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Translation as an Ideological Mechanism: A Study of Ideology and Interpellation in English Translations of the Qur'an

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Abstract

Scholarly work in the field of Translation Studies (TS) has a tendency to focus only on the political aspects of the term "ideology". Such a reductive approach to this concept risks overlooking other, and not less important, meanings that the term encompasses. This study, therefore, embraces an inclusive and broader definition of ideology in order to demonstrate its potential for understanding translation as a social activity. Drawing on Louis Althusser's theory of ideology and notion of interpellation, this study explores the functioning aspects of ideology in the context of translation. In the frame of Althusser's theory, ideology is always-already embedded in translation within or without the state. Within the state, translation operates at the level of the ideological state apparatus, conforming to and reproducing the dominant state ideology as part of the state's struggle for hegemony. Without the state, translation operates as a (counter) ideological apparatus, resisting the prevailing ideology, thus also striving for domination. Althusser's notion of interpellation allows identifying translation as part of those functioning aspects of ideology that influence the process of "becoming" translators, thus their agency. Such conceptualization of ideology illuminates how the actual process of "becoming" has a great deal to do with power relations and frameworks of beliefs and assumptions. As a case study, this research examines the potential of the inclusive theory in the context of English Qur'an translations, with analysis of both the textual and paratextual levels. Overall, this study demonstrates that an inclusive understanding of ideology brings new insights into the study of translation as a social activity.

Keywords

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Abbreviations

ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
RSA	Repressive State Apparatus
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
TL	Target Language
TT	Target Text
TS	Translation Studies

Transliteration System: IJMES

Spelling of Consonants

ء	’		ض	ḍ
ب	b		ط	ṭ
ت	t		ظ	ẓ
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	j		غ	gh
ح	ḥ		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	q
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	ṣ		ي	y

Spelling of Vowels

Long		ا		ā
		و		ū
		ي		ī
Diphthongs		ـَو		aw
		ـِي		ay
Short		ـَ		a
		ـُ		u
		ـِ		i

Acknowledgements

In humble thankfulness, I dedicate these pages to the memory of my grandfather, ‘Umārah Hārūn (1922–2013).

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

There are several concepts, employed in TS from adjacent disciplines, whose use remains equivocal. Amongst such concepts are "agency", "culture" and "power" (see discussions in Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010; Tyulenev 2014). The problem lies in the common-sense usage of these concepts, whose meaning and function in TS are often implied, rather than defined. This study focuses on one of these concepts, namely, "ideology"*[1] as it holds a great deal of potential for understanding translation as a social activity.

In TS, ideology is reduced to its political aspects. It is commonly stigmatized as a defective object; as false consciousness; as political discourse (see e.g. Venuti 2012, 392; Munday 2016, 214). Most scholars approach ideology as ideas appertaining to the political discourse. What is overlooked is that this widespread meaning of ideology is only one of the meanings that the concept possesses. One reason for this might be that TS scholars have not systematically questioned which sense of ideology can be explored in relation to translation as a social phenomenon. In fact, classical studies on ideology are consulted and referenced on a limited scale in TS. There is very little literature that engages with the question of ideology, its meanings and historical complexities and how those relate to the field of translation.

The imperfect understanding of ideology in TS also imposes a number of unjustified constraints, particularly in regard to translation as a social activity. It restricts the potentially broad scope of the "translation of ideology" and the "ideology of translation" to a rather limited

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[1] An asterisk indicates a technical term listed in the glossary.

field – politics. Therefore, one may miss how translators' praxis is the subject of a variety of lived relationships, i.e., as the subject of ideology. It is a multifarious and multidimensional system, of which politics is only a part, which allows translators to produce a particular translation and thereby reproduce a particular ideology. That does not mean that studying translation from the perspective of politics is invalid, but it is important to expand the analysis of ideologies to have a non-reductionist view in order to understand translation as a social activity.

Ideology as applied in TS is still unsatisfactory (Baumgarten 2012, 59). The field lacks an inclusive application of the concept that goes beyond the common-sense understanding of ideology. This study shows how translation, using the case of Qur'anic translation, has its specific meanings and practices that are not reducible to, or explainable solely in terms of one level of a social formation. In so doing, it also explains what it is to be a translator and what translation means by adopting an inclusive sense of ideology which allows one to view translation as inseparable from ideology.

1.2 Research Question

This research highlights the potential of an inclusive sense of ideology as applied to the study of translation as a social activity, with a particular focus on Qur'an translation as a case. Considering this, the following question is central:

- How can an inclusive sense of ideology help us better understand the role of Qur'an translation as a social activity?

1.3 Research Purpose and Objectives

In order to transcend the limiting approach to ideology, this research aims to fill a lacuna in the definition of ideology as applied to studying translation as a social activity. In applying the

inclusive sense of ideology to translation, the present study attempts to widen understanding of the concept of ideology as applied to translation. A critical awareness of the term's meanings helps us to utilize the concept without running the risk of reducing the term to common sense or a particular meaning at the expense of others. Therefore, the goal is to bring about an elaborate and sophisticated conceptualization of ideology in TS and to enlarge the scope of analysis of ideologies in translation since confining ideology to the domain of "politics" risks neglecting other, equally important, meanings of ideology.

In the social sciences, there is no unified definition of "politics", as political scientists offer many definitions, ranging from the characterization of politics in terms of the institutional discourse of governments and politicians (the narrow institution-based definition) to collective decision making (the broad power relations-based definition). The former definition of "politics" sets the boundary between the public, as the state apparatus, and the private, as a civil society. This understanding of "politics" insists on the idea that there should be a private sphere which is pre- or non-political. This in effect defines the state's role as the protector of pre-political rights (Squires 2004, 119).

Given that the narrow definition of "politics" as understood in the natural-rights tradition *initially* excluded the domestic sphere, where women have been conventionally defined, this conception of politics marginalized women as political actors by excluding them from the political arena. In this regard, the domestic sphere was not a subject of debate until the second-wave feminism movement of the 1960s, which developed the definition of "politics", portraying how pervasive power relations are and opening sites where issues as gender become central to the study of politics (Held and Leftwich 1984, 144; Brown 1988, 4; Phillips 1998, 1; Squires 2004, 121). However, this understanding of politics risks having so broad a definition as to lose its usefulness (Squires 2004, 122). In fact, even second-wave feminism saw a serious division between socialist and radical feminists on issues related to family and domestic

violence. While socialists stressed childcare, family allowance and other family issues, radical feminists pivoted domestic violence against women as the movement's central issue (Segal 1987, 46).

This study employs the word "politics" in the narrow sense. That is, it views political discourse as limited to "professional" politicians' activities and actions produced in institutional settings, such as government, political parties, trade unions, electoral campaigning, legislation and parliaments (on institutional discourse, see e.g. Drew and Wootton 1988; Drew and Heritage 1992; Sarangi and Roberts 1999). This is important so as to distinguish between the political and non-political discourse types in relation to ideology.

In this study, the understanding of ideology is indebted to Louis Althusser (1918–1990), the founder of the inclusive theory of ideology. Althusser's conceptualization concerns the function of ideology as an ideological apparatus and the constitution of human agency through interpellation, a mechanism used by ideology to constitute individuals as subjects. He addresses ideology as the medium through which people make sense of their world(s); it is a common feature of society, all-inclusive, as it possesses a quasi-material existence, rather than being the product of people's minds. The presence of ideology is inclusive and, by implication, ubiquitous and permanent.

In the inclusive sense, two types of ideologies can be distinguished: ideology at the grand level, a field wherein people make sense of their lives, and ideology as a set of beliefs legitimizing a dominant power. This distinction is crucial to this study as it illuminates the important relationship between agency, struggle and Qur'an translation vis-à-vis ideology and, therefore, helps to formulate the thesis's central argument: ideology should be understood as a universal feature of translation, rather than in a restricted sense, which allows us to open new ways of looking into the complex relationship between ideology and translation.

1.4 Methodology

This study adopts an exploratory case study approach, embodying a single-case embedded design (a design that involves several units of analysis, the larger unit and the sub-units) which brings the study into focus by analysing the sub-units in detail, while not overlooking the larger unit of analysis. Sub-units add qualifications to the single case by enhancing insights which would otherwise go unnoticed in the holistic design (Yin 2003, 46). These offer a complex picture of interrelated social processes and allow us to examine how such processes reflect the specificity of real-life situations (Yin 2003, 16; Denscombe 2010, 60).

Since the case study is often thought of as a unit existing within the boundaries of complex systems, it is perceived as ill-suited for generalizations (Stake 1995, 7). The present research, therefore, seeks no generalizations but aspires to contribute to (i) raising theoretical issues relevant to studying the Qur'an and its translations and, importantly, (ii) establishing a conceptual rigour in applying ideology to studying translation as a social phenomenon not necessarily reduced to rendering religious texts. That does not, however, disregard the validity of the present case study's conclusions in relation to other translation cases of social phenomena; they would in fact relate to each other on a theoretical basis (see discussion in Beyond the Qur'an Section in Cap. 7).

To avoid the choice of texts that reduces ideology to its political aspects, this study uses Qur'an translation as a case because the Qur'an is not an *openly* political text; rather, it is primarily a religious text*. The Qur'an, being Islam's key text which informs the social practice of Muslims, enjoys a special status amongst other texts written in Arabic. For the non-Arabic speakers of the world, including a large body of Muslims, the Qur'an may be impeccably recited without semantic knowledge, but its meanings are nearly always accessed through translation. This explains why the Qur'an has hitherto been translated into English over seventy times as there are many interpretations of the Qur'an aiming to develop the "true" social

practice. Therefore, Qur'an translation is considered a work of paramount social importance. This imposes exceptional requirements on those who translate the Qur'an. As will be argued in what follows, at the heart of such exceptional requirements lie mechanisms that have to do with a broadly conceived notion of ideology. All these data make the Qur'an in English a suitable case for detailed exploration.

As a case study, Qur'an translation in English has been the subject of extensive treatment. Qur'an translation scholars offer as many novel studies of Qur'an translation as there are English Qur'an translations, ranging from the study of (un)translatability (see e.g. Shakir 2000; Abdul-Raof 2001, 2004, 2005; Abdelghani 2010; Dastjerdi and Jamshidian 2011; Dror 2015), the loss of meaning (see e.g. Abobaker Ali et al. 2012; Farghal and Bloushi 2012; Amjad and Farahani 2013; Tabrizi and Mahmud 2013; Abdelaal and Md Rashid 2016), metaphors (see e.g. El-Zeiny 2011; Najjar 2012), euphemism (Al-Hamad and Salman 2013) and style (see Whissell 2004), to the study of other linguistic aspects of Qur'an translation (see e.g. Ahmed 2006; Al-Ali and Al-Zoubi 2009; Sadiq 2010; Hannouna 2010; Alhaj Ali 2015). Probably more than any other kind of studies, these studies are primarily linguistic. However, new developments in TS have attracted the attention of Qur'an translation scholars who have studied Qur'an translation from a social psychology perspective (see e.g. Moore, Suedfeld, and McLellan 2014), stylometry (see e.g. El-Fiqi, Petraki, and Abbass 2011) and sociology (see e.g. Robinson 1997; Elmarsafy 2009; Moir 2009; Hassen 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2017, 2018; Alavi 2012; Mohaghegh and Pirnajmuddin 2013; Elmarsafy and Bentaïbi 2015; Hassen and Șerban 2018). Note that the socio-historical implications of Qur'an translation have received little attention compared to the linguistic aspects. In fact, there is no research on how English Qur'an translations are produced; this is why Qur'an translation merits further detailed examination. That is why the Qur'an in English qualifies as the main unit of analysis in this study.

1.4.1 Data Collection

As the application of an inclusive sense of ideology involves both translation qua process (translator's agency) and translation qua product (translation's agency), in examining the translator's agency, I selected thirty-four translations (see the full list in Appendix I). These translations were produced during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and by translators of diverse cultural backgrounds. Some of the translators come from the Middle East, whereas others are from the Indian subcontinent, Europe and the United States. Some of them are Muslims, whereas others are not. This diversity amongst translators allows for a comprehensive application of the inclusive theory going beyond any particular political ideology. The broad spectrum of political allegiances does not interfere with one and the same religious allegiance, in a sense that translators come from a wide range of backgrounds and, therefore, a wide range of political affiliations, which do not necessarily translate into the same religious affiliation. Thus, this helps to make it clear that ideology cannot be reduced to politics.

I selected four translators from the twentieth century for the analysis in chapter 3, Marmaduke Pickthall, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Arthur John Arberry and Colin Turner, due to their established and uncontested reputation as skilful Qur'an translators. Their understanding of who is qualified to translate the Qur'an into English plays a role in the establishment of the Qur'an translator's image. This shows how reflections on who should translate the Qur'an pertain to power relations, debates on the nature of Qur'an translation and the construction of translator's agency.

For chapter 4, which focuses on twenty-first century translators, I selected thirty single-authored translations (translations made by one translator). Not many co-authored translations exist; only two have been published in the twenty-first century (see Murad, Badawī, and Hutchinson 2000; The Monotheist Group 2008). I gathered little data on the co-translators because it was impossible to gather information about all involved translators, especially the

Monotheist Group, whose translation was produced by anonymous translators. Consequently, I saw it necessary to examine single-authored translations as I was able to compile ample data on how translators (or their publishers) construct their agency in their biographical materials and how they imagine the best Qur'an translator's image, i.e., what qualities and skills are considered as necessary or/and sufficient. The underlying idea was to uncover the patterns (if any) in a web of social relations made up by translators and publishers. Out of the thirty translators, I selected four for analysis in chapter 4, Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, Tarif Khalidi, Thomas Cleary and Talal Itani, employing maximum variation as a purposeful sampling strategy to document diverse cases and identify important common features (Creswell 2007, 125–29). The shared features of analysis amongst the thirty cases are also presented in Appendix II.

In examining translation's agency, I selected two translations to study their workings as ideological apparatuses, as they are believed to enjoy widespread popularity amongst people of different creeds. They illuminate aspects of how Qur'an translation can be used as both an ideological and counter-ideological apparatus operating to appropriate the field which constructs social subjects. The selected translations are:

(i) *The Noble Quran in the English Language* (1989/2000) by Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and Muhammad Muhsin Khān.

This translation was funded by the Saudi state; therefore, making sense of it can illuminate the conceptual understanding of translation's role as an ideological state apparatus. Though Saudi Arabia has been thoroughly studied since 2000 (Al-Rasheed 2015, 6), exploring the workings of translation as part of the Saudi state's structure provides a nuanced reading of both translation and ideology.

(ii) *The Sublime Quran* (2007) by Laleh Bakhtiar.

Bakhtiar's translation is the second text I shall approach in contrast to al-Hilālī and Khān's. Since she calls for reading the Qur'an through the eyes of women, her translation offers insights into translation's role as a counter-ideological apparatus, as the Qur'an has always been interpreted by men. The translation shows how ideology operates outside state control, so expanding Althusser's notion of ideological apparatus to accommodate the notion of counter-ideological apparatus. The translation exhibits not only ideological intervention but also the hegemonic struggle for the appropriation of Qur'an translation, showing how the struggle for meaning is necessarily a struggle for hegemony, a view previously espoused by Gramsci.

1.4.2 Data Analysis

I used textual analysis to show how translations cannot escape ideology, broadly conceived. Textual analysis in this thesis is used as a method of making sense of the text's social import (McKee 2003, 1), used to investigate the meaning that translators (or the agents involved in the process) introduce in their translations. By "text", I do not mean translation as a product only; any body of information related more or less to translation counts as a text. The term "text" in the present thesis carries post-structuralist overtones to thinking about the production of meaning (McKee 2003, 4). Textual analysis not only captures the social functioning of the text but also marries the "micro" analysis of texts with the "macro" analysis of power relations so as to assess texts' ideological role in the network of power relations (Fairclough 2003, 15). As a result, textual analysis locates and interprets the texts in terms of their relationship to power relations (Fairclough 2003, 9) and within their natural settings using theory as a guide.

As already noted, the analysis operates at two levels: translation qua process and translation qua product. Translation qua process studies the best Qur'an translator's image at the paratextual level, including both peritexts – the materials inside the published translation – and epitexts – the materials outside the published translation (see Genette 1997, 5). The analysis of

paratextual materials is important since institutional and ideological aspects govern processes leading to the creation of translations. The study of these aspects, as Klaus Martens (1991, 226–27) notes, "puts a given text into perspective by revealing its institutional determinants and underpinnings". Translation qua product explores translation's role as an ideological mechanism at the textual level, including the peritextual materials.

(i) Translation Qua Process

To understand the relationship between ideology and the translators' paratexts, I initially delineated the Qur'an translator's image as determined by the Qur'an translation narrative (the Qur'an is untranslatable) and its relation to ideology (see the discussion of the Qur'an translator's image and what it includes in Cap. 3.1). The image sets the translator's role by specifying exactly who should translate the Qur'an. I measured how translators legitimize the narrative on Qur'an translation according to their compliance with or deviation from the prescribed image.

At the peritextual level, I examined peritexts, e.g. introductions and prefaces written by the four selected translators, to see how these peritexts form the profile of the best Qur'an translator by focusing on the main elements emphasized by the translators. In so doing, I attempted to reconstruct a collective, if not necessarily conscious and deliberately articulated, image of the ideal Qur'an translator. While I assessed aspects of the translator narrative and its influence on translation practices, I also acknowledged the translators' role in defining, constructing, producing and reproducing the Qur'an translator's image. Their input highlights their agency and how they negotiate their image and set the rules by which Qur'an translators must abide.

At the epitextual level, I examined epitexts, e.g. public blurbs of translators, as presented by the publishers in online platforms either on the publishing website, selling platforms (Google Books and Amazon) or the translators' websites – should the translation be self-published. By analysing epitexts, I studied the main components emphasized by the blurbs to understand how

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translators (or their publishers) make sense of who they are as Qur'an translators. I analysed the words used to describe the translators, their qualities, skills, expertise, background, etc., and their translations to uncover general patterns pertaining to the marketing of translations. This allows translators' roles within the narrative's overall structure to be revealed, i.e., how they are constructed as translators of the divine via ideological narratives and how those narratives pertain to the question of religious authority in Islam. I analysed translators' profiles to lay bare the main patterns used to reproduce and legitimize the Qur'an translator's image as set by the Qur'an translation narrative.

The analysis of paratextual materials involved studying how translators move and have their being in and via ideology. However, that does not mean they are predestined to reproduce a certain mode of interpretation. There is always room for particular ideologies to occupy the field (see detailed discussion in Cap. 2). The two selected translations show ideologies' role at the (para)text levels trying to appropriate the field to create subjects. In other words, they transfer the particular to the universal. This argument leads to studying translation as a product to show how translation operates as an ideological apparatus aiming to reproduce certain ideologies at the level of the Qur'anic verses.

(ii) Translation Qua Product

At the paratextual level, I examined how the translators use peritexts, i.e., prefaces and introductions espousing different agendas. I initially provided the working definition of the ideologies (Wahhabism and Islamic feminism) so as to examine their socio-historical functioning. I perused the peritextual materials to identify the relevant insights serving the interests of the ideologies in question. I interpreted the materials through the prism of Eagleton's thoughts about the strategies of ideology, Gramsci's notion of translatability and Althusser's ideas regarding ideological apparatus in order to demonstrate that the translators' paratexts legitimize a particular order by promoting beliefs congenial to it. I stressed the varied

ways the translator's paratextual materials institute or challenge the dominant ideology as a legitimizing tool to support or contest particular readings of Qur'anic verses.

At the textual level, I selected verses germane to social relations as they inform social practice. These verses include various themes, ranging from marriage and ethical dress code to the idea of creation and the afterlife. I compared the ST and TT to capture the lexical changes, then interpreted them in view of the socio-historical context and the defining paradigm of the ideologies in question. These connections show how translation operates as both an ideological state apparatus (the case of *The Noble Quran*) and as a counter-ideological apparatus (the case of *The Sublime Quran*). I studied the operation of translation as an ideological (state) or counter apparatus by measuring the translations' conformity to or deviation from the conceptual paradigm of the ideologies in question in the respective historical moment.

Since the Qur'an is a religious text, it may seem that a comparison with the Bible would add further insights. I did not compare the Qur'an with Bible translations because of their key differences as they operate in totally different scholastic traditions. The Qur'an claims self-conferred canonicity as the direct words of God and enjoys an authoritative status conferred by the community compared to the Bible, which is believed to be divinely inspired, yet not the direct words of God. Both Qur'an and Bible translations raise wider, yet different, questions of authority, legitimacy and, most urgently of all, (un)translatability (Murata and Chittick 1994, xvi; Hassen and Șerban 2018, 245). It is, therefore, beyond the scope of this study to carry a comparative analysis of Qur'an and Bible translation.

1.5 Structure

The thesis is organized as follows:

Chapter 2 reviews a period of development that preceded the arrival of the theory of ideology to highlight those components of the meaning of the concept "ideology" which show

that it is irreducible to politics. Primarily concerned with the concept's theoretical implications, this chapter provides a detailed analysis of the concept of ideology as used both in the social sciences in general and in TS in particular. Althusser's concepts of interpellation and ideological apparatus are also introduced; they form the backbone of the conceptual apparatus of the present study. The chapter, then, offers a critique of the conceptualization of ideology in TS. More specifically, the theoretical shortcomings of the concept as used in TS are examined. It is claimed that ideology should be understood as a property of all translations, and the term should not be reduced to a political manifestation of thoughts and beliefs in a text.

Chapter 3 provides a detailed discussion of the notion of interpellation, a mechanism through which ideology (the field) constitutes individuals as subjects of social forces. It explores how interpellation is helpful for studying translators as social agents. Drawing on the notion of interpellation in the Althusserian sense, the chapter investigates the constitution of translator's agency as an ideological subject by examining the cases of four translators who rendered the Qur'an into English in the twentieth century. The chapter analyses the translators' own reflections on the best Qur'an translator in their peritextual materials and how those reflections form the image of the best Qur'an translator.

Chapter 4 examines recruitment as a mode of ideological practice involved in the reproduction of the image of the best Qur'an translator. It contains an analysis of translators' profiles as advertized by publishing houses in the epitextual materials to see how translators are recruited into the dominant ideology. It shows how most examined Qur'an translators' profiles reproduce the Qur'an translator's image, thus reproducing translators as subjects of ideology. The chapter also employs the notion of interpellation, discussing the mechanism of ideology in its all-encompassing power over translators. It focuses not on the history but on the existing praxis of Qur'an translators, illustrating theoretical points with twenty-first-century examples.

Chapter 5 analyses translation as a product, thereby investigating *ideologies* in practice, by showcasing al-Hilālī and Khān's Qur'an translation. This is to show how translation involves not only the reproduction of the grand ideology (the field) but also particular ideologies struggling to appropriate the field. It is demonstrated what role a Qur'an translation may play as an ideological state apparatus (in the Althusserian sense). This illuminates how translation operates as part of a broader framework of beliefs aiming to reproduce and constitute human minds in the struggle for hegemony.

Chapter 6 demonstrates the operation of translation as a counter-ideological apparatus. In so doing, translation is viewed not as a slave of ideology but a carrier thereof – as an agent, rather than a puppet. As translation reproduces ideologies, it also challenges and struggles for the appropriation of ideology qua field, i.e., the medium through which people view their world(s). The chapter examines Bakhtiar's translation and the ways it was used to undermine the prevailing structures of power and readings of the Qur'an. This chapter engages critically with Althusser's theory of ideology as applied to translation. It makes it possible to view Qur'an translation in a different light, as something that works against prevailing structures of power while promoting and constituting other structures of power.

Chapter 7 draws conclusions from the study and adumbrates new lines of research into the ideology of translation conceived more broadly than in present-day TS.

A Word About Appendices

I included three appendices as a general reference to outline the translations used and provide easy access to the study. Appendix I references the translations examined in the chapters of analysis while Appendix II summarizes Chapter 4's findings. Appendix II served me well as it made it easy to select four common examples to present in Chapter 4 and contrast them all with other cases. It offers information about the publishing houses and the selection criteria of

translators for general reference. Appendix III presents the titles chosen by translators of both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, which are classified according to the classification scheme (how they should be translated) defined by the Muslim clergy. Overall, these appendices cover the translations frequently cited throughout the thesis and operate as an extra piece of information for arranging the translations coherently according to their time of publication.

Chapter 2

The Theoretical and Analytical Framework

This study's main framework revolves around the "the most elusive concept in the whole social sciences": ideology (McLellan 1996, 1). Ideology is elusive as there is no single approach which one may endorse, rather than its complex nature resisting an adequate definition. And if there were, it would be unavailing, as the term "ideology" has a range of meanings which are not necessarily compatible with one another (Eagleton 1991, 1). Ideology was initially used to study how human sensations are important to the formation of knowledge, yet it is often used as a *concept* to understand the ruling group's interests, preferences and objectives. These usages reveal a sharp break between the founder of ideology as a *science*, Destutt de Tracy (1754–1836), and the founder of ideology as a *concept*, Karl Marx (1818–1883).

Ideology as a concept is entrenched in division due to the rise of diverse interpretations which convey three primary senses of ideology, viz. the pejorative associated with Marx, the positive with Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) and the inclusive with Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) and Louis Althusser (1918–1990). The last sense is the most profound because it examines the operation of ideology in society in terms of praxis rather than consciousness and transcends the negative versus positive dichotomy. Therefore, it is used in this thesis to study the workings of ideology in the context of Qur'an translation (see Section 2.3 on why this sense in particular).

This chapter provides the theoretical and analytical framework which sets the scene for the chapters of analysis. It consists of five sections. Section one briefly outlines the history of ideology to demonstrate how the term acquired a political dimension, despite having an origin

which suggests a different usage. It offers a diachronic analysis of ideology's negative versus positive senses to elucidate its basic characteristics and specify what social theorists, primarily but not exclusively Marx, do and do not mean by "ideology". In the light of earlier Marxist views on ideology, this analysis prepares section two for a critical reading of the inclusive sense as developed by Gramsci and Althusser. In so doing, the thesis avoids the common pitfall in TS: the absence of theoretical inquiry into the nature of the borrowed concept (Baumgarten 2012, 59) and lays the ground for the succeeding chapters, which investigate the workings of ideology in the context of Qur'an translation. Section three briefly explores the gradual emergence of the concept and how it is predominantly applied in TS to demonstrate why an inclusive sense of ideology is crucial to the study of translation. Section four elucidates how the inclusive sense can help us theorize translation, while section five explains how translation could lead to a better conceptualization of the inclusive sense of ideology.

2.1 What Is Ideology?

The origin of the term "ideology" is associated with the French philosopher Antoine Louis Claude Destutt, Comte de Tracy (1754–1836), a wealthy aristocrat and a staunch supporter of the French Revolution. De Tracy coined the term "ideology" in 1796 as a neologism for his "science of ideas", which explores human consciousness and intellectual faculties to establish principles of absolute truths in society in order to eradicate religious prejudices (Kennedy 1978, 33). It must be noted that ideology in the early days had no political connotations.

However, during the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte (1808–1873), ideology witnessed a political twist. In a letter sent to the Institut de France, Bonaparte expressed gratitude to de Tracy and his colleagues for their endeavour to challenge religious beliefs. Two months later, the ideologists announced their full support for Bonaparte in the new constitutional system, believing this would accommodate their moral and philosophical convictions, yet the new

system quashed them and rapidly neutralized the ideologists' influence on society (Head 1985, 167). This is because ideology in France did not accord with Bonaparte's expectation; it was for him "what metaphysics was for de Tracy [and] that it was also to be the foundation for political science", but it was as "speculative as metaphysics" (Kennedy 1978, 151). In his eyes, the ideologues gravely inquired into the laws of reason to the point where their systems became divorced from practical reality (Eagleton 1991, 70). Bonaparte, therefore, reduced the whole science of ideology to politics, which explains why the term later acquired a pejorative sense.

After Bonaparte, Marx gave the *pejorative* use of the term wide intellectual currency (Rehmann 2013, 20), marking the transformation of ideology from a science to a concept. Marx discusses ideology as a form of illusory consciousness which serves the interests of the ruling class and aims to reproduce the system by concealing contradictions (Marx and Engels 1846/1998, 41). Ideology for him is necessarily an inverted consciousness in which humans live and have their being, and which operates at two distinct levels: "inversion" and "idealization". The former justifies the existing social relations, while the latter idealizes them as independent doctrines, such as God (Torrance 1995, 208). Any criticism must deflect attention from inverted consciousness (religious beliefs) to social forces reinforcing such inverted consciousness. To say that a statement is ideological is to say that it is "social in origin, illusory in content, and serving class interests" (Lukes 1985, 3).

As a matter of fact, it should be noted that Marx never used the expression "false consciousness" in relation to ideology, although it was attributed to him by many scholars (see e.g. Boudon 1989; Plamenatz 1970; Seliger 1977). This is important because many TS scholars also tend to follow such a dominant line of interpretation, thereby overlooking the complexity of the concept (see discussion in Section 2.2.3). The expression "false consciousness" first appeared following Marx's death in Engels' letter to Mehring in 1893:

> Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, it is true, but with a false consciousness. The real motive forces impelling him [her] remain unknown to him [her]; otherwise it simply would not be an ideological process. Hence he [she] imagines false or seeming motive forces. Because it is a process of thought he [she] derives its form as well as its content from pure thought, either [her] his own or that of his [her] predecessors (Marx and Engels 1942/1965, 459).

Engels uses the expression "false consciousness" to refer to a psychological process, whereas Marx speaks of ideology in terms of its epistemic and social functions. People, for Marx, have mistaken ideas about the beliefs constructing their worldview (Marx 1843/1970, 131), while people's beliefs about motives, for Engels, are false (Torrance 1995, 4; McLellan 1996, 16).

As time went by, Lenin, a crucial element in the development of Marxism, gave Marx's pejorative sense of ideology a *positive* twist. He ascribed an ideology to every class because of class struggle, calling for the proletariat to organize society according to its interests. For Lenin (1902/1969, 48), ideology is something to be invented – a *vérité à faire* – because "class political consciousness can be brought to the workers *only from without*, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers". Such form of ideology "can arise only on the basis of profound scientific knowledge" (Lenin 1902/1969, 40). The designation "scientific" is seen as part of the conceptual arsenal of Marxism, where the term "scientific" refers to an experimental approach to systematic knowledge production on the basis of particular principles and methods. A form of consciousness can, therefore, be positive on the basis of its "scientifically correct" objectives—that is, a positive ideology is an ideology enabling agents to overcome their state of alienation. It shall be noted that TS scholarship speaks of this sense in terms of the translator's agency linked to empowerment, visibility and resistance, showing how translators are actively engaged in their translation to challenge dominant systems and replace them with alternative ones (see discussion of the translator's agency in Section 2.4).

The struggle against capitalism gave Lenin's positive ideology a wide intellectual currency, which paved the way for the development of an inclusive sense by later theorists, viz. Gramsci and Althusser whose works are discussed in the next section.

2.2 Ideology in the Inclusive Sense as an Analytical Frame

This sense of ideology is associated with Gramsci and Althusser. Gramsci, a well-known neo-Marxist theorist of ideology, rejects the pejorative sense of ideology as developed by Marx. He repudiates Marx's structure and superstructure model, which suggests that the structure (the primary economic activity) determines the superstructure (the legal, educational, religious and political activities) of a given society. In other words, ideology, as embedded in the superstructure, maintains the structure to cultivate the economic relations of a given society. The structure changes ideology but not vice versa because ideology is distinct from the structure. Thus, "a given political solution is 'ideological'—i.e. that it is not sufficient to change the structure, although it thinks that it can do so; it is asserted that it is useless, stupid, etc.", implying that "every ideology is 'pure' appearance, useless, stupid, etc." (Gramsci 1971, 376).

At the heart of Gramsci's refusal of Marx's model lies the notion of translatability, which involves the connection between Gramsci's linguistic thought – particularly vis-à-vis language as social representations – and translation. He uses the concept of "translatability" to theorize "superstructures" as "objective and operative reality" working as part of a larger network of domination (Gramsci 2000, 196). In other words, superstructures are necessary to overturn praxis "in order to destroy one hegemony and create another" (Gramsci 2000, 196). Gramsci deals with the problem of superstructures at the level of translatability, that of languages [*linguaggi*]—that is, those particular linguistic-cultural "paradigmatic discourse" proper to

certain worldviews, not the historically defined languages [*lingue*] (Jervolino 2010, 36; Boothman 2010, 110).

Translatability is central to Gramsci's whole philosophy of praxis; in fact, to "the very center of his conceptual network" (Wolf Haug cited in Boothman 2010, 107). In this sense, translatability sets the theoretical edifice for interpreting social practices in terms of praxis. Social practices make sense for Gramsci only in the light of translatability or the particular way of seeing language and thought as a constituent of hegemony. Thus, "his philosophy of praxis together with its theoretical nucleus (i.e., translatability)" set "the ground for his theory of language" (Lacorte 2010, 219). In his synthesis, language operates both as interpretive and transformative—that is, as both necessary to interpret and transform the world. Both – interpretation and transformation – "are very closely linked to translation" (Lacorte 2010, 221). This view of translation coincides with the idea that "meanings are not eternal, but constantly part of the hegemonic struggle" (Lacorte 2010, 221).

The struggle for hegemony is a struggle for meaning, i.e. to bring new meanings or defend older ones as part of ideological apparatuses – as chapters 5–6 will show, the struggle to appropriate Qur'an translation reflects a struggle for hegemony, which literally means "dominance". This term challenges the simplistic idea that states could achieve hegemony by domination, struggle, or coercion; rather, hegemony could only be achieved via consent—that is, people governing themselves. Coercion and other forms of subordination attest the failure of the ruling group to ensure rule via people's voluntary participation in the operation of power. Since hegemony depends on an "individual who can govern himself [or herself] without his [or her] self-government entering into conflict with political society", a party or a class must produce consent amongst people to achieve hegemony (Gramsci 1971, 268). However, hegemony, in Gramsci's opinion, requires constant renewal according to time and space via intellectuals. That is to say, hegemony is always subject to an ongoing negotiation between

multiple parties involved in the power struggle. Any class which is likely to achieve hegemony today is also likely and condemned to lose it tomorrow. Implicit in this statement is the idea that where there is hegemony, there is a counter-ideological struggle because hegemony embodies the necessity of resistance and does not relate to the position of stability, but a constant struggle (this point figures in Cap. 6 where the idea of counter-ideological apparatus is introduced to expand the analysis of ideology in Qur'an translation in terms of hegemonic struggle).

For Gramsci, one would not be justified in jumping hastily to the conclusion that ideology represents illusory ideas and instruments of manipulation, which must be wholly destroyed. If ideology is some kind of imposed ideas and merely the product of some kind of manipulation, social structures would be easy to change (Williams 2005, 37). For Gramsci then, there is a reciprocal negotiation between the superstructure and the structure of a given society as opposed to Marx, who claims that in order to change a given society, one must change its structure. The rejection of Marx's approach to ideology entails the whole reconfiguration of the philosophy of praxis in terms of the notion of translatability.

Gramsci's work constitutes the roots of Althusser's theory of ideology; particularly prominent is Gramsci's concept of the voluntary participation of individuals in the operation of power that Althusser develops.

Althusser's influential contributions to developing an inclusive theory of ideology appear in his essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" (1971). The essay aims to answer the following question: "How is the reproduction of the relations of production secured?" (Althusser 1971, 141). In other words, how do the forces of production reproduce their relations of production? Since Marxists view the relations of production as relations of exploitation, Althusser's question can be simply formulated as: How do people come to accept being exploited and remain exploited?

Althusser's answer refines Marx's theory of the state. Marx conceives the state as consisting of state apparatuses which only operate to secure the ruling class's relations of domination. For Althusser, "the state has no meaning except as a function of a state power. The whole of the political class struggle revolves around the State. By which I mean around the possession, i.e. the seizure and conservation of State power by a certain class or by an alliance between classes or class fraction" (Althusser 1971, 140). One, therefore, must distinguish not only between state power and state apparatus but also between various kinds of state apparatuses.

State apparatuses are viewed only as arenas in which political power is exercised. An important implication of this view is that the state is reduced to politics. In direct opposition to this view, Althusserians insist that state power is irreducible to an essential unity because "the state as such has no power; it is an institution where social power is concentrated and exercised" (Therborn 1978, 132). Bob Jossop (1982, 221) echoes this view, stating that "the state is a set of institutions that cannot, *qua* institutional ensemble, exercise power".

Althusser argues that the state consists of two bodies: the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatus (ISA). RSA operates largely by violence via such apparatuses as the government, the army, the police etc. (Althusser 1971, 142). ISA exercises its influence mainly by ideology rather than by violence. ISA includes religion, education, family, law, politics and culture (the arts, sports etc.); mass media are another kind of ISA. These forms of ISA disseminate the dominant (state) ideology because "*no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising its hegemony over and in the State Ideological Apparatuses*" (Althusser 1971, 146; emphasis in the original).

To preclude any misunderstanding, sometimes, ISAs may act like RSAs. Althusser gives censorship as an example of the repressive cultural ISA. To illustrate, take censorship of translators for example, or better the assassination of translators. The physical violence which

ends the translator's life (see the case of Étienne Dolet[1]) has always been seen as something shocking, yet the impact of censoring translators, killing translators, is not predetermined by its physical actions because the actions are already inscribed into the censor's ideological beliefs. The physical violence reflects the face of the ideological apparatuses which are always ready to exercise violence when threatened.

The example above shows how ideology "always exists in an apparatus, and its practice, or practices. This existence is material" (Althusser 1971, 166). For example, if people believe in religion or God, they will act according to their beliefs by performing prayers, going to the mosque, giving charity, missionarizing etc. These practices in Althusserian terms are grounded in ideology in that the person in question embraces a practical attitude and participates in certain practices on which the ideological apparatus depends to reproduce its relations of production. This point figures in the analysis of how Qur'an translators participate in practices which reproduce the dominant narrative on Qur'an translation (see analysis in Cap. 3–4).

Althusser's early observations of ideology appear in his essay "Marxism and Humanism", first published in 1963, in which he aims to expose the reductive nature of humanism as an ideological theory. His first definition runs as follows:

> An ideology is a system (with its own logic and rigour) of representations (images, myths, ideas or concepts, depending on the case) endowed with a historical existence and a role within a given society […] Ideology, as a system of representations, is distinguished from science in that in it the practico-social function is more important than the theoretical function (function as knowledge) (Althusser 2005, 231).

Ideology as a system of representations where the practico-social function is of higher importance than the theoretical function means that two types of discourse govern capitalist

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[1] Étienne Dolet, a French translator, was accused of heresy for having "mistranslated" one of Plato's dialogues in a way which implied to the Church disbelief in immorality. Dolet was accused of atheism; as a result, he was tortured and strangled to death at the age of thirty-seven, and copies of his books and his body were put into fire (Nida 1964, 15).

societies: science and ideology. Science equips humans with the real knowledge to understand societies, unlike ideology, which has a social function and has little to do with consciousness; it is an *unconscious* phenomenon. Althusser writes,

> Ideology is indeed a system of representations, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with 'consciousness': they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their 'consciousness'. They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on men [and women] via a process that escapes them (Althusser 2005, 231).

What Althusser means by ideology is the kind of discourse that people cannot consciously appropriate to themselves or even reflect upon. Ideology consists of the images and the concepts to which one adheres. Think of the assumptions surrounding humans' everyday situations such as hairstyle, lifestyle, clothing, habits of eating and so forth; they are presented as common-sense, obvious and normal. These assumptions for Althusser then are the kind of conceptual framework constituting ideology.

Precisely, ideology is a belief system that represents our "imaginary relation to real relations" (Althusser 2008, 41). When people say that they believe in God, they must have a reason to justify their belief. In this sense, people reduce ideology to ideas for they serve as a representation of the ideology to which they [people] subscribe. People are endowed with a consciousness that contains the ideas of their beliefs: "In this way, i.e. by means of the absolutely ideological 'conceptual' device (dispositif) thus set up (a subject endowed with a consciousness in which he freely forms or freely recognizes ideas in which he believes), the (material) attitude of the subject concerned naturally follows" (Althusser 2008, 41). Ideology, therefore, is a belief system in whose terms people understand the nature of their social roles; it constitutes the world of experience: the world that they recognize. In this sense, it is a relation to their condition of existence. In Althusser's terms, ideology

is a matter of the lived relation between men [and women] and their world. This relation, that only appears as '*conscious*' on condition that it is *unconscious*, in the same way only seems to be simple on condition that it is complex, that it is not a simple relation but a relation between relations, a second degree relation. In ideology men [and women] do indeed express, not the relation between them and their conditions of existence, but the way they live the relation between them and their conditions of existence: this presupposes both a real relation and an 'imaginary', 'lived' relation. Ideology, then, is the expression of the relation between men [and women] and their 'world', that is, the (overdetermined) unity of the real relation and the imaginary relation between them and their real conditions of existence. In ideology the real relation is inevitably invested in the imaginary relation, a relation that expresses a will (conservative, conformist, reformist or revolutionary), a hope or a nostalgia, rather than describing a reality (Althusser 2005, 233).

In ideology, people express their experience of the world that they recognize in the system of social relations in which they exist. Beliefs held by people represent imaginary relations to their condition of existence, while the practice of these beliefs represents the real relations of their existence. That is to say, people express the real and imaginary relations in ideology because it is omnipresent. Thus, people are always-already in ideology because of their reliance on language to establish a reality conforming to their "true" vision of the world. In fact, different ideologies are but representations of different realities; they express the imaginary relations to the real condition of existence. An important inquiry which ensues this view of ideology as a lived relation of individuals to their condition of existence pertains to how does ideology operate at the level of ISAs? How do people come to accept it? To answer these questions, one must consider Althusser's notion of interpellation.

Althusser proposes that "there is no ideology except by *the subject* (singular) and for *subjects* (plural)" (Althusser 1971, 170; emphasis added). He distinguishes between two subject categories: the Subject, which constructs all ideology, e.g. God, and the subjects subjected to the Subject's ideology, e.g. individuals. In monotheistic religions, for example,

there is no ideology except by God, the Subject, and for individuals (believers), the subjects. Ideology operates via subjects, or more precisely, via subjects' ritualized behaviour. Althusser refers to Blaise Pascal's striking description of the mechanism of Christian believing (certainly, not only Christian): "Kneel down, move your lips in prayer, and you will believe" (Althusser 1971, 168). What is striking is that Pascal shows the function of the believing process: believing comes via ritualized self-subjection. Indeed, by praying, believers recognize that they are God's subjects, and this is how ideology, in such case, operates.

To take the discussion a step further, Althusser suggests that the Subject generates all ideology and "is *only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects*" (Althusser 1971, 170; emphasis in the original). By using the term "constituting", Althusser describes how ideology transforms individuals into subjects via a process which he calls *interpellation*. Althusser compares the interpellation process with the way a policeman calls a perpetrator of a crime: "Hey, you there!" (Althusser 1971, 174). A policeman shouts, the person concerned turns around because he perceives the hailing to be addressed to him. Althusser refers to this process as "mutual recognition", recognition of subjects being subjected to the Subject (see Cap. 3–4 where it is demonstrated how Qur'an translators recognize their subjection to the Subject, i.e. the dominant narrative on Qur'an translation which is shown to operate as an ideological apparatus).

According to Althusser, individuals accept such a process as "obvious". When going to the supermarket for the daily act of buying food, a person never thinks that the food might be poisoned. An implicit trust, established via society narratives, exists in the person's mind, for whom food in the supermarket is trustworthy and never poisoned. Althusser argues: "it is indeed a peculiarity of ideology that it imposes (without appearing to do so, since these are 'obviousnesses') obviousnesses as obviousnesses, which we cannot *fail to recognize* and before

which we have the inevitable and natural reaction of crying out (aloud or in the 'still, small voice of conscience'): 'That's obvious! That's right! That's true!'" (Althusser 1971, 172; emphasis in the original).

Althusser cites St Paul to show that the Subject, i.e. God for St Paul, is something in which we, as subjects, "live, move and have our being" (Althusser 1971, 171). So, God is the obviousness which one can never fail to recognize. That is what he describes as *the ideological recognition* when explaining social obviousness. In St Paul's experience, God's abstract existence becomes the obviousness where "the mutual recognition of subjects and Subject" takes place: the Subject imposes himself abstractly, and subjects accept Him (Althusser 1971, 181). For Althusser, ideology operates as follows: The Subject, which is represented by ISAs inside the state or (as in the case of Christianity) outside the state – in other ideological institutions, generates an ideology through which the interpellation process transforms individuals into subjects. Interpellation, therefore, is the mechanism ideology uses to enter society. This notion flies in the face of the common understanding of ideological subjection, according to which people are forced into submission via (brutal) force (thus reducing ideology only to RSAs).

In his essay, Althusser offers an incomplete picture of interpellation. He is duly criticized for failing to show the mechanisms used by ISAs, besides rituals, to interpellate individuals as subjects (see Pêcheux 2012). As chapters 3–4 will show, such criticism is important if one applies interpellation to professional subjects such as Qur'an translators. Althusser discusses in detail only one case of interpellation – that of Moses. The Unique and Absolute Subject – God – directly interpellated Moses as a subject. Moses' case remains, however, exceptional because God does not interpellate all social subjects directly. Althusser overlooks how society represents the Subject. That is why Althusser's case is lacking: in real life, ideological gods

communicate with their subjects not directly, but via their representatives – their sybils, prophets and other mouthpieces.

Moses' case misses another point in Althusser's concept. Over their lifetime, subjects undergo diverse interpellations or diverse phases of one life-long interpellation. First, there is the prenatal interpellation. Althusser gives an example of what he terms "pre-appointment" of a human subject. Human beings are born and interpellated as gendered beings, boys or girls; they are (to be) born into a particular family with its social status and ensuing possibilities for the new child's development, with a particular language or languages of communication etc. He shows pre-appointment as an ideological mechanism which starts even before the birth of an individual.

Later, the child is interpellated as a pupil in school, then as a student or an apprentice, then as a professional, as a spouse, as a parent, etc. Such phases are reminiscent of the socialization stages, yet the interpellation stages emphasize the ideological exposure of the socialized individuals (for a brief overview of sociological theories of socialization, see Tyulenev 2014, 43–66). Socialization is largely *passive*: individuals are introduced to one type of social group and circumstances after another. Interpellation focuses on being introduced as well as on being ready to be subjected to a certain set of ideas, which gives it an *active* element.

Althusser develops a quadruple system describing how interpellation operates. The system involves

> 1. the interpellation of 'individuals' as subjects; 2. their subjection to the Subject; 3. the mutual recognition of subjects and Subject, the subjects' recognition of each other, and finally the subject's recognition of [herself] himself; 4. the absolute guarantee that everything really is so, and that on condition that the subjects recognize what they are and behave accordingly, everything will be all right: Amen – '*So be it*' (Althusser 1971, 181).

The quadruple system demonstrates that interpellation works via recognition which ensures "a free subjectivity" and "a subjected being, who submits to a higher authority and is, therefore,

stripped of all freedom except that of freely accepting his submission" (Althusser 1971, 182). Althusser conceptualizes "recognition" as the ideological mechanism of interpellation; however, he misses an important point: "How 'volunteers' are designated in this recruitment" (Pêcheux 2012, 150). Pêcheux's criticism is important, especially if one aims in part to extend and in part complement Althusser's theory, giving further depth and understanding to the workings of ideology at the level of translation. This is done with the idea of recruitment as a mode of ideological practice. It means the materialization of the ideological apparatus in the translators' profiles to understand how individuals are recruited as translators in the service of a given power structure. This point will be discussed later based on examples of twenty-first century Qur'an translators in chapter 4.

Althusser's theoretical edifice provides a clear account of how the relations of production secure their reproduction, or better how the reproduction of the conditions of production occurs. He introduces four focal points: (i) the state apparatus consists of two bodies: ISA and RSA, (ii) ideology has material existence, (iii) ideology is the structural field in which individuals experience their relation to the world and (iv) ideology interpellates individuals as subjects. These points emphasize ideology's objective role in the social formation and that reproduction occurs via interpellating individuals as subjects of ideology. One must note that Althusser distinguishes between ideology as a permanent structure (field) and particular ideologies which have determinate boundaries. He, however, theorizes ideology at the grand level of ideology. What characterizes ideologies is particularly the struggle to appropriate the field. Ideologies in the *particular* sense are a set of discourses which legitimize and reproduce a particular power structure (Eagleton 1991, 8): they are weapons used to achieve hegemony.

Their struggle for hegemony involves several strategies: rationalizing, legitimating, naturalizing, universalizing, excluding, etc. (Eagleton 1991, 5–6). These strategies can be employed to challenge or confirm a particular social order. As chapters 5–6 will demonstrate,

such strategies allow the transformation of the particular into the universal, i.e. they show how particular ideologies struggle to appropriate Qur'an translation and transform particular beliefs into universal ones, a field which constitutes subjects. At the heart of such transformation lies the use of Qur'an translation as an ideological and counter-ideological apparatus, a view which coincides with Gramsci's idea, as discussed above, that the struggle for meaning is a struggle for hegemony.

2.3 Why Do We Need Ideology in the Inclusive Sense in TS?

The inclusive sense of ideology is well-suited for the study of translation. Studying translation as an ideological apparatus functioning as part of power structures is crucial to the field of TS: for the assertions of a limited understanding of ideology abound and are the implicit and often the explicit foundation on which reductionism rests. Therefore, those assertions must be examined, interrogated and, above all, challenged. However, before assessing the value of this claim, it is important to give a brief overview of the introduction of ideology to the field of TS. Indeed, TS can be described as a sequence of turns: the linguistic (Catford 1965), the cultural (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990; Lefevere 1992; Bassnett and Lefevere 1998), the ideological (Leung 2006) and the social (Pöchhacker 2006; Wolf 2006b). The ideological turn's main concern is to look into how translation acts as a tool to advance a particular agenda (Leung 2006, 132–33) rather than a linguistic activity: replacing the source text's linguistic units with their target text's equivalents (Catford 1965, 20).

Inquiries into ideological phenomena first appeared in James S. Holmes' 1972 seminal paper "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies". Holmes advocates a closer analysis of translation policy, dealing with the role translation and translators play or should play in sociocultural situations (Holmes 1972/2004, 182). Three decades later, Jeremy Munday

connects Holmes' translation policy to what "is nowadays far more likely to be related to the ideology […] that determines translation" (Munday 2016, 20).

The idea of ideological constraints, again more implicitly than explicitly, informs the descriptive translation studies of the late 1970s–1980s, notably Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory. His theory places the system of translation within a broader (primarily, but not exclusively) literary polysystem (Even-Zohar 1990), considering translation's interplay with sociocultural forces that have decisive impacts on translation policies and practices, which themselves are influenced by translation praxis.

Gideon Toury's concept of norms is yet another example of early inquiries into the ideological aspects of translation. The link between translation norms and ideology is infrequently quite intimate: "Ideological translation strategies can often only be inferred when one accounts for dominant translation norms prevalent at certain periods in history" (Baumgarten 2012, 64). Norms dictate translation strategies, adopted by translators at a particular time and space, and thus serve as tools to "naturalize" and "universalize" prevailing ideologies, yet also "denigrate" and "exclude" other competing ideologies (Birkan Baydan 2015, 246; Vid and Kučiš 2015, 58).

Ideology as a concept was very much in the air in the late 1980s. André Lefevere who manifested strong links with the polysystem theory introduced the term "ideology" *explicitly* in TS. Ideology for him is to be understood broadly as a "worldview" rather than in the political sense (Lefevere 1985, 226), or better as "the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time and through which readers and translators approach texts" (Lefevere 1998, 48). The conceptualization of ideology here is all-encompassing. It embraces the ideals and principles designed to serve as a guide through which translators make sense of their translation. Even some doctrines which may be seen as ethical, moral, or philosophical can be subsumed within ideology. This use of the term covers

all range of choices (text's and translator's selection, lexical choices and so on) and considers them ideological.

2.3.1 Ideology as Used in TS

Ideology and Politics

Since Lefevere's time, TS has witnessed a growing interest in the concept of ideology (see e.g. Lefevere 1992; Hatim and Mason 1997; Alvarez and Vidal 1996; Flotow 2000; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Calzada Pérez 2003; Faiq 2004; Bermann and Wood 2005; Cunico and Munday 2007). Several scholars put forward their definitions of ideology in the context of translation whereas others adopted the definition of critical discourse linguists, such as Paul Simpson (see e.g. Valdeón García 2007, 101; Puurtinen 2000, 178). Amongst those who defined ideology in the context of translation are Basil Hatim & Ian Mason and Tiina Puurtinen. Hatim and Mason (1997, 186) viewed ideology as "a body of assumptions which reflects the beliefs and interests of an individual, a group of individuals, a social institution etc. and which ultimately finds expression in language". Puurtinen (2003, 54) defines ideology as "the ways in which linguistic choices made by the writer or translator of a text, first, create a particular perspective on the events portrayed, second, may reflect the writer's opinion and attitudes, and third, may be used to influence readers' opinions".

However, the term "ideology" as used in TS has been controversial because many scholars consider it in a restrictive sense, exclusively used in the context of political discourse. The influence of politics as discussed in educational institutions (especially in the second half of the twentieth century), drawing inspiration from Marxism, remains strong that it has acquired a form of common-sense. Common-sense refers to the complex system of tacitly accepted ideas and typificatory schemes (learned across time and space) which conjure up images about the role and place people should assume in society. The world of common-sense is the world of

objective realities, which people internalize via practice, and thus constitute their subjective reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Precisely, common-sense encompasses concepts inscribed in social conventions. These are passively accepted and create "a relatively rigidified phase of popular knowledge in a given time and place". Common-sense is therefore "the folklore of philosophy" (Gramsci 1971, 326). If one is justified to speak of common-sense with respect to academia, one speaks about ideology in an almost exclusively political sense. It is such a sense that dominates many scholars' writings (this is of course ideology at its best: being reduced only to its political aspects, which makes it invisible in a myriad of other aspects of human social existence – but this is another matter). A few examples will suffice.

Lawrence Venuti (2012, 392) criticizes Munday for interpreting ideology broadly, rather than limiting it to its political sense: ideology "was defined merely as 'system of beliefs' and so stripped of any political significance". Obviously, Venuti considers ideology first and foremost as a political concept, rather than merely as a lived relation through which people experience the world. He believes ideology only serves political agendas, and therefore uses translation for political purposes: ''the choice of the foreign text, the development of a discursive strategy to translate it, and the reception of the translation are each inscribed with codes and ideologies that support political agendas in the domestic culture" (Venuti 1998, 127).

A similar understanding of ideology appears in Douglas Robinson's 1997 *What Is Translation? Centrifugal Theories, Critical Interventions*. Robinson (1997b, 39) disapproves of Levefere's broad definition of ideology as it postulates that "even such bastions of 'objectivity' as dictionaries might have some kind of ideology behind them" (Lefevere 1992, 52). For Robinson, this view seems to have "the patina of neutrality" as it does not acknowledge the involvement of political power to shape even dictionaries. He states:

Set side by side with the overt political (left-leaning) polemics of Venuti, Lefevere's neutrality looks unmistakably like a whitewash of systemic hegemony, a refusal to indict political power wherever

it appears; set next to the work of Eugene Nida or Peter Newmark, it looks more like Venuti (D. Robinson 1997b, 39).

Robinson rejects Levefere's understanding of ideology, implying that studying the workings of ideology in translation must then focus on the relationship between translation and political forces.

Furthermore, in her "Ideology and the Position of the Translator: In What Sense is a Translator 'In Between'?", Maria Tymoczko uses the terms "ideology" and "politics" interchangeably. Discussing the position of translators as a function of their ideological positioning, that is, "the translator's cultural and ideological affiliations" and "the temporal and spatial location that the translator speaks from", she draws on Norman Simms' essay to support her argumentation: "Simms shows how the politics of translation intersects with the translator's position" (Tymoczko 2003, 184). Thus, ideology is once again coterminous with politics.

Another example occurs in Mona Baker's introduction to the reprint of Mason's paper "Discourse, Ideology and Translation" in *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*. Immediately after quoting Mason's broad definition of ideology as a set of beliefs and values, Baker (2010a, 83) writes that Mason's "analysis reveals that the source and target texts express two very different *worldviews and ideologies*" (emphasis added). She sees the terms "worldview" and "ideology" as different enough to insert the conjunction "and" between them. The fact that she included her own paper "Reframing Conflict in Translation" (2010b) in Part 3 "Text, Discourse and Ideology" in *Critical Readings in Translation Studies*, where she discusses political involvements of translation, i.e. involvements appertaining to "power and the distribution of power" (Scott and Marshall 2009, 575), further demonstrates that ideology for her is reduced largely to its political aspect.

Conversely, Mason, in the paper mentioned above, writes about discourse as being "closely bound up with ideology – not in the commonly used sense of a political doctrine but rather as

the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and other aspects of experience" (Mason 2010, 25). Thus, in Mason's terms, Venuti's use of ideology is exactly commonsensical in comparison with Mason's own broader understanding. This usage, which sees ideology being broader than "politics", agrees with the distribution of ideology's meanings in sociology. The political meaning reflects a narrow usage of a broader concept: "[T]he concept [of ideology is] the realm of ideas or culture, in general, and that of political ideas or political culture more specifically" (Scott and Marshall 2009, 334).

Similarly, Christina Schäffner (2003, 23) makes a critical remark that "[t]he relationship between ideology and translation is multifarious. In a sense, it can be said that any translation is ideological since the choice of a source text and the use to which the subsequent target text is put is determined by the interests, aims, and objectives of social agents". To *say* that every translation is ideological is to *recognize* that all acts of translation are ideological (yet do not embody the same ideology) and these include the translation process, the vision of which is shaped by ideology, despite the transparency of the political aims and interests which appear in the text.

However, even while adopting a broader definition of the term, some scholars still tend to reduce ideology to its political aspects. Mason's case studies provide an emblematic example. Although he defines ideology as a set of beliefs informing people's actions, he discusses texts which are politically charged (see also Gumul 2011; Al-Mohannadi 2008). In "Discourse, Ideology and Translation", he sets out to examine the translation of a text about Mexican history which appeared in a UNESCO Courier. Mason's analysis revolves around the politically underrepresented indigenous voices of Mexico. For him, the source text reflects a discourse of a nation searching for its past and the desire to record it, yet the target text is a politicized distortion of the original purport (Mason 2010, 88). Since "nationalism is a political

doctrine, an ideology, because it insists that one particular political form is natural and therefore right" (Adams 2001, 64), Mason's case, dealing with the cultural and national identity of the indigenous people of Mexico, accentuates ideology in the political sense.

To preclude any misunderstanding, it would be wrong to say that there have been no studies of the ideology of translation that look into aspects of translation other than political (although not necessarily using the term "ideology"). A classic example of the translation of the not-only-political ideology is Eugene Nida's oeuvre. He discusses different techniques of translating the Bible, and that is for spreading the Christian religion (Nida 1964). This is an ideological aim par excellence because Nida's aim pertains to spreading the "correct" meanings of the Bible to ensure salvation. Thus, Nida's theorizing translation is, in essence, ideological, but not in the political sense.

A more recent example of a broader interpretation of ideology in respect to translation is Krontiris's 1997 *Oppositional Voices*. Once again, this is about the role translation plays in spreading a religious message, this time, the one of the Reformation in Tudor England. The study focuses on women who partook in the movement by using their translations of the Reformation sermons and treatises. Krontiris (1997, 10) writes,

> In the name of the word of God, women […] wrote, translated, and published many religious works. Religion probably prevented many women from writing on secular subjects, as most female authored material in this period consists of religious compositions and translations.

In Tudor England, women were prevented from writing on secular subjects. They were encouraged to translate and write religious compositions because religion was the dominant ideological drive. Thus, women's participation in translation was indeed ideologically driven, yet not in a political sense.

Ideology and Manipulation

Speaking of ideology exclusively in the context of political discourse is not the only problem. Another problem relates to the idea of manipulation vis-à-vis ideology. Manipulation is arguably the most used term with reference to ideology in TS literature. TS scholars use the term to explain text changes in relation to sociocultural forces that determine the translator's choices to twist the original *deliberately*. The term initially appeared in the writings of the Manipulation School, a descriptive branch of TS, associated with Theo Hermans, André Lefevere, José Lambert and others. The school's members share "a view of literature as a complex dynamic system" and an interest in studying norms governing the literary system in the context of translation (Hermans 1985, 10–11).

Manipulation has two conventional meanings. (i) The process of "alter[ing] or present[ing] (data) so as to mislead". (ii) The act of "control[ing] or influenc[ing] (a person or situation) cleverly or unscrupulously" (Stevenson 2010, 1077). In sociolinguistics, linguistic manipulation pertains to "the conscious use of language in a devious way to control others" (Fairclough 2001, 574). Judging from such definitions, manipulation is conscious and devious actions taken to propagate the manipulator's beliefs amongst his/her target audience to serve particular agendas.

In TS, manipulation is one of the most equivocal terms used by scholars. Many make use of manipulation, as Aiga Dukāte (2009, 12) correctly observes, yet almost nobody defines the term. Scholars, however, Dukāte continues, have developed a conventional understanding of the term: "manipulation as handling" and "manipulation as change" (Dukāte 2009, 84–85). The former involves little linguistic changes resulted from the linguistic differences between languages, which are unavoidable in the course of producing all translations. It refers to those minor changes directed at improving the coherence of the text with no "unnecessary" additions, omissions, or distortions (Dukāte 2009, 160). For example, grammar-related changes are a

form of a positive manipulation and so is producing a child-friendly translation; in a sense, the original is adapted to the values of readers (what is considered to be good or bad for children) or at least to those of their parents (Oittinen 2000). This sense of manipulation is considered positive (see Díaz Cintas 2012a, 285).

The latter, "manipulation as change", significantly changes the text due to ideological (whatever that means) factors. It is related to the deliberate text shifts to propagate a certain message. Scholars often speak of such forms of manipulation in terms of how the translator's strategies reflect social, political and psychological factors. In the case of religious texts, for example, Nitsa Ben-Ari offers "didactic manipulation", which aims to convince readers to profess Judaism instead of Christianity, as a form of ideological manipulation. Didactic manipulation "can take the form of conversion of small-scale units (words or phrases), or the form of small-scale omissions. It also takes the form of largescale omissions, and even influence the preliminary decisions of whether or not to translate 'problematic' texts in the first place" (Ben-Ari 2002; 264; on other forms of ideological manipulation developed in TS, see also Aaltonen 1997; Farahzad 1998, 2003; Zauberga 2004). So, when the changes unbalance the relationship between the involved texts, the translation qua product can be seen as ideologically manipulated for political, moral, religious and economic reasons. This sense of manipulation is considered negative (see Díaz Cintas 2012a, 285).

The conceptualization of ideological manipulation raises complex questions regarding the concept of ideology. Why speak of manipulation in a negative sense in relation to ideology? In what sense can the changes in the text be considered negative and, by extension, ideological? How is ideology then understood in this sense?

Most TS scholars link the negative sense of manipulation with Lefevere's approach of ideology as applied to translation (see e.g. Díaz Cintas 2012b). For Lefevere, "translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting […] it is potentially the most influential because

it is able to project the image of an author and/or (a series of) work(s) in another culture, lifting that author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their culture of origin" (Lefevere 1992, 9). Lefevere views translation as an act of rewriting performed in the service of diverse ideological factors governing the translation. Lefevere speaks of rewriting with respect to text manipulation in the negative sense. He argues that all rewriting "reflects a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulates literature to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power" (Lefevere 1992, 1), ergo "all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (Hermans 1985, 11). Note that Lefevere, as discussed above, has an inclusive understanding of ideology rather than a limited one.

To speak of ideology in the inclusive sense with reference to manipulation in the negative sense is contradictory, epistemologically speaking. Manipulation in a negative sense is related to meaning-evaluation (examining potential distortions of the original or meaning-loss vis-à-vis their service to the ruling groups) while ideology in the inclusive sense is related to examining how regimes of truth sustain their existence. Note that such a characterization of ideology with the idea of manipulation stems from a particular misreading of Marx's concept of ideology as to mean "false consciousness", put in the service of the ruling minority to manipulate the majority against their own interests (see Section 2.1, where the criticism of a posteriori attribution to Marx of the expression "false consciousness" is raised). Amongst the TS publications which further such misreading is Munday's celebrated *Introducing Translation Studies* (see Munday 2016, 214).

Ideology in the inclusive sense, however, transcends positive versus negative, true versus false dichotomies. Ideology (in the inclusive sense) is about *interpellation*, rather than *manipulation* (see Cap. 3–4 for an application of the notion of interpellation). To view translation from the lens of interpellation means taking into account the complexities of

translation qua process and the constitution of translators' agency. The translation scholar will be concerned with the way translators are constituted as subjects of ideology to sustain relations of domination rather than the way the text was manipulated to propagate particular beliefs. This way of looking into translation transcends the negative versus the positive dichotomy of ideology; instead, it falls within the inclusive sense of ideology. This sense of ideology covers expressions such as "manipulation", "adequate translation" and "distorted translation". It is the all-encompassing use of the term in which both negative and positive aspects of translation however defined are considered ideological.

To talk about ideology (in the inclusive sense) in relation to the idea of manipulation means overlooking some, equally important, questions about the workings of ideology at the level of translator's agency: what does manipulation mean for translators or the so-called manipulators? How do they make sense of their translations? How are translators constructed as ideological manipulators? If the translation scholar, however, endorses the inclusive sense of ideology as a lived relation, ideology switches from the question of meaning-evaluation to the question of how certain regimes of truth are formulated, sustained and empowered via translation. Again, if one takes ideology as a lived relation through which translators make sense of their world(s), the activity of translating or translation become as ideological as any other social activity. Any study of the text's ideological aspects can, therefore, be discussed in broader terms rather than with reference to the idea of manipulation. Any translated text exists only by virtue of its ideological significance. That is, the text cannot exist should it not be ideological because ideology, in this sense, is like the air we breathe. Ideology seen as such is then a universal feature of all translations.

By accepting a particular approach to ideology in isolation from the others, the translation scholar misses observing ideology's theoretical and epistemological implications. It might well be said that one approach to translation and ideology (that of manipulation) was endorsed and

has continued to make inroads into many scholars' writings despite its epistemological issues with the broad sense of ideology. As shown above, Gramsci and Althusser made it clear that ideology is not about manipulation, but about the creation of consent in the struggle for hegemony and the interpellation of individuals as subjects—that is, the construction of translator's agency. The point to make is that it would be beneficial to talk about ideology (in the inclusive sense) in TS not in relation with manipulation but rather interpellation.

In the critique of the idea of manipulation, the aim is not to impose theoretical uniformity but to challenge the prevailing understanding of ideology in TS and make possible dialogue and debate about the notion of ideology as applied to translation. What figures prominently in the chapters of analysis is not the notion of manipulation but interpellation (characterized by the constitution of the Qur'an translator's agency) and hegemonic struggle for the appropriation of Qur'an translation.

2.3.2 Applying Ideology in the Inclusive Sense to Translation

The inclusive theory as developed by Althusser is one of the most thorough studies of ideology. It is viewed as comprehensive whenever ideology as a social phenomenon is discussed in the social sciences (see e.g. Hall 1972; R. Balibar 1974, 1978; Macherey 1978, 1995, 1998; Eagleton 1976, 1981, 1986; Williams 1977; Giddens 1979; Jameson 1981; Bennett 1983, 2003; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Feltes 1986, 1993; Sprinker 1987; Butler 1993; É. Balibar and Macherey 1996). This theory may also prove helpful for studying translation as a social activity and may contribute to seeing translation as an ideological process involving beliefs, ways of thinking and also mechanisms of power. It leads the translation scholar to ask the questions about the relationship between translation and ideology that have not been asked before and to offer a more sophisticated conceptual apparatus to discuss this relationship than it is done at present TS scholarship. One of the questions inspired by this theory might be as follows: Is

translation an ISA? To answer such a question, the translation scholar is bound to notice that translation is not always resistant to the dominant social institutions (as one might conclude by looking at the prevalent trends in present-day TS as has been shown above). Indeed, sometimes translation operates as an ISA, acting in favour of the state in which it functions. TS studies of the cooperation of translation with ISAs are relatively few; in those studies, translation is conceptualized as a gate-keeper (see e.g. Robinson 1997; Spivak 2000/2012; Gentzler 2007; Merkle, O'Sullivan, and Doorslaer 2010; Flotow 2011; Flotow and Farahzad 2017). In fact, translation is widely used by states and, in those cases, tends to conform to the state ideology.

Another question inspired by Althusser's theory might be whether, as an ISA, translation operates by means of ideology rather than by means of violence (as an RSA would do). Here, one might distinguish between two sub-questions: (i) Are translators forced or convinced "into" acting in favour of the state ideology? Are they "objects" of an ideology themselves? Is there any possibility to force a translator to translate in a particular way needed by a state? Do we know of such cases or is it only a theoretical possibility? (ii) Do translations force or rather "convince" their target audiences into accepting a state ideology? In other words, do translations operate socially as ISAs or RSAs? Can they be used as both? The first set of questions is about translators as social agents in the context of the state apparatuses as theorized by Althusser, i.e. ISA and RSA; the second set of questions is about translation as a social agent in the same context.

The inclusive theory, as can be seen, allows us to address the agency of both, translators and translation. It invites us to ask the questions about the ratio of violence and voluntary consent in translators' agency, the ratio of conscious versus semiconscious versus subconscious or, one might say, open versus hidden or overt versus covert influences exerted on translators by ISAs and RSAs. Also, it allows us to consider translation as a social agency and translators as social agents, both cooperating with dominant ideologies, resisting them or being involved in

complex negotiations between cooperation and resistance. This is sometimes done through open compromises when they agree to let go some of their ideas and ideals, principles etc. Consequently, the same is required from the state; sometimes through a pretended consent while clandestinely undermining dominant ideologies.

Moreover, while arguably being always influenced by ideology, translation is not always driven by the dominant state ideology. Its commitments may be different from a dominant state ideology, and in accordance with its allegiances translation can surreptitiously or even openly challenge the dominant ideology. If a translation undermines the state ideology and fails or refuses to act as an ISA, the state is likely to intervene and punish the translation's producer(s). Sometimes the state may even apply its RSAs and imprison or even put the translator to death (see the case of Étienne Dolet). An Althusser-inspired discussion of translation's interactions with the dominant ideology allows a wide repertoire of possible scenarios.

Furthermore, ideology, if understood in the Althusserian sense, opens a way of discussing ideology as applied to translation praxis as going beyond the negative versus positive dichotomy. Althusser sees ideology as a lived relationship, i.e. a relationship that is manifested through praxis, rather than through consciousness. Pascal's praying subject is a prime example illustrating, in Althusser's opinion, exactly what happens, the logic being "I pray therefore I believe". A practice, kneeling down and holding hands in a particular way and assuming the entire posture associated with praying, leads one to believing (not the other way round!). The subjection to God, a *relationship* of acceptance of His existence and supremacy, is carried out through a *lived* practice. One's belief is a relationship lived out (in praxis); one cannot believe except through living the belief out, i.e. acting it out. Such a view of ideology leaves behind a reductionist approach; ideology as a concept acquires an inclusive sense rather than a negative sense. In other words, the discussion of ideology goes far beyond the negative versus positive dichotomy; it is not an instrumental discourse, which the ruling group uses to manipulate other

strata of society. Viewing the intrastate relations between different social strata as only based on coercion is erroneous as has been shown by Gramsci and Althusser; the relations are much more complex configurations of voluntary consent and violence and an interplay of conscious, semiconscious and subconscious acts. Applied to TS, this view of the interaction of ideology as a complex lived social relationship and translation allows us to view translation as an ideological product not only in the politically limited sense.

In fact, that is why religion has been chosen as a social dimension that may influence translation. Religion can and has been used politically, but it would be wrong to reduce religion to politics. Yet religion is always ideological, if we agree with Althusser. Once again, it is worth emphasizing that it is quite telling that he chose Pascal's prayer example and Moses as an interpellated one as illustrations of how ideology works. He does not discuss political examples. Following his logic, it is translations of a religious text that are chosen as case studies in the present thesis. As ideology for Althusser includes religion and is not reducible to politics, so the ideology of translation should be considered as a social phenomenon inclusive of not only politics but of other social ideational spheres, such as religion.

There is ideology in all texts, which means that all texts are products of ideology and are ideological by definition. To say that a text is ideological, i.e. politically manipulated is to overlook other dimensions about how translators think and make sense of the world(s) in which they live and with which they are in "lived" relationships, and, consequently, how they translate. Do they think of their translations as manipulations, whether deliberate or unintentional, or as faithful renditions of source texts? To what extent does their thinking reproduce a particular regime of truth? If ideology is understood only as a political phenomenon, does it mean that only political texts are manipulated or texts are manipulated only politically? If so, one runs the risk of missing a complex of issues influencing translators' praxes as subjects of a variety of lived relationships they are engaged with in their social

universes, i.e. as subjects of an ideology. It is a multifarious and multidimensional system, of which politics is only a part, that allows the translators to arrive at such and such a translation and thereby reproduce such and such an ideology. The task of the translation scholar is to give an account of this complexity behind any translation process or product.

Translated texts can also be interpreted as material manifestations of otherwise abstract ideologies. Translations have been discussed in TS as ideological products but discussing them as material manifestations, material carriers of ideology, gives them a special immediacy and directness in the context of ideological interactions and configurations in a given society. Such an angle on viewing translation, translation as a material carrier of ideology, allows viewing the connection between translation and ideology as less abstract than, for instance, the relationship between discourse and translation as in Mona Baker's works. (See more on the material aspects of ideology and translation, see Cap. 3–4).

Furthermore, the inclusive theory allows translation scholars to expand the understanding of the translator's agency currently present in TS scholarship. TS scholars talk about translator's agency in terms of empowerment and resistance (Tyulenev 2015, 25; see e.g. Godard 1990; Venuti 1995; Brisset 1996; Simon 1996; Simeoni 1998; Gouanvic 1999; Delisle 2002; Angelelli 2004; Inghilleri 2005, 142, 2012; Wolf 2006; Buzelin and Folaron 2007; Tymoczko 2007; Meylaerts 2008; Milton and Bandia 2009; Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010; Santaemilia and Flotow 2011; Delisle and Woodsworth 2012; Flotow 2016). Such studies merely emphasize how agents of translation "challenged the dominant literary system and have played a major role in putting forward an alternative system" (Milton and Bandia 2009, 16). In so doing, they reduce the notion of agency to a single form of agency, viz. oppositional agency (Ahearn 2001, 115). Useful as these studies are, one must be alert to the "romance of resistance" (Abu-Lughod 1990) and the complexity and contradictory nature of motivations (see Ortner 1995; Ahearn 1999; Jeffery and Basu 1998).

Recent TS scholarship often relies on Kinnunen and Koskinen's definition of agency as "willingness and ability to act" (2010, 6). This definition is characterized by two terms: "willingness" and "ability". "Willingness" underlines a psychological state on the individual's part. This understanding echoes the philosophical question of free will. Linking agency with free will strips human actions of their social nature, thus paying little attention to culture's influence on human actions, thought, and beliefs (Ahearn 2001, 114). In other words, "willingness" introduces a psychological dimension to the social use of the term, thereby "inviting myriad confusions with habitus" (Pym 2011, 76).

"Ability" refers to the idea of choice. To become agentic, one must be able to *make* choices. This understanding, as Davies (1991) shows, characterizes the humanist tradition which defines an agent as someone capable of making rational choices; therefore agentive acts become purely individual and ought to be the prerogative of certain individuals. Agency thus becomes an exception rather than the rule as it would *only* be associated with specific individuals. Closely linked to this understanding is the celebration of an individual as a hero standing out from the crowd for his/her impacts on changing the world. For example, in Delise and Woodsworth's book (1995/2012), the translators, about whom the stories are told, are not seen as ideologically produced subjects but as individuals struggling for their personhood.

The idea of choice accompanies the idea of responsibility. Since translators can make choices, they must be held responsible for their actions, a view of which Baker is the best-known representative (see Baker 2006, 26). Translators must recognize their identity and make choices for which they are responsible. Such responsibility rests on a personal commitment to a moral position or a cause embedded in the choice made by the translator. It is the translator's rational mind which seems to be in control. Agency pertains more or less to the rationality of choice to bring about a change. The main issue with this line of thought is that it ignores the constitution of the subject as lacking a sense of continuity, but having a discontinuous, rather

fragmented self. It overlooks in what sense the translator can only ever speak or "be spoken into existence" (Davies 1991, 42) within the terms of existing ideologies, i.e. the translator's existence has no fundamental essence as s/he is the product of discursive and interactive ideological practices. What becomes missing in the study of the translator's agency is "the contradictory social determinations of the translatorial subject" (Pym 2011, 76).

As opposed to this understanding, the inclusive sense of ideology views agency as related to "forced choices" (Davies 1991, 46). That is, the translator's choices are "forced" upon their free will, yet not in a negative "repressive" sense. Translators are endowed with a free will to make "forced" choices made available by existing social structures, choices that reproduce those social structures (see more on how translators make forced choices when it comes to translating the Qur'an in Cap. 3–4). If we are to speak in Althusserian terms, forced choices are given in the form of objective criteria that must be observed. My claim is that social structures have a key role in constructing "governable" translators, that is, making it possible to govern translators in ways that are compatible with the practices advocated by the dominant ideology. These practices create the translator conduct in accordance with certain objectives, namely the reproduction of religious authority (in the case of translating the Qur'an, see analysis in Cap. 3–4). With this in mind, the translation scholar looks at how translators are governed within these practices in ways that appear to be based not on some kind of arbitrary authority that tells them what to do or what not to do, but on the real nature of things, the freedom of choice.

The focus is on the constitution of the translator's agency by social structures and on how agents reproduce those very social structures. The relationship between structure and agency becomes more or less a question of negotiation as part of the struggle for hegemony. As Gramsci shows, the structures and superstructures are always in a constant struggle for hegemony (see discussion in Cap. 2.2). Translators as agents make forced choices since their

positioning within particular structures "makes the 'chosen' line of action the only possible action" (Davies 1991, 46).

The fact that translators are subject to a wide range of ideologies does not mean they are denied agency, or they are passive. It would be wrong to say that translators have no agency and cannot make their own choices, but the point is that they are obliged to be free however external or implacable may be the constraints they encounter; each translator translates freely as if the translation were the outcome of individual choices made in furtherance of a personal project. Translators are actively thinking, feeling and doing, relating to and affected by the relations that others have with them. That they are subjects making forced choices does not mean they are to be dominated in the interest of power, but they are to be educated into a kind of a universal ideology which enables them by means of certain criteria and competences to act upon the interest of power. Through self-monitoring, translators evaluate themselves according to the criteria set by the dominant ideology. In this way, they adjust and govern themselves, which governance depends on the *recognition* of themselves as agents able to freely choose their subjection (see the case of Itani in Cap. 4 where it is shown how he recognizes his subjection to the Qur'an translation narrative). Therefore, there is always room for active negotiation with structures of power, either in the reproduction of hegemonic or counter-hegemonic ideologies. This point figures in the analysis of Qur'an translations in Cap. 5–6.

Perhaps the central lesson that this thesis tries to learn from the adoption of an inclusive theory is a certain style of looking into translation and ideology, which involves the attempt to trace, in material forms, the actual representation of who is eligible to translate the Qur'an, the ways of thinking and acting within which translators are caught up, the practices in which they are engaged. Althusser's work shows that we can question who translators are and how they act by looking at how their social practices reflect some form of a dominant ideology. It is not

very enlightening to say perhaps that they are socially constructed: what else could they be? So, the interesting questions would be in what way they are constructed? Which authorities lie behind them? Why are they important? These questions allow us to look at how translators' practices constitute the best image of the Qur'an translator, making up translators with particular competences and capacities and entrapping them within ways of judging and acting upon themselves. So, rather than analysing how social processes have shaped translators, Althusser allows us to ask how translators understand themselves within particular practices, how their understanding may have come about and what kind of consequences followed.

Another lesson, and more specific way in which the inclusive sense proves helpful lies in a certain approach to ideology as a field and ideology in the particular sense, i.e. a set of beliefs specific to its historical conditions. Althusser's distinction between grand and particular ideologies shows how the particular ideology never becomes a grand ideology, a field within which people make sense of their world(s), unless it is habituated to subjects and later legitimized by the Subject (e.g. the State). Ideology always exists in an apparatus. Subjects bring about thoughts, beliefs and forms of knowledge via dialectic processes. When a new form of belief gains currency amongst subjects, the Subject adopts and legitimizes it. Such belief then is made objective to define the role of social actors. Subjects then internalize via practice such an objective belief, which becomes, therefore, subjective. The transformation of the subjective to the objective helps to view the transformation of the particular to the universal, i.e. how particular ideologies struggle to occupy the field so as to deny their historical specificity and become rather a hegemonic force (for an analysis on how ideologies transform from the particular to the universal, see Cap. 5–6).

The transformation of the particular into the universal is the most obvious manifestation of the struggle amongst ideologies for the exercise of rule and authority. In the Althusserian sense, such struggle shows how translators are predestined to construct the translation that reflects the

world they live by invariably investing ideologies in translation. The translation shares for them the particular ideologies to which they subscribe. In light of this, we can see translation not as some kind of expression of ideology but as a practical manifestation of ideology in action. This diversity of the inclusive theory is one of the keys to its eminence at the conceptual level and wide range applicability to translation. Far from underpinning its relevance, it allows a fruitful differentiation in its points of application, enabling the study of translation with a diversity of contexts for the government of translator behaviour and the articulation of power struggle at different levels.

2.3.3 The Limits of Ideology in the Inclusive Sense as Applied to Translation

Althusser's theory itself being focussed on a single social structure, i.e. a state, as seen in isolation from other states surrounding it, maybe enriched by applying it to TS. Translation implies, in the majority of cases, interactions between states (the multicultural and multilingual states, such as Switzerland or Belgium, are excluded for now, although applying Althusser there might be another interesting line of research). Translation as an ISA (let us assume for now that it is an ISA, rather than an RSA, [is established[]) offers the target system a certain set of ideas coming from external systems. In other words, translation is a special type of a state's apparatuses, namely ISAs: it operates within the state, yet it introduces into it something from the state's "outside". For instance, a text is introduced through a translation. What does the state do with the text introduced through translation? Does it accept or reject it? Does it do either "wholesale" or does it try to modify a text? Why? What are the factors influencing the state's decision? Or perhaps the state makes/convinces (?) the translator(s) to modify the text? What are the social agents that assess the translation, allow or ban it or insist on modifying it and interact with translators?

Even more interesting set of questions relate to whether translation operates only as an ISA. Althusser's understanding of the state as the sovereign actor may not be helpful in examining how non-state actors use translation to undermine or challenge the dominant ideology promoted by powerful ISAs, such as translation. In this regard, his theory can be challenged in terms of its capacity to describe the role of translation as a non-ideological state apparatus. It does not help us to understand in all its complexity the transformation of particular non-state adopted ideologies into universal, as it takes into consideration only one part of the picture. The world today is inhabited by a variety of different agents, many of whom do not share the same ideologies promoted by powerful states. Globalization has made it even more difficult for the state to be the only sovereign actor, not with regard to its power to determine how the text should be translated, but with its capacity to control translation, especially when non-state actors are involved in the struggle to translate the text, namely a text of cultural significance, such as the Qur'an. Globalization has made it necessary to conduct a general reassessment of the vocabulary used by Althusser, and to reconsider the translator's role as a non-state actor. Therefore, it would be much more appropriate to expand Althusser's model of ideology to embrace non-state apparatuses in order to define the complexity of the ideological operation of translation.

Translation must be analysed not only as an ISA but also as an ideological apparatus beyond state power, where new ideologies – not purely communicated – are disseminated, within the overall framework of the inclusive sense of ideology. For this reason, the present thesis includes a chapter on the specific functioning of translation as a counter-ideological apparatus aiming to challenge the dominant ideology as promoted by the state. This allows a richer discussion of ideology which runs as an antithesis of the idea of the state as the only institution possessing legitimate control and authority over translation, a conception characteristic of the

French intellectual discourse of the 1960s–1970s. This point features in chapter 6 in which Qur'an translation is shown to operate as a counter-ideological apparatus.

Gramsci represents a pivotal step in this theoretical line. His conceptualization of translatability deserves special attention for the new light it may cast on Althusser's theory. His contribution, as illustrated in section 2.2 above, lies in that he allows space where hegemony is challenged and negotiated through the interactions of both state and non-state actors. From this perspective, translation may create a space where matters of social praxis can be debated and evaluated, and dominant ideologies can be challenged, interpreted and transformed. Consequently, translation becomes the ultimate tribunal for the validity of ideologies and the ultimate source of ideological intervention. Nonetheless, it is important to remark how translation (if considered as a counter-ideological apparatus) challenges the dominant ideology and how is it capable of giving birth to new ideologies, thus replicating the process of interpellating subjects, a function of ideology as described by Althusser. So, when the text is introduced in translation, how does a non-state actor challenge the hegemony of the state ideology promoted in translation? What are the factors influencing the decision to challenge the dominant ideology using translation? Do translators act on their own or are they operating within a defined paradigm of a non-state organization? What are the ideologies influencing the translator's translation decision? All these questions contribute to a better conceptualization of the inclusive sense of ideology as applied to translation.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the birth of the term "ideology" and the phases of its development into a full-fledged theory. It showed how ideology underwent fundamental changes; it gradually transformed from a science to a concept and over time acquired three primary senses: the

pejorative, the positive and the inclusive. The study of these senses laid the ground for a critical examination of the concept as applied in TS.

The chapter demonstrated that ideology, as used in TS, suffers primarily for two reasons: many scholars reduce the concept to its political aspects, and others tie it to the idea of manipulation although they adopt an inclusive sense of the term. It was shown that the understanding of ideology in reference to manipulation is contradictory on the one hand and restrictive on the other. The contradiction occurs when scholars adopt an inclusive sense of ideology and yet approach their text analysis from a negative viewpoint related to ideological manipulation. The restriction occurs because speaking of ideology as such overlooks how translators are constructed as subjects of ideology to make sense of their translations.

To transcend the restrictive use of the term, this chapter showed how an inclusive definition helps us to view ideology as a universal feature of translation rather than restricting it to forms of manipulation or the analysis of political involvement in the text. The following chapters of analysis apply the inclusive theory of ideology to the study of Qur'an translation. They explore the operation of ideology in terms of the constitution of translator and translation's agency. Thus, they view ideology as an addressing social process, interpellation, inscribed into social practices.

Chapter 3

Interpellation of the Qur'an Translator

This chapter studies the constitution of the translator's agency and how it is governed by the narrative on Qur'an translation, i.e. that the Qur'an is untranslatable, operating as an ideological apparatus. The analysis helps us to understand how ideology is a universal feature of translation by showing how the narrative is integrated into the translator's behaviour and the constitution of the translator's agency. The narrative ensures Qur'an translators' subjection to the established order, which in effect guarantees their cooperation in the reproduction of the relations of domination, viz. the authority of those in control. This shows how domination is inscribed into the translators' behaviour in such a way that it is extremely hard, not to say impossible, to operate outside the boundaries of control set forth by the narrative.

In this chapter, Althusser's concept of interpellation, introduced in chapter 2, is applied to show how translators fulfil their social responsibilities, whether self- or externally imposed, *via* and *in* ideology and as subjects operating under the patronage of the Subject. The context of patronage implies "the mutual recognition between subjects and Subject" (Althusser 1971, 168), the subjects' recognition of their roles and their responsibilities in the dynamic of social relations wherein they exist, the subjects' recognition of each other, and the subject's recognition of himself/herself. The concept of interpellation allows us to view translation not only as a social activity in general but as a practical manifestation of ideology in action. The discussion reveals how the narrative on Qur'an translation (see Figure 1 below) still prevails – i.e. it is continuously reproduced by Qur'an translators in the context of Arabic/English translation. Interpellation, in the context of Qur'an translation, occurs at the moment when translators enter the narrative on Qur'an translation, i.e. when they *recognize* their roles and

also participate in the reproduction and development of such narrative. Translators may not necessarily be aware of the phenomenon; while they are interpellated, they may think of this process as merely a fulfilment of a job requirement. However, a much more complex social procedure is enacted on them and on the translation process that they take part in. One may say that they are being put into a special space permeated by the ideology of the Qur'an translation narrative.

This chapter consists of two sections. Section one offers a brief background on Qur'an translation, exploring the rise of an influential Qur'an translation narrative (which gave rise to a particular image of the Qur'an translator) and its connection to the larger question of religious authority in Islam. Section two examines how early translators reproduce the narrative on Qur'an translation and the Qur'an translator's image in their peritextual materials. The analysis focuses on four cases of the twentieth century: Marmaduke Pickthall, Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Arthur John Arberry and Colin Turner. I selected these cases for two reasons: (i) they demonstrate how interpellation functions in the context of English Qur'an translation, and (ii) they illustrate that the same narrative is reproduced by early Qur'an translators. The cases exemplify how the Qur'an translation narrative endures with remarkable tenacity, and that its grasp on social actors is so strong that it is difficult to modify, let alone break – cf. Gideon Toury's claim that if translators break translation norms, they are likely to be punished (Toury 1995, 64).

3.1 Qur'an Translation: A Background

Most Muslims have for centuries regarded the Qur'an as a "miracle" on the grounds that it does not conform to conventional forms of Arabic poetry and prose. This idea arose because the Qur'an is believed to be of divine origin and unique in terms of its aesthetico-linguistic; it is therefore considered inimitable (Lewis 2004, 19; Abdul-Raof 2001, 3; Pearson 1983, 502).

Theologians consequently studied the scripture's literary aspects from the perspective of *i'jāz al-qur'ān* "inimitability"*, ultimately constructed in literary terms and considered part of the Muslim faith (see e.g. the works of Ibrāhīm al-Niẓām (775–845), 'Abd Allāh Ibn Kutayba (828–889), Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (950–1013), 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (1009–1078), Badr al-Dīn Zarkashī (1344–1392); see also discussions in Larkin 1995, 1988; Abu-Zayd 2003; Harb 2016). It is noteworthy that *i'jāz al-Qur'ān* relates to the text's divine eloquence which cannot be imitated by humans. From this view stems the untranslatability* of the Qur'an, the major idea dominating debates amongst the ulama: the Muslim scholars.

Scholarly enquiry into Qur'an translation began as early as the 8th century with concerns about recitation amongst the four schools of thought in Islam: al-Ḥanafī, al-Mālikī, al-Shāfi'ī and al-Ḥanbalī. Since reciting part of the Qur'an in prayer is obligatory, the primary concern was whether Muslims could recite the Qur'an in other languages. Except for Abū Ḥanīfa (the founder of al-Ḥanafī school), most mediaeval ulama barred the translating of the Qur'an and stressed that non-Arab Muslims must persevere in their efforts to learn Arabic because translations sacrifice the miracle of the Qur'an. However, mid-twentieth-century ulama (e.g. Maḥmūd Shaltūt, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī and Muhammad Farīd Wajdī) seem to have accepted the need to translate the Qur'an, as a result of vigorous debates which took place between 1925-1936, and shifted the discussions from the (un)translatability of the Qur'an to what a translation of the Qur'an should be like and to what extent the Qur'an is translatable. They considered all translations to be but interpretations; translating the Qur'an does not corrupt the message because the original remains in any case preserved and a point of reference for readers. As a result, (i) they called for an exegetical translation (*al-tarjama al-tafsīrīya*), because to interpret the Qur'an's language only meant to sacrifice its beauty to meaning, (ii) they forbade literal translation (*al-tarjama al-ḥarfīya*) because it often produces an effect of estrangement in whatever TL, thereby giving an alien character to God's language (opponents

of translation include Rashīd Riḍā 1908/1971; Albānī 1921; al-Shāṭir 1936; Sulaymān 1936; advocates of translation include Shaltūt 1936; al-Marāghī 1936; al-Zurqānī 1943/1995; for discussions on those debates, see Bundāq 1984; Ayoub 1986).

Because the Qur'an is believed to be untranslatable, the ulama created a set of laws, or imposed a set of requirements, to govern the process of translation and the agency of translators. That gave rise to the contradictory idea that the Qur'an is held to be untranslatable, yet at the same time translatable. Translatability of the Qur'an is possible only under strict conditions: The translation must: (i) "be faithful to the original" [*wafā' al-tarjama bi-jamī' maʿānī al-aṣl*], (ii) not claim to replace the Arabic or be a *tafsīr*[1] and (iii) negate in the preface the likelihood of achieving a literal translation; it must be entitled, for example, *The English Translation of the Meanings of the Qur'an* (al-Zurqānī 1943/1995, 90–92) or something similar. Also, the translator must exhibit linguistic knowledge of both source and target languages (al-Zurqānī 1943/1995, 93) and must also act as both an exegete and a faithful carrier of meanings (al-Zurqānī 1943/1995, 123).

Note that the term *al-wafā'* "faithfulness" is, indeed, broad and subjective. What "faithfulness" comes to mean differs according to the purpose and function of translation; speaking of faithfulness in the context of legal translation may be different to speaking of faithfulness in the context of poetry translation. In *The True Interpreter*, Louis Kelly (1979, 206) shows that "faithfulness" is a site for disagreement and often interpreted according to the historical and the social conceptualization of translation. In religious scriptures, for example, the *fidus interpres* "the faithful interpreter" was initially associated with word-for-word rendition and by the end of the seventeenth century with sense-for-sense. Indeed, meaning still

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[1] The exegetical translation differs, according to the ulama (see e.g. al-Zurqānī 1943/1995, 109), from exegesis in that it carries an "independent meaning" which necessitates a commitment to the original and no amplification in the text. In other words, translations offer interpretations of the verses by means of footnotes or brief commentary within the text: They are not meant to be voluminous commentaries as *tafsīr*, however.

lies at the centre of attention when it comes to faithfulness. In the case of the Bible, Dennis Stamps (1993, 33) argues that faithfulness "meant faithfulness to the theological understanding of those texts in the community of faith in which and for which the translations were produced". In the case of the Qur'an, al-Marāghī (1936, 79–81) suggests that considering the complex nature of Qur'anic meanings, one should not expect a translation to reflect meanings in totality.

The ulama, e.g. al-Zurqānī, drew on the exegete's characteristics developed by the mediaeval exegete Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī to determine the Qur'an translator's image. For al-Suyūṭī (1474/2008, 763–64), an exegete must:

- be a "true" believer. If one is regarded with suspicion, they cannot be trusted to interpret the Qur'an to people because their motives may deform the "correct" message;

- have a faithful intent, in the sense of serving Islam and guiding people to the "straight" path;

- use the sayings of the prophet and his companions carefully in the course of exegesis;

- demonstrate superb knowledge of the Arabic language;

- manifest a deep understanding of the sciences of the Qur'an (*'ulūm al-Qur'ān*);

- follow a proper methodology of exegesis (*tafsīr*).

Contemporary Qur'an translation scholars almost fully reproduce the same characteristics. Fazlur Rahman (1988, 25), for example, suggests that one "must know to the core the ideas of the Qur'an, with all their nuances, in order to understand accurately the Qur'an's meanings and aims". Similarly, Mohammad Ayoub (1986, 39) claims that the translator must exhibit advanced knowledge of all Islamic sciences: this "must be one of the first requirements for anyone who wishes to undertake such a responsibility". The Qur'an, he continues (1986, 39), "requires, at least of a Muslim scholar, an attitude of reverence and purity of heart and intention. It is in the end this attitude, or the lack of it, which determines the worth and even usefulness

of a translation". The translator, in his view, must also possess a linguistic competence in both languages, particularly in all the sciences of the Arabic language.

Hussein Abdul-Raof (2001, 2), however, suggests that a sound linguistic competence on the part of the translator is insufficient. Translators must have "an advanced knowledge in Arabic syntax and rhetoric in order to appreciate the complex linguistic and rhetorical patterns of Qur'anic structures". Most importantly, they must have recourse to "major Qur'an exegesis in order to derive and provide the accurate underlying meaning of a given Qur'anic expression" (Abdul-Raof 2001, 2). They must appreciate varied exegetical forms and methods of interpretation. Abdul-Raof suggests eleven most celebrated books of *tafsīr* as a guide for translators (al-Ṭabarī 922/1968; al-Baghawī 1868/1970; al-Zamakhsharī 1134/2009; Ibn ʿAṭīya 1139/1977; Ibn al-Jawzī 1964; al-Qurṭubī 1997; Ibn Kathīr 1358/1970; al-Suyūṭī and al-Maḥallī 1467/1989; al-Ālūsī 1851/2001; Quṭb 1959/1982; al-Shinqīṭī 1967/1996), and interestingly opines on the role translation theory plays in the process: "Qur'an translators need to have a sound awareness of translation theories which is of paramount importance to their exegetical awareness" (Abdul-Raof 2001, 182).

Abdul-Raof's conceptualization of the ideal Qur'an translator champions translation theory as an asset for Qur'an translators as opposed to many other scholars who make no mention of how beneficial an understanding of translation theory can be to translators. In fact, his main aim in his *Qur'an Translation: Discourse, Texture and Exegesis* is to demonstrate that translation theory is useful for Qur'an translation as a set of observations based on practice: "The purpose of this book is to provide a discussion of the theory of translation and its practical contribution in Qur'an translation" (Abdul-Raof 2001, xiii). He (2001, 140) offers a list of books, particularly on the use of footnotes in Qur'an translation, to "avoid paraphrase or over-translation" for a "good" communicative translation (see e.g. Schwarz 1955; Nida 1964; Beekman and Callow 1974; Nida and Reyburn 1981; Larson 1984; Newmark 1988; Bell 1991).

In brief, the ulama depict the Qur'an translator as more of an intellectual, with a full grasp of exegetical materials. In their opinion, the translator must

- have recourse to major sources of legislation and authorities of *tafsīr*;

- be equipped with extensive knowledge of all the sciences of the Qur'an;

- possess an attitude of sincere reverence and intention;

- exhibit a linguistic competence in both languages;

- have advanced knowledge of Arabic rules underlying the language of the Qur'an, such as syntax, grammar, rhetorical patterns and so on;

- turn to theories of translation for practical guidance.

Lurking beneath the debate over who should translate the Qur'an is the larger question of religious authority in Islam. Authority is directly connected to knowledge. In the mediaeval Islamic world, knowledge was rooted in scriptures, in the complex tangle of exegetical materials on the Qur'an, and in other secondary texts related to them. Therefore, authority appears to have always had "a textual character" (Berkey 2001, 70), and such authority lies in the hands of the ulama. It is worth noting that the term "ulama" (plural of *'ālim*) is derived from the *'-l-m* root, which designates knowledge and understanding. According to the Qur'an, such knowledge is the prerogative of those who possess spiritual and intellectual faculties. Owing their authority to their learning, those people came to be known as the ulama (Crone and Hinds 1986, 2).

In fact, authority in mediaeval Islam took two separate paths after the death of the prophet: political and religious. Political authority passed to the new caliph while religious authority passed to the companions who remembered what the prophet had said and done. Over time, the chain of transmission survived, and the religious authority was therefore dispersed amongst those who had learned the prophetic tradition (Berkey 2001, 89). Today, the nature of political authority is dynamic and complex, whereas religious authority over interpretation and

translatability of the Qur'an remains in the hands of the clergy. As presented above, the ulama determine whether the Qur'an can be translated, who should translate it and what criteria the translator should possess. Those criteria do not exist in a vacuum; they set boundaries of what is permissible thought and behaviour and reflect a process through which the ulama exert authority over religious tradition. In other words, they operate as an ideological apparatus constituting the translator's agency in a way which reflects the ulama's authority. As the succeeding analysis intends to demonstrate, the ulama's authority survives in the context of Qur'an translation, and the criteria that they set (which may be subject to slight changes that do not affect the coherence of the whole) become an integral part of the translator's normative behaviour and image, despite the nature of ideological disagreements, i.e. the struggle amongst ideologies to appropriate Qur'an translation at the level of the text as a product so as to inform social practice and constitute social subjects (this point is further explored in Cap. 5–6).

3.2 Interpellation in the Works of Early Qur'an Translators

Before starting the analysis of early translators, it would be useful to indicate the complexity of the narrative on Qur'an translation. The narrative is complex because it branches into three interacting narratives, which constitute a coherent whole: translation narrative, translator narrative and Qur'an narrative (see Figure 1 below). One must, therefore, distinguish between these interacting narratives.

Translation Narrative

This narrative insists on the idea of faithfulness to the original. Any translation should indicate that Qur'an translation is just an interpretation of the original because the Qur'an is untranslatable. This narrative can be expressed in different ways – for example, by directly acknowledging, discussing and debating the idea of untranslatability; by emphasizing that translations are only interpretation, thus adhering to the view of Muslim scholars that any

translation is but an interpretation of the original and that the Qur'an is untranslatable; and by not entitling translations *The Qur'an* because such a title would imply that the Qur'an is translatable.

Translator Narrative

This narrative is about who should translate the Qur'an and what competences they should possess. The narrative suggests that translators must adhere to a set of criteria in order to be eligible to translate the Qur'an. These criteria most importantly include: having recourse to the authorities of *tafsīr*; being versed in a knowledge of the Qur'an; and exhibiting a linguistic competence in both languages.

Qur'an Narrative

This narrative concerns how the Qur'an should be read – i.e. which exegetical authorities should be consulted in the course of reading the Qur'an. This narrative is highly relative.

Figure 1. The Narrative on Qur'an Translation.

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                    ┌─────────────────┐
                    │     Qur'an      │
                    │   Translation   │
                    │    Narrative    │
                    │  The Qur'an is  │
                    │  untranslatable │
                    └─────────────────┘
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Translation Narrative	Translator Narrative	Qur'an Narrative
The translation should be faithful to the original; the translation should indicate that the translated text is only an interpretation of the original; the translation should not be entitled *The Qur'an* as such title would suggest that the Qur'an is translatable.	The translator should have recourse to the authorities of exegesis; the translator should demonstrate a knowledge of the Qur'an; the translator should exhibit a linguistic competence in both languages; the translator should possess an attitude of reverence.	This narrative pertains to whose works should be used in the course of translation. This is a highly relative kind of narrative.

This narrative on Qur'an translation operates more or less as ideology at the grand level, as an ideological apparatus to reproduce relations of domination. It is used as a means to exert discipline and create a new work habit. That is, it marks new forms of surveillance. When we talk about ideology at the grand level, we are not just talking about a set of beliefs but also about the regularized control of translator behaviour across time and space. Surveillance refers to the collection of information, ideas and beliefs internalized to regulate social behaviour. It refers to the supervision of activities and the use of beliefs to control subjects. The narrative on

Qur'an translation does not invent surveillance but introduces new and complex forms of surveillance. These include personal and impersonal control implicated in the collective image of the translator. Thus, the narrative on Qur'an translation, as will be demonstrated, forms the basis on which translators imbibe the essential knowledge to reproduce a particular social order.

The very impulse to control translation by creating the translator's image is an impulse to control and dominate what can be said and written within determinate boundaries. In this way, the narrative is inherently an instrumental ideology. Its logic leads to the ideologization of translation in ways that reproduce tradition and ensure continuity. In so doing, the narrative eliminates competing ways of thinking and claims itself to be the sole basis of truth. It should be noted that the dynamism of the narrative is such that it spreads out from its Islamic base to encompass the way Qur'an translation is talked about in general. It is culturally inflected, and in the last instance determined by power relations within a community.

It would also be useful to recall the contradictory nature of the translatability/untranslatability of the Qur'an. The contradiction lies in that the Qur'an is held to be translatable, yet at the same time untranslatable: translatable *exegetically* and untranslatable *literally*. The idea of the untranslatable is much more complex than it may appear because it is not just a simple allusion to the literary aspects of the Qur'an that go missing in translation. It actually insists on the primacy of the Qur'anic language as the *ipsissima verba dei* (the precise words of God) and, by implication, as evidence of Muhammad's prophethood. Most importantly, it operates as an ideological apparatus controlling the translator's agency, as the analysis below intends to show. This is what makes discussions of untranslatability in the context of the Qur'an different from other discussions of untranslatability in the context of other texts, such as poetry. In fact, some TS scholars view poetry as cryptic and equivocal and thus believe that it is difficult, if not impossible, to translate (see discussion in Boase-Beier

2009; Connolly 1998). Yet other scholars question the legitimacy of translation itself, and ask whether any translation – be it of poetry or the Qur'an – can be possible at all (see Lecercle 2008; Bellos 2011; Apter 2013; Cassin 2014).

Note also that the Qur'an translator's image operates as a paradigm defining translatorial activity. Such an image is the product of long-lasting debates, both classical (since the advent of non-Arabic-speaking converts into Islam) and modern (since the 1920s and the rise of Turkish and Arab nationalism). When applying such a paradigm to twentieth-century translators, some of the later components added to the narrative (e.g. the translator should demonstrate knowledge of translation theory) will be excluded; otherwise, the analysis would sound rather anachronistic.

Case i: Marmaduke Pickthall (1930)

The first case illustrating the operation of the Qur'an translation narrative is that of Marmaduke Pickthall (1875–1936). Pickthall was a UK Muslim convert. He was widely known for his popular translation of the Qur'an entitled *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*. The translation appeared in 1930, but this chapter uses the 2000 reprint. The translation, besides the actual English version of the Qur'an, contains the translator's original foreword. In that foreword, Pickthall expresses the idea of untranslatability which began to prevail amongst Qur'an translators in the 1930s.

Pickthall observes that it is impossible to translate the Qur'an. Importantly, here we see the mechanism of how such a social actor as the translator reproduces an ideological narrative in general and the Qur'an translation narrative in particular. Pickthall writes: "The Qur'an cannot be translated. This is the belief of old-fashioned Sheykhs and the view of the present writer […] It [translation] can never take the place of the Qur'an in Arabic, nor is it meant to do so" (1930/2000, 3). In this passage, the translator relies on the scholars and Qur'an experts

according to the well-known principle of *in verba magistri* (a Latin expression for "in the teacher's/master's words"). This principle is considered a faulty type of argumentation when something is claimed based not on reason but on the words of somebody who is held as an authority[2]. Pickthall reproduces the views of Muslim scholars but uses them not only and not so much as just opinions, but as arguments on which a tradition is built. This shows how Pickthall is, as Althusser (1969/2005, 231) explains, caught in a web of social relations wherein he remains attentive to sacred obligations which necessitate that the Qur'an is inimitable and, therefore, untranslatable. In this case, such a web of social relations defines his personal understanding, as he simply behaves in a way congruent with the narrative because he accepts the ulama's views as his own, thereby ensuring the continuity of the narrative and, by extension, the authority of ulama as the guardians of faith.

Pickthall indeed purveys the idea of untranslatability, yet provides no factual grounds for his claim. He does not substantiate his claim that the Qur'an cannot be translated; he only shares the argument circulating amongst Muslim scholars and his own experience, and then moves on directly to prescribing the rules by which translators must abide when rendering the Holy Book into a foreign language. Note the contradictory nature of the Qur'an translation narrative: on the one hand, it is held to be untranslatable, but on the other hand, a series of provisos and conditions are introduced for translating the Qur'an. The latter are used as a foundation of a set of translation rules to govern the translation process and establish the image of the Qur'an translator.

The rules, according to Pickthall, are not numerous. In fact, there are only two of them: (i) seeking the "help of one whose mother-tongue is Arabic, who studied Quran and who knows

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[2] It was Quintus Horatius Flaccus (65BC–8BC), known as Horace, who introduced a line of argument against this principle. He wrote an Epistle to his benefactor Maecenas (68BC–8BC), saying that "Nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri, – quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes", which is translated as "(being) not obliged to swear allegiance to a master, wherever the storm drags me to, I turn in as a guest" (Horace 1753, 206). Basically, this motto calls for people to withstand the domination of any authority and instead look for facts determined by reason.

English", (ii) having "recourse to perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject" (Pickthall 1930/2000, 3). The rules strike one as general and rather trivial.

The first rule requires translators to ensure that they understand the SL and the TL. He implies that the translator is a native English speaker, and that is why the translator should seek help from somebody else, who is a native speaker of Arabic: the helper should not only know Arabic but have it as his/her "mother-tongue". The helper must also "know" English. Moreover, to have just one translator is not enough. There should be a translator and a helper. In addition to his/her expertise in Arabic (as a native speaker) and in English (as a speaker), the helper should be somebody "who studied Quran". In other words, the helper should be grounded in Qur'anic knowledge, although Pickthall is less specific as to the degree of the helper's Qur'anic expertise. With the languages involved, Pickthall is quite specific which language should be just known and which should be somebody's mother-tongue. With the Qur'anic knowledge, it is rather vague what the helper's level of studies of the Qur'an should be: should the helper be an exegete, a scholar of Islam, or would just some general knowledge suffice?

An important implication of Pickthall's first rule is that natural bilinguals, those raised with two languages in which they are considered to be equally competent (Whyatt 2017, 51), with domain competence are by definition better translators as they possess an innate ability to transfer the Qur'an's "correct" meanings into other languages. This view was not a product of Pickthall's own intellect, though it prevailed up to the late 1970s until scholars proved translation competence to be not a by-product of bilingualism (see e.g. Harris and Sherwood 1978; Harris 1978, 1980; see also recent discussions in Valdés and Angelelli 2003; Angelelli 2010; Antonini 2010; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012). Pickthall's underlying assumption is obvious; in fact, it reflects the social space in which his personal narrative had evolved. To a large extent, therefore, Pickthall's understanding of the Qur'an translator is a construct that reflects the

prevailing ideology telling who provides the "better" translation. Whatever status the translator may have possessed, however, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, for most of the twentieth century, natural translators, understood as "better" language brokers, were seen as most likely to provide an eloquent translation. The fact that the idea of natural translators was not seriously challenged until the late 1970s reflects the persistence of an ideology claiming the immediacy of bilingualism in addition to domain competence in translation, a view to which Pickthall subscribes.

In the second rule, Pickthall provides examples of the authorities whose works might be consulted in the course of translation. He gives Bayḍāwī and Zamakhsharī as examples of such religious authorities whose works he personally consulted. He also mentions additional commentaries that he used while working on his translation, particularly al-Suyūṭī & al-Maḥallī's *Tafsīr al-jalālayn*, Wāḥidī's *Asbāb al-nuzūl* and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* as an authentic source of the tradition. These works do not exist in a vacuum; they reflect a particular understanding of the Qur'an. This shows Pickthall operating at the level of the Qur'an narrative by advocating certain works to be used in the course of reading the Qur'an. He delivers a precise location for reading the Qur'an, which locates the translation (as any other book) "in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences": it becomes simply "a node within a network" (Foucault 1972/2002, 25–26).

With regard to the religion of the translator, Pickthall believes that any translated scripture produced by a non-believer would not do justice to the text: "it may be reasonably claimed that no Holy Scripture can be fairly presented by one who disbelieves its inspiration and its message" (Pickthall 1930/2000, 3). Pickthall implies that the Qur'an translator should be a Muslim and excludes other non-believers attempting to translate the Qur'an, thus emphasizing the idea that the translator needs to be a "true" believer in Islam to guide people to the "correct"

path (see this component in Figure 1 above). Pickthall here identifies with the narrative on Qur'an translation and operates at the level of the translator narrative.

Pickthall's two rules urge translators to work collaboratively with helpers who are native speakers of Arabic and have studied the Qur'an. Effectively, he claims that the translator of the Qur'an should be a native speaker of the target language, rely on a living consultant or helper and draw on the Qur'anic authorities. In addition, Pickthall claims that the Qur'an translator should be a believer endowed with a fair intent in order to translate the divine. Thus, the structure of the translation agency, according to Pickthall, is as follows: there is a translator (a Muslim native speaker of English with a fair intent), a helper/consultant (a native speaker of Arabic steeped in some, greater or smaller, knowledge of the Qur'an) and a set of authoritative Qur'anic exegetical texts.

Although Pickthall draws on the existing narrative, the picture he offers is rather complex. On the one hand, these rules are not completely of Pickthall's own making; rather, they are a product, *directly* or *indirectly*, of a larger narrative on Qur'an translation. While saying that the Qur'an translator needs a helper, who is a native speaker of Arabic, but also, importantly, has a knowledge of the Qur'an, Pickthall *indirectly* insists on the knowledge of the Qur'an and its language in all its intricacy which can be appreciated only by a native speaker of Arabic. As regards the *direct* reference to the narrative, as is clear in his second rule, Pickthall believes that it is the traditional exegetical knowledge that is a prerequisite to understanding the Qur'an's meanings. Indeed, Pickthall's rules show that he reproduces at least some of the components of the Qur'an translation narrative as (i) requiring knowledge of the Qur'an as an important competence on the part of the translator reinforced by a helper's expertise, (ii) having recourse to major Qur'an authorities and (iii) being a believer with fair intent.

These components are the professional mask hiding the authority of the ulama who exert power over scriptures. Such authority cannot reproduce itself on its own in the context of

translation. It needs translators to reproduce the translator's image and thus set themselves to the task of sustaining the cycle of reproduction of the ideological narratives. As shown above, it is Pickthall's personal narrative which prescribes the way translators should look, according to generations of ancestors and "old-fashioned sheikhs" – note the interpellation call (Pickthall 1930/2000, 3). His decision to reiterate such components may seem a choice determined by reason, but it is rather a forced choice determined by ideology. As Althusser (1971, 175) remarks: "what takes place in ideology seems to take place outside it". Note that the act of choosing is not chosen freely, yet the choice is not illusory, and this is what makes it a forced choice in the Althusserian sense (Krips 1994, 70). Choices are determined to some degree from outside the individual. They are taken for granted as part of normative behaviour that has existed for a long time. So, there is a sense in which Pickthall's behaviour becomes the outcome of control and a reflection of the dominant order. Althusser has forcefully formulated this: one cannot escape ideology even if one desires to do so. That is, the serious threat to taking control of translation is the existence of an ideological apparatus within the translators' personal attitudes, which has given a victory to an external authority to take over translation through the introduction of rules to govern the process of translation.

Underlying Pickthall's rules is the desire to create the authentic translation in which the words of God can be protected from misrepresentation by anyone who wants to translate the Qur'an into other languages. However, lurking beneath those rules is the ulama's authority, an authority that ought to create generations of translators capable of maintaining a permanent state of translation practices which ensure translators' subjection to the dominant order. The translators' subjection to the dominant narrative, by extension, guarantees the reproduction of the relations of domination and, therefore, becomes difficult, if not impossible, to operate outside what is permissible thought and behaviour.

Pickthall's case shows us how ideology is integrated into the translator's behaviour, giving us an account of how and why interpellation calls are produced in translation. This helps to illustrate how useful the inclusive sense of ideology is for demonstrating that ideology can be seen as a universal feature of translation and that there is no practice outside ideology.

Case ii: Yusuf Ali (1934)

The second case illustrating the operation of the Qur'an translation narrative is that of Abdullah Yusuf Ali (1872–1953). Yusuf Ali was an English Muslim translator acclaimed for his "highly readable rendering of the Qur'an" entitled *The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an* (A.-R. Kidwai 1988, 48). The incomplete version of the translation was published in 1934, but the complete translation with a set of copious footnotes appeared in 1937. Since then, the translation has witnessed a record number of reprints and new and revised editions, though not by the author. Kidwai (2005, 5), for instance, was able to track down over 200 editions. In these editions, Yusuf Ali's work has been revised, re-phrased, abridged and featured in some bilingual and transliterated editions. This chapter will use the 1946 reprint (not the new or revised edition) as it underscores the translator's original work.

The translation contains an introduction in which Yusuf Ali expresses the same opinion as that of Pickthall, viz. that the Qur'an is untranslatable. From the outset, he describes his work as an "English interpretation" which approximates the Qur'an and endeavours to give "the fullest meaning" and "the rhythm, music, and exalted tone of the original" (Yusuf Ali 1937/1946, iv), reproducing the view of Muslim scholars that any translation is only an interpretation of the original. Unlike Pickthall who relies on the principle of *in verba magistri* and thus pays little attention to underlying characteristics of the idea of untranslatability, Yusuf Ali expresses the idea of untranslatability and explains his viewpoint by the difficulties encountered. These difficulties are of the following types: (i) Arabic words have acquired other

meanings over time since those that they had in 7th–8th century Arabic, resulting in a plethora of Qur'anic meanings; (ii) contemporary commentators often abandon, for no clear reason, the use of early commentaries in the course of interpreting the Qur'an, and this renders the process of selective judgement difficult; (iii) the transfer into modern languages of some terms, e.g. polysemous or obsolete terms, makes the translator's task burdensome; (iv) the multiplicity of diverse interpretations of the Qur'an triggers a state of indecision and perplexity on the part of the translator (Yusuf Ali 1937/1946, x–xi). These difficulties can be divided into two categories: language-related difficulties (i & iii) and exegesis-related difficulties (ii & iv). The first category reflects the justification used by most Muslim scholars in favour of the untranslatability of the Qur'an, that is, that the Qur'an has "senses" that are only specific to Qur'anic Arabic (see e.g. Mehanna 1978). One can see here Yusuf Ali's role as an ideological agent operating in the service of the Qur'an translation narrative. The translator reproduces the untranslatability idea by reinscribing patterns of sense-making, to wit an endeavour to understand why the Qur'an cannot be translated, that serve the dominant ideology. The relationship between sense-making and ideology lies in that the translator is able to come to an explanation which legitimizes the idea that the Qur'an is untranslatable. Such an explanation in effect drives the translator's work towards the use of pre-established ideologies, which furnish the translator with a particular system of knowledge. The reproduction of the untranslatability discourse invokes norms and ideologies even if the translator does not depend on them in his translation. This suggests that the translator depends on – and reproduces – a particular structure which is neither a coherent nor a unified whole whether subjectively (as a result of a conscious, semiconscious or unconscious decision) or objectively (via the embodiment of the narrative on Qur'an translation). Thus, it can be said that something is happening: an act of recognition of an ideological frame that affords the translator the means

to govern his translation in a way congruent with the whole. He thus works by himself; as Althusser (1971, 182) observes, "subjects work by themselves".

Indeed, it would simply not be enough to say that the translator reproduces the idea of the untranslatable and, as a result, his work in an Althusserian sense is ideologically constructed (a deliberate or fixed construction). One must show how such ideological construction takes place. Yusuf Ali, as the English text's author, builds his translation on the materials which he uses, e.g. classical Arabic dictionaries. Those materials are not neutral, as Lefevere (1992, 52) suggests. They operate as a sort of edifice to elaborate meaning – a transparent edifice that retains a degree of autonomy even if it is blended in ideology. Above all, Yusuf Ali's emphasis on the use of such materials to translate the Qur'an (note the contradiction: untranslatable versus translatable) produced a new kind of narrative, which reduces the translator's verdict on Qur'an translation to transparency in that even after consulting classical dictionaries, he still finds the Qur'an untranslatable. This verdict disguises the function of the untranslatability idea and instead gives it a function as reality, an unavoidable conclusion. In this manner, the idea of untranslatability becomes a reality, a force of literary production which brings together the historical narrative on Qur'an translation and the translator's personal understanding in dialogue to determine the destiny of translation. Indeed, "specific literary works are determined by the history of literary production from which they receive the means of their own realization" (Macherey 1978, 61; see also Eagleton 1976, 47).

Yusuf Ali attaches little weight to the principle of *in verba magistri*; rather, he presents the idea of untranslatability as the propagation of the presence of choice, a choice of his own. Ideology here is presented in terms of transparency and choice. At this level then appears, (i) the subject which implies a certain vision of the world, an ideology, and which simultaneously depends on the ideology to build the work and (ii) a personal narrative, which introduces and

reproduces a certain ideology that creates a multitude of subjects, as Althusser (1971, 170) notes, as bearers of ideology.

The second category implies that the translator must have recourse to authorities of exegesis to extract the precise Qur'anic meaning. In fact, translators are likely, in Yusuf Ali's opinion, to reflect their own beliefs in how they render Arabic terms, but they are supposed to remain vigilant and not read their own thoughts into the text (Yusuf Ali 1937/1946, viii). Translating the Qur'an, Yusuf Ali continues, requires serious efforts which are made not only by using classical Arabic dictionaries but also by observing Islam's early authorities, such as al-Ṭabarī (838–923). Translators are expected to exercise wisdom in what concerns Islamic experience, demonstrate expertise in understanding the Qur'an, and be anchored largely in the knowledge of early authorities because the Arabic language is in a state of constant change (from classical to modern); therefore, Yusuf Ali believes that "it would be a good rule to prefer the earlier to the later interpretation" (Yusuf Ali 1937/1946, viii).

Yusuf Ali advocates a particular ethical behaviour that translators must exhibit, i.e. remaining vigilant not to read one's own understanding of the Qur'an into Qur'an translation. In turn, translators must show awareness of the authoritative exegetical texts which offer a comprehensive understanding of the Qur'an. These points – or rules – seem to be intertwined. Read through the lens of Althusser, Yusuf Ali's rule – pertaining to the translator's ethical behaviour – has two functions. First, the call of an ethical behaviour reproduces the illusion that the translator is a sovereign actor who can produce a non-ideological translation via ethical choices. The translator's ethical behaviour thus ensures the functioning of ideology in a way which appears to be non-ideological as it contains no direct references to larger structures of power (e.g. a particular school of thought) that would immediately be associated with ideology. Any association with certain structures would trigger unnecessary criticism, which would threaten the homogeneity of the whole. Consequently, it appears that the role of Ali's rule is to

suppress a critique of an ideological system operating via authority and control. This does not suggest the absence of direct ideological interpellations, however. Translators are interpellated in a subtle way. The interpellative call in Yusuf Ali's case is best described as a personal injunction to be oneself, an individual responsible for his/her translation choices. It is a form of subtle ideological interpellation that calls for self-realization and which is not experienced as ideology. One must note that Qur'an translators, caught in such a web of social relations, make choices actively, not passively, as they engage with their translation choices. However, they make *forced* choices which appear to be their own and free of ideology (Althusser 1971, 175), since their "positioning within particular discourses makes the 'chosen' line of action the only possible action, not because there are no other lines of action but because one has been subjectively constituted through one's placement within that discourse to want that line of action" (Davies 1991, 46).

Second, Yusuf Ali's rule propounds that an ideological system (e.g. a tradition of exegetical materials, schools of thought, etc.) can – in principle – save translators from their own ills. This is evidence of the ideological system using translators to reproduce its own control and authority's mechanisms in a reciprocal fashion (i.e. translators who meet the requirements of the system assume authority, and in turn the system bolsters its own mechanisms) via particular readings of the Qur'an rather than evidence for the translators' potential to be sovereign actors. The invisible functioning of ideology lies in its contradiction: the translator is encouraged to be ethical yet at the same time adhere to particular frames of beliefs. In Žižek's terms, "the function of ideological fantasy is to mask this inconsistency" (Žižek 1989, 142).

How would a translator react to the discrepancy between ideological structures (e.g. authoritative materials) and the suggested experience of ethical behaviour? Such discrepancy is turned into an argument championing the *rational* dialogue with authorities. As Žižek (1989/2008, 50) explains, ideology "really succeeds when even the facts which at first sight

contradict it start to function as arguments in its favour". That suggests that Yusuf Ali's idea of the ethical translator has nothing to do with ethics *per se*, but simply marks an attempt to disguise ideology's contradictions and evade the state of affairs of how Qur'an translation operates – in principle – within ideological boundaries, thus reproducing relations of domination.

In sum, Yusuf Ali's discussion on Qur'an translation operates at three interrelated levels: first, translation narrative, by reproducing the view that a translation is merely an interpretation of the original. Second, translator narrative, by reproducing such an important component of the narrative as that the translator should consult a set of authoritative exegetical texts and dictionaries of Arabic in the course of translation. An important implication of this view is that the translator does not necessarily have to be a native speaker of Arabic. Yusuf Ali, however, pays no attention to the role of English in his discussion, thereby leaving room for speculation: should a translator be a native speaker of English or be just a natural bilingual? Unlike the idea of the helper in Pickthall's discussion, the helper in Yusuf Ali's view is a set of classical dictionaries. Third, Qur'an narrative, by suggesting al-Ṭabarī as an exegete to be consulted and whose works offer insightful readings of Qur'anic passages. Yusuf Ali's discussion of these three levels is situated in the larger narrative on Qur'an translation. The structure of translation agency, according to Yusuf Ali, is as follows: there is a translator (not necessarily a native Arabic speaker) and a set of authoritative Qur'anic exegetical texts.

Like Pickthall's, Yusuf Ali's discussion demonstrates the workings of ideology at the level of translator's agency, further showing how the translation process is inseparable from ideology. Viewing translation as such became obvious only when one adopts the inclusive sense of ideology. The point to make is that the broad sense of ideology helps us to understand better how Yusuf Ali's work operates as an ideological mechanism.

Case iii: Arthur John Arberry (1955)

The third case illustrating the operation of the Qur'an translation narrative is that of Arthur John Arberry (1905–1969), an illustrious orientalist and Arabist at the universities of London and Cambridge. Since his translation, entitled *The Koran Interpreted*, enjoys wide circulation and earns the respect of academics worldwide, it is important to consider the operation of the narrative in Arberry's case. Arberry's complete translation appeared in 1955 in a two-volume set edition followed a year later by a single-volume edition. Prior to the 1955 edition, Arberry had published some translated selections from the Qur'an with a 33-page long introduction in which he discussed his approach to translation. The 1955 edition contains only a preface focused primarily on the history of Qur'an translation and how his translation stands out from mainstream translations. In both editions, Arberry expresses the orthodox Muslim view that the Qur'an is untranslatable.

Arberry's case shows, importantly, the influence of the narrative on non-Muslim translators who also participate in the reproduction of the idea of untranslatability and, by extension, the reproduction of the narrative on Qur'an translation. In the preface to the 1955 edition, Arberry terms his translation *The Koran Interpreted*, yielding to the Muslim intellectuals' stand on the matter: "in choosing to call the present work *The Koran Interpreted* I have conceded the relevancy of the orthodox Muslim view, of which Pickthall, for one, was so conscious, that the Koran is un-translatable" (Arberry 1955, 1:24). In this passage, Arberry reflects his awareness of the narrative on Qur'an translation. Much like Pickthall, he relies on the principle of *in verba magistri* and accepts the general consensus amongst Muslim scholars that "the Koran undeniably abounds in fine writing; it has its own extremely individual qualities; the language is highly idiomatic, yet for the most part delusively simple; the rhythms and rhymes are inseparable features of its impressive eloquence, and these are indeed inimitable" (Arberry 1953, 28). Arberry rationalizes his work by established practices and constructs his relation

with the "unique, absolute Other Subject" (Althusser 1971, 178). This provides him with a feeling of security within the overall structure of the Qur'an translation narrative. Therefore, Arberry is not held to be the author or the originator of his idea: the idea that the Qur'an cannot be translated as professed by Arberry depends on the prior existence of the narrative and, significantly, on Arberry's recognition of the narrative.

Arberry's view on untranslatability hinges on the linguistic hurdles that one must deal with in the course of translation, in particular the idiomatic language that "possesses the slightest artistic merit and emotional appeal" (Arberry 1953, 28). Note that his view is no less general than that of Pickthall and Yusuf Ali. He does not substantiate his claim other than by saying that the Qur'an's idiomatic language renders the task of translation impossible. The idiomatic language refers to the power of words, artfully arranged to produce extraordinary effects. His claim, however, indicates continuity in the Qur'an translation narrative. In fact, Arberry's reproduction of this idea is not so much a product of experience based on translating the Qur'an as it is a way of pointing towards the persistence of a special point of view. Thus, one can immediately notice an established ideological narrative in individualized representations, which indicate that it is a question of ideology, an ideological representation in principle. Such a representation expresses the state of affairs as a form of reality in so far as such form reflects the ideology of established Qur'an translation practices and meets the Qur'an translation narrative's requirements.

Arberry's personal narrative shows that his translation was accomplished within a practice related to determinate conditions. He only delivers the idea because the boundaries of the dominant narrative contain the science of Qur'an translating itself. Dedicated to the dominant narrative, the translator is himself metamorphosed into an instrument of ideological interpellation, perfectly amenable to pre-established laws. He, therefore, becomes, in the Althusserian sense, a subject subjected to the Subject by integrating himself into the logic of

Islamic tradition, part of which he thus becomes. From the narrative being fashioned in the translator's image, it is Arberry who models himself after the translator's image set by an established narrative. So, he is not to be presented as a passive translator trapped in a dominant ideological narrative, although he recognizes his subjection to the Subject. On the contrary, the narrative, operating as an ideological Subject, itself is subject to changes, and the translator can shape the narrative as much as he is shaped by the narrative.

One observation illustrating the operation of such social actors as translators at the level of translation agency pertains to how translators recognize each other as subjects of the Subject, the God of Translation, so to speak. Althusser (1971, 181) shows the subjects' mutual recognition as an essential element of the quadruple system. In the passage cited above, Arberry demonstrates this recognition by referring to another translator – Pickthall – who also accepts the view that the Qur'an is untranslatable. Arberry's reference to Pickthall is about recognizing another subject of the same nature – a recognition which gives a sense of comfort – rather than about making a passing comment on Pickthall's discussion on why the Qur'an cannot be translated. The subjects' recognition of each other in the Althusserian perspective enhances the operation of ideology and the constitution of subjects as occupants of social roles and as oracles through whom the God of Translation speaks.

As far as the level of translator narrative is concerned, Arberry has little to say; he only shares his experience as a translator of the Qur'an. In dealing with some eschatological suras which brim with strange words, Arberry follows "traditional Muslim opinion rather than modern infidel conjecture" (Arberry 1953, 30). He prefers to consult orthodox Muslim exegetical texts rather than non-Muslim readings of the Qur'an. One notes here that Arberry implies that the translator must have recourse to a set of exegetical authorities to appreciate the linguistic complexities of the Qur'an.

It appears that Arberry's project had to be embodied in a domain of pure ideology, authority and control. This has established the continuity of the ideological narrative, operating as part of a larger structure of power to render the untranslatable translatable. Thus, Arberry moves towards translating because he follows the authorities to enable him to recognize meanings all along his route. Arberry progresses through the authority of others who are marked out for success. His journey becomes not so much a new *translation* of the divine but an identification with an established order. He is then the man who feeds into the ulama's authority and makes it even stronger. The hidden presence of ideology and authority is thus reflected in his personal narrative as a form of imposed reality – a reality expressed in terms of logic in the perfected Qur'an translator's image. His narrative becomes "nothing more than the insertion of certain specific ideological determinations […] into a hegemonic ideological formation" (Eagleton 1976, 113).

Another instance where Arberry speaks of the characteristics of the Qur'an translator occurs when he comments on Pickthall's versatility, indicating that he as a translator is "a man of distinct literary gifts, having achieved a certain repute as a novelist" (Arberry 1955, 1:20). Pickthall was an English, not an Arabic novelist. Arberry is suggesting that although having an advanced knowledge of the Qur'an adds a great deal to one's understanding of the mysterious Qur'anic expressions, this may not be enough for one to imitate "imperfectly, those rhetorical and rhythmical patterns which are the glory and the sublimity of the Koran" (Arberry 1955, 1:25). In his opinion, the translator should be a native speaker of English distinguished for his/her distinctive style of eloquence in writing. In addition to his/her linguistic skills, the translator should be someone who holds a degree of repute for his/her eloquent writings. In other words, the translator should more or less be an erudite writer of novel eloquence in the English language.

What stands out is that Arberry adds important qualifications to the narrative. He recognizes the image set by the ideological narrative, which recognition is the ultimate condition to be interpellated as the Qur'an translator. As Althusser (1971, 182) notes, interpellation lies in "the very form of recognition". The pre-set translator's image, however, lays little emphasis on the translator's linguistic skills. Arberry makes them, viz. literary skills, a subject of his work. One must note that the translator never reproduces rigorously the ideological narrative to which he is subjected. That is to say, he never adheres to it in a mechanical manner even if his intention was to do so. This is because he writes from a particular place and time which reflects an ideological climate. He thus develops a specific image close, but not identical, to the dominant one. In saying the translator should be "a man of distinct literary gifts", Arberry (1955, 1:20) contributes to developing the translator's image by introducing literary skills as one of the desirable characteristics in the best Qur'an translator.

However, when Arberry speaks of his intention behind the translation, another description of the Qur'an translator surfaces. Because translations made by orientalists, such as that of Robertus Retenensis, are seen as hostile to Islam (al-Zurqānī 1995, 88–89; Arberry 1955), Arberry expresses his fair intention from the outset to reconcile himself to the narrative:

> As for the faithful, I will not conceal from them, what they will not in any case imagine, that I am no Muslim, nor could ever be. Pickthall's definition would therefore exclude me from being a fair interpreter; yet I have endeavoured to be fair, not only philologically but also imaginatively, by making the effort always to approach and apprehend these Scriptures as if I believed them to be divinely inspired, whatever that phrase may mean (Arberry 1953, 31).

Arberry implies that the translator must have a fair intent in the Qur'an, a fair intent that is built on understanding the scripture as a divine construct; thus, the translator, by implication, does not have to be a believer as Pickthall claims (see Pickthall's case above). The Qur'an translator, in Arberry's opinion, must exude intellect so as not to have the translation as a polemical and missionary site aimed to sully the image of Islam. For example, Arberry (1955, 1:7) sees the

first Latin Qur'an translation of 1143 to have been "inspired by hostile intention". However, Arberry does not talk about the degree of fair intent and how a translator can maintain such intent or whether a translator should be objective. If so, in what sense? These questions, though they pertain to the ethics of the Qur'an translator, eludes examination in Arberry's discussion.

Arberry's case also shows the workings of ideology at the level of translator's agency. One notices the rise of the idea that a non-believer can also be faithful to the narrative and can work objectively within the boundaries of an already constituted ideological field. Behind this idea lies a model of reasoning which allows ideology – and the ulama's authority – to assume a degree of invisibility in that the translator must follow established commentaries in the course of translation. Ideology is introduced as objectivity, a kind of "realistic", "rational" and even "scientific" discipline, to rectify the historical misrepresentations of Islam that occurred in the West in a period when translators aimed to discredit Islam using Qur'an translation (on this point, see a brief discussion in Mustapha 1998, 228). Objectivity, therefore, appears to be the other form of ideology, a cover for all the exclusiveness of mainstream authorities and a barrier for social change. As Althusser (1971, 100) suggests, ideological apparatuses are capable of providing an objective discourse which mystifies the relations of domination, so the exercise of authority can be justified by reference to "objectivity" and "reason". In other words, "objectivity is ideological" (Franck 1979, 46). Thus, it is not a question of faithfulness to objectivity, or even to a *professional* translator's image, but of reproducing ideologies and power structures as historically defined. Indeed, the socio-historical forces always determine the works within the rubric of objectivity (Said 1975, 227), which works are "already 'over-worked,' 'over-coded,' productively activated in a particular way as a result of their inscription within the social, material, ideological and institutional relationships which distinguish specific reading relations" (Bennett 1983, 224).

Arberry draws on the translator narrative as conceptualized by Muslim scholars. However, the picture offered by Arberry is rather complex as it is not entirely the product of the Qur'an translation narrative but also includes components of his own making. Arberry makes *direct* reference to the narrative, as is clear in his concession to the relevancy of the orthodox view on Qur'an translation that the Qur'an is untranslatable. In addition, he insists on translators persevering in their efforts to consult exegetical authorities to explore the mysteries of the book. This view implies that the Qur'an translator must exercise wisdom, erudition and ingenuity in the course of translation and also have fair intent to understand the scripture. Yet, that is not enough on the part of the translator to produce a novel and poetic translation which appreciates the rhythmical pattern of the original. While seeing the Qur'an translator as more of an eloquent writer, Arberry makes *indirect* reference to the narrative that a linguistic competence in both languages is required on the part of the translator. Though the Qur'an translation narrative, as shown in Section 3.1, does not set the degrees of linguistic competence, Arberry, as an active social actor, participates in the development of the translator narrative, suggesting, by implication, that the translator must exude eloquence. Thus, the structure of translator's agency according to Arberry is as follows: there is a translator erudite and deeply read in the classical exegesis of the Qur'an, who possesses a sincere intent and a high degree of eloquence.

Indeed, Arberry's case also shows how ideology is inscribed into the translator's behaviour, thus demonstrating the capacity of the broader sense to explain the operation of ideology at the level of translator's agency. Therefore, this indicates that ideology can be seen as a universal characteristic of translation, rather than in the limited sense discussed in present-day TS scholarship, as shown in chapter 2.

The last case illustrating the operation of the Qur'an translation narrative is that of Colin Turner, a Muslim convert and scholar of Islam. Turner's translation, entitled *The Quran: A New Interpretation*, was published in 1997 and reprinted in 2013. In addition to the translated text, the translation contains an introduction and a short section in which Turner discusses his approach to the translation of the Qur'an.

In the introduction to his translation, Turner debates the notion of untranslatability from the angle of *i'jāz al-qur'ān*: the Qur'an is inimitable and, by extension, untranslatable. Importantly, one can see the mechanism of the Qur'an translation narrative operating at the level of translator's agency and how such a social actor reproduces the narrative in his translation. Turner considers Qur'an translation as a form of imitation and therefore disputes the translatability of the Qur'an in general:

> The question of whether or not one should attempt a translation of the Quran should perhaps be seen in the context of the rather more complex issue of translatability in general, of whether or not translation – any translation – is possible at all (Turner 1997, x).

Turner thus claims that "the notion of untranslatability operates on two distinct levels—the aesthetico-linguistic and the religio-philosophical—but at the heart of both arguments lies the question of fidelity, of faithfulness to the text—and, by extension in the case of religious scripture, faithfulness to God himself [herself]" (Turner 1997, x). These levels reflect the debates on Qur'an translation and are the product of the Qur'an translation narrative. The first "aesthetico-linguistic" level suggests that the Qur'an is untranslatable owing to the linguistic supremacy that the Qur'an enjoys in comparison with other types of texts. The second level pertains to the debates that are centred on the idea of inimitability that the Qur'an is the words of God and, therefore, cannot be reproduced by the words of beings. Turner discusses these

two levels, not so much as opinions, but as arguments based on a tradition and a long-standing narrative on Qur'an translation.

Turner's repetition of the untranslatability idea appears an arbitrary act, an expression of self-will, asserting itself in a frame of personal opinion. Only through repetition, this idea acquires a sense of historical necessity, i.e. it finds its place in the network of opinions, thus becoming a constitutive mechanism of ideology, more or less like an interpellation call. In fact, Turner is interpellated as a subject of ideology via such a process – a repetition which "rests upon the epistemologically naïve presupposition of an objective historical necessity, persisting independently of consciousness (of the 'opinion of the people') and asserting itself finally through repetition" (Žižek 1989, 64). Repetition is what makes Turner's case ideological – ideology thus becomes a reality whose existence entails the subjects' participation in its essence, a participation that implies non-knowledge on the part of subjects, and thereby leading to the reproduction of the ideological narrative. Turner's participation in the debate on the notion of untranslatability carries significant implications because it shows how he is not so much operating as a passive agent, who only reproduces the narrative, but also as an active agent contributing to the debate on Qur'an translation and the reproduction of the Qur'an translation narrative, and thereby the reproduction of himself as the translator of the divine. That means that ideology never forces subjects to the Subject; rather, "subjects work by themselves" and ensure their own subjection to the Subject (Althusser 1971, 182).

Turner's input to the debate pertains to the notion of faithfulness. In translation narrative, faithfulness should be to the original, to the text and to the words of God (see this component in Figure 1 above). Turner adds a critical dimension which extends the notion of faithfulness to embrace the idea that translators should not only be faithful to the words of God, but also to the Mighty, to God Himself/Herself. This point appears as rather abstract, but at the same time meaningful to believers in God. In other words, faithfulness to God is abstract to non-believers

(it is not clear what "faithfulness to God" would mean) but meaningful to believers, in a sense that it speaks of something (the notion of God) that is already accepted. So, faithfulness to God adds a psychological dimension for Muslim Qur'an translators in comparison with faithfulness to the text, which is more semantic. Turner reduces the idea of faithfulness to its most simple expression – faithfulness to God. The imaginative character of God serves as the perfect expression of authority. The reconstitution of faithfulness from meaning-centred to God-centred is a form of identification with the narrative, but also implies innovation not of making something new, but of reproducing the idea of faithfulness and its basic tenets. Turner mirrors his faith so *faithfully* that he constructs a *God-faithful* idea of faithfulness to resist fallacies from being imported into the translation of the Qur'an.

According to Turner, nothing is translatable because languages are not identical in their structure, i.e. lexical, vocabulary, logic, etc. (Turner 1997, x). If so, what should translators do? Turner answers this by indicating,

> we do what countless literary law-breakers before us have done: we accept this most unholy of principles and then we dive in and translate, accepting the truth that perfection, immutability and absolutes may pertain to mathematics, but only mythically to the arts, to most human experience, and to everything else in the cosmos—but not at all to literature and literary translation. (Turner 1997, x).

> [Translators] should not detract from the fact that the general consensus among Muslim intellectuals – including those who have attempted translations of the Quran into other languages – is that the Quran is ultimately untranslatable (Turner 1997, xiii).

In Turner's view, to pronounce the Qur'an untranslatable, however, does not mean that it should not be translated. Turner proposes that one should instead capitulate to the aesthetics of the Arabic Qur'an and realize that "what is lost is Quran itself", what is lost is the "excellences of sound and eloquence, of rhetoric and metaphor, of assonance and alliteration, of onomatopoeia and rhyme, of ellipsis and parallelism so sublime that all attempts to replicate

its verses in tongues other than Arabic cannot but take on the form of well-intentioned parody" (Turner 1997, xiii).

Turner evokes the idea that the linguistic architecture of the Qur'an remains Qur'an-specific and by translating the Qur'an all those features characteristic of the original are lost in translation. He is quite specific in suggesting that Qur'an translators should accept the view that the literal translation of the Qur'an is impossible and should instead produce an exegetical translation: "no good translator, however possessed of genius, could provide a translation that was a perfect parallel to the source text" (Turner 1997, vx). This view does not exist in a vacuum; it is rather embedded in a narrative which over the years cultivates the idea that the literal translation of the Qur'an is impossible (as Section 3.1 shows, this is the major idea dominating the narrative on Qur'an translation). Note again the contradictory nature of the narrative on Qur'an translation: the Qur'an is held to be untranslatable, yet at the same time translatable, but with a series of rules attached.

Turner sets three rules for the "good" translator. Set side by side with the over-generalized rules of Pickthall, Turner's rules look less general and more appealing to the reader.

The First Rule

> A good translator must have a thorough understanding of the subject matter covered by the source
> text, and of any social, cultural or emotional connotations that need to be pin-pointed in the target
> language if the intended effect to be conveyed (Turner 1997, vx).

The first rule consists of two sub-rules set in the degree of their importance. The first requires the translator to be knowledgeable about the Qur'an. Turner is not specific about the degree of knowledge that the translator must exhibit: should the translator be an exegete, a scholar of the Qur'an, or an ordinary individual with some general knowledge of Qur'anic stories and laws of guidance? This remains equivocal in Turner's conceptualization of the good translator. The second implies that the translator should demonstrate an awareness of the social, cultural and emotional characteristics of the Arabic language and, by implication, those of the TL because

conveying the intended culturally-loaded expressions also requires an awareness of the target language's social, emotional and cultural characteristics. The translator, in Turner's opinion, is then someone who must also exhibit advanced knowledge of both languages.

The Second Rule

> A good translator is one who is fully aware both of the underlying aim of translation – which is namely to provide semantic equivalence between source and target language – and of the numerous problems which such a seemingly straightforward aim serves to mask (Turner 1997, vx).

The second rule also consists of two sub-rules that are complementary to each other thematically. The first sub-rule requires the translator to be aware that his/her translation aims to provide a semantic equivalence, that is, the reproduction of words by means of explanatory expressions in order to preserve the meaning of the original. The second sub-rule pertains to the difficulties that ought to arise in the course of translation and the degree of semantic equivalence to be achieved. Turner implies that formal equivalence, i.e. the reproduction of the form and content in close parallel to the original, cannot be achieved, thus emphasizing the view that the Qur'an cannot be translated in the literal sense of the word. In this case, for example, Turner adheres to the views of Muslim intellectuals by entitling his work *The Quran: A New Interpretation* because it is "not a straightforward translation", but rather an exegetical reading of Muḥammad Bāqir Bahbūdī's *Maʿānī al-qur'ān* (Turner 1997, xvi). Turner here operates at the level of translation narrative which suggests that the translator must indicate that Qur'an translation is but an interpretation of the original. One should note that Turner refers to exegesis as something essential to the process of Qur'an translation, in which the translator must excel. That is, the translator is required to consult authorities of exegesis in the course of translation.

The Third Rule

> Convey the meanings of the Qur'an in as lucid and readable an English style while preserving the integrity of the original text (Turner 1997, vxi).

Turner claims that the translator must convey the meanings of the original in a readable style convenient for modern readers. This point carries important implications in that it stands apart from the narrative on Qur'an translation which lays a great deal of emphasis on translators having competence in Islamic knowledge. The translator in Turner's opinion should render the message in a "lucid" English so that readers can understand. Turner implies that the translator should possess a good command of English, though he does not specify whether the translator should be a native speaker of English. This rule shows how Turner participates in the development of the Qur'an translator's image. He calls for the necessity of clarity in Qur'an translation as part of the narratable qualities of the good translator. However, since the narrative and the authority that lies behind it are not the subject matter of Turner's discussion of the good translator, he becomes an apologist for the narrative, with the focus only on developing the narrative, which, in effect, confirms the recognition of his subjection to the Subject.

The point that the translator should translate into lucid English has enjoyed a degree of emphasis lately, and gained currency amongst translators, though it was never a subject of discussion amongst the ulama. Consider, for example, the description of Mohammad Javad Gohari's translation (2002) as advertised online; the translation "seeks to state clearly and accurately the meaning of the original texts in words and form that are widely accepted by people who use English as a means of communication" ('Amazon 11' n.d.). Another example is Afzal Hoosen Elias's translation (2004). His is described as "simple and easy to understand and unlike other translations leaves no room for ambiguity and misunderstanding" ('Amazon 12' n.d.). More recently, Musharraf Hussain's translation of 2017 is also presented as the first of its kind: "this refreshing and beautiful presentation of the message of the glorious Qur'an is accurate, and reads easily and flows smoothly" ('The Meaning and Message in Plain English'

n.d.). As a matter of fact, seventeen out of the thirty cases of twenty-first-century translations examined stress how the translated text is readily intelligible to the modern-day readership (see Appendix III for details on how titles were translated in the collection of the selected thirty cases).

In Turner's rules, there is obvious progress in the narrative about the best Qur'an translator's image. Turner participates in the development of the narrative by adding his rules about the main attributes of the "good" Qur'an translator. One can notice the translator narrative being retold by means of participation in the development of the rules. This implies that Turner's rules serve as a repetition of the recurrent characteristics of the Qur'an translator as historically defined. Such repetition is presented as Turner's own reflection on the translator's image, thereby disclosing all the ideological overtones inherent in his image of the "good" Qur'an translator. Thus, Turner's desirable image does not appear as an absolute identification with the narrative as it is elaborated within that space between reality (ideology) and experience (years of hardship). Turner's gesture of identification, though concealed under the guise of reflection, reproduces a partial awareness of the translator narrative. As Althusser (1971, 174) remarks, "large numbers […] have something in their consciences".

Turner's work does not just reproduce ideology, but belongs to the domain of ideological interpellation, the making of modern translators, thereby expressing the image without which there would be no translators: new translations for new generations. One can see that the new translator exists only thanks to the survival of the translator's image, thus affirming its persistence. The amalgam of images (the new with the old) alludes to the historical narrative, beneath which lies the question of authority. The product of such a mixture is an instance of the *real* image that is an expression of the ideological narrative, i.e. Turner's work ultimately signifies a dependence of his imagined image of the "good" Qur'an translator upon the past image as historically defined which then constitutes the *real* Qur'an translator's image. That is

to say, Turner's image is not perceived as the product of a conscious choice but is in fact bound to its historical conditions. The Qur'an translator's image in Turner's work is necessarily built upon a historical narrative which sets the boundaries and gives ideological significance and legitimacy to Turner's work. As Eagleton (1976, 48) remarks, any work necessarily "bears the impress of its historical mode of production".

Turner's discussion on Qur'an translation operates at the main three levels, reproducing some of the core components of the narrative. At the level of translation narrative, Turner suggests that the translation should be faithful both to the original and to God Himself/Herself. At the level of the translator narrative, Turner's conceptualization envisages the good translator – or perhaps all Qur'an translators – following such rules as demonstrating a thorough knowledge of the Qur'an (though the degree of knowledge remains unclear in Turner's discussion) and exhibiting knowledge pertaining to cultural, social and emotional aspects of both languages, etc. At the level of Qur'an narrative (how the Qur'an should be read), Turner provides no names or works of exegesis, but only shares his experience and the authority he consulted in the process of translation.

Overall, Turner pays close attention to the notion of untranslatability, whether by means of discussing the notion itself or by means of conceptualizing the image of the good translator. This suggests that Turner is well aware of the narrative on Qur'an translation and, by extension, his operation as a social agent in the patronage of the Subject, the God of Translation. Thus, the structure of the translator's agency, in Turner's opinion, is as follows: there is an *active* translator equipped with a comprehensive knowledge of the Qur'an (the degree is not specified) and both languages (particularly the social, emotional and cultural aspects), an awareness of the untranslatability of the Qur'an, a good command of English and a set of authoritative Qur'anic exegetical texts to use throughout.

Turner's case is another example that shows how, by adopting the inclusive sense, ideology could be seen as a universal feature of translation as there is no practice except in an ideology. It demonstrates how ideology is embedded in the act of what it means to be a translator and in the structure of the translator's agency.

3.3 Conclusion

The four cases examined above operate at the three levels of the Qur'an translation narrative, reproducing some components of the narrative. The most important component in the discussion of these cases is that the translator must consult exegetical authorities on the Qur'an in order to explore the mysteries of the divine. Social agents, as Qur'an translators, *actively* participate in the reproduction of the narrative on the Qur'an translation. They recognize the narrative under which their translations can be realized. They believe that having competence in the knowledge of the Qur'an is of utmost concern, without which translators cannot start working on rendering the Qur'an. In fact, this competence (the kind of Islamic knowledge required) remains ambiguous because it is largely relative. They also believe that translators must be faithful to the original with a fair intent. This demonstrates how the Qur'an translation narrative shapes translation practices and translators' self-realization as carriers of divine meanings.

The significance of the analysis lies in that it helps us to view ideology as something inseparable from translation by examining how the narrative is inscribed into the translator's agency. For what lurks behind the translators' practices is not simply a set of archaic procedures or obsolescent rules but an ideological apparatus for translation control, achieved by governing Qur'an translators' behaviour, not by brutal forms of subjection, but by their consent and cooperation in the operation of power. Domination becomes thus so integrated into the translator's image that it becomes difficult to operate outside the boundaries of the Qur'an

translation narrative. The narrative does not, however, interpellate the translators in some mysterious power; the Subject determines the translator's image in a way that ensures the interpellation of translators into subjects subjected to the Subject. Interpellation enjoins subjects to speak for their own, on behalf of the Subject, who in effect become part of the whole, eventually accumulating into some kind of collective affirmation of the Subject's power. Translators' understanding of the best Qur'an translator becomes simply an expression of the Subject.

The close cooperation of subjects and the Subject does not only reproduce the dominant ideology (the field), but also ensures a system of translation control working spontaneously to exert disciplinary control over translators. Therefore, the ideological apparatus is indeed put in place to produce subjects through the criteria which detail who should translate the Qur'an and, by extension, constitute translator's agency. However, do these criteria reflect more or less real-life interpellation processes? Or are they merely interpellation calls with little or no effect? These questions pave the way for the topic of the next chapter, which explores some twenty-first century translators' profiles to examine the effects such interpellation calls have on the praxis of Qur'an translation today, with a focus on recruitment as an ideological practice.

Chapter 4

The Qur'an Translator: Recruitment as An Ideological Practice

This chapter discusses recruitment as a mode of ideological practice involved in reproducing the ulama's authority. By ideological practice, I mean the materialization of the translator narrative in the translators' profiles. As discussed in chapter 2, Althusser's theory neglects to consider more precise mechanisms by which individuals are designated in the ideological recruitment. This shows the limit of Althusser's theory yet does not invalidate his own critique of ideology, as such a limit helps us to extend the analysis of how ideology is an integral part of the translation activity. The point of interest is that translators' recruitment sustains the domination of the Qur'an translation narrative by placing Qur'an translators in a historically determined ensemble of practices. Translation and the Qur'an translation narrative are in fact in an intricate relationship, and this relationship is what constitutes the recruitment process as a mode of ideological practice. As much as translators reproduce the translator narrative in their peritextual materials as demonstrated in the previous chapter, contemporary translators (and/or their publishers) also reproduce the same narrative in their epitextual materials. Therefore, the dominant narrative, which operates as an ideological apparatus, is intertwined with twenty-first century Qur'an translations. By connecting the translators' profiles with the translator narrative (a detailed discussion on the narrative features in Cap. 3.1), one can show how the translators' profiles sustain the ulama's authority, making the Qur'an translator's image an essential qualification.

The recurring feature of this thesis's argument is that ideology should be seen as a universal feature of translation; the analysis was conducted to help us see this by showing how the recruitment of Qur'an translators is a mode of ideological practice. As such, the translator's

image ensures the spontaneous operation of ideology's subjects; in a sense, "subjects work by themselves" (Althusser 1971, 182). Thus, reproducing the ulama's authority becomes a common feature of translation agency. The reproduction of authority implies the imposition of hegemony and the realization of the translator narrative as the dominant ideological apparatus. As a result, the agents of Qur'an translation (e.g. translators, publishers, or commissioners) become immersed in a collective consciousness: their consciousness becomes an expression of the ulama's consciousness.

In order to analyse the translator narrative's role vis-à-vis recruitment at the epitextual level, this chapter looks at the translators' profiles as introduced by the publishing houses. The analysis considers four examples – Maulana Wahiduddin Khan, Tarif Khalidi, Thomas Cleary and Talal Itani – that illustrate diverse types of translators drawn from the overall collection of thirty cases. These examples were selected for several reasons. First, they demonstrate how interpellation operates in the context of Qur'an translation today since the emphasis is on Qur'an translation's present praxis rather than history. Second, the cases illustrate how in the twenty-first century, even after a period of almost a century since the crystallization of the Qur'an translation narrative, the same narrative is reproduced time and time again. Appendix II is attached to list the selection criteria discussed in the chapter and give details on all translators and their publishing houses.

4.1 Recruitment: An Interpellation Mechanism

Recruitment refers to a process in which the employer/commissioner or an employing institution acts in a way comparable to the Althusserian Subject. The Subject has an ideology, a set of ideas about what the translator should look like, and if that is what the Subject finds in a new candidate, the candidate has a chance to become the chosen translator. Such a recruiting

process, however, succeeds only when the Subject and subjects reciprocally recognize each other.

The interpellation process precedes the job interview or any similar procedures. Individuals subject themselves to the Subject when acting as translators, by e.g. studying in a translator training programme, learning how to translate, and adopting a particular mode of behaviour. Even at such a stage, the budding translators are already a subject to the Translation Subject; they recognize their subjection to the Subject. Yet the Subject remains abstract until individuals who are predisposed to translate or work as translators pass a more or less formal approval of the commissioners/patrons. This is the other side of the recognition: commissioners/patrons or translational institutions (e.g. translation bureaus/agencies) act as a collective agent of the Translation Subject: apostles and prophets through whom the God of Translation speaks.

The hired translator and the hiring agency representing the God of Translation reciprocate, and the quadruple Althusserian interpellation system starts to operate: individual translators recognize themselves as subjects via their subjection to the Subject, the God of Translation manifested in the hiring body/individual; the mutual recognition of subjects and the Subject, the subjects' recognition of each other (colleagues), and finally the subject's recognition of themselves locks into an ideologically "glued" system which guarantees that everything really is the way it looks, and that provided the subjects act accordingly, everything will operate as it should. "Amen – 'So be it'" (Althusser 1971, 168–69). An interesting case is self-subjection to the Translation Subject, that is, self-appointment as a translator, which is not a rare case when individuals decide to translate of their own will. An example of this is addressed below in Case IV.

Indeed, the concept of interpellation explores the prerequisite skills and kind of knowledge demonstrated by translators for a particular translation project in the process of ideological recruitment. Interpellation allows an examination of the process and the criteria for recruiting

social agents; and, in the context of translation as a profession, such a recruiting process precedes the translating process.

Language competence stands high in all the discussions of the requirements to be met by Qur'an translators (see debates on the translator's image as outlined in Cap. 3.1); however, it is merely implied rather than being explicit in real praxis amongst translators. As the analysis below intends to demonstrate, "Islamic knowledge", however defined, is arguably presented as the main prerequisite for Qur'an translators. In the context of the selected Qur'an translations, inquiries that are bound to arise in the light of Althusser's concept of interpellation are: how is an interpellation call produced? What criteria are to be met by individuals to qualify as translators? Interpellation is crucial to this analysis because it allows us to see translators as social agents operating in the patronage of certain ideological apparatuses and the service of certain ideologies. Thus, translators' qualifications through the lens of interpellation appear to be of ideological significance to the operation of ideology in society, rather than merely competences needed for undertaking a translation job.

Translating the Qur'an is a challenge for translators for diverse reasons, most importantly because it is *the most authoritative text* in Islam, which informs social and legal praxis; therefore, it requires special attention on the part of the translator. This implies that the translator should meet a specific set of criteria, immaculately reflecting the process of recruiting translators for the job. The analysis to follow focuses on thirty translations published in the twenty-first century (see the list in Appendix I). It explores manifold epitextual materials through which the commissioning/publishing houses introduce their translators in cover copies, online synopses and public blurbs as in Amazon and Google Books. Such presentations, found in blurbs, translators' bios and lists of their credentials, demonstrate what commissioners of translations consider the most important attributes to convince readers of a "good" and "reliable" English Qur'an translation. Such presentations of translators are, in Althusserian

terms, the items that allow the interpellation to take place. It is important to note that the commissioner refers to the editor who initiates, manages and monitors the translation project, particularly directing the project to suit a particular readership (Nord 1997, 20). The commissioner also decides whether the translation is appropriate for publication after the translator had completed and finally submitted the manuscript. The publisher relies on the commissioner to ensure a sufficient flow of publishable manuscripts to meet and maintain the planned level of activity in the publishing house. In addition, the publisher assesses commissioners based on the revenues that the books they commission might bring to the publishing house. Thus, commissioners are more or less seen as "business managers" (Clark and Phillips 2008, 96).

Amongst the publishers of the thirty translations, there are twelve publishing companies *exclusively* distributing Islamic books, ten *inclusive* publishing companies distributing other types of writings, seven *self-publishing* companies and one *unknown* company, i.e. no data was found about it. Arguably, the information about who translated the Qur'an makes the translation more or less credible. The following analysis aims not to assess the expertise of candidates, but to account for what made them "eligible" to translate the Qur'an in the eyes of the commissioner/commissioning body.

Before the analysis begins, three points must be emphasized regarding the study of blurbs:

(i) Blurbs aim to attract the attention of readers as part of a selling strategy of the publishing house. In other words, the purpose of the blurb is to sell the book. Therefore, what is included in the blurb about the translator presents a close picture of the criteria found necessary in the translator vis-à-vis the imagined eyes of the consumer. That is, blurbs must reflect the initial stage of recruitment because commissioners need to hire translators who attract the consumer.

(ii) It is unimportant whether blurbs are written after, during, or prior to the process of recruitment (they are not independent processes) because they would still reflect the criteria found necessary in the translator to serve the purpose of providing a translation that is saleable.

(iii) It is also unimportant who wrote the blurbs because the blurbs serve a purpose. It is only after they are approved by the commissioner whose purpose is to market the book that blurbs appear in the cover copy, dust jackets and online selling platforms.

Case i: Maulana Wahiduddin Khan (2009)

Let us start with the case of Maulana Wahiduddin Khan (1925–). Khan's translation, entitled *The Quran: A New Translation*, was published in 2009 by Goodword Books, a children's book publisher founded in 1996 by the translator's son, Saniyasnain Khan, a children's book author. This house publishes books *exclusively* on Islam, aiming to disseminate moral values that nurture a profound and lasting Islamic way of life.

Importantly, one sees that the mechanism of the ideological Qur'an narrative operates at the level of commissioners. Khan is described as follows:

> An *Islamic spiritual scholar* who is *well versed in both classical Islamic learning and modern science* […] In the course of his research, the Maulana came to the conclusion that the need of the hour was to present Islamic teachings in the style and language of the present day. Keeping this ideal consistently before him, *he has written over 200 books on Islam*. In 1983, *he wrote a commentary on the Quran*, which was published in Arabic as al-Tadhkir al-Qawim fi Tafsir al-Quran al-Hakim and in Urdu and Hindi as Tadhkir al-Quran. The present volume contains a selection of explanatory notes from his original commentary. His most recent publications are *The Ideology of Peace, God Arises, and Muhammad, the Prophet for All Humanity* (Khan 2009, ii; emphasis added).

In the above passage, one can observe the criteria that made Khan an "eligible" translator of the Qur'an in the eyes of the commissioner. Khan is portrayed as a spiritual scholar, particularly shown to possess a good deal of "Islamic knowledge" (authored over 200 books on Islam) and to enjoy a highly visible position in his community. This portrayal implies that the selection criteria for translators rely a great deal on the translator's status as a scholar of Islam. So, the translator in the eyes of the commissioner is someone who is grounded in Islamic knowledge, both classical and modern, and who has written extensively on Islam. Such knowledge possessed by the translator gives confidence to the commissioner to commission the translation. The above description is, however, less specific about the degree of Khan's knowledge based on which he was selected to translate the Qur'an into English.

Indeed, the commissioner's logic of recruitment reproduces the translator's image that is consequential to past commodifications. The recruitment logic leads one into thinking about an existing objective reality determining who qualifies as a Qur'an translator. Such a reality is not something given but rather inscribed into the logic of translation itself and the functioning of the Qur'an translator as a social agent. As Žižek concludes: "Reality is not just 'out there', reflected or imitated by art, it is something constructed, something contingent, historically conditioned" (Žižek 2012, 254). The logic of recruitment appears to be based on the translator's image as historically conditioned, thereby providing a formulation to one's connection to the ideological apparatuses, which support and naturalize ideologies directed towards a particular construction of translation. The translator's image, as naturalized, becomes the currency used to measure how eligible Khan is for the project. This occasions a particular image of Khan hinging on a particular commodified form.

The underlying logic of recruitment operates within the boundaries of the translator narrative, which is used to underwrite the ulama's authority. The translators/commissioners reproduce the image constructed by the ulama, thereby building the ulama's authority into the

translator's self-image. The imprinted version of authority on the translator's image creates the idea that the translator must first and foremost be a scholar of Islam. This illustrates the workings of commissioners/translators as subjects via whom the Subject – God of Translation – speaks, thereby materializing belief into action. For Althusser (1971, 169), action precedes belief: the commissioners/translators materialize beliefs into actions, which beliefs are then inserted into material practices and regulated by material rituals set forth by ideological apparatuses. So, "by following a custom, the subject believes without knowing it, so that the final conversion is merely a formal act by means of which we recognized what we have already believed" (Žižek 1989, 39).

Khan stands as one of the translators who is presented as "Maulana" (literally translated as "our master"), a title given to devout Muslim scholars who enjoy cultural capital in their entourage and are revered for their erudition and piety. Since the title is addressed to a religious personage, it suggests that the translator is someone who also enjoys a degree of repute. But the degree of such repute remains, however, equivocal in the above description. It does not allow one to conjecture the degree of Khan's repute and the space in which such repute prevails. One reason might be that the commissioner is targeting a specific kind of reader, who may already be a follower of Khan.

The Qur'an translator's image in this context exceeds its commodified form as historically conditioned. The commodification of the translator's image pertains to the regulation of translators' behaviour functioning as part of what Althusser (1971) calls ideological apparatuses. In Althusser's terms, translators are interpellated by ideology, which in a sense speaks through them by means of the criteria set by the ideological apparatus (see, for example, the analysis in Cap. 3, which shows how translators reproduce the criteria set by the dominant ideological apparatus for Qur'an translation). The Qur'an translator's existing image never quite captures the Qur'an translator's preconditioned image. This does not indicate a failure of

interpellation, because one can only speak from within ideology and speak of an ideology from the perspective of another ideology. Rather, it indicates how the translator's image is also subject to other forces and modes of production, i.e. meaning is determined by a chain of signifiers which cannot be reduced to a coherent whole (Steinmetz 1999, 7).

An important observation that arises in the context of Khan's case is that the language competence of the translator merits less attention than the subject competence. Whether the translator is a native speaker of Arabic or English is left undiscussed. The level of linguistic competence the translator possesses is also overlooked in the description of Khan. This shows how social agents such as commissioners operate at the level of the translator narrative and what criteria they regard as necessary in the potential translator. The overall emphasis in the description of Khan is on his knowledge of Islam. Such an understanding of the imagined translator does not exist in a vacuum. It stems from the existing Qur'an translator narrative. The hierarchy of the translator narrative, as discussed in chapter 3.1, suggests that the knowledge of Islam stands out from the overall criteria desired in the translator.

The translator's profile rationalizes the Qur'an translator's image as reality. The practical manifestation of the main components of the translator narrative objectifies the translator's image and so becomes part of real praxis. Thus, the translator's image orients the translator's understanding of Qur'an translation but does not prescribe how the Qur'an should be translated. This is because translation itself is the locus of ideological struggle as will be shown in chapters 5–6. If the ideal Qur'an translator is seen as an erudite scholar, the emphasis on the translator's Islamic knowledge becomes an integral part of the *actual* translator's image and so the way Qur'an translation is understood in a broad sense. That is, the translator's knowledge of Islam becomes an object orienting people's understanding of the Qur'an translator and, by extension, Qur'an translation. So, the emphasis on the translator's credentials in the profile marks the ongoing historical formation of the Qur'an translator in practice. Also, the credentials

addressed above relating to the translator's profile so often appear to set the boundaries that police the translator through the translation, thereby suggesting that translators must adhere to the ulama's authority if they are to decode divine messages – an expression of subjectivity: "the mutual recognition of subjects and Subject" (Althusser 1971, 181).

An important feature of the translator's profile is to show that the translator is recruited on the basis of his Islamic knowledge, though the degree of such knowledge is not specified. In addition, the translator's repute as a pious scholar of Islam also plays a role in the recruitment process. The translator's linguistic competence does not feature within the commissioner's image of the right translator to be commissioned for the translation. From the perspective of the present study, the commissioner's image of the translator strikes a balance with the image of the Qur'an translator, as illustrated in the translator narrative. Yet the picture is rather complex. The translator's image provided in the publisher's description reproduces the idea that the translator should be grounded in Islamic knowledge yet at the same time actively participates in broadening such component to embrace the idea of repute. Thus, the criteria for recruitment, in this case, are: Islamic knowledge, repute.

Thus, Khan's profile appears as the expression of a complex ideological apparatus. The profile reduces the translator into a coherent whole wherein he is stripped of his individual essence, i.e. the translator's profile harmonizes with the Qur'an translator's image as historically defined. In the profile, Qur'an translation is shown to be the work of certain individuals – the exegetes. Note that viewing Khan as an "eligible" Qur'an translator is only the appearance of an image: it indicates an action to give currency to the translator's profile – an action appertaining to the marketing of the work. Such an image is appearance in the form of reality (Althusser 1969/2005, 231), which cannot be distinguished from reality: it "exercises its force only insofar as it is experienced, in the unconscious economy of the subject, as a traumatic senseless injunction" (Žižek 1989, 43). Thus, the translator's profile concentrates on

connecting Khan's credentials to the translator narrative, thereby reproducing and giving the image unconditional legitimacy, which, consequently, indicates that there is no practice outside ideology.

Case ii: Tarif Khalidi (2009)

The second case which illustrates the criteria for recruitment at the level of commissioners is that of Tarif Khalidi (1938–). Khalidi's translation, *The Qur'an: A New Translation*, was published in 2009 by Penguin Classics, an inclusive publishing house with a long-standing history of academic standards.

Khalidi is portrayed as an "acclaimed Muslim scholar" who graduated from University College, Oxford and Chicago University, and served the American University of Beirut as a history professor between 1970–1996 (Khalidi 2008, cover copy). He is presented as a senior research associate at Oxford and a visiting overseas scholar at Cambridge. In 1996, Khalidi left Beirut to become the Sir Thomas Adams' Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, the oldest chair of Arabic in the English-speaking world. The reader is also informed that Khalidi was the Director of the Centre for Middle East and Islamic Studies and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Finally, Professor Khalidi occupied the Sheikh Zayed Chair in Islamic and Arabic Studies at the American University of Beirut. He is introduced as the author of diverse books, including *The Muslim Jesus*, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, and *Classical Arab Islam* (Khalidi 2008, i).

The blurb underlines the criteria of selection, emphasizing the academic positions Khalidi occupied in prestigious universities, notably Oxford, Cambridge, Chicago and the American University of Beirut. Two important elements arise in the course of analysis: Islamic knowledge and academia. The first element implies that the translator is an academic grounded in Islamic knowledge. The degree of knowledge is, however, not specified other than saying

that Khalidi studies Islamic history, which is a dynamic and diversified field. Such a portrayal offers little insight into his degree of knowledge, which implies that some form of ideological recognition exists on the part of both the commissioner and translator.

The translator's profile stresses the translator's commodity value, i.e. the translator's profile becomes for the commissioner the mirror of his value. By saying the translator is "an acclaimed Muslim scholar", the profile asserts the translator's value as "eligible". Being a translator with such characterizes is the product of the Subject and subjects' relationship. This suggests that the commissioner and translator are both subjects operating in a way congruent with the narrative. Their activity is not determined by domination, but by "egoistic interests" because they are subjects equal in the eyes of the Subject, of which they operate independently. In fact, "all he sees in his partner is another subject who follows his interest and interests him only in so far as he possesses something - a commodity - that could satisfy some of his needs" (Žižek 1989, 21).

One can also notice, as Marx suggests, that "the relations between domination and servitude are *repressed*" (see Žižek 1989, 22). The marketing of the translator as "an acclaimed Muslim scholar" is simply a recognition of and servitude to the ulama's authority. Embodying the ulama's authority in the translator's profile indicates the existence of an active ideological pattern, which conceals the relations of domination. The fact that the translator's profile lays emphasis on the translator's knowledge of Islam implies that the translator is someone entrusted with the ulama's authority. In fact, authority means domination and presupposes servitude. The translator's recruitment is, indeed, not thought up by a master in a conscious plot to reproduