al-Maṭbaʿah al-Khidiwiyah* in Cairo in 1899, at the expense of the translator himself. This edition included only partial translation of the novel. In the title page (see Figure 1) the translator chose a neo-classical rhymed style for the novel's title: *Maḥabat Ṣuhiūn fī ḥubb Tamar wa-Amnon* [The love of Zion about the love of Tamar and Amnon]. However, it is noteworthy that the name of the author, Avraham Mapu, was not mentioned in the title page. Instead, we find a brief description of the novel's content: "It is a literary and romantic novel". Al-Dawudi himself was named "son of the *ḥakham bāšī* of the Acre region in Syria", in order to accord the translated novel prestige and seriousness. For the same reason this edition included no less than three introductions: a Hebrew introduction by al-Dawudi's father, an Arabic introduction by the *ḥakham bāšī* of Egypt and another Arabic introduction by the translator.

The second edition was printed in two parts under the abridged title *Maḥabat Ṣuhiūn*. On the title page (see Figure 2) the novel was again described as literary and romantic, and the author was not only mentioned by name, but was also entitled "the famous narrative scientist". Al-Dawudi was named only in the first part

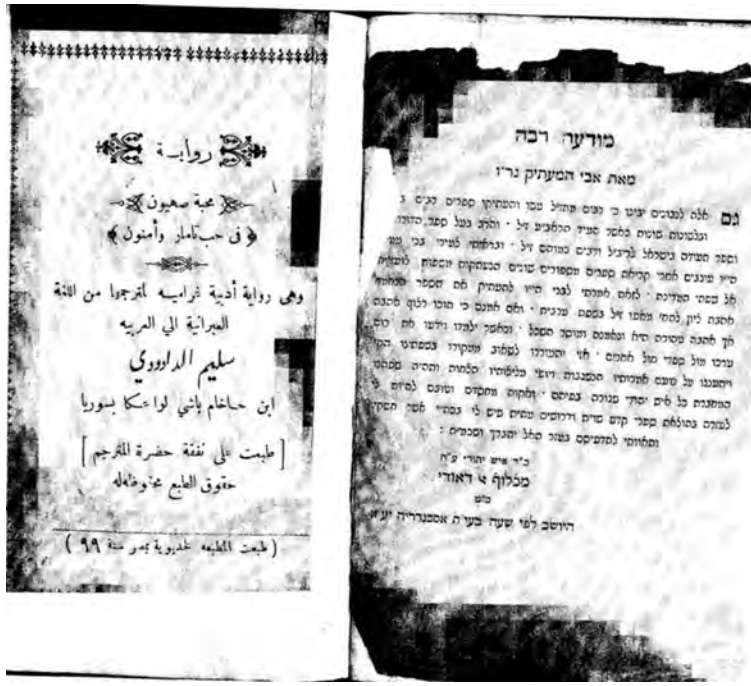

Figure 1. The title page of the first edition (1899) and the Hebrew introduction written by al-Dawudi's father

as "a teacher in the schools of the Israelites in Palestine and now in their schools in Egypt". The first part, which was printed in *al-Maṭbaʿah al-Yusufiyah* in Cairo in 1921 (the equivalent Jewish year 5681 was also mentioned), is actually a revised version of the first edition. In this part, a new introduction by the translator and the same introduction of the *ḥakham bāšī* of Egypt, published in the first edition, reappeared. The second part, which was printed in *Maṭbaʿat Lārābīd al-ʿIbrāniyah* in Cairo in 1922 (the equivalent Jewish year 5682 was also mentioned), had not appeared at all in the first edition. It included two Arabic introductions by Yosef Manobela and the translator.

The three printing presses involved in the publication of the book had different features. *Al-Maṭbaʿah al-Khidiwiyah* [the Khedivian Printing Press] was an official printing press; consequently, in order to renounce any responsibility for the translated novel and its Jewish motives, it was stressed that the cost of printing was funded by the translator. The two other printing presses were private. Unfortunately, I failed to find any information regarding the ownership of *Al-Maṭbaʿah al-Yusufiyah* [the Yusufian Printing Press], whereas *Maṭbaʿat Lārābīd al-ʿIbrāniyah* [Hebrew Larabid Printing Press] was probably under Jewish ownership.


محبة صهيون

غرامية ادبية

تأليف العالم الروائي الشهير

ا. مابو

تعريب

سليم الداودي

الجزء الثاني

(ثمنه عشرة قروش صاغ)

جميع الحقوق محفوظة

١٣ نيسان سنة ٥٦٨٢ ٦١ ابريل سنة ١٩٢٢

﴿ مطبعة لاوايد العمرانية بشارع المدابغ نمرة ١٧ ﴾

محبة صهيون

غرامية أدبية

تأليف العالم الروائي الشهير

ا. مابو

تعريب

سليم الداودي

استاذ بمدارس الاسرائيليين بفلسطين والآن بمدارسهم بمصر

الجزء الأول

الطبعة الثانية

(ثمن الجزء الاول عشرة قروش صاغ)

حقوق الطبع والتعريب محفوظة له

٥٦٨١ع — ١٩٢١م

﴿ المطبعة اليوسفية بحارة بوسطة باب الخلق بمصر ﴾

Figure 2. The title pages of the two parts of the second edition (1921–1922)

Since this translation was directed mainly to the Jewish readership, it is difficult to find any reference to it in the writings of Arab critics. The only reference I know of in the Arabic press appeared in the pro-Zionist journal *al-Majallah al-Māsūniyah* [Free Masons' journal]. One of the Arab writers in this journal wrote in 1921:

> It is a romantic novel that has joined the historic events and the exciting incidents so it becomes an exclusive pearl that the readers, and especially our brothers the Israelites, must buy. (Ben Dor 1981: 26)

This remark stresses the fact that Arab critics were aware of the fact that the translated novel was first and foremost of Jewish concern.

6. Dawudi's translation policy[6]

In his discussion of 19th century literary translations into Arabic from European languages, particularly English and French, Sasson Somekh (1981) differentiates between two stylistic norms: the neo-classical, which is particularly notable in the translations of the Egyptian writer Rifāʿah Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭawi (1801–1873), and the other — the non-classical norm, mainly notable in the translations of the Lebanese intellectual Buṭrus al-Bustāni (1819–1883). The neo-classical norm is character-

ized by its strict use of classical linguistic and stylistic structures, such as the use of strictly rhyming prose, parallel segments in the sentence and pairs of synonyms. The non-classical norm is characterized by an integration of linguistic and stylistic sub-standard structures into the translation, such as employing elements of dialect in a narrative dialogue, and grammatical and lexical deviations from the norms of the standard Arabic literary language.

Salim al-Dawudi's translation of *Ahavat Tsiyon*, particularly in its first edition, reflects neither of these norms in its entirety, but rather an unbalanced combination of both trends. On the one hand, al-Dawudi opted for a high stylistic register based on the use of linguistic structures and rhetorical means prevalent in classical Arabic literature. On the other hand, one finds sub-standard linguistic structures, deviations from standard Arabic grammatical and syntactical rules integrated into the translation, as well as cases of interference of the Hebrew source text. These opposite trends apparently derive from several sources:

a. The clear-cut influence of the neo-classical stylistic norm on all Arabic literary writing of the time.[7]
b. The translator's lack of skills in Arabic literary writing, due to which he found himself compelled to lean on extant linguistic and literary models.
c. The translator's deep appreciation of the original text which was to him a classic work of art with a florid Biblical style, and therefore seemed worthy of splendid dress in the target language as well as a faithful reflection of the spirit and content of the original text.
d. Since the declared objective of the translation was to remind the Jewish people that Hebrew is a living language, and since al-Dawudi's main target audience was Jewish, there is an understandable tendency to preserve some of the book's Jewish characteristics. This tendency runs counter to the prevalent trend of 19th century translations from European literatures, mainly French, which tended to Arabize, and even Egpytize the translated text, so that even the original names of characters and places were replaced by Arabic ones.[8]

In the translation's second edition (1921–1922) the neo-classical stylistic norm becomes stronger. The first part of the translated text, which appeared in full in the first edition (1899), underwent significant linguistic editing which is manifest in the correction of grammatical, syntactical and linguistic errors and the conversion of sub-standard linguistic structures into standard, even supra-standard ones. In the second part, which was not included in the first edition, the translator strictly adheres to neo-classical stylistic norms. The reinforcement of the neo-classical stylistic norm in the second edition perhaps indicates an attempt to appeal to a non-Jewish target audience. It certainly testifies to an improvement of the Arabic writing skills of Jewish scholars.

The translational norms which governed the translator's work mark an unequivocal desire on his part to enhance the acceptability of the translated text in the target culture. To this end, he used a free hand in omissions and additions. The latter were designed, inter alia, to create semantic empowerment, underscore turning points in the plot and place emphasis on didactic messages, but also to raise the linguistic register of the text as such. Thus it is not surprising that there are numerous additions of poetic stanzas, proverbs, images, metaphors and familiar descriptions from classical Arabic literature, as was customary in Arabic translations of the period. Thus, for example, in the passage that describes the beauty of Tirtsah, Hanan'el's daughter, the concise — and rather conventional — Hebrew text reads: *Na'arah yefat to'ar ve-yefat mar'eh bat šhva' 'esreh šhanah* [A beautiful good-looking seventeen-years-old girl] (Mapu 1884: 4). By contrast, in al-Dawudi's translations, elaborate descriptions of the girl's beauty, amounting to 16 lines(!), were added. Two of the additions are verses from *Alf laylah wa-laylah* [Arabian nights] (1999, Vol. I: 260), which praise the young woman's beauty:

> Haīfā' tukhjil ghuṣn al-bān qāmatuhā — lam yaḥkī [should be: yaḥki][9] ṭal'atahā shams wa-lā qamar
> ka'nnamā rīquhā shahd wa-qad muzijat — bih al-mudamah wa-lakinn thaghrahā durar[10] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 11–12; 1921: 13)

> [A beautiful slender young woman, whose stature shames the branch of the Moringa tree — the sun and moon cannot compare to her face
> Her saliva is like honey imbued with wine, and her mouth is like pearls]

In addition, descriptions of the young woman's body parts were added — clichéd descriptions and images used to their full in classical Arabic literature, particularly in *Alf laylah wa-laylah,* again, for describing the beauty of young women (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 11–12; 1921: 13–14). To be sure, this use of *Alf laylah wa-laylah* is not particularly surprising in view of the close relationship between Jewish folk literature and Arab sources (Snir 2005: 145).

For his additions, the translator attempted to select stanzas from the best of classical Arabic literature that would suit the context of the translated text. Thus, for example, in order to sharpen Tirtsah's words to her husband regarding the importance of the family tree of their daughter's fiancé, al-Dawudi adds the following stanzas to his translation:[11]

> TT: wa-ana kadhalik lam yakhṭur bi-balī an abḥath 'an ḥasabika wa-nasabika. bal ra'ituka fa-aḥbabtuka fa-tazawajtuka thum 'ariftu man anta:
> **lā taqul aṣlī wa-faṣlī [abad(an)] — inamā aṣl al-fatā mā qad ḥaṣal**
> fahalā 'alimta annah qad yanbut al-ward al-jamīl fī al-ṣaḥārī wal-qifār wal-ḥasak wal-shawk wal-karmil wal-ghiyāḍ [!]

wa-kadhā [should be: wa-innamā] al-ward min al-shawk wa-mā — yanbut al-narjis illā min baṣal. (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 13)

ETTT: [I too, did not think of searching your family tree, but I saw you, loved you and married you, and only later knew who you were
Under no condition say this is my origin — because the origin of the boy is in his deeds
And indeed you knew that beautiful flowers grow in the desert and in dry places, and the thorns and the Carmel and the lakes [!]
And indeed, the roses from the thorns — and the narcissus grows from bulbs]

ST: Ve-anokhi lo samti libi lada'at, mah šoreš giz'akha, ki im re'itikha ahavtikha va-'ehi lekha, ve-akhare ken noda' li moladtekha; ha-terem teda' iši: ki yeš ašer yi-frekhu šošanim be-erets tsiyyah, ve-'al hadar ha-karmel ve-ha-šaron ya'alu šamir va-šayit? (Mapu 1884: 112)

ETST: [And I did not know the roots of your trunk, but saw you and loved you and was yours, and then I discovered your homeland; You still do not know, my husband: may roses bloom in the desert, and on the glory of ha-Carmel and the Sharon Valley, thorns and weeds?]

The two stanzas (highlighted in the text), taken from a well-known poem by Ibn al-Wardi (1290–1331) (see, for example, Shikhu 1884: 344), suited the context since they extolled the value of mankind, regardless of origin.

Al-Dawudi also chose to omit words, sentences, even entire sections, which appeared to him redundant or repetitive of earlier ideas. The omissions are relatively few in comparison with the additions, but they show that no attempt was made to preserve the integrity of the source text in the translation. The following is an example:

TT: Yartafi' al-safalā [should be: al-safalah] wa-yankhafiḍ al-'uẓamā' wa-'lam yā 'Azrikām … (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 8–9)

ETTT: [low become high and nobles become low and you should know Azrikam …]

ST: Šfalim mitromemim, u-gvohim šakhim li-fnehem; 'ošer ve-kavod! ha-lo 'alehem mašal yis'u lomar: ga'avah li-ksilim 'ošer — ke-šeleg ba-kayits, o-labo'arim kavod — ke-matar ba-katsir. da' lekha Azrikam … (Mapu 1884: 109)

ETST: [The short become tall and the tall bow before them; Riches and honor! About those parables will be spoken: for fools honor is riches — like snow in the summer, and honor for fools — like rain at the time of reaping. Know this, Azrikam …]

Here al-Dawudi omitted several sentences that repeat an idea which was already stated in the previous passage; namely, that wealth and honor add nothing to a person's virtues and only cowards, fools and the ignorant attribute importance to them.

The numerous omissions and additions often create the impression that the text is an adaptation rather than a translation, particularly when sizeable additions and omissions appear in the very same passage. Thus, for example, many omissions and additions can be encountered in the passage describing the response of Tamar and her brother Teman after they witnessed Amnon, Tamar's lover, kissing a mysterious young woman, who they later discover is his sister (Mapu 1884: 140–141). Among other things, the translator added a 10-line passage in which Tamar's thoughts about Amnon's "betrayal" are described (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 64). At the same time, he omitted many sentences that are mere dialogues between Tamar and her brother (Mapu 1884: 140). Later he added 14 lines which again trace Tamar's thoughts, and particularly her desire to take revenge on Amnon's "lover" (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 65–66). It is possible that the translator was trying to modernize the text by replacing some of the original dialogue by a kind of internal monologue.

As far as the stylistic register goes, the translator sought, as stated earlier, to keep it high by using a vocabulary, idiomatic collocations, syntactical and linguistic structures, and poetic stanzas taken from classical Arabic literature. In the second edition of the first part of the novel he raised the linguistic level beyond anything that existed in the first edition. The following are three examples:

(1) TT1: wa-litakun murḍiʿah khuṣūṣiyah li-Muʿīn ibnihā (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 15)
ETTT1: [And she should be a private wet nurse for her son Muʾin]
TT2: wa-an takūn hīa ẓiʾr(an) murḍiʿ(an) li- ʿAzrikām waladihā (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 17)
ETTT2: [And she will be a wet nurse breast-feed for her son Azrikam]
ST: ve-lihyot meneket le-Azrikam bnah (Mapu 1884: 5)
ETST: [To be a wet nurse for her son Azrikam]

(2) TT: li-tasquṭ ʿalih ṣāʿiqah min al-samāʾ fa-tadukkuh dakk(an) wa-tajʿal sukānah athar(an) baʿd ʿaīn (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 65)
ETTT: [May lighting from heaven fall on him (the house) and completely destroy it and conceal its inhabitants as if they had never been]
ST: brok barak elohim ve-hafitzam (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 17)
ETST: [God ignite the lightning and spread it!]

(3) TT: fa-ḥāwal Tīmān taʿzīatahā fa-qāl ṣabr(an) yā ʾukhtāh ʿasā an takrahū šaīʾ(an) wa-hū khaīr la-kum (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 65)

ETTT: [Teman attempted to console her and said, patience, my sister, it may be that what you hate will be good to you]
ST: ʿanah Teman, mi yiten ve-hafakhta et hašeʾol le-ʿeden li! akh mi yiten tahor mi-tame (Mapu 1884: 140)
ETST: [Teman replied: If only you could transform Hell into Heaven for me! Oh, if only the defiled could be transformed into the pure]

In the first edition of the first example the translator used the Arabic expression *murḍiʿah khuṣūṣiyah* [a private wet nurse] to replace the Hebrew word *meneket* [wet nurse], although in classical Arabic it is customary to use the noun *murḍiʿ* for wet nurse (rather than *murḍiʿah*, as is the case here), which is feminine, with no need to add the suffix "*tāʾ marbūṭa*", characteristic of the feminine in Arabic. The translator also partially translates the given name Azrikam into *Muʿīn* [helpful], but in the list of corrections appended to the first edition, he changed the name *Muʿīn* back to "Azrikam" (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 196). In the second edition Al-Dawudi uses the synonyms *ẓiʾr(an) murḍiʿ(an)*, both meaning wet nurse, although the word *ẓiʾr* is a rare classical word meaning "wet nurse for an infant that is not hers". As to the name "Azrikam", in the second edition it is transliterated rather than translated into Arabic.

In the second example, taken from the second part of the book, the translator used an idiomatic collocation from the Koran, *fa-tadukkuh dakk(an)* [and he will completely destroy it] (Sura 21, verse 89). He also used the classical idiomatic collocation *athar(an) baʿd ʿaīn,* derived from the saying *taṭlub athar(an) baʿd ʿaīn* [you are asking for something which you have lost] (al-Munjid 1975: 998).

In the third example, again taken from the second part of the book, the translator used a free hand and omitted and added as he saw fit. Thus, the Hebrew sentence *mi yiten ve-hafakhta et hašeʾol le-ʾeden li!* [If only you could transform Hell to Heaven for me!] has no replacement in the translated text. By contrast, the Arabic sentence *fa-ḥāwal Tīmān taʿzīatahā fa-qāl ṣabr(an) yā ʾukhtāh* [Teman attempted to console her and said, patience, my sister] is an addition by the translator. However, it is worthy of note that in order to translate the sentence *akh mi yiten tahor mi-tame* [but if only the defiled could be transformed into the pure] al-Dawudi used a verse from the Koran (Sura 2, verse 216) which has unequivocal Islamic connotations: *ʿasā an takrahū šaīʾ(an) wa-hū khaīr la-kum* [but it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you]. This is the place to note that the process of Arabization, which was enthusiastically embraced by the Jewish intellectuals of the time, was also accompanied by cultural Islamization, which seems to have been unconscious, at least in most cases (Snir 2005: 60). It is simply that the tight links between the Arabic language and Islam made it difficult for Jewish authors to free themselves of Islamic connotations when using the Arabic language.

Despite the translator's attempt to write in an elevated literary style, the translation also displays sub-standard or non-standard linguistic elements. In fact, the text has numerous deviations from the grammatical, syntactical and linguistic rules of standard Arabic. It is awareness of these deviations that induced the translator to add to the first edition of the first part a special appendix in which errors he noticed were corrected.[12] This appendix is preceded by an appeal to the reader to ignore the errors that might have found their way into the Arabic text. The translator then enumerates some of the reasons that, in his opinion, caused those errors. These include insufficient attention, the fact that the book was published in a remote location and al-Dawudi's lack of writing and translational skills. His inexperience in literary writing and his familiarity with the spoken language used in daily life contributed to the large number of sub-standard and non-standard elements in the translated text.

The majority of the deviant elements are concentrated in the first edition of the first part of the translation. They include spelling and punctuation mistakes and linguistic structures of the spoken language. Some of the spelling errors stemmed from a lack of differentiation in spoken Arabic between letters representing consonants that are phonetically similar. As a result, some of the words that should have been spelt with a *dhāl* appear in the translation with the letter *zāī*. Apparently, in many dialects (mainly urban) it was customary to pronounce the consonant *dhāl* as *zāī*; for example *al-razīlah* instead of *al-radhīlah* [the abomination] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 22), or *zakhīrah* instead of *dhakhīrah* [capital] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 23). However, the phonetic similarity between consonants in literary Arabic also yielded other spelling errors. For example, in several cases "*tā' marbūṭa*" was replaced by "*tā' maftūḥa*", e.g. *asṭiḥat*, which should have been *asṭiḥah* [house roofs] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 23).

Similarly, some of the grammatical mistakes also derive from the interference of spoken language. The absence of final vowel phonemes in spoken Arabic was the apparent reason for the translator's ignoring them, particularly the *tanwin fatiḥ*, which should have appeared even when vowel phonemes were not used in the entire text. Thus, for example, in the sentence *kaī yulbisūka thīāb muzakhrafah* [so they will dress you in elaborate dress] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 85) the vowel phoneme *tanwin fatiḥ* does not appear, as mandated by standard syntactical and spelling rules, in the word *thīāb* (should have been *thīāb-an*).

As stated earlier, in the second edition of the first part, numerous deviations from the rules of standard Arabic were corrected and sub-standard linguistic phenomena were replaced by standard or even supra-standard forms. At the same time, it is not as if the second edition is devoid of such deviations. It is only that their number decreased considerably in comparison with the first edition. Following are three examples:

(1) TT1: naẓar(an) li-saṭwatih wa-ṭūl lisānih (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 6)
ETTT1: [Because of his violence and audacity]
TT2: naẓar(an) li-saṭwatih wa-badhā'ṭ lisānih (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 8)
ETTT2: [Because of his violence and audacity]
ST: ki haya Yozavad iš zro'a u-nesu panim (Mapu 1884: 2)
ETST: [Yozavad was a strong and honorable man]

(2) TT1: fa-qālū jamīʿ al-quḍāh bi-famm wāḥid (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 28)
ETTT1: [All the judges said unanimously]
TT2: fa-qāl jamīʿ al-quḍāh bi-lisān wāḥid (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 31)
ETTT2: [All the judges said unanimously]
ST: va-ya'anu ha-šoftim peh ekhad (Mapu 1884: 11)
ETST: [And the judges responded unanimously]

(3) TT: lan tarīn wajhī (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 12)
ETTT: [You will not see my face]
ST: ve-'al tir'i panay (Mapu 1884: 111)
ETST: [And do not see my face]

In the first example, in addition to the omission of the name "Yozavad" from the old translation we can see a shift from the original semantic meaning: *nesu panim* [honorable] was translated as *ṭūl lisānih* [his audacity]. It is worth noting that in the first edition the idiomatic collocation is in spoken Arabic, *ṭūl lisānih* [literally: his long tongue's length; metaphorically: his audacity], an idiom which was replaced in the second edition by the analogous collocation in standard literary Arabic: *badhā'ṭ lisānih* [his audacity].

In the second example the influence of spoken Arabic on the syntactical structure of the sentence is visible in the first edition: in spoken Arabic one verb can be used for two subjects, *fa-qālū jamīʿ al-quḍāh* [all the judges said], whereas in the literary variety it is considered sub-standard. This may also be a case of linguistic interference of the source language which is manifested in the target language not only in the syntactic structure of the sentence (verb + personal pronoun + subject), but also in a loan translation of the idiom *peh ekhad* [unanimous] as *bi-famm wāḥid*.[13] In the second edition these deviations from standard language were corrected: only one subject for the verb remained (*fa-qāl jamīʿ al-quḍāh* [all the judges said]) and the loan translation was replaced by an acceptable expression in Arabic: *bi-lisān wāḥid* [literally: in one tongue].

In the third example, taken from the second part of the book, there is a deviation from standard grammatical rules which require the omission of the final '*Nūn*' from the verb *tarīn* [you will see] because it is in the accusative.

In addition to deviations from the rules of standard Arabic, the translation also shows far-reaching interference of the source language. Apparently, most cases of

interference result from the translator's deep admiration of the Hebrew source text and the language used in it, which the translation was intended to glorify, as well as his tendency to preserve unique elements of Jewish culture. Interference is reinforced by his working on small, low-level linguistic units, which amounts to a linear tracing of the source sentences — one syntactical unit after the other. Thus, interference manifests itself in numerous ways, such as abuse of the norms of standard Arabic, the preservation of Hebrew syntactical structures, semantic loan translations, use of Hebrew words in Arabic transliteration, and use of Arabic words that are similar in sound to Hebrew words used in the source text. Following are two examples:

(1) TT1: min jiz'[!] mulūk Yihūdhā wa-wazīr al-māliyah alladhī lil-malik (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 4–5)
TT2: min sulālat mulūk Yihūdhā wa-wazīr māliyat al-malik (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 7)
ST: mi-geza' malkhe Yehuda, ve-sar ha-rekhuš ašer la-melekh (Mapu 1884: 1)
ET TT1, ETTT2, ETST: [From the stock of the Kings of Judea, and the King's Minister of Treasure]

(2) TT: fa-anti aiyālat al-ṣubḥ fī al-samā' (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1922: 20)
ETTT: [And you are the morning's deer in the heavens]
ST: ve-anokhi dimitikh ke-'ayelet ha-šakhar bi-mekhon škhakim (Mapu 1884: 116)
ETST: [And I compared you to a morning star in the foundation of the heavens]

In the first example, taken from the first part of the book, the first edition reveals the clear influence of Hebrew. The translator's choice of the word *jiz'*, which should have been *jidh'* [see above in relation to the interchange of *dhāl* and *zāī*], is apparently the result of the phonetic similarity between this form and the Hebrew word *geza'* [trunk]. Despite the overlapping of the literal meanings of the two words — they both denote 'tree trunk' — the Arabic word is inappropriate in the present context. And, indeed, in the second edition it was replaced by the word *sulālah* [dynasty]. The overall syntactical structure of the rest of the sentence in the first edition was, in fact, a calque from Hebrew: *wa-wazīr al-māliyah alladhī lil-malik* [the King's Minister of Treasure]: in standard literary Arabic it is not customary to use the relative letter *lām* with the pronoun conjunction *alladhī* [which] to express the possessive. And, indeed, in the second edition the pronoun conjunction and the relative letter were omitted and replaced by the possessive *wa-wazīr māliyat al-malik* [and the King's Minister of the Treasury].

As to the second example, taken from the second part of the book: If we ignore the omission of *ve-anokhi dimitikh* [And I compared you] and of *makhon* [foundation], it is clear that the translator used a loan translation for the idiomatic collocation *'ayelet ha-šakhar* [literally: morning deer], a poetic term for the first light of dawn. This idiomatic collocation was translated literally: Each word was rendered separately, without any consideration for the idiomatic nature of the expression, causing a clear semantic shift. Moreover, the word chosen to replace the first word of the collocation *'ayelet* [in Hebrew: also doe, or female deer], *aiyālah,* does not exist in Arabic, and it may well be that it is the word *ayyil* [deer] that was intended, apparently because of its phonetic and syntactic similarity to the Hebrew word.

It is worth noting that the translator, who must have identified the Biblical source of many of the linguistic structures in the source text, made use of a particular translation of the Bible and at times quoted it verbatim. The version he chose was the well-known 1865 Arab-Christian translation, and his selection must have stemmed from the prestige of its translators, who were famous scholars in the 19th century, and from its wide circulation in the Orient. It is not impossible that al-Dawudi expected his audience to be familiar with this particular translation and be able to identify it and lean on it. One example:

> TT: al-Sāmirah **insaḥaqat insiḥāq(an)** wa-Ṣuhīūn tafraḥ bi-hitāf malikihā. arḍ Ifrāīm [2ed: Frāīm] **tašaqaqat itšiqāq(an)** [2ed: inšiqāq(an)] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 34; 1921: 38)
>
> ETTT: [Samaria is broken asunder, and Zion is happy after the cheer of its king. Ephraim's land is split through]
>
> ST: **roʿa hitroʿaʿah** Šomron, u-bat Tsiyon tariʿa mitruʿat melekh bah. **por hitporerah erets** Efrayim (Mapu 1884: 18)
>
> ETST: [Samaria is broken asunder, and the daughter of Zion shouts after the king's trumpet call. Ephraim's land is split through]

In this example, there are clear echoes of the Bible in the ST. Parts of the Biblical verses in the Book of Isaiah (24: 19), "***roʿa hitroʿaʿah*** *ha-'arets,* ***por hitporerah erets*** *mot hitmotetah arets*" [The earth is broken asunder, the earth is split through, the earth is shaken violently], appeared in the source text (highlighted), and the translator used the 1865 Arabic version of the verse: ***insaḥaqat*** *al-arḍ* ***insiḥāq(an),*** ***tashaqaqat*** *al-arḍ* ***tshiqāq(an),*** *tazaʿzaʿat al-arḍ tazaʿzuʿ(an).*

Terms and items unique to Jewish cultural heritage were preserved in the translation by recourse to their transliteration or literal translation. At times footnotes were also added. In fact, al-Dawudi decided to preserve even the names of persons and places as accepted in the Bible and in its Arabic-Christian translation, even if it ran counter to what was customary in Arab-Islamic culture. Thus, for example,

the name *Ouršhalīm* [Jerusalem] was used rather than *al-Quds* or *Bayt al-Maqdis*. By the same token, *bayt Isrā'īl* or *ša'b Isrā'īl* [the people of Israel] were preferred to *banū Isrā'īl* [the sons of Israel], as is customary in Arabic. As to the names of characters: In the second edition of the first part al-Dawudi decided to translate some of them into Arabic the first time they appeared in the text, e.g. *'Azrmkām* (which should read '*Azrīkām*): *mā ma'nāh fī al-'ibriyah 'ūn allah* [Azrikam, which in Hebrew means God's helper] (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 17), but later on he used the Hebrew names only.

Other Jewish culture-dependent features were also preserved, albeit never systematically. At times the translator added footnotes to stress the Jewish connotations of these features in the translated text even when the context could have facilitated their understanding. The following are two examples:

(1) TT: wa-kānt taltaqiṭ bi-ḥuqūl ba'lihā Yūrām (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1889: 30; 1921: 34)
ST: va-telaket bi-sedot Yoram 'išah (Mapu 1884: 12)
ETTT, ETST: [And she gleaned in the fields of her husband Yoram]

(2) TT: 'ind taqdīm al-kahanah al-muḥraqah al-dā'imah (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 37; 1921: 42)
ST: be-hakrev ha-kohanim et 'olat ha-tamid (Mapu 1884: 15)
ETTT, ETST: [When the Priests sacrificed the daily burnt offering]

In the first example the translator, apparently under the influence of the Arabic-Christian translation of the Bible, chose an Arabic verb phonetically and semantically similar to the verb which appeared in the source text: *telaket* = *taltaqiṭ* [she gleans]. However, he added a footnote about "gleaning" that underscored the Jewish tradition associated with it: "gleaning is a precept of the People of Israel: When reaping thou shalt leave them for the poor and the stranger (Leviticus, 19: 10), and the same is true of the gleanings of the vineyard" (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 34).

In the second example the translator preferred to literally translate the Biblical idiomatic collocation *'olat ha-tamid* [the daily burnt offering] into *al-muḥraqah al-dā'imah*, which is an offering burnt in its entirely on the altar in the Temple twice a day — morning and evening. This time he chose not to explain the daily burnt offering, apparently because Jewish readers would be expected to know the expression, or perhaps because al-Dawudi took into consideration the sesnsibilities of readers who might regard this whole ceremony as pagan.

This regard for the readers' feelings on the translator's part leads us to the traditional ethical norms which are manifested in the translation. The translator was resolute in omitting any statement or hint that might, in his opinion, offend the religious and ethical sensibilities of his intended audience. It was apparently the fact that the translation was targeted primarily to conservative and traditional

Jews that demanded a high degree of sensitivity and consideration on the part of the translator. Obviously, the designation of the translated text as a didactic educational tool, directed inter alia, if not mainly, towards Jewish youth, had reinforced the translator's overall conservative approach. The following are two examples:

(1) TT: arā wajhaki al-aān [2ed: omitted] ka-aujuh malā'ikat al-rabb (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 11; 1921: 12)
ETTT: [I see your face now as the face of God's angels]
ST: hineni ro'ah panayikh ki-pne elohim (Mapu 1884: 4)
ETST: [And I see your face as God's face]

(2) TT1: wa-ʿānaq zawjatīh al-ʿināq al-akhawiy (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 17)
ETTT1: [And he embraced his two women in a brotherly embrace]
TT2: wa-qabbal zawjatīh qublat al-wadāʿ (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1921: 19)
ETTT2: [And he kissed his two women a farewell kiss]
ST: va-yišak le-našav (Mapu 1884: 6)
ETST: [And he kissed his women]

The first example apparently reflects the translator's belief that describing the face of a young woman as the face of God, as was done in the original, might be offensive from a religious point of view. Therefore he preferred to liken her face to that of an angel. In the second example, the source text simply says, "and he kissed his women". However, in both versions of the first part of the translation al-Dawudi tried to evade the possibility that the kiss might be interpreted as having a sensual or erotic nature. Thus, in the first edition the kiss is replaced by a brotherly embrace, while in the second it is a kiss of parting.

7. Summary

As we have seen, al-Dawudi's policy as a translator is characterized by a lack of preservation of the integrity of the text, elevating the stylistic register, preserving ethical norms, at times even a tendency to paraphrase. This policy exhibits consideration of the linguistic and stylistic norms of the hegemonic target culture and a desire to be acceptable to (if not accepted by) it. At the same time, there are signs of an attempt to undermine this hegemony which are manifest in the very decision to translate a text which had Jewish social and national aspirations, in a multitude of deviations from standard linguistic, syntactical and grammatical rules of the target language, in preserving elements unique to Jewish culture and numerous cases of interference of the Hebrew source language in the language of the Arabic translation.

The significant differences between the two editions of the translation, which are separated by some 20 years, show the intensification of the tendency to be

accepted by the target culture at large, apparently as a result of the Jewish intellectuals' growing tendency to integrate into the Arab culture and a considerable improvement in their literary Arabic writing.

Notes

1. Compare with Reuven Snir (2005: 23–77) concerning Jewish-Iraqi writers.

2. The biography presented here is based on *Entsiklopedya le-khalutse ha-yišuv u-bonav* [The encyclopedia of the pioneers and builders of the *Yišuv*] (Tidhar 1947: 123–124, 207), the writings of Salim al-Dawudi's nephew, Yisrael Ben-Dor (1981), and al-Dawudi's book *Ha-toʿeh bi-svakh ha-khayim* [Lost in the tangle of life] (2001).

3. The title *ḥakham bāšī* [in Turkish: chief sage] was given to the chief Rabbi of a Jewish community throughout the Ottoman Empire.

4. For a description of *Ahavat Tsiyon*'s distribution and acceptability among Hebrew readers, see Werses 1989: 15–48.

5. Translation from Arabic and Hebrew texts by the author.

6. Analysis of the translation is based on Gideon Toury's model (1995).

7. In this context see Roger Allen (1982: 28–30) and Matti Moosa (1997: 2) on the neo-classical writing of Muḥammad Ibrāhim al-Muwayliḥi (1858–1930) and others in Egypt.

8. For example, see Matti Moosa (1997: 11–13) on the translation policy of the Egyptian translator Muḥammad ʿOthmān Jalāl (1829–1898).

9. This error was corrected in the second edition.

10. This verse was omitted in the second edition.

11. TT = Target Text, ETTT = my English gloss of TT, ST = Source Text, ETST = my English gloss of ST.

12. In this Appendix 143 grammatical, syntactical and linguistic errors appear, which were corrected by the translator (Mapu/al-Dawudi 1899: 195–200).

13. When idiomatic collocations are broken into their components, and each component is translated separately, a semantic shift from the source is created and/or a meaningless statement appears in the translated text (Weissbrod 1989: 269).

14. It may be worthy to compare al-Dawudi's translation with other translations of Mapu's novel, which were produced in the same period. Werses (1989: 120–122), for example, shows that there were various considerations and tendencies in the Yiddish translations of Mapu's novel, which were published between 1874–1929, and were also intended for Jewish readership. The translators took into account several factors, such as the varied sectors of readership, the different linguistic and stylistic norms of Yiddish literature and their ideological propensities, which were sometimes contradictory to Mapu's. So, in these translations too, there are massive omissions

of historical and topographical descriptions besides several additions of didactic phrases and realistic descriptions of the Jewish milieu in that period. Some of the translators' orientations were very similar to al-Dawudi's, e.g. the mitigation of erotic situations and the reinforcement of religious elements, both opposed to Mapu's Enlightenment ideas.

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Résumé

L'article examine les débuts de la traduction en arabe de la littérature hébraïque moderne et, en même temps, les débuts de l'écriture en arabe littéraire par des intellectuels juifs. L'attention portera sur la traduction par Salim al-Dawudi du premier roman hébreu, *Ahavat Tsiyon* [L'amour de Sion] (1853), par Avraham Mapu. Ce roman représente en fait une des attestations

majeures du renouveau des liens entre les juifs et la Palestine. La traduction d'al-Dawudi paraît en deux éditions différentes en Égypte, en 1899 et en 1921–1922 ; il s'agit vraisemblablement de la première traduction en arabe de la littérature hébraïque moderne. En déclarant que sa version a pour fin de rappeler à son peuple le statut de l'hébreu en tant que langue vivante, al-Dawudi assortit son texte d'aspirations juives nationales ; d'où sans doute le caractère hybride de sa stratégie traductive. D'une part, certains phénomènes illustrent son désir de se faire accepter dans la culture-cible : tel le fait de renoncer à l'intégralité du texte, le fait de rehausser le registre stylistique, ou de préserver les normes éthiques du texte-source, voire de tendre à la paraphrase. D'autre part, certains passages révèlent une surconsidération de la langue-source et du texte-source: en témoignent de nombreux écarts par rapport aux règles linguistiques, syntaxiques et grammaticales de l'arabe standard, la préservation d'éléments propres à la culture juive et une multitude d'interférences hébreu-arabe. La démarche non-systématique de la part du traducteur semble s'expliquer par un manque de maîtrise littéraire, par une profonde admiration pour le texte-source et pour la langue-source, et par le fait que la traduction s'adresse en priorité à une audience juive.

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