# The Role of Translators in Contemporary Iran:

# New Perspectives on Collaboration, Retranslation, and Visibility

Samira Saeedi

ORCID 0000-0002-9009-8501

Submitted in total fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

October 2019

School of Languages and Linguistics

The University of Melbourne

## Abstract

Translators in western literature are deemed to be generally invisible. In Iran, instead, literary translators, are highly visible. Their names are almost always embossed on the front cover of translations. They are interviewed and invited to book launches in order to sign their work. They are also recruited as trainers for instructing to-be translators by publishing companies.

My project addresses the following questions:

1. Why are translators visible in contemporary Iran?
2. What role do translators play in contemporary Iran?
3. How do translators collaborate with other translators, publishers, editors, authors, and readers?

Four circumstances make Iran a particularly interesting case study. The literary field of contemporary Iran is marked by a sharp rise of translations from English into Persian. International copyright laws are not applied in Iran. Retranslations are extremely common in contemporary Iran. The official publishing permit system presents challenges for translators and publishers.

In line with sociological approaches to translation, my thesis focuses on the role of translators in contemporary Iran. My findings are based on extensive data collected from primary and secondary resources, paratextual materials, interviews and social media. Paratexts of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* book series were the primary resources that I used for this study. I also conducted oral-history interviews with 10 Iranian

literary translators and 5 publishers based in Tehran. To investigate the reception of translations I carried out social media analysis.

In order to understand the role of translators, I first assessed translators' micro-level interactions and collaborations with other translators, publishers and editors. Then, I examined their role in commissioning retranslations and their reasons for retranslating literary works. Translators' strategies are discussed as a direct response to the publishing permits required for any publication in Iran. Finally, I discussed the legal status of translators in Iran and their strategies of self-presentations and visibility.

By offering new evidence from a non-western context, my thesis brings insights into collaboration, retranslation, censorship and visibility in translation studies.

# Declaration

(i) This thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD.

(ii) Due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used.

(iii) The thesis is fewer than the 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Singed:

Samira Saeedi Date: 18/10/2019

# Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my supervisors Associate Professor Andrea Rizzi and Associate Professor Birgit Lang for their intellectual rigor, continuous support and feedback during my PhD. I am very fortunate and proud to be their student. I am always grateful to both for broadening my intellectual horizons and for teaching me how to think creatively. I am indeed grateful to Andrea for his in-depth knowledge of the topic, enthusiasm for research, his commitment to his work and his concise and invaluable feedback and advice. I am also thankful to Birgit for inspiring me with her achievements. I learned a lot from her, and I am grateful to her for always encouraging me to keep moving forward.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Anthony Pym as my chair of the advisory committee. I am thankful to him for providing me with precious feedback and for giving me the opportunity to sit in his translation studies seminars. I would also like to thank Associate Professor Paul Gruba for chairing my advisory committee in the first year of my PhD candidature.

Doing my PhD at the University of Melbourne would have been impossible for me without the several scholarships that I received from Australian Government, the University of Melbourne's Faculty of Arts and School of Languages and Linguistics. Australian Government Research Training Program International (AGRTPI) Fee Offset and Stipend Scholarships provided me with the tuition fee and living allowance (Feb 2016-Oct 2019). The Graduate Research in Arts Travel Scheme (GRATS) funded my trip to Iran to conduct my interviews (July 2017-September 2017). Also, I received GRATS to present my project at EST:2019 Congress in South Africa (September 2019).

I would also like to acknowledge the participants of my study who generously accepted to contribute to my research project. Your voice and stories made a big difference to my project.

Being miles away from home and doing PhD is a big challenge, but it became easier for me by having friends who helped me unceasingly. I would like to thank Dr Julie Robarts for helping me through my PhD's milestone with editing. I am thankful to Ruth Mahalia for reading my drafts and assisted me with proofreading. I appreciate Julia Anastasia Pelosi-Thorpe's help for proof-reading as well. I am grateful to all the people along the way who became dear friends, my PhD peers: Ana, Bei, Elizabeth, Hellena, Yinan, Sonja and my lovely friends, Mahsa and Mahtab. Meeting them all made my PhD experience more memorable. I would also like to thank my gorgeous friend Zahra, for all the days that we dreamt together to do PhD and our dreams come true.

I am grateful to my treasured parents, Behjat and Ali, and my brother, Ahmadreza, for their devotion and unconditional love, for always being there for me and believing in me. I am thankful to my beautiful sister, Saeedeh, that while I am away, she is there for my parents. Also, I would like to thank my younger brother Mohammad. I would also like to thank Mahoor, Mahan and Asa, for always bringing joy and happiness to my heart.

To my beloved partner and my best friend Mohammad. I cannot describe how grateful I am to you for your endless love, support, encouragement, and for your patience with all these years of travelling back and forth. I am thankful to you for your companionship, for showing me the way, for being there for me unconditionally, for cheering me up when I feel down, and for enduring with me all the ups and downs of doing PhD overseas. I am so lucky to have you and you mean the world to me.

# Table of Contents


Abstract ..... i

Declaration ..... iii

Acknowledgments ..... iv

Table of Contents ..... vi

List of Figures ..... viii

A Note on Translations and Transliterations ..... x

Chapter One: Introduction ..... 1

Background and Research Questions ..... 1

Translational Context in Iran ..... 4

Literature Review ..... 17

Methodology ..... 45

Summary of Chapters ..... 57

Chapter Two ..... 60

The Conference of Translators: Collaborative Translation ..... 60

Overview ..... 60

Collaboration and Competition: Harry Potter in Iran ..... 66

Conspicuous Collaboration ..... 88

Conclusion ..... 98

Chapter Three: Retranslation in Iran ..... 101

Overview ..... 101

The Risks and Gains of Retranslation ..... 102

*Animal Farm*: A Case Study of Retranslation ..... 113

Reception of Retranslations through Social Media ..... 133

Conclusions ..... 141

Chapter Four: The Ethics of Translators in Iran ..... 145

Overview ..... 145

The Stakes of Evaluation and Assessment ..... 148

Publishing in Iran: Submission and Process ..... 152

Self-Censorship and Its Impacts ..... 162

Translators Negotiating Frontiers ..... 172

After Issuing Publishing Permit ..... 179
Conclusions ..... 182
Chapter Five: The Visibility of Translators ..... 185
Overview ..... 185
Fluency and (in)visibility ..... 187
Legal Status of Translators: Context ..... 193
Building Trust ..... 209
Case Study: *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* ..... 220
*Harry Potter's* Iranian Mother: Concluding Remarks ..... 232
Epilogue ..... 237
Future Directions ..... 240
Bibliography ..... 242
Appendices ..... 254

# List of Figures

Figure 1. 1 Trend of translation from English into Persian ..... 6

Figure 1. 2 Persian translation of *The Catcher in the Rye* translation, copyright page ..... 11

Figure 1. 3 Hashtag search, result page ..... 56

Figure 1. 4 Shared images of *Animal Farm* on Instagram ..... 57

Figure 2. 1 Front cover of *Harry Potter* book, translated by Dadbakhsh and Vahedi ..... 73

Figure 2. 2 The title page of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* ..... 77

Figure 2. 3 Preface written by Namvar Abedini ..... 80

Figure 3. 1 Trend of *Animal Farm* retranslations since 1969 ..... 114

Figure 3. 2 The age of *Animal Farm's* translators ..... 115

Figure 3. 3 *Animal Farm* translators' professional status ..... 115

Figure 3. 4 Front cover of Persian adaptation of *Animal Farm* ..... 118

Figure 3. 5 *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt*, front cover, translated by Homayoun Nourahmar ..... 122

Figure 3. 6 Front cover of *Animal Farm,* translated by Kasaeipour ..... 124

Figure 3. 7 Front cover of *Animal Farm* translated by Abbas Zarei ..... 125

Figure 3. 8 Front cover of *Animal Farm*, translated by Shahab Habibi ..... 128

Figure 3. 9 Front covers of two different translations of *Animal Farm* ..... 131

Figure 3. 10 Front covers of two different translations of *Animal Farm* ..... 131

Figure 5. 1 *The Catcher in the Rye,* front cover, title page and copyright page, 1966 ..... 202

Figure 5. 2 *The Catcher in the Rye*, front cover, title page and copyright page, 2013 ..... 203

Figure 5. 3 Gallagher's note to Amraee ..... 213

Figure 5. 4 ID page of a copyrighted book, Ofoq ..... 219

Figure 5. 5 Front cover of *Bi Entikhāb-i Motarjim* [The Translator's Choice], Ofoq publishing. 222

Figure 5. 6 Front covers (volume 1-3) and the back cover of Eslamieh's translations ..... 223

Figure 5. 7 Front and back cover of the translation by Rakhshanfar ..... 224
Figure 5. 8 Front and back cover of the translation by Ghazinezhad and Soltani ..... 224
Figure 5. 9 Front and back cover of the translation by Aminian ..... 225
Figure 5. 10 Front and back cover of the translation by Ghorbani and Yousef Zadeh ..... 225
Figure 5. 11 Front and back cover of the new edition of the translation by Eslamieh ..... 226
Figure 5. 12 A book signing ceremony in Nashr-e-Cheshmeh, Tehran, 2017 ..... 233
Figure 5. 13 People lined to purchase *Harry Potter* books with the signature of the translator ..... 233

## A Note on Translations and Transliterations

In this thesis, all translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

Transliteration of Persian terms adhere to the criteria of ALA-LC Romanisation. However, for transliterating Persian proper nouns, to make it more accessible to readers, I converted Persian transcript to the sound that they represent in English.

# Chapter One: Introduction

## Background and Research Questions

Having grown up in Iran, I remember the first time I read about the invisibility of translators in western literature. I was puzzled as I had a different experience of translators' status in my country. Being known as a translator, particularly a literary translator, is a mark of prestige in Iran. Iranian translators enjoy high social recognition. Unlike their Western colleagues, their names are embossed on the front cover of a translated book. In contemporary Iran, the person who translates a book matters as much, if not more, than who authored the book. The translator's visibility is hardly ever hidden or hindered. By visibility I mean any traces of translators, including their name and identity in paratexts and extratexts, their legal status, and their recognition for marketing or pedagogical purposes. Translators are frequently interviewed, celebrated for their work and often asked to sign their books.

The visibility of translators used to be the norm in Renaissance Europe, as Coldiron (2012) notes, and as a substantial literature in the field of literary history indicates (see Coldiron, 2015; Rizzi, 2017, 2018a).[1] The visibility of translators in Renaissance Europe was in line with their "tremendous role in artistic selection, in transforming materials" and in "assessing and shaping the tastes of new audiences" (Coldiron, 2015, p. 3). The visible status of translators implies that they employ different strategies of self-presentation and play different roles in the process of publishing translation. Visibility and the intermediary role of Iranian

[1] On the preference of "Renaissance" to "Early Modern" see *Renaissance Cultures of Translation* edited by Tylus and Newman (2015 as cited in Rizzi, 2018).

translators in importing world literature, particularly in post-revolutionary Iran, has received scant attention by scholars. The source of inspiration for my study is the similarity between the visibility of translators in contemporary Iran and in Renaissance Europe. What makes Iranian translators' visibility resemble the status of Renaissance non-professional translators instead of twenty-first century Western translators? What role are they playing?

The socio-cultural factors that condition Iranian translators' practice of translation, explained further in the following sections, include the relatively marginal global status of the Persian language, the emergence of printing technology, the absence of intellectual property laws, growing production of translations, multiple translations of the same text (Coldiron, 2015; Rizzi, 2018c), censorship (Dutton, 2000; Munari, 2014), and the visibility of translators (Coldiron, 2012). This study hence aims to explore the role of Iranian literary translators, their decision-making process in their translation practice, strategies of self-presentation, their working conditions and their status in Iran to provide a nuanced definition of their agency in post-revolutionary Iran. By agency I refer to the strategies that translators adopt in the process of translation production.[2] I mean "the initiating activities" of translators and their strategies in encountering publishers, editors and readers (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 126).

[2] In translation studies, various definitions of agency are offered by translation scholars. One standard definition of the term, agency, is given by Kinnuen and Koskinen (2010, p. 6) as "the willingness and ability to act".

My research questions are sociological in nature, as they focus on the "people" involved in the process of publishing translation and practice of translation in Iran. Therefore, I aim to address the following questions:

1. Why are Iranian translators visible?
2. What role have translators been playing in Iran since 1979?
3. How do translators collaborate with publishers, editors, censors and readers?

My interest in post-revolutionary Iran is rooted, primarily, in the fundamental changes that Iran has experienced since the Islamic Revolution of 1979 such as the Cultural revolution (1980-1983), the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988). The subsequent unstable political relations with Western countries have limited access to foreign books. Specifically, censorship and the lack of international copyright laws attracted my interest in how translators have developed a trustworthy role and status for themselves in Iran.

The following sections unravel the translational context of Iran. I first draw a comparison between Renaissance English, mainly in early-modern England between late 15$^{th}$ and mid-17$^{th}$ century, and Persian languages in terms of trends of book imports from other languages. Then I reflect on the emergence of print technology as another shared similarity. This is followed by an account of the legal status of translated books, retranslation, and censorship. I draw a comparison between Iran and Renaissance Europe to explain readers relatively unusual Iranian literary phenomena: the visibility of translators and retranslation.

## Translational Context in Iran

The translation exchange between English and Persian proves to be asymmetrical. The trend has historically proved to facilitate the construction of national literatures, languages and identities (see, for instance, Baker, 2001). In *Toward a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural world System*, Johan Heilbron draws attention to text-based translation as it offers an interesting and fruitful field of research in sociology (originally 1999, in 2012). Heilbron focuses on the translation of books as "an international system" and "analysis of the international flows of translated books" (2012, p. 307). He divides languages into four categories: hyper-central, central, semi-peripheral and peripheral (Heilbron, 2012, p. 309).[3] Accordingly, "a language is more central in the world-system of translation when it has a large share in the total number of translated books worldwide. Thus, based on the rate of translations (see Heilbron, 2012, pp. 309-310), English occupies a hyper-central position in the hierarchical structure of today's languages in the world-system of translation, and Persian dwells in the peripheral category. Still, Heilbron (2012, p. 310) remarks that this system is "a dynamic constellation" which means that a language's status is never fixed.

On the other hand, in Renaissance Europe, English used to be a peripheral language, which means a language which translates more in comparison with central languages. The high

[3] Other scholars have provided similar analysis of the structure of the international relations. For instance, languages in Casanova's terminology are either in a dominated or dominating position. Those endowed with large quantities of literary capital, such as English, occupy a dominating position in the international structure of world literature. Languages endowed with less capital, consequently, occupy a dominated position (Casanova, 2012, pp. 289-290). Casanova (2004, p. 256) positions Persian with languages of small countries that "have relatively few speakers, native or polyglot," and despite their history and "sizeable stock of literary credit, are unrecognized outside their national boundaries". However, the reason that I prefer to adopt Heilbron's cultural world system is its focus on translated books, and agents affiliated with translation production.

rate of translations from Latin, the *lingua franca* of the 16th century, into English placed Renaissance English in a recipient position. Translating from prestigious languages for Renaissance English was undertaken to "remedy" the "inferiority" of Renaissance English (Coldiron, 2015, p. 10). And, now, in the 21st century, English is the most translated language.

To study translators' roles from a sociological perspective, Heilbron and Sapiro assert that one should account for the "principles of differentiation in the dynamics of exchange" (2007, p. 97). These principles are understood in cultural exchanges, economic relations, and political relations between countries. I, therefore, unravel these aspects in the following section by drawing a comparison between Renaissance Europe and contemporary Iran, because Persian language finds itself in a recipient position.

Similar to Renaissance English, the trend illustrates that Iran mainly translates books from English, the *lingua franca* of our era (see figure 1. 1). Data provided by the *Index Translationum* indicate that only 3033 books have been translated from Persian to other languages in a period of 40 years (1979-2018), 730 of which were rendered into English.[4] Although the database has been subject to criticisms for being unreliable (see Pym, 1998, pp.

[4] Index Translationum is a data base on book translation created by UNESCO in 1934. For more see: http://wayback.archive-it.org/all/20080815164837/http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=7810&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (access date: 08 September 2018).

The number of translated books from Persian to other languages is retrieved from: http://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?a=&stxt=&sl=pes&l=&c=&pla=&pub=&tr=&e=&udc=&d=&from=1979&to=2018&tie=a (access date: 08 September 2018). The rate of translations from Persian to English is obtained fromhttp://www.unesco.org/xtrans/bsresult.aspx?a=&stxt=&sl=pes&l=eng&c=&pla=&pub=&tr=&e=&udc=&d=&from=1979&to=2018&tie=a (access date: 08 September 2018).

71-85), I am using it “in an indicative manner to highlight structural patterns” (Heilbron, 2012, p. 309).

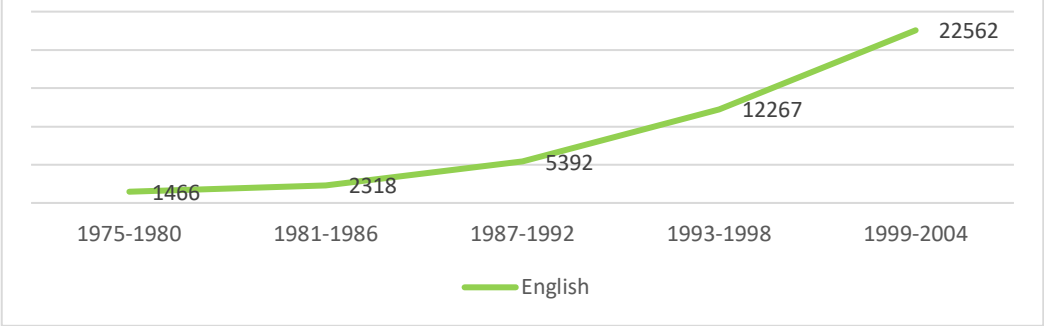



Figure 1. 1 Trend of translation from English into Persian

Figure 1. 1 demonstrates the trend of translations from 1975 to 2004 from English, French, and German (Karimi Behbahani & Saeedi, 2016). The trend is very similar to the graph offered In *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain*, by Barker and Hosington for translations into English during the Renaissance (2013, p. xvii). Renaissance English had a position similar to the current status of Persian language. From the comparison, it seems that translators in Iran, similar to the Renaissance translators, play a crucial role in their national literary field.

The growing trend of translations from English is proof of the benefit that flows to Iran’s publishing industry from the cultural production of prestigious languages, similar to Renaissance English language (see Coldiron, 2015, pp. 10-11). The sustained cultural contacts of 19th century with European countries, such as recruiting Iranian students for foreign languages learning language and technological science of the Europe, has made western countries’ cultural productions a rich source for Iranian modernisation (see Abrahamian, 2008, pp. 39-40; Azadibougar & Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2019; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014; Karimi-Hakkak,

2009; Karoubi, 2017). For instance, in the early 20th century, translations of short stories and novels from French served as literary models for the first Iranian novels and short stories (Mirabedini, 2018). The notable contributions of translation to the literature and scientific knowledge production of Iran is indisputable.

### *The Emergence of Print and the Rise of Translations in Iran*

Another striking similarity between contemporary Iran and 16th century England is that print is a recent phenomenon. It was in the 19th century that lithography was introduced in Iran by a court intellectual (Floor, 1990).[5] However, it was only in 1897 that typography became popular and a modern printing press was imported to Tehran (Floor, 1990). The sharp rise in translation is concomitant with the import of offset printing to Tehran in mid-20th century. This consequently gave access to reading materials for the general public, aided by the growing literacy rate.[6]

The growth of translations from English to Persian was invigorated by the Franklin Book Program (FBP), "an American non-profit corporation seeking to aid development of indigenous book publishing in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America"(Smith, 2000). In Iran, the project began in 1954 and ended in 1979. There are opposing views about the incentives of the FBP. Smith (2000) claims that the program tended to assist "developing

[5] Mirza Saleh Shirazi was the court intellectual who introduced the lithography to Iranians. He was the first Iranian reporter and among the first students who was recruited to England for tertiary education, by the Qajar court. Retrieved from online edition of Encyclopaedia of Iranica http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cap-print-printing-a-persian-word-probably-derived-from-hindi-chapna-to-print-see-turner-no (access date: 17 June 2019).

[6] Today almost 99% of young adults and 90% of adults are literate in Iran. https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/iran_statistics.html (access date: 8 September 2018).

countries [to] publish their own books in their own languages" and put an end to consuming American products.[7] In propaganda studies, however, FBP has been viewed as a program aimed at culturally colonizing developing countries by inviting "'ordinary readers' to broaden their minds" with books representative of American ideas (Travis, 2013, p. 191). Both of these trends were prevalent in Iran, where almost 70% of Iranian publishers collaborated with the FBP, yet some established Iranian publishers such as Khaavar did not, as they also conceived the FBP as a way of promoting American life (Ghasemi, 2001, p. 56).

Whether conducted with colonial purposes or seeking autonomy for developing countries, FBP had a critical role in modernizing the publishing industry, forming reading habits, and advancing printing. At the time of its establishment, only fifty years of modern typography had passed in Iran (Floor, 1990). For the nascent publishing field, the FBP introduced principles of publishing including editing, book design, marketing and selling (Navabi, 1984). Furthermore the FBP sponsored a paper company and the expansion of printing capacity, schematized book distribution, trained writers, and managed a project that increased literacy by constructing school and libraries (Alinejad, 2016, pp. 7-29).

Another area of influence of the FBP concerned the assistance given to small publishing houses. Here, the FBP operated as a patron to publishing houses. That means they supported small publishing houses by providing original books, purchasing copyright, editing, formatting and translating books. On the copyright page of every book published through the FBP, one

[7] Former director of Princeton University Press and Franklin President between 1952 and 1967.

reads that the publishing venture was “in collaboration with Franklin publishing institution”. More than fifty publishers, who are now major publishers in Iran, collaborated with the FBP (Smith, 2000).

Homayoun San’atizadeh, an ingenious Iranian entrepreneur, was head of the FBP’s Tehran office.[8] San’atizadeh was not only a prominent business person, but also he was an author, translator and scholar who was enthralled by the “culture and history of Iran”.[9] He was a pioneer in the compilation of the first Iranian Encyclopedia, promoted literacy in Iran, and imported offset printing with FBP sponsorship. The launch of the FBP, however, is regarded as his life’s “masterpiece” (Alinejad, 2016, p. 17). The reason for this is that translation between 1950s and 1970s was an activity consciously modelled on Western publishing practice. The Iranians who collaborated with FBP, particularly San’atizadeh, were nationalists who had been highly concerned with promoting Iranian culture by means of translation, and by introducing publishing and the technology of offset printing to Iran. Improving Iranians’ literacy, publishing textbooks and recruiting publishers to learn publishing principles in the US signified that the

[8] San’atizadeh’s exhibitions of Photographs, posters, paintings and sculptures in Tehran tended to attract “a sizeable crowd of mostly foreign residents” (Alinejad, 2011). The position was offered to him by “the cultural attaché to the American Embassy, accompanied by three board members of the Franklin Book Program”(Alinejad, 2011). Initially, San’atizadeh refused their request for managing the program in Iran, however, after scrutinizing the books, he reconsidered their offer, and decided to collaborate with them (Alinejad, 2011). San’atizadeh, as a nationalist, had a significant role in turning the program into an immediate success to the benefit of Iran’s publishing industry.

[9] San’atizadeh founded Pars paper company, Kish pearling company, San'ati orphanage, Zahra rose water company, among others (see Alinejad, 2016, p. 9).

initial objective of the program— as a form of cultural colonization — also fruitfully served the modernization of Iran's cultural arena.

As I mentioned in the section above, the emergence of print, particularly offset printing, in Iran was in line with the rise in the number of translations. Ease of access to Anglo-American literature through the FBP, along with the increasing rate of literacy, has opened windows to Iranian readers which would not be possible without translators. I suggest that translators in post-revolutionary Iran borrow their prestigious status to some extent from the pioneers who worked with the FBP and worked hard to expand their view of the world. These pioneers include recognised Iranian politicians, authors, poets and intellectuals.

The following section sheds light on one of the consequences of the emergence of print in a copyright-free context: retranslations.

### *The Laws of (Re)translation in Iran*

Another similarity between post-revolutionary Iran and Renaissance England lies in their copyright-free context and the strong production of retranslations, that is multiple translations of a single text. However, the context of Iran is different in a number of respects. More than a century has passed since the emergence of the first international copyright convention known as the Berne Convention (1886). [10] Iran, while having national copyright laws to protect the right of authors and translators in Iran, is not a signatory to any international copyright laws

[10] A convention protecting producers' literary, artistic and intellectual rights, ratified in Berne, 1886. Retrieved from http://www.wipo.int/treaties/en/ip/berne/ (access date: 10 September 2018).

including the Berne Convention and Universal Copyright Conventions (UCC).[11] At the time of the FBP, books used to be copyrighted. For instance, as figure 1. 2 displays, these books were called "authorized translations" (see figure 1. 2). This was because the program was mainly conducted by Americans and they had to purchase the rights from the authors. However, after the closure of the FBP in 1977, these books remained in the Iranian market without any organization to ensure protection of the intellectual property law.

This is an authorized translation of
THE CATCHER IN THE RYE
by J. D. Salinger.
Copyright 1946, 1948, 1951 by J. D. Salinger.
Published by Little Brown & Co., Boston, Massachusetts

باهمکاری مؤسسه انتشارات فرانکلین

چاپ این کتاب بروز هزار نسخه در شهریور ماه یک هزار و سیصد و چهل و پنج خورشیدی
در چاپخانهٔ درخشان به پایان رسید.

حق چاپ محفوظ است

Figure 1. 2 Persian translation of *The Catcher in the Rye* translation, copyright page

I will detail the reasons why Iran has not yet joined international copyright conventions in chapter five. But here I should briefly mention that the publishers' unwillingness to face the legal and financial formalities of acquiring book rights, and cultural impediments including incompetency in English language have served as common justifications for hesitations toward

[11] The Universal Copyright Convention, signed in Geneva, is also one of the major copyright conventions in effect since 1952.

joining copyright conventions (see Emami, 1993, 2006b, 2006c, 2006d, 2006e). Iran still resists becoming a member of any copyright conventions.[12] The reasons given respond to the Western's exploitation of Iran, resisting the agenda of previous Iranian rulers, being economically disadvantageous, and restraining the freedom of translators.[13]

This has promoted the production of retranslations, which was also prevalent in Renaissance Europe (Rizzi & Troup, 2018, p. 4). These Iranian retranslations are "active retranslations," which refer to retranslations "sharing virtually the same cultural location and generation," and produced in a state of rivalry (Pym, 1998, pp. 82-83). In Iran, the lack of international copyright conventions has facilitated the appearance of different translations of the same text in a short period of time. For instance, 77 different translations of *Animal Farm*, out of 97 have been published after 2010. Award-winning best-sellers, classic, and popular books are commonly selected for further translations.[14] The study of active retranslations, as Pym (1998, p. 84) proposes, is revealing in terms of translators' roles in relation to "publishers, readers and intercultural politics" (Pym, 1998, p. 84). Active retranslation puts the emphasis on

[12] Since 2001, Iran is a member of World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) a self-funding agency of the United Nations. However, being the member of WIPO does not mean that international copyright laws are effective.

[13] The Pahlavi dynasty, founded by Reza Shah (1878-1944), ruled Iran between 1925-1979. The last king, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi (1919-1980), made attempts at Iran's modernisation (See Ansari, 2014). Attempts to join the Universal Copyright Convention of 1952 began and continued during the Pahlavi dynasty, however, with the Islamic Revolution they were ceased (Emami, 1993). The anti-western and anti-Pahlavi attitudes of post-revolutionary Iran considered joining U.C.C to be a Pahlavi agenda, hence, resistance to joining copyright conventions equals fighting the dictatorship of the Pahlavi's (Emami, 2006e, p. 330).

[14] Throughout my thesis, rather than using 'source text', I use "start text" as the text that we translate from (Pym, 2014, pp. 1-2).

the agents of translation rather than offering a culturally and linguistically updated version of the first translation.

Censorship and book licensing were common in Protestant Renaissance England and Counter-reformation Europe (see Shuger, 2006). Similarly, in Iran, we see censorship driven by the religious principles of Islam controlling the publishing industry. Iranian censorship is religiously based, as the government is theocratic. This theocratic context of post-revolutionary Iran values the discourse of nativism.[15] Following the anti-western discourses of the Islamic Revolution, a cultural war against the so called "foreign" has always been encouraged by the regime, and the "foreign" in Iran's official discourse has been devalued in several ways. First, the Cultural Revolution (1980-1983) resulted in the closure of universities, dismissal of university professors, and redesigning of educational curricula in the humanities. But then post-revolutionary Iran encouraged the outward looking trend of translation. Officials have insisted on promoting the Iranian-Islamic culture by means of the translation of Islamic and literary Persian texts into other languages. *The Centre for the Translation and Publication*, for instance, was founded by the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution in 2010.[16]

---

[15] Boroujerdi (1996) by studying intellectual field of Iran has argued that nativism has been the fundamental discourse of Iran's intellectuals and considers the victory of the Islamic Revolution as a victory of Nativism.

[16]" مرکز ساماندهی ترجمه و نشر معارف اسلامی و علوم انسانی ."

The Persian title's literal translation is "Centre for Organizing translation and publication of Islamic Education and Humanities".

"The Supreme Cultural Revolution Council (SCRC, also known as the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution), a conservative-dominated body based in Qom, was set up at the time of Ayatollah Khomeini. Its decisions can only be overruled by Iran's Supreme Leader. Most of its members were appointed by Ayatollah Khamenei, Khomeini's

Furthermore, the production of translations is monitored by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (MCIG), the major authority for issuing publishing permits for any cultural products.[17] This is to ensure "the society [is protected] from influences of alien cultures".[18] The reason is to promote the Islamic values of the Revolution through obligatory publishing permits that must be obtained by the publishers (see chapter four for a full discussion of publishing permits).

The inconsistent comments of censors have generated a volatile situation which is also comparable to "the uncertain situation" of Renaissance Europe (Munari, 2014). In the second half of the sixteenth century Europe was pervaded by "contradictory dictates of censors" (Munari, 2014). In Iran, the eclectic tastes of censors resulted in varying degrees of alterations in translated texts. Lack of international copyright, as I discussed in the previous section, allows translators to make alterations to the translated text at the level of words, sentences, paragraphs and even storyline if the MCIG asks for it.

In this situation, it is expected translations be highly politicized. Heilbron & Sapiro, following Sapiro (2003) remind that "the constraints upon production and circulation of symbolic goods and upon international cultural exchanges" are between two extremes of

successor." Retrieved from https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iran/scrc.htm (access date: 8 September 2018).

[17] Hereafter, MCIG.

[18] Retrieved from https://www.farhang.gov.ir/en/profileofministry/responsibilities (access date: 19 July 2019). Founded in 1978 by Council of Islamic Revolution. https://www.farhang.gov.ir/en/profileofministry/history (access date: 01 September 2018).

"politicization and commercialization" (2007, p. 97). The censorial context could suggest "the production and circulation of symbolic goods […] to be highly politicized from the outset" (Heilbron & Sapiro, 2007, p. 97). However, as my study shows in chapter four, due to the role that translators are playing in negotiating official rules with the representatives of the MCIG, translated books are less politicized than before. As I show in chapter four, Iranian translators, through their ability to convince the MCIG via direct and indirect negotiations, play a key role in introducing new books to the Iranian audience.

Due to economic sanctions imposed by Western countries, accessing Western start texts is restricted and costly. Limited international commercial relations, essential in purchasing books, have become a barrier. Visa requirements for travelling overseas, especially to Western countries, and unstable currency rates also restrain access to world literature. At the same time, the Islamic revolution had negative impacts on Iranian authors' literary production. Their works needed to get publishing permits and submit to post-revolutionary ideologies. Some Iranian authors migrated or were exiled after the revolution. Those remaining in Iran had either to conform to censorship or give up publishing their books. The temporary recession in the book market due to the Islamic and Cultural Revolutions and the Iran-Iraq war created a vacuum in the literary field of Iran during the 1980s.

The difficulties in accessing new literary works pushed translators and publishers towards the practice of retranslation and/or rewriting of already published books, in order to satisfy the market's demands and survive in their business. Free access to the already available texts intensified competition in the translation market. For example, in a short period of time

different translations of a given text by different translators and publishers were produced (chapter three).

The emergence of the internet in the mid-1990s also aided the publishing industry in several ways. Access to e-books was facilitated, and one could effortlessly download at least copyright-free books. The "democratic potential" of the internet, as well, offered a platform for challenging the government's hegemony (see Rahimi, 2003). Iranian authors who had been frustrated with censorship found blogging to be a way to publish their works uncensored (see Atwood, 2012). For translators, also, as I will demonstrate in chapter three, online social media provide a way to voice their objections to censorship, engage with readers, and increase their visibility. For ordinary readers of translations, the collaborative translation of popular texts serves as a way to speed up the translation of a text, or, in more complex cases, to challenge hegemony (see Saadat, 2017). Digitization serves as a powerful instrument to promote a democratic attitude toward cultural productions (see chapter three).

So far, I have contextualized my study by outlining the major socio-cultural factors conditioning Iranian translators' practice of literary translation. In the following sections, I will contextualize my research in light of sociological approaches to Translation studies. Then, I will provide a review of the related literature. The order of the literature review is informed by the thesis' structure. I will elaborate how I am going to explore the mechanisms of the social space of translated books in Iran, and the relations among its agents.

## Literature Review

From the beginning of 1990s, scholars started to strongly emphasize the mediating role of translators in the process of translation and intercultural exchange (see, for instance, Heilbron, 2012; Pym, 1998; Venuti, 1986; Venuti, 1995).[19] The sociology of translation is marked by its focus on the agents of translation and its view of translation as a social practice. [20] In line with the sociological turn in translation studies, Esmaeil Haddadian-Moghaddam (2014) carried out a first sociological study of the translational context of Iran in English. In his book, Haddadian-Moghaddam examines the agency of translators in Iran since the 19th century.[21] Here, I would like to review his significant contribution to translation in post-revolutionary Iran and explain how my study builds on and extends his scholarship.

Haddadian-Moghaddam's study addresses and identifies some of the issues historically conditioning the practice of literary translations in Iran. His book opens with the question of why Iranian publishers and translators practice "a profession that supposedly brought little or

[19] This paradigmatic shift, or "turn" (see Bassnett & Lefevere, 1990; Snell-Hornby, 2006) is identified as a "sociological turn" by Wolf in 2005 (in Snell-Hornby, 2006, p. 172). The booming field of research has reached such a point that Chesterman (2009) identifies a new subfield of "translator studies" that "focuses primarily and explicitly on the agents involved in translation" (p.20).

[20] Agents of translation include anyone who plays a role in the production and consuming the translated text. In my study, it includes whoever provides the start text, from friends, family members, publishers, even authors (see chapter five) to readers (see J. Milton & P. Bandia, 2009; Sager, 1994; Shuttleworth & Cowie, 1997). In translation studies, the sociological approach can be traced in James S. Holmes' pivotal paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (1987). Functional theories of translation, specifically Justa Hölz-Mänttäri's "translatorial action", are pioneers in taking into account the role of translators in translations. (for a full discussion of functional theories of translation, see Pym, 2014, pp. 43-61)

[21] For a full review of the translation tradition in Iran see also *The Persian Tradition* (Azadibougar & Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2019). There are, also, a few other translation scholars in Iran who devoted their life to research on translation. Their works are published in both Persian and English. However, since the works are published, mainly, in Iranian journals, they were mostly inaccessible from Australia.

no money, but only recognition and oftentimes trouble with state censorship" (Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014, p. 3). His focus is on novels translated from English into Persian. The main questions he asks are "who decides which novel to translate?", "what motivates translators and publishers to translate and produce novels from English?" and "what constrains or increases their agency in translation and production of novels from English?"(Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014, p. 4). I address questions similar to Haddadian-Moghaddam's. In my thesis, I seek more nuanced answers to these questions. My research suggests that making money or not depends almost entirely on the status of the translators, regardless of whether they are amateur or non-amateur, literary or non-literary, part-time or full-time translators. My point of departure is to shed new light on the agency of translators and its reception by publishers and readers.

Haddadian-Moghaddam tackles four case-studies from the post-revolutionary era.[22] He begins with an overview of "the selection of titles, the motivations of agents of translation, and censorship" as well as a descriptive analysis of the context in contemporary Iran (2014, p. 118). He carries out surveys, textual and paratextual analyses of two translated books from English, namely *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen, 1813) and *The War of End of the World* (Vargas Liosa, 1984). His final case study is based on interviews with three Iranian women translators. The case studies ask who makes decision about what to translate (publisher or translator?) and the translators' motivations (economic and non-economic). For his analysis, Haddadian-Moghaddam draw on Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and capital, which I also use in

[22] The choice of case studies has already been criticised as not being in line with the objectives of research (see Chesterman, 2017, pp. 638-639).

my study of translators in Iran. His study is a fundamental springboard for my research. Haddadian-Moghaddam offers a rich "mosaic, with many details" that invites more investigation (Chesterman, 2017, p. 640).

Following from Haddadian-Moghaddam's study, I offer a more in-depth analysis of how Iranian translators collaborate and interact with the other agents engaged in the process of publishing translation. I also ask why some translators appear to have more authority than others. There is a hierarchical and collaborative relationship between translators, editors and publishers that is yet to be fully explored.

Haddadian-Moghaddam chose to conduct a survey aiming to provide an account of translators' perceptions of "their positions in the publishing field, their professional trajectory, and motivations, censorship, and copyright" (2014, p. 129). The responses to the survey are extremely valuable and invite further analysis. In my study, I carry out interviews with mid-career and senior translators as well. But I also interview publishers and offer an analysis of readers' reception via social media.

Haddadian-Moghaddam applies Bourdieu's publishing field's concept "as a starting point" for his analysis (Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014, p. 16). Because Iran is not a signatory of international copyright conventions and the publishing field is developing, the application of Bourdieu's concept presents challenges. In this respect, Gisèle Sapiro's (2008) application of

Bourdieu's publishing field to translation is helpful.[23] In her paper, Sapiro offers three directions for broadening Bourdieu's publishing field analysis and its relevance to translation. First, she puts forward two methodological questions about the "unit of analysis" and "relevant indicators" (Sapiro, 2008, p. 156). As the unit of analysis, a "minimal condition but not a sufficient one" is having a brand name with "autonomous publishing policy". The relevant indicators also refer to "juridical and financial status of publishing house", "commercial dependency", "weight on the market", "symbolic capital", and "share of translated literature in the publisher's list" (Sapiro, 2008, p. 156). The system of publishing in Iran works differently from the French one discussed by Bourdieu. Sapiro's more nuanced methodology shows how Bourdieu's theory cannot be applied directly to the Iranian context. To give an example, the "share of translated literature in the publisher's list", as addressed by Sapiro (2008, p. 156), could not be a working variable for Iran because, given the lack of international copyright conventions, one single book can be translated several times by several different translators and publishers. Thus, the variable does not display the real influence of the publisher in the translation market.

Also, the opposition between large- and small-scale publishers (in Sapiro, 2008, p.157) responds to a different mechanism in Iran. When all the publishers, ranging from one person who is also the translator, editor, production manager and project manager (see the case of

[23] Haddadian-Moghaddam (2014, p. 15) addresses this study and makes no claim that he is using Sapiro's works. But I found Sapiro's study essential in clarifying my position regarding the use of Bourdieu's publishing field analysis for the context of Iran.

Namvar Abedini in chapter two) to the most prestigious ones who have a strong reputation, have similar access to world literature, it is the reputation of the translation agents that has a real influence. The biggest publishers in Iran are still known by the name of their founders. Therefore, it is the individual who is doing the work that holds the symbolic capital, rather than the brands. As I demonstrate in chapter five, a translator's name is enough a reason for a book to be bought, regardless of who the author is, or who published the book.

I, therefore, focus on Bourdieu's concept of literary field because it explains translation as a social practice governed by complex practices of a developing publishing industry. Throughout my thesis, I argue that translators' activities are taking place in a literary translation field which has all the conditions that a field in Bourdieusian sense should have (see below). The reason I chose to analyse the literary translation field is twofold: first, it has been argued that translation practice does not form a field in Bourdieusian sense, however, the case of Iran, at least in terms of literary translation, shows signs of a field and translation as a social practice, as my study proves.[24] Second, focusing on the literary translation field allows a comprehensive

[24] In translation studies, there is debate over whether one can claim the existence of a translation field with its own economy and agents. Such uncertainty is pinpointed by Inghilleri (2003, p. 245) "as to whether the 'field' of translation can be regarded as a field in Bourdieu's sense". Or, Gouanvic (2014, p. 38), for instance, while examining the applicability of habitus to translation studies, closes his paper with: "I do not believe that, at present, translation constitutes an autonomous field whose stakes are specific and unified and in which translating agents struggle to achieve an optimum position at the expense of other translators". Another source of uncertainty of the existence of a translation field is that due to the unequal distribution of capitals and power struggles, fields are sites of hierarchical relations which, as Gouanvic (2014, p. 38) points out, is not the case as the translators do not "struggle to achieve and optimum position at the expense of other translators" (I will return to this issue in chapter two and chapter five).

analysis of its major agents, that is translators, publishers and official readers, and their logic of the practice.

This is what makes studying the context of Iran and the role of translators significant and differentiates it from translational contexts of contemporary western countries. My study takes into account the fact that printing is recent in Iran; Iran is not a member of international copyright conventions; and for any books to be published in Iran obtaining publishing permit is mandatory. To date, these factors have been taken into little consideration.

The focus of my research on the role of translators in distributing English literature leads me to consider the sociology of agents, which also touches upon the sociology of translations as cultural products.[25] This is because my field of inquiry is "not only the agents in the production and reception of translation," that includes Iranian translators, publishers, editors, official and ordinary readers, "but also their shaping role in the respective power relations and the relevance of the translation as a cultural product" (Wolf, 2007, pp. 16-17).[26]

[25] With the rise in the sociology of translation, scholars both from translation studies and sociology put forward different approaches to study the translator's social role. For instance, Chesterman (2006, p. 12) proposes "the sociology of translations as products", "the sociology of translators" and "the sociology of translating". In the same vein, Wolf (2007, pp. 14-18) identifies three patterns in researching the sociology of translation as the: "sociology of agents"; "sociology of the translation process"; "sociology of the cultural product". The categories, respectively, refer to the study of "the agents active in translation production, another which emphasizes the 'translation process'" and the study of "the construction of social identities"(Wolf, 2007, p. 13).

[26] One of the reviewers has asked me to consider other agents such as authors, journalists and editors. his makes a very useful suggestion to include a discussion of other stakeholders, however, due to the nature of my research questions, that are centred around translators, such a discussion is beyond the scope my research. I thank the assessor for this very interesting suggestion which I aim to follow up in future research projects.

Bourdieu's field analysis is a key step for an in-depth and overarching contextualization of cases (see Coldiron, 2012, p. 198; Simeoni, 2007, p. 188; Toury, 2012, p. 23). To understand any social practices, Bourdieu argues that, one should study the field or "social space" of the activities of the agents (2005, p. 148). To contextualize the practice of literary translation, for a better understanding of the translator's role, I draw on Bourdieu's often-cited definition of field:

> Fields are historically constituted areas of activity with their specific institutions and own laws of functioning. The existence of specialised and relatively autonomous fields is correlative with the existence of specific stakes and interests; via the inseparably economic and psychological investments that they arouse in agents endowed with a certain habitus, the field and its stakes (themselves produced as such by power relations and struggle in order to transform the power relations that are constitutive of the field) produce investments of time, money, work, etc. ... In other words, interest is at once a conditioning of the functioning of a field, in so far as it is what 'gets people moving', what makes them get together, compete and struggle with each other, and a product of the way the field functions. (Bourdieu, 1990, pp.87-88 in Inghilleri, 2005, p. 135)

My understanding of field is close to Rakefet Sela-Sheffy's: a "stratified space of positions, with people struggling to occupy these positions, driven by specific kind of incentives and gratifications"(Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 11). Iranian translators, based on the status that they acquire in the field, access different resources. For instance, they have different contracts. Amateur translators are expected to pay money to get their works published, or at best they are not paid. But senior translators, as I call them, select a start text, translate the work, and publishers willingly publish their book with contracts similar to Iranian authors. The given

definition of field allows for better understanding of the translator's agency in their practice of translation.

The literary translation field that I aim at outlining is a subfield of the world literature. It is a hierarchical, dynamic and competitive field which has "its own economy" and "its own history" (Casanova, 2004). In Iran, competition and rivalry in the literary translation field can be seen in the pervasiveness of active retranslations, or parallel translations, of a single book (see chapters two and three). There are different types of economic and non-economic capitals at stake in the field.[27] I have traced throughout my chapters what the advantages and disadvantages of being a translator in Iran are, to identify what forces are at stake or what capitals translators are struggling for. These are economic, symbolic (prestige, status), social (connections and networks) advantages to the Iranian translators in the field over which they struggle that includes social recognition, prestige or whatever non-economic that elevates and establish their status in literary translation field.

It is in this context that translators import literary capitals from English into Persian.[28] As a process of "accumulation of capital" (see Casanova, 2012, p. 290) in the international literary

[27] Bourdieu (2011, p. 46) defines capital as "accumulated labour (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 labour" and "it is what makes the game of society".

[28] Literary capital, as Casanova (2004, pp. 14-17) defines it, consists of "material objects" that are valued based on the "age" of literature, volume of such wealth, "degree of recognition that is granted to it and, on its legitimacy," (p. 16). "Literariness" of the language is also another crucial factor of literary capital which means "certain languages, by virtue of the prestige of the texts written in them, are reputed to be more literary than others, to embody literature" (Casanova, 2004, p. 17). Persian as a language of small countries, as Casanova (2004, p. 256)

field of literary exchanges, study of this process allows better understanding of how this process looks like for Iran. Translation, due to the "structural inequality [between English and Persian language]", is "a power struggle" (Casanova, 2012, p. 290) which might be a claim for Iran's confiscated patrimony. Therefore, the role Iranian translators play in this struggle is critical as they are not only a mere intermediary but also, "creator[s] of literary value" (Casanova, 2004, p. 14).

To understand the choices of translators in the literary translation field I draw on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*.[29] Bourdieu (1990, p. 53) defines habitus as

> systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize 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. Objectively "regulated" and "regular" without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor.

---

labels it, is a dominated language in comparison with English as it has "relatively few speakers, native or polyglot" and despite its history and "sizeable stock of literary credit, are unrecognized outside their national boundaries".

[29] There is a vast literature on habitus in translations studies. Simeoni (1998) in introducing habitus, and to criticise Toury's norms, conclude his study with the recognition of western translators' habitus as being subservient. Moira Inghilleri (2003) adds that "translators/interpreters are endowed with specialised competences that both generate and are generated by forms of *linguistic and cultural capital* which, though clearly tied to other fields, are uniquely acquired and differently enacted in particular contexts of training and practice"(Inghilleri, 2003, p. 245). *The Translator* journal (2005) published a special issue which includes variety of contributions employing Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field, capital and *illusio*. Gouanvic (2014) in "Is *Habitus* as Conceived by Pierre Bourdieu Soluble in Translation Studies?" (2014, p.31) ponders the applicability and legitimacy of the concept in translation studies. Gouanvic (2014, p.33) explains that "The habitus of the translator is formed exclusively in exercising his or her trade, which is designated as belonging to the "specific habitus" that its defining factor of a bicultural disciplinary. He studies specific habitus of two American translators by reflecting on their social trajectories including their biography, education and profession. All these studies demonstrate the applicability of habitus to the study of translations and translators.

The concept of habitus draws attention to the "principles underlying and generating" social practices, in the case of my study, the practice of literary translation (Maton, 2014, p. 55). I discovered that there are unwritten rules shared among translators that under censorship, national copyright laws, and the intense competition in the market encourage practices of collaboration, retranslation, and negotiation. This illustrates that Iranian translators have developed a sense of habitus in the literary translation field and they seem to be aware of what Bourdieu calls "logic of the practice" (2000). For newcomers, the "'feel for the game'" requires "prolonged immersion within a field to develop" (Maton, 2014, p. 53). That is the reason why Iranian newcomers tend to consult senior literary translators who have been in the literary translation field for several years.

This is best demonstrated with regard to the translators' strategies in response to the official rules for obtaining a publishing permit. Particularly in chapter four, I unravel translators' strategies to cope with state censorship or what Bourdieu terms "orthodoxy" and "heterodoxy". These words respond to "divergence and distinction" in the field, that is "strategies taken by actors in a certain field, under certain circumstances" (in Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 5). Through my interviews with translators I demonstrate how translators have consciously and performatively developed a form of practical logic which is based on the unwritten rules of the game or the habitus of the field.

Iranian translators, as I discuss across all the chapters, make decisions based on their understanding of the mechanism of their field of practice (for instance, see chapter two on how translators, by raising visibility of their collaborative practice, attempt to ease possible

criticisms). The concept of habitus, therefore, is a powerful analytical tool to understand the shared strategies among translators working in Iranian literary translation field which has endowed them with visibility.

So far, I have explained how Bourdieu's theoretical framework informs my analysis of the mechanisms of the literary translation field and translators' actions. To construct a thorough sociological analysis, however, "the whole set of relations within which translations are produced and circulated" should be considered, as Heilbron and Sapiro (2007, p. 94) suggest. These relations include the collaboration of translators. Iranian translators collaborate with other people to be able to participate in the translation field. They collaborate with their friends or family to provide books for translations; they collaborate with other translators to produce a translation; they collaborate with editors to revise the text, with publishers for submitting their translations to the MCIG and for obtaining publishing permit, with printers for ensuring the quality of the book, and with readers through asking for their comments on their translation and so on. Therefore, in all my chapters, collaboration is a key theme. While Bourdieu's theory does not allow enough space for collaboration among agents (see Chesterman, 2006; Kinnuen & Koskinen, 2010) collaboration is central to Latour's framework since "structure and power", for him, emerge from interactions (Abdallah, 2015, p. 112). Combining these theories, therefore, allows me to consider the role and agency of translators both at the macro and structural levels.

The next section provides a literature review on collaborative translation with more focus on how the conceptual tools of Actor-Network Theory's (ANT) (based on Bruno Latour) guide me

through my analysis. It is followed by a section on retranslation, censorship and visibility. The review of scholarship on collaboration in translation is then followed by a review of literature on retranslation, censorship, and visibility. The order in which I review these concepts and practices is informed by the structure of my thesis.

### *Collaboration*

In her article *Unexpected Allies*, Buzelin (2005) persuasively elaborates on how Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT) and Bourdieu's field theory complement each other and allow further analysis in translation studies. In ANT, the focus is on the micro-level interaction of agents, here translators' collaboration with other authors, translators, editors, publishers, and readers. These interactions are performed in *networks*, i.e. sets of connections which include human and non-human actors (Latour, 1997, p. 2). This notion is useful for the analysis of collaboration in my thesis. As I already explained in the previous section, the focus of Bourdieu's practice theory is on the competition and struggles in the field, at the macro-level structure. However, as Buzelin (2005, pp. 208-209) rightly notices, translators' agency is not only in "many strategies, negotiations, struggles, conflicts-but also alliances". In my study, I borrow ANT's conceptual tools to account for translators' networks and their micro-level interactions. My choice of ANT is also in line with the current trend in translation studies which highlights the role of translators' collaborators and the implication of their collaboration in their agency and, I would like to argue, their visibility.

Previous scholars have highlighted the many people involved in the process of producing translations (see J. Milton & P. Bandia, 2009; Solum, 2017; Summers, 2017). More recently, attention has been drawn to the importance of the interactions of translators with

other agents in the process of translation from the Renaissance (Bistué, 2011, 2013, 2017; Rizzi, 2017, 2018a) to the age of technology (Jiménez-Crespo, 2017; Saadat, 2017; Zielinska-Elliott & Kaminka, 2017). By now, it is well established that translation is a collaborative practice in essence (see for instance Alfer, 2017; Cordingley & Frigau Manning, 2017; Jansen & Wegener, 2013).

Studies of collaboration argue that collaboration is intrinsic to translation. In this light, translation needs to be redefined. In the same vein, for instance, the traditional belief that translation is a unifying process, that it seeks to be equal with the original, has been persuasively contested by Bistué (2013). Bistué focuses on team translation, defined as "two or more translators, each an expert in one of the languages involved, collaborated to produce a translation" and multilingual translations which are texts "in which different versions, in different languages, are carefully combined and explicitly placed side by side on the same page" (p. 1). Throughout her book, Bistué (2013, p. 3) argues that "the practice of translating necessarily involves, at least, two versions…a doubling of versions that is intrinsic to the practice". The inherent multiplicity in translation is formalized by Bistué (2013) "either in the fact that different persons actually occupy different writing and reading positions, or in the material juxtaposition of alternative versions on the same page" (p.1).

Alexa Alfer, through her notion of translaboration — a combination of translation and collaboration — draws attention to the broader sociological implications of collaborative translation that is what the outcome of such a translaborative spaces may be in the broader social context (see Alfer, 2015, 2017). This idea is taken up by Shabnam Saadat (2017) to

explore one of the many translaborative spaces in Iran, online collaborative translation. She compares two Persian translations of *A Song of Ice and Fire* (Martin, 1996), one produced online by readers and one officially published and distributed in the translation market. She demonstrates that the aim of collaborative online translation is to produce an uncensored version of the book, thus, challenging the hegemonic Islamic discourse in Iran (Saadat, 2017).

The call to acknowledge the role of the collaborators of translators, and to define the role of translators in relation to other agents, originates from literary theories which questioned the individual status of the author (see Foucault, 1979). In their introduction to *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age,* Cordingley and Frigau Manning (2017) convincingly argue that translation is inherently a collaborative process. They argue that the individualistic image of the translators has disguised their collaboration with the other translating agents. Therefore, their volume is devoted to "reclaim the plurality of translating" by re-defining translators in relation to their interactions with multiple agents such as editors, institutions, informants and other translators, in addition to authors (Cordingley & Manning, 2017, p. 4).

Reclaiming the "plurality of translating" resembles accounting "for the hybrid, collective and 'networky' character of the translating agent" (Buzelin, 2005, p. 216). Iranian translators, at least, those interviewed and reviewed in my study, conspicuously manifest their collaborative practices in the paratext of the book. In translated books, as I show in chapter two, it is not uncommon to encounter prefaces of translators, publishers, and editors that describe how the decisions were made regarding translation of the respective volume. But how might their

collaborations be perceived by readers? And what implications might collaboration have on their visibility?

This issue is partly noticed by Alfer (2017) and by Jansen and Wegener (2013, p. 1). Venuti blames an "individualistic concept of authorship" for the invisibility of translators. But it seems that few studies have so far noticed how characterizing translation practice as collaborative may impact on the status of translators. Huss raises this concern by saying that diffusing translators' agency among their network of collaborators "runs the risk of undoing gains in the status of the translator" (2019, p. 391) . This pushes me to ask why Iranian translators give visibility to their collaborators and how this affects their status. Iranian translators, by giving visibility to their collaborators and entering "a translaborative space", seem both claim their translatorship and negotiate different levels of visibility for themselves.

My study therefore considers collaborative translation both in a network of translators that is "a set of routes and connections" (Buzelin, 2007, p. 137), and in production process or *translation* in ANT's sense. Translation in this view is regarded as "a factor of displacement, negotiation, change and hybridity" (Buzelin, 2005, p. 201). Chapter two begins with evidence from networks of collaborative translation: a team of translators who work together on the same project, some with, some without a supervisor., *Harry Potter* books represent a pertinent example in this context. The role of translators in the process of collaborative translation are understood in terms of their claims of translatorship. Jansen and Wegener (2013) formulate declarative, executive, and revisionary translatorship based on Harold Love's (2002) taxonomy of authorship. They also maintain that "translation always involves precursory authorship, since

translations always derive […] from pre-existing texts" (p.23). The concept of "multiple translatorship" thus underscores the notion that "the translator's agency is intertwined and entangled with that of other active parties to the translation during the publication process" (Jansen & Wegener, 2013), and provides helpful categories to understand the portioning of roles between collaborators.

The analysis of the networks as they are presented in paratexts is cross-referenced with my interviews with Iranian translators to hear the voices of agents *"from the inside"* (see Buzelin, 2005, p. 197). I am well aware that ethnographic, monitoring and observing of the process of translation over an extensive period of time is proposed as the essential methodology for understanding the translational practices of the actor-networks (Buzelin, 2005, p. 205).[30] However, for my study, rather than being concerned with how specific networks are shaped, I am interested in untying how the outcome of the network and their collaboration might be perceived by readers.

I, now, move onto discussing the mezzo-level of collaboration in the same chapter, that is translators' collaboration with editors, publishers, and friends on the same project. Translators or publishers give visibility to the collaborations and production process of

[30] Another difficulty of dealing with ANT remains, as Serry (2000 in Buzelin, 2005, p. 208) pinpoints, in the fact that "agents take their decisions partly on the basis of intuition, using criteria built from practical experience". However, as Buzelin (2005, p. 208) rightly addresses "such processes are difficult to formalize [but it] does not make them less important to analyse, or at least to describe and document". Therefore, drawing on ANT lets us "reveal more efficiently the existence of translation networks which are not clearly visible at the field".

translations in order to negotiate and claim a legitimate space for themselves in the literary translation field. The collaboration of Iranian translators is manifested in different forms that can be summarized under three types of collaboration introduced by Andrea Rizzi (2018a). Rizzi highlights the multiple collaborative practices that Renaissance translators, editors and printers adopt to make themselves visible and claim their agency. These collaborations are understood as synchronous, "translator and printer working together on a new project", asynchronous, "translator, editor or printer expressly acknowledging the work of an earlier translator or editor", and concealed — a form which refers to "editors or translators availing themselves of earlier works by fellow scholars without acknowledgement" (Rizzi, 2018a, p. 119). Particularly, chapter two in this thesis investigates synchronous collaboration.

By adding extensive evidence from a non-Western context to previous scholarship, I demonstrate how Iranian translating agents, first, define a hybrid character for themselves, second, compete for and claim various degrees of visibility, and, finally, unsettle Western understandings of author-translator and translator-translator relations.

### *Retranslation*

Retranslation, in Iran, is a major consequence of the lack of firm copyright laws.[31] In translation studies, there are a few questions that translation scholars put forward regarding retranslations

[31] This issue is addressed in different news broadcasting and interviews with translators and publishers. Here are some links to the news on the issue of retranslations. News for retranslation of *The Stranger* https://www.khabaronline.ir/news/11364/قصه-نامکرر-ترجمه-های-مکرر, on retranslations of Dostoyevsky see: http://traductologie.blogfa.com/category/12 For a seminar on George Orwell's *Animal Farm* and 1984 see: https://www.irna.ir/news/83404013/بازترجمه-یک-اثر-باید-بر-ارزش-های-ترجمه-قبلی-بیفزاید for interviews on problematizing retranslations see: https://www.asriran.com/fa/news/669947/رایت-راهکار-%E2%80%8Cپیوستن-به-کپی

(see C. Alvstad & Rosa, 2015). Defining retranslation is the first step. In my study, retranslation refers to multiple translation of the same text, with the assumption that all these translations are relying on the original text.[32]

Relevant scholarship has highlighted several aspects of retranslation, and consider it a "complex" issue (see, for instance, Özlem Berk Albachten & Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, 2019). Some earlier attempts in the field are inspired by Goethe's (1819) logics of translation, that means retranslating "to achieve perfect identity with the original"(Goethe, 1992, p. 66). This is followed by Berman's (1990) idea that retranslations typically move in a linear pattern and correct the deficiencies of previous translations.[33] The linear movement of retranslations and claims of the so-called Retranslation Hypothesis (RH) have been widely challenged in Translation Studies and by now RH has been refuted, and several studies confirmed that

---

سامان-دادن-به-بازار-ترجمه and https://www.irna.ir/news/83317530/بازترجمه-ها-بیشتر-سوداگری-در-بازار-نشر-است (access date: 04 August 2019).

[32] In the case of Iran, it is a difficult task to identify which retranslation, even sometimes the first translation, is the first. This is due to the requirements for a publishing permit that may allow one translation to get published while others are waiting for the permit. Also, national copyright laws do not ask translators and publishers to provide bibliographical details of the start text such as the edition that they translate from.

[33] Retranslation is conducted with the claims of progression in the later versions to the extent that they ultimately unite with the start text (Berman, 1990; Goethe, 1819). Berman's article (1990) on the causations of retranslation, in the special issue of *Palimpsests*, marked the debates on the subject for more than two decades. Berman expounds the retranslation process as a move towards an improved version of translation which is 'closer' to the start text (in K. Koskinen & Paloposki, 2010, p. 295). In his "A Causal Model For Translation Studies", Chesterman (2000, p. 22) propounds the idea of RH by designating four interpretive principles. This includes the ideas that, first, retranslation is not revision; second, the later the translations, the closer to the start text (and the reverse); the distance between ST and TT is measurable by linguistic analysis; and, ultimately, only retranslations take the text to the point of becoming a "great translation" (Berman 1990 in Chesterman 2000, p.22). By drawing on translation universals "as feature[s] that [are] found … to characterize all translations" (p.3), Chesterman (2004) locates the Retranslation Hypothesis (RH) under "potential S-universals" which are concerned with "the way translators process the start text"(p. 7).

retranslations progress on a non-linear path (see Brownlie, 2006; Deane-Cox, 2014; Kaisa Koskinen, 2019; Susam-Sarajeva, 2003). For instance, Paloposki and Koskinen probe the RH in Finnish retranslations and conclude that “while there are numerous (re)translations that fit in the RH schema, there also exist several counter-examples” (2004, p. 36).

In Iran, research on retranslation is diverse, scattered, and limited to linguistic analysis and qualitative assessment of (re)translations. The RH has been tested by Vahid Dastjerdi and Mohammadi (2013) based on Persian retranslations of *Pride and Prejudice* (Austen, 1813). Through the comparison of the ST with its translation and retranslation of the novel, the authors concluded that the RH, in this case, “is valid to some extent”. However, retranslations, in the case of Iran, due to their pervasiveness, are far more complex than to being analysed in the light of linguistic changes alone. To complicate this picture, for instance, in Iran, eighteen retranslations of a single text may appear simultaneously in a single year (see chapter five), or a hundred retranslations of a text may come into being in 40 years (see chapter three). The lack of copyright conventions blurs the understanding as to whether they are translated from the original text or merely are rewritings of the previous translations. Sometimes they may even be plagiarism of previous translations. Until now, the issue of retranslation in Iran has been taken for granted; readers and scholars simply expect to see different translations of the same text. Further research, therefore, is required to answer the question of ‘why’ retranslations are conducted by considering socio-cultural factors beyond linguistic motivations.

With shifts toward sociological paradigms, this thesis highlights the role and subjectivity of translators and other agents behind the decision to retranslate a text. The emphasis is put on

the translator and the agents of translation. Anthony Pym (1998) distinguishes between "passive" and "active" retranslations. Passive retranslations "seem to be responding to long-term processes of linguistic or cultural change in the target community" (Pym, 1998, p. 82); active retranslations are characterized by rivalry and challenge. Given that active retranslations share location, time of production, and audience; they "must respond to something else" (Pym, 1998, p. 82). The emphasis of Pym on the role agents of translation play in this form of retranslation (see Pym, 1998, p. 83) encouraged me to select active retranslations as my case studies. This allowed me to understand and identify the advantages and disadvantages of retranslating for translators in Iran.

The advantages of retranslating a literary work include economic and non-economic benefits for translators and publishers. The economic motivations are obvious. Retranslations are less risky to invest in since their predecessors have already been sold successfully and thus ensure a favourable reception. Prize-winners, best-sellers and books with proven records of success in the book market are frequently retranslated and offered in the market. For newcomers, retranslating a book serves as a safe entry point to the literary translation field and a strategy to avoid possible criticism toward their practice. Certainly, one of the most appealing features of being a translator, in Iran, is the fame and social respect attached to it (see Kafi, Khoshsaligheh, & Hashemi, 2016). Retranslation is one of the multiple strategies that translators employ to enter the game of the literary translation field. In this case, retranslation seems to be a response to the *illusio* of the field. Bourdieu employs the concept of illusio to

"account for what allows agents to become invested, taken in and by the game" (Inghilleri, 2005, p. 136).

As for experienced translators, retranslation allows them to enhance their symbolic capital (see chapter three on translators' perspectives toward retranslation). My interviews with experienced translators and publishers uncover that they believe retranslation is a necessity for linguistic reasons such as the ageing of the language. However, when conducted by new-comers, retranslation is ascribed to the belief of being a profit-driven practice.

In her meticulous socio-cultural study of the retranslations of Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and George Sand's *Le Mare au Diable* into English, Sharon Deane-Cox (2014) draws on textual, paratextual and extratextual evidence to demonstrate that retranslations respond to sociocultural changes.[34] In Iran, this seems to be true, also, for retranslations of certain works such as *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 1945). *Animal Farm* provides opportunity for some translators and publishers to criticize governing politics in the society. Therefore, they tend to shape the reception of the text. In this sense, retranslations of *Animal Farm* are both assimilative and confrontational, (see C. Alvstad & Rosa, 2015, p. 10), they may be integrated with the previous (re)translations or "confront it … by pursuing different translational goals" or "features of challenge" (see Pym, 1998; Venuti, 2013). While the earlier translations of *Animal*

[34] Gustave Flaubert (1821-1880) was a French novelist who is recognised "as the prime mover of the realist school of French literature". His masterpiece is *Madame Bovary* which depicts bourgeois life in France (Dumesnil & Barzun, 2019). https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gustave-Flaubert (access date: 03 March 2020).

Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin (1804 – 1876), best known by her pseudonym George Sand was a French novelist. She is best known with her novels *Indiana* (1832) and *La Mare au diable* (1846). https://www.britannica.com/biography/George-Sand (access date: 03 March 2020).

*Farm* demonstrate covert signs of challenging previous translations, the later ones, due to the social changes, are used as a critique to socio-political context of Iran. Therefore, the scope that the new translations challenge is expanded.

This recalls Venuti (2013) and his argument of retranslation as a means of creation of values. Retranslations, according to Venuti (2013, p. 96), are "special case because the values that they create are doubly bound to the receiving situation". This is the reason that, in my analysis of retranslations, I also studied reception of retranslations through social media analysis (see the methodology section of this chapter). The rise in the number of active retranslations of *Animal Farm* is in line with the rise in the use of social media in Iran. It seems that discourse around *Animal Farm* in social media has attracted more retranslators to participate in a quest for democracy which, collaboratively, is shaped through extensive retranslations of the novel.

Studying retranslations in Iran is informative as it responds to and challenges many different patterns that have been studied so far. My approach to this issue is also novel as no previous studies has considered the reception of retranslations through social media analysis. Also, in comparison with previous studies, my research offers a more comprehensive view towards retranslation phenomena. I provide perspectives of translators and publishers towards retranslations and have obtained data on how and under what conditions translators retranslate and publishers ask for retranslations.

### *Censorship*

Censorship is one of the most significant constraints for the circulation of cultural goods and translation practice. Studying translators' decision-making processes under state censorship is crucial for understanding the translator's role vis-a-vis the MCIG's rules and regulations for translation productions. For my study, I draw on Francesca Billiani's (2014, p. 3) definition of censorship as "a form of manipulative rewriting of discourses by one agent or structure over another agent or structure, aiming at filtering the stream of information from one source to another". This is mainly because Billiani adds, "translation often, though not always, makes the source culture visible within, and accessible to, the target culture" (p. 3). In Iran, similar to other countries with a history of censorship, sensitive topics include broad categories of religious, moral and political issues.[35] However, the governing theocracy in Iran is highly concerned with disseminating Islamic discourse and reinforcing its principles, as the censors' comments demonstrate (see chapter four).

Research on censorship and translation is extensive and can be categorized under "institutional censorship", "self-censorship", "productive censorship" and "market censorship" (see Woods, 2019, pp. 511-523). In the context of Iran, it is mainly institutional censorship that has generated other types of censorship. By institutional censorship I refer to the obligatory submission of any books to the Book Bureau of the MCIG to obtain a publishing permit. Previous scholarship on this type of censorship suggests that translations, rather than being a

[35] Although Woods (2019, p. 512) includes censorship of aesthetic forms in the general categories of censorship, in Iran, due to the insufficient knowledge of the censors in the field of literary translation, this category is less the case in censorship (Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, pp. 92-96).

production of blind submission to the restrictive rules of censorship, are outcomes of complex negotiations between agents of translation and the censoring institutions. This is well-developed in an edited volume by Ní Chuilleanáin, Ó Cuilleanáin, and Parris (2009) *Translation and Censorship*. For instance, Piotr Kuhiwczak (2009) in "Censorship as a Collaborative Project: A Systemic Approach" argues that censorship is not always imposed by small groups who decree on behalf of a larger group of people, but is sometimes with the support of that larger group that censorship is exercised. Kuhiwczak (2009, pp. 48-50) provides examples from Bolshevik Russia, Nazi Germany and the Irish Censorship of Publications Act, where censorship is established with the support from, not all, but large groups of people to emphasize the collaborative side of censorship. Then, Kuhiwczak continues his study by focusing on censorship in the Soviet Union where it was "complex, multilayered, and well organized", and finding censorship in Soviet Russia a collaborative project and "labour-intensive"(Ní Chuilleanáin et al., 2009, p. 21). Or as Kate Sturge (2002) discusses, the strict centralised censorship under Nazi Germany was conducted by, and highly dependent on a network of actors.

In Iran, censorship is also complex and multifaceted and as I will argue in chapter four it has a productive side. Similar to what Kuhiwczak discusses, censorship is also a product of collaboration between a vast number of anonymous censors who usually do not know each other, and institutional organizations that more or less control the circulation of cultural commodities in Iran.[36] Obtaining a permit to publish a book is, also, highly reliant on

[36] Rarely censors may reveal their identity. As in one Iranian poet who is also working for the MCIG explicitly calls himself the Book Bureau's Authority but that means he is collaborating with the MCIG as a censor.

negotiations between translators/publishers and the representatives of the MCIG.[37] As I will show in chapter four, in the process of negotiations with the MCIG, translators play a crucial role in convincing the MCIG by insisting on their choices. The agency of translators in this process depends largely on their ability to convince the MCIG. My findings show that translations are neither mere results of conforming with the MCIG rules nor resisting them. Translators, based on their knowledge of the field, sometimes conform to the rules and sometimes resist, challenge, or negotiate the rules. This is partially because censors treat so-called sensitive issues very subjectively, and partly the result of translators' self-censorship to avoid possible consequences. The outcome of such negotiations following Brian Baer (2011) is "productive censorship". I will show in chapter four that how translators inform readers of their negotiations and how these negotiations allow reproduction of banned discourses.

In line with my theoretical framework, understanding how translators confront censorship in the field allows for understanding the habitus of the field. Bourdieu's notion of structural censorship is precisely applicable to the context of my study. Structural censorship as defined by Bourdieu, in his essay *Censorship and the Imposition of Form* (1991), refers to censorship in "the structure of the field itself which governs expression by governing both access to expression and the form of expression" (p. 138). Further, Billiani (2014, p. 8) delineates that "structural censorship occurs in the field within which a text circulates and is determined by the habitus of the agents belonging to that field". Translators' and publishers'

[37] See, for instance, Mahmood Karimi-Hakak (2003) memoir on his personal experience of negotiations with the authorities of the MCIG in the 1990s. Karimi-Hakkak is an Iranian author, poet, translator and theatre and film artist who has created over 60 stage and screen productions in the United States, Europe and his native Iran.

interviews in chapter four demonstrate how the agents of translation are following sets of unwritten rules in the censorial context of Iran. Translators employ strategies in confronting the MCIG's decisions, which they sometime share with other translators and readers. Bourdieu's conceptual tools are helpful in scrutinizing translation and censorship by directing attention to the volatile nature of the "relationship between everyday social practices and structures, on the one hand, and their symbolic and universal meaning on the other" (Billiani, 2014, p. 8).

This foregrounds that "the habitus is shaped in relation to the fluid position the agent occupies in the field" (Billiani, 2014, p. 8; Bourdieu, 1979, pp. 228-230). The fluid position of the agents in the literary translation field of Iran is witnessed through the multiple strategies that they draw on to shape their practice of translation. Therefore, my analysis of the role of translator through Bourdieu's notion of habitus, field and structural censorship provides examples of how censorship works in practical terms in relation to translation and translators' decision-making processes. It also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of textual manipulations which are the "result of those dialectic relations that produce constantly changing habitus circulating in" a certain field (Billiani, 2014, p. 9), which for this study is the literary translation field of Iran.

### *Visibility*

As I have already explained on page 1, the aim of this qualitative research project is to understand the dynamics of the visibility and the agency of Iranian literary translators. I focus on translators, rather than translations, and investigate the context in which they are working,

as other studies have done before me.[38] San'atizadeh, the director of the FBP in Iran, attracted "some of the most outstanding public figures and intellectuals as translators" who included iconic historians, Persian studies professors, philosophers, linguists, and scientists (See Smith, 2000). The collaboration of these people with the FBP improved the standing of translation and the status of translators in Iran considerably.

As mentioned earlier, the modern book design was also introduced for the first time by the FBP: the names of translators have been printed on the front cover since then. It was due to the translators' social profile at that time that they were credited on the front cover. Thus, they laid the ground for higher social 'visibility' of translators. The work of intellectuals as translators with the FBP, introducing world literature to Iranian readers, is in fact a major reason behind the current prestige of being a translator in Iran. Translators, in post-revolutionary Iran, regardless of their background or social status, have their name printed on the front cover, ID page, and spine.

In order to test the applicability of Venuti's concept of invisibility to Renaissance translators, Coldiron (2012) discusses the visibility of Renaissance translators and explains that "where invisibility of foreign elements and mediating translators points to devaluations of the foreign" visibility refers to "certain alternative potentials for valuing the foreign"(pp. 189-190). Visibility of the translator also implies that "the agencies of the translator and the presence of the foreign" carry different meanings across time and place (Coldiron, 2012, p. 190).

[38] See, for instance, (Chesterman, 2009; Pym, 1998; Simeoni, 1998; Venuti, 1995).

Considerable attention has been given to the textual and paratextual visibility of Renaissance translators (Coldiron, 2015; Fernández & Wilson-Lee, 2014; Rizzi, 2017, 2018b; H. Smith & Wilson, 2011). For Iranian translators, there are a few studies addressing translators' presence in terms of visibility (see for example Farahzad, 2017; Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014). Farahzad (2017), for instance, implicitly addressing the visibility of women translators since 1900s in Iran in terms of "hidden presence", "contested presence" and "professional presence". I say implicitly because Farahzad is more concerned with quantitative analysis of translated books by women translators and thematic analysis of the books in terms of genre.

In my research, instead, the pattern of translators' visibility is demonstrated through McLaughlin's (2008) analysis of visibility (see chapter five). McLaughlin's introduces overt, covert and invisible visibility. Overt visibility refers to "when the translation is marketed as such", covert visibility means when "it is obvious to the ideal reader that the translation is a translation", and invisible visibility is equated to the state of "the translators' voice" in the translated text which "is only 'audible' through linguistic analysis" (2008, p. 62). These forms of visibility can be identified through translators' paratextual and textual presence.

My analysis of visibility demonstrates three other forms of visibility: legal visibility, social visibility and reciprocal visibility. Legal visibility means recognition of the translators' right by law. Social visibility refers to the conspicuous presence of translators in the society through being famous and celebrity. Reciprocal visibility refers to the form of dialogue between the translator and readers as I, the translator, see you and value you and I, the reader, see you and

value you. These three forms of visibility have the potential to expand the overt visibility as proposed by McLaughlin (2008).

Throughout my thesis, analysis of the visibility of translators challenges, and underlines the inadequacy of, Venuti's (1995) linear history of translators' invisibility (see chapter five). The issue of fluent translation, that Venuti defined as one of the reasons for translators' second-order position, is suggested as a definition of good translation by Iranian translation theoreticians that increases the visibility of Iranian translators in Iran (again see chapter five). Translators' other strategies of self-fashioning, such as defining their status in relation to other translators, and particularly giving visibility to their collaborative practices allow them different degrees of visibility for themselves (see chapter two).

The legal status of translators, as another source of invisibility of translators according to Venuti, is investigated in chapter five. Iran's national copyright laws grant translators rights similar to that of authors in Iran. By drawing on a variety of paratextual evidence and data obtained from interview analysis, I elaborate on Iranian translators' paratextual and social visibility in the late 20th and 21st century in Iran. My study, therefore, places the emphasis on "re-historicizing invisibility" through approaching the significance of its "*alter idem*, visibility" (Coldiron, 2012, p. 189).

## Methodology

My reasearch falls under the rubric of context-oriented research as it focuses on the contextual factors shaping the practice of literary translation in contemporary Iran (Saldanha & O'Brien,

2014, p. 205). The main design is case-study method. My thesis consists of four case studies of (re)translations published in post-revolutionary Iran between 1979 and 2019. Each case, according to Susam-Sarajeva (2009, p. 40), is "a unit of translation or interpreting related activity, product, person, etc. in real life, which can only be studied or understood in the context in which it is embedded". Therefore, I selected cases, based on their specificity and capability to address the 'visibility' and 'collaboration' of translators. The primary texts for this study include Persian translations of the *Harry Potter* series and George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1945).[39] The unusually high number of retranslations makes these texts an excellent site for analysing questions of competition and collaboration in Iran.

The case studies in this thesis follow a conceptual order to respond to my research questions. The thesis starts with the analysis of micro-level interactions of translators, that is translators' networks and their collaborations (see chapter two) and moves on to the state of competition among different groups of translators through retranslations (see chapter three), and their encounters with the institutional powers (see chapter four), and finally to their visibility in the literary translation field (see chapter five).

Chapter two focuses on paratextual materials of collaboratively translated *Harry Potter* books. Out of 160 *Harry Potter* (re)translations, 22 books are translated by two or more translators. I selected five collaboratively translated books of *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood*

[39] *Harry Potter and the Orders of the Phoenix (2003)*, *Harry Potter and Half-Blood Prince (2005)*, *Harry Potter and Deathly Hollows (2007)*. Details of translations are listed in the bibliography.

*Prince* (Rowling, 2005a) on the abundance of their paratextual materials.[40] The second case study in this chapter draws on *Animal Farm* (1945), as the text has been (re)translated 97 times in Iran by different translators (between 1968 and 1 May 2019). I chose to work on this book because it epitomizes retranslation as a challenge to Iranian literary translators. Studying this case through paratextual and extratextual analysis, allows me to reflect on the visibility of literary translators over time, and the way they have exercised and preserved their agency.

Chapter four draws on extensive evidence collected from translators' and publishers' interviews in Tehran to identify their strategies vis-à-vis the MCIG. The interviews also illuminate the role that translators play in the context of translation. To cross-reference their statements, I used secondary resources for demonstrating comments made by censors on the translated texts and paratextual materials which display the actual implementation of the strategies.

Chapter five contains a case-study on *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* by J. K. Rowling (2003a) that was retranslated eighteen times in a single year. This case is going to address the visibility and agency of literary translators in Iran. It should be noted that Venuti (1995) considers international copyright law as an effective factor in the invisibility of translators. Iran, with a national copyright law in effect, and the international copyright law

[40] I cross-referenced my findings from the five retranslations with some other collaboratively translated *Harry Potter* books to increase the validity of my interpretation. This includes one translation from *Harry Potter and Deathly Hallows* and three (re)translations from *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix.*

disregarded, provides an interesting context to study the legal aspects of the visibility of translators.

This data will be extracted from secondary sources, archives and also through interviews. Secondary sources include books, articles and research projects conducted inside and outside of Iran to compare different views on the literary and cultural setting of modern Iran, as well as reviews and extratexts. Two Iranian databases will be of use: Noormags and Magiran. Noormags is a database for Islamic sciences and humanities which includes data based on more than 750 journals.[41] Magiran is a non-state digital database which covers more than 1500 Iranian publications which is accessible through paying its annual membership fee.[42]

### *Paratext*

As already discussed in this chapter, my study falls under the sociology of agents of translation and is concerned with the role of translators. Paratextual analysis is a major source of data in translation research, as it gives insights into the sociocultural context in which translation was produced (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002, p. 47). Paratextual analysis provides empirical evidence on the perception of translators of their role, their motivations, their translation method (see Hermans, 2014). Paratextual materials have also been used extensively for studying translators' visibility, collaboration and agency (see Coldiron, 2015; Paloposki, 2010; Rizzi, 2018a; Woods,

[41] Noormags is one of the largest online databases of Iranian journals and is launched by Computer Research Center of Islamic Sciences in Iran. See https://www.noormags.ir/view/en/about (access date: 26 September 2019).

[42] Magiran is also online database of periodical publications of Iran.

See: http://www.magiran.com/See https://www.magiran.com/help#About (access date: 26 September 2019).

2012). Iranian translators are highly visible in the paratexts of the books, and they employ diverse strategies of self-fashioning and self-presentations throughout their work.

Therefore, my question of Iranian translators' visibility and their role led me to employ Kathryn Batchelor's definition of paratext. Addressing the ambiguities of Genette's definition, [43] Batchelor (2018, p. 142) proposes a more comprehensive and function-based definition as "a paratext is a consciously crafted threshold for a text which has the potential to influence the way(s) in which the text is received". Paratextual materials in my study consist of book covers, prefaces, post-faces, acknowledgements, ID pages, translators' or publishers' interviews about the same book, and any materials that impact the reception of translators' role and visibility. In this way, analysis of paratext is revealing in terms of exploring how translators and publishers claim their agency and visibility and how it might be perceived by readers.

### *Oral History Interview*

My findings from paratextual analysis are also cross-referenced with interviews with Iranian translators and publishers. I employed oral history as a qualitative method of interview that is useful in "linking individual (micro level) experiences with cultural, historical or structural (macro level) phenomena" (Leavy, 2011, p. 5).[44] This was in line with my objectives for the research, and fits well with the theoretical frameworks. As I discussed, on the one hand,

[43] Paratext is originally defined as "what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public" (Genette, 1997, p. 1).

[44] The reason that I am not drawing on in-depth interviewing is the time allocation requirement. Spending a long period of time with the informants is not possible for a PhD research project of about three years. Also, life story interviewing is not relevant here since the focus in this type of interview is "the subjective essence of one person's entire life" (Atkinson, 2001).

critiques of Bourdieu's field theory criticize the theory for its individualistic definition of agency. On the other hand, ANT allow more space for collective agency of actors (see Buzelin, 2005). To link these theories, methodologically, therefore, I use oral history interviews to capture the experiences of the actors from within.

By conducting interviews, I explored the experience of translators in the literary context of Iran and the habitus of the field (see Kumiko, 2014). Interviews helped with identifying the nature of the relations between the translators, the publishers, and the MCIG. It allowed me to explore the factors that increased the visibility of translators. Interviews also helped me to cross-reference my findings from paratextual analysis.

Also, my question of translators' agency can be partially answered by analysing the personal accounts of translators, and their relations with other agents including institutions of power. Oral history interviews assist with "defining both community and individual identity" (R. C. Smith, 2001, p. 711) as well as "experiential knowledge of people living in the field site" (Leavy, 2011, p. 3). Leavy (2011, p. 15) addresses the usefulness of oral history in probing into "agency within shifting contexts". The fundamental historical, sociological, cultural and political changes since 1979 in the context of Iran, justifies the choice of oral history.

I designed two sets of questions for translators and publishers. They consist of open-ended questions, as informed by oral-history methods (Leavy, 2011, p. 9). I conducted interviews personally in Tehran with 10 translators and 5 publishers as participants of my

study.[45] The criteria for selecting both translators and publishers were to approach professionals with at least four years of experience in their respective roles, and being "currently involved in the activity" (Johnson & Weller, 2001, p. 497).[46] Such criteria ensured that these translators are familiar with the publishing process, translation market, translators, publishers, censorship, the MCIG, different types of contracts, and the national copyright law.

To identify these translators, I undertook a bibliographical search. In this step, I used volumes 4 and 9 of *The Catalogue of Books Translated into Persian* (Naseri, Fazaeli Jawan, Rahmanipour, & Kahani, 2011).[47] I refined the list based on the source language they are translating from, limiting it to those who have translated novels from English into Persian.

---

[45] To conduct the interviews, I obtained ethics approval from the Faculty of Arts Human Ethics Advisory Group (HEAG), The University of Melbourne (approval number: 1749018.1). All the participants agreed that their name be indicated in the thesis.

Five female and five male translators: Farzaneh Taheri, Shiva Moghanloo, Vida Eslamieh, Shaghayegh Ghandhari, Maryam Meftahi, Mehdi Ghabraee, Asadollah Amraee, Ahmad Poori, Mohammad Nabavi, Peyman Khaksar.

Agah, Montasheran Andisheh, Hermes, Ofoq Publications, Chelcheleh.

In the related literature, people involved in interviews are usually referred to as respondents, subjects, informants, narrators and participants (Leavy, 2011, p. 9). Respondents and subjects are the terms mostly employed in the qualitative interview but in oral history the terms narrator and participant are most often employed "because of the collaborative nature of the method" (Leavy, 2011, p. 9). The term informant is also used in in-depth interviewing where there is a specific topic about which some key persons have in-depth information. Because the method of interview in this research project is oral history, I have chosen the term participant. Translators and publishers are not going through a storytelling process rather they help me with collecting data about the topics of interest in a collaborative manner.

[46] Regarding working experience and expertise of the informants, Johnson and Weller (2001, p. 497) mention "a year or more of full-time or three to four years of part-time experience in the topic area" is a reasonable criterion, however, because literary translators usually work as freelancers, I change this criteria to at least 4 years of experience.

[47] Reference books were published by the Islamic Research Foundation in Mashhad. These two volumes include lists of translators, and the works that they translated since the import of printing technology (late 19th century) up to 2004.

Translators' statements are cross-referenced with that of publishers. For interviewing publishers, I went through the same process to shortlist the potential participants. The views of the publisher-participants can reflect their issues around publishing a translated book, the social status of translators, the role of the MCIG, retranslations, censorship and copyright law. I selected 5 publishers that have published translations and retranslations of English literature into Persian since 1979 in Tehran, Iran. Initially, I came up with number 5 as every eight years—due to presidential elections and its considerable political and ideological effects — the rules and regulations regarding the production of cultural goods such as books undergo potentially major changes. Since 1979 we have experienced five presidents with varying ideologies that have always affected the cultural production process and market.[48]

The interviews were carried out in Persian to give the participants the chance to express their ideas fluently, to build trust, and to reduce anxiety.[49] Each session was recorded, transcribed, and thematically coded. In Oral history, data collection and data analysis are followed concurrently (Leavy, 2011, p. 48). Data analysis was in line with qualitative interview

[48] After coming up with a list of translators and publishers, I drew on non-random sampling, that is a sampling method used for exploratory interviews (Johnson & Weller, 2001, p. 496). This method allows me to reach a maximum variety in my study by considering various inclusion criteria to enrich the diversity of literary translators. Snowball sampling, in which each participant suggests the next participant for interview, as an alternative method of sampling in oral history is also useful but its applicability in Iran is uncertain.

[49] This also has implications for building trust with participants. One of the common features among various types of qualitative research is building intimacy and trust (Johnson & Weller, 2001; Leavy, 2011; Strandén, 2009). Trust could be gained by focusing on similar backgrounds, speaking the same language, self-positioning, and preparation for interview (Strandén, 2009, pp. 7-12). Interviews, with the permission of the interviewee, were audio recorded.

analysis, which consist of immersion in data, coding and categorizing (Leavy, 2011, p. 59) based on the theme of my research that is collaboration, retranslation and visibility.

To sum up, oral history interviews helped me with studying the habitus of the field and hearing the voice of translators and publishers, while backing up evidence from paratextual analysis.

### *Online Databases*

For statistical data about the number of published retranslations, and details of publication, I used the National Library of Iran's online database as well as the Khānihi Kitāb [Book House] database.[50] For any books published in Iran, publishers are obliged to record their book in the national library. The data is retrievable either by searching the translator's name, the Persian title of the book or author's names. I searched for the books' Persian titles and recorded their details in Excel tables. The data is corroborated with the Khaneh Ketab database, to ensure that the book is published.

Also, in chapter three, I provided statistics on the profile of the translators of *Animal Farm* to explore how many books they translated. Therefore, I searched every single translator's name to identify how many books they had translated at the time of translating *Animal Farm*. This data was also retrieved from Iran's National Library Website.

---

[50] The library is established in 1937, in Tehran. It is the biggest library in Iran, and it contains all the data about any books which tend to apply for publishing permit in Iran. See http://www.nlai.ir/history

This data base includes the details, front cover, title page, ID page, of any published books. They also provide statistical data on the rates of book publishing in Iran. See http://www.ketab.ir/About.aspx

### *Instagram*

For the analysis of the reception of *Animal Farm in Iran*, I have drawn on the research conducted in Internet studies and digital media studies which provides a rich ground "for quantitative and qualitative analyses, whether counting the amount of content over time, users, or tags, mapping media based on location data, or looking at the content of the media and their captions" (Highfield & Leaver, 2015, p. 11). The methodology proposed by Highfield and Leaver (2015) for mapping hashtags allows room for qualitative analysis. Inspired by research methodologies on Twitter, Highfield and Leaver elaborate the significance of "tags serving as markers for the main subjects, ideas, events, locations, or emotions featured in tweets and images alike" (2015, p. 2). In this study, I extracted data from Instagram.

Instagram, with one billion monthly active users, is a mobile application designed for sharing images and videos.[51] It allows for all sorts of social bookmarking including sharing images, uploading videos, inserting captions, indicating location, hitting likes, leaving comments, tagging users or mentioning people and filtering images.[52] Social connectivity in Instagram is "asymmetric, meaning that if a user A follows B, B need not follow A back"(Hu, Manikonda, & Kambhampati, 2014, p. 596). Research on Instagram is still in its infancy and studies in this area mostly focus on users' activities and interactions on the platform (See, for instance, Hu et al., 2014). The high number of Instagram users in Iran, as the other social

[51] This is the number of users by 20 June 2018. https://expandedramblings.com/index.php/important-instagram-stats/ (access date: 05 January 2019).

[52] For a discussion of Like Economy on Web 2.0 see The Like Economy: Social Buttons and Data-intensive Web Gerlitz and Helmond (2013).

networking platforms such as Twitter and Facebook are filtered by the government, encouraged me to use this platform for reception analysis.

Instagram, version 79.0, allows users to search tags. The tags are indicated with #symbol and when employed by users on Instagram, similar to Twitter, it is "… a way of indicating textually keywords or phrases especially worth indexing"(Halavais, 2014, p.36 in Highfield & Leaver, 2015). For the matching tags, Instagram "API also returns not just its unique identifier (id) […], but also metadata including usernames, time and date of creation, caption, comments (and user and time information for comments), tags, likes, and location information when a user has geotagged their media" (Highfield & Leaver, 2015). In their study of digital identity, Leaver and Highfield (2018) draw on Instagram hashtag analysis for the better understanding of digital identity. This study informs my method and data collection for this section.

Similar to Leaver and Highfield (2018), I ran a hashtag search with the Persian equivalents for the titles of the book.[53] Once they are browsed alone, and then I added the author's name in Persian with two different possible spellings. The results for searching each tag were significantly different. # Qal'iyih'i_Hiyvānāt resulted in 4,799 images (by 6 February 2019, 4 pm EAST). The literal translation of the book title, # Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt also results in 2484 posts, however, the point is that the results for literal translation of the book are a

[53] Transliteration and translations of the hashtags are as follows: # Qal'iyih'i_Hiyvānāt or Animals' bastion, #Mazra'iyih_Hiyvānāt or Animals' Farm, # Qal'iyih'i_Hiyvānāt _George_Orwell [Animals'_bastion_George_Orwell], #Mazra'iyih_Hiyvānāt _George_Orwell [Animals_Farm_George_Orwell]. These hashtags are also searched with different Persian spellings. #قلعه_حیوانات, #مزرعه_حیوانات, # قلعه_حیوانات_جورج_ارول#, # قلعه_حیوانات_جرج_ارول, #مزرعه_حیوانات_جورج_ارول, #مزرعه_حیوانات_جرج_ارول

mixture of *Animal Farm* as a book and images of farms. The same hashtags along with the author's name resulted in a more manageable data # قلعه_حیوانات_جورج_ارول with 391 posts and # مزرعه_حیوانات_جورج_ارول with 45 posts.

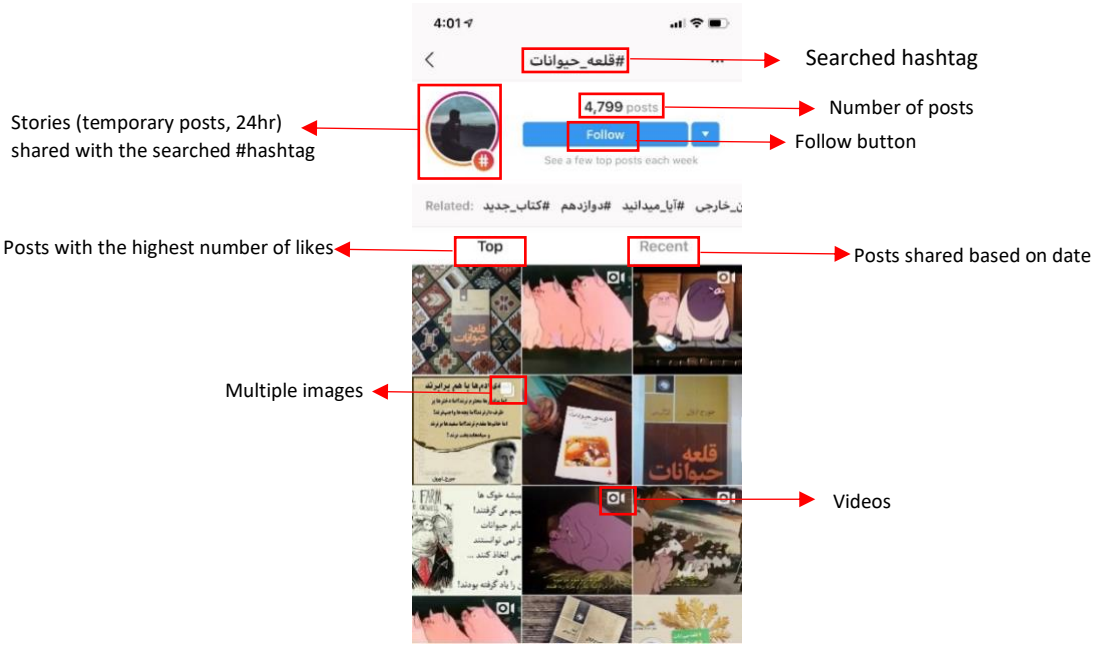



Figure 1. 3 Hashtag search, result page

To make the data manageable, therefore, I only included hashtags with the authors' name. This also helped to ensure that the selected posts were directly related to the book. The posts were divided into two groups by Instagram, 'top' posts and 'recent' posts. Top Posts are categorized based on the number of likes that they have received from users. Recent posts sort the images based on the dates shared by the users. I considered recent posts to access all the images shared publicly.

Figure 1. 4 Shared images of *Animal Farm* on Instagram

The images display different (re)translations of the book. The images are shared by readers. To collect relevant data, I only selected images shared with the book covers. Under the hashtag #قلعه-حیوانات-جورج-اورول 394 (up to 12 February 2019) images are shared. The number of posts shared publicly are 183 images and 76 of these are book covers of the translations. In total, 2016 comments are shared under the posts, and they have been posted on Instagram since 2015. Out of 2016 comments, 1383 comments belong to one post which is shared by an Iranian celebrity who shared the image of the book and asked his followers what book they are reading. Therefore, the majority of shared comments are about the titles of other books. The frequency of the posts shared in each year after 2015 is in line with the increase in number of retranslations.

## Summary of Chapters

As I already discussed, my chapters are structured thematically. To answer the question of what role translators are playing in Iran it is crucial to investigate how they collaborate with other agents of translation. Chapter two investigates translators' collaborations with other

translators, publishers and editors to uncover translators' strategies and performance of collaborative practices. This is through a case study on *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* books as it clearly demonstrates the state of competition and collaboration in the field.

Chapter three unravels the common practice of retranslation in the literary translation field of Iran. By examining paratexts of five retranslations of *Animal Farm*, I identified possible motivations behind more than hundred retranslations of the novella. By reviewing the profile of all ninety-seven (re)translators of the book, including the number and the genre of the books they translated, as well as findings from interviews with publishers and translators, it seems retranslation is a safe way for amateur and early-career translators to enter the field. At the same time, for senior translators, retranslation is conducted with motivations of offering better translations.

Chapter four demonstrates translators' strategies vis-à-vis the MCIG which is responsible for censorship. In this chapter, I provided examples of censors' comments on the translated books. It is followed by translators and publishers' interviews and their statements on how they conform/diverge the regulations based on their knowledge of the field. This chapter uncovers how existence of censorship shape translation practice and habitus of the literary translation field.

In chapter five, I return to the question of translators' visibility in Iran. The legal status of translators is framed in relation to Iran's national copyright laws and translators' contracts. By drawing on definition of good translation, I aimed at developing an understanding of whether fluency in translation is ascribed to the translator or the author. Paratextual materials of *Harry*

*Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* also informed how translators frame their visibility and build rapport with their readers. Also, I demonstrate how one translator among all the translators of *Harry Potter* series earn social visibility. This chapter strongly displays different self-presenting strategies that translators employ to establish their position in the literary field.

# Chapter Two

## The Conference of Translators: Collaborative Translation[1]

### Overview

*If you draw your wand, tap it on the book cover and say, 'I solemnly swear that I am up to no good' below my name will appear the names of the true translators of the novel.*

Mohammad Nourallahi, the translator *of Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*[2]

In this quote Mohamad Nourallahi describes a common literary practice in contemporary Iran: collaborative translation. While only Nourallahi's name is declared on the front cover of the book, he explains, that 'true translators' refer to the translators of the novel who have collaboratively translated the book into Persian. Throughout this chapter, by "collaborative translation" I refer to a team translation of a single book into Persian, both with and without supervisor.[3] While translators are usually highly visible in Iran, as I will show in chapter five, the

---

[1] For this title I am mainly inspired by Hermans (2014) *The Conference of the Tongues* and a celebrated Persian literary masterpiece *the Conference of the Birds* by poet Attar Neyshaburi, published in 1177. The story is about a group of birds going on a journey to find Simorgh (Phoenix).

[2] A phrase in the *Harry Potter* stories which is used to reveal a map on parchment that appears blank. Retrieved from https://www.pottermore.com/writing-by-jk-rowling/the-marauders-map (access date: 19 July 2017). The original reads:

اگر با چوب دستی تان بر روی جلد کتاب حاضر ضربه ای بزنید و بگویید: "من رسما سوگند می خورم که کار بدی انجام بدهم" ذیل کلمه مترجم علاوه بر نام حقیر...اسامی (کسانی) ظاهر می شود که مترجمان حقیقی اثری هستند که در دست دارید.

Nourallahi translated *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince* in 2005 and *Harry Potter and Deathly Hollows* published by Behnam Publishing house, Tehran.

Sixth instalment in *Harry Potter* series, authored by J.K. Rowling, published in 2005 by Bloomsbury in UK.

[3] This is similar to co-translation(see, for instance,Liang & Xu, 2015), however, the main difference is that there exists asymmetrical relations between translators. My preference for collaborative translation, thus, stems from the discussion of Cordingley and Frigau Manning (2017) which allows a relational approach to the concept.

analysis of collaborative translation in the present chapter allows me to provide a nuanced understanding of literary translation praxis and the translators' agency in contemporary Iran.

By drawing on metaphorical uses of *Harry Potter's* witchcrafts such as 'the Marauder's Map', which reveals the whereabouts of students who want to remain invisible, Nourallahi applauds the role of those "without whose constant help and favours the translation of *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince* would not have happened" (in Rowling, 2005d, p. 5).[4] He, then, expresses his gratitude to those who have been "in the 'Room of Requirement'", referring to those, including friends and family, who have helped whenever he was in need (in Rowling, 2005d, p. 5).[5] The half-page preface shows the number of people engaged in the process of producing the translation, their connections, their roles and relations, and the complexities underlying the practice of translation.

Nourallahi portrays a unique form of collaborative translation, one that recalls the mythical Septuagint's translation, as it is explained in the "Letter of Aristeas" (Hermans, 2014, p. 3). Dating to three centuries BCE, seventy-two translators accomplished the translation of the Hebrew Bible in seventy-two days "on the orders of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelphus for the Greek-speaking Jewish community in Alexandria" (Hermans, 2014, pp. 3-4). According to the oldest account, the translators fulfilled the task by consulting and comparing their notes "as

[4] Magic parchment that reveals the current location of anyone on Hogwarts grounds https://www.pottermore.com/explore-the-story/marauders-map (access date: 19 July 2018)

[5] A room which only appears "when a person had real need of it – and always came equipped for the seeker's purpose." https://www.pottermore.com/features/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-room-of-requirement (access date: 19 July 2018).

they composed their Greek text" (Hermans, 2014, pp. 3-4). The translation was "found to be accurate in every respect, it was ordained that no-one should presume to alter it in any way" (Hermans, 2014, p. 4). The other account of the Septuagint's origin, recorded by Philo Judaeus, is credited to a miraculous act, as the translators who were working individually on the translation of the Hebrew Bible in separate cells "emerged with identical Greek texts" after seventy-two days (Schwartz, 1955 in Hermans, 2014, p. 14). The Septuagint serves as a rare example of "equality in value between a translation and its original" (Hermans, 2014, p. 5). The Septuagint translation has been mythologised for its collaborative nature, but is collaboration always ideal? Returning to Nourallahi's preface what advantages or disadvantages does collaboration bring to the contributors? How might their role and collaborations be perceived by readers?

Conceptual tools of ANT, as delineated in chapter one, following Buzelin (2005, p. 216), are used in this chapter to count for interactions of translators in their networks. In the case of Iran, translators present their collaborations and their networks in multiple ways, as I will demonstrate in this chapter. My reading of collaborative translation in Iran aims at demonstrating the 'networky' character of translators and how their performance might be perceived by readers. How may it impact on translators' status and visibility?

The concept of *translation*, as "the methods by which an actor enrols others" (Callon et al., 1986 in Buzelin, 2005, pp. 196-197), allows me to explore the multiple entry points into the literary translation field of Iran that means how translators in collaborative translations are recruited to the network. For instance, how Nourallahi has recruited the translators to the

network where collaboration and translation are blended when they stepping in "translaborative space" (Alfer, 2017, p. 286). Despite the emphasis of ANT on the ethnography, I will demonstrate that the high visibility of the production process in the paratexts of the translated books offers evidence on how collaborative networks are shaped and how they are retained. It is here that my study, in line with the studies undertaken by Buzelin (2005, 2007) and Kung (2015), demonstrates, that while ANT insists that explanations are found "in the network itself", "contextual 'macro-level' or structural determinants"(see Buzelin, 2005, p. 197) can explain why one agent has a specific position in the network. Bourdieu's notion of capital (see chapter one) helps identifying the strategies that translators, here particularly translators' supervisors, adopt to define an agentive role for themselves. The capital that translators bring to the networks and their professional background unveils the possible motives behind the formation of such projects.

How may the manifestation of these translaborative spaces, translators' collaborative translation, be perceived by readers? Does characterizing the role of translators as hybrid make them more visible or less visible? These issues have been raised before (Alfer, 2017; Cordingley & Frigau Manning, 2017; Huss, 2019). Specifically, Huss states that "conception of diffuse agency in translation runs the risk of undoing gains in the status of the translator—the attempt to render the translator visible in processes of literary production" (2019, p. 391). The Iranian translators discussed in the following examples acknowledge who did what for them in the process of translation. The result is varying degrees of visibility. Therefore, Huss suggests "the possibility of modelling translation as a networked activity" to keep "the translator visible"

which, at least in the case of Iran, seems to be working in favour of translators' visibility (2019, p. 391).

I argue in this chapter that by reflecting on their network and their collaborators, Iranian translators negotiate their visibility and their legitimacy in the literary translation field. And, by entering the third space of a translab, that means the space that translation and collaboration come together, translation agents not only unsettle the author-translator assumed asymmetrical relationship but also create hierarchies between co-translators.

To understand the role of translators in the process of collaborative translation, as discussed in chapter one, the concept of "multiple translatorship" as proposed by Jansen and Wegener (2013) is helpful to understand how the "translator's agency is intertwined and entangled with that of other active parties to the translation during the publication process". The classification of translatorship as declarative, executive, and revisionary helps me to explain the degree of agency each party claims in their interactions and the position in the network that they are situated in.

The current chapter is divided into collaborative translation and collaboration in 'translation'. The first is highly uncommon in Western countries, mostly, because of its hierarchical relations in the process of translation, and the latter seems to be more practiced in the West, however, uncommon to be visible in the paratexts. To clarify the difference between the two terms, I should say, collaborative translation refers to a team of translators working

together on the same translation.[6] These hierarchical relations in the process of translating are conveyed mainly through the use of titles, such as the title of supervisor, that one translating agent assumes for him- or herself.

Collaboration in 'translation', refers to a translator's collaboration with publishers, editors, friends and readers in the process of producing translations.[7] Translators, publishers and editors in the paratext inform readers that how they have selected the text for translation, with whom they have collaborated or why they have translated the book (for example, see the last section in this chapter). Broadly, both collaborative translation and collaboration in translation can fit into the category of synchronous collaboration, introduced in chapter one (see Rizzi, 2018a). In the following section, by drawing on examples of collaboration in the context of intense competition, I demonstrate how collaborative translation enhances the visibility of translators and legitimizes their position in the literary translation field.

By giving visibility to their collaborative practices, Iranian translating agents, including translators/supervisors, publishers and editors, reinforce their position in the field, and demonstrate their ability to negotiate different levels of visibility for themselves.

---

[6] In this sense is much closer to the example of Boréal's translators as identified by Buzelin (2007, p. 163), in which "a project is split among three translators to save time and to 'standardize' the resulting text".

[7] In collaborative translation there is a shared outcome for the participants of a translation project. In this context, the process is translator-centred and there is a teamwork for achieving a shared goal and a shared vision. However, in cooperation not all the cooperating agents are beneficiary, such as staff of a publishing house who execute administrative roles in the publishing house. Their role is definitely significant for a publishing business, but they barely have a share in any published books.

## Collaboration and Competition: Harry Potter in Iran

In Iran, as in the rest of the world, the *Harry Potter series* is immensely popular and, consequently, marketable.[8] Translation and publication of the Harry Potter books in Iran marks the emerging interest in the fantasy genre among non-academic audiences, as reflected in magazines and newspapers.[9] Immense recognition of the book signifies the large volume of different types of capitals embedded in the book not only for the author and original publisher but also for the translating agents (see chapter five). The potential of the novel in transforming the position of a translator is also studied by Wolf (2002) where she traces the existence of *Harry Potter* translational field in German speaking countries. Wolf demonstrates how the translation of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Rowling, 1997) by an unknown translator raised the translator's "public visibility" not only through translation of the book but also through "the 'reading trip' with the author J. K. Rowling through several German cities" (Wolf, 2002, p. 40).

This potential of the book in enhancing the visibility of translators seems to be the source of intensive competition in Iran's literary translation field. This claim can be best exemplified by the number of its (re)translations. For instance, as soon as the book *Harry Potter and the Order of Phoenix* (Rowling, 2003a) was released, 18 different Persian translations of the

[8] According to the official website of Harry potter news, Pottermore, by 1st of February 2018, more than 500 million copies of the whole series have been sold across the world and the book has been translated into 80 languages. https://www.pottermore.com/news/500-million-harry-potter-books-have-now-been-sold-worldwide

[9] For instance, several articles on the emergence of fantasy literature were published in Iran during 2000s which is after the translations of Harry Potter books and their enthusiastic reception in the market. https://shahrestanadab.com/Content/ID/7660/نگاهی-به-رشد-ادبیات-فانتزی-در-ایران-در-ده-هشتاد--بخش-اول-پرستو-علی-عسگرنجاد

book appeared in the same year in Iran. However, participation in the competition requires collaboration between agents.

Of 164 (re)translations of the *Harry Potter* series, I discovered that 22 have been translated by two or more translators.[10] The highest number of collaborative translations (nine out of 22) have been for the translation of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (the fifth and longest instalment, which I discuss further in chapter five). The intense competition over the translation of the book, therefore, is based not only on the striking success of the four previous instalments but also on its power to offer other advantages. Collaborative translation serves as a strategy to reap the benefits of being visible before a vast number of readers. The time pressure of being the first to fulfil the readers' demand collaborative translation, as Nourallahi underlines.[11]

As I discussed in chapter one, Iran's translation field is highly dynamic and multilayered, and it is hardly possible to give a comprehensive account of how collaborations work in the field. However, in the state of competition, it seems that collaborative translation is a strategy to outrival other competitors. Collaboration works differently for translators depending on the

[10] This data is retrieved from website of National library of Iran through searching the keyword "هری پاتر" (Harry Potter). The search brought 478 results in 33 pages. Among all 164 results are specifically translated books of Harry Potter. http://opac.nlai.ir/opac-prod/search/bibliographicSimpleSearchProcess.do?simpleSearch.value=%D9%87%D8%B1%DB%8C+%D9%BE%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%B1&bibliographicLimitQueryBuilder.biblioDocType=&command=I&simpleSearch.tokenized=true&classType=0&pageStatus=0&bibliographicLimitQueryBuilder.useDateRange=null&bibliographicLimitQueryBuilder.year=&documentType= (access date: 03 July 2019).

[11] https://www.mehrnews.com/news/536189/محمد-نوراللهی-منکر-ایرادات-ترجمه-هری-پاتر-نیستم-نباید-پرسید (access date: 05 December 2018)

position that they occupy in the field, as the following sections outline. By their position, I am referring to their status as amateur, early-career, mid-career or senior translator, explained further below.

"Amateur translators", here, are translators with none or one published translation which is usually a retranslation or translations of novellas/short stories. This category may include students and graduates of translation, or broadly foreign languages, and literature fans with diverse educational backgrounds who know a second language. For their first translation, they usually work unpaid and it is a pathway for future career as a literary translator.

"Early-career translators" in my study refers to translators who have translated and published two translations and introduced one new title. Early-career translators are paid small amounts of money for their first work and in the case of reprints, all the rights belong to the publisher. The difference between early-career translators and "mid-career translators" is in their contracts, social recognition, experience in the field and their ability to introduce new authors and titles to the field. Translators at this step have been successful to attract readers' trust. Translators have built their reputation at this stage, and they enjoy higher authority in selecting books for translation and publishers are more willing to work with them due to their recognition.

"Senior translators" are those who have been active translators for decades. The Islamic Revolution in Iran is four decades old. These translators are celebrity translators and enjoy a high social and literary recognition and respect. Early-career translators usually ask them for advice on what to translate and they are role model for young translators. Senior translators

have developed trust among the agents of literary translation, other translators and also readers. Their names on the book cover guarantee the quality of translation.

In the following section, I argue how the process of collaboration among these translators differ based on the category that the translators fit into (they are also characterized further in the following chapters).

### *Amateur and Early-Career translators*

Mohammad Reza Arbabi, an Iranian publisher-translator, founder of *San'ati Tarjomih* [Translation Industry Journal], and director of the Translators and Interpreters' Association of Tehran, briefly explains that collaborative translation allows amateur and early-career translators to

> make a name for themselves in Iran. I know a translator who has translated 90 books in five years, 90 books in FIVE YEARS [he insists]. […] these are young translators that nobody knows. They work together as a team and translate and publish the book […]. Then, you will see the book has even reached 20 reprints. Yes! It generates proper income for the translators. They are usually translation students who are not qualified yet (My interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[12]

Arbabi's statement unveils some incentives for collaborative translation, or translators' entry into a translaborative space, in Iran. As an outcome of synchronous collaboration among agents, where amateur and early-career translators, editors and publishers work on the same

[12] بعد این ها چهره می شن در ایران. ما مترجمی رو می شناسیم که در ظرف پنج سال، نود اثر ترجمه کرده. پنج سال نود اثر! خب اینا جوان‌هایی اند که هیچکس نمی شناسه. ولی اینا یه تیم درست می کنند، کتاب را ترجمه و چاپ میکنند. یهو می بینیم به چاپ بیستم سی ام می رسن. بله برای مترجم ها درآمد خوبی داره. کنند مثلا طرف دانشجوی ترجمه است و هنوز واجد صلاحیت برای ترجمه هم نشده، کتاب رو می گیرن یه سرهم بندی می کنن.

project, collaborative translation allows translators to be productive and to compete in the field.

Shaghayegh Ghandhari, a recognized translator of children's and young adults' literature, supports Arbabi's statement and holds newly established publishers responsible for the phenomenon:

> Nowadays, some publishers are businessmen (Kaaseb), their concern is financial gains and they don't care about culture. It is not important for them to commission recognized and experienced translators such as Mr. Ghabraee, to publish quality translations […] what they do is commissioning students, for instance translation students or recently graduated ones, they pay them little money to translate the book. This is going to be a cultural crisis (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[13]

The publishers that Ghandhari refers to have the power to recruit students. Seemingly, the ability to recruit students into networks is what sets apart the agency of one translation agents from others (see Jones, 2009, p. 304). Supervisors of this form of collaborative translation are usually equipped with this form of power. In other words, these supervisors, who have no track record of literary translation are regarded as newcomers to the literary field. They may come from different professional backgrounds which allow them to recruit actors, therefore, entering the translaborative space, who work for the supervisor. Consequently, these recruiters create supervising positions for themselves in the field. The recruited actors mainly join the project of their own volition and they share an "executive translatorship" (Jansen & Wegener, 2013, p. 23)

[13] ولی الان یه سری ناشر داریم که اینا رسماً کاسبن. یعنی فقط دید اقتصادی دارند. اصلا فرهنگی نیستند. برای اون مهم نیست که این کتاب به عنوان مثال توسط آقای مهدی غبرایی یا مترجم با تجربه و شناخته شده‌ای دیگری ترجمه شود یا نه . ترجمه ی خوب ارائه بده.. می آد با چهارتا از این دانشجوهایی که مثلا دارن در دانشگاه ترجمه می خونن یا تازه فارغ التحصیل شدن می گه من بهتون یه مبلغی می دم تو این کتاب رو ترجمه کن. خب؟ و این اتفاق داره به نظر من به یه بحران بزرگ تبدیل می شه در کشور ما.

and may sometimes benefit from being the “declarative translator[s]” whose name “appears on the title page” (Jansen & Wegener, 2013, p. 23), as we will see shortly in case of the team under the supervision of Vahdani Sanavi.

The majority of translators who tend to translate collaboratively are young and recent graduates of English studies from the fields of teaching, translation or literature. These newly recruited actors usually need to build their networks to be able to learn how the process works. The so-called supervisors enrol them to the network to translate a book for free with the promise of naming them in the title page or preface. For amateur translators, this is a good opportunity to build their networks and résumés. At the same time supervisors improve their standing in the translation field as more legitimate agents through this practice. However, more importantly, almost all agents gain visibility.

The supervisor is also a declarative translator with her/his name being on the front cover as well as the title page. Who is a translation supervisor? The only official definition of ‘supervisor’ in the process of translation is given by the Iranian Association of Certified Translators and Interpreters (IACTI), article 10. [14] Accordingly, ‘supervisor’ refers to a certified translator who has at least ten years of experience working as a certified translator as stated by the rules and regulations of IACTI. The supervisor endows trainees with a certificate that

[14] ماده ۱۰ (اصلاحی ۸/۹/۱۳۸۴) انتخاب‌شدگان بايد حداقل ۳ ماه نزد يك مترجم رسمي همان زبان كه حداقل ۱۰ سال تجربه مترجمي رسمي داشته باشند با معرفي داوطلب و تأييد مترجم رسمي مذكور و اداره امور مترجمان رسمی كارآموزي نموده و كارآموز بايد در مدت كارآموزي زير نظر مترجم سرپرست خود گواهي اتمام دوره كارآموزي و پيشرفت تجربي را از مترجم سرپرست خود اخذ نمايد. در غيراين‌صورت دوره كارآموزي براي يك بارديگر تمديد خواهد شد.

See https://tiat.ir/fa/قوانين-و-مقررات-امور-مترجمين-رسمي (access date: 02 October 2019).

approves the competency of the translators and confirms that they have gained relevant experience to work independently as a certified translator, illustrating that the legitimacy of trainees and their capabilities are decided by the supervisor. However, in the context of collaborative translation, anyone with competency in the languages of translation and access to high amount of economic and/or non-economic capital can claim a supervisory role.

In non-official discourse and in terms the title of supervisor when used in collaborative translation either by publishers or by supervisors, reminds such hierarchy between the agents. Titles such as 'supervisor', have been widely used by translators in case of parallel translations and retranslations to increase legitimacy of their translation and qualifications of the translators and claim different types of visibility. For instance, on the reviewed front covers in this chapter, phrases such as "Translated by *Dr* Parvaneh Dad Bakhsh and Ehsan Vahedi" (my emphasis, Rowling, 2005c) (see figure 2. 1), or, "project manager" are vivid examples of how social legitimacy is endorsed by drawing on cultural capitals of the agents.[15] Even if, as the opening example of the chapter shows, the book is marketed as a solo work, by giving visibility to their collaborators the translators/supervisors seek to establish asymmetrical relations. Their available capitals, therefore, "take the form of domination, subordination or homology"(Inghilleri, 2005, p. 136) among these agents.

[15] The image is retrieved from https://vista.ir/m/b/cvsmd (access date: 30 July 2019).

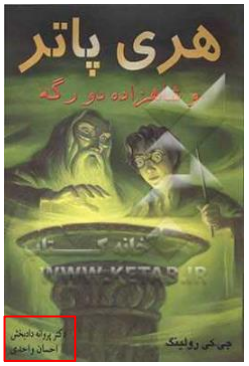



Figure 2. 1 Front cover of *Harry Potter* book, translated by Dadbakhsh and Vahedi

The main difference between recruiter and recruited actors, however, is that the supervisor claims the authority of "revisionary translatorship"(Jansen & Wegener, 2013) that means the task of revising and preparing translation for publication. The example of Nourallahi at the beginning of the chapter is an example of building hierarchical relations among the agents with claiming revisionary translatorship where he refers to the "true translators" of the book (in Rowling, 2007b, n. p). The supervisor of the project is the only person who has been given voice to write the preface, and his name is the only name credited on the front-cover, but still he, proudly, not only in the quoted statement but in several interviews, declares that other translators have been at his service.

Collaborative translation has several advantages over solo translation, specifically for early-career translators. First, solo is less profitable in the state of competition with other translators because translating speed up when a text is translated collaboratively. Second, collaborative translation the responsibility is shared among executive translators as soon as they are acknowledged in the preface. For instance, facing criticisms regarding the low quality of his translation of *Harry Potter and Deathly Hallows*, Nourallahi, in his interview with Mehr

News blames collaborative translation for deficiencies in the translation.[16] Nevertheless, Nourallahi, as the declarative translator, explains how advantages of such collaborative practices outweigh disadvantages:

> We did our best to deliver a consistent and unified translation… I do not deny the drawbacks of the translation, and I admit that collaborative translation has its own disadvantages…but I had to decide either translating it [collaboratively] or leaving it aside. So, I decided to do it in this way, while having in mind that this form of translation has its pros and cons. But for me it was important to be the first one who translated the book.[17]

He then adds that readers of this translation are among those who read the novel "out of curiosity and for them it is not important to read a quality translation, they would like to read the book as soon as they can. They don't care about editorial or grammatical mistakes" (in his interview with Mehrnews, 19 October 2007). [18]

Another persistent benefit of collaborative translation to translators' supervisors is allowing the translating agent to present him-or herself as an authoritative agent in the process of translation. Nourallahi's authoritative position toward the translated books can be seen in his

---

[16] Launched in 2003, Mehr News Agency is an Iranian news agency headquartered in Tehran, owned by the Islamic Ideology Dissemination Organization (IIDO)". https://www.mehrnews.com/news/2408725/ (access date: 03 March 2020).

[17] تمام تلاش ما بر این بوده که کار یکدست باشد. با این حال منکر ایرادات کار نیستم و می پذیرم که ترجمه گروهی دارای ایراداتی است که ترجمه واحد ندارد. اما به هرحال من یا می بایست این کار را انجام می دادم یا از آن صرف نظر می کردم. برای همین تصمیم گرفتم با همین شکل و با پذیرش ایرادات متنی، به عنوان نفر اول کار را ترجمه کرده باشم.

https://www.mehrnews.com/news/536189/محمد-نوراللهی-منکر-ایرادات-ترجمه-هری-پاتر-نیستم-نباید-پرسید

[18] از سر کنجکاوی چندان به کیفیت نمی اندیشند و قصد دارند زودتر با اثر آشنا شوند. برای این عده قطعا غلط های ویرایشی و دستوری و... چندان مطرح نیست. مطمئنا خانم اسلامیه خوانندگان خود را دارد؛ همان طور که درخصوص ترجمه جلد شش هم همین اتفاقات افتاد.

https://www.mehrnews.com/news/536189/محمد-نوراللهی-منکر-ایرادات-ترجمه-هری-پاتر-نیستم-نباید-پرسید

author-like posturing; In his translation of *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (Rowling, 2007b) Nourallahi opens the preface with a dedication to his wife and mentions that "the translation of this book was finished with the help of friends". He adopts the author's metaphors and characters, and asserts:

> Certainly, if Dumbledore was alive, […] he would have stood up and said: 'it is necessary to thank Gentlemen Vahabzadeh, Fashtami and ladies Rafie and Roustaein in the task of translating *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. sixty-five points for each (in Rowling, 2007b, p. 7).[19]

The statement reflects the translator's self-perception of his role and agency. Aligning his own position with that of the fictional character of the book, the headmaster of the wizarding school Hogwarts, Dumbledore, Nourallahi conceives an upper position for himself not only toward the executive translators but also defines a more parallel relation with the author of the text.

In ten years, between 2005 and 2015, Nourallahi (re)translated twenty books, and in 2015 also authored a book.[20] Interestingly among the twenty books he translated, in six books he explicitly mentions that these are translated collaboratively and gave visibility to his network of collaborators.[21]

---

[19]Professor Albus Percival Wulfric Brian Dumbledore is a fictional character in J. K. Rowling's Harry Potter series. For most of the series, he is the headmaster of the wizarding school Hogwarts.

مسلما اگر دامبلدور زنده بود همانگونه مه در پایان هر کتاب (به استثنای جلد ششم) از پشت میز برمیخواست و برندگان را معرفی می کرد اکنون نیز از پشت میز خود بلند می شد و با فریاد سکوت! می گفت:"لازم است از زحمات آقایان رضا وهاب زاده آراسته، میلاد فشتمی، دوشیزگان مریم رفیعی و منیره روستایی در امر ترجمه هری پاتر و قدیسان مرگبار سپاسگذاری کنم. 65 امتیاز برای هر کدام."

[20] Nobat-i māhygyry: mosbatnigary, rahāyi az āfkār-i manfy [literally translated as The Turn for Fishing: Being Positive and Getting Rid of Negative Thoughts] is a motivational book.

[21] Apart from two *Harry Potter* books discussed, the four other books include: Christopher Paolini's Eragon (2002), Eldest (2005) and Brisingr (2008), as well as, Rowling's The Tales of Beedle the Bard(2008).

To summarize, this case has demonstrated that collaborative translation is employed to outmatch rivals by producing the first translation in the market. Nourallahi, by entering a translaborative space, has created a track record of translations, gained publicity and developed a more comparable relationship with the author.

In the absence of biographical information about Nourallahi, I decided to select another example for better understanding how the supervisors build their upper-hand position in the process of translation. What capitals do they access to establish themselves as a supervisor? To answer this question, I look into the supervisor's professional and educational background as they seem to be the determining factors for the position that they occupy in the process of translation. In the following section, I discuss another example, which clearly demonstrates what makes supervisor stands in a higher position compared to the other translators. It seems that the supervisor's cultural capital, his educational degree, and professional status in the educational field allows him to occupy such position.

### *Supervisors*

In Iran, students, in particular the one's enrolled in a bachelor or master's degree of English studies, are given translation projects which are subsequently published as a book, usually with acknowledgement of their names. This is rewarding for students both as extra marks for their results as well as gaining experience and building their CV. For the supervisors, the process of publishing a translated work is facilitated as they read the translation to ensure the consistency of the text.

Translated in 2003, *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix [Hary pātir va gorūhi Qoqnūs]* enlists, under the heading 'colleagues', the supervisor's name (or sarparast e motarjemin) and twelve translators who translated the book under his supervision (figure 2. 2). The Persian word 'sarparast' denotes several meanings. Apart from supervisor, the meanings include a boss, caretaker, chaperone, custodian, provost among others.[22] All these words show forms of superiority in competence, rank, age and education. Indication of one person in the list as the supervisor of the translators and others as those who are working under his supervision reflects the hierarchy in their ranks which can be easily perceived by readers. Identifying the supervisor conveys to readers that the translators' work has been revised and proofread.

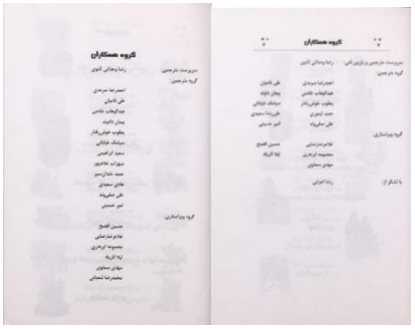


Figure 2. 2 The title page of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*

The hierarchization of the translators urged me to look for macro-level factors, such as the field that the supervisor is coming from, and what they contribute the network. It seems that the supervisor's professional background determines the asymmetrical relation among them. In this case, the supervisor, Reza Vahdani Sanavi, has a PhD in Teaching English as a Second

[22] for Persian definition of the word and the offered English equivalence, I browsed Vajehyab which is, to the best of my knowledge the biggest, online database launched in 2010. http://www.vajehyab.com/?q=سرپرست&t=like&s=38 (access date: 02 December 2018).

Language (TESOL) and was formerly the head of the teaching department in Rudhen Islamic Azad University, Iran. His position in the project is based on his educational and professional background and the network that he has as a university lecturer and head of the department. Having a PhD in English teaching, the highest educational degree that one can obtain in Iran and an institutionalized form of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2011, pp. 50-51), gives him an expert position in English language and, therefore, a higher rank compared to other translators.

The executive translators of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* used to be students of TESOL and translation in the same university, increasing the probability of them being students/colleagues of the supervisor. It is clear that what qualifies one agent to supervise the other seems to be, in this case, the social and cultural capitals, that is, the network, education and career of Vahdani Sanavi. Recognition and legitimacy of Vahdani Sanavi and his collaboration with the students could be interpreted as an approval for the competency of amateur and early-career translators. Sanavi's gain remain in the fact that while he is a literary early-career translator, he enters the field of literary translation in a more authoritative manner.

Regarding their claim of translatorship, figure 2.2 shows how the participants of the project are listed on a separate page, under the headings: translators' supervisor, translators, and editors. Thus, they all benefit from the publicity provided by declarative translatorship. Placing the supervisors' name on top of the list offers a visual, hierarchical relation among them in the eyes of readers. The revisionary translatorship's role is claimed by both the supervisor, Vahdani Sanavi, and the editors of the translation. However, the title of supervisor and the

visual presentations of the names give superiority to Sanavi. It seems that the stated roles of translators are not based on the actual role that they have played in the translation process but on the capital that they possess. The next section draws on another example of a translation in which there is only one declarative translator, who is the publisher as well.

The novel *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* (Rowling, 2005a), published in Iran by Abedini publishing house, is an interesting case of collaborative translation. The "declarative translator", Namvar Abedini, is also the publisher, "project manager", and "production manager" of the translation as cited in the ID page of the book (in Rowling, 2005c, n. p). In his preface, Abedini explains that the translation was produced collaboratively and foregrounds the effort of the team and promote the translation. Abedini writes:

> for the first time in the world we translated a book within two days after the release of the original. By bringing together a team of hardworking elites (ranging from translators to editors, revisers, coordinators etc.) we translated the novel into Persian in two days and we revised it and prepared it for print in five days. That means we had the novel ready by 23 July 2005 [1 Mordad 1384] (in Rowling, 2005c, n. p).[23]

The identities of the collaborators are anonymous, and Abedini tries to impress readers by using words such as 'elites' to assure the quality of the translation.

[23] ما بر آن شدیم تا برای اولین بار در جهان دست به اقدامی بی سابقه بزنیم و با تلاشی سخت، بزرگ، شبانه روزی و جمع آوری تیمی از افراد سخت کوش و نخبه (از مترجمین تا ویراستاران و هماهنگ کنندگان و ...) این کتاب را تنها با فاصله 2 روز پس از انتشار در دنیا به زبانی دیگر (فارسی) ترجمه و با فاصله 5 روز ویرایش و آماده چاپ نماییم که کتاب فوق در تاریخ 1384/5/1 چاپ و آماده ارایه گردید و فقط به علت هماهنگی در تبلیغات و پخش در تمام ایران و جهان بود که تاریخ پخش همزمان و هماهنگ آن به 1384/05/15 موکول گردید.

Figure 2. 3 Preface written by Namvar Abedini

The project, as figure 2. 3 illustrates and Abedini claims, consists of:

> translator teams, translator supervisors, revisers, editors, co-editors, coordinators, [those in] Book House, the National Library, the MCIG, typesetters, lithographers, printers, binders, distributors, book sellers.[24]

My search on Abedini's name in the National Library of Iran, which includes details of any published books, shows that this is the only book that he published. In this case, translation for Abedini seems to be an attempt to enter the translation field which this time was unsuccessful. Furthermore, the rush to publish the translation and to keep up with the competition, is evident in how Abedini uses Persian language in the preface. There are grammatical and idiomatic errors in the preface written in Persian by Abedini. He also presents the work as a significant project and called himself project manager, production manager and publisher, probably to make the translation legitimate before its readers.

Abedini's preface illuminates the double effect of collaborative translation. On the one hand, supervisors give visibility to the collaborators who would otherwise lack sufficient capital

[24] گروه های مترجمین، مترجمین ناظر، ویراستاران، کمک ویراستاران، هماهنگی، خانه کتاب، کتابخانه ملی، وزارت ارشاد، کامپیوتر، حروفچینی، لیتوگرافی، چاپ، صحافی، پخش کنندگان، کتابفروشیها و تمام شما عزیزان خواننده.

for entering the literary translation field and establish their position. It "reveal[s] that they not only act"(Jansen & Wegener, 2013, p. 24), but also act upon other translators. Supervisors also foreground their power in recruiting participants to the network. This is in the same vein as ANT theory's principle: "Networks develop as existing actors 'recruit' new actors into the network, by introducing people or producing artefacts. The more powerful actors are those who recruit more actors" (Jones, 2009, p. 304). Therefore, the ability to recruit actors increases the recruiter's agency. While the supervisors are among early-career literary translators, by using titles such as a supervisor, project manager, Dr and production manager they define a leading role for themselves in the project. As I discussed earlier, supervisors occupy a leading position because of their access to publishing resources.

Drawing on the examples of *Harry Potter* translations, I have demonstrated how translators create hierarchical relation between themselves and their network and, by visualizing this hierarchy on the page, legitimize themselves as agents with the power to support other translators. Thus, presenting their work as a collaborative translation allows supervisors to justify and share the responsibility of potential deficiencies in the translated text.

Collaborative translations profit newly established publishers, sometimes in an exploitative manner. There are instances of books being presented as a collaborative translation when in fact they are a plagiarism. Often, there is no original translation, but profit-driven publishers who take another publisher's book and change the cover and market it as a collaborative translation. This is illustrated in the following example. To avoid plagiarism allegations, a publisher has presented a copied translation as a new collaborative translation.

Roya Pourmanaf states that her translation has been plagiarized and reprinted in Qom, a city in Iran.[25] While the front cover of the retranslation only indicates that it was "translated by a group of translators", Pourmanaf figured out that the retranslation was in fact a copy through a spelling mistake.[26] While inserting the novel's details in CIP, Pourmanaf entered the misspelled title of the book.[27] This typo that Pourmanaf made in the original title of the book, she noticed, was repeated in the CIP of the retranslation printed in Qom.

The publisher, to mask the plagiarism, skipped naming translators while presenting the book as a collaborative translation. This allowed the publisher to publish the book without paying translators and skewing questions regarding the identity and background of the implied translators. Hence, the fake presentation of translation as a collaborative effort is used to disguise the illegal publication of translation. Pourmanaf could have filed a complaint against the publisher with judiciary authorities of Iran, however, it would be a slow process.

To conclude, this first section of the chapter I have demonstrated that collaborative translation fulfils several types of benefits for Iranian supervisors, translators and publishers.

---

[25] Iranian literary translator who translates from English and Turkish into Persian.

[26] من شخصا این مورد را تجربه کرده‌ام. به طور اتفاق متوجه شدم سه عنوان از کتاب‌های پرفروشم که توسط ناشر موفقی هم چاپ شده بود، توسط ناشری در قم تجدید چاپ شده و نام مترجم هم گروه مترجمین ذکر شده بود. حتما برای شما این سوال پیش می‌آید که از کجا متوجه شدم کپی کرده‌اند. در فیپای این کتاب‌ها، در بخش نام اصلی کتاب اشتباه تایپی وجود داشت و آن ناشر هم دقیقا همان اشتباه تایپی را تکرار کرده بود. و جالب‌تر اینکه وقتی تماس گرفتم و معترض شدم، پاسخ‌شان این بود که خوب شما خودتان به ما هم کتاب بدهید.
http://www.ana.ir/news/147861 (access date: 31 July 2018).

[27] Retrived from: http://www.ana.ir/news/147861 (access date: 31 July 2018). Catalogue in Publication which is called FIPA in Iran. Before submitting book to the MCIG publishers are obliged to obtain CIP from National Library of Iran. Therefore, other translators and publishers are able to check which books have been submitted for attaining a publishing permit.

The most important one is coping with the competition in the field and claiming visibility and agency for newcomers to the literary translation field. The following section discusses collaborative translation between senior and mid-career translators to demonstrate how different their practice of collaborative translation is.

### *Mid-Career and Senior Translators*

Two of the ten translators I have interviewed, namely Mohammad Nabavi and Mehdi Ghabraee, have participated in collaborative translation. Both translators are well-recognized and state that, for them, collaborative translation increases efficiency and accuracy of the translation and allows them to maintain their position in the literary translation field. The texts they tend to translate require a high level of literary, artistic, social knowledge and expertise and, therefore, there is little rivalry since fewer people are qualified to work with such texts.[28]

Mohammad Nabavi works as an editor and translator in Nashre Agah, an Iranian publishing house, where Leila Hosseinkhani, his wife and another of my interviewees, is director. Nabavi mostly translates collaboratively with Mehran Mohajer, which perhaps is one of the best examples of a long-term collaboration between two translators who are well-established in the field.

---

[28] Ghabraee has translated more than 60 books from English, Japanese, Indian, South American authors including Virginia Woolf, Haruki Murakami, Vikram Seth, Jorje Mario Vargas Liosa and many more.

Nabavi has also translated books including social, literary and cultural theories of the west such as *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms* (Makaryk, 1993*)*, or *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History* by (Gardner, 1926).

Mutual trust editing, proofreading and expertise in Persian language seems to be the reason for this collaborative translation. Nabavi admits that for him "the text is the most important thing. It is the text which builds my name and reputation in the society" (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[29] Therefore, their collaboration seems to be a way of maintaining their visible and established position in the field. And their visibility is enhanced by their collaboration. Collaboration between two translators with the same status in the literary translation field increases their authority in the process of translation to the extent that they undertake all decisions regarding publishing the translation.

Nabavi explains that his work has never been revised by an editor because of the collaboration with Mohajer.

> We revise the work several times and when the translation is submitted to the publisher there is nothing left to be revised by an editor. For instance, we have spent four years translating a 180-page book, while other translators probably translate it in two, three months (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[30]

The process of translation and editing that Nabavi describes, in his collaboration with Mohajer is similar to co-translation. They split the work and each translator translates a specific part, then they exchange the texts for proofreading and revision. The process continues until they feel no further revision is required. Both names are on the front cover pages. their names have a function similar to a brand, guaranteeing the quality of the translation.

---

[29] . برای من متن مهمه. متنِ که اسم من رو می‌سازه در عرصه‌ی اجتماعی

[30] در مورد کار خودم کارام هیچوقت ویرایش نشد. یه دلیلش این که من با دوستم مهران مهاجر کار می‌کنیم. اونقدر برای یه متن میره میاد میره میاد که دیگه اصلا جایی برای اینکه ناشر بخواد روش کار کند وجود ندارد. یادم نمی‌آد کاری رو ویرایش کرده باشم. مثلا یه کتابه الان من و مهران داریم ترجمه می‌کنیم. 180 صفحه است. چهارساله! در حالیکه این رو یه مترجم دیگه دوسه ماهه ترجمه می‌کنه.

For instance, Nabavi's reputation and recognition is demonstrated by the fact that his publisher put his name twice on the Persian translation of *Photography: A Critical Introduction* ['Akāsy: Darāmdy Intiqady] (Wells, 2011). Nabavi, also, works as an editor. He translated books collaboratively with other translators. Nabavi portrays a situation of collaborative translation where he was both one of the three translators of the book and the editor of the project (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran). The publisher, Minooye Kherad, inserted his name twice on the front cover and twice on the spine of the book. this example is rare, but significant. In this case, translators are executive, revisionary and declarative translators and they have a similar share in the process of translation, as Nabavi's statement suggests.

In another example, Ghabraee received assistance from his friends in rereading his translations of the novels, *The Waves* (Woolf, 1931) and *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge [The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge]* (Rilke, 1910): "each of these books takes me four to five years to translate"(my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[31] Both books are attributed only to Ghabraee on the front cover, title page and CIP. In the preface of *Mojhā* [*The Waves*], Ghabraee acknowledges the role of proof-readers and editors. However, before the preface, in the dedication page, he mentions that the book's fonts and punctuation system are selected by the translator. This is perhaps to explain part of the revisionary role, as it is uncommon for a translator, even established ones, to contribute to book design. This indicates that while

[31] Rilke's book is originally written in German, however, Ghabraee translated the book from its English translation.

هرکدوم چهار پنج سال تو دستم نگه داشتم یعنی مثلا شده که اینارو بارها دوسته دیگری دیده بعد من مجددا دیدم مجددا اصلاح کردم نه یک بار و دوبار.

revisionary translatorship is attributed to other parties, Ghabraee is the main decision maker, to the extent of being asked to choose the book's typeface.

When asked if Ghabraee has ever had any assistance with the task of translating, he replied. "Yes, I had an assistant, a lady who helped me for three years" (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[32] In response to my question regarding how they worked together, Ghabraee remarked:

> each of us work on one specific part and then we exchange drafts to review and revise each other's translations…in fact each of us work on one specific part but I'm the one who goes through the whole translation. I compare and contrast the translated text with the original from the beginning to the end, line by line (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[33]

The way they collaborate is similar to Nabavi and Mohajer. However, this relationship is less symmetrical. As Ghabraee pinpoints in his statement, the person he collaborated with is a competent translator but still he needs to revise the whole draft himself. The reason that Ghabraee draws on collaborative translation is that the books he tends to translate are usually voluminous; he employs assistance to be able to finish the book (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[34] Ghabraee adds that "Several times I felt like collaborative translation was not worthwhile but I had also some good experiences of collaborative translation" (my interview,

[32] یه کمکی هم داشتم یه خانومی هم همکاری کرد با من و دو سه سال کار کردیم سه سال

[33] یا هر بخشی رو یکی کار می کنه بعد اون یکی می بینه یا اینکه معمولا اینجوری بود حالا اون یه خورده فروتنیه. هر بخشی رو کنار بذارم. هر بخشی رو یکی کار می کنه بعد من همه رو می بینم. یعنی اینجوریه. همه رو از اول تا آخر سطر به سطر مقابله می کنم و

[34] آقای غبرایی: احساس می کنم که حریفش نمی شم مخصوصا اگر متن پرحجم باشه یک مقدار کار آسون میشه

18 July 2017, Tehran).[35] A more manageable workload, as Ghabraee himself explains, serves as an incentive for collaborative translations (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[36]

Collaborative translation in the case of senior and mid-career translators responds to a different pattern from that performed by early-career and amateur translators. First, the hierarchical relation is not made visible among senior translators. The case of Nabavi and Mohajer demonstrates that, due to their status in the field, they both claim executive, revisionary and declarative roles. Nabavi's and Mohajeri's well-established positions in the translation field lend their work authority. The case of Ghabraee, also, responds to the decreased capacity of the translator to translate and revise the text by himself. Still, as he points out, he does translate the work, but the collaborators divide the chapters to be able to finish the book. Thus, the difference between this case and the cases of amateur and early-career translators lies in the executive role that Ghabraee plays. Although he does not call himself a supervisor, he retains the authority created by his position in the translation field.

In both examples of senior and mid-career translators, collaboration is a way of maintaining their visibility and status in the field and it is a strategy to claim their agency. Before concluding the chapter, there is also another form of collaboration I discovered throughout my research on *Harry Potter* translations in Iran.

---

[35] اگر طرف بتونه از پسش بربیاد بارها من این رو نتیجه گرفتم گذاشتم کنار که دیگه اون نتونست طرف پیش بیاد. ولی دو سه نمونه ی موفق هم داشتم که اینجوری بشه گفتم دیگه کتاب تیونگو هست 167صفحه یه چیزی تو این حدود. من نگاه می کنم اینهمه درهم الان بعد از این همه سال من رو می ترسونه.

[36] معمولا این کارایی که الان گفتم دونفری اینا مال این سالهای اخیره. چهار پنج ساله ی اخیر. و قبلا نه همه ی کارها رو دست تنها انجام دادم. ولی خب واقعیت این که من هرچند زیر باز نمیرم بالاخره فرسوده میشه. خسته می شه.

## Conspicuous Collaboration

As I mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, this section draws on collaboration in the process of translation production. I draw on my discussion that translators, publishers and editors give visibility to their collaboration in the translation project. Collaborations between translators and publishers are highly conspicuous in the prefaces.

Translators habitually acknowledge who bought a copy of the start text abroad. Due to the trade and finance sanctions imposed by the US since April 1980, Iran's financial relationship with Western countries is limited, if not to say almost non-existent (Bahmani-Oskooee, 2005, p. 11).[37] Accessing books, especially newly released ones, therefore, is not an easy task. The collaboration between the translators/publishers and the person who provides the book, or "the ordinary mediators" (Casanova, 2012, p. 299), while being short-term, is nevertheless crucial to the network formation and serves as a sufficient reason for the translators, publishers or editors to acknowledge it. In the case of retranslations produced in quick succession, it seems that acknowledging the book provider works as a way to prove that the text is translated from the original rather than being a rewriting of a previous translation.

For instance, the appearance of eighteen different translations of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* in the market raises doubts about the nature of retranslations. The following examples show how the actors' timely delivery of the start text is appreciated by translators as it allows them to keep up with the competition. For instance, the translators of

[37] This date indicates the time when Iranian students attacked the US embassy in Tehran and took American diplomates hostage.

*Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince* state that "We [the translators] would like to thank Mr. Houman Lavasani for his invaluable effort and his promptitude with providing English version of the book" (in Rowling, 2005c, n. p).[38] Or Eslamieh, in the post-face of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* (Rowling, 2004, pp. 413-414), writes:

> In the end, I feel obliged to offer my deepest and sincerest gratitude to those, whose unstinting support encouraged me in the journey of translating this book, before all, I thank my kind and compassionate sister Mahsa and her beloved husband, Mr. Christopher Todd Shop, who with their genuine affection and absolute dedication, provided me with the prompt access to Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix's original book.[39]

The example below is written by Rahimi the editor of the *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* whose name is on the front cover alongside with Rakhshanfar translator. The preface reflects on the editor's personal experience of purchasing the book:

> I vividly remember the Saturday night of June 21st, 2003, around midnight, when I, along with the huge crowd of Harry Potter fans, flowed into one of the bookshops in London to purchase the book as soon as it was released and to be among the first readers of the novel. Like other bookshops in London and across the world, the huge, avid crowd of readers was waiting for midnight […](Rowling, 2003d, p. 5).[40]

All these extracts show collaborations between translators and book providers without translators would not be able to access the start text in time to beat their competition. This

---

[38] از آقای هومان لواسانی برای تلاش ارزشمند و سرعت عمل بی نظیر شان در تهیه نسخه انگلیسی کتاب...نهایت سپاسگزاری را داریم.

[39] در پایان خود را موظف می دانم از همه کسانی که به هر نحو موجب دلگرمی من در امر ترجمه ی این اثر شده اند صمیمانه تشکر و قدردانی کنم. پیش از همه، از خواهر دلسوز و مهربانم مهسا و همسر گرانقدرش آقای کریستوفر تاد شاپ بی نهایت سپاسگزارم که با محبتی صادقانه و از خود گذشتگی، امکان دسترسی هرچه سریع تر به کتاب اصلی هری پاتر و محفل ققنوس را برایم فراهم آوردند.

[40] به خوبی نیمه شب شنبه بیست و یکم ژوئن ۲۰۰۳ را به خاطر می آورم، هنگامی که من در کنار خیل عظیمی از هواداران هری پاتر به سمت یکی از کتابفروشی های لندن برای خرید کتاب سرازیر شدیم تا بتوانیم میان اولین خوانندگان کتاب باشیم. شبیه به دیگر کتابفروشی های لندن و دیگر کتابفروشی های سراسر جهان جمعیتی عظیم و مشتاق منتظر نیمه شب بودند.

form of collaboration among translators, publishers and their family, friends and colleagues are prevalent, particularly for the newly released books, as interviewees of my study confirmed. It is a short-term collaboration but vital to the formation of a translation network.

To pre-empt readers' distrust of amateur or early-career translators, both translators and publishers give visibility to their practice as a way of increasing their acceptability in the market. This is usually at the expense of other translations; rivalry often leads to deprecating other translators. This is either through attempts to build translators' personae as knowledgeable and trustworthy agents by publishers/editors, questioning other translators' works by providing linguistic examples of mistranslation, or through approvals from collaborators with a high level of cultural capital in the process of publishing translation.

The following preface shows how a publisher pre-empts the possible reactions of other publishers. But, as the publisher, Hosseinzadeh, already knows, the translators are entering a competitive situation which can generate symbolic capital, and so he subtly deprecates the work of other publishers and translators to instead promote his own production. Hosseinzadeh, therefore, first addresses how publishing *Harry Potter* books has become the target of ridicule by other publishers:

> Many of my colleagues may disapprove of a publisher writing a preface for a 'childish' book, as they call it, such as Harry Potter. But I, myself, am among the zealous and ardent fans of this imaginary character and the book series. Thus,

> without any fear of being ridiculed by the snobs, I intend to write a few lines as a matter of courtesy (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 4).[41]

He continues with his motivations for publishing the book as the previous translations in his opinion have been "incorrect and full of mistakes" and draw on his collaboration with the translator as "therefore, with commissioning a knowledgeable and competent translator such as Somayeh Ganji, her ladyship, we made an attempt to present a distinguished work" (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 4).[42] Hosseinzadeh also adds that "discrepancies between this translation and the other translations it is because the publisher chose to translate the 'adult version' of *Harry Potter's book"* (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 5).[43] The publisher's use of eloquent language and the title that he uses not only for himself but also for his collaborators can be understood as a way of impressing readers and bestowing respect upon the translator.

The thought-provoking point in the quoted excerpts remains in a "sense of one's place" or "the mechanism of anticipation" as Wolf (2002, p. 40) explains. This means the actors, as Wolf (2002, p. 40) declares, "know how to attribute to themselves the position foreseen for

---

[41] شاید بسیار از همکاران بنده صلاح ندانند که برای کتاب به قول خودشان "کودکانه ای" مثل هری پاتر مقدمه ای از طرف ناشر بنویسند اما از آنجا که به نوبه خودم از علاقمندان و شیفتگان این شخصیت فانتزی و مجموعه کتابهای مربوط به آن هستم، بدون واهمه از ریشخند فضل فروشان قصد دارم تا چند سطری به رسم ادب بیان کنم.

[42] فاضل/Fāzil/: This word in Persian connotates other meaning such as accomplished, erudite, knowledgeable, learned, and wise. It is usually used for distinguished and highly regarded and elites of the society who are senior and experienced.

سرکارخانم/sarkār khānūm, a very formal and respectful way of addressing women in Persian and it is not as sarcastic as it may sound in English.

بنابراین با بکارگیری مترجم فاضل و توانایی همانند سرکار خانم سمیه گنجی سعی نمودیم، کاری متفاوت ارائه کنیم.

[43] اگر تفاوتی در متن این ترجمه نسبت به سایر ترجمه ها مشاهده میکنید به این دلیل است که ناشر "نسخه ویژه بزرگسالان" کتاب هری پاتر را برای ترجمه برگزیده است.

them [not only] in the field" but also, I would add, in the network. The knowledge of the mechanism of the field seems to be gained from the proactive role of readers of the book who usually express their comments and judgements toward the translations by sharing their opinions in related forums and fan pages.[44]

Thus, to avoid further accusations regarding their translation skills, translators take active steps and ask for readers' collaborations by providing a platform to share their feedback. The extracts below illustrate that the translator, by taking up a humble position, foregrounds the difficulty of the task of translation and asks for readers' further collaboration in correcting the book. Shabani, in the following passage, first introduces translators' tasks as being at the service of cultivating national culture, then, Shabani (Rowling, 2005c) asks readers to contact her for improving the translation:

> I truly hope that all the genuine efforts of the true translators of this nation are seen and are the origin of outstanding, and of course everlasting, works in Iranian culture and literature. Therefore, the translator finds it necessary to keep in touch with her respected and understanding readers and asks them to share their words, comments and criticisms via the email address below.[45]

[44] Dementor and Jadoogaran are the two Iranian websites which broadcast any news related to Harry Potter ranging from news about new translations of the novel to news about actors of Harry Potter movies. https://www.dementor.ir/ (access date: 13 December 2018).

http://www.jadoogaran.org/ (access date: 13 December 2018).

[45] به راستی امید آن دارم، تلاش حقیق همه مترجمان محقق در این مرز و بوم بهتر و بیشتر دیده شود و سرچشمه ی اثرات برجسته و البته ماندگار در تمام سطوح فرهنگ و ادب ایران زمین گردد. از اینرو مترجم برخود فرض میداند ارتباط علمی و فرهنگی اش را با خوانندگان محترم و فهیم حفظ نموده و از ایشان خواهش دارد حرف ها، نظریات و مباحثات خود را از طریق نشانی الکترونیکی... یا تهران صندوق پستی ...با اینجانب در میان بگذارد.

This form of connection with the readers is used as a strategy by translators to build a position for themselves with the readers of *Harry Potter's* series and consequently create a reciprocal visibility, as I will explain in chapter five. Similar statements are shared by other translators as they ask for readers' suggestions for further editions, Ganji writes (Rowling, 2005b):

> Translations are done by men. The best of men is but men at best [Insān Jāyiz al-Khatāst]. As the translator, I hope that if you find any mistakes and deficiencies in the translation let us know through the email address of the Zohreh publishing house.[46]

Similarly, the supervisor and project manager that I discussed in the first section of the chapter, Nourallahi and Abedini respectively, use similar strategies to build their relationship with the readers and creating a trustworthy position for themselves. For instance, Nourallahi states "[y]ou just need to go to the next page but do not forget that [I am] waiting for your constructive comments" (in Rowling, 2007b, n. p).[47] In the same way, Abedini writes "[h]opefully all these efforts are appreciated by all dear readers" (in Rowling, 2005c, n. p).[48] Translators in the quoted examples are strategically building their agentive role of translators in the production process which also has implications for their visibility.

As shown in this section, translators and publishers strive to establish their position by differentiating and defending their practice, providing proof of the quality of translation and building a reliable position for themselves among *Harry Potter's* readership. Translators and

---

[46] با این همه ترجمه امری زاده ی دست بشر است و نوع بشر جایز الخطاست. به عنوان مترجم امیدوارم هر کجا کمی و کاستی و احیانا اشتباهی در متن یافتید با نشانی الکترونیک نشر زهره ارتباط برقرار کنید.

[47] فقط کافیست صفحه را ورق بزنید اما فراموش نکنید که در پایان دابی منتظر انتقادات سازنده شماست.

[48] با امید به اینکه این تلاش مورد قبول و علاقه همه عزیزان واقع شود.

publishers who envision potential criticisms against their work ask for readers' contribution to further revisions of the translated text.

Another strategy that translators use to raise their own profile is to acknowledge the process through which the translation is commissioned. The following example is taken from a translation of *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*. For this translation, the translator, Ganji, first introduces herself as a bibliophile and then describes how she came to know about the *Harry Potter* series, at the same time promoting her translation*:*

> New Year's Holiday, for me, is always a pain…and for me, as I am usually at home to read a book or sleep, this is the worst time of the year. I received *Harry Potter* audio books on a CD with Jim Dale's pleasant voice…When Dr Hosseinzadeh offered me to translate the sixth instalment of the series, I could not resist the temptation. I confess that the *Harry Potter* spell was cast on me (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 1).[49]

As Ganji states, she has been commissioned to perform the translation by the publisher, Dr Hosseinzadeh. Again, using her academic title and addressing that she has been offered to translate the book, Ganji tries to convey readers that she is a competent translator. Then, she uses the following statement to criticise other translators. To readers, Ganji writes,

> If you tend to read the whole book first and then read the preface, you have probably noticed the difference between this translation compared to the other translations...This is partly due to remaining faithful to the original text. Not all,

---

[49] تعطیلات اول سال برای من همیشه مایه ی دردسر است. برای من که معمولا خانه هستم تا مطالعه کنم یا بخوابم کشنده ترین ایام سال است. به هر صورت از مدت مدیدی قبل از آن لوح فشرده چهار کتاب هری پاتر به دستم رسیده بود که با صدای جادویی جیم دیل همراه بود...زمانی که دکتر حسین زاده پیشنهاد ترجمه کتاب ششم را دادند نتوانستم بر وسوسه ام غلبه کنم. اعتراف میکنم که جادوی هری پاتر مرا هم افسون کرد.

Jim Dale, born in 1935, is a British actor, singer and narrator who has narrated the whole series of *Harry Potter*'s audio books. http://www.jim-dale.com/jim's_biography.htm (access date: 03 March 2020).

> but most of the proper nouns in the previous translations are translated incorrectly (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 2).[50]

Signs of rivalry among translators also exist in this translation. The translator continues the preface by listing the errors of the previous translations to outmatch rivals and convince readers of her translation's quality and the poor quality of the previous translations.

> To avoid confusion of those of you who have read the previous instalments by other translators, along with different equivalences in this translation I have inserted the equivalences suggested by the other translators as well (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 2).[51]

She concludes her preface by showing readers the difficult task of translation and the process of publishing it, and says,

> In the end, I'd like to thank my mother for enduring the long of work, Mr. Bahrami, my dear friend, for his precise and gentle guidance, Dr Hosseinzadeh for his patience in revising my translation, and all my good friends in Jadoogaran and Fantasy Academy websites for their helpful comments and their pleasant company. If I do not name them one by one, it doesn't mean that I have forgotten them, but I respect them all (in Rowling, 2005b, p. 3).[52]

This translation is presented as being translated by one translator. However, the list of individuals introduced by the translator illustrates that this translation is also the product of

---

[50] اگر شما هم مثل من اول کتاب را می‌خوانید وبعد مقدمه را، حتما متوجه تفاوت این ترجمه با دیگر ترجمه ها از همین اثر شده‌اید...بخشی از این تفاوت بدلیل وفاداری به متن اصلی است. نه همه، اما اغلب اسامی خاص در ترجمه های پیشین به اشتباه ترجمه شده اند.

[51] در ضمن برای جلوگیری از سرگردانی آن دسته از خوانندگان که پنج کتاب را با مترجمین دیگر دنبال کرده اند در کنار واژه های متفاوت این ترجمه علاوه بر ریشه های آن برابرهای پیشنهادی مترجمین دیگر ذکر شده است.

[52] Jadoogaran is an Iranian fanpage of *Harry Potter*. Retrived from: http://www.jadoogaran.org/modules/article/view.article.php/1129 (access date: 25 September 2019).

درخاتمه از مادر مهربانم، برای تحمل ساعات طولانی کار من؛ از دوست بسیار گرامی ام، آقای بهرامی عزیز، برای راهنمایی های دقیق ومشفقانه اش؛از جناب آقای دکتر حسین زاده برای ویراستاری پر صبر و حوصله اشان؛از تمام دوستان خوب سایت جادوگران و سایت آکادمی فانتزی برای نظرهای مفید و همراهی صبورانه اشان سپاس گزارم و اگر نام یکایک آن ها را نمی برم نه از سر فراموشی که به نشانه گرامی داشتن یاد همه اشان است.

collaborations among the agents of translation and is similar to what Rizzi (2018) calls a concealed form of collaboration. The translator takes advantage of previous translations to promote her own translation and underplay the work of previous translators. Drawing on the work of previous translators to simultaneously deprecate their efforts reflects the crafty potential of this form of collaboration which allow the translator to outmatch other competitors.

As my findings suggest translators, in contemporary Iran, give visibility to their collaborators who possess recognised cultural or symbolic capital. This is a strategy to acquire legitimacy and approval for their translation skills. In Shabani's preface written to *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince* (Rowling, 2005b), the translator, first, considers herself as a translator-scholar before acknowledging that "It is necessary to thank [Jenabe Aghaye] dear Dr Shabani who played a significant role in the quality and beauty of the present book" (n. p). [53]

Shabani attempts to highlight that her translation is approved by a well-educated person. Furthermore, the similarity between the translator's last name and the person who she acknowledged, Dr Shabani, conveys to readers that she is from an educated family. Thus, through her collaboration with Dr Shabani, she not only signifies her network and social capital but also, she enhances her own cultural capital.

[53]لازم است از توجهات و زحمت جناب آقای دکتر کیانوش شعبانی که در کیفیت و زیبایی کتاب حاضر نقش به سزایی داشته اند تشکر و قدردانی نمایم.

The final example in this section demonstrates another collaboratively translated *Harry Potter* book. Under the title of 'Publisher's Acknowledgement', Ali Elmi, the publisher, writes:

> hereby, I would like to offer my gratitude to the creators of this book who have relentlessly and generously tried to make the publication of the book happen promptly and meticulously…: Ms. Elham Aramnia and Mr. Shams al-Din Hosseini because of their fluent and eloquent translation.[54]

This list goes on by acknowledging the efforts of the typesetter, the proof-readers and copyeditors, and the general managers. By using superlative adjectives, the publisher tries to promote and distinguish their skills to validate the quality of translation. This is followed by the 'Translators' Acknowledgement' which states:

> We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Ali Elmi, the reverent director of Paykan Publication due to his unique management and intelligence in publishing this book (in Rowling, 2005c, pp., n. p).[55]

The publisher and the translators in this preface use acknowledgements to insist on collaboration as a fruitful and mutually beneficial practice: the translators' skills are praised by the publisher, while the publisher's request for publishing the book is credited by the translator. It seems they collaboratively promote each other to gain the benefits of collaborative translation. Collaborative translation, as illustrated throughout the chapter, is prevalent in Iran and it seems that translators' agency is best defined via their collaborative praxis. Collaborative translation is used as a strategy to confront the competition in the field.

---

[54] بدین وسیله سپاس خود را از پدید آورندگان این کتاب که با زحمات بی وفقه و بی شایبه در کوتاه ترین زمان ممکن با دقت عملی چشمگیر و در خور تحسین موجب شدند که این اثر به موقع به زینت چاپ آراسته گردد اعلام می دارم...از سرکارخانم الهام آرام نبا و اقای شمس الدین حسینی به خاطر ترجمه روان و شیوا.

[55] با سپاس فراوان از جناب آقای علمی, مدیریت محترم نشر پیکان به خاطر مدیریت و درایت منحصر به فردشان در چاپ این اثر.

This strategy is usually adopted for translations of best-sellers and fundamentally employed not only to gain financial capital but also to enter and maintain a position in the translation field.

My analysis of interviews and paratexts from the *Harry Potter Series* translations strongly shows that translator/supervisors, publishers and agents, by giving visibility to their collaborations, promote the quality of their translations in order to convince readers of the superiority of their translations compared to the others and claim their agency.

## Conclusion

As the manifestations of collaborative practices suggest, the literary translation field of Iran is dynamic, multilayered and flexible. Translators by defining their characters as "hybrid" and "networky", fashion their work as a collaborative praxis. This offers several benefits for them. As the first section of the chapter displayed, collaborative translation is beneficial for translators in defining an 'upper-hand' position for themselves. By giving visibility to their collaborators, translators create a superior position in relation to other translators, particularly in the case of amateur and early-career translators. The so-called "true translators", in the case of Nourallahi, have carried out the executive task of translation. But it is Nourallahi who is interviewed and gains visibility, because he is recognised as the translator whose translation of the *Harry Potter* book appeared first in the market.

Collaborative translation, as the evidence suggests, serves in the cases discussed here as a recourse to gain social and economic capital for newly-arrived agents in the field of literary translation which is "equated with power" that "used to influence the behaviours of others or to aid in achieving desired goals" (Smart, 2000 in Kung, 2015, p. 391). Collaborative translation

allows translating agents to manoeuvre power among translators and this form of power relation is presented to readers in order to define a legitimate position in the field for themselves. While collaborative translation for amateur and early-career translators is a strategy to create a visible status for themselves in the translation field, for senior translators collaborative translation responds to the logic of increasing efficiency and accuracy and consequently maintaining visibility.

Jansen and Wegner's notion of 'multiple translatorship' proved useful for understanding the agents' share in the practice of collaborative translation. However, as they point out, it is still tricky to place a borderline between roles. In the context of Iran, considering that all translators have declarative visibility, the share of their declarative visibility is unequal. While translators working under the supervision of a translation supervisor assume declarative and executive translatorship, one person stands above translators who has recruited them to the network.

The second section, 'collaboration in *translation*', demonstrates that translators by giving visibility to their network, first, give visibility to the collaborators who were at their service in the process of translation production. Second, they attempt to introduce themselves as trustworthy and capable agents of translation, while implicitly deprecating other translators works. Finally, they enhance their cultural capitals by associating themselves with educated and lettered individuals. These actions are taken to ensure and increase their visibility.

This also has implications for my argument regarding the literary translation field in chapter one. The statements of the translators demonstrate that they are aware of the

mechanism of the field and the “game” of translation, complete with its own rules. Translators, therefore, tend to adopt strategies to justify their translation practice against, for instance, anticipated criticisms. As I discussed, one of the counter arguments questioning the existence of a translation field is that translating agents do not “struggle to achieve an optimum position at the expense of other translators”(Gouanvic, 2014, p. 38). As the evidence outlined, rivalry and competition in the literary translation field of Iran is as intense that translating agents’ question and diminish the value other translators’ works to create an optimum position for themselves.

In summary, translators through synchronous collaboration enter a translaborative space which generates different degrees of visibility. Translators, who in Western studies of translation are assumed to be subservient to authors, through collaborative translation define a leading role and an authoritative position for themselves in contemporary Iran. In this case, all translators are visible, but their degree of visibility varies based on their class.

# Chapter Three: Retranslation in Iran

## Overview

In this chapter, I provide a detailed analysis of the competition in the literary translation field of Iran. This competition is sparked by the paucity of firm copyright laws (see chapter five for copyright laws in Iran). Retranslation is one of its direct consequences. In particular, as I discussed in chapter one, these retranslations are active retranslations that are produced in the state of competition which highlight the role of translators and agents associated with the publication of a retranslated text (see Pym, 1998, pp. 79-85). The Iranian book market usually offers multiple translations of a single book, and it is for the customer to decide which translation to buy. The demand for best-sellers, award-winners and representatives of the western literary canon stimulates further retranslations within a relatively short period of time (see discussion below). Frequent retranslations of the works of authors such as William Shakespeare, William Faulkner, Emily Brontë, Jane Austen, and George Orwell, among others, roused my curiosity to find answers to the question of why Iranian literary translators tend to retranslate. I am, mainly, aiming at investigating why there are increasing numbers of retranslations in Iran and how the practice of retranslation is performed by the multiple agents involved in the production of translations.

In what follows, I provide a discussion of the risks and gains of retranslations in Iran from the perspectives of recognised literary translators and publishers, drawing on interviews with various agents in the translation field. Then, I move on to answer why there are many retranslations of English works such as Orwell's *Animal Farm* in Iran. Particularly, I answer this question through analysis of the discourse around *Animal Farm* retranslations. To do so, I

provide quantitative data on *Animal Farm* retranslations, such as how many translations of the book exist in the market, how frequent their appearance is, and who the translators are in terms of the number of books that they translated, to see whether I can find a meaningful relation between these contextual factors and the quantity of *Animal Farm's* retranslations. This is followed by my paratextual analysis of five active retranslations of *Animal Farm*. Before concluding the chapter, by drawing on social media analysis, I analyse the reception of retranslations through readers' sentiments regarding retranslations of *Animal Farm*.

## The Risks and Gains of Retranslation

The discourse around retranslation in Iran is filled with negative critique as low-quality works. In Iran, the reception of retranslation mainly depends on who (re)translated the book. Unlike what has been studied so far, retranslation in Iran is mainly perceived negatively. In particular, this is because it is mostly practiced by amateur and early career translators and it became one of the distinctive features of amateur translators (see the example of *Animal Farm* retranslations below). However, existence of these low-quality retranslations increases the knowledge of Iranian readership to distinguish between amateur and non-amateur translators.

The retranslations performed by amateur or early-career translators are often suspected to be rewritings or plagiarised versions. Their translations are usually associated with being low-quality and the translators are assumed to be working for money. Such a concern around young translators is shared also by Karim Emami (2006c, p. 54), a well-known Iranian translator:

> I am concerned about young translators, those who are supposed to enter the field and be the next generation of literary translators, and even supersede us […] they do not gather enough experience and tend to translate complicated works from the very beginning, which results in lamentable works. This has made readers doubtful about their translations.[1]

This statement demonstrates distrust towards young amateur translators. The analysis of interviews with mid-career and senior translators is also interesting and requires a dual narrative. Mid-career translators are unwilling to retranslate books, and, if they do, they often regret it (in my interviews, July-September 2017, Tehran). Why? Simply, because as I mentioned earlier, retranslation is mainly associated with low-quality works. Senior translators, instead, proudly and openly reveal that they have retranslated books by giving proof of the corrections that they have made to new retranslations (in my interviews, July-September 2017, Tehran).

Therefore, the reason behind retranslations, are not necessarily bound to linguistics issues such ageing of the text (see, for instance,Van Poucke, 2017). Usually, it is the first translation and translator that are valued more by readers unless retranslation is performed by senior translators (see the reception analysis in this chapter). Mid-career translators and senior translators are frequently asked to retranslate different works not only by publishers but also by readers (see next section). In fact, publishers mainly commission experienced translators to retranslate a book, as my findings from interviews suggest (July-September 2017, Tehran). This

[1] من نگران پرورش مترجمان جوان هستم، کسانی که باید به میدان بیایند و جای مترجمان نسل ما را پر کنند و از ما جلوتر بروند. در حال حاضر...مدارجی را که ما برای تجربه اندوزی لازم میدانیم، جوان ها طی نمیکنند و خیلی از آن ها یک باره می روند سراغ کارهای دشوار. و حاصل کار اغلب تاسف آور است و خوانند گان را نسبت به کار مترجمان جدید بی اعتماد ساخته است.

is because of the trust and reputation that mid-career and senior translators have built for themselves in the literary translation field of Iran (see chapter five).

Five out of the six publishers who participated in my study have published retranslations (my interviews, July-September 2017, Tehran). Arbabi, the chief director of the Translators' and Interpreters' Association of Tehran, confirms that the majority of existing retranslations are commissioned by publishers, rather than originating from translators' interest in the task (in my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran). In other words, it is the economic capital gained that spurs the retranslations of best-sellers. For publishers, retranslation of saleable books has a good financial turnover and adds to their social prestige provided that they commission senior and recognised translators, as I will explain more in the following paragraphs.

For instance, publishing house Ofoq tends to retranslate world classics.[2] Samin Nabipour, the director of international affairs in Ofoq, responded to my question regarding why they have been retranslating world's classics under a series titled '[author's] heritage':

> it [retranslating] is rewarding in several ways. Economically, it is profitable; Socially, it is prestigious. We can offer a wide range of books to readers as well. We are planning to retranslate Hermann Hesse's oeuvre which has previously been retranslated several times, but we are commissioning great translators to retranslate them again. For instance, Asadollah Amraee retranslated Hemingway's heritage for us, his name not only guarantees the quality of translation but also it impacts on reception of the text…I mean when they see

[2] I conducted this interview with Samin Nabipour, Ofoq's director of international affairs, on 16 July 2017, Tehran.

that Amraee has retranslated the book, they trust the translation (my interview, 16 July 2017, Tehran).[3]

This statement shows that the quality of an author's work is valued through the translator's competence. That means, they are not retranslating Hemingway's works because the previous translations are poor translations, but because readers are inclined to read the books translated by Amraee.

The significance of the translators' skill and their trustworthiness in the literary translation market is a motivating factor for other publishers as well. Arbabi states that "I would publish a retranslation only if I can commission a great translator to retranslate a very well-known original work which has the potential to be better" (in my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[4] By better, Arbabi refers to a "fluent translation which is updated with the contemporary language of [Iranian] society" (see also chapter five for a definition of good translation by Iranian theoreticians).[5]

Lotfollah Saghravani, the director of Hermes publishing house, explains that they translated Albert Camus' *L'Étranger* (1942) directly from French and plan to retranslate Victor

---

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

Hermann Karl Hesse (1877-1962) is a celebrated German-Swiss novelist and the winner of Nobel Prize in 1946.

[4] وقتی میرم سراغ کاری برای بازترجمه که بدونم یک مترجم خیلی قدر دارم و یک اثر به نام.

[5] زبان روانتری داشته باشه و برای جامعه امروز ما قابل درک باشه.

Hugo's *Les Misérables* (Hugo, 1862) after that (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran). It seems the poor quality of the existing translations invoked Saghravani's decision to commission a translator for a retranslation of the book. The database of National Library of Iran shows that there are already 20 translations of *Les Misérables* into Persian. However, Saghravani states that he is aware of two previous low-quality translations (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran). About the translator of the work, Saghravani adds that "Parsayar is a lexicographer and he has compiled the most recent French-Persian dictionary," achievements that attest to his language competency (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).[6] The other point mentioned by Shaghravani is the potential of a good retranslation to expand the reputation of the publishing house. Explaining the motivations beyond commissioning a retranslation of the novel, Saghravani adds that:

> We do not seek economic gain, as there are books that are easy and cheap to retranslate and, at the same time, have vast readership, such as Orwell's books with little investment…We took the risk and invested in a retranslation of *Les Misérables* (Hugo, 1862), a two-thousand-five-hundred-page novel…Iran's book market needs the world classics…We don't have all Aristotle's books in Persian yet…whatever has been translated so far, is based on translators' personal choice and there has been no specific plan for rendering world literature directly into Persian (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).[7]

[6] مترجم ما کسی که این کار رو انجام داده آقای پارسایار هستند و ایشون سابقه فرهنگ‌نویسی دارند یعنی جدیدترین و مدرن‌ترین فرهنگ فرانسه به فارسی رو ایشون تالیف کردند.

[7] دنبال منافع اقتصادی نیستیم چون اگر اینطور بود سراغ کتاب هایی می رفتیم که هم ترجمه کردن آنها راحت تر هست و هم وقتی شما تولید کنی قیمت ارزان‌تری دارند و مشتری بیشتر مثل دو کتاب معروف جرج اورول...ما ریسک کردیم و روی رمان دوهزار و پانصد صفحه ای سرمایه گذاری کردیم...چون نشر ما تو ایران کمبود متون کلاسیک دارد. مجموعه آثار ارسطو هنوز به فارسی کامل ترجمه نشده...آنهایی هم که ترجمه شده اند بر اساس ذوق و انتخاب فردی مترجم بوده و هیچ برنامه ریزی برای ان نبوده است.

This statement shows that there is an educational motivation for retranslation. Saghravani, by commissioning eligible translators to systematically retranslate the world's classics, aims to enlighten Iranian readership and Iranian literary market. The academic background of Parsayar, the translator, demonstrates that his cultural capital is understood as the reason for offering an accurate translation of the text, as Saghravani declares (in my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).

Leila Hosseinkhani, the director of Agah publishing house, also rules out pursuing economic gain by publishing retranslations:

> there should be a need for retranslating a work, or we should feel that the book needs to be available in the market. However, in the case of parallel translations, we have no other choice but to publish our translations, as we have already invested in project, even if another translation is released by a recognised publisher or translator (My interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[8]

The need that Hosseinkhani refers to is similar to the reasoning behind the ageing of previous translations in terms of linguistic features. Also, Hosseinkhani rightly points that sometimes translations are released simultaneously. This is due to requirements of publishing permits and the non-existence of a database allowing publishers and translators to know if a work is waiting for a publishing permit (see chapter four).

As shown in this section, from the perspective of publishers, the major reason for retranslating a book is mainly to offer a *better* translation. A better translation is mostly defined

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

and understood in terms of, first, offering a translation which is closer to the target language (see chapter five); and second, a *better* translator, meaning translators whose names signals high quality of a new retranslation.

To sum up, retranslations for publishers have the potential to generate economic, symbolic and literary capital. As discussed in the cases of Hermes and Ofoq Publishing houses, publishers aim at a systematic program for (re)translating world classics, introducing renowned authors' repertoire into Persian by commissioning competent and recognised translators. The names and profiles of the translators commissioned for retranslation projects are significant in highlighting the privileges of current retranslations over previous ones and assuring readers of the quality of the product. However, this 'better' translation, rather than returning to the ST, is understood in terms of distancing from the language of the starting text by being fluent and readable, and by becoming closer to the language and culture of the target society.

In the following paragraphs, I discuss translators' attitudes towards the practice of retranslation. Among the participants of the study, seven translators out of ten have carried out retranslations at least once. The majority of the participants, as I will show below, state that they were unaware of other translations, or claim they have translated earlier but obtained the publishing permit later. Therefore, the process of issuing a publishing permit sometimes turn the situation in favour of their rivals.

This creates a variety of viewpoints towards retranslation amongst translators. Some of the translators express regret for engaging in retranslation or feel they need to justify why they have completed a retranslation of a book. Those who regret of their retranslations told me it

was due to the feedback they received from readers, as Meftahi, Ghandhari and Moghanloo report (my interviews, July and August 2017, Tehran). Maryam Meftahi, a mid-career translator, for instance, specifies she would not retranslate books anymore:

> After my first experience of retranslating a book, I decided not to retranslate any novels in the future. There were books I put aside in the process of translation as soon as I heard other translators were working on them…after retranslating *The Kite Runner,* I realised that I should give priority to introducing new authors and new books to Iranian readership instead of retranslating (my interview, 15 August 2017, Tehran).[9]

Similar views have been shared by other translators. Shaghayegh Ghandhari (2017) admits that she has retranslated a few books. However, she has been unaware of the pre-existing translations:

> I usually do not accept publishers' offers to retranslate books. Once I translated a book and, later, I happened to know that two other translators had previously translated it. I did not know this at the time of translation (My interview, 25 July 2017, Tehran).[10]

Mohammad Nabavi, in response to my question regarding the conditions under which he would retranslate a book, replied:

[9] *The Kite Runner* is written by Khaled Hossein, an Afghan-American author (2003).

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

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

> I, personally, retranslate a book when the previous one is filled with translation mistakes and when it is not translated into fluent Persian. Only in this situation, I guess, retranslation is defendable (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[11]

Also, in response to his own retranslation of a book on the history of art, Nabavi explains:

> when I finished translating the book, I figured out that another translator has also translated the same book. The publisher and I decided to wait for few years to allow the other translation to sell as much as possible. Then, we published my translation of the book. The reason is that the publisher and I are, comparatively, more recognised (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[12]

As the statement shows, Nabavi is confident that his translation will beat his rival's and he is well-aware that because of his own position in the literary translation field of Iran, his translations, even if released later, will sell out. Therefore, the strategy is to wait for other translations to be sold before unveiling Nabavi's translation. But again, the reason for this retranslation, similar to the previous examples, is that Nabavi and his publisher were unaware that the other translator was working on the book. This example raises awareness of the temporal aspects of retranslations, at least in the case of Iran. It seems that retranslations follow no specific pattern and translators and publishers decide to release their translations rather in a flexible manner to gain other sorts of benefit.

The translator of the novels *Seeing* (Saramago, 2004) and *Blindness* (Saramago, 1995), Asadollah Amraee, justifies his decision to retranslate the novels by expounding that his retranslation is closer to the author's style of writing (in my interview, 17 August 2017,

---

[11] من شخصا زمانی کتابی را بازترجمه می‌کنم که ترجمه قبلی پر از ایراد باشه و به فارسی سلیس ترجمه نشده باشه. به نظرم تنها در این حالت بازترجمه قابل دفاع است.

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

Tehran).[13] At the same time, Amraee has edited the retranslation for higher readability while remaining close to the original text (in my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran). Amraee confidently defends his retranslations, and openly acknowledges previous translations of the work:

> As for my retranslation of *Blindness*, wherever I have mentioned my translation I always acknowledged the previous translation of the text and its translator, Ms Moshiri, who is an educated and a discerning person. Her translation has also been edited by an adept editor. I want to be fair. The point is that by the time I started translating *Blindness,* I did not know that the book had already been translated (Amraee, my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[14]

Amraee also gives the example of another instance where he figured out that another translator was translating the same book as he was. He describes the occasion as follows:

> Once, I met a young enthusiastic translator. She told me that she has translated a novel and will be published soon. I let her know that I had translated the same book too and will be published the same year. As soon as she heard that she got upset. I asked her the reason. She said, "if your translation is in the market no one will read mine". I told her that "I am sure people will read your translation since you are collaborating with a great publisher, and I won't publish mine" (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[15]

Similar to other translators, Amraee also points out that he was unaware of the other translation. But, interestingly, the conversation between Amraee and the young translator, as

---

[13] José de Sousa Saramago, born in 1922, is a Portuguese author who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1998. One of his most famous works is *Blindness*, Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/biography/Jose-Saramago (access date: 03 March 2020).

[14] درباره بازترجمه کوری هم من هر جایی در مورد ترجمه خودم حرف زدم حتما اشاره کردم که فضل تقدم با خانم مشیری بوده. ایشون آدم تحصیل کرده و گزیده کاری هستند. ویراستار خوبی هم داشتند. من نمیخواهم حق رو زیر پا بگذارم.

[15] با مترجمش خیلی اتفاق یه خانم جوانی بودش خیلی هم مشتاق با هم صحبت کردیم. گفت آره منم رمانش رو ترجمه کردم هنوز درنیومده و به زودی قراره دربیاد. گفتم اا چه خوب منم این کتاب رو ترجمه کردم. یعد یه لحظه دیدم که جاخورد. بعد گفتم چرا ناراحت شدی. گفت آخه ترجمه‌ی شما بیاد ترجمه‌ی من رو نمی‌خونن. گفتم نه ترجمه‌ی شما رو هم می‌خونن ناشرت هم خوبه. ولی من کارم رو منتشر نمی‌کنم.

well as Nabavi's examples, demonstrates that translators have developed a knowledge of the literary translation field which allows them to anticipate the outcome of their actions in the field.

Farzaneh Taheri, in response to the question regarding her motivations for retranslating *Metamorphosis* (1915b), states that the previous translation of the book had almost been a literal translation, which had highly affected its readability (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran). This example implies that higher readability and fluency in translation is valued highly in the literary translation market of Iran.

Retranslating allows translators to enter the literary translation field. For instance, Vida Eslamieh used to work as the editor of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (Rowling, 1997). Later, however, instead of editing the novel, she decided to retranslate the first three instalments of the *Harry Potter* series. Although she was late in joining the competition over *Harry Potter* translations, she has been highly successful in gaining an outstanding recognition among *Harry Potter's* Iranian readership (see chapter five).

By drawing on translators' views on retranslations, I have shown that it is the social status of the translators in question that defines and justifies the existence of retranslations in Iran. As in the case of Amraee and Nabavi, it becomes obvious that established translators are aware of the trust their readers put into them. Even if the readers are less familiar with the author, the translator's name is a sufficient indication of the quality of the book (see chapter five).

So far, I have provided an account of translators' and publishers' perspectives on the practice of retranslation. My account of translators' perspectives towards retranslation revealed that some translators, depending on their experience and status, regret their retranslations; some were unaware of other translations; and others are proud of their retranslation practice. In the following section, I aim to explain the reasons for high number of *Animal Farm's* retranslations.

## *Animal Farm*: A Case Study of Retranslation

*Animal Farm* is a notable example of the practice of retranslation in Iran. The book has been retranslated 97 times since 1979 and is the most retranslated English book. Apparently, only the French *Little Prince* with 120 retranslations has a higher distribution in the Iranian literary market.[16] The figures below provide an overview of the frequency of *Animal Farm* retranslations since the first translation of the book appeared.

As figure 3. 1 illustrates, the first translation of *Animal Farm* appeared between 1965 and 1969. This first translation was published by FBP (further explained below). Then, between 1980 and 1984, four different retranslations of the book appeared. This occurred right after the Islamic Revolution. During this time the copyright laws due to the reasons elaborated in chapter one and five has not been enforced. Since 2005, there has been a sharp increase in *Animal*

[16] The data on the frequency of retranslations of the book is collected from National library of Iran (http://www.nlai.ir )and khānih kitāb (www.ketab.ir ) by searching both Persian translated titles: قلعه حیوانات /Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt/ and مزرعه حیوانات / Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt /.

*Farm's* retranslations. Seventy-seven retranslations of *Animal Farm* appeared after 2010, in line with a growth in the internet usage and politically fundamentalist's period.

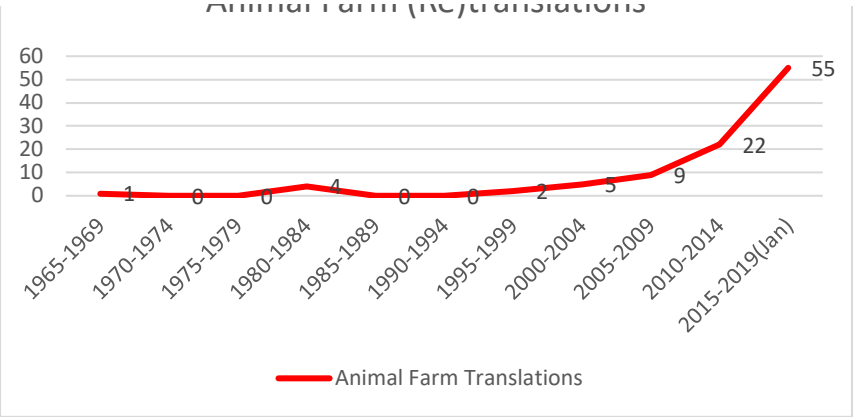



Figure 3. 1 Trend of *Animal Farm* retranslations since 1969

This frequency patterning demonstrates that *Animal Farm*'s retranslations is active. Pym points out that in the case of active retranslations the causes are "far closer to the translator" (1998, p. 83). Thus, I reviewed the profiles of the translators to find out possible reasons behind the retranslations of *Animal Farm*. The translators were mostly in their 30s when they retranslated the book (see figure 3. 2). Out of the 97 (re)translators—46 of them female translators—72 are either amateur or early-career literary translators (see figure 3. 3).[17]

[17] This data is collected from national library of Iran database. I have first looked for Persian titles of *Animal Farm* that is حیوانات قلعه و مزرعه حیوانات و انقلاب حیوانات only the Animal's Revolution is an adaptation of the original. Then I recorded translators' demographic information and the year of publication of the translation. After that I looked for the translators' name to see how many translations they have, in what genre, and how many books they have translated before translating *Animal Farm*. Then, I indicated translators age if it was provided in the CIP. Some names are highly common such as Fatemeh Heidari which made it difficult to understand if the same person has translated other books, so I have excluded their profile. Up to 30 January 2019, 97 different Persian translations of the book exist in Iran's translation market.

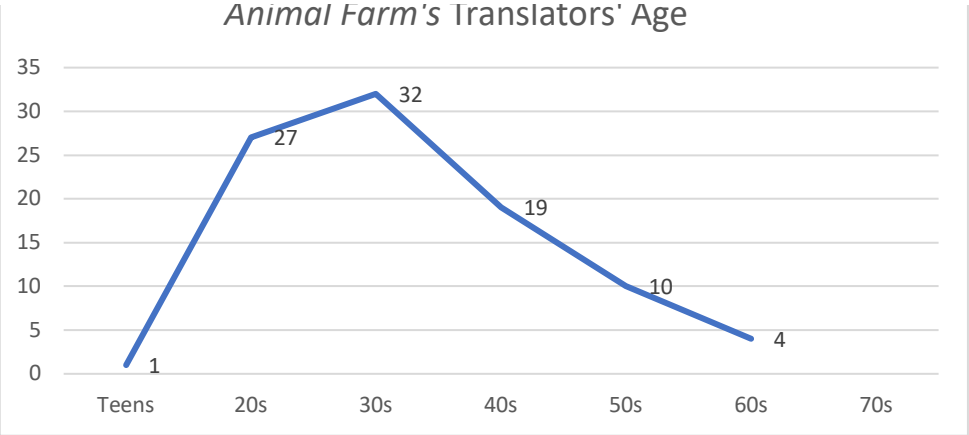



Figure 3. 2 The age of *Animal Farm's* translators

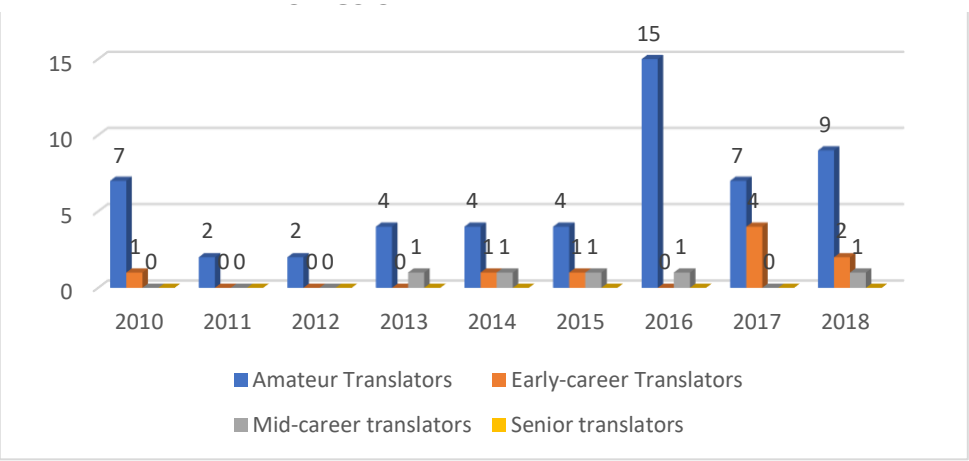



Figure 3. 3 *Animal Farm* translators' professional status

That means that *Animal Farm* is either their first published literary translation or their second. The interesting point is that their other translated books are also retranslations. This means that amateur and early career translators are conservative players in the literary translation field and, rather than introducing new books and new authors to the Iranian book market, they tend to retranslate books, a practice which carries less risk. This might be their personal decision or reflects publishers' demands. Publishers do not usually trust amateur and early-career translators enough to assign them new literary works due to the publishing policies of Iran. Obtaining publishing permit for *Animal Farm* is easier and less time-consuming as due

to the high number of its retranslations, the MCIG assessors do not read the book anymore, as Kaveh Kaghazchi, director of Chelcheleh publishing house, claims (in my interview, 02 May 2018, Tehran). Therefore, publishers drive translators towards retranslating such books. This is evident in the types of the books that the translators of *Animal Farm* retranslate. For instance, out of 72 amateur translators of *Animal Farm*, 20 of them have translated popular commercial books.

What do the graphs tell about retranslations of *Animal Farm*? To carry out retranslations, such practitioners do not necessarily need to possess a high translation competence. There is the possibility of copying previous translations, applying minor modifications, and presenting them to the market as new translations. Thus, it seems that retranslations of literary works are attractive to junior translators for the economic and symbolic capitals they can offer. The translators' repertoire suggests that amateur translators, at least in the case of *Animal Farm*, retranslate due to the economic capital that they can obtain, and the basic level of visibility that their name on a book in the market brings. Retranslation allows them to be identified as translators which, at least, brings them social prestige and job insurance (see chapter five).

For instance, among the retranslators of *Animal Farm*, I noticed a seventeen-year-old girl who has retranslated and published eight other books in a single year, including *The Little Prince*. Twenty-one translators out of seventy-two have also retranslated *The Little Prince*. The rest tend to retranslate other English or French best-sellers. Moreover, *Animal Farm* and *The*

*Little Prince*, due to their short-length, simple prose and popularity among Iranian readers, provide an attractive choice for amateur and early-career translators.

Small and newly established publishers lower the financial risk of publication by choosing a literary amateur or an early career translator. To my question of why retranslations are so common in Iran by giving the example of *Le Petit Prince,* Arbabi replies:

> We have 20 or 30 retranslations of *The Little Prince* [Shāhzādih Kūchūlū]. Usually, amateur translators tend to retranslate such works. What does it tell us? These [retranslations] are recommended by the publishers. Why? Because no matter who is (re)translating the book, translation of *The Little Prince* is profitable for the publisher. They don't care about the quality (my interview, July 2017, Tehran).[18]

Thirty-six publishers who have published *Animal Farm* have also published *The Little Prince.* For these books, it does not seem to matter who the translator is. The translations will be read because of their content. Therefore, it seems to be true that publishers, mostly, are also willing to publish retranslations.

Initial analysis of translators' profiles and retranslations shows that retranslations have usually been used as an entry point for some amateur and early-career translators who are trying to make their way into the field of literary translation. In the following section, I scrutinize the paratexts of some active retranslations of *Animal Farm* to understand whether

[18] یعنی ما از یه اثری مثلا شازده کوچولو یه چیزی حدود 20 تا ترجمه 30 تا ما تو ایران داریم. اینکه مترجم های مختلف بعضا مترجم های مبتدی می رن سراغ این کار. این نشونه ی چیه؟ این از سمت ناشر میاد. ناشر میگه آقا شازده کوچولو رو حسین قلی خان هم ترجمه کنه اسم شازده کوچولو می فروشه اصلا. در نتیجه دیگه براش کیفیت مهم نیست هیچی.

*Le Petit Prince [The Little Prince]* (1943) is written by French author Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (1900-1944).

the new retranslation challenges previous ones, and whether they claim any distinctive features.

### *Paratexts of Animal Farm*

As Paloposki and Koskinen (2004, p. 29) explain, adaptation is a phase of "literary development". *Animal Farm* was first published in Iran as an adaptation by Ali Javaherkalam in 1950 entitled *Inghilāb-i Hiyvānāt* [Animals' Revolution] (Orwell, 1950). The book was suggested to Javaherkalam for translation by a British scholar of Persian language and literature, Laurence Paul Elwell-Sutton (1912-1984), as Javaherkalam's son writes. Javaherkalam's adaptation of *Animal Farm* is highly domesticated to the extent that he changed the characters' names into Persian ones. Old Major, the character in *Animal Farm* who encourages the animals to revolt, for instance, has been translated as *Rū'īn Tan*, which means impregnable. In response to the British scholar's suggestion, according to the translator's son, Javaherkalam said: "This is an interesting book. However, to impress Iranian readers it would be better that I transform it based on Iranian culture and traditions"(Javaherkalam, 1999, p. 420). It seems also in line with the translator's attitude towards the task.

Figure 3. 4 Front cover of Persian adaptation of *Animal Farm*

The first Persian translation of *Animal Farm,* therefore*,* was published twenty years after the book's release date, in 1969, under the title of *Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt* [Animal's Bastion] (Orwell, 1969) translated by Amir Amirshahi. I first draw on the characteristics of this first translation, its paratextual function and the motives for its translation as the figure and influence of the first translator is "rarely if ever entirely absent" from retranslations (Kaisa Koskinen & Paloposki, 2015, p. 37). I hope to elucidate, first, what has motivated the first translation, second, why further translations of the text are conducted, and how they tend to justify their production.

The publication of *Animal Farm*'s first translation (1969) was concurrent with the second phase of communism in Iran, an era when the Iranian communist party *Tūdih* became more powerful (Haqshenas, 1992). This was concomitant with the activities of the Franklin Book Program in Iran and their agenda to "combat communism", as Travis argues (2013, p. 197). The book's content, therefore, fitted well with the political context of the time.

This can be corroborated with the background of Amirshahi, magistrate and translator of the book. My search on Amir Amirshahi's translation activities, through the National Library of Iran's database, shows that *Animal Farm* is Amirshahi's only published translation. His engagement with the translation of the book seems to be mediated through his younger daughter Mahshid, a well-known author and former editor of the Franklin Publishing House. Amirshahi's wife Moloud Khanlari was a political activist and a member of *Tūdih* party.[19] In an

[19] Mahshid Amirshahi in an interview with Beyzaei, 19 October 2003. Retrieved from http://www.amirshahi.org/Biography/beizai.htm (access date: 17 October 2019)

interview, Mahshid admits her father's anti-communist attitude.[20] Therefore, the translation of the book seems to be in line with the translators' agenda as Amirshahi himself was critical of communism.

The literal translation of the title may mistakenly signal that the book belongs to children's literature. The Persian title of Amirshahi's translation, that is *Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt* [Animal's bastion], seems to aim at attracting adult readers. The publication of the translation by Sazeman-e Ketabhaye Jibi [a pocket-size book publisher] in 20,000 copies per print-run allowed the book to find more readers. This translation is still available on the market as the most reprinted version, and has served as a model for most of the retranslations in terms of title and, seemingly, translation strategy, as Askarzadeh Torqabeh and Fadaei (2012) claim. This could partially be due to what Claude Demanuelli label as hot and cold (re)translation to address the benefits of time interval between publication of the original translation and retranslation (in Vanderschelden, 2000, p. 13). Accordingly; "When you translate a text it is always difficult to know how it will evolve, especially if it is to become an important work"(in Vanderschelden, 2000, p. 17). This categorizes Amirshahi's translation as 'cold', one which benefits from "the hindsight and distance 20 or 30 years make possible."(Demanuelli in Vanderschelden, 2000, p. 17). Analysis of the translator's profile and the publishing company seem to suggest that the translator's motivations for translating the book are in line with the original author's criticising the consequences of communist societies. However, further

[20] Mahshid Amirshahi in an interview with Bezaei, 19 October 2003. Retrieved from http://www.amirshahi.org/Biography/beizai.htm (access date: 17 October 2019)

research is required to reveal the preliminary norms for the selection of the book for translation with the support of Franklin Book Program.

### *Retranslations of Animal Farm*

I have selected five retranslations of the book based on the profiles of the translators and availability of the books. All the selected retranslations have been published in a short period of time and are to be considered 'active retranslations' in the sense that they share "the same cultural location" and are produced in a highly competitive market (Pym, 1998, pp. 82-83). I selected retranslations based on the status and experience of the translators in a chronological order. The retranslations are conducted by a senior translator, Homayoun Nourahmar, a mid-career translator, Ahmad Kasaeipour, two literary early-career translators, Abbas Zarei and Shahab Habibi, and by a team of amateur translators, Pari Ghayouri and Hamidreza Ghayouri. The retranslations were respectively conducted in 1983, 2011, 2014, 2015 and 2018.

The most explicit differences between the first translation and the retranslations that I selected for this study lie in the selection of the Persian title and the visibility of translators (figure 3. 5). Retranslated by Nourahmar, a recognised Iranian literary translator, in 1983, the retranslation signals closeness to the start text by entitling the book *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt* [Animals' Farm] (Orwell, 1983). The translator's attention to the author's style is noticeable in the preface of the book. Beginning with the biography of the author and his own professional journey, the translator goes on by comparing his own style to Orwell and "[Jonathan] Swift's style of writing"(in Orwell, 1983, p. 8).

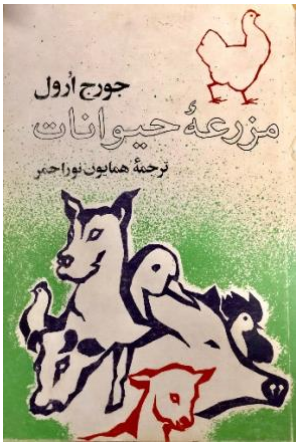



Figure 3. 5 *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt*, front cover, translated by Homayoun Nourahmar

The "agentive role" of the translator can be seen in several footnotes (Paloposki, 2010, p. 104). Five categories of footnotes are identified: Explanation of figures of speech, transliteration of proper nouns, conversion of measurement units such as yard and bushel, informing readers of English equivalences of translated noun phrases such as Whiter Wool Movement, and clarifications of untranslatable words. Most of the footnotes are cultural realia that are "intimately bound up with the universe of reference of the original culture" (Lefevere, 1993, p. 122) and represent as the translator's attempts at getting closer to the start text. This retranslation, by giving visibility to the foreignness of the text and providing evidence of a higher level of accuracy, challenges the reliability of previous translations.

Further retranslations of *Animal Farm*, which I will discuss shortly, share the following common features: they are all produced in the 2010s and the translators achieve a higher level of paratextual visibility. This can be explained by the fact that, since 1998, it is mandatory for all books to register for Cataloguing in Publication (CIP) in Iran. Inserting CIP means that name and

date of birth of translators are indicated in all translated books published in Iran.[21] Other reasons for an increased production of retranslations include technological advances in printing and designing. These advances sped up the process of publishing and offered higher marketing potentials.

The retranslation of *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 2011) by Kasaeipour has been published in two different editions, medium octavo and pocket size, in 2011 and 2013, respectively, with different pricing and print-run. This retranslation is presented as a new edition of *Animal Farm* published on the fiftieth anniversary of the book. Therefore, they signal readers that the start text is a different one compared to the previous retranslations. This may seem to be a fair justification for a new retranslation of the book. However, the hallmark of the start text for fiftieth anniversary edition lies in its new preface by Orwell, *Freedom of the Press*. This preface is removed in the Persian retranslation. Instead, it is replaced with Orwell's preface to the Ukranian translation of the book.

There are two possible reasons for this choice. First, the sensitive topic of the preface has led the publisher or translator to remove the start text's preface. Second, due to the marketing purposes and intense competition in the literary translation field, the book has been promoted as being translated from the new start text. The extensive use of start text's illustrations, also, seems to be a strategy to signal readers that this translation is translated from the new edition of the start text (see chapter five for trust-signalling strategies). This

[21] Retrieved from http://opac.nlai.ir/opac-prod/faqContent.do?command=showFAQContent&id=294481&code=1&type=2 (access date: 18 January 2019).

implies that the publisher and the translator try to convince readers why they have retranslated the book.

The cover of the medium size book is identical to the cover of the original *Animal Farm* for the new edition (see figure 3. 6).The octavo medium size, with an ornamental packaging, was published in 2011 and was last reprinted in 2013. The pocket size has been reprinted 9 times since 2014.

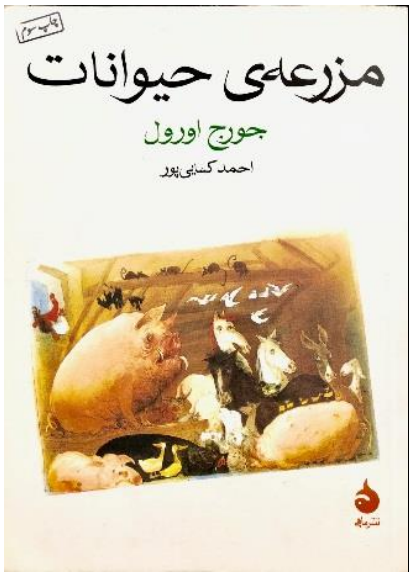



Figure 3. 6 Front cover of *Animal Farm,* translated by Kasaeipour

This retranslation, compared to the previous one, is entered the book market by challenging previous translations through its claim to be translated from the new edition of the *Animal Farm*. Kasaeipour, the translator of the new retranslation, is a senior translator. Publishing the book in two different sizes but with different prices seems to be a strategy for reaching out to a wider variety of readers.

In the same year, that is 2014, Abbas Zarei's retranslation was published by Amout (see figure 3. 7). Regarding translatorial choices, the title is the same as previous titles; that is

'*Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt'* (Orwell, 2014). The translator is inconsistent in providing footnotes. Features of this retranslation suggest that economic and social capital have been of crucial concern to the publisher and translator. For instance, the translator's name on the front cover appears in a large font, as big as the author's name is. Orwell's biography and an excerpt of the novel are printed on the blurb. Amout, the publisher of the book, has inserted the publishing company's emblem on the front, back, spine, title page and ID page of the book. Amout's strong marketing strategies, such as promotion of the translation through social media, allowed this retranslation to be among the publisher's monthly list of best-sellers. Routinely Amout promotes its published books and its translators by sharing the images of the books on Instagram.[22]

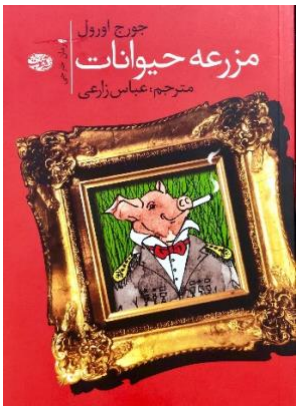



Figure 3. 7 Front cover of *Animal Farm* translated by Abbas Zarei

Abbas Zarei, the translator, is less recognised in Iran's literary translation field. By relying on the social capital of the publisher and the fame of the book, Zarei,through this retranslation, introduced himself to the literary translation market, which has the potential to generate social and economic capital. It seems this has worked, as he was interviewed by news agencies

[22] The publisher Instagram account @aamout has more than 79800 followers by 11 August 2019.

afterwards. In his interview with Qods online, in response to the question why translators tend to retranslate books, Zarei replies "Undoubtedly, publishing famous [translated] books that are well-received by readers is a low-risk practice" (in his interview with Khadijeh Zamanian, 03 September 2016).[23] Zarei continues: "introducing a new author would not necessarily result in commercial success of the book…it requires huge effort and financial investment" (in his interview with Khadijeh Zamanian, 03 September 2016).[24] Thus, as the translator admits, he is more willing to retranslate an already established work instead of taking the risk and trouble of introducing new works to the market. This also supports the initial findings from my analysis of the profiles of the translators.

The next retranslation of *Animal Farm* (Orwell, 2015) by Shahab Habibi is the most outspoken retranslation. It is a pocket-size translation of the novella and it includes a dedication and a preface (for the image of the book see figure 3. 8). Habibi, first, establishes his persona as reliable and educated. In the dedication page, for instance, Habibi says "I dedicate the translation of the book to Nahid, my mother, with whom I haven't passed a day without learning" (in Orwell, 2015, n. p).[25] Habibi continues by introducing himself a "bookworm" and

---

[23] From Zarei's interview with Qods Online. Retrived from http://qudsonline.ir/news/418948/ترجمه-پر-زحمت-است-و-درآمد-ندارد (access date: 17 January 2019).

بدیهی است چاپ اثری که مشهور است و بین مردم جا افتاده است، ریسک کمتری دارد

[24] From Zarei's interview with Qods Online. Retrived from http://qudsonline.ir/news/418948/ترجمه-پر-زحمت-است-و-درآمد-ندارد (access date: 17 January 2019).

اما معرفی یک چهره جدید ادبی ممکن است لزوماً با موفقیت همراه نباشد... ضمناً جا انداختن یک چهره ادبی جدید بین مردم مستلزم صرف وقت، هزینه و تلاش فراوان است.

[25] ترجمه این اثر را تقدیم می کنم به مادرم ناهید، که از کودکی تا کنون، روزی را بدون آموختن از او نگذرانده ام.

he admits that the title, the cover design and the length of the *Animal Farm* translation that he used to read when he was ten "sounds like it was written for children" (in Orwell, 2015, p. 5).[26]

However, Habibi immediately adds that his experience of reading the book as a highschool student was different: "it was like I was seeing other layers of the book. I was a grown-up and more familiar with words such as dictator, despotism and…more familiar than before. Much more familiar than before" (in Orwell, 2015, p. 6).[27] He goes on, adding that: "If I was to decide about what should be taught at school, I would make it compulsory for students to read this book…because this book has great potential to make people contemplate their surroundings" (in Orwell, 2015, p. 7).[28] This is interesting as the translator is adding his own lived experience of another society and culture of a different time to that of the author.

Therefore, it seems that Habibi aims to reinforce his own political agenda through retranslation of the text and that he found a way of giving voice to his opinion. This is to some extent similar to that of the first translator of the novel, Amirshahi. It seems with changes in the socio-political situations the reason behind this retranslation is getting closer to the intention behind the appearance of the first translation of *Animal Farm*. The difference is that Orwell's criticisms of communist societies was relevant to Amirshahi's time. Because, at that time, the

[26] از اسمش اینطور بر می آمد که برای کودکان نوشته شده باشد.

[27] این بار انگار تازه داشتم لایه های دیگر داستان را می دیدم. بزرگ تر شده بودم و با واژه ها و عبارت هایی مثل دیکتاتور، استبداد و...اشناتر از قبل. خیلی اشناتر از قبل.

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

Iranian communist party was influential. But, in contemporary Iran, communist discourses are not there any more.

This is also supported by the front cover image of Habibi's retranslation, as presented in figure 3. 8, in which the Old Major, the character who invites the other animals to revolt against the farmer, mirrors the position of the readers or viewers of the book while looking beyond the title that is *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt* [Animal Farm]. Hermeneutical functions of paratexts expose "certain aspects or qualities, mediating relevant contexts, instructing the understanding or interpretation"(Batchelor, 2018, p. 160). This is happening precisely in the case of Habibi's retranslation of *Animal Farm*. In his preface, Habibi attempts to convince readers of his own reading of the text. Habibi highlights his ideological motivations behind retranslating the book and makes attempts to raise readers' awareness of the metaphorical content of *Animal Farm* and, consequently, widens readers' "interpretive options" (Batchelor, 2018, p.160).

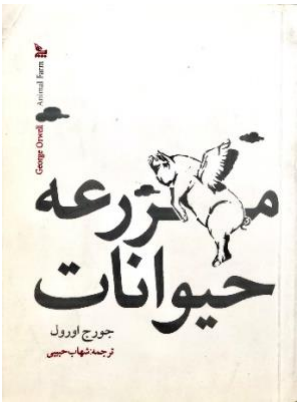



Figure 3. 8 Front cover of *Animal Farm*, translated by Shahab Habibi

For instance, explanations are given for selected equivalences, but he insists that "it doesn't make any difference in the message of the book if the measurements are given roughly" (in

Orwell, 2015, p. 8).[29] Or, regarding the technical terms for agricultural tools, he pinpoints that he has passed a subject at the university to learn about the technical equivalences in Persian, but again he asks readers: "don't take it hard as the story is not about these things" (in Orwell, 2015, p. 8).[30] Habibi's preface illuminates his concern to uncover metaphorical meanings of the book which may not be unravelled and noticed by ordinary readers.

On his motivations for translating the book, Habibi writes "I would like to play a role in introducing this masterpiece to others" (in Orwell, 2015, pp. 6-7).[31] This shows that he is conceiving an active role for himself through retranslation. His enthusiasm for this book is foregrounded with his statement that "[h]onestly, I have written a review of the book as lengthy as the original. However, I couldn't publish it for several reasons. Maybe some other day, another time! But, until that day comes, keep reading the book and thinking about it" (in Orwell, 2015, p. 8).[32] The metacommunicative discourse concerning this translation highlights the significance of retranslation in promoting the agenda of the translators.

Regardless of how often the book is retranslated, at least in this instance, the translator employs retranslation as a strategy for giving voice to his own ideology and criticism of the social context of his country. My review of Habibi's social profile revealed that he is a social

---

[29] حالا یک وجب این طرف و آن طرف، اصل حرف فرق نمی کند!

[30] کماکان زیاد سخت نگیرید که بازهم حرف چیز دیگری است.

[31] تصمیم گرفتم ترجمه ای از این داستان را همراه با برداشت های گوناگون و یادداشت های خود در این مورد منتشر کنم تا به سهم خود، نقشی کوچک در معرفی این شاهکار به دیگران داشته باشم.

[32] راستش را بخواهید تفسیر نسبتا کاملی هم از این داستان نوشتم که تقریبا هم اندازه خود کتاب شد، ولی نیاز به گفتن نیست که به دلایلی نا گفتنی، قادر به چاپ آن نشدم. شاید روزی دیگر و شاید در زمانی دیگر!

activist. For his own review of *Animal Farm,* Habibi used Facebook to inform readers that the book has not been given a publishing permit by the ministry.[33] However, he promised the readers that if he cannot publish it, he will share the book online on his Facebook account. While, Habibi's own authored book about *Animal Farm* has not been yet published, this example sparked me to investigate the reception of *Animal Farm* on the internet, to which I return further below.

Another retranslation that is worth discussing here was produced collaboratively by two translators, Hamidreza Ghayouri and Pari Ghayouri (Orwell, 2018a). This case reveals the possibility of plagiarism in retranslation and suggests the reason behind increasing distrust of amateur and early career translators. The front cover of the book shows attempts to signal a trustworthy translation. There are two titles printed on the front cover: *Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt*- in a larger font- and *Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt* - in a smaller font and as a subtitle between parentheses. On the top left of both front covers, the phrase 'full-text' is inserted. Also, from the information on the front cover, we learn that the book is a bilingual version of the novella. The translators' and publisher's surnames indicate the potential family relationship between them. Publishing in this case seems to be a family business. The same translation was re-published in the same year, 2018, by Ghazaleh and Nazanin Ghayouri, apparently two other members of the family (see figure 3. 9). These translations have the same book covers and the same prefaces, but the names of translators have since been changed as the figure 3. 9 illustrates.

[33] Facebook on 04 February 2004, is an online social media which is based in the United States of America. Retrievd from https://www.facebook.com/pg/facebook/about/?ref=page_internal (acces date: 08 October 2019).

Figure 3. 9 Front covers of two different translations of *Animal Farm*

Hamidreza Ghayouri had already translated and published *Animal Farm* solo in 2016 with another publisher, Rastin (figure 3. 10, on the right). Again, this retranslation has a doppelganger with a different translator's name, Mohammadreza Ghayouri (Orwell, 2018b) published by Yung publishing (figure 3. 10, on the left). Each of these four retranslations is published by a relative, as the surname Ghayouri suggests. It indicates one of the methods of network formation to be recruiting family members into the project.

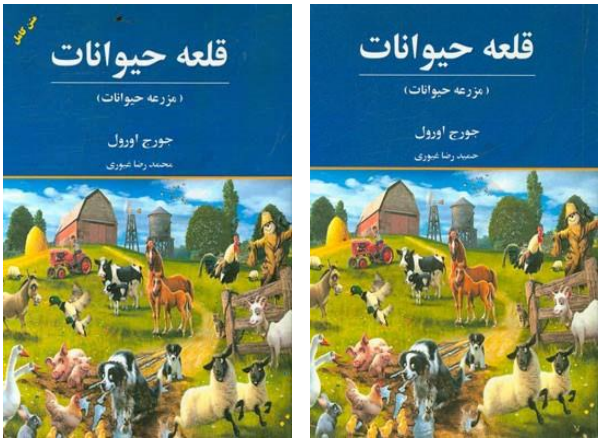



Figure 3. 10 Front covers of two different translations of *Animal Farm*

The low number of copies per print-run, that is 200 copies, also puts forward another possible explanation. To be eligible for renewing their publishing licence, Iranian publishers need to

publish four books per year (article 15 in Principles of Issuing Publishing House Licence).[34] Among these books, some may be translations, "preferably first print", to get extention for their business licence.[35] For newly-established publishers, it is a financial risk to publish a book without any certainity about its reception.

In the example I provided of Gayouri's translations, these publications are all first print and are published with different translators' names. In these cases, therefore, retranslation seems to be, partially, a strategy for fulfilling the criteria set by the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance in order for their publishing business to survive. Another possible scenario is that the books have not even been translated instead copied or revised from previous translations. In the absence of international copyright laws in Iran this is a feasible option.

To summarize this section, paratextual analysis of retranslations reveals several incentives behind retranslations. Retranslation in Iran, as my evidence suggests, does not respond to patterns of progress. For more recognised translators, it seems to be of higher concern to justify their practice by foregrounding the difference in their retranslations, whether by choosing a different title, foregrounding a different theme, or offering new editions to avoid putting their reputation at risk.

---

[34] https://ketab.farhang.gov.ir/fa/filepool/2992/-شیوه-نامه-اجرائی-صدور-پروانه-نشر?redirectpage=%2ffa%2fregulations%2fregulations1

[35] See https://ketab.farhang.gov.ir/fa/filepool/2992/-شیوه-نامه-اجرائی-صدور-پروانه-نشر?redirectpage=%2ffa%2fregulations%2fregulations1

Translations of Orwell's *Animal Farm* first entered the Iranian market in order to criticise widespread communist discourse in Iran, thus serving the agenda of the first translator and FBP. After the Islamic revolution of 1979, the first retranslation appeared, and it covertly addressed the inadequacy of the first translation. The last three retranslations were published in a short period of time, Kasaeipour's multi-version edition, Zarei's low-risk version gains, and Habibi's activist angle. The last case, while confirming the findings of the previous chapter regarding collaborative translation and visibility, sheds further light on retranslation as a way of circumventing bureaucratic requirements. Next section considers how readers respond to the practices of retranslations.

## Reception of Retranslations through Social Media

In this section, I analyse the reception of retranslations conducted by mid-career and senior translators.[36] Iranian Readers frequently ask mid-career/senior translators to retranslate their favourite books because they wish to read the book with the translation of their favourite translators. This unveils a unique aspect of translators' visibility. Readers not only distinguish between author-translator prose, but also recognise the flavour of their favourite translator's

[36] A key reason why I have not carried out a similar analysis with amateur translators lies in the difficulty identifying profile of amateur and early-career translators (for amateur translators I conducted hashtag analysis). Transliterating Persian names to English allow different spellings for one single name which displays different results. Instagram allows users to select whatever nickname they like, thus, only searching the name of translators is not sufficient for identifying them. Another issue is the authenticity of the person who creates the page. In some cases, that I identified translators there has been the issue of privacy as they chose their page to be private and inaccessible for those who do not follow them which raises ethical issues. But the translators that I interviewed are all recognised individuals and it is easy to identify them on social media. To have an overview of how retranslation is received by readers in case of mid-career and senior translators I have selected the latest image of the book that they retranslated and shared, their captions and readers' comments.

work. Among the ten translators I have interviewed, eight have Instagram accounts and, except for one, all pages are public and accessible to everyone, at least at the time of data collection. I excluded one translator as he only posts and uploads music and has not retranslated any books.

I begin with Amraee's Instagram account, which has the highest number of followers among the participants of my study (more than 38,500 followers). Amraee has shared the image of the front-cover of his retranslation of *Blindness* (Saramago, 1995), published 27 October 2018. Out of the 32 comments left by readers, 14 appreciate Amraee's translation by comparing his retranslation with other existing translations of the text. Reader comments on his retranslation show that they have a critical eye toward (re)translations and compare them. The following comments clarify my point: "AU1: This [book] is great, of course only with this translation".[37] Another user says, "I read this book fifteen years ago with your great translation".[38] Other users also shared similar comments. For instance, one said "this book is great with your translation".[39] Multiple translations of a single text, in particular with many of them being of low-quality, provide readers with the opportunity to comprehend that if a text reads well it is because of the translator's Persian writing skill (see chapter five). This claim can be supported by further comments: "this book is fascinating with your translation".[40] Or

[37] Although, these comments and posts are shared publicly and accessible to Instagram users, I removed the users ID and replaced with AU and a number which stands for Anonymous User. This is due to the possibility that users might be unaware that their comments can be used for research purposes.

عالی بود البته فقط با این ترجمه

[38] یادش بخیر پانزده سال پیش این رمان رو با ترجمه شما خوندم...قلمت همیشه سبز جانا

[39] این کتاب با ترجمه شما فوق‌العاده است

[40] این کتاب با ترجمه‌ی شما بی‌نظیره

another one which says that "the most delightful book with the best translation, good luck".[41] For readers, therefore, it is important that Amraee has retranslated the book and it seems to be a determining factor for (re)reading it. As the comments show, users tend to praise the translator's eloquent Persian.

On Peyman Khaksar's Instagram page, his latest post, shared on 15 January 2019, exhibits the image of the front-cover of Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* (1929). This book has been translated several times. The translator has translated an excerpt of the text as a caption for his post. In response to the shared image, the majority of readers asked him to retranslate the entire book. The following comments display a debate amongst readers. The first reader comments: "AU2: It would be great if you translate Faulkner's works again, specially *The Sound and Fury*".[42] This comment is followed by AU3 who objects to this comment: "some of the best translators have translated Faulkner's works already, why do you think there is a need for another translation?".[43] Then, again, AU2 replied "I don't like Mr H's style of translation. It is difficult to read".[44] This suggests that readers simply based on their own taste judge retranslation. The comments underline the significance of *who* (re)translates the text when they are willing to read serious literature.

---

[41] قشنگترین کتاب با بهترین ترجمه موفق باشید

[42] چقدر خوبه که کارهای فاکنر رو شما ترجمه کنید مجدد. مخصوصا همین خشم و هیاهو را.

[43] بعضی از بهترین مترجم های مملکت کارهای فاکنر رو ترجمه کردن. چرا فکر میکنید نیاز به ترجمه مجدد وجود داره؟

[44] لحن ترجمه دکتر ح را نمیپسندم.

Eslamieh is recognised as the "official translator of Harry Potter" by readers, and, as she told me, she has always been late in publishing translations of the *Harry Potter* series (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran). Thus, her retranslations are under the category of retranslation. However, her established position signifies that readers wait for her translation of the *Harry Potter* books. Eslamieh uploaded the image of her translation of *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Rowling, 1998) on Instagram, which she translated as Harry Potter va Hofriyih Asrārāmiz. The post was shared on 14 January 2018, right after the release of a new edition of the book. The image is captioned with an excerpt from the translation and there are 53 comments by users. Reader comments are mainly about appreciating Eslamieh's translation of the book:

> AU4: "the *Harry Potter* series is great, but it is the greatest with your translation".[45]
>
> AU5: "to the memory of your everlasting translation of the book".[46]
>
> AU6: "the pleasant translation of the book made me to read the whole book in one day. Dear Ms Eslamieh, we, Harry Potter fans, are always deeply grateful to your efforts. Thanks".[47]
>
> AU7: "I would say again the best book with the best translation".[48]
>
> AU8: "I guess I have read your translations more than a thousand times; your translation is really fluent and readable. I am a student of translation and I know it is a real art to

[45] کتاب های هری پاتر عالیییی بود با ترجمه شما عالی تررررین

[46] Be yad mandani tarin tarjome shoma banooye geraam

[47] به قدری ترجمه این کتاب دلنشین که من یک روزه تمومش کردم واقعا ممنونم ازتون خانم اسلامیه عزیز که ما پاتری ها همیشه قدردان زحماتتون هستیم.

[48] دوباره میگم بهترین کتاب با بهترین ترجمه.

translate a book with such fluency. I hope, one day, I can translate like you. You are a part of our childhood memories".[49]

Some users ask about translatorial choices that Eslamieh made. For instance, one of the users writes: AU9: "Honestly, after so many years I have not yet figured out why you have translated the word chamber as hofrih [حفره]. I would be thankful if you reply".[50] Eslamieh replies and explains that chamber has different meanings in Persian and Hofre is the proper equivalent for chamber. Thus, she tries to convince the readers.

As the analysis in this section shows, the status of mid-career and senior translators overshadows that of the authors. Regardless of the quality of previous translations, readers ask these translators to retranslate books. The social visibility that mid-career and senior translators enjoy, and the extra visibility they achieve through social media, seems to justify the emergence of an increasing number of amateur translators who try to make a name for themselves and enter the literary translation field.

### *Reception of Retranslations: Amateur and Early-Career Translators*

This section investigates the reception of retranslations and the impact that this may have on the target context. The reason that I am drawing on social media analysis is that the rise in the number of *Animal Farm* retranslations is simultaneous with the rise in the use of social media in Iran (see figure 3. 1). I have briefly addressed the significance of online social media platforms in providing a democratic potential for translators, as it was the case with Habibi's

[49] من فکر می‌کنم بیشتر از هزار دفعه کل کتاب های هری پاتر رو خوندم وترجمه هاتون واقعا روان و قابل درکه من رشته خودمم مترجمی زبانه و واقعا یه هنره که بتونه آدم یه کتاب رو روان ترجمه کنه امیدوارم یه روزی بتونم مثل شما ترجمه کنم. شما جزوی از خاطرات کودکی ما هستین.

[50] واقعا بعد از این همه سال هنوز نتونستم یک دلیل قانع کننده پیدا کنم که چرا اسم این کتاب رو حفره ترجمه کردید. اگه لطف کنید توضیح بدید خوشحال میشم.

retranslation. However, to understand the wider impact of the book in Iran the comments of the readers on the book are informing.

Retranslations have the potential to create values that are "doubly bound to the receiving situation" which can be measured "by the receptor values" (Venuti, 2013, p. 99). The emergence of Web 2.0, or as Song (2010) calls it "Web-as-participation-platform" facilitates engagement and interaction among users.[51] Currently, one of the most popular platforms for marketing purposes in Iran is Instagram, with more than 24 million Iranian users.[52] Iranian translators and publishers are increasingly joining Instagram to promote and advertise their works by sharing images of their books or excerpts of their published translations. The platform, therefore, offers translators and publishers a new site for exercising their agency and visibility. Readers, at the same time, have the opportunity to interact directly with translators and publishers by following their Instagram pages and leaving feedback on their posts in the form of comments.

It has been revealed previously in this chapter that the majority of *Animal Farm* translators are amateur and early-career translators, and participants of my study are among mid-career and senior translators (see figure 3. 3). This allows me to have a reliable snapshot of retranslation reception. Searching for hashtags, Instagram offers 'top' posts and 'recent' posts.

---

[51] Song (2010) contradicts Web 2.0 and Web 1.0 as "Web-as-participation-platform" and "Web-as-information-source" with the latter as being "a medium for publishing content" (in Gerlitz & Helmond, 2013, p. 1350).

[52] A social networking platform, launched 2010, founders Kevin Systrom and Mike Krieger. https://www.instagram.com/about/us/. According to Statista, a German based market research company, Iran stands in the 7th rank among the leading countries on number of Instagram users by October 2018 https://www.statista.com/statistics/578364/countries-with-most-instagram-users/ (access date: 20 January 2019).

Top Posts are categorised based on the number of likes that they have received from users (see chapter one for my method of analysis). I am considering recent posts to access all the images shared publicly.[53] The images are shared by readers and display different (re)translations of the book.

To collect relevant data, I have only selected images shared with the book covers. Under the hashtag #قلعه-حیوانات-جورج-اورول (#Qal'iyih'i_Hiyvānāt -George-Orwell), 394 images have been shared (before 12 February 2019). The number of publicly shared posts are 183. Seventy-six images out of 186 images are the book covers of the (re)translations. The frequency of the posts shared each year after 2015 is in line with the increase in the number of retranslations (see figure 3. 1). In total, 2016 comments have been posted on Instagram since 2015. Out of these 2016 comments, 1383 belong to one post, shared by an Iranian celebrity posting the image of the book and asking his followers what book they are reading. Therefore, the majority of the shared comments are about the titles of other books.

Thematic analysis of all other comments proves that the majority of users have shared feelings of affinity between the situation that they are living in and that of *Animal Farm*. The majority of the comments and captions have appropriated the book's content and linked it to the current socio-political situation in Iran. For instance, AU10 writes: "it's a great book and one can say that it is similar to our current situation".[54] As these comments illustrate, readers are

[53] The result does not show posts shared by private pages.

[54] خیلی کتاب خوبی تقریبا میشه گفت وضعیت فعلی ما رو داره

using control-free platform Instagram to voice their opinions of the book. Pervasive retranslations of the book seem to stimulate readers to contemplate their political context rather than thinking of who translated the book or why there exist so many translations of the book.

There are some comments which concern the translations themselves. Thirteen comments are concerned with the quality of the retranslations. The users who are planning to read the book ask the other users to recommend the best translation of *Animal Farm*. For instance, in response to another user who states that the book is great, AU11 asks, "could you please let me know which *translator* of Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt is the best?".[55] I italicized the word "translator" to foreground how translator-oriented the reception of retranslations is. Another point is that majority of the comments refer the reader to the first translator of the book, Amirshahi, and point out that his translation is the best. This demonstrates, unlike previous studies, that retranslations are not necessarily on a progressive path, at least from the readers' point of view. This can be supported by the increasing number of re-editions of the first translation. Re-editions, as notes, "tend to reinforce the validity of the previous translation" (1998, p. 83).

Searching # Mazra'iyih_Hiyvānāt results in forty-five posts. Ten out of the forty-five shared images display front covers of Persian translations of the book. In total, sixty-six

[55] ببخشید میشه بفرمایید قلعه حیوانات کدوم مترجمش خوب بود ؟؟

comments are shared. Similar to # Qal'iyih'i_Hiyvānāt _George_Orwell, the majority of the comments compare the current socio-political context of Iran with that characterized in the book. After that come user comments asking for the best translation of the book.

Analysis of the Instagram posts and reader comments shows that the increase in the number of translations is linked with the frequency of shared images of the book on Instagram. However, as the comments of readers indicate, it is the content of the book which has attracted the readers in the first place. Instagram, therefore, provides a platform for readers to voice their ideas. Whether the translators retranslated the book for publicity or not, readers' interpretations of the text add new meanings to the book. This is also close to the intention of Shahab Habibi to play a socio-political role and raise people's awareness of the metaphorical meaning of the text.

## Conclusions

This chapter aimed to answer why there are increasing numbers of retranslations in Iran by comparing some active retranslations of *Animal Farm*, cross-referenced with interviews and analysis of the reception of retranslations. After analysing retranslations, interviews and readers' feedback on retranslations, it emerges that retranslation is an extremely "complex" issue, as Berk Albachten and Tahir Gürçağlar (2019) suggested, and the case of Iran complicates this picture even more. First of all, the temporal aspect of retranslation, that is a translation which comes after the first translation, is a tricky one in Iran, especially in the case of active retranslations. As some of the interviewees explained, due to requirements for a publishing

permit, a translation which complies with the official rules may appear in the market first while others need to wait in the MCIG to grant the permit. Also, the notion of retranslation as being a progressive pattern (see Deane-Cox, 2014) does not always apply to Iran. Retranslations of literary works by amateur translators are typically associated with low-quality.

Evidence suggests that the *why* of retranslations, apart from major contextual factors such as lack of international copyright conventions, is rooted in the diverse benefits that the practice generates for translators. These benefits are different types of capital. Capital is "both the process in, and product of a field" (Thomson, 2012, p. 67). These potential benefits intensify competition in the literary translation field. Retranslation is a strategy to fulfil multiple objectives for agents of translation. It is a strategy for publishers and translators to ensure a form of advantage in the literary translation field. For publishers, retranslation is a way of increasing their symbolic and economic capital. By offering retranslations of English classics conducted by senior or mid-career translators.

publishers tend to offer an unrivalled and powerful list of retranslations that can attract a wider range of readers. They, therefore, reinforce their position in the literary translation field by labelling themselves as specialised publisher of a certain author's works. Commissioning recognized and highly qualified translators also demonstrates the ability of the publisher to recruit well-known translators that allow them to create a more established position. The quality of retranslations also simplifies maintaining their position in the literary translation field. However, when they are less recognised or newly established publishers, retranslation, as demonstrated in the case of *Animal Farm* by the Ghayouri's, their publishing permit and lowers

the financial risk for the business. Publishers pay either none or small amount of money to translators who retranslate.

Retranslation is a highly fluid and dynamic process. Retranslations move in a progressive direction if conducted by senior and recognised translators. It is a reductive process if conducted by amateur and early career translators. Lack of international copyright laws complicates this process as retranslation could be both a progressive and a reductive process. When a senior translator and an amateur translator retranslate a book simultaneously, they produce patterns.

There is a fine line between retranslation, revision and rewriting, this is one of the main reasons mid-career translators avoid performing retranslation. Even if they have conducted retranslations, they regret it, as shown in the case of Meftahi and Ghandhari. They may be accused of retranslating for financial gain or they may be compared to senior translators and criticized by readers. Experienced senior translators, however, confidently retranslate works and they tend to provide philological proofs to illustrate deficiency in the previous translations. Their claims to offer a 'better' translation of the work is also understood in terms of offering a more fluent, readable, and eloquent translation while remaining close to the start text.

Analysis of the reception of retranslations in the literary translation field gives insights into what Bourdieu (1984) calls "distinction". I drew on readers' comments on the interviewees' shared posts on Instagram as well as *Animal Farm* retranslations. The readers distinguish between amateur and non-amateur translators. Their comments on the posts shared by experienced and recognised translators are translator-oriented comments. That means, many

of the comments asked the translators to retranslate a book or appreciated that they have retranslated the books. In the case of *Animal Farm*, the readers were more concerned with the content of the book. Thus, I suggest understanding the stakes of retranslation is crucial to study their reception in the target context. The retranslations of *Animal Farm* offer a platform to users/readers to give voice to their opinion. This shows that, through social media, an inanimate agent as Latour (2005) defines it , the text goes through a continuous process of appropriations by readers.

# Chapter Four: The Ethics of Translators in Iran

## Overview

In the previous chapter, I discussed the competition in the literary translation field of Iran through analysis of the practice of retranslation. From this analysis, it emerged that retranslation of popular books is an opportunity for amateur and early-career translators aiming to enter the literary translation field. The requirements of the publishing permit are one of the reasons that newcomers retranslate best-sellers and previously published books. It is also because these translators are less familiar with the habitus of the literary translation field of Iran and with the unspoken rules of censorship.

For any translator, there is a "basic ethical choice": that is whether to "reproduce existing ideologies" or "to dissociate themselves from" them (Baker, 2006, p. 105). This situation is further complicated when translators work under institutionalized control as is the case in Iran. As I already discussed in chapter one, books must obtain a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance (hereafter MCIG) before being distributed. The governing theocracy pursues to eliminate representations of conflicting socio-cultural, political and religious ideologies.

At the same time, the existence of Persian translations of books such as Orwell's *Animal Farm* and *1984*, which are normally banned in less-democratic societies, or *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, which is recognised as having a profane language, suggests that translators

play a crucial role in circumventing restrictions imposed by the government.[1] Bourdieu argues that "the structures constitutive of a particular type of environment […] produce *habitus*" by no means constitute "the product of obedience to rules" (1977, p. 72). Instead, the actions of agents, here the actions undertaken by translators and publishers, are the product of strategies developed through their engagement in their professional field.

Bourdieu also states that the success of the strategies depends "on the *specific competence* of the producer and is the product of *strategies of euphemization* that consist in imposing form as well as observing formalities. These strategies tend to guarantee the satisfaction of the expressive interest […] within the limits of the *structure of opportunities for material or symbolic profit*" (original emphasis, 1991, pp. 137-138).[2] This too seems to be the case with Iranian literary translators and publishers. They tend to exercise a form of strategic self-censorship which aims to satisfy both censorial and ordinary readers. They thus perform a fluid balancing act between being blindly subservient to rules and embracing full liberty to translate whatever and however they want.

This brings to mind the argument of Iranian scholar Farzaneh Milani that, "after all, if governments decree censorship, people implement it" (Milani, 1985, p. 326). She contends that censorship "creates voluntary censors" and "breeds self-censorship"(Milani, 1985, p. 327). If Iranian authors are interested in working and publishing their books in Iran, they have to

[1] For instance, Orwell's books, *Animal Farm* and *1984* (1949), have been banned in China (see Tan, 2014), Iraq (see Yehia, 2014), Czechoslovakia (see Špirk, 2008). However, these books have more than hundred different translations in Iran.

[2] See also (Billiani, 2014, pp. 7-8).

exercise higher levels of cautions and conformity. While her argument is targeted at the works of Iranian writers, in the case of translators the so-called voluntary censorship turns into a strategic and productive one, as I will argue in this chapter. By employing strategies of self-censorship, translators are able to introduce masterpieces of world literature to Iranian readers, therefore, they seem to be playing a more significant and visible role. Much like Iranian cinema, where banned scenes and restricted discourses concerning "desire and intimacy" eventually find their way into the movies (see Haeri, 2009), similar sensitive discourses are present in all forms of art, including literary translated texts and are reproduced and circulated in Iran. Literary translators, similar to film makers, develop strategies to deal with the sensitive issues. This is addressed by Peyman Khaksar, an interviewee, who argues:

> People say that Peyman Khaksar, the film editor and translator, translates and edits books in a way that no one would notice it. I am happy to hear that. In Rigi Ravān [Persian translation of *The Woman in the Dunes*] (Abe, 1962), forty pages of the book are set in a brothel… I just deleted a few sentences. I do not remove even one page of the book, I try not to (my interview, 07 August 2017, Tehran).[3]

Iranian translators thus strategically euphemize and tone down restricted discourses in their translations. On the one hand, they are conforming to the official rules. On the other hand, they make censorship porous, and open new windows to world literature.

[3] This translator used to work as a film editor before becoming a translator.

گفته بودن پیمان خاکسار تدوینگر مترجم کتاب هارو ترجمه و تدوین میکنه. ولی جوری تدوین میکنه که هیچکس نمیفهمه و من خوشحال شدم. یا مثلا توریگ روان 40 صفحه در خانه فساد میگذره: و من یادم‌نمیاد از یه کتاب یه صفحه حذف کرده باشم سعی میکنم‌که این اتفاق نیافته.

In this chapter, through my interviews with Iranian publishers and translators, I shed light on the detailed strategies of translators in dealing with the sensitive issues in the translation process. Also, at the same time, I reveal the principles which unofficially govern literary translation practices. Translators go through negotiations with the authorities to obtain the publishing permit. While the government tries to safeguard its ideological discourse, translators both comply with and challenge this discourse by making the import of literary capital possible.

I begin with elaborating on the historical context of censorship in Iran and the restrictions set by the official rules and regulations of the MCIG [the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance]. Then, for a nuanced understanding of the relationship between translation and censorship in Iran, I will provide an overview of the comments from the authorities on a variety of translated literary texts. Finally, I will draw on the interviews with translators and publishers to shed light both on the publishing procedures, and the role of translators in the process of obtaining publishing permit.

## The Stakes of Evaluation and Assessment

Brian Baer, following Lossef (1984), notes that there is a productive side to censorship in countries with historical backgrounds of censorship (2011, pp. 22-24). He argues that shifting the focus from "repressive censorship" to "productive censorship" illuminates the complex relations among agents including readers (2011, p. 23). My approach in this chapter is in line with Baer's argument of productive censorship.

In Iran, censorship of literary works dates to almost 1200 years ago (Milani, 1985). Considering that the 1980 cultural revolution in Iran was aimed at "replacing secular and Western aspects of Persian life with a new and independent religious and political order", one expects that the rate of translations would have declined.[4] It was in the summer of 1980 that the Islamic Revolutionary Court of Tehran announced that for the publication of any forms of written materials "a printing house must first inspect and verify the seal of the MCIG [… ]on the paper on which the writing appeared".[5] This statement marked the return of censorship in Iran, yet it was strangely concomitant with the sharp rise in the number of translations in Iran (see chapter one, figure 1. 1).[6]

Government's officials consider their control over cultural productions as "Momayyizy", which means "evaluation" and "assessment".[7] Under the title of "responsibilities and policies"

---

[4] Golnar Mehran, 1997, Vol. VIII, Fasc. 3, pp. 230-233, Published online 2011. Retrieved from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/education-xxiv-education-in-postrevolutionary-persia-1979-95

[5] Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, 1990, Vol. V, Fasc. 2, pp. 135-142, retrieved from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/censorship-sansur-in-persia

[6] According to Iran's constitutional law, article 24, "publications and the press have freedom of expression except when it is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public. The details of this exception will be specified by law".

اصل 24: نشریات و مطبوعات در بیان مطالب آزادند مگر آنکه مخل به مبانی اسلام یا حقوق عمومی باشد. تفصیل آن را قانون معین می کند.https://www.lu.ac.ir/uploads/123456_20436.pdf

The English version of the law is retrieved from http://rc.majlis.ir/fa/law/show/133730 (access date: 21 May 2019).

[7] Momayyezi in Persian has diverse meanings ranging from evaluation, assessment to auditing and census. In this context, it means reviewing and the person who does it is called 'Barres' or reviewer. https://www.vajehyab.com/?q=%D9%85%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%B2%DB%8C&t=like&s=9 (access date: 21 May 2019).

of the MCIG, a series of objectives have been introduced.[8] The two most relevant are: 1. "Promoting the moral values based on faith and piety" 2. "Cultural independence and protecting the society from the influence of foreign cultures".[9] These objectives are mostly concerned with the principles of Islamic ideologies and the governing anti-western attitudes. The latter, in particular, implicitly targets translations, specifically literary ones, as they have the potential to introduce foreign culture to the nation.

Currently, the Book Bureau, one of the departments of the MCIG, is in charge of issuing the publishing permits.[10] Other metropolitan cities in Iran, such as Tabriz and Mashhad, have their Book Bureau offices.[11] These offices may make different decisions for the same book. One book might not obtain the permit in one city but get published in other cities of Iran (see Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, p. 31). Censors work anonymously as the process is highly confidential.

The MCIG once decided to assign publishers to take charge of monitoring their own production, as a less expensive strategy for controlling book productions, but publishers refused to do so.[12] The reason, according to Arbabi, was that the task was supposed to be executed exclusively by certain publishers selected by the MCIG:

---

[8] Retrieved from https://www.farhang.gov.ir/en/profileofministry/responsibilities (access date: 21 May 2019).

[9] Retrieved from https://www.farhang.gov.ir/en/profileofministry/responsibilities (access date: 19 September 2019).

[10] The Book Bureau is the translation of Idarih-i Kitab [currently Daftar-i Tusi'h Kitāb].

[11] https://www.isna.ir/news/96101709044/اداره-کتاب-با-عافیت-طلبی-جور-نیست (access date: 28 May 2019).

[12] The news was widely published in daily newspapers and online broadcasting websites. Retrieved from: https://www.tasnimnews.com/fa/news/1393/04/30/436767/ابلاغ-آیین-نامه-واگذاری-ممیزی-به-ناشران-از-مردادماه-و-اجرای-آن-از-مهرماه (access date: 19 September 2019).

> They said publishers must have an academic board. However, they actually were to extent the authority to those publishers who were in good terms with the MCIG. The government would like to disown the responsibility...Most of the publishers didn't agree. You know it causes an oligopoly in the publishing field. Some publishers would operate as an institution for censorship which may sabotage others (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[13]

Arbabi, refers to government publishers who follow closely the MCIG and could have more benefits compared to private publishers. These benefits include exercising power over other publishers or access to subsidized materials such as paper. The academic board, again, as Arbabi points out, is meant to be selected from individuals who align their ideology with that of the MCIG (in my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran). This process has not happened because publishers believe there is a financial risk if they approve of a book which then MCIG bans or revokes the permit after its publication.

This section explores how censorship is imposed by institutions and is implemented by experts from different fields of practice. Following Bourdieu, "structural" censorship is exercised by agents in a social field (1991, p. 138). These agents, as demonstrated in this chapter, include censors who are associated with hegemonic power in Iran and people from Iranian literary translation field. The censors are asked to ensure that the governing Islamic ideologies of the field are not only maintained, but also reinforced by censorship.

Moreover, in this chapter, I aim to explore the official rules overseeing literary works and translations. Specifically, as translation "makes the source culture visible within, and

[13] گفتن باید ناشرا هیئت علمی داشته باشن. ولی واقعیت پس پرده این بود که یه سری ناشر خاص، که ناشرای برجسته‌ای هم که لابی خوبی هم در ارشاد دارن.می‌گن حالا فلانی تو این کار رو بکن ، مسئولیت از رو دوش دولت برداشته بشه. بخش قابل توجهی از ناشرا نپذیرفتن. چون اون‌وقت یه رانتی ایجاد می‌شد تو حوزه‌ی نشر. یه سری ناشرا می‌شدن نهاد ممیزی کننده اونوقت باقی اذیت می‌شدند.

accessible to, the target culture, translated texts tend to attract more censorial intervention" (Billiani, 2014, p. 3). However, the high number of translations from English literary works shows that the state rules are not as static as they seem to be. Based on my findings, it seems that translators play a crucial role in challenging these norms. In the following section, I explain their role and strategies in every and each step of obtaining publishing permits.

## Publishing in Iran: Submission and Process

After completing a translation, including relevant editing, typing and proof-reading processes, publishers apply for their publishing permit. Publishers are responsible for submitting the final copy of the book and all the formalities for obtaining the publishing permit. At this stage, the MCIG is mainly concerned with the content of the book. This publication process is explained by both translators and publishers such as Nabavi, the translator of titles such as *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History* (Gardner, 1926), and Hosseinkhani of Agah publishing house (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[14]

Submissions of the book to the MCIG need to be made both as a hard and a soft copy. The latter enables the MCIG to look for sensitive keywords. In other words, the censors employ keyword searches to identify sensitive issues. This is confirmed by Farzaneh Taheri, the translator of titles such *Mrs Dalloway* (Woolf, 1925):

[14] اول مجوز محتوای کتاب رو میدن.

> Today, they mainly look for the keywords. They ask for electronic files on a CD. They search for words such as būsih [a kiss], ishq bāzy [love making] and so on (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[15]

The process that a book goes through after its submission to the MCIG is described by the former director of the Book Bureau, Mohammad Solgi, in his interview with Shirazeh magazine.[16] Once a book is submitted to the MCIG, it is sent to the General Committee that conducts a quick review to identify if the book needs further examination (Solgi, 2016). At this stage, usually, academic and pedagogical books obtain the publishing permits without further examination, as Solgi claims (2016). However, this depends on the content of pedagogical books (generally textbooks for universities). There is also evidence that sometimes pedagogical books in the field of medical sciences are subjected to censorship because they contain visual illustrations of human anatomy.[17] When a book has not been granted the publishing permit in the first step, it is sent to advisory boards (Solgi, 2016). The advisory board members screen books at this stage. If they already know enough about the content of the book and confirm that the content is not against the objectives of the MCIG, they may issue the publishing permit without further investigation (Solgi, 2016). If they are unsure, they forward the book to an

[15] الان دیگه بخصوص در ادبیات دنبال کلیدواژه ها میگردن. سی دی هم میخوان دیگه. بوسه، عشق بازی

[16] https://fararu.com/fa/news/259295/تشریح-نحوه-ممیزی-کتاب-در-وزارت-ارشاد (access date: 18 June 2018).

Shirazeh is a monthly Magazine published by National Library of Iran.

[17] Medical books are sometimes subjected to censorship. Dr Mehdi Khazali, an ophthalmologist, reports his visit to the book organization to see his friend (who seems to be a censor). He describes that a pile of book was stocked in the room consisting of medical books which were marked for omission of pages. He provides an example of a book about breast diseases which the censors asked to substitute breast with chest. http://drkhazali.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=789:1389-10-12-20-53-27&catid=231:1388-11-13-13-52-05&Itemid=447 (access date: 11 July 2018).

evaluation committee (Solgi, 2016). Solgi claims that the appointed members of the committee are experts in the sciences and humanities fields (2016).[18] They read the book carefully, comment on it and make a final decision about the publishing permit.

There are three possible outcomes at this stage of the process. First, the book is issued a publishing permit without any further requirements. Second, a conditional publishing permit is granted pending changes required by the authorities. Finally, if more than fifty percent of the book is subjected to changes and modifications, the book is declared as unauthorized and filed accordingly in the MCIG (Solgi, 2016). This also carries the risk for the author or translator of the book being banned (explained further below). Arbabi confirms this process in my interview by saying

> There are different types of publishing permits. You may get the publishing permit without any further comments, or they might ask you to make revisions and resubmit the work. If they ask you to make revisions, you have crossed the red lines (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[19]

There is also appeal committees that if one objects to the outcome of the process can lodge an appeal and the case will be reviewed by another committees to make a decision about it (Solgi, 2016). This is an opportunity for translators to reverse the decision made by the MCIG.

---

[18] In spite of Solgi's claim that the censors are experts in the field, Rajabzadeh, in his extensive research on censorship, argues that censors lack necessary knowledge and education for evaluation of the books, in particular the literary ones (1396/2017, p. 92). This issue is also pointed out in my interview with Arbabi. He states that "The MCIG's assessors knows nothing about translation" (02 July 2017, Tehran).

[19] چند نوع مجوز نشر داریم. یک اینکه مجوز رو میگیرین بدون هیچ اعمال تغییری. دوم اینکه مجوز مشروط میگیرین که باید تغییرات درخواست شده را اعمال کنید و مجدد کتاب رو به ارشاد تحویل بدین برای صدور مجوز. در این مورد یعنی شما از خط قرمزها رد شدی.

As I already addressed in the previous section, the sensitive issues in question include religious, political, and cultural ones. The degree of the sensitivity varies with political shifts. Obtaining a publishing permit under the rule of reformist or conservative governments is relatively easier compared to that of fundamentalists. To give an example, Ahmad Poori, a well-known translator of Anna Akhmatova's poems, shared his experience of when his translations were pulled from the market (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran).[20] Poori states:

> The verdict was given to me. But as a result of a political change, I mean the election of a new president, the verdict was overturned, and the book even won a literary prize. Now it has reached twenty-seven reprints, more than any other poetry books in the market (in my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran).[21]

This example shows how contradictory the views of censors can be toward a single book. Thus, the 'sensitive' issues are volatile, as they may change due to political shifts or personal interpretations by the censors. For instance, words such as wine have not always been considered sensitive, though drinking wine is forbidden by Islamic principles (see the example of given by Arbabi in this chapter).[22] Nabipour points to the uncertainty in the practice of censorship:

> It is sometimes unpredictable what issues the MCIG would make a comment on. I have translated a five-volume novel for teenagers, published by Ofoq. They asked me to replace some words in the first volume published in 1393/2014, including Izad that I chose as an equivalence for the word gods. They

[20] Anna Akhmatova is the pen name of Anna Andreyevna Gorenko (1889-1966) well-known Russian poet and Nobel winner.

[21] این حکم رو گرفتم. و همون کتاب، طی یک حادثه‌ی سیاسی که یک رییس جمهور رفت و یک رییس جمهور دیگه اومد، تو اون شلوغی همون کتاب جایزه گرفت. الان به چاپ بیست و هفتم رسیده. یعنی رکورد شعر خارجی رو در ایران شکسته.

[22] This is the "legal term for what is forbidden or inviolable under Islamic law". Retrieved from http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e808, (access date: 07 June 2019).

> commented that gods are not Īzad but Rab al-nū'. The second volume of the same series was submitted to the MCIG and now they asked me to use Īzad for god. I told them I wouldn't because I have already changed it to Rab al-nū' in the first volume. I went there in person and talked to them… (my interview, 16 July 2017, Tehran).[23]

In Persian, "Īzad" is used to refer to the God in monotheistic sense. "Rab al-nū'" refers to angels and deity. In this case the censor considered the use of the word "Īzad" for gods as an insult to the God. Therefore, Nabipour, to conform with the MCIG, chose Rab al-nū'. For the next volume of the same book, other censors read the work and asked her to replace "Rab al-nū'" with "Īzad". This volatile and changing situation is in fact what shapes habitus, as Bourdieu argues (1984, pp. 228-230). It seems that translators can adjust themselves to these changing situations.

In his scholarly monograph, Rajabzadeh (1396/2017) provides a detailed examination of 1400 documents of censorship in one year, 1375/1996-1997. The period that Rajabzadeh investigates is a time of heavy censorship under the MCIG of a fundamentalist government. Rajabzadeh (1396/2017, pp. 81-82) remarks that 75% of the topics subjected to censorship can be outlined as follows: 1. love 2. drinking 3. women's beauty 4. describing human anatomy 5. gambling 6. music 7. cultural taboos 8. committing suicide. Rajabzadeh's classifications of sensitive topics all have religious roots, issues conflicting with the principles of Islam and sometimes include cultural taboos. Political issues such as criticizing the Islamic Republic or

---

[23] واقعا معلوم نیست من یه مجموعه رمان پنج جلدی تو افق دارم نوجوان تو جلد اول سال ۹۳ به یه سری کلمه ها گیر دادن از جمله ایزد به جای گاد با جی کوچیک اینا ایزد نه رب النوع همون کتاب یعنی جلد دوم همون مجموعه یک ساله بعد رفت ارشاد رب النوع چیه ایزد بنویسید من گفتم نمیکنم این کارو برای اینکه از اول شده رب النوع الهی رفتم توضیح دادم گفتم چه وضعیه.

Īzad or ایزد refers to God or angels, Rab al-nū' or رب النوع means deity.

promoting western lifestyle are also subjected to censorship. However, the suggested changes include a wide range of actions, from toning down cultural differences to changes to a storyline and the characters of a story or --in the case of biographies-- even real-life figures.

Rajabzadeh (1396/2017, p. 149) adds that "the revisions that the MCIG asks for, if applied, in most cases change the spirit of the story. Censors may change European stories to the extent that distinguishing cultural and national features of a translated literary work is difficult".[24] Rajabzadeh exemplifies his statement by drawing on translation of *My Autobiography,* by Charles Chaplin (1964), translated by Jamshid Navayi. In this case, the censors asked for revision of forty-eight items related to Chaplin's affairs and love life (1396/2017, p. 150). Rajabzadeh adds that if the book was to be published with the dictated revisions, we would see a version of Chaplin envisioned as a serious, passionless and unemotional human being, who lived a lonely life in a country where no women exist.

Diminishing the cultural differences in translated books is also a point indicated by Taheri, a senior translator. For her first translation, Taheri was given a conditional publishing permit. She says

> It was my first translation. They asked for major revisions and omissions. It was the autobiography of Richard Wright, the American black writer. I wrote them a funny letter. Then they removed all their comments. I told them this book is about the United States and not Islamic Republic of Iran. You are regularly criticizing the US. If people do not drink in the US, if they do not have out of marriage affairs, so why would you criticize them? Do you want me to penance

[24] موارد مشروطی که اعلام کرده اند، در صورت اعمال، در اکثر موارد به تغییر ماهیت داستان منجر می شود. زیرا ممیزان با اعمال سلیقه و ذوق خود(حتی به عنوان یک ایرانی مسلمان) داستان های اروپایی را چنان تغییر می دهندکه ماهیت فرهنگی و ملی اثر ادبی از بین می رود.

> them? The letter worked, and they removed all their comments. But unfortunately, some translators blindly follow what they say. They also embrace self-censorship (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[25]

As this example shows, the translator convinced the MCIG by affirming her conformity to the dominant ideology. Thus, she obtained the publishing permit without making revisions to the text. This is a pertinent example of what Bourdieu calls the success of the strategies of euphemization in accordance with the capacity of the agent who produces them (1991, p. 137). The translator, in this way, subtly ensures her own satisfaction as well as the satisfaction of multiple agents in the field. Without these strategies, reading Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* (Austen, 1811) in Iran would be a totally different experience as a censor once asked the translator to replace the word *Dilbar* [female beloved] with 'sister'. Had this happened, the narrative would have changed substantially.[26]

Religious issues are considered highly sensitive in Iran. Any disrespect to Abrahamic religions and prophets is not to be tolerated. For instance, translators remove the name of Salman Rushdie, the writer of *Satanic Verses*. This author is banned, and his name may not appear in any text. Taheri addresses this by saying that "once I translated a book that had a

---

[25] Taheri refers to Richard Wright's *American Hunger* (1977), an autobiographical work published in the US (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).

اولین کتابم بود اصلا یه ایراداپی میگرفتن نمیدونستم چیکار کنم. خاطرات ریچارد رایت بود. سیاه پوست تو امریکا. بعد براشون یه نامه ی طنز نوشتم. بعد همه ی ایراداتشونو پس گرفتن کتابو دراوردن. نوشتم آخه شما این اصلاحاتی که میگید من بکنم اولا اینکه جمهوری اسلامی نیست که. امریکاست. چرا انقد فحش میدین وقتی همه نه مشروب میخورن نه کار بد میکنن نه میخوابن باهم دیگه نه فلان پس ولی جمهوری اسلامی هم حتی اینجوری نیست. بنابر این شما از من میخواید آب توبه بریزم سر این. نمیشه. خلاصه تموم شد با اون مذاکره حل شد یعنی با اون نامه ولی بعضی ها میکنن بعضی ها خود مترجم میکنه.

[26] Dilbār literary translated as a person who wins someone's heart. This example is given from Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* translated as Dilbākhtih (Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, p. 185).

reference to the *Satanic Verses*. I only removed the author's name and kept the whole paragraph. The book, which was on literature, was published" (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[27] Thus, the translator made a decision which allowed the smooth entry of the book in the literary translation field.

Fictional characters with names similar to that of Islamic holy figures have also been subjected to revisions and modifications. In Hermann Hesse's book *Die Morgenlandfahrt* [Journey to the East] (1932), for example, the translator was asked to change the name of Princess Fatima, as the name is reminiscent of a religious figure in Islam (Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, p. 183). References to alcoholic drinks, extramarital affairs, owning pets such as dogs, or eating Haram food are subject to censorship and may be either omitted or replaced. For instance, Arbabi said "we were supposed to publish a book for kids. In the story, the kid says that he ate shark. In Islam, eating shark is disapproved [makrūh].[28] So, the MCIG asked us to replace it with the word fish" (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran). Similarly, the censors have asked for replacing a bar with a café, pork with beef, and lovemaking with friendship (Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, pp. 77-78).

---

[27] من مثلا یه کتاب ترجمه کردم توش در مورد آیه های شیطانی بود همه رو گذاشتم موند نام نویسنده رو ندادم کتابم در اومد. چون کتاب راجع به ادبیات بود

[28] "Usually refers to one of the five legal values in Islamic law (the other four are fard or wajib, obligatory; mustahabb or mandub, preferred; halal, permissible; and haram, prohibited). Makruh acts are not legally forbidden but discouraged. Muslims are advised to avoid makruh acts because the continued and insistent commission of such acts will lead to sin". Retrieved from http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1400 (access date: 07 June 2019).

ولی کاری داشتیم مثلا داستان کودک بوده. بچه می‌گه من کوسه خوردم. کوسه خوردن مثل اینکه در اسلام مکروه است. ارشاد گفته کوسه رو بکنید ماهی!

Nonetheless, as mentioned before, the level of sensitivity of these words depends on the political period during which a book is submitted to the MCIG and the censor's attitude toward these issues. For instance, *The Metamorphosis* (Kafka, 1915a) contains references to alcoholic drinks, love, and partnership, as claimed by a censor (Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, p. 158). The book was banned by the MCIG in 1996, so it could not be translated and published (Rajabzadeh, 1396/2017, p. 158). Later, this decision was revoked. Currently, has several translations of this work exist in Iran.[29]

Similar to other censorial contexts, books of political dissidents, author or translator, are not allowed to be published in Iran. For instance, the Persian translation of *The Captain's Daughter* (Pushkin, 1836) was banned in 1996 as its translator was Parviz Natel-Khanlari, Minister of Education in the Pahlavi era (Rajabzadeh, 2001, p.163).[30] A similar example is the Persian translation of *La Danse de Genghis Cohn* (Gary, 1967) translated collaboratively by Naser Zera'ati and Ebrahim Mashari in 1984.[31] The publisher was asked by the MCIG to remove Zera'ati's name from the translation. Naser Zera'ati is an Iranian author based in Sweden. In an interview with Zamaneh Media, Zera'ati declared that the removal of his name from the front

[29] The list of number of translations can be accessed through the webpage of the National Library of Iran. See http://opac.nlai.ir/opac-prod/search/briefListSearch.do (access date: 19 September 2019).

[30] Parviz Natel-Khanlari (1914-1991) was also an outstanding linguist, scholar and a university professor, however, after the Islamic Revolution he has been mainly identified with his political bond with the Pahlavi's. Retrieved from http://www.angelfire.com/rnb/bashiri/Poets/Eagle.html (access date: 19 September 2019).

[31] Authored by Romaine Gary, 1968, published by Penguins translated as Shabahe Sargardan

cover of the book was due to his interview with *Radio France Internationale* and the publication of his book in the US.[32]

Arbabi, publisher and director of the Translators and Interpreters Association of Tehran, explains that there are books under review by the MCIG for years because of their translators' backgrounds (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[33] Taheri, an Iranian literary translator, states that in this step the background of the translator or author determines who will be assigned to assess the work*:* "To evaluate the works of some translators they ask more knowledgeable people in order not to be deceived" (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[34] These examples prove that the destiny of the book in the publishing process depends not only on its author, but also on its translator.

To summarize, this section discussed the process of obtaining publishing permits. As mentioned earlier, Iranian literary translators are often asked to apply changes to the translated books at the level of a word, sentence or paragraph. However, translators have their

---

[32] Zamaneh Media is "a Persian language media organization based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands" since 2005. https://en.radiozamaneh.com/about/ (accessed date: 10 July 2018).

Radio France Internationale (RFI) is a French public radio station which broadcasts in 13 different languages and it partnered with almost 1500 radios across the world. see http://www.rfi.fr/en/about-us (accessed date: 03 March 2020).

دلیلش را البته حدس می‌زدم: پخشِ چاپ دوم «شرح پریشانی زین‌العابدین حسینی» در همین سوئد (مجموعه حکایت‌ها و نوشته‌هایی که پیش‌تر، با نامِ مستعارِ [زین‌العابدین حسینی] در آمریکا منتشر شده بود. در چاپ دوم، دو نوشته قدیمی به آن افزوده بودم و بعد هم در گفت‌وگو با «رادیو فرانسه»، حرف‌هایی زده بودم که می‌شد انتظار داشت واکنشی از آن‌سو پدیدار شود

[33] الان مثلا چندتا از اون کتابایی که گفتم اینا چندساله تو ارشاده، به خاطر اسم اون مترجمه. یعنی اینم هست. اصلا نخوندن کار رو هنوز. ولی چون فلانیه، وای این الان کارش تنده صحنه‌اش فلانه. برعکسش هم هست. ولی اون آدم مترجم قدر و معروفیه.

[34] مال بعضی هارو میدن کسای مهم تر میخونن. با سواد تر که کلکی نخورن.

own strategies to guarantee the publication of their translations (explained further below). Also, my discussion so far reveals that translators adopt a series of strategies to deal with censorship. Through their sense, or what Bourdieu calls "feel for the game", translators and publishers participate in the rule-bound activities (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 67). What follows unveils how the practice of self-censorship by translators subtly unsettles the official rules.

## Self-Censorship and Its Impacts

This section deals with the question of *what to* translate in a censorial context. This is a crucial issue for Iranian translators as a right choice can increase the chance of obtaining publishing permits and lowering the risk of rejections.

The selection of books for translation is one of the collegial considerations of translators and publishers. Amateur and early-career translators, as discussed in chapter three, are not usually in a position to select a book for translation. They usually make conservative choices for their translations. Maton argues that in this context agents "do not arrive in a field fully armed with gold-like knowledge of the state of play, the positions, beliefs and aptitudes of other actors, or the full consequences of their actions" (Maton, 2014, p. 53). This is why amateur and early career-translators either retranslate books or, at best, are commissioned by publishers, who know the underlying principles of the censorship game, to translate books which entail little or no risk in the field. As Kaveh Kaghazchi, the director of Chelcheleh publishing house in Tehran, told me, books such as *Animal Farm* usually obtain publishing permits promptly because the permit has been issued several times before. Therefore, the MCIG does not spend

time inspecting the books which have already been retranslated several times (my interview, 02 May 2018, Tehran).

On this occasion, publishers and editors play a leading role when working with amateur and early-career translators. They review the translations and make the final decision about how the text should look for the final submission. Khaksar reflects on his experience as an early career translator and the way things have changed as he gradually built an established position in the field

> The publishers used to read my early translations before submitting to the MCIG. But after my third or fourth translations, they just forwarded to the MCIG whatever I submitted. I know MCIG's considerations (my interview, 07 August 2017, Tehran).[35]

As this statement shows, the agency of the translator correlates with their recognition of the mechanisms of the field. The higher their recognition in the literary translation market the more they play agentive roles.

For mid-career and senior translators, however, the story is different. Their experience in the field and their mastery over the underlying principles of the game allow them to act tactfully and diplomatically. The forms of self-censorship conducted by these groups of translators can be understood in terms of "strategic self-censorship" as Tymoczko names it, which refers to "the balance between selection and suppression of cultural information" (2010, p. 257). However, I use the term in its general sense, and by strategic self-censorship, I mean a

[35] اول ها میخوندند. ولی از کتاب سوم چهارم به بعد من هرچی بدم میره ارشاد. بعدا خونده میشه. من خودم ملاحظات ارشاد و اینارو میدونم.

form of self-censorship which does not block or hinder the publication of the book as an outcome of anticipations of regularities in the field by the translators and publishers.

To decide what to translate, translators initially examine the book. My interviews with Iranian literary translators and publishers show that they consciously consider censorship beforehand (my interviews, July-August 2017, Tehran). They claim that they definitely put the books aside if the books contradict the official rules, as the following statements demonstrate**.** Ghandhari states that "You have to read it closely and get to know about every aspect of the book. You cannot begin translating everything" (my interview, 25 July 2017, Tehran).[36] Another translator, Maryam Meftahi, declares that **"**I try to select books which would be easier to publish here. Typically, the MCIG asks for omissions, so I try to select books that even if they ask for removing anything, it would not sabotage the spirit of the story" (my interview, 15 August 2017, Tehran).[37] Similarly, Taheri asserts that **"**You know, from the beginning, I do not select a book [which might be subjected to censorship]" (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[38]

Other interviewees also show similar concerns. For instance, Poori, a well-known literary translator, admits that **"**I put translation aside if I have to omit anything" (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran).[39] Or Nabavi acknowledges that "censorship could affect my decision on

---

[36]باید بخونی و بدونی که، این یه بحثش. بحث دیگه اش این که فضای کتاب رو خوب بشناسی. هر کتابی رو نمیشه ترجمه کرد..

[37] تلاش میکنم کتابی رو انتخاب بکنم که اینجا کمتر به مشکل بخوره واگه قراره حذفی بشه معمولا شما کتاب هایی که ترجمه میشن عمدتا یک حذفیاتی میخورن طبیعیه. من سعی میکنم که کتاب هایی انتخاب بکنم که روح داستان آسیب نبینه اگر یک جمله ای حذف میشه بود آسیب نرسونه

[38] مسئله اینه که من از همون اول اصلا انتخاب نمیکنم. یعنی همون اول که میخونم میبینم.

[39] من در این موارد می‌ذارم کنار! ترجمه نمی‌کنم.

translating a book. Even if there is a high demand for the book, I may quit because of censorship. However, it sometimes compels the translator to do self-censorship" (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[40] In the same vein, publishers claim that they would not publish a book if they find it problematic. For instance, Arbabi said that **"**we try not to cross the MCIG's redlines to get the publishing permit easily" (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[41] Saghravani, also, declares **"**The books we usually publish are safe" (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).[42]

As the interviews went on, the translators explained their strategies in more details and identified under what conditions they might give up translating a book. When deciding over what to translate, translators count on the strategies that allow them to circumvent censorship and have the book published. For instance, Khaksar directly addresses this issue

> At the moment, I am reading a book to see if I can translate it into Persian, you know, it is an erotic book. I have to make sure that I can translate it, and have it published (my interview, 07 August 2017, Tehran).[43]

As this example shows, the content of the book strongly challenges the principles set by the officials. However, the translator's experience in the field allows him to consider translating such books. This is a risk for translators. The possible explanation that mid-career or senior translators go for such risks is perhaps to highlight their mastery in circulating sensitive

---

[40] سانسور می‌تونه باعث بشه که من یه کتابی رو ترجمه نکنم. وحتی کتابی که من فکر می‌کنم بسیار بسیار لازمه برای جامعه‌ی ما ترجمه نکنیم. یا گاهی اوقات مترجم رو به خودسانسوری وا می‌داره. .

[41] ما سعی امون اینه که کار خط قرمزها رو رد نکنه تا برای مجوز گیر نیفتیم.

[42] نوع کتاب های ما معمولا اینجوری نیست که تداخل اینجوری داشته باشه.

[43] الان یه کتابی دارم میخونم ببینم میشه ترجمه کرد آخه موضوعش خیلی اِروتیکه میخوام ببینم میشه ترجمش کرد.

discourses. This would allow them to play gate-keeping roles in a Bourdieusian sense as they become "responsible for introducing new elements into the foreign culture" (J. Milton & P. F. Bandia, 2009, p. 10). Similarly, the books of renowned Japanese writer Haruki Murakami are introduced to Iranian readers through a translator who believes that Murakami's works are strongly in conflict with the MCIG's norms, yet Ghabraee translated it.

> I admit that do self-censorship. Is it possible at all not to redact Murakami's works in Iran? ... He does not even write erotic; I believe he sometimes writes pornography, which conflicts with our culture (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[44]

The translator translated the book and the book was granted a publishing permit. My point, here, is that the existence of censorship has restricted the import of certain books, but it is not a rigid block which hinders the flow of translations from languages such as English to Persian, as the graph in chapter one illustrates (see figure 1. 1). However, the publication of the books depends highly on the translators and their competency in circumventing censorship.

So far, I discussed how translators decide on the selection of a book for translation. Their decisions are made based on their ability to avoid sensitive issues through linguistic and rhetorical means including euphemism, ellipsis and footnotes.

Euphemism is employed by literary translators to challenge the official principles of the MCIG regarding publications of books. They do so by intentionally selecting an equivalent to soften the obscene language of the text as the following example provided by Khaksar shows:

---

[44] راستش بله خودسانسوری می کنم. اصلا به همین صراحت. موراکامی رو مگه می شه سانسور نکرد؟ من می گم اروتیک نیست پورنو می نویسه در بعضی جاها. اونا اصلا به فرهنگ ما مشکل داره.

> I know the MCIG's boundaries. If I see overt sexual relations between characters, I euphemise them. Yes, it is detrimental to the book, but it will be published. For instance, in the translation of *A Fraction of the Whole* (Toltz, 2008), there is a passage that Martin's father…come home and ask his son for a condom…and there is a long discussion between them on how they [Jasper and his girlfriend] have safe sex. I euphemized it by using the word protection instead of condom. By reading the first sentence, the readers will know what the characters are talking about and I have only changed one word (my interview, 07 August 2017, Tehran).[45]

As these topics are not only contradictory to the Islamic principles but also are considered as cultural taboos, the translator has prevented omission of 4 or 5 pages of the book by strategic self-censorship by means of translation procedures, and the book is now a best-seller in Iran.[46] Taheri says that she used to keep sensitive words by transliterating them into Persian. But as the censors become aware of the procedure, she had to switch to euphemizing. She says

> We used to use the word 'erotic' itself and the censors did not know its meaning. However, as soon as they knew it, we had to change it. I referred to Ashoori's English-Persian dictionary that I knew had an equivalence for the word which is uncommon in today's Persian language; I found the word Kāmāneh [literal translation: desires] (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[47]

---

[45] من ملاحظات ارشاد رو می دونم. میدونم مثلا صحنه ی تند و جنسی ببینم تلطیف میکنم. کتاب آسیب میبینه ولی چاپ میشه مثلا در جز از کل بخشی هست پدر مارتین در یه عمارتی که جسپر در یک مکان کوچک تر زندگی میکنه یه روز پدرش میاد خونه جسپر و ازش کاندوم می خواد سه ساعت جرو بحث میکنن و برای چی میخوای اصلا عرضه نداری و من کلمه کاندوم رو حذف کردم اولین جمله ی تو جلوگیری میکنی یا دوست دخترت پسره میگه به توچه و قرص میخوره کسی نمیفهمه.

با همون جمله اول خود خواننده متوجه میشه که اینا راجع به چی حرف میزنن ولی این کلمه نیست که به محض دیدن این کلمه اونو حذف کردم و کلماتی هست که خیلی خنده داره.

آمیخندن از رابطه ی این دوتا و مثلا یه بسته پرت کرد تو صورتش ولی حذف نکردم

[46] The book has fifty-one reprints (since 2015) with at least 2000 (to 3000) copies per print-run which is a high number for Iranian book market. Retrieved from http://www.cheshmeh.ir/Book/872/6480/جزء%20از%20کل (access date: 05 September 2019).

[47] خوب ما یه زمانی اروتیک میذاشتیم نمیفهمیدن بعد که فهمیدن باید عوضش می کردیم. رفتم فرهنگ عاشوریو باز کردم گفتم این حتما یه چیزی میزاره هیچکس نمیفهمه. دیدم‌نوشته کامانه.

Taheri also refers to a less practiced and more innovative procedure that is to write backward. She admits "I've also come across someone who has written the English word backward to be able to keep the word" (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[48] She gives the example of writing ssik instead of kiss. As the censor search for sensitive keywords, this technique seems to be effective, and it also functions as an act challenging censorship. An interesting example is given by Ghabraee in his translation of *Norwegian Wood* (Murakami, 1987) where the censor asked him to replace the word bra with apron (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran). Ghabraee recounts

> You know, there are many details that we can keep instead of just deleting them. Let me give you an example… There is a scene in the book, which is not central to the story, but it is an important one. I mean, it does not make sense to remove five pages of a book. It is about a poor girl who uses her only bra to dry her kitchen appliances then she washes it and hangs it on the rack, they told me to replace the word bra (synih band) with apron (pysh band) (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[49]

In this example the translator has already chosen a euphemized Persian equivalent for bra, and the MCIG asked him to replace it with a completely different word. However, the translator believes that had he not euphemized the word bra, the MCIG rather than asking him to replace the word with another one, would have asked him to omit five pages of the book.

[48] بعد یک کسی رو دیدم برداشته نوشته راجع بهش کلمات را بر عکس نوشته بود. کلمه های انگلیسی و همه رو برعکس نوشته بود.

[49] ولی بسیاری از جزییات رو میشه حذف نکرد. ببینید. مثلا من نمونه مثال روشن و مضحک دارم از این قضیه. یه صحنه ای داره صحنه ی فرعی تو کتاب. که اهمیت هم داره. یعنی نمی شه اونو یهو چهار پنج صفحه رو دربیارم. دختری هستش که سینه بندش رو یه دونه هست برای اینکه پولش نمی رسه صرف خشک کردن لوازم آشپزی می کنه اونو می شوره رو بند آویزون می کنه و اینو به من پیشنهاد کردن که بار اول اینو شما بذار پیشبند.

The use of ellipsis and footnotes are two other common translation strategies to overcome censorship. Translators find these strategies a way of being more trustworthy in their interactions with readers because, at least, readers will know that they are reading a manipulated text. In this case, the translators omit sensitive words, sentences, paragraphs and sometimes pages of the story, but they instead insert brackets and ellipsis as '[…]' to signal the omitted parts. The below example is taken from the preface of a Persian translation of *Laughable Loves* by Czech author Milan Kundera(1974). The publisher, Roshangaran, a recognized publisher in Iran particularly in the field of women literature, states that:

> The publisher is obliged to inform the Persian readers that three stories of the collection have been omitted due to the obscene and explicit language of the author. Also, minor changes are indicated by […] throughout the text.[50]

Using ellipsis along with footnotes seems to communicate the trustworthy attitude of translators/publishers towards their readers.

The following extract is taken from a Persian translation of *42 Deep Thoughts, on Life, the Universe, and Everything* by Mark Vernon (2008). The book has been translated into Persian by Pejman Tehranian in 2017 and published by Farhangi Nashri Nu'. Chapter seven of the book has been replaced with a note from the translator to readers. The translator acknowledges the inappropriateness of the content of the chapter and justifies his decision to omit the whole chapter accordingly. The note says:

[50] ناشر وظیفه دارد به خواننده فارسی زبان یادآوری کند از این مجموعه سه داستان به دلیل توصیفهای صریح و بی‌پرده نویسنده حذف و اندک تغییرات الزامی در داستانها با علامت ... مشخص شده اند. انتشارات روشنگران.

> Dear reader, this chapter elaborated on a deep thought regarding personal affairs, which I am afraid is not appropriate to be publicized in our culture. So, it has been decided to disregard the chapter in the Persian translation. However, curious readers may refer to the original text to complement their reading of deep thoughts.[51]

Thus, while the translator is omitting a section due to censorship regulations, he strategically leaves clues for readers to equip them with "all the cultural knowledge necessary to decode the oppositional message of the censored text", as Baer reminds us (2011, p. 23). The MCIG, however, at some point prohibited this strategy, as Taheri reveals (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[52]

Poori also elaborates on the way he has informed readers of his decision of excluding a few poems from Pablo Neruda's selected poems.

> I excluded four poems of the collection before submitting the book to the Book Bureau. I did not translate them at all. In the preface, I informed the readers that due to considerations we all know, I have not translated a few poems of the book (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran).[53]

Similar to the case of *Animal Farm*'s translation by Habibi, discussed in chapter three, in these examples the translators proactively inform readers that the book is not fully translated.

Ultimately, some translators, regardless of censorship, prefer to translate the start text without any reservations. They submit the book to the MCIG as it is and if they are asked to

---

[51] خواننده عزیز، این فصل به بیان اندیشه‌ی نابی در مورد امور خصوصی پرداخته بود که شاید بیان آن چندان باب فرهنگ جاری ما نباشد. به همین خاطر مصلحت دیده شد که در ترجمه‌ی فارسی کتاب از آن چشم پوشی شود. گرچه خوانندگان کنجکاو ممکن است برای تکمیل مطالعه اندیشه‌های ناب به متن اصلی رجوع کنند.

[52] ارشاد جازه نمیداد یه زمانی میگفتن حق ندارید بذارید

[53] . چهار شعر این رو من قبل از اینکه بدم به اداره‌ی سانسور، من گذاشتم کنار. خودم ترجمه نکردم. و در مقدمه هم گفتم که من چهارتا شعر از این کتاب رو به عللی که معلومه چیه خودم ترجمه نکردم. منظور کتاب "هوا را از من بگیر خنده‌ات را نه!" از پابلو نرودا.

make revisions or omissions, then the translator would consider negotiations with the MCIG. Arbabi states:

> We try not to cross the MCIG's boundaries to get the publishing permit smoothly. Once we published a collection of short stories. One of the stories was entitled Sharāb [wine], and the word wine was mentioned several times throughout the story. We had three options: not to publish the story, leaving it as it is or replacing the word with spring water. The story was a good one, so we decided to leave it as it is. And luckily, we got the publishing permit (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[54]

This entails risks of the book being banned but, of course, as Arbabi states, the general theme of the book does follow the rules of the MCIG.

So far, I have drawn on translator's strategic self-censorship which as Tymoczko (2010) states is a constructive form of self-censorship in terms of translators' visibility and agency. Such explanations by translators, as demonstrated in the last two examples, exhibit that translators are making their status and role visible to the readers. Strategic self-censorship, also, brings translators a more trustworthy position compared to the amateur and early career translators. The following section demonstrates the fluidity of the censorship and its paradoxes. Censorship "involves both resistance to and complicity with oppressive cultural [and political] norms simultaneously" (Tymoczko, 2010, p. 258). Translators, on the one hand, with their knowledge of the dynamics of the field, exercise freedom in dealing with the original text and undermine the resistance of censors. On the other hand, their skill in both complying with

[54] آقای اربابی: ما سعی امون اینه که کار خط قرمزها رو رد نکنه. یعنی اثری که الان موضوعیت داره خط قرمز رو رد نکنه. تا برای مجوز به مشکل نخوریم. یمجموعه داستانی که ما رونمایی هم کردیم مثلا یکی از داستان‌ها شراب بود اسمش وتو تمام کتاب شراب تکرار شده بود. ما دوتا رویکرد در قبال این داشتیم. اصلا یا این داستان رو نذاریم. یا بذاریم بگیم هرچه باداباد! یا اینکه اصلاح کنیم بکنیمش آب معدنی مثلا. ما گفتیم که عیب نداره این داستان داستان ارزشمندیه. داستان خوبیه هرچه باداباد. رفت. مجوز گرفت.

censorship and circumventing it build a trustworthy position for them among publishers and readers. This can be seen in their negotiations with the MCIG which allows mid-career and senior translators to push the boundaries set by the MCIG. It seems that, as Pym notices, "mutual benefit can ensue from situations where all actors operate out of self-interest" (2000, p. 10).

## Translators Negotiating Frontiers[55]

Based on the outcome of the publishing permit application, publishers/authors/translators are entitled to lodge their objections to the MCIG. Translators play a decisive role at this stage. Arbabi states that "The MCIG knows and works with the publishers… However, the translators could be of high influence. They approach the MCIG, ask for meetings, and then negotiate the permit" (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[56] As Arbabi's statement suggests, publishers generally ask translators to visit the MCIG for obtaining publishing permit. Mid-career and senior translators are particularly influential in negotiating the permit through reasoning and convincing the chair of the meeting in the MCIG. Khaksar confirms Arbabi's statement and adds that:

> I always approach the MCIG myself, because I am the person who has been through all the trouble of translating the book, not the publisher. It takes me one year to translate a book, I won't let them decide for me. They do not have the right. They [the MCIG's staffs] know me, they know that if they do not issue the

[55] For this heading, I am inspired by Anthony Pym's book *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History* (Pym, 2000).

[56] ارشاد طرفش ناشره. اما مترجم آدم ذی نفوذیه! تلفن می‌کنه. هماهنگ می‌کنه. می‌تونن رایزنی کنن اما از کانال قانونیش.

> publishing permit for my translations, I will be there the day after (my interview, 07 August 2017, Tehran).[57]

This statement reveals that translators have learnt the rules of the game and their habitus matches the habitus of the field. Nabipour, the translator and the supervisor of international affairs in Ofoq publications, also confirms that translators are influential in the process of publishing, and interestingly adds that women, especially, get the permit more easily.

> Both publishers and translators are allowed to approach the MCIG to negotiate their publishing permits. It is better if the translator approaches the MCIG. It is even more effective if the translator or the author is female. For instance, the MCIG did not issue a publishing permit for Ms Mo'ayeripour's book. She lives in Germany but when she travelled to Iran, she booked an appointment, and negotiated with them. Finally, they issued the publishing permit (my interview, 16 July 2017, Tehran).[58]

However, such alleged difference in attitude toward male or female translators/authors has not been confirmed by other interviewees. What is generally referred to by all the interviewees, is that translators play crucial roles in obtaining the publishing permit and the policies of the MCIG mostly impact on Iranian authors.

How do translators undertake these negotiations? Recognised mid-career and senior translators seem to be aware of their influential role, thus, as soon as they are notified that the book has not been granted a publishing permit or been granted a conditional permit, they call

[57] خودم زحمت کشیدم، نمیذارم برام تصمیم بگیرن نه من خودم میرم من برای هر کدوم یک سال زحمت کشیدم. میرم دنبال اون ونمیگذارم برای من تصمیم بگیرن. حق ندارن یعنی. منو میشناسن. میدونن اگر مجوز ندن به ترجمه های من فرداش می رم سراغشون.

[58] ناشرم میتونه بره ولی مترجم هم میتونه یعنی اصلا اینطوری نیست که شما بگید نه شما حق نداری بری به عنوان مترجم یا مولف. بعضی وقتا حتی بهترم هست یعنی وقتی طرفتون خانوم باشه سر کتاب خانم معیری پور هم یک دونه رو مجوز نمیدادن خانم معیری پورم ایران زندگی نمیکنن از آلمان اومدن یه دوره ای رفتن ارشاد حرف زدن و با مجوز برگشتن

the MCIG to book an appointment. Khaksar has always visited the MCIG for obtaining the publishing permit for his book

> As for the translation of the Fraction of the Whole, different censors read it and they were like it is not possible to publish it, but I went there with the original book and explained that this is a comic book and you should read it this way. They assigned someone else to read the book and this time they issued the publishing permit. [I don't want the publisher to go there] I am the person who has put all the effort, I have stay up late and even if I translate a fifty-pages book, I book an appointment and go there to get the permit. And, if necessary, I would even go to see the Minister for my book. All my books have been granted publishing permit (my interview, 07 August 2017, Tehran).[59]

Taheri offers a detailed account of such meetings with the relevant authorities, who were not the censors but an intermediary between the censors and the translator (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran). She shares her experience of visiting the MCIG as follows:

> I have once approached the MCIG for the translation of one of Carver's books… They had returned the book with some comments. It was 1371/1992…it was the first and the last time that I went there, the director asked me: "You have finished the story by a man and woman desperately squeezing each other in a house corridor to protect each other from the wind. Why have you finished it like this? I told him, frankly, that they can decide for me as a translator, but they cannot tell the dead American author how to write his story. We had some

[59] آقای خاکسار: نه اصلا اتفاقا من کتاب توقیفی زیاد داشتم. چهار، پنج تا از کتاب های من توقیف شدن ولی خوب با رایزنی گرفتم مجوزشون رو.

آقای خاکسار: اصل کتاب رو بردن و گفتن این کمدی هست شما باید اینو جور دیگه بخونید، پذیرفتن. و مجوز دادن خودم. ناشر. بیشتر خودم. یعنی اینکه رفتم صحبت کردیم. گفتم که ، مثلا جز از کل،یه ایرادایی ازش گرفته بودن و همه خونده بودن و ردش کرده بودن که قابل چاپ نیست ولی من رفتم براشون توضیح دادم اصل کتاب رو براشون بردم.روش نوشته بود گفتم شما جدی خوندید کتاب رو روش نوشته فانی نباید اینجوری میخوندینش.خلاصه دادن به یک نفر دیگه خوند مجوز گرفت

خوب آخه زحمتی که مترجم کشیده ناشر نکشیده.مثلا شب بیداری ها مال من بوده برای همین من یه کتاب پنجاه صفحه ای ترجمه کنم اگه مجوز نگیره وقت میگیریم میریم. من همه ی کتاب هام مجوز گرفته است.

> negotiations but, in the end, he issued the permit (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[60]

Ghabraee also explains how he has obtained publishing permit for four of his translations (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran). Beginning with his experience for getting the publishing permit for *Norwegian Wood* (Murakami, 1987)*,* Ghabraee states that

> I negotiated this with them [referring to censors] showing them that I have already omitted some parts. You know, we have to delete some parts to make sure the text conforms to our culture. But they remove all the details, and nothing was left of the book. I went there for four books of mine, talked to them and convinced them to issue the publishing permits (my interview, 18 July 2017, Tehran).[61]

This statement shows that the translators conform to some extent to the MCIG's comments but at the same time negotiate over the rest and obtain publishing permit for a book such as *Norwegian Wood* (Murakami, 1987) which is a nostalgic story of loss and burgeoning sexuality. Eslamieh, the translator of *Harry Potter* series, has also visited the MCIG along with the publisher when she was an early-career translator, however they did not issue the publishing permit (my interview, 14 august 2017, Tehran). After 20 years, she again visited the MCIG and negotiated the permit for the same book, which was finally granted.

> There was a book which received publishing permit after 20 years and was published last year. At that time, the publisher told me that he had booked an appointment with the reviewer and asked me to join him to convince them for

---

[60] یک بار سر کارور رفتم سالهای ۷۱ اینا بود این کار رفته بود و با یک سری ایراد برگشت.. اولین و آخرین بارم بود. شروع کردیم راجع به کار بعد میگفت این آخرش باید عوض شه میگفت این زن و مرد در راهروی یک خونه از درماندگی همو در آغوش گرفتن انگار از باد در امان باشن. میگفت چرا اینجوری تموم کردی. منم با پروپی گفتم شما برای من مترجم در این سال میتونید تکلیف معلوم کنید ولی برای نویسنده ی امریکایی که مرده نمیتونید بگید چه جوری داستان بنویسه. خلاصه ما این بحث هارو کردیم به جایی هم نرسید آهان چرا اجازشو داد.

[61]خب من استدلال کردم برای آقایون. من خودم جاهایی رو حذف کردم. خیلی خب. اونا رو ناچاریم طبق فرهنگ خودمون حذف کنیم.. اصلا این رو عین خیالشون نیست. رفتم اونجا چانه زنی کردم. سر این چهارتا کتاب رفتم صحبت کردم. گفتم دیگه چیزی نمی مونه ازش تمام ظرائفش رفت. بعد شما خودتون اهل زبان هستید لطمه ای که به زبان می خوره. خیلی عمیق تر و شدیدتر از این هست.

> issuing the permit. But the attempt was not successful. We told them that the main character of the book has been through so much difficulties and she could be a role model in our society, but they said that they have problem with the topic of the book. The book was about fashion and the censors didn't approve of the theme (my interview, 14 august 2017, Tehran).[62]

This statement is clear evidence of how the experience of obtaining a permit is different when translators are professionals in their early-career or their mid-career. Both Eslamieh and Khaksar, as they are becoming more recognised and more professional, increase their symbolic capital and their agency.

Compared to translators, publishers seem to be less willing to visit the MCIG to negotiate over the publishing permit. As the interviewees revealed, publishers, however own the all the rights of the book, are not considered as the sole owner of the book, while the translators are recognised as the responsible agents for the translated text. Among the publisher interviewees, only Saghravani states that he has personally visited the MCIG regarding a publishing permit (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran). He articulates that

> we also have visited the MCIG to talk and negotiate the publishing permit of a book. There are issues that everybody agrees to be censored, such as insulting religious beliefs. But some issues are subjective, we should make sure that

[62]خانم اسلامیه: سر یه کتابی بود، قانع نشدن یه کتابی بود که بعد از بیست سال فکر می کنم پارسال چاپ شد..

ما رفتیم اون موقع هم من جوون بودم بیست و دو سه سالم بود فکر کنم. ناشر گفت بیایید بریم من با بررس وقت گرفتم صحبت کنیم بلکه چیز بشه. ما رفتیم اونجا هر چی گفتیم بابا خب آخه ببینید این چقدر سختی کشیده این می تونه الگو باشه برای جامعه که در برابر سختی ها ناامید نشن و اینا. هر چی ما گفتیم

خانم اسلامیه: گفت اصلا موضوعش مشکل داره. اصلا ما با این قضیه ی مد مشکل داریم. خلاصه اصلا مجاب نشدن. در نتیجه ما هم گذاشتیم کنار اون کار رو، پارسال دوباره درخواست کرده بودم برای مجوز و گرفتم.

> deleting a part does not sabotage the artistic spirit of the work (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).[63]

Sometimes negotiations with the MCIG have negative consequences. If translators show their resistance explicitly, they might build a negative reputation before the MCIG to the extent that they reject the submission before even considering reviewing their books. This is another strategy of self-censorship. This can be exemplified in the case of Ghabraee as Arbabi:

> For instance, the novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (Hemingway, 1940) is translated by Mr Ghabraee. We had a chat about it, it's been three years that his work has remained with the MCIG. But he says he won't apply the changes asked for, because he is a translator and has to do his job (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[64]

Ghabraee, himself, told me that he has not been given a publishing permit because of his background of being resistant to censorship. This has made censors sensitive to his work. Ghabraee explains that "they issue publishing permit for the translation of same book rendered by another translator. My translations have been held up by the MCIG for 10 years now" (my interview, 18 July 2019, Tehran).[65] It takes usually longer for him to obtain publishing permits. Even so Ghabraee's translation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* has recently been published, which means that he has been finally successful in obtaining the permit.

---

[63]سعیدی: خودتون رفتید یا مترجم؟

آقای ساغروانی: خودم میرم گاهی لازم باشه مترجم میفرستم. هر دو جورش بوده. چون ممیزی در نهایت یه امر سلیقه ای میشه. چون ببینید ایرادایی که چون و چرا بر نداره مثلا یکی بیاد تو کتابش رسما به‌مقدسات و پیامبر اکرم‌توهین بکنه خوب اینا همه موافق ممیزیش هستن ولی این چیزا نیست آخه چون یه جاهایی آیا حذفش به لحاظ هنری صدمه میزنه به کار یا نه. اینا باید اونجا حل بشه که طرفین نقاط مشترکی ندارن

[64] آقای اربابی: مثلا رمان "زنگ‌ها برای که به صدا درمی‌آید" رو آقای غبرایی ترجمه کرده ما مثلا با هم صحبت می‌کردیم، سه ساله تو ارشاده این کار. ولی ایشون می‌گن دست نمی‌زنم. اصلاح نمی‌کنم. می‌گه من باید رسالت ترجمه ام رو انجام بدم.

[65]آره دیگه برای من هنوز نیومده اونوقت اینا مجوز میگیرن برای من ده ساله دیگه میمونه

Translators' standing seems to influence the decisions made by the MCIG. In response to my question of whether the translator's name can affect the decision made by the MCIG regarding issuing publishing permit, Arbabi responds

> Yes, it does. Sometimes there is a positive impact and sometimes a negative one. There are some books which have been waiting in the MCIG for years for the publishing permit to be issued, only because of its translator. They have not even read the work yet. The reverse is also true (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[66]

The effort and the time that translators invest in the translation, sometimes leaves them no choice but to comply with the rules of the MCIG. Nabavi states:

> Translators have more feelings for the content of the translation. But at the same time, I have spent four years translating a book and the MCIG asked for a few revisions. What should I do? Similar to publishers, I should compromise by either omitting sentences or revising them. It is not easy for me, but I have spent four years, and the publisher has invested money on the translation (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[67]

Thus, it seems, the worst-case scenario and the last resort, when translators are not willing to compromise with the censors, is to wait for changes in the socio-political context which may take years. Taheri explains how the publication of one controversial book affected the other books waiting for publishing permits by saying that:

> a book was published, *The Gods Laugh on Mondays* (1995), it became so controversial that they ousted all the directors in the MCIG, and the new directors revoked my publishing permit as well. I had to wait for six years, till the

[66] آقای اربابی: هست. اما دوگانه هستش. یه وقتایی هست برعکس جواب می‌ده. الان مثلا چندتا از اون کتابایی که گفتم اینا چندساله تو ارشاده، به خاطر اسم اون مترجمه. یعنی اینم هست. اصلا نخوندن کار رو هنوز. ولی چون فلانیه، وای این الان کارش تنده صحنه‌اش فلانه. برعکسش هم هست.

[67] خب آره. مترجم دلبستگیش به محتوای اثر بیشتره. ولی اینم هست من چهارسال روی کتاب کار کردم من مترجم. وارشاد یک ایرادی گرفته. من چیکار می‌تونم بکنم. منم تقریبا مثل ناشر مجبورم که یه جور راه بیام. یا اون جمله‌هایی که می‌خواد حذف کنم یا یه جوری تغییرش بدم. این من چهارسال وقت گذاشتم. ناشر یه مقدار هزینه کرده ولی این مسئله وجود داره.

> next presidency era, to get the publishing permit for my translation of Carver's book. They did not review the book. I just took the previous permit to the same person who granted it and was now in charge so I asked him to reissue it and he did (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[68]

The process of issuing publishing permits can take from one day to 10 years or more. Ghabraee's translation of *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) took more than eight years, and Eslamieh's translation of a book took twenty years to get the publishing permit.[69]

In line with the previous sections, this section demonstrated how multiple agents play roles in deciding over the destiny of the book. The translators and publishers are not passive followers of the imposed rules and regulations. Clearly, translators play the most crucial role in negotiating the decisions made by the authorities.

## After Issuing Publishing Permit

When the book is ready to be distributed, publishers submit the book online to the MCIG and attach the book cover to obtain a receipt known as the acknowledgement receipt [Elāmi Voṣūl].[70] This receipt confirms that the book has been published and printed in accordance with the MCIG's requirements of the publishing permit and that it can now be distributed in the market. At this stage, only the book cover and requirements of the MCIG for its publication are

[68] یه کتابی دراومد خدایان دوشنبه ها میخندند جنجال براه افتاد که این کتابو کی اجازه داده. کل سیستم ارشاد همرو بر کنار کردن گفتن همه مجوزا هم لغو من شش سال منتظر شدم رئیس جمهور عوض شد تا من کارورو اجازشو گرفتم. اونم نه این که دوباره برسی کنن برسی قبلی رو بردم همون آقا دوباره شده بود گفتم اینو خودت دادی اذیت نکن دادم دیگه.

[69] گیر داده آره من کتابی از جان بارت ترجمه کردم نزدیک شاید هفت هشت ده سال میرفتم منتظر مجوز بلاخره پارسال مجوزش اومد. دو سه تا داستانشو گفتن به کل باید بردارید. ما همچنان داریم چونه میزنیم ومیجنگیم

[70] https://ketab.farhang.gov.ir/fa/usershelp/guide (access date: 29 May 2019).

to be checked. If the authorities realise that there are discrepancies between the submitted version and approved version, they reject its publication. Hosseinkhani, the publisher, describes that obtaining the acknowledgement of receipt is in fact "assessment after assessment" (my interview, 19 July 2019, Tehran). She states that:

> It has happened that a book has been sent for review again when applying for the acknowledgement of receipt. They do not examine the book cover in the first instance, but they have a look at the cover as well before issuing the acknowledgement of receipt (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[71]

Further, Nabavi gives the example of a book he has translated (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran). He explains that the book obtained the publishing permit, then they submitted the complete book for final approval. The Book Bureau proclaimed that the book can be published provided they changed the cover. It took them three months to convince the Book Bureau to approve the cover as it was.[72] Arbabi further explains that this is because "the MCIG must be informed of any changes in the book after issuing the publishing permit" (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[73] Even at this stage there is room for negotiations. In response to my question of how they deal with such situations, Arbabi says:

> Sometimes, we tell them that we will revise the second reprint based on their comments and they accept it. If the book is reprinted for the second time, we revise it. It has happened to us that we have printed a book, as a result the translator has then inserted a table of content and we didn't notice it... Now the number of pages increased. Page numbers are recorded both in FIPA(CIP) and in

[71] در واقع این اعلام وصول ممکنه یه جورایی ممیزی بعد از ممیزی هم باشه دوباره. چون شده که کار تومرحله‌ی اعلام وصول باز دوباره رفته بررسی. ... ولی اول فعلا محتوا رو ممیزی می‌کنند. با جلد کاری ندارن ولی خب تو این مرحله اعلام وصول جلد هم دیده میشه.

[72] آقای نبوی: ما توی همین کتابی که با مینوی خرد کار کردیم برای اعلام وصول به جلدش ایراد گرفتن. دو ماه طول کشید تا قبول کردن و آخر سری

[73] بله هر تغییری ممکنه به شرط تغییر مجوز

> the MCIG. It means we had to reapply for FIPA and for the publishing permit (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[74]

Moghanloo has used such a strategy that has allowed her to successfully convince the MCIG to grant her the permit (my interview, 01 August 2017, Tehran). She assured the MCIG that she would revise the text based on their comments for the second reprint of the book. She adds that "for further reprints of the translations, we had to omit some words. We also removed a story that had a lesbian theme" (my interview, 01 August 2017, Tehran).[75]

The other strategy that translators employ at this final stage is that they visit the MCIG in person and make written undertakings to do the amendments. Nabavi states that "they asked for a written commitment to make changes in the next reprints. We were lucky that our next reprint was under the presidency of Rouhani" (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[76] Reformist governments often improve the situation for publishing books and, as mentioned before in this chapter, sometimes translators wait for the next presidential elections to try their chances for obtaining the permit.

When the translators and publishers pass through these stages and publish the book, there is yet another possibility for revoking the book's permit. Saghravani explains:

---

[74] آقای اربابی: بله. معمولا این اتفاق میفته، مثلا می‌گیم آقا چاپ دومش درست می‌کنیم. اگر این کار رفت تو چاپ دوم، تو چاپ دوم اصلاح می‌شه. ما داشتیم خودمون. یه کتابی چاپ شده بود. مترجمش رفته بود فهرست منابع و ماخذ اضافه کرده بود از دست ما هم در رفته بود، کار چاپ شده بود. حلا اضافه کردن فهرست منابع و ماخذ یعنی چی؟ یعنی اضافه شدن تعداد صفحات. چیزی که در فیپا خورده، در ارشاد هم خورده. این یعنی هم باید فیپا اصلاح بشه و هم ارشاد. نامه‌نگاری داره.

[75] توی چاپ های بعدیش بله ما یک سری کلمات رو مجبور شدیم حذف بکنیم. و یک داستان رو که یک مقدار تم لزبین زنان رو داشت برداشتیم..

[76] تعهد گرفتن از ناشر که چاپ بعد رو تغییر بده. که ما از شانس خوبمون چاپ دوم رسید به دولت آقای روحانی.

> It is not only about censors' decisions, I mean, sometimes there are no problems with a text from censors' point of view, but after publishing the book, there are other organizations which may raise complaints about issuing permit for a certain book (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).[77]

Saghravani refers to religious, cultural or political organizations who may, after reading the book, force the MCIG to retract the book from the market (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran).

This has been especially the case during fundamentalist governments when huge numbers of publishing permits for books which had been reprinted for 15 times, for instance, were revoked. It seems that even the institutions in charge of censorship are not always the sole decision-makers over the destiny of a book. External forces, as discussed above, can turn the publication of a book into a controversial issue. Similarly, there are books, even pedagogical ones such as books in medical sciences, that have been granted such verdicts at the time of fundamentalist governments. However, after each government change translators aim to turn the situation in favour of their own practice by re-applying for permits of banned books.

## Conclusions

In this chapter, I elaborated on the role translators play in dealing with the constraints upon their practice of literary translation. My analysis shows that Iranian literary translators play a

[77] فقط بحث سلیقه ای نیست، ممکنه ارشاد حتی مجوز یه کتاب بده اما نهادهای دیگه هستن که بعد از چاپ کتاب سروصدا میکنن که یه ملاحظاتی هست.

significant role in negotiating officially banned discourses. At the macro level, the sharp rise in the number of translations from English to Persian demonstrates how actively translators import literary capitals to the national literary field of Iran. This, as displayed at the beginning of this chapter, challenges the censorship of the government that is trying to protect Islamic-Iranian culture from the influence of the so-called "foreign".

Through negotiations with the MCIG and collaboration with publishers or other agents, and strategic self-censorship, the Iranian translators bring world literature to Iranian readers. This role is played mainly by senior and mid-career translators who, thanks to their experience, are familiar with the habitus of the literary translation field of Iran. Thereby, they use various textual, paratextual, and extratextual strategies to ensure they are able to obtain the permit with the least level of textual manipulations in the translated texts. The translators may not always be successful in convincing authorities, but their cumulative efforts for importing the literary works seem to be recognised by the publishers and readers.

This leads to what Baer (2011) calls "productive censorship". As discussed, translators inform readers of their constraints and struggles in the process of publishing translations by leaving notes in the text (explained above and chapter two). Also, as I demonstrated throughout this chapter, Bourdieu's (1991) structural censorship holds relevance in the context of Iran. The act of censorship is undertaken by multiple agents, institutional, individual or other organizations who are closely related to the political field of Iran. The translators in this game choose strategies which ensures satisfaction of the different agents. Overall, investigating

translators' role in a censorial context suggests that they are not only thought-providers but also thought-provokers.

# Chapter Five: The Visibility of Translators

## Overview

This chapter returns to the question of why Iranian translators are visible (see chapter one). By delineating the role of translators in contemporary Iran, previous chapters have established that there are different groups of translators. In chapter two, in particular, I showed that all translators are visible, but their degree of visibility varies. This was mainly demonstrated through the collaborations of translators with their networks and through their positioning in the literary translation field of Iran. I also discussed the competition in the literary translation field of Iran focusing on the capitals at stake in the field. I offered two narratives of why amateur and non-amateur translators are interested in retranslating literary works (see chapter three). These different attitudes have been cross-referenced with the reception of amateur and non-amateur practices of retranslation in the literary translation field. Chapter four explored the translators' roles in (re)producing banned discourses by following the unwritten rules of the field. All these chapters, at the same time, outlined different aspects of the literary translation field of Iran which condition the practice of literary translation. They were, respectively, collaboration, competition, and censorship that form part of the habitus of the field.

These aspects outline the hierarchical relations among translators in the literary translation field in Iran. Hierarchy, as Bourdieu suggests, "predisposes tastes to function as markers of 'class'" (1984, pp. 1-2). This is partially due to the unequal capital that literary translators carry. Such a capital puts them in an inferior or a superior position compared to other translators in the literary translation field. The level of visibility varies depending on the translators' experiences, their age, their translation competency, and type of the text that they

translate. In this chapter I aim to explore distinctive features of the different groups of translators for a more nuanced understanding of why some translators are more visible than others.[1]

In this chapter, I will also test Venuti's concept of a linear history of translators' invisibility. I will remain alert to the factors which, according to Venuti (1995), contribute to the invisibility of the western translators, namely, the regime of fluency and the legal status of the task translators fulfil. This allows me to identify whether these factors are against or in favour of the visibility of translators in Iran. Thus, I begin the chapter by drawing on the relation between fluency and (in)visibility as suggested by Venuti. Then, I discuss the views of Iranian scholars on fluency in translation. These definitions of what makes a translation fluent suggest that fluency in Iran is encouraged, and that it contributes to the visibility of translators.

Further, I will explain the legal status of translators in Iran to unravel the rights of translators. I review the historical context of Iranian national copyright law, and the legal articles addressing translators' rights. I also examine the translators' contracts with publishers to explore similarities and differences between them. Throughout the chapter, I draw on my interviews with translators and publishers for a more nuanced understanding of their "taste" which distinguishes them from amateur and less-recognized translators. As already mentioned in chapter one, all the interviewees are mid-career and senior translators who are well-

[1] I already discussed some of these features in the previous chapters. For instance, retranslations of popular books such as *Animal Farm* are ascribed to young amateur translators and considered to be of low quality and profit-driven.

recognised in the literary translation field of Iran. Finally, I will offer a paratextual analysis of Persian translations of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* to give an illustrative example of how one translator establishes her position among all the other translators, and how her authority in the literary translation field has changed as her position rose in the literary translation field of Iran over time.[2] This novel best reifies the rivalry in the field as it was translated into Persian 18 times within a year after the publication of the start text in the UK.

My discussion of visibility falls under the type of visibility proposed by McLaughlin (2008) as discussed below. However, I will show that there are other types of visibility in Iran: legal visibility, reciprocal visibility and social visibility. Translators' legal visibility is explored through analysis of their status in the copyright laws and in their contracts with publishers. Reciprocal visibility refers to the translators' ability to sustain an enduring relationship with their readers through valuing their opinions. And social visibility refers to the translators' presence in the society not only as translators, but also as experts in literature and translator training. These last two forms of visibility are what distinguishes mid-career and senior from amateur and early-career translators.

## Fluency and (in)visibility

To begin the chapter, I draw on the relation between fluency in translation and invisibility of translators. Venuti points out that "a translated text is […] judged acceptable […] when it reads

[2] *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* is the fifth instalment in *Harry Potter* book series released by Bloomsbury in UK, 2003.

fluently, when the absence of any linguistic or stylistic peculiarities makes it transparent" (1995, 2018, p. 1). This transparency, according to Venuti, mirrors "the foreign writer's personality or intention or the essential meaning of the foreign text – the appearance, in other words, that the translation is not in fact a translation, but the 'original'". This so-called "illusion of transparency", Venuti (2018, p.1) adds, is the result of "a fluent translation strategy […]. The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator, and, presumably, the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text".[3] This seems not to be the case in Iran.

In Iran, similar to the Anglo-American context, the dominant discourse around translation valorises fluent translation. Fluency and readability in translation are what both Iranian translators and readers seem to appreciate. However, Venuti's point that, "readers must also learn how to interpret translations as translations, as texts in their own right" (2018, p. xvi) shows that western readers are not always aware of translators' agency. Instead, in the case of Iran, the preference for fluent translation does not hinder the agency of translators. As my interviews suggest, as well as the social media analysis in chapter three, Iranian readers appreciate the fluency of translation and expect translators to be visible and to "visualise" their skills and competency.

[3]In the study of western context, McLaughlin (2008, p. 62) suggests translators are, inherently, visible in their translation even under the "regime of fluent translation".

I illuminate this understanding of translation by reflecting on the viewpoints of Iranian translation scholars and translator trainers. In response to the question of what an "ideal translation" is, Karim Emami, a well-known Iranian translator, researcher and publisher replies:

> First of all, I should mention that translations can never be better than the original, except for a few cases.[4] The text should be translated from the original language, it should be as precise as possible to the point of being equal to the original, but at the same time it must offer a readable text endowed with Persian's linguistic context. Nowadays, we do insist on the quality of Persian in translation…and now our best translators distance themselves a step further from the start text in order to write their translation in a very articulate language (2006c, p. 48).[5]

This statement represents the opinion of one of the iconic literary translators of contemporary Iran who holds a distinguished status. This definition suggests that translators will be more visible to readers, as Emami himself is, when they offer "a readable text endowed with Persian texture"(2006c, p. 48).

Another example comes from Najaf Daryabandari, a highly regarded Iranian translator. Recently, a video clip was produced by IRNA, Islamic Republic News Agency, entitled as "If

[4] Emami exemplifies Persian translation of *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* by James Justinian Morier (1824) as being better than the original of the book (For a case study on the Aventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan see Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014).

[5] در ابتدا باید بگویم که هیچ ترجمه ای بهتر از اصلش نمی شود، یعنی قاعدتا نمی شود، مگر در موارد استثنایی. در این قبیل موارد هم میبینیم اصل اثر کاستی هایی داشته که در ترجمه، که در ترجمه این کاستی ها رفع شده است. یا ترجمه بعضی خواص اضافی پیدا کرده است...پس ترجمه ایده‌آل ترجمه ای است که کم ترین افت را داشته باشد. از زبان متن ترجمه شده باشد، نه از روی ترجمه آن به زبان دیگر. در حد امکان دقیق و برابر متن اصلی و در عین حال کاملا مفهوم باشد؛ و زبان ترجمه دارای بافت فارسی باشد . روی کیفیت فارسی متون ترجمه شده ما این روزها زیاد تاکید داریم، و بعد از یک دوره ترجمه مکانیکی دقیق، به مرحله ای رسیده ایم که بهترین مترجمان ما یک قدم از متن اصلی دور می ایستند تا بتوانند نثر خود را با فارسی شیواتری بنویسند.

Ishiguro wrote in Farsi: Young translators tell about Najaf Daryabandari".[6] In this video, three successful mid-career translators discuss the legacy of Daryabandari and his influence on Iranian translators. Interestingly, one of the interviewees, Amir Mehdi Haghighat, declares that "in translation, there is always room for making it better, but when I read Najaf Daryabandari's translation, I feel like it is impossible to translate any better".[7] In the interview Haghighat also compares Daryabandari with Austro-German composer Ludwig van Beethoven and states that they are similar "as they both bring art to the highest point of perfection".[8]

Peyman Khaksar, Iranian literary translator, in the same video clip, makes comments which confirm Emami's definition of a good translation: "For me, the fascinating thing about Daryabandari's translations is that while he is remaining faithful to the original text, he has developed a true Persian prose".[9] Khaksar adds that "he is faithful to Persian syntax" and maintains that Daryabandari "translates sentences in a way that if Ishiguro wrote in Persian, he

---

[6]Kazuo Ishigurou, the British novelist born in Japan (1954), has also been translated into Persian and is a recognized author in Iran. The Persian title of this video clip is Agar Ishiguro Farsy Mynivisht. https://www.irna.ir/news/83459548/اگر-ایشی-گورو-فارسی-می-نوشت (access date: 17 September 2019).

[7] Haghighat, 2019, in IRNA's video clip, see, minutes 1:06 to 1:27, for the video clip see https://img9.irna.ir/d/r2/2019/08/31/0/156592675.mp4 (access date: 17 September 2019).

همیشه جای بهتر کردن هست ولی وقتی من کارای نجف دریابندری رو میخونم احساس میکنم که دیگه از این واقعا بهتر نمیشه.

[8] Haghighat, 2019 in the video clip produced by IRNA, see, minutes 2:03 to 2:11, for the video clip see https://img9.irna.ir/d/r2/2019/08/31/0/156592675.mp4 (access date: 17 September 2019).

چیزی که این هارو بهم پیوند میده اون وجه کمال گرایی است.

[9] Khaksar, 2019, see, minutes 5:05 to 5:24, for the video clip see https://img9.irna.ir/d/r2/2019/08/31/0/156592675.mp4 (access date: 17 September 2019).

چیزی که برای من درباره آقای دریابندری از همه چیز پررنگ تر است، اینه که ایشون در عین وفاداری به متن در تمام کارهایی که ترجمه کردند به یک نثر به معنای واقعی کلمه فارسی رسیدند.

would definitely write like that".[10] These statements support that mid-career translators also valorise fluency in translation.

Moreover, the narrator of the video clip highlights a significant point, a genealogy of translators in Iran: Daryabandari has followed the footsteps of the translators preceding him and the younger generation of translators follow him. This can be understood as "reproduction" in the field, in Bourdieusian sense. This, simply, means that social groups are able to be reproduced (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) refer to the inheritance of capital from family background and its impact on the education of children, however, by reproduction, here, I mean that translators on the top of the hierarchy have created a position in the literary translation field which is seen as optimal position for a translator.

The senior translators act as a beacon to the younger generation which hopes to be able to reach this leading position in the field in future. For instance, the interviewer asks the translators if they would wish to become like Daryabandari one day, and they all replied that they hope at least one translator of their generation will become as influential as Daryabandari. This reminds us that "one of the fundamental effects of the orchestration of habitus is the

[10] Khaksar, 2019, see, minutes 5:37 to 5:39, for the video clip see https://img9.irna.ir/d/r2/2019/08/31/0/156592675.mp4 (access date: 17 September 2019).

وفاداری اصلیشون به نحو فارسی است.

جمله را به گونه ای می نوبسند که اگر قرار بود ایشی گورو آن را به قارسی بنویسد قطعا همانطور می نوشت.

production of a commonsense […] in other words the harmonization of agents' experiences"(Bourdieu, 1974, p. 80).

The statements of the translators about their wish to occupy Daryabandari's position reflect the orchestrated habitus of different groups or so to speak class of translators. The leading position in the literary translation field of Iran can be attained through the ability to grant the readers the chance to read world literature as if it was written in Persian language. As the narrator of the clip says Daryabandari sometimes make readers think that he is the creator of the stories and he has revived these stories in Persian.

Thus, as the evidence suggests, the most visible translators in Iran are those who are perceived to able to render a text in fluent and eloquent Persian. Characterizing good translations as those conducted in a readable, fluent and eloquent manner is addressed in academic textbooks as well. The following extract is taken from the book *Darbare ye Zaban e Farsi* (On Farsi), which has been taught at the University of Tehran.[11] Derakhshan (1962, p. 124) pinpoints that

> [t]he key point is that the translator should avoid a complex prose and employ a chaste style, fluent and articulate, to encourage readers to read the translation. Otherwise, the translator's attempt would be futile.[12]

[11] Tehran University is the oldest modern university in Iran, established 1935 and has been among the top five universities of Iran. See https://ut.ac.ir/en/page/757/ut-at-a-glance (access date: 09 August 2019).

[12] اما **اساسی ترین نکته‌ای** که در ترجمه باید رعایت نمود آنست که مترجم سعی کند تا انشاء او از تعقیدهای لفظی و معنوی عاری و بزیور فصاحت و بلاغت متحلی باشد. و با بیانی خوب و ساده و دلنشین نوشته شود. تا رغبت خواننده را برای مطالعه آن برانگیزد و اگر غیر از این باشد رنجی بیهوده کشیده و زحمتی بی نتیجه برخود هموار ساخته است.

As the quotations above show, fluency and naturalness are not only distinctive features of a good translation but are also seen as skills of a good translator.

These excerpts reflect that fluency is linked to the visibility of translators. Fluency in translation is ascribed to the translators' skill in literary translation. Iranian readers, as discussed in chapter three in the case of reception of retranslations performed by mid-career and senior translators, read translations mostly because of the translators' prose. These statements suggest that fluency and transparency do not necessarily result in translators' invisibility. Hence, unlike what Venuti says, the more fluent the translation the more visible the translator in the case of Iran.

In the following section, I will review translators' legal status in terms of Iran's national copyright laws and translators' contracts. This is to understand how legal status of translators is framed in Iranian copyright laws compared to that of international convention and how their translatorship is understood. I provide an overview of the enactment of copyright legislation, including how it was introduced and how translators claim their visibility through law.

## Legal Status of Translators: Context

Copyright legislation was initially introduced to the infant Iranian publishing industry by FBP (see chapter one). The burgeoning modern printing press compelled the FBP to undertake activities such as drafting a code of ethics for publishing, editing, and designing contracts in order to administer the basics of publishing in Iran (Navabi, 1984). The FBP program, at the same time, increased pressure on the government to join international copyright conventions.

This was because the books were imported from the US to Iran, and American agents had to pay the authors' royalties.

It was under the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, between 1941 and 1979, the latest king of Iran, that the initial consent for joining international copyright conventions was granted (Pahlavān, 1991, p. 90). But this had to be referred to the Ministry of Culture and Arts as it was in their legal domain. After several meetings, the committee members, consisting of key intellectuals of the time, quashed the decision to join international copyright agreements (Pahlavan in Emami, 1993). Unsurprisingly, their key argument hinged on the law being unfavourable to developing countries with low rates of cultural production (Emami, 1993). I say unsurprisingly, as it seems many countries such as Sweden, Brazil and Russia at the time had similar objections to laws regulating translation copyrights internationally (see Basalamah & Sadek, 2014, p. 398).[13]

Nevertheless, the pressures from FBP to persuade Iran to join international copyright laws were rather void, particularly after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. Since the revolution, copyright conventions have been strongly discouraged by Iranian intellectuals and the government to demonstrate opposition to the previous regime's ideologies and policies (Emami, 2006e, p. 330), and to show resistance to the hegemony of western powers (my interview with Arbabi, 02 July 2017, Tehran).

[13] International copyright conventions have been blamed for marginalizing translators' authority over the translated book (Basalamah & Sadek, 2014; Bassnett, 1996; Dam & Zethsen, 2008; Venuti, 2008).

Opponents to joining international copyright laws maintain that this would be unremunerative for the Iranian publishing industry because, on the one hand, Iran has been a major importer of literary works (see figure 1. 1, chapter one). Comparatively, the number of Persian books translated to other languages and sold in foreign countries is extremely low. Therefore, there would not be a reciprocal exchange to compensate the amount paid for royalties on foreign authors, particularly considering the increasing inflation rate of the Iranian currency. This would also result in the price of books soaring to the point of being unaffordable for Iranian readers.

Apart from it being an unprofitable legal agreement for Iran, political sanctions, imposed on Iran by the United Nations and the US since the 1990s, have made international transactions complicated. That means that paying royalties to the original right holders is practically difficult. Another argument in this context is that the process exposes translators and publishers to complex bureaucratic and international formalities for Iranian publishers.[14]

Among the advocates of the law, Taheri emphasizes the encouraging aspects of such formalities, and adds that the bureaucratic process of purchasing copyright forces Iranian publishers to promote national book production (1973 in Emami, 2006d, p. 298). He believes that even if small-scale publishers would be disadvantaged, joining copyright is worthwhile since it promotes the international cultural reputation of Iranian culture, and paves the way for reciprocal exchange of cultural commodities between Iran and other countries. Furthermore,

[14] This is one of the arguments by those who are against joining international copyright conventions http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/copyright,

Taheri concludes that the high rate of translation in Iran has prevented the production of Persian books because it is easier to translate books rather than to write them. Thus, increasing the legal complexities of purchasing rights for translating and publishing a book would effectively push Iranian publishers to focus more on increasing national production (in Emami, 2006d, p. 298).

Iranian translators frustrated with the intense competition in the book market as a result of lack of firm copyright laws found the most important impact of the law similar to Theo Herman's suggestion, that is, it "can halt the dissemination of rival versions by granting one version the exclusive right to act as proxy" (2007, p. 61). Therefore, translators believe joining copyright law will solve the issue of retranslation.

Opinions of both advocates and opponents are valid and thought-provoking. The most significant argument for joining is the ethical issue of reproducing books without consent and permission. But, as I will show, joining international copyright laws would profit translators and publishers in several ways. They would have exclusive rights over the translation of a book, which in turn would remove time-pressure from the translator. It would allow Iran to become part of the globalized book market, and perhaps give more visibility to Iranian literature. I exemplify this through one of the Iranian publishers whose record of publishing books under copyright has allowed them to have a space in the international book market. At the same time,

the arguments of the opponents regarding international transactions and increasing book price are valid. Sanctions complicate  royalties and have already affected the price of the books.[15]

So far, I have described how the international copyright law was introduced to the Iranian publishing field and how it has brought different perspectives to joining the conventions. In the following section, I reflect on Iran's national copyright laws to assess first how authorship is defined, and to shed light on the legal rights of translators in Iran.

### *Legal Rights of Translators*

Since 1960s, two national copyright laws are in effect in Iran: the copyright law 1969 and the law concerning the translation and re-production of books, publications, and audio recordings (1973).[16] The law concerning translation was passed as a result of translators' objections to the timeframe that the copyright law of 1969 protects translated works. Emami, who otherwise is well-known as a highly regarded translator and the outspoken advocate of joining international copyright conventions, writes that the law concerning translation was passed due to the

---

[15] For more see BBC and Euronews and Iranian news agency reports on book market and the price raise from the below links

https://fa.euronews.com/2018/10/04/impact-of-current-economic-crisis-in-iran-book-market-stability-and-price-increase

www.bbc.com/persian/iran-features-46379633

http://www.stnews.ir/content/news/68150/تأثیر-سایه-تحریم-بر-فعالیت-ناشران-ایران--احتکار-و-افزایش-دو-برابری-قیمت-کتاب-در-پی-سخنان-وزیر-صنعت-و-معدن (access date: 17 September 2019).

[16] Qānūn-e ḥemāyat-e ḥoqūq-e moʾallefān regulated on 24 November 1969, Emami, 2011, retrieved from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/copyright, (access date: 04 January 2018)

Qānūn-e tarjama wa takṯīr-e kotob wa našrīyāt wa āṯār-e ṣawtī enforced on 27 December 1973, Emami 2011, Retrieved from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/copyright (access date: 04 January 2018).Hereafter, the two laws will respectively be referred to as the national copyright law and the law concerning translation.

demands of translators to have rights equal to those of authors (2006d, p. 295). For instance, a request was put forward by two members of National Consultative Assembly (NCA) of Iran, who were translators as well, in Pahlavi era. They asked that the translator and her/his family should be the exclusive right holder of the translation up to 30 years after the death of the translator (Emami, 2006d, p. 295).[17] Their objection was accepted by NCA, and they amended the bill (Emami, 2006d, p. 295).

First, I discuss the copyright law of 1969. How is authorship defined in Iran's copyright laws, and can its definition be applied to translators? The reason that I draw on this point is that Venuti claims that a source of the invisibility of western translators is their subordinated position in relation to authors under international copyright conventions. As I discussed earlier, if the author of the start text has not published her/his book in Iran, their permission for translating their work is not required by law. Authorship is not clearly defined in Iranian copyright laws. However, based on the law *Padyd Āvarandih* [a creator] can claim ownership toward his/her creation. The creator based on the law is defined as "*Nivysandih* [a writer], *Mossanaf* [a composer] and *Honarmand* [an artist] are entitled as '*Padyd Āvarandih* [a creator] and what they create by means of their knowledge, art or innovation is entitled as '*Asar*

[17] Nayyer Saeedi (1920-1991) was author, translator, poet, journalist and the chief editor of Banū magazine, the first magazine for women in Iran. She was also one of the Tehran's representative in National Consultative Assembly. https://www.bbc.com/persian/arts/story/2008/01/080102_mv-js-documentary-berlin.shtml (access date: 03 March 2020).

Hosseinqoly Seyyed Hosseini was also a translator and he held two Doctoral degrees in Persian language and literature and in criminal law. http://lovassor.blogfa.com/post/36 (access date: 14 October 2019).

[creation]' regardless of their medium of expression" (Art. 1).[18] Since translators' names appear as creators on the ID page of translated books, they seem to be able to claim rights similar to authors.

Providing translators with the status of creators of a given book is the norm in Iran. Two of the largest Iranian databases that record the bibliographical details of all books published in Iran since 1979, that is Iran's national library webpage and Khānihi Kitāb [Book House] website indicate translators' names under the entry of *Padyd Āvarandih or Padyd Āvarandigān* (creator or creators) along with the authors' names.[19] In-book ID pages, also, provide readers with the details of its creator(s). The mandatory insertion of books' ID, after the official launch of the Cataloguing in Publication service (CIP) by the National Library of Iran, contributed to the growing visibility of translators as the CIP (or FIPA) obliged publishers to print Iranian creators' bio-data, while the name of the start text's author is printed without his/her biographical details.[20] In chapter three I have demonstrated that in *Animal Farm* retranslations by Zarei,

---

[18] Mosannaf (مصنف): This term in Persian is defined as poet (شاعر), author (نویسنده), musical composer (تصنیف ساز), binder (صحاف) and songwriter (ترانه نویس). It also includes secretary(منشی) and any person who writes (نگارنده) including letters, dissertations and portfolios.

ماده ۱- از نظر این قانون به مولف و مصنف و هنرمند «پدید آورنده» و به آنچه از راه دانش یا هنر و یا ابتکار آنان پدید می اید بدون در نظر گرفتن طریقه یا روشی که در بیان و یا ظهور و یا ایجاد ان به کار رفته «اثر» اطلاق می شود.

https://honari.farhang.gov.ir/fa/rules/rule8 (access date: 18 September 2018)

[19] Khānihi Kitāb is a non-state institution which contains information on any books published in post-revolutionary Iran. The online database of Khānihi Kitāb was launched in 2001. See http://www.ketab.ir (access date: 13 October 2019).

[20] CIP or FIPA refers to the descriptive cataloguing of books before their publications, imprinted on the ID page. See: http://opac.nlai.ir/opac-prod/faqContent.do?command=showFAQContent&id=294477&code=1&type=2 (access date: 17 September 2019).

Habibi, and Kasaeipour, list both the author's and the translator's names under the entry of creators or *Padyd Āvarandigān*.

The creator's right, according to the law, includes "the exclusive right to publish, distribute, sell or perform a created work, as well as exploiting the intellectual and material rights" (Art.3). The intellectual right of the creator is non-transferable (Art.4) but the material right of their work can be transferred to anyone else (Art. 5.5). Copyright expires 30 years after the death of the creator (Art. 12). This was extended to 50 years in a revision of the law made in 2010. To protect the rights of *Padyd Āvarandih* [creator] in cases of infringement of the law there will be 6 months to 3 years of imprisonment (Art.23). In cases of plagiarism of a translation, punitive imprisonment from 3 months to one year are theoretically in force (Art. 24). Article 24 is concerned about other translators' rights in cases of plagiarism but is silent on retranslations. My review of Iran's national copyright laws shows that while the law does not explicitly consider translators as creators, implicitly, the articles apply to translators. Therefore, in Iran translators can claim rights equal to authors.

Let us now consider the law concerning translation (1973) which was ratified in response to translators' objection to the newly established copyright, as I explained at the beginning of this section. The law was regulated with 12 articles in the Pahlavi era, as an expansion of the Copyright law of 1969. According to the law, "translators or their heirs-at-law

---

Also, article 3., waiver 9, requires that translators' biographical details be indicated in the CIP: " درج سال تولد و وفات (در صورت فوت) ، پديدآورندگان ايراني الزامي است". http://www.nlai.ir/Default.aspx?tabid=2792 (access date: 01 February 2018).

are granted the exclusive right to reproduce, reprint, and exploit their translations for publication and distribution". The translation right, which is transferable to their heirs-at-law, is protected for 30 years after the death of the translator" (Art. 1).[21] In the case of transferring the right of publication to "a second party for commercial exploitation," the copyright holder still is "obliged to credit the translator's name" (Art. 1).[22] This article gives translators a more established position in comparison to international copyright conventions. The law also makes indicating a translator's name on the cover compulsory.

A comparison between Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) translated by Karimi (1966) and published in collaboration with FBP as an authorized translation, that means a translation that has permission from the right holder, and a retranslation of the same book in 2013 illustrates how the legal presentation of translators have changed in post-revolutionary Iran. Figure 5. 1 shows a sample of authorized translations published by *Entesharat-e Mina* in collaboration with the Franklin Book Program. The copyright page states "this is an authorized translation of *The Catcher in the Rye*" followed by the date and the name of the original copyright holder and the original publisher's name (see figure 5. 1). The translator's name is on the cover page and the title page of the book; however, it is not mentioned on the copyright page. This means that the translators did not have any rights to the translated book, as with

[21] ماده ۱ - حق تکثیر یا تجدید چاپ و بهره‌برداری و نشر و پخش هر ترجمه‌ای با مترجم و یا وارث قانونی او است. مدت استفاده از این حقوق که به وارث منتقل می‌شود از تاریخ مرگ مترجم سی‌سال است.

حقوق مذکور در این ماده قابل انتقال به‌غیر است و انتقال‌گیرنده از نظر استفاده از این حقوق قائم‌مقام انتقال‌دهنده برای استفاده از بقیه مدت از این حق خواهد بود.

[22] ذکر نام مترجم در تمام موارد استفاده الزامی است

FBP's contracts with the translators, which were similar to the work-for-hire contracts in the US (see Venuti, 2008, p. 9).

A change in the copyright laws in the post-revolutionary era can be seen in figure 5. 2. The figure shows the second reprint of *The Catcher in the Rye* (Salinger, 2013) retranslated by Mehdi Azari and Maryam Salehi and published by Omid Mehr, Mashad. The author and translators' names are printed on the front cover and the title page and appeared under the entry of "creator" on the ID page. Moreover, the translators' dates of birth and names sit again under the 'added entry' on the same page. This shows that the legal visibility of translators has increased after 1979.

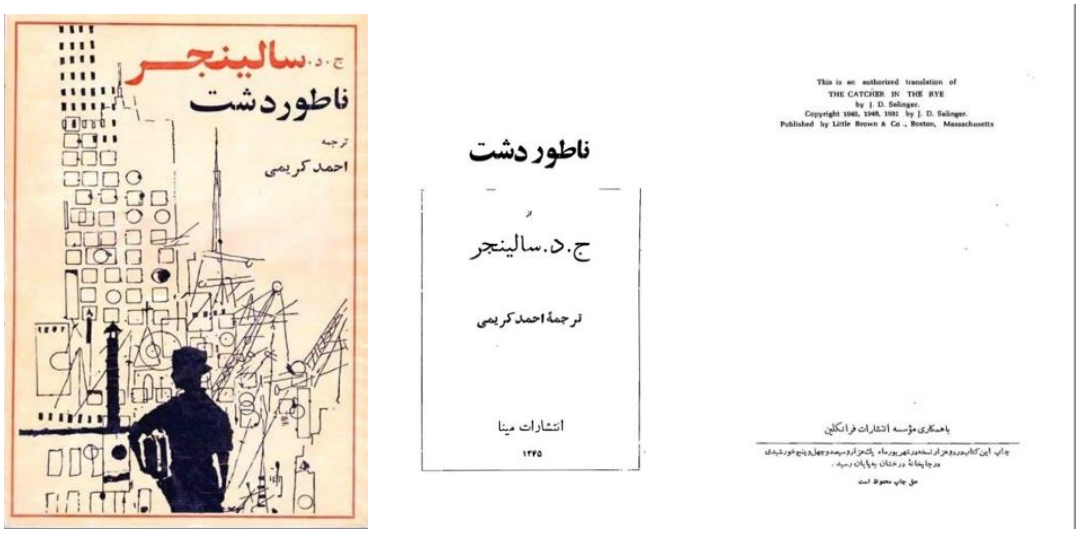



Figure 5. 1 *The Catcher in the Rye,* front cover, title page and copyright page, 1966

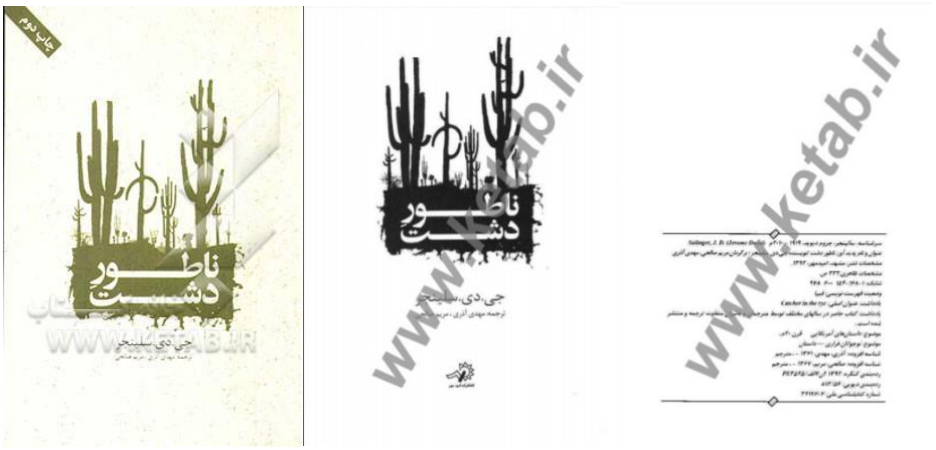


Figure 5. 2 *The Catcher in the Rye*, front cover, title page and copyright page, 2013

The above discussion of translators' rights in Iranian copyright law reveals how the visibility of translators is protected and even mandated by law. As discussed above, translation and translator's rights, based on the law, are valued independently from, on their own terms rather than being a derivative craft. Indicating a translator's name as *Padyd Āvarandih* [creator], as discussed earlier, allows translators to be fully supported under the copyright law of 1969. That means, in the case of disputes, translators are able to claim the rights of the creators or, rather, to claim authorship. Indicating the title of the translator under the entry of the creator, both in the database and ID page of the books and considering equal rights for translators and authors in Iran, has provided translators with legal visibility equal to that of Iranian authors, and certainly superior to the original author.

In this section, I compared translators' legal rights in Iran. Iran's law on translation (1973) was strongly influenced by translators who advocated for the inclusion of their names on any translated books. This is one of the main reasons that Iranian translators' rights are equal with that of Iranian authors. In the next section of this chapter I consider translation contracts

in the Iranian context. This is also identified by Venuti (1995) as another source of translators' invisibility.

### *Translation Contracts*

The contracts of translators differ according to the status of the translator in the literary translation field. If the translator is a new-comer or amateur, s/he might pay the publisher to have the book published, or at best be renumerated with a cachet for the first print-run, with the profit earned from subsequent reprints belonging to the publisher. Arbabi gives a detailed account of some of the prevailing literary translation contracts in Iran (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran). One of them, as Arbabi disclosed, is:

> [c]ontracts with Personal investment. In this case the publisher will tell you "I go through all the formalities such as obtaining CIP and publishing permit, printing, designing of the book and will charge you a certain price. But I won't be responsible for distribution and sale". This, unfortunately, is becoming a dodgy business (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran).[23]

This form of contract is usually made between newly established publishing houses and newcomers who have translated a book before seeking a publisher interested in the publication of the book (Emami, 2006a, p. 37). Based on my interviews with experts in the field, publishers, routinely, are unwilling to take risks and prefer to invest in more secure, guaranteed collaboration (July-September 2017, Tehran). To be recognised as a translator and to translate a book before securing the interest of a publisher, translators will have to pay all the expenses for

[23] قراردادهای با سرمایه گذاری شخصی. یعنی میاد ناشر میگه که من برای تو مجوز شابک، فیپا، مجوز ارشاد، اعلام وصول، طرح جلد، صفحه آرایی همه‌ی این کارا رو می‌کنم، یه مبلغی ازت می‌گیرم. خودتی و خودت. توزیع هم نمی‌کنم، فروش هم نمی‌کنم. این الان داره رشد پیدا می‌کنه خیلی زیاد شده، این الان یه سودا شده برای کسایی که می‌رن مجوز نشر می‌گیرند. در یه همچین شرایطی خب مترجم یه سرمایه‌ی اولیه می‌ذاره و فروشش با خودشه

their work and the publisher will only, as Arbabi states, deal with the formalities (my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran). For those publishers who desire to minimize the risk of investment, this arrangement is advantageous. Vida Eslamieh had a similar experience before becoming a translator and she comments that "for becoming a translator you have to pay the price" (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[24]

The second type of contract is selling translations to the publisher (Arbabi in my interview, 02 July 2017, Tehran). For best-sellers, or books with the potential of being reprinted, publishers prefer this type of contract, since it ensures economic gain. For new-comers or amateur translators this type of contract not only eases their way into the field, but it also, offers economic capital. For instance, Eslamieh recounts that for her first translation she was paid in this way: "I was paid a very small amount of money, but for me, it was more important to have my book published" (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[25]

These types of contracts in Iran have their pros and cons. However, it seems that the advantages outweigh disadvantages as they have the potential to provide benefits for translators. The last two types of contracts discussed in the previous section allowed many to publish their first translation. And, as discussed in chapter three, is the likely scenario for a vast number of retranslations. This phenomenon is generally known as '*Kitāb Sāzi*' (literally

[24] یعنی شما باید این بها رو بپردازی. این دریافت من بود کسی این رو به من نگفته. این دریافت خود من بوده که باید هزینه رو بپردازی

[25] یعنی اگه می‌خوای اولین کارت چاپ بشه باید با کمترین به اصطلاح حق‌الترجمه بسازی این بود که اولین کاری که من بردم که قرارداد ببندیم، من صفحه ای فروختم یعنی مثلا صفحه ای یادم نیست که چقدر. حالا می گن که نگید. یه مبلغ خیلی کمی، ناچیزی گرفتم اما اینکه کتابم چاپ می‌شد برام مهمتر بود.

translated as Book Making) which refers to the practice of rewriting/revising an existing published translation and publishing the book under one's own name.

The reason is that, until March 2019, any individual with two published books (authored or translated) could be recognized as Ahl-i Qalam (as a person who writes) and would be eligible for welfare support.[26] However, this criterion has shifted recently. Currently, whether an individual can benefit from social welfare or not is determined by their track record rather than how many books have been published. Ahl-i Qalam, now, refers to "a person who has mostly/partially spent their lives writing and publishing books, in a way that one can see continuity in their works".[27] This is due to the escalating number of retranslations that the criteria for eligibility and their definition of Ahl-i Qalam has since changed.[28]

Standard book publishing contracts, and my findings from oral history interviews, suggest that the standard contracts that publishers are supposed to use for translators and authors are similar. This form of contract is mainly offered to mid-career and senior translators. The only difference is the payment which ranges between 10 and 18 percent per copy, depending on the translator's reputation and seniority, based on my interviews (July-

---

[26] http://www.ahleghalam.ir/About (access date: 21 August 2018).

[27] تعريف اهل قلم : كسي كه تمام يا بخشي از گذران زندگي‌اش از طريق نويسندگي است و تداوم آن به نوعي در آثار نويسنده متبلور باشد. دراين طرح پديدآورندهي كتاب يا اهل قلم به شخصي اطلاق ميشود كه حداقل دو عنوان كتاب در سطح بزرگسال يا سه عنوان كتاب در سطح كودكان و نوجوانان براي اولين بار تأليف، ترجمه، بازنويسي، تصحيح، نقد و بررسي يا تحقيق نموده و بر اساس ضوابط انتشار كتاب آن را چاپ و منتشر نموده و در بانک اطلاعات مؤسسه خانه كتاب ثبت كرده باشد.

[28] In the new principles, eligibility is determined by a committee of an academic board who assess the profile of the translator/author. It has been mentioned in Art.2 that they have appointed the diverse academic committees to prevent Kitāb Sāzy [literally translated as Book Making]. Although the laws consider plagiarism a crime in Iran, in case of translations, with the rewriting of the text, it is not an easy task to prove that one translation has used other translation as their start text.

September 2017, Tehran). Here I draw on an official version of a publishing contract, as the participants in the study were unwilling to share their contracts. Abdolhossein Azarang, a well-recognised Iranian author, translator and scholar in the field of publishing, provides a sample contract in his book, *An Introduction to Book Publishing* (2015).[29] The contract, under the entry of the publisher's commitments, indicates payment as "X percent of the final price for X number of copies" and "X percent of the back-cover price for any further reprints" to the text's owner [Sāhibi Asar] (Azarang, 2015, p. 314).[30] The contract does not discern between the translator and the author but instead stipulates the text's ownership by that they referring to both translators and authors. The articles of the contract, also, give the same rights to translators and authors (Azarang, 2015, pp. 313-316). Therefore, the same authority and ownership is conceived for both authors and translators.

In the process of drawing a contract for a translation, the translator is the only decision-maker for this type of contracts, since the absence of international copyright conventions means that permission from the author of the start text is unnecessary. Thus, translators can exercise more power when signing contracts based on their experience, the number of books they translated, and their relationship with the author and readers. The majority of participants of my study confirm that the same contract is used for both authors and translators with no or little difference(s) in the amount paid (my interviews, July-September 2017, Tehran). For instance, Shiva Moghanloo, Iranian author-translator, clarifies that when she publishes a book,

---

[29] This book is an Iranian reference book taught at universities.

[30] Xدرصد بهای قید شده پشت جلد برای x نسخه
X درصد بهای قید شده پشت جلد برای هریک از چاپهای بعدی

be it her own original work or her translation, there is no difference between her contracts (in my interview, 01 August 2017, Tehran). She adds that:

> The publishers pay us a usual amount; they believe it's fair but we think it's totally unfair. Perhaps I have been lucky, as I have been paid for my translations and writings from the beginning of my career (my interview, 01 August 2017, Tehran).[31]

Publishers admit that their contracts with translators are negotiable (my interviews, July-September 2017, Tehran). However, they generally confirmed what the translators stated in their interviews. For instance, Saghravani, director of Hermes publishing house, stated that mostly they pay royalties to translators, but they are open to other types of contracts if translators ask (my interview, 03 September 2017, Tehran). Leila Hosseinkhani, director of *Agah* publishing house, admits that they have only one type of contract for both translators and authors (my interview, 19 July 2017, Tehran).[32] They only change the name and amount from one person to another, based on their reputation and experience in the literary field.

As I discussed in chapter two, the situation in the field does not work the same way for all translators involved depending on being an amateur or an early-career translator or a mid-career or senior translator. As discussed, the copyright laws of Iran endow a strong and visible legal status to all translators. However, the analysis of the contracts shows that in practice, not all translators have equal rights. This reveals an unwritten rule that if the translator is new to the literary translation field the legal rights that they can claim toward their work are limited.

---

[31] . اون چیزی که جا افتاده و اون رو میدن از نظر ناشر منطقیه ولی از نظر ما که اینور قضیه ایم اصلا منطقی نیست با این حال من شاید خوش شانسی داشتم از اولین کتاب چه تالیف چه ترجمه من پول گرفتم.

[32] برای همه‌ی مترجم‌هامون و مولف هامون یه جوره.

However, there still are benefits in publishing a translated book for translators, even if they are not paid for their effort. These benefits have the potential to generate capitals for a translator, if they can successfully promote their position in the literary translation field, which I explain below.

## Building Trust

The capitals at stake in the literary translation field encourage a wide number of non-translators to pursue a translation career. Their lack of competence and the difficulty of a translation task push them toward retranslating, rewriting and sometimes plagiarism and book-faking. Experienced, competent and recognised translators defend their practice by using strategies that give them visibility and differentiate their position in the field.

Trust as the pivotal characteristic of a "relationship between collaborators", as Marin-Lacarta (2018, p. 11) proposes, works strongly in favour of translators' authority in Iran's literary translation field. Recently, the significance of a trust-based approach to translation and translators is also widely argued in translations studies (see Rizzi, Lang, & Pym, 2019). Here, by trust I refer to the belief that someone or something, here translators or translations, meets the expectations of others, here publishers and readers, in fulfilling their task of translating. In the following section, I draw on textual analysis and my interviews to uncover some of these

trust-signalling strategies.[33] I follow here Rizzi, Lang, and Pym (2019): "Signalling is persuasion: a rhetorical and psychological strategy employed to reassure or convince an audience" (p. 19). In the following sections, I discuss how translators attempt to convince readers that their translation is of high quality.

The trustworthy position of the experienced and recognized translators, for instance, offers them options. Mid-career and senior translators have succeeded in developing a friendly relationship with their publishers that affords them more authority. For instance, Farzaneh Taheri, an Iranian literary translator who works with her publisher-friend, does not need to sign a contract thanks to their friendship and mutual trust (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran). At the same time, the friendship between the publisher and the translator provides Taheri with more freedom in the process of publishing, including choosing a book cover, inserting footnotes, and text editing.

Others, such as Khaksar, only work with a specific publisher, although there are requests from other publishers to translate books for them. In this form of relations with the publisher, translators not only have the right to select the book to be published themselves, but they are also given full authority over the work, to the extent that the publishers do not review or revise their translations. This same level of authority is given to Amraee, Poori, and Ghabraee as senior translators, regardless of whom they collaborate with for the publication of their books,

[33] One should consider that the following translators that I discuss in this chapter are highly recognised translators in Iran.

as they told me in my interviews.[34] The reason that publishers are willing to work with mid-career and senior translators seems to be their track record. Also, translators are appeared to be trusted by a vast number of readers, and their names seem to be a guarantee of high-quality translation.

To strengthen their trustworthiness and legitimacy in the field, translators and publishers contact authors more frequently to receive their assent for translating their book. Interviewees claim that by contacting authors their goal is to strengthen the ethical basis of their practice. However, as Vanderschelden (1998, p. 29) explains, collaborations between authors and translators "are [also] efficient ways to legitimize translation". Legitimizing translations by obtaining the consent of the authors allows one translator to stand out from the crowd and be recognised as the exclusive and official agent of the author, as in the case of Eslamieh (see below in this chapter). This could be interpreted as hiding "behind authorial approval"(Vanderschelden, 1998, p. 29) . But in the case of Iran, obtaining the consent of authors is a bargaining chip for translators. It reinforces the translator's status in the field, and, compared to other translators, translators who can prove to be in dialogue with relevant authors cross the boundaries of the national field and enter to a more authoritative space.

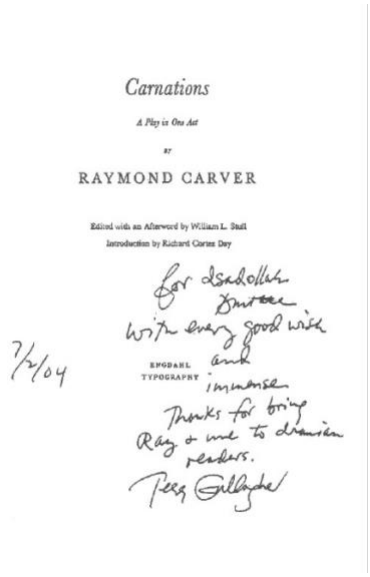
As discussed in chapter one and two, it is rare in Iran for translators to collaborate with authors, particularly in the conventional western author-translator fashion. What I am going to discuss here by no means suggests any control of the text by the author. The author gives an

[34] All these three interviews were conducted between 18 July 2017 and 17 August 2017, in Tehran.

oral or written permission to the translators to translate and publish their books into Persian. In this process, translators contact authors and convince them to allow the publication of their book in Persian by negotiating their rights over the book. Those successful in obtaining authors' consent reap additional benefits which are, in some ways, similar to those in western countries. Iranian translators communicate with the original author of the text by introducing themselves as the trustworthy agent of the target culture which later results in bonding with the author. Benefits include early and easy access to the book, by outrivalling other translators, increasing prestige, and gaining more economic capital, as theirs would be the first translation to appear in the book market. However, authors are not generally paid royalty for the translations of their works.

Mid-career and senior translators, increasingly, approach the original author or the right-holder of the start text via (e)mail to negotiate for their permission for translating the book into Persian. All ten translators that I interviewed had contacted the author or the start text's publisher at least once to explain that Iran is not a signatory of international copyright conventions, and to get permission for translating their work. For instance, translator Amraee has once contacted Tess Gallagher, Raymond Carver's spouse, to get permission to translate the work into Persian.[35] The figure below shows Gallagher's handwriting on the title page of *Carnations: A Play in One Act* (Carver, 1992) title page inserted in its Persian translation (2005).

[35] Tess Gallagher, born in 1943, is an American poet, essayist, and short story writer. Retrived from https://poets.org/poet/tess-gallagher (access date: 03 March 2020).


Carnations

A Play in One Act

BY

RAYMOND CARVER

Edited with an Afterword by William L. Stull

Introduction by Richard Carver Day

For Asadollah
Amraee
with every good wish
and
immense
thanks for bring
Ray + me to Iranian
readers.
Peg Gallagher

7/2/04

EPOBARL
TYPOGRAPHY

Figure 5. 3 Gallagher's note to Amraee

As a thank-you note, figure 5. 3 indicates "[f]or Asadollah Amraee, with every good wishes and immense thanks for bringing Ray and me to Iranian readers".[36] Furthermore, as Amraee explains in a preface, Gallagher sent him a limited edition of the book (2005). Clearly, the translator is seen as an agent who brings the author to Iranian readers.

In my interview with Amraee (17 August 2017, Tehran), he illuminates another advantage from inserting such notes in the book: it prevents further translations of the text.[37] Developing such bonds with authors, as Amraee states, results in friendship and active collaboration:

> I have contacted Ms Isabel Allende and let her know what is happening to her book in Iran. I asked for her permission to translate her book into Persian. This

[36] This image is taken from Khaneh Ketab database. Retrieved from http://164.138.18.205/DataBase/bookpdf/84/84217053.pdf (access date: 30 April 2019).

[37] که اینجوری این درواقع باعث می‌شه که شما ترجمه‌ی مکرر هم از کار نشه.

made her send me her next book for Persian translation as well (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[38]

While there could be different interpretations of the author's decision to allow the translator to translate her book, clearly the author finds him such a trustworthy agent that, without being asked, she sent a copy of her next book to Amraee (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran). This rapport between the translator and the author, in the context of Iran, provides the translator with a benefit that is unavailable to the majority of translators in the field. Amraee also identifies other benefits for having permission of the author:

> It makes the translator's job easier. In case one encounters a problem [in the process of translation] or cannot understand a part of the text, they can contact the author and ask them directly. And as I said before, the book is exclusively yours at least for a few months. I have translated Allende's *Daughter of Fortune* (1998), it has been reprinted nine times, I have translated John Banville's *The Sea* (2005)and has been reprinted five times [with the authors' permissions]. And no one has retranslated them. In the past [when people did not know that I have access to the book], I have been told 'how do you translate a book which has been just released?' I replied 'yes, it's been a month since the book has been released but I have had the book before its original publication (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[39]

---

[38] Born in 1942, Isabel Allende is a Chilean writer. Her books are translated to 42 languages and sold more than 74 million copies of her 24 books. Retrieved from https://www.isabelallende.com/en/bio (access date: 03 March 2020).

یا مثلا من خانم ایزابل آلنده رو باهاش تماس می‌گیرم خبر کتابش رو بهش می‌دم اجازه می‌گیرم ازش. خب این می‌شه یه مبنا برای کارش. کار بعدیش هم مثلا می‌فرسته.

[39] برای شخص مترجم گفتم فقط کارش رو راحت می‌کنه. بعد یه موقع گیر می‌کنه یه جایی. یه موضوعی رو متوجه نمی‌شه. می‌ره با نویسنده تماس می‌گیره. بعد هم گفتم یعنی شما در واقع حداقل توی تا چهار پنج ماه انحصاری مال شماست. حالا اینکه باید کتاب دربیاد یکی هم باید بره ترجمه کنه، خب. ببین ما مثلا دختر بخت ایزابل آلنده رو ترجمه کردم، الان نه بار چاپ شده. کتاب دریای جان بنویل رو ترجمه کردم الان پنج بار چاپ شده. هیچکی هم نمی‌ره سراغش. حالا اون اوایل که یاد می‌گرفتم که آقا اون فلان کتاب یه ماهِ دراومده شما چجوری ترجمه اش کردی؟ می‌گفتم آره یه ماهِ دراومده، ولی یه ماه نیست که دست من!

There are some important points in Amraee's statement. First, by giving visibility to his collaboration with the author, he negotiates his translation's quality. It also provides him with an exclusive right to the translation of the book and gives him and his publisher extra time for translation without the worry of retranslations. Also, as he said, it seems that his promptness in providing the most recent English literary works in Persian is noticed by readers. Through these means he developed a distinguished position for himself in the literary field, and therefore more visibility.

Amraee has formed similar collaborations with other authors, such as Lydia Davis and Ben Loory (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[40] Amraee states that the reason the authors allow him to translate their books for little or no payment, and willingly send him their new books, is that he has "attracted their trust" (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[41] He related one instance in which one of the authors sent him his new book. After reading the book, Amraee reckoned that due to the requirements of the publishing permit the book was unlikely to be published in Iran. He recounts:

> I told him that I enjoyed reading the book…but it contains sensitive issues; we need to apply for a publishing permit from the ministry of Culture and Islamic

[40] Lydia Davis (1947) is an American author who is recognised for her "idiosyncratic and extremely short stories often characterized by vivid observations". Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/biography/Lydia-Davis (access date: 03 March 2020).

Ben Loory (1971) is an American author graduated from Harvard University and famous for his writings of short fiction including *Stories for Nighttime and Some for the Day* (2011). For more, see https://benloory.com/bio/ (access date: 03 March 2020)

[41] اعتماد جلب کردم.

> Guidance here. I can't translate it. He responded that it was enough for him that I had read and enjoyed the book (my interview, 17 August 2017, Tehran).[42]

During the interview, Amraee also showed me the hardcopy of a book which was supposed to be released worldwide four months after our interview in Tehran on 17 August 2017. The book was sent to Amraee by the author six months earlier and Amraee was translating it at the time of interview. Amraee is a great example of an agent in the literary translation field who, through his innovativeness, established for himself a privileged position that only a few translators hold in the literary translation field.

Similarly, another translator, Ahmad Poori, contacted James Finn Garner to ask for his permission to translate *Politically Correct Bedtime Stories* (1994).[43] Poori, sharing his experience of contacting Garner, shows he has adopted a strategy similar to Amraee (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran). This signals other translators/publishers that the book is translated with the author's permission. Poori recounts how he had read the book and had become interested in translating it (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran). As soon as he knew that the author was alive, he sent him an email, and explained the copyright situation in Iran (Poori in my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran). He then asked for the permission (Poori in my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran). The author gave his consent and asked the translator to send him a few copies of the book in return (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran). Poori also claims that he

---

[42] . یعنی اون طرف برام یه چیز فرستاده بود بهش گفتم ببین من این کتاب رو خوندم خیلی لذت بردم ولی این کتاب رو من اگه بخوام اینجا چاپ بکنم به دلیل مسائلی که وجود داره از جمله اجازه‌ی وزارت ارشاد خب وارد یه حوزه هایی میشه که در واقع ممنوعه است من نمی تونم . گفت همین که شما خوندی لذت بردی کافیه.

[43] Published in 1994, the book written by American writer James Finn Garner, in which Garner satirizes the trend toward political correctness and censorship of children's literature.

was the pioneer of this form of collaboration with the author (my interview, 11 August 2017, Tehran). This suggests that Poori claims a leading position for himself.

Fierce competition in the field sometimes compels translators to criticise their rivals. For experienced and recognised translators in the field, attracting the trust of readers a key strategy. For Eslamieh and Ketabsaraye Tandis, purchasing copyright was the means to beat the competition. Eslamieh, likewise, through her publisher negotiated the rights to translate *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince* (2005) as well as *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* (2007). The need to secure the translation of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* is an underlying motive for the translator and the publisher to initiate the purchase of the book's rights. Eslamieh describes the situation:

> Due to the intense competition over translating these books, that is the *Goblet of Fire and Order of the Phoenix*, they had a go at us saying that our work is of low quality and we manipulate the text. So, we decided to contact Bloomsbury and negotiate the copyright for the Persian translation. We did this. We sent them all the translated books, from the first instalment to the fifth, along with a note on the copyright situation here in Iran, and then we asked for the permission to publish the book in Iran. Of course, we notified them that this does not prevent other translators from retranslating the book. They responded and confirmed my translation and they allowed us to translate the book in Iran. Later they inserted my name and my publisher's in their website…as a result, the rivals pulled out from the competition (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran).[44]

[44] توی این رقابة های تنخاتن که پیش اومد سر کتاب شیشم یعنی سر کتاب جام آتش و محفل ققنوس ما خیلی اذیت شدیم به خاطر همین تخریب ها به خاطر همین توهین ها به خاطر همین تهمت هایی که به من می زدند به من به ناشر که اینا عوض می کنن که اینا کارشون کیفیت نداره که همه‌ی این حرفها ما تصمیم گرفتیم که وارد یه مذاکراتی بشیم با انتشارات بلومزبری و این کار رو کردیم. و کتابا رو فرستادیم و همه رو فرستادیم از اول تا جلد پنجم. ترجمه هاش رو همه رو فرستادیم و یه شرح حالی دادیم که اینجا اینجوریه و ما می خواییم که اینجا حق چاپش رو بگیریم اجازه اش رو. و شرایط هم رو گفتیم که تضمینی نمی کنیم که بقیه هم ترجمه نکنند و منتشر نکنند. خلاصه با همه اینها وقتی که اونها جواب دادن. تایید کردن ترجمه ی من رو و این اجازه رو با تندیس دادند که چاپ بشه و تو سایتشون هم اسم من و کتابسرای تندیس رو آوردن برای کتاب شیشم و هفتم...و چون اسم من اومد اونجا، از اونجا دیگه رقبا کنار رفتند.

I asked Eslamieh if the author and the publisher had reviewed her translation, and she hesitantly responded that she was unsure (my interview, 14 August 2017, Tehran). This supports that there has not been much control from the author of the text or the publisher toward the Persian translation of the book.

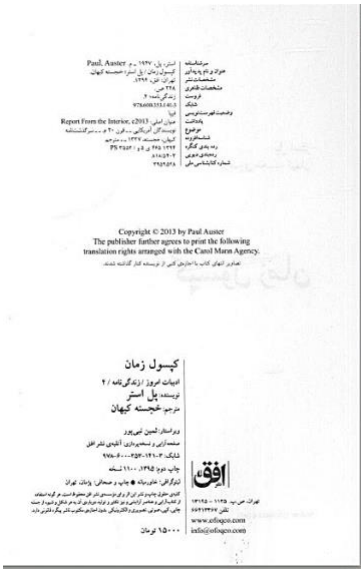
Publishers, like translators, tend to purchase the right for translating a book. Ofoq publishing house, for instance, does not publish a book unless they hold the copyright, or the copyright is expired. For them, both ethical and commercial incentives encourage publishing works under the copyright law. Samin Nabipour, director of international affairs in Ofoq publishing house, determines that apart from the strong ethical motivations behind purchasing the translation rights, holding copyright has an undeniable impact on their international relations, as it helps with building trust between us and the international publishers (my interview, 16 July 2017, Tehran). As a result, international publishers send their works before publication to seek Ofoq's opinion (Nabipour in my interview, 16 July 2017, Tehran).[45] Moreover, it has provided them an international market for selling their publications overseas as Nabipour points out in my interview (16 July 2017, Tehran). Nabipour explains further by saying that

> Definitely, for us, moral incentives were the departing point. However, there are also other advantages to purchasing copyright that one cannot turn a blind eye

[45] مثلا ما یه کتاب زدیم به نام اختراع سینما رمان هست و خیلی عجیبه و نویسنده اش هم یه آدم عجیبه که تصویر گری هم داره من براتون میارم‌نشون‌میدم. چون‌تصویر گری داشت کتاب و زخیم بود هزینه کپی رایتش خیلی گرون‌شد هزینه ی چاپشم‌گرون شد ما تو بلونیا اینو دیدیم و تا اونجا که میشد چونه زنی و اینا ما تونستیم‌اون‌کتاب کپی رایت با ترجمه ی اقای هیرمندی منتشر کنیم. چقدرم‌جایزه گرفت‌و همه جا سر و صدا کرد و پر فروش شد و اینا. با توجه به اینکه ما هزینه ی زیادی دادیم‌جلد دوم‌این‌کتاب اصلا قبل اینکه کسی متوجه بشه تو ایران جلد دوم این کتابه برای ما فرستادن‌و خیلی اعتماد کردن‌چون اون‌کارو برا ما فرستاده بودن ما میتونستیم به راحتی اون کتابو چاپ‌کنیم یعنی با یه اسکن و یه ریتاچ خیلی سبک میتونستیم‌کتاب چاپ کنیم ولی خوب باز شگفت زده که جلد دومشم‌به همون‌میزان خیلی موفق بود و جایزه گرفت.

to. For instance, being trusted by overseas publishers and agencies to the point that they email us PDF of a book which has not been released yet is one of them [the advantages]. We can also have worldwide release of books. So, we will be part of the global village that many people talk about [in Iran] but they don't do anything about it (16 July 2017, Tehran).[46]

Another interesting point is that original authors and publishers are flexible to adapt to the specific situation in Iran. For instance, it seems that Paul Auster compromised with the restrictions in Iran as the figure 5. 4 indicates, in Persian, that "[w]e have removed the illustration at the end of the book with the written permission of the author" (in Auster, 2015).[47]



Copyright © 2013 by Paul Auster
The publisher further agrees to print the following translation rights arranged with the Carol Mann Agency.

کپسول زمان
ادبیات امروز / زندگی‌نامه / ۲
نویسنده پل استر
مترجم خجسته کیهان

افق

Figure 5. 4 ID page of a copyrighted book, Ofoq

[46] قطعا انگیزه های اخلاقی نقطه ی شروع ماجرا بوده. ولی خوب این وسط یه سری مزیت هایی داره خرید کپی رایت که اونا هم قابل چشم‌پوشی نیست مثل اینکه ما انقدر مورد اعتماد ناشر یا آژانس خارجی قرار میگیریم که کتابی که قبل اینکه چاپ‌جهانی بشه نویسنده هرجایی که باشه پی دی اف با اعتماد کافی به ما میدن که ما ببینیم که میخوایم‌چاپ‌کنیم یا نکنیم. یا اینکه انتشار همزمان‌جهانی داشته باشیم. و دیگه نا خودآگاه میشه یه بخشی از این‌جامعه ی بین المللی نشر که بقیه انقدر اسمشو میبرن‌ولی کاری در موردش نمیکنن.

[47] تصاویر انتهای کتاب با اجازه کتبی از نویسنده کنار گذاشته شده است.

So far, the examples show that negotiating copyright permission with the authors or translators helps reinforcing the status of translators in the literary translation field. This form of collaboration between translators and authors is seen most in the case of experienced and senior translators. However, I should also note that not all the translators that I interviewed have had similar experiences. Most of the translators who participated in the study had at some point written to authors and asked for their permission to translate their books (in my interviews, 2017, Tehran). However, in their experience, the author had either not responded, or not granted permission to translate their books. Therefore, those who have developed good rapports with authors seem to have created another source of prestige for their status which is exclusive to only a few agents of the field. Nevertheless, translators and publishers, by negotiating copyright law for their translation, tend to develop an enviable and trustworthy situation.

In the following section, I draw on a case study to show translators' attempts to develop a legitimate position for themselves, claim authorial visibility, convince readers and beat the competition in the literary translation field of Iran.

## Case Study: *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*

Hitherto, by reflecting on the legal status of translators in Iran, I have demonstrated translators' visibility and their status before the law. Also, by discussing translators' interactions with the author I revealed how translators legitimize their role and have the authority to choose whether or not they should involve the author in the process of translation. In this section, I aim

to provide evidence of translators' paratextual visibility. I will show that visibility in these crucial zones of the text is the same and sometimes greater than that of the author.

The book cover serves as the most crucial site of authorial visibility. As evidence discussed in the previous chapters suggests, Iranian translators' names, regardless of their experience and recognition in the literary translation field, are always printed on the front cover. In Iran, the paratextual site of translators' names is similar to that of authors', sharing its "erratic" feature, with the name of translator and author "strewn throughout the epitext"(Genette, 1997, p. 38) in the target culture. But the functions of the paratext vary depending on the translators' social profile. For instance, in a book titled "The Translator's Choice [or Bi Entikhāb-i Motarjim]", Ahmad Okhovat, an acclaimed Iranian author and translator, has compiled a book consisting of short stories written by the world's renowned authors such as Miguel De Cervantes, the Spanish author, and Marcel Proust, the French novelist (see figure 5. 5). The translator's name and the title of the book are printed in large font which can be interpreted as a way of assigning authority to translators (see Cecilia Alvstad, 2014, p. 277). The translator's name is then followed by the list of authors' names in smaller fonts. This is not the only example of the translators' stronger visibility to the authors. There are other short story collections indicating the translator's name on the front cover and not the authors. This practice shows the authority of the translators in the field, and the extent to which their literary role is trusted.

Figure 5. 5 Front cover of *Bi Entikhāb-i Motarjim* [The Translator's Choice], Ofoq publishing.

The display of authorship on a book has the potential to disrupt the hierarchies between the author and translator (Hermans, 1996, p. 26). In western countries, particularly since the 19th century when copyright conventions were established, the most prominent position has always been occupied by the author of the text (Genette, 1997, p. 38). In Iran, the front cover has been officially a site shared between the translator and the author, at least, since the regulation of first national copyright law in Iran (1969).

In the case of Eslamieh, recognised by readers as the official translator of *Harry Potter* books in Iran (see figure 5. 6), the translator's name is printed immediately under the title of the book, and it is followed by the author's name slightly lower in position and in smaller font. The translator's publicity in Iran can convince readers to purchase the book and builds confidence in the quality of the translation. The most important information for readers is whose translation the book is: it is this detail that determines their choice among all the

available versions. Eslamieh's translation, among all, proves to be the most appealing to Iranian readers with 23 reprints up to 2019 for *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* alone.[48]

Figure 5. 6 Front covers (volume 1-3) and the back cover of Eslamieh's translations

Rakhshanfar's translation (Rowling, 2003d)indicates the same order between the translator and the author (see figure 5. 7). It seems the publisher has relied on the cultural capital of the translator and the editor to attract readers. For instance, the front cover of the translation displays the title of Dr for both the translator and the editor of the book, at the top centre, above the author's name. On the bottom of the front cover, although Rowling's name is printed in a larger font, the colour of the font and its background make the author's name almost invisible (see figure 5. 7).

[48] As stated in the publisher's website for the first volume of the novel. http://www.ketabsarayetandis.com/Book.aspx?Id=80

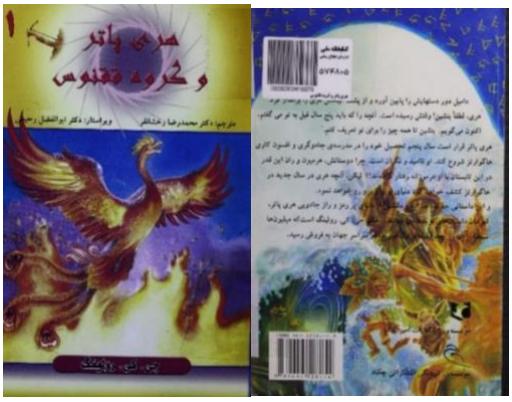


Figure 5. 7 Front and back cover of the translation by Rakhshanfar

With lesser known translators, who are unequipped with any forms of capital to boast about, the presentation follows the customary precedence of the author to translators. In Ghazinezhad and Soltani's translation, the author's and translators' names are displayed, with the latter being printed in dark blue and the other in red (see figure 5. 8). The visual effect of the yellow background of the cover and its contrast with dark blue gives more visibility to the translators' names, however, still, printing the author's name in red and her image on the back cover foregrounds the author's visibility (figure 5. 8).

Figure 5. 8 Front and back cover of the translation by Ghazinezhad and Soltani

Aminian's translation (Rowling, 2003c), likewise, illustrates the author's and the translator's names respectively, in the same font size and colour (see figure 5. 9).

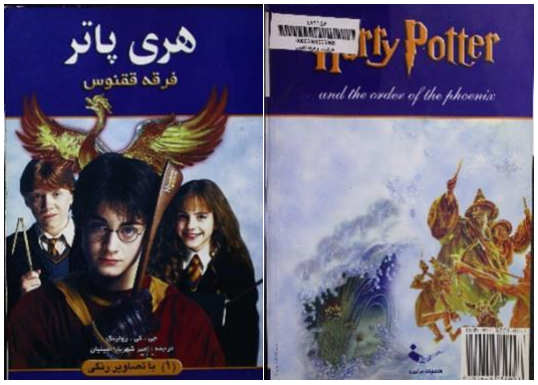



Figure 5. 9 Front and back cover of the translation by Aminian

In the same way, Ghorbani and Yousef Zadeh's translation (Rowling, 2003b) exhibits the author's name above the translators' name, in the same fonts and same colours.

Figure 5. 10 Front and back cover of the translation by Ghorbani and Yousef Zadeh

All these book covers show some characteristics of the original book to embellish the book. However, only Rakhshanfar's translation has used the same cover as the original. And the most reprinted one, Eslamieh's translation diverges from the original cover, as the image below shows (figure 5. 11).

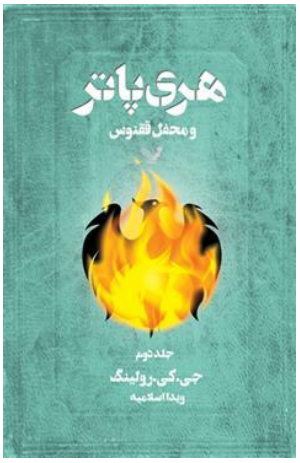



Figure 5. 11 Front and back cover of the new edition of the translation by Eslamieh

The analysis of the book covers, along with the knowledge of status of the translators, shows that Eslamieh, through the authority that she has been given, has gradually defined and established her position in the literary translation field.

The ID pages of the discussed books follow the structure of the CIP, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The author's and translators' names are indicated three times on the ID page. It is only in Ghazi Zadeh and Soltani's translation that Rowling's name is indicated twice and the translators three times. Translators' biographical details, as expected, are also inserted on the ID page. As these evidences show, translators' names, depending on their social status, precede the author's name. As the name of translators always appear on the front cover, they share their visibility with authors'.

### *Trust Signalling Strategies in Translators' Notes*

Now, I would like to examine translators' notes in pre/post-faces. Four out of five translations contain notes, prefaces, and postfaces in which the translators' efforts are discussed. The importance of translators' notes and commentaries in terms of claiming more visibility and its relation to agency has been noted by translation scholars (see for instance Bilodeau, 2019;

Tahir Gürçağlar, 2013). Drawing on Genette's (1997) categories of auctorial, authorial, and allographic prefaces, Tahir Gürçağlar notes that "self-referentiality in the preface is the prerequisite for seeing a translator as an author, only in as much as the comments relate to the translation, and not to the source author or text" (2013, p. 92). This statement has implications for better understanding of the translators' agency. In the examples below, the translators have found inserting a preface not only a site of rivalry to convince readers of their labour, skills and trustworthiness but also a site to, subtly, present and recommend their own translation.

The paratextual analysis of all the selected translations convey the translators' attempts to legitimize their translation by providing proofs supporting their claims, and deprecating other translations, in the intense competition caused by lack of firm copyright laws. Translators routinely tend to convince readers of their competency by defending their translatorial choices and, consequently, by signalling a trustworthy position for themselves. They, also, implicitly or explicitly criticise others' efforts.

Choosing Persian titles for translations as close as possible to the start text's title, is an opportunity for translators to claim closeness to the start text. Such explanation, as Alvstad notes, not only "helps build authority" as "it is a way for the translator to show that she or he is well informed and aware of the effect the translation will have on the reader" (2014, p. 279). It has also implications for building trust (Chesterman, 1997; Pym, 1998; Ferreira Duarte, 2012, in Cecilia Alvstad, 2014, p. 279). This is supported by translators' notes. For instance, the word 'order', in the title of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* has at least 32 different

meanings in Persian.[49] Translators have selected diverse equivalences such as Mahfil [circle], Firqih [cult], Gorūh [group], Yigān [unit]. Ghorbani and Yousef Zadeh provide an explanation for the possible confusion among the readers by expressing that:

> *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix* is what Ms Rowling selected for the fifth instalment of her controversial book. It has been noticed, in the news, that there are different titles for this book including "Hary Pātir va Farmān-i Qoqnūs" and "Hary Pātir va Mahfil-i e Qoqnūs". However, as in the original title the word Order refers to a militia protecting Harry Potter, in this translation the title "Hary Pātir va Yegān-i e Qoqnūs" is preferred (Rowling, 2003b, n. p).[50]

Other translators have made similar attempts to convince readers. Four out of five selected translations for this case study, also, include notes to readers with the similar themes of building trust, claiming authorship and deprecating other translators. Eslamieh, for instance, first apologizes to readers for the possible mistakes in her translation by saying that:

> While the book that you are reading now has been translated in a very short time, I did my best to ensure the quality of the translation and prevent it from being influenced by the tensions caused by the pressures. I hope that dear readers ignore the potential remaining mistakes in the text by considering taxing job situation (in Rowling, 2004, p. 411).[51]

---

[49] As I checked one of the most comprehensive online Persian dictionaries Vajehyab (literally translated as a word-finder). https://www.vajehyab.com/?q=order 17 April 2019.

[50] Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix عنوانی است که خانم رولینگ برای جلد پنجم رمان جنجالی خود انتخاب کرده است. در جراید ترجمه های مختلفی از این عنوان مشاهده شده است که؛ «هری پاتر و فرمان ققنوس» و «هری پاتر و محفل ققنوس» از آن جمله اند، اما از آنجا که در متن اصلی، کلمه Order به مفهوم یک گروه شبه نظامی برای محافظت به کار رفته است ، در این ترجمه، برای عنوان کتاب، «**هری پاتر و یگان ققنوس**» ترجیح داده شد.

[51] In Eslamieh's translation of the book (p.411).

به رغم آنکه ترجمه ی اثری که در دست دارید در زمانی بس کوتاه انجام گرفت کوشیدم کیفیت را مدنظر قرار بدهم و نگذارم تنش های حاصل از فشردگی کار، به متن ترجمه خدشه ای وارد سازد. امیدوارم خوانندگان عزیز با توجه به دشواری شرایط موجود از خطاهایی که شاید در اثر فشردگی مراحل ترجمه و چاپ اصلاح نشده باقی مانده بزرگوارانه چشم پوشی کنند.

A similar clarification is made by Aminian while justifying his delay in putting his translation on the market:

> Translating a book of almost one-thousand-page in a short period of time is definitely a formidable task and is not free of errors and mistakes. However, my experience in working with the team of translators induced me to translate the book individually for a more unified and a more fluent translation (Rowling, 2003c, n. p).[52]

For Rakhshanfar's translation, the editor of the book, Abolfazl Rahimi, wrote a preface and at the end, he also mentions that: "Finally, I would like to ask our reverent readers to forgive us for any possible mistakes and let us know their feedback [on translation]"(in Rowling, 2003d, p. 6).[53]

Another strategy to build trust is to insert dedications and acknowledgments (Cecilia Alvstad, 2014, p. 277). Translators habitually dedicate their book to friends, family, or a person who encourages them to translate the book. I have already discussed some examples in chapter two. Dedicating a book to loved ones reflects the translator's authorial self-image, as this is an author-like behaviour. For instance, Eslamieh dedicated her translation to her sister and brother-in-law. This is followed by a post-face in which she writes an acknowledgment of her family, assistant, friends and publisher. Ghorbani and Yousefzadeh, similarly, dedicate their translation to their wives, and Aminian also acknowledges "the company of dear friends"

---

[52] بدون شک ترجمه کتابی قریب به هزار صفحه در مدتی کوتاه کاری بس دشوار بوده و خالی از اشکال و نقایص احتمالی نمی باشد. با این همه تجربه ترجمه کتاب جام آتش با همراهی چند مترجم مرا بر آن داشت، اثر حاضر را به منظور ارائه ترجمه ای یکدست و روان به تنهایی به انجام رسانم.

[53] در پایان از خوانندگان محترم تقاضا دارم که اگر لغزشی در متن مشاهده می نمایند، بر ما ببخشایند و در عین حال از راهنمایی های مفید خود نیز ما را محروم نفرمایند.

without whom “nothing good would have happened”(in Rowling, 2003c, n. p).[54] Rahimi, the editor, also acknowledged and promoted the translator of the book, Rakhshanfar, as well as its publisher (Rowling, 2003d, p. 6). Therefore, there is a strong sense of ownership and authorship in the translated book.

Furthermore, translators and publishers tend to underline their translation competency, at the same time raising distrust to other translators’ translatorial choices. For instance, by imprinting phrases such as “full-text”, as it is the case in Ghazinezhad and Soltani’s translation, it seems that publishers made an attempt to confuse readers’ trust in the available translations of the text and invalidate other translations of the book (see figure 5. 8). Aminian, likewise, reveals the low quality of other translations, while justifying his tardiness in the competition, by writing that “I would like to thank the publisher who did not sacrifice precision and accuracy in translation for the sake of promptitude and cost reduction”(in Rowling, 2003c, n. p).[55]

However, comparing these translations with Eslamieh’s translation, one can see that the translator and the publisher have astutely dispelled doubts about their work. To give an example, the book is published in three volumes, by far the longest translation of the book. Therefore, it voids, even at the level of appearance, the claim of not being a full text. They also provide a comprehensive philological explanation for the translator’s choices in terms of proper

[54] با این حال اگر همراهی عزیزانی که در این مجموعه اینجانب را یاری دادند نبود، چندان پیشرفتی حاصل نمی شد.

[55] ...و همچنین از ناشر محترم که دقت عمل را فدای سرعت عمل و هزینه ننمود تشکر و سپاسگزاری نمایم.

nouns' transliteration in Persian and translation of the spells by drawing on the feedback that they have received from readers. This can be exemplified by the following excerpt:

> While translating *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* [Hary Pātir va jām-i ātash] (Rowling, 2000), I experimented something new: translating the spells into Persian. However, through the readers' feedback I realised that transliterating the spells is rather preferred. Therefore, I transliterated the spells.
>
> Another point, with which I have been concerned from the beginning of translating Harry Potter series is the transliteration of proper names…[such as] 'Hermione Granger' that even the author clearly stated, in *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*, the pronunciation of the name is uneasy for speakers of other languages… I preferred to keep the wrong pronunciation of the name… as most of the readers asked me, face to face comments or writing letters, not to change 'Hermiyoun' to 'Hermione'. They incessantly told me they prefer to see Hermiyoun as they are used to it… (in Rowling, 2004, pp. 411-413). [56]

This example shows, first, that the translator is directly in contact with the readers, which is common in Iran. Moreover, Eslamieh demonstrates that she responds to the readers demands. Finally, and more importantly, she gives priority to her own decision rather than the author's and states clearly that she is going to keep a "wrong pronunciation" of Hermione. She, therefore, clarifies that she is aware that it is not the correct transliteration of Hermione, but by acknowledging the readers' preferences, Eslamieh made the final decision that is keeping

---

[56] در ترجمه ی کتاب هری پاتر و جام آتش به تجربه ی جدیدی دست زدم و وردهای جادویی را به زبان فارسی برگرداندم. اما با اصرار بسیاری از خوانندگان نوجوان دریافتم که نوشتن ورد ها با تلفظ لاتین آن ها لطف دیگری دارد که نمی توان از آن گذشت. بنابراین در کتاب حاضر تلفظ لاتین وردها را در متن گنجانده ام.

نکته دیگری که از اوایل کار ترجمه مجموعه داستان های هری پاتر مایل به بیان آن بودم مقوله تلفظ اسامی اشخاص است...مثل «هرمایونی گرنجر» که حتی خودنویسنده در کتاب هری پاتر و جام آتش به صراحت اذعان داشته است که تلفظ نام وی برای خارجی زبان ها چندان آسان نیست...ترجیح دادم به نوشتن این نام با تلفظ نادرست آن یعنی هرمیون ادامه بدهم...چون اکثر آنها خوانندگان به طور شفاهی یا کتبی درخواست کردند در کتاب های بعدی این مجموعه «هرمیون» را به «هرمایونی» تبدیل نکنم. آنها با اصرار میگفتند چون آنها به دیدن کلمه «هرمیون» عادت کرده اند.

readers' side rather than the author's. Thus, a synergy has been created between the translator and readers.

This can be understood as a form of "reciprocal visibility" to borrow the term from the social sciences (Brighenti, 2007, p. 325), as the translator values readers, and readers value the translator's decision. This is crucial for the social visibility of translators. For instance, among the participants of my study, who are all recognised and experienced translators, such relations with their readers have been developed. In particular, the pervasiveness of social media (see chapter three) facilitated this form of reciprocal visibility and, for translators, it has become easier to be in touch with their readers ever than before.

By drawing on concrete examples from the paratexts of Persian translations of *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix,* I reflected on translators' self-image and their authorial presence and their occasional paratextual superiority to the author. This discussion suggests convincing readers of the quality of translation is the key to reciprocal and social visibility of Iranian translators. In the next section, I would like to close the chapter by reflecting on translators' social visibility.

## *Harry Potter's* Iranian Mother: Concluding Remarks [57]

This final section reflects on translators' social visibility in Iran which is common among mid-career and experienced translators. They usually hold book-signing ceremonies, and are

[57] This heading has been used in news headline, in Iran Online the online version of a popular daily newspaper IRAN, as "A Conversation with Harry Potter's Iranian Mother" which refers to Eslamieh, the translator. http://www.ion.ir/News/240183 (access date: 10 May 2019).

interviewed and invited for talks, roundtables and workshops. Figure 5. 12 shows Eslamieh signing her translation of Harry Potter's books in Nashr-e-Cheshmeh bookshop. While Eslamieh's books' publisher is Ketab-Saraye Tandis, she was invited for another session of book signing ceremonies in Nashr-e-Cheshmeh. A similar strategy is used by publishers for international book exhibitions. The translator's presence attracts readers to the bookstore and consequently cultivates symbolic and economic capital that raises the publisher's profile.

Figure 5. 12 A book signing ceremony in Nashr-e-Cheshmeh, Tehran, 2017 [58]

Figure 5. 13 People lined to purchase *Harry Potter* books with the signature of the translator [59]

[58] http://www.dementor.ir/posts/15458 (access date: 11 March 2018).

[59] http://www.dementor.ir/posts/15439 (access date: 11 March 2018)

Often, *Harry Potter's* Iranian fans express their gratitude for Eslamieh's translation (see chapter three). For instance, in an interview with Eslamieh by Iran Banovan [Ladies of Iran], a special issue of an Iran newspaper, the interviewer writes that "Iranian kids and teenagers joined the international fans of *Harry Potter*'s books, not through Rowling's works, but through the enchanting, fluent and eloquent translations of Eslamieh" (Iran Banovan, issue 132, July 2017, page. 4).[60] Reading *Harry Potter* books through Eslamieh has also been an incentive for tourism in Iran. Recently, a Harry Potter tour was conducted in Tehran and Eslamieh was invited to join them for a group reading session in a cave near Tehran. This also shows that Eslamieh's efforts is valorised by readers and publishers. Therefore, the translator has developed a position for herself in Iran.

Such a visible status is not an exception for in Iran. There are increasing numbers of workshops and seminars with the presence of mid-career and senior translators as translators' trainers and literary experts. Translators are active members of social media, such as Instagram (see chapter three) and they have thousands of followers, which reflects their leading role in the literary field.

In this chapter, I aimed to offer an answer to the question of visibility of translators in Iran. I provided a double narrative of Iranian translators' visibility and their strategies of self-

---

[60] نوجوانان و کودکان ایرانی نه با آنچه که رولینگ نوشته که با ترجمه های مسحورکننده و روان و خوش خوان ویدا اسلامیه بود که به این جریان جهانی پیوستند.

http://www.dementor.ir/posts/16021 (access date: 11 March 2018).

http://www.honaronline.ir/Section-culture-and-literature-8/105981-harry-potter-tour-in-tehran (access date: 11 March 2018).

presentation in the absence of copyright conventions based on the status of the translator in the literary translation field. Iranian translators owe their visibility to several contextual factors, including national copyright laws which necessitate the indication of the translators' names on the front cover of the book. The historical background of translators is also highly crucial to their visibility. Translators, in pre-revolutionary Iran, were initially influential literary and political figures graduated from prestigious overseas universities. This is the competency in speaking a second language that qualified them as translators and made them pioneers of modernisation.

Furthermore, I explored the distinctive features of amateur and non-amateur translators. Apart from the number of books that one translates, the writing skills of the translators and their choices of start texts are significant factors behind their status. More importantly, translators use diverse strategies to achieve a favourable position in the literary translations field. This position can be achieved thanks to their ability in attracting readers' trust, their literary taste, and authors' trust in the translators.

Paratextual materials play a crucial role in the visibility of translators, however, they are not sufficient for a translator to reach reciprocal and social visibility. As I illustrated in the case of *Harry Potter*'s translations, translators used different strategies to convince readers that their translation is superior to other translations. However, the reciprocal visibility that a translator obtains as a result of the readers' trust in her translation and her taste, allows the translator to gain social visibility. As the case of Eslamieh suggests, the more translators legitimize and establish their position in the field, the more they define an agentive position for

themselves in comparison with the author of the text. Literary translators with social visibility in Iran are recognised as literary experts, critics, instructors, activists, and are invited to book review sessions, translation courses and charity events.

My discussion here and in the previous chapters reveals that Venuti's invisibility theory does not apply to the context of Iran. This chapter sheds light on the visibility of translators in a non-western context suggesting a non-linear history of translators' (in)visibility. Iranian translators under the regime of fluency are still largely visible to Iranian readership. The three types of visibility, legal, reciprocal, and social, identified in this chapter show the validity of the concept of overt visibility introduced by McLaughlin. The outcome of the Iranian translators' legal, paratextual and reciprocal visibility seems to be lesser visibility or invisibility of authors. Original authors are usually defenceless, as my findings suggest. Even the author-translator's collaboration, provides benefits for translators mainly. By giving visibility to their collaboration with authors, translators create opportunities for themselves and define a trustworthy position which endow them higher social visibility.

Also, it is important to recall that these forms of visibility coexist with invisibility. In Iran, publishers are obliged to credit translators on the front cover of all translated books, but this does not mean that they all have social, paratextual and reciprocal visibility, or that they all have the same authority. This flexibility in the translational context of Iran is the key difference from contemporary western understandings of the author-translator relation.

# Epilogue

The aim of the present study is to detail the role that literary translators play in contemporary Iran. My research findings illuminate that translator-translator, translator-editor, translator-publisher, translator-reader and translator-author relations differ substantially from that of western practices. Returning to the questions posed at the beginning of my study, it is now clear that Iranian literary translators are visible. However, the level of their visibility varies depending on the categories of translators and do not necessarily respond to the factors that Venuti delineates in the case of Anglo-American culture. My findings show that Pym's arguments hold true that there seems not to be necessarily causal relations between these factors and visibility of translators (1996). For instance, the relationship between strategies of domestication/foreignization and fluency is not black and white. To justify the invisibility of Anglo-American translators, in the latest edition of his book, Venuti suggests that

> [t]he terms 'domesticating' and 'foreignizing' do not describe specific verbal choices or discursive strategies used in translation, but rather the ethical effects of translated text that depend for their force and recognition on the receiving culture. (2018, p. xiii)

Although Venuti states that "[f]luency is not in itself domesticating" (2018, p. xv), he insists on his call for foreignization which cannot escape it's "inevitable domestication". Hence, domestication/foreignization are overlapping concepts and even as "*ethical* attitudes towards a foreign text and culture" their link to visibility is vague, at least in the context of Iran.

The translators analysed in chapter five are comparatively visible and trustworthy in the Iranian literary translation field and the readers' comments attest that their skills in producing

fluent and eloquent texts are appreciated. Therefore, fluency in translation, for Iranian literary translators, strengthen their visibility. Yet the amateur translators of *Animal Farm* (see chapter three) are visible, simply because their names appear on the front cover of the books. This is mainly about the publishing policies rather than translators' applications of certain features of the source text and language.

Therefore, it seems that the key reason behind the valorisation of translators in Iran is the recognition of translators' contribution to introducing new ideas, cultures, and knowledge to Iranian readers which would otherwise remain inaccessible. While Azadibougar (2010) challenges the constructivist effects of translations and strongly argues that translations/translators have de-authenticated literary products in Iran, the general discourse around historiography of translation appreciate the influential role of translations/translators on culture and literature.

Translators play multiple roles. The role of translators in the book production process and their contribution to the post-production process determine the degree of their visibility. I discussed the supervisory role of translators in chapter two, which sheds new light on collaborative translation practices and translator-translator relations. The ability of translators to commission other translators to work under their supervision lay the ground for the recruiters to stand above other translators. This hierarchical relation among translators goes beyond the networks of translators. My findings show that Iranian publishers draw different contracts and collaborations based on the translators' experience and recognition.

In the context of competition within the literary translation field of Iran, chapter three discussed the dynamics of retranslation in Iran. From this discussion, we know that amateur translators tend to retranslate already successful literary works. This is a low-risk choice as they can easily obtain publishing permits. Instead, mid-career translators are inclined to introduce new titles to the literary market. Senior translators take on editorial role for themselves when they decide to retranslate a literary book. That means that they retranslate with the aim of improving previous translations. Further, mid-career or senior translators develop their own style and reputation that make readers ask them to retranslate books.

The agentive role of translators, as discussed in chapter four, shows how senior and mid-career translators are equipped with negotiation skills that allow them to publish discourses that are usually banned or restricted by the government. The presence of world literature in Iranian literary market owes to the ability of translators to negotiate the boundaries of censorship. Inevitably, amateur translators are in a subservient position and the publishers dictate what and how they should translate.

Chapter four also revealed the translators' and publishers' habitus. Haddadian-Moghaddam claims that majority of the agents in publishing/literary translation fields are conformists (2014, p. 181). This holds true. If they choose to be non-conformist, there suffer consequences; the least issue for them would be not obtaining a publishing permit. The surprising point, as strongly demonstrated in Chapter four, is that mid-career and senior translators, while conforming with the MCIG rules and regulations, have the ability to negotiate the official norms and apply strategic self-censorship. Even if small in scale, they gradually and

wittingly allowed circulations of banned-discourses. The concept of habitus served highly useful in unveiling the politics of the literary translation game in Iran.

In chapter five, I examined the status of translators in relation to authorship. In Iran, the author-translator relation is supportive rather than controlling and, as my findings suggest, the relation between authors and translators is balanced. In the absence of the international copyright conventions, permission of the right holder is not mandatory for translating a start text in Iran. Therefore, senior translators tend to pursue what is best for their career. At the level of the paratext, as shown, there are instances in which the author is less visible than the translator. The determining factor for translators to gain an established role in the literary market is based on their ability to be seen and to be valued by their readers, colleagues and publishers.

My main contribution to translation studies is to have provided new perspectives on visibility, retranslation, collaboration and censorship from a non-western context. The case of Iran challenges some of the dominant understandings around these practices. My study invites translation scholars to consider closely non-western contexts and practices especially when they challenge dominant theories and perceptions of the role and praxis of translators.

## Future Directions

The context of Iran provides a rich ground for further studies on translation. Relatively little is known about translators in pre-revolutionary Iran, or on translation from other languages into Persian. Such studies would test whether my findings are applicable to other genres or to translations from other languages. My study will, also, hopefully inspire research on non-

western contexts, such as China, in which similar issues of censorship may tell us more about the visibility and agency of translators.

Another fruitful area of research that could develop from my study is research on the impact of the digital era on the visibility of translators and the readers' perception of the role of translators. Rene Desjardins (2016) has offered a first analysis of the relation between translation and social media. In my study, the use of social media offered insights into the function of social media in crystallising the role of translators. For instance, by social medial analysis one can investigate the visibility of translators in different contexts and varying social media platforms.

Research on retranslation is generally limited to literary works. In Iran non-literary books are also frequently retranslated. For this reason, there is new scope for research on the rising number of (re)translations in psychological books. Studying the possible motives for retranslating non-literary books may expand the current area of research in translation studies. Also, to follow the suggestion by Kaisa Koskinen and Paloposki (2019), particularly in the context of Iran where retranslation is common, it would be interesting to ask why some books are not being retranslated.

Finally, it would be useful to study the perceived role of Iranian authors in contemporary Iran. The Iranian case examined here tells us that translators fill a gap in the national Iranian literature. Understanding why this gap exists and how authors compete against translators promise to shed more light on collaboration and authority in contemporary Iran.

# Bibliography


Abdallah, K. (2015). The Interface Between Bourdieu's Habitus and Latour's Agency: The Work Trajectories of Two Finnish Translators. In G. M. Vorderobermeier (Ed.), *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Abe, K. (1962). *The Woman in the Dunes*. Japan: Shinchosha

Abrahamian, E. (2008). *A History of Modern Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alfer, A. (2015). Transcending Boundaries. *The Linguist, 54*(5), 26-27.

Alfer, A. (2017). Entering the Translab: Translation as Collaboration, Collaboration as Translation, and the Third Space of 'Translaboration'. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts, 3*(3), 275-290.

Alinejad, C. (2011). San'atizadeh Kermani, Homayun. Encyclopædia Iranica, from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sanatizadeh

Alinejad, C. (2016). *Az Frānklyn tā Lālih Zār: Zindigy Nāmih Homāyūn San'atyzadih [Franklin to Lālih Zār: The Biography of Homayoun San'atizadeh]*. Tehran: Qoqnous.

Allende, I. (1998). *Hija de la Fortuna [Daughter of Fortune]*. Spain: Plaza & Janés.

Alvstad, C. (2014). The Translation Pact. *Language and Literature, 23*(3), 270-284. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1177/0963947014536505

Alvstad, C., & Rosa, A. A. (2015). Voice in retranslation: An overview and some trends. *Target, 27*(1), 3-24. doi:10.1075/target.27.1.00int

Askarzadeh Torqabeh, R., & Fadaei, E. (2012). Barresy va Tashkhys-i Matn dar Tarjomihāyih Mojaddad-i Romān-i Mazra'iyihi Hiyvānāt [A Textual Analysis of *Animal Farm*'s Retranslations]. *Quarterly of Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies, 1*(1), 25-38.

Atkinson, R. (2001). The Life Story Interview. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research* (pp. 120-140). California: SAGE Publishing.

Atwood, B. (2012). Sense and Censorship in the Islamic Republic of Iran. *World Literature Today, 86*(3), 38-41.

Austen, J. (1811). *Sense and Sensibility*. UK: Thomas Egerton.

Austen, J. (1813). *Pride and Prejudice*. United Kingdom: T. Egerton, Whitehall.

Auster, P. (2015). *Report From the Interior [Kapsūl-i Zamān]* (K. Keyhan, Trans.). Tehran: Ofoq.

Azadibougar, O. (2010). Translation Historiography in the Modern World: Modernization and Translation into Persian. *Target, 22*(2), 298-329.

Azadibougar, O., & Haddadian-Moghaddam, E. (2019). The Persian Tradition. In Y. Gambier & U. Stecconi (Eds.), *A World Atlas of Translation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Azarang, A. (2015). *Mabāni Nashr-i Kitāb [An Introduction to Book Publishing]* (4th ed.). Qom: SAMT.

Baer, B. J. (2011). Translating Queer Texts in Soviet Russia: A Case Study in Productive Censorship. *Translation Studies, 4*(1), 21-40.

Bahmani-Oskooee. (2005). History of the Rial and Foreign Exchange Policy in Iran. *Iranian Economic Review, 10*(14), 1-20.

Baker, M. (2001). Arabic Tradition. In M. Baker (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (pp. 316-325). London: Routledge.

Baker, M. (2006). *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*. New York: Routledge.
Banville, J. (2005). *The Sea*. Ireland: Picador.
Barker, S. K., & Hosington, B. M. (2013). *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473-1640* (Vol. 15): Brill.
Basalamah, S., & Sadek, G. (2014). Copyright Law and Translation: Crossing Epistemologies. *The Translator, 20*(3), 396-410. doi:10.1080/13556509.2014.931020
Bassnett, S. (1996). The Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator. In R. Alvareza & M. Carmen-África Vidal (Eds.), *Translation, Power, Subversion, Multilingual Matters* (pp. 10-24): Multilingual Matters.
Bassnett, S., & Lefevere, A. (1990). Proust's Grandmother and the Thousand and One Nights: The "Cultural Turn" in Translation Studies. In S. Bassnett & A. Lefevere (Eds.), *Translation, History and Culture* (pp. 1-13). London: Pinter.
Batchelor, K. (2018). *Translation and Paratexts*. UK: Routledge.
Berk Albachten, Ö., & Tahir Gürçağlar, Ş. (2019). Introduction. In Ö. Berk Albachten & Ş. Tahir Gürçağlar (Eds.), *Perspectives on Retranslation: Ideology, Paratexts, Methods* (pp. 1-8). Nwe York: Routledge.
Berk Albachten, Ö., & Tahir Gürçağlar, Ş. (Eds.). (2019). *Perspectives on Retranslation: Ideology, Pratexts, Methods*. New York: Routledge.
Berman, A. (1990). La Retraduction Comme Espace de la Traduction. *Palimpsestes, 4*, 1-7.
Billiani, F. (2014). Assessing Boundaries-Censorship and Translation: An Introduction. In F. Billiani (Ed.), *Modes of Censorship : National Contexts and Diverse Media* (pp. 1-26). Manchester: Routledge.
Bilodeau, I. (2019). Bending Conventions: Agency and Self-Portrayals in Japanese Translator Commentary. *Japan Forum, 31*(1), 64-85. doi:10.1080/09555803.2018.1530280
Bistué, B. (2011). The Task(s) of the Translator(s): Multiplicity as Problem in Renaissance European Thought. *Comparative Literature Studies, 48*(2), 139-164. doi:10.5325/complitstudies.48.2.0139
Bistué, B. (2013). *Collaborative translation and multi-version texts in early modern Europe*.
Bistué, B. (2017). On the incorrect way to translate: The absence of collaborative translation from Leonardo Bruni's De interpretatione recta. In A. Cordingley & C. Frigau Manning (Eds.), *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age* (pp. 33-48). London: Bloomsbury.
Boroujerdi, M. (1996). *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Trimuph of Nativism*. New York: Syracuse University Press.
Bourdieu, P. (1974). *The Outline of a Theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: Cambridge University Press.
Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.): Cambridge University Press.
Bourdieu, P. (1979). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). London, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The Logic of Practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Oxford: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power* (G. Raymond & M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bourdieu, P. (2000). *Pascalian Mediations* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity Press.
Bourdieu, P. (2005). *The Social Structures of the Economy*. Cambridge: Polity.
Bourdieu, P. (2011). The Forms of Capital. In I. Szeman & T. Kaposy (Eds.), *Cultural Theory: An Anthology* (pp. 81-93). Uk: Wiley-Blackwell.
Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (R. Nice, Trans.). London: SAGE.
Brownlie, S. (2006). Narrative Theory and Retranslation Theory. *Across Languages and Cultures, 7*(2), 145-170.
Buzelin, H. (2005). Unexpected Allies: How Latour's Network Theory Could Complement Bourdieusian Analyses in Translation Studies. *The Translator, 11*(2), 193-218.
Buzelin, H. (2007). Translation "in the Making". In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 135-170). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Camus, A. (1942). *L'Étranger [the Stranger]*. France: Gallimard.
Carver, R. (1992). *Carnations: A Play in One Act*: Engdahl Typography.
Carver, R. (2005). *Golhāy-i Mykhak [Carnations]* (A. Amraee, Trans.). Tehran: Afraz.
Casanova, P. (2004). *The World Republic of Letters* (Vol. null).
Casanova, P. (2012). Consecration and Accumulation of Literary Capital: Translation as Unequal Exchange (S. Brownlie, Trans.). In M. Baker (Ed.), *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* (pp. 285-303). London: Routledge.
Chaplin, C. (1964). *My Autobiography*. US: Simon & Schuster.
Chesterman, A. (2000). A Causal Model for Translation Studies. In M. Olohan (Ed.), *Intercultural Faultlines* (pp. 15-27). Manchester: ST.Jerome.
Chesterman, A. (2004). Hypotheses About Translation Universals. In G. Hansen, K. Malmkjær, & D. Gile (Eds.), *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies* (pp. 1-14). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Chesterman, A. (2006). Questions in the Sociology of Translation. In J. F. Duarte, A. A. Rosa, & T. Seruya (Eds.), *Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines* (pp. 9-28). Amsterdam: John Benamins.
Chesterman, A. (2009). The Name and Nature of Translator Studies. *Hermes, 42*, 13-22.
Chesterman, A. (2017). Literary Translation in Modern Iran: A Sociological Study. *Iranian Studies, 50*(4), 638-642.
Coldiron, A. E. B. (2012). Visibility now: Historicizing foreign presences in translation. *Translation Studies, 5*(2), 189-200. doi:10.1080/14781700.2012.663602
Coldiron, A. E. B. (2015). *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cordingley, A., & Frigau Manning, C. (2017). *Collaborative translation : from the Renaissance to the Digital age*: London, UK New York, NY, USA Bloomsbury Academic, an imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2017.
Cordingley, A., & Manning, C. F. (2017). What Is Collaborative Translation? In A. Cordingley & C. Frigau Manning (Eds.), *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age* (pp. 1-30). London: Bloomsbury.

Dam, H. V., & Zethsen, K. K. (2008). Translator status: A study of Danish company translators. In *Translator* (Vol. 14, pp. 71-96).
Deane-Cox, S. (2014). *Retranslation: Translation, Literature and Reinterpretation*. Uk: Bloomsbury.
Derakhshan, M. (1962). *Darbāriyih Zabān-i Fārsy [On Farsi]*. Tehran: Tehran Uniuversity Press.
Desjardins, R. (2016). *Translation and Social Media : In Theory, in Practice, in Teaching*: Palgrave Macmillan.
Dumesnil, R., & Barzun, J. (2019). Gustave Flaubert. In *Britannica*. online: Encyclopædia Britannica, inc.
Dutton, R. (2000). *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England: Buggeswords*: Springer.
Emami, K. (1993). Copyright. In E. Yarshater (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Vol. VI, pp. 264-266). New York.
Emami, K. (2006a). Az Trajomih va Motarjim [On Translation and Translastor]. In A. Azarang & M. Daqiqi (Eds.), *Az Past va Boland-i Tarjomih [Ups and Downs of Translation]* (Vol. 2, pp. 17-40). Tehran: Niloufar.
Emami, K. (2006b). Baz ham "Copyright". In A. Azarang & I. Naz Kashian (Eds.), *Dar Gir o Dar e Nashr va Ketab* (pp. 299-304). Tehran: Niloufar.
Emami, K. (2006c). Bāz ham āz Tarjomih [On Translation, Again]. In A. Azarang & M. Daqiqi (Eds.), *Az Past va Boland-i Tarjomih [Ups and Downs of Transation]* (Vol. 2, pp. 41-54). Tehran: Niloufar.
Emami, K. (2006d). Layehe ye Qanun e Tarjomeh va Takthir. In A. Azarang & I. Naz Kashian (Eds.), *Dar Gir o Dar e Ketab va Nashr* (pp. 295-298). Tehran: Niloufar.
Emami, K. (2006e). Peyvastan ya Napeyvastan be Peyman e "Hefz e Hoghughe Mo'alef". In A. Azarang & I. Naz Kashian (Eds.), *Dar Gir o Dar e Nashr va Ketab* (pp. 325-330). Tehran: Niloufar.
Farahzad, F. (2017). Women Translators in Contemporary Iran. In L. v. Flotow & F. Farahzad (Eds.), *Translating Women: Different Voices and New Horizons* (pp. 16-31). New York: Routledge.
Faulkner, W. (1929). *The Sound and the Fury*. United States: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith.
Fernández, J. M. P., & Wilson-Lee, E. (2014). *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*: Cambridge University Press.
Floor, W. (1990). ČĀP [Print]. Retrieved from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cap-print-printing-a-persian-word-probably-derived-from-hindi-chapna-to-print-see-turner-no. Retrieved 20 February 2019, from Online edition http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cap-print-printing-a-persian-word-probably-derived-from-hindi-chapna-to-print-see-turner-no
Foucault, M. (1979). What Is an Author? In J. V. Harari (Ed.), *Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism*: Cornell University Press.
Gardner, H. (1926). *Gardner's Art through the Ages: A Global History*. US.
Garner, J. F. (1994). *Politically Correct Bedtime Stories*. US: MacMillan Publishing Company.
Gary, R. (1967). *La Danse De Genghis Cohn [The Dance of Genghis Cohn]*. France: Gallimard.

Genette, G. (1997). *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (J. E. Lewin, Trans.). UK: Cambridge University Press.
Gerlitz, C., & Helmond, A. (2013). The Like Economy: Social Buttons and the Data-Intensive Web. *New Media and Society, 15*(8), 1348-1365.
Ghasemi, S. F. (2001). *Kitāb [Book]*. Tehran: Nashr-e-Markaz.
Goethe, J. W. v. (1819). Übersetzungen. In *Noten und Abhandlungen zum besseren Verständnis des west-östlichen Divans*. Stuttgart.
Goethe, J. W. v. (1992). Translations. In R. Schulte & J. Biguenet (Eds.), *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Gouanvic, J.-M. (2014). Is *Habitus* as Conceived by Pierre Bourdieu Soluble in Translation Studies? In G. M. Vorderobermeier (Ed.), *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* (pp. 29-42): Rodopi.
Haddadian-Moghaddam, E. (2014). *Literary Translation in Modern Iran: A Sociological Study*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Haeri, S. (2009). Sacred Canopy: Love and Sex under the Veil. *Iranian Studies, 42*(1), 113-126. doi:10.1080/00210860802593965
Haqshenas, T. (1992). Communism iii. In Persia after 1953. In *Iranica* (Vol. VI, pp. 105-112). http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/communism-iii.
Heilbron, J. (2012). Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translations as a Cultural World System. In M. Baker (Ed.), *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* (pp. 304-316). London: Routledge.
Heilbron, J., & Sapiro, G. (2007). Outline for a Sociology of Translation. Current Issues and Further Prospects. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 93-108). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Hemingway, E. (1940). *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. UK: Charles Scribner's Sons.
Hermans, T. (1996). The Translator's Voice in Translated Narrative. *Target, 8*(1), 23-48.
Hermans, T. (2007). Translation, Irritation and Resonance. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 57-75). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Hermans, T. (2014). *The Conference of the Tongues*. New York: Routledge.
Hesse, H. (1932). *Die Morgenlandfahrt [Journey to the East]*. Germany: Samuel Fischer.
Highfield, T., & Leaver, T. (2015). A Methodology for Mapping Instagram Hashtags. *First Monday, 20*(1), 1-11.
Holmes, J. S. (1987). The Name and Nature of Translation Studies. *Indian Journal of Applied Lingusitics, 13*(2), 9-24.
Hosseini, K. (2003). *The Kite Runner*. United States: Riverhead Books.
Hu, Y., Manikonda, L., & Kambhampati, S. (2014). *What We Instagram: A First Analysis of Instagram Photo Content and User Types.* Paper presented at the Icwsm.
Hugo, V. (1862). *Les Misérables*: A. Lacroix, Verboechoven & Cie.
Huss, J. T. (2019). Collaborative Translation. In *The Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation* (pp. 448-467): Routledge.
Inghilleri, M. (2003). Habitus, Field and Discourse: Interpreting as a Socially Situated Activity. *Target, 15*(2), 243-268.

Inghilleri, M. (2005). The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the 'Object' in Translation and Interpreting Studies. *Target, 11*(2), 125-145. doi:10.1080/13556509.2005.10799195

Jansen, H., & Wegener, A. (2013). Multiple Translatorship. In H. Jansen & A. Wegener (Eds.), *Authorial and Editorial Voices in Translation* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-39). Montreal: Éditions québécoises de l'oeuvre.

Javaherkalam, F. (1999). George Orwell va Khaterei az Panjah Saal Pish! (Hamin Tehran). *Bokhara, 6*, 418-422.

Jiménez-Crespo, M. (2017). *Crowdsourcing and Online Collaborative Translations*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Johnson, J. C., & Weller, S. C. (2001). Elicitation Techniques for Interviewing. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research* (pp. 491-514). California: SAGE Publishing.

Jones, F. R. (2009). Embassy Networks: Translating Post-war Bosnian Poetry into English. In J. Milton & P. Bandia (Eds.), *Agents of Translation* (pp. 301-325). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kafi, M., Khoshsaligheh, M., & Hashemi, M. R. (2016). Typology of capitals expected and received by Iranian translators. *SKASE Journal of Translation and Interpretation, 9*(1), 26-43. Retrieved from https://www.scopus.com/inward/record.uri?eid=2-s2.0-84969850466&partnerID=40&md5=b881494c24cb3ff74d55fe4d657d483e

Kafka, F. (1915a). *Die Verwandlung [Metamorphosis]*. Germany: Kurt Wolff Verlag.

Kafka, F. (1915b). *Die Verwandlung [Metamorphsis]*. Germany: Kurt Wolff Verlag.

Karimi Behbahani, S. M., & Saeedi, S. (2016). A Sociological Approach to Translation: Translation and Asymmetrical Exchange of Cultural Capital. *Translation Studies Quarterly, 13*(52).

Karimi-Hakak, M. (2003). Exiled to Freedom: A Memoir of Censorship in Iran. *TDR: The Drama Review, 47*(4), 17-50.

Karimi-Hakkak, A. (2009). Persian Tradition. In M. Baker & G. Saldanha (Eds.), *Routledge Encyclopaedia to Translation Studies* (2nd ed., pp. 493-501). New York: Routledge.

Karoubi, B. (2017). A Concise History of Translation in Iran From Antiquity to the Present Time. *Perspectives, 25*(4), 594-608. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2016.1277248

Khoshnazar, R. (1995). *Va Khodāyān Doshanbihā Mykhandand [The Gods Laugh on Mondays]*. Tehran: Entishārāti Morghi Amyn.

Kinnuen, T., & Koskinen, K. (Eds.). (2010). *Translators' Agency*. Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Koskinen, K. (2019). Revising and Retranslation. In K. Washbourne & B. V. Wyke (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation* (pp. 315-324). London: Routledge.

Koskinen, K., & Paloposki, O. (2010). Retranslation. In Y. Gambier & L. v. Doorslaer (Eds.), *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Vol. 1, pp. 294-298). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Koskinen, K., & Paloposki, O. (2015). Anxieties of Influence: The Voice of the First Translator in Retranslation. *Target, 27*(1), 25-38.

Koskinen, K., & Paloposki, O. (2019). New Directions for Retranslation Research: Lessons Learned from The Archaeology of Retranslations in the Finnish Literary System. *39*(1), 23-44.
Kuhiwczak, P. (2009). Censorship as a Collaborative Project: A Systemic Approach. In E. Ní Chuilleanáin, C. Ó Cuilleanáin, & D. Parris (Eds.), *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference* (pp. 46-56). Ireland: Four Courts Press.
Kumiko, T. (2014). Oral History as a Research Method to Study Interpreters' Habitus. In G. M. Vorderobermeier (Ed.), *Remapping Habitus in Translation Studies* (pp. 135-147). Amsterdam: Rodopi.
Kundera, M. (1974). *Směšné lásky [Laughable Loves]* (S. Rappaport, Trans.). US: Alfred A. Knopf.
Kung, S. W. (2015). Bourdieu's capital and latour's actor-network theory as conceptual tools in translation research. In *Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication Studies in the Asia Pacific* (pp. 389-406): Brill.
Latour, B. (1997). On Actor-Network Theory: A Few Clarifications Plus More Than a Few Complications. Retrieved from http://www.bruno-latour.fr/sites/default/files/P-67%20ACTOR-NETWORK.pdf
Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*: Oxford Universoty Press.
Leaver, T., & Highfield, T. (2018). Visualising the Ends of Identity: Pre-Birth and Post-Death on Instagram. *Information, Communication & Society, 21*(1), 30-45. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2016.1259343
Leavy, P. (2011). *Oral history*. USA: Oxford University Press.
Lefevere, A. (1993). Untitled introduction to Florin In P. Zlateva (Ed.), *Translation as Social Action: Russian and Bulgarian Perspectives*. London: Routledge.
Liang, L., & Xu, M. (2015). Analysis of the Mode of Translation from the Perspective of Co-Translation. *Translation Review, 92*(1), 54-72. doi:10.1080/07374836.2015.1086288
Lossef, L. (1984). *On the beneficence of censorship: Aesopian languages in Russian literature* (J. Bobko, Trans.). Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner.
Makaryk, I. R. (Ed.) (1993). *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. Canada: University of Toronto Press.
Marin-Lacarta, M. (2018). Characteristics of a Digital Literary Translation Publisher: Revisiting Bourdieu's Mapping of The Publishing Field. *The Translator*, 1-15. doi:10.1080/13556509.2018.1543566
Martin, G. R. (1996). *A Song of Ice and Fire*. United States: Bantam Books.
Maton, K. (2014). Habitus. In M. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (2nd ed., pp. 48-64): Routledge.
McLaughlin, M. (2008). (In)visibility: Dislocation in French and the Voice of the Translator. *French Studies, 62*(1), 53-64. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/fs/knm233
Milani, F. (1985). Power, Prudence, and Print: Censorship and Simin Danashvar. *Iranian Studies, 18*(2-4), 325-347. doi:10.1080/00210868508701661
Milton, J., & Bandia, P. (2009). *Agents of Translation* (Vol. null).

Milton, J., & Bandia, P. F. (2009). Introduction: Agents of Translation and translation Studies. In J. Milton & P. Bandia (Eds.), *Agents of Translation* (pp. 1-18). Amsterdam: John Banjamins.

Mirabedini, H. (2018). *Sad Sāl Dāstān Nevysy dar Īrān [Hundred Years of Writing Fiction in Iran]* (5th ed.). Tehran: Nashr-e-Cheshmeh.

Morier, J. J. (1824). *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*. London: John Murray.

Munari, S. (2014). Translation, Re-Writing and Censorship during the Counter-Reformation. *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe*, 185.

Murakami, H. (1987). *Noruwei no Mori [Norwegian Wood]*. Japan: Kodansha.

Naseri, F., Fazaeli Jawan, M., Rahmanipour, M. K., & Kahani, H. (2011). The Catalogue of Books translated into Persian 1371-1383 (1992-2004). In I. R. F. o. A. Q. Razavi (Ed.). Mashad: Islamic Research Foundation of Astan Quds Razavi.

Navabi, D. (1984). *Tarikhche Trajome az Faranseh e be Farsi dar Iran: Az Aghaaz ta Konun (A History of Translation from French into Persian: From the beginning to the Present Time)*. Kerman: Kerman University Press.

Ní Chuilleanáin, E., Ó Cuilleanáin, C., & Parris, D. (Eds.). (2009). *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference*. Ireland: Four Courts Press.

Orwell, G. (1945). *Animal Farm: A Fairy Story*. UK: Secker and Warburg.

Orwell, G. (1949). *1984*. UK: Secker & Warburg.

Orwell, G. (1950). *Animal Farm [Inghilāb-i Hiyvānāt]*. Tehran.

Orwell, G. (1969). *Animal Farm [Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt]*. Tehran: Sazemaan-e Ketabhaye Jibi.

Orwell, G. (1983). *Animal Farm [Mazra'ih'i Hiyvānāt]* (H. Nourahmar, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr-e Marzban.

Orwell, G. (2011). *Animal Farm [Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt]* (A. Kasaeipour, Trans.). Tehran: Maahi.

Orwell, G. (2014). *Animal Farm [Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt]* (A. Zarei, Trans.). Tehran: Amout.

Orwell, G. (2015). *Animal Farm [Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt]* (S. Habibi, Trans.). Tehran: Chelcheleh.

Orwell, G. (2018a). *Animal Farm [Mazra'iyih Hiyvānāt]* (H. Ghayouri & P. Ghayouri, Trans.). Tehran: Ghayouri.

Orwell, G. (2018b). *Animal Farm [Qal'iyih'i Hiyvānāt]*. Tehran: Yung.

Pahlavān, C. (1991). Kopīrāyt. Rowšanfekrān, dawlat wa maṣlaḥat-e farhang-e mellī-e mā. *Arğavān,* 82-105.

Paloposki, O. (2010). The Translator's Footprints. In T. Kinnuen & K. Koskinen (Eds.), *Translators' Agency* (pp. 86-107). Tampere: Tampere University Press.

Paloposki, O., & Koskinen, K. (2004). A thousand and one translations: Revisiting retranslation. In G. Hansen, K. Malmkjær, & D. Gile (Eds.), *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies* (pp. 27-38). Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins.

Paolini, C. (2002). *Eragon*: Paolini.

Paolini, C. (2005). *Eldest*: Alfred A. Knopf.

Paolini, C. (2008). *Brisingr*: Alfred A. Knopf.

Pushkin, A. (1836) Капитанская дочка [The Captain's Daughter]. In. Russia: Sovremennik Journal.

Pym, A. (1996). Venuti's Visibility. *Target, 8*(1).

Pym, A. (1998). *Method in Translation History*. United Kingdom: St. Jerome.

Pym, A. (2000). *Negotiating the Frontier: Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History*. Great Britain: St Jerome Publishing.
Pym, A. (2014). *Exploring Translation Theories*. London, UNITED KINGDOM: Routledge.
Rahimi, B. (2003). Cyberdissent: The Internet in Revolutionary Iran. *Middle East Review of International Affairs, 7*.
Rajabzadeh, A. (1396/2017). *Momayyizy Kitāb: Pazhuhishy dar 1400 Sanad-i Momayyizy kitāb dar Sāl-i 1375*. Tehran: Entesharat e Kavir.
Rilke, R. M. (1910). *The Notebooks of Malta Laurids Brigge*: Insel Verlag.
Rizzi, A. (2017). *Vernacular Translators in Quattrocento Italy: Scribal Culture, Authority, and Agency*. Belgium: Brepols.
Rizzi, A. (2018a). Editing and Translating Pliny in Renaissance Italy: Agency, Collaboration and Visibility. *Renæssanceforum, 14*, 117-138.
Rizzi, A. (2018b). Monkey Business: Imitatio and Translators' Visibility in Renaissance Europe. In A. Rizzi (Ed.), *Trust and Proof: Translators in Renaissance Print Culture*. Leiden: Brill.
Rizzi, A. (2018c). *Trust and proof : translators in renaissance print culture*. Leiden: Brill.
Rizzi, A., Lang, B., & Pym, A. (2019). *What Is Translation History? A Trust-based Approach*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Rizzi, A., & Troup, C. (2018). Introduction. In A. Rizzi (Ed.), *Trust and Proof: Translators in Renaissance Print Culture* (pp. 1-9). Leiden: Brill.
Rowling, J. K. (1997). *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*. UK: Bloomsbury.
Rowling, J. K. (1998). *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*. UK: Bloomsbury.
Rowling, J. K. (2000a). *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*. UK: Bloomsbury.
Rowling, J. K. (2000b). *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire [Hary Pātir va jām-i ātash]* (V. Eslamieh, Trans.). Tehran: Ketabsaray-e Tandis.
Rowling, J. K. (2003a). *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix*. UK: Bloomsbury.
Rowling, J. K. (2003b). *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix [Harry Pāttir va Yegāni Qoqnūs]* (A. Ghorbani & H. Yousefzadeh, Trans.). Tehran: Rouyesh.
Rowling, J. K. (2003c). *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix [Hary pātir va Farmāni Qoqnūs]* (A. S. Aminian, Trans.). Tehran: Rouzgar.
Rowling, J. K. (2003d). *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix [Hary pātir va gorūhi Qoqnūs]* (M. Rakhshanfar, Trans.). Tehran: Chekkad.
Rowling, J. K. (2004). *Harry Potter and the Order of the Phoenix [Harry Patir va Mahfil-i Qoqnūs]* (V. Eslamieh, Trans. Vol. 3). Tehran: Ketabsaraye Tandis.
Rowling, J. K. (2005a). *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince*. UK: Bloomsbury.
Rowling, J. K. (2005b). *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince [Harry Pāttir va Prans-i Nymih Asyl]* (S. Ganji, Trans.). Sari: Zohreh.
Rowling, J. K. (2005c). *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince [Harry Pāttir va Shāhzādih'i Do Ragi]* (P. Dadbakhsh & E. Vahedi, Trans.). Mashad: Novand.
Rowling, J. K. (2005d). *Harry Potter and the Half-blood Prince [Harry Pāttir va Shāhzādih'i Nymih Asyl]* (M. Nourallahi, Trans.). Tehran: Behnam.
Rowling, J. K. (2007a). *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. UK: Bloomsbury.
Rowling, J. K. (2007b). *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows [Harry Pāttir va Qidysān-i Margbār]* (M. Nourallahi, Trans.). Tehran: Behnam.

Rowling, J. K. (2008). *The Tales of Beedle the Bard*: Children's High Level group in association with Bloomsbury Publishing.
Saadat, S. (2017). Translaboration: Collaborative Translation to Challenge Hegemony. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts, 3*(3), 349-369.
Sager, J. C. (1994). *Benjamins Translation Library : Language Engineering and Translation : Consequences of automation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
Saint-Exupéry, A. d. (1943). *Le Petit Prince [the little prince]*. France: Gallimard.
Saldanha, G., & O'Brien, S. (2014). *Research Methodologies in Translation Studies*. New York: Routledge.
Salinger, J. D. (1951). *The Catcher in the Rye*. US: Little, Brown and Company.
Salinger, J. D. (1966). *The Catcher in the Rye [Nātūr-i Dasht]* (A. Karimi, Trans.). Tehran: Entesharat e Mina.
Salinger, J. D. (2013). *The Catcher in the Rye [Nātūr-i Dasht]* (M. Azari & M. Salehi, Trans.). Mashad: Omid Mehr.
Sapiro, G. (2003). The Literary Field Between the State and the Market. *Poetics, 31*(5), 441-464. Retrieved from http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0304422X03000482
Sapiro, G. (2008). *Translation Studies, 1*(2), 154.
Saramago, J. (1995). *Ensaio Sobre a Cegueira [Blindness]*. Portugal: Caminho.
Saramago, J. (2004). *Ensaio sobre a Lucidez [Seeing]*. Portugal: Editorial Caminho.
Sela-Sheffy, R. (2005). How to be a (recognized) translator: Rethinking habitus, norms, and the field of translation. *Target, 17*(1), 1-26.
Shuger, D. (2006). *Censorship and Cultural Sensibility: The Regulation of Languages in Tudor-Stuart England*. Pensylvania: PENN.
Shuttleworth, M., & Cowie, M. (1997). *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (Vol. null).
Simeoni, D. (1998). The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus. *Target. International Journal of Translation Studies, 10*(1), 1-39.
Simeoni, D. (2007). Between Sociology and History. Method in Context and in Practice. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 187-204). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Smith, D. (2000). Franklin Book Program. In E. Yarshater (Ed.), *Iranica* (Vol. X).
Smith, H., & Wilson, L. (2011). *Renaissance paratexts*: Cambridge University Press.
Smith, R. C. (2001). Analytic Strategies for Oral History Interviews. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Interview Research* (pp. 711-731). California: SAGE Publishing.
Snell-Hornby, M. (2006). *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Solgi, M. (2016) *Tashryhi Nahvi-yi Mumayyizy Kitāb dar Vizārati Irshād [The Method of Book Evaluation in MCIG]/Interviewer: Shirazeh*.
Solum, K. (2017). Translators, Editors, Publishers and Critics: Multiple Translatorship in the Public Sphere. In C. Alvstad, A. K. Greenall, H. Jansen, & K. Taivalkoski-Shilov (Eds.), *Textual and Contextual Voices of Translation* (Vol. 39-60). John Benjamins Publishing Company: Amsterdam.
Song, F. W. (2010). Theorizing Web 2.0. *Information, Communication & Society, 13*(2), 249-275.

Špirk, J. (2008). Translation and censorship in communist Czechoslovakia. In T. Seruya & M. L. Moniz (Eds.), *Translation censorship in different times landscapes* (pp. 215-228). UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Strandén, S. (2009). Trust in the Empathic Interview. In M. Kurkowska-Budzan & K. Zamorski (Eds.), *Oral History: The Challenges of Dialogue* (pp. 3-14). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Sturge, K. (2002). Censorship of Translated Fiction in Nazi Germany. *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction, 15*(2), 153-169.

Summers, C. (2017). *Examining Text and Authorship in Translation: What Remains of Christa Wolf?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Susam-Sarajeva, Ş. (2003). Multiple-entry visa to travelling theory: Retranslations of literary and cultural theories. *Target, 15*(1), 1-36. doi:10.1075/target.15.1.02sus

Susam-Sarajeva, Ş. (2009). The Case Study Research Method in Translation Studies. *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer, 3*(1), 37-56. doi:10.1080/1750399X.2009.10798780

Tahir Gürçağlar, Ş. (2013). Agency in Allographic Prefaces to Translated Works: An Initial Exploration of the Turkish Context. In H. Jansen & A. Wegener (Eds.), *Authorial and Editorial Voices in Translation: Editorial and Publishing Practices* (Vol. 2, pp. 89-108). Canada: Éditions québécoises de l'oeuvre.

Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş. (2002). What Texts Don't Tell: The Uses of Paratexts in Translation Research. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues* (pp. 44-60). Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.

Tan, Z. (2014). (Self-)Censorship and The Translator-Author Relationship: The Case of Full Translation, Partial Translation and Non-Translation in The Chinese Context. *Asia Pacific Translation and Intercultural Studies, 1*(3), 192-209.

Thomson, P. (2012). Field. In M. J. Grenfell (Ed.), *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (2nd ed., pp. 65-81). London: Taylor and Francis.

Toltz, S. (2008). *A Fraction of the Whole*. Australia: Hamish Hamilton.

Toury, G. (2012). *Descriptive Translation Studies - and Beyond* (Revised ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Travis, T. (2013). Books in the Cold War: Beyond "Culture" and "Information". In J. Auerbach & R. Castronovo (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Propaganda Studies*: Oxford University Press.

Tylus, J., & Newman, K. (2015). *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tymoczko, M. (2010). *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators* (2nd ed.). New York: Rotledge.

Vahid Dastjerdi, H., & Mohammadi, A. (2013). Revisiting “Retranslation Hypothesis”: A Comparative Analysis of Stylistic Features in the Persian Retranslations of Pride and Prejudice. *OJML, 3*(3), 174-181.

Van Poucke, P. (2017). Aging as a motive for literary retranslation. *Translation & Interpreting Studies: The Journal of the American Translation & Interpreting Studies Association, 12*(1), 91-115. doi:10.1075/tis.12.1.05van

Vanderschelden, I. (1998). Authority in Literary Translation: Collaborating with the Author. *Translation Review, 56*(1), 22-31. doi:10.1080/07374836.1998.10523727
Vanderschelden, I. (2000). Why Retranslate the French Classics? The Impact of Retranslations on Quality. In M. Salama-Carr (Ed.), *On Translating French Literature and Film II* (pp. 1-18). Amesterdam: Rodopi.
Vargas Liosa, M. (1984). *The War of the End of the World* (H. R. Lane, Trans.): Picador.
Venuti, L. (1986). The Translator's Invisibilty. *Criticism, 28*(2), 179-212.
Venuti, L. (1995). *The Translator's Invisibility: a History of Translation* (Vol. null).
Venuti, L. (2008). *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (2nd ed.). Oxon: Routledge.
Venuti, L. (2013). *Translation Changes Everything: Theory and Practice*. USA/Canada: Routledge.
Venuti, L. (2018). *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (3 ed.). Oxon: Routledge.
Vernon, M. (2008). *42 Deep thoughts, on life, the universe, and everything*. UK: One World.
Wells, l. (Ed.) (2000). *Photogrphy: A Critical Introduction* (2nd ed.). USA: Routledge.
Wells, l. (Ed.) (2011). *Photography: A Critical Introduction [ʻAkāsy: Darāmdy Intiqady].* . Tehran: Minooye Kherad.
Wolf, M. (2002). Translation Activity between Culture, Society and the Individual: Towards a Sociology of Translation. *CTIS occasional papers*, 33-43.
Wolf, M. (2007). Introduction: The Emergence of a Sociology of Translation. In M. Wolf & A. Fukari (Eds.), *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (pp. 1-36). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Woods, M. (2012). Framing Translation: Adolf Hoffmeister's Comic Strips, Travelogues, and Interviews as Introductions to Modernist Translations. *Translation and Interpreting Studies, 7*(1), 1-18.
Woods, M. (2019). Censorship. In K. Washbourne & B. Van Wyke (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Literary Translation*. Oxon: Routledge.
Woolf, V. (1925). *Mrs Dalloway*. UK: Hogarth Press.
Woolf, V. (1931). *The Waves*: Hogarth Press.
Yehia, H. A. (2014). *Translation, Culture and Censorshipin Saudi Arabia (1988-2006) and Iraq (1979-2005).* (Master of Arts). University of Massachusetts Amherst, https://scholarworks.umass.edu/theses/73. (1911)
Zielinska-Elliott, A., & Kaminka, I. (2017). Online Multilingual Collaboration: Haruki Murakami's European Translators In A. Cordingley & C. Frigau Manning (Eds.), *Collaborative Translation: From the Renaissance to the Digital Age* (pp. 167-191). London: Bloomsbury.

# Appendices

**Questions for Translators**

**General questions:** these questions are designed to gain a deeper understanding of the translators' professional biographies. Furthermore, I will ask some general questions regarding the publishing process in order to learn more about the translators' perspectives and perceptions.

1. Please introduce yourself. How long have you been working as a translator? How many languages do you speak and from how many languages do you translate? How many books have you translated? How many books have you published? Do you have any other job? What kind of translations do you do? Why do you focus on literary translation?

2. There is a growing trend of translation to Persian since 1979, and most translations are from English. What do you think is/are the main reason(s)? What do you think have been the impacts of it on translators/publishers' work?

**Publishing process:** Understanding the process of publishing is crucial in understanding the agency of translators and publishers. As mentioned earlier, there are unique factors at work in the context of Iran that make this process different from anywhere else. One of these factors is the monitoring system imposed by the Ministry of Culture. It is important to know which agent is the main decision-maker for a book to be translated and published. Identifying the relations between the translators and the publishers is also of concern. Moreover, the answers to these questions will reveal how the process has changed since 1979 under the effects of cultural, historical and sociological factors.

3. How does a translation project begin in Iran today? What motivates you too translate a book? How do you go about it?

4. How is the process of publishing a translation in Iran? What is the role of the editors/publishers?

5. Do you usually consult anyone to choose to translate a book? Why?

6. Who usually decides about what to translate you, your publisher or any third parties? What are the criteria for you to select a book for translation?

7. What types of translator-publisher contracts are available? What type of contract(s) do you prefer and why?

**Collaboration and self-censorship:** the following questions address the issues of collaboration and self-censorship. The intention is to learn about strategies the translators employ while undertaking a translation.

8. How do you translate the start text's? Do you translate style and content based on your understanding of the target readership? How does the target readership influence your work as a translator?

9. Do you collaborate with authors/translators/publishers marketing board/designing people?

**Motivations**: These questions help understand the translators' declared motivations behind their translations or retranslations.

10. How many translations a year do you produce? Does translation constitute your main source of income?

11. Retranslation is quite common in Iran. What do you think are the motivations behind such a production?

12. Do you translate previously translated works? If so, what motivates you to retranslate? Does the previous translator, publisher, or editor influence your decision making?

**Visibility**: These questions will address the visibility of translators in the Iranian literary field and Iranian society.

13. In your view, what type of translations of literary works are appreciated most by Iranian publishers and readers?

14. Do you usually mark your presence in your translations, i.e. through footnotes, preface or post-face? Why do you draw the attention of the reader to your role as

translator in such a way? If yes, How? If not, why? Can you add post/prefaces after the publishing permit has been issued by the ministry of culture? If yes, how? If not, why?

**Copyright**: Iran has not signed any international copyright laws, but has a national copyright law for literary texts and translations. These questions will help with documenting translators' experiences in this unusual situation.

15. How you are usually provided with the source text?

16. How do you understand copyright laws and the way they support translations? Do you think Iranian national copyright law is supportive enough of your rights? How?

17. In case of retranslation, what would you take into considerations regarding the author, previous translators, publishers and editors? Why? Is there anything that publishers advise or suggest you to do in the process of translation?

**Questions for publishers**

**General questions**: These questions are designed to gain a better understanding of the publishers' professional background, their perspectives and attitudes towards the growing trend of translation in Iran.

1. Please introduce yourself and your professional background. How long have you been working as a publisher? How many books do you usually publish per year? How many translations?

2. In your opinion, what is/are the main reason(s) behind high rate of retranslations? Is it usually the translator's decision or publisher's? How has it affected the translation market? How has it affected the translators/publishers work? is it simply possible that retranslations happen because they are more likely to be approved?

**Publishing Process**: These questions address the publishing process from the publishers' viewpoints. Publishers' ideas about translators' agency, their restrictions, their authorities, any specific guidelines for selecting a work for translation and retranslation and their overall view about their relationship with translators will all be tackled in this section.

3. What is the process of publishing a translation? What types of publisher-translator contracts are available? What type of contract(s) do you prefer and why?

4. Who usually decides what to translate? If it is you, what are your criteria to select a book for translation? What would be the criteria in case of retranslations?

5. How do you relate with the translators? Do you usually approach them or they approach you?

6. What is the process of issuing publishing permits for translations?

7. What are your responsibilities in the process of publishing translations?

**Collaboration:** These questions address collaborations in the case of literary translations in Iran. Publishers may ask the translators to modify the text, or ask editors to take care of this step. They may also negotiate with the Ministry of Culture directly. This ministry oversees issuing publishing permits. The answers to the following questions will let us know more about the role, agency and the influence of the Ministry in the production of translated books.

8. Do you decide on the content or style of the translation based on your understanding of the target readership?

9. Who do you collaborate with in the process of publishing?

10. Do you collaborate with the Ministry of Culture in the process of publishing literary texts?

11. What strategies do you follow to avoid negative outcomes when you apply for publishing permit?

**The Ministry of Culture**: This ministry oversees issuing the publishing permit. The answers to the following questions will shed light on perceptions on the role, agency and the influence of the ministry in the production of translated books.

12. Recently, the Ministry decided to give the full responsibility of publishing and issuing of permits to publishers, but they refused the offer. What were the reasons behind this refusal? What is your opinion on this?

13. Who usually decides about the cover design of a translated book? Are there any implicit standards or explicit guidelines for the design of book covers in Iran?

14. After submitting a translation to the Ministry of Culture, what are the possible outcomes? If they refuse to issue the publishing permit, is there any possibility to change their decision? How? If a translation has already been granted, does it make a retranslation more likely?

**Copyright**: I will ask the publishers of their opinion about joining international copyright conventions. It will be useful to know if they are in favor or against it and why. The answers to these questions could reveal the reasons behind visibility of translators in Iran and high rate of retranslations.

15. What do you think about the national copyright law? Is it supportive of translations? What do you think about Iran joining the International copyright law?

16. In case of retranslations, what would you do to protect the rights of the author, previous translation, translator, publisher? How?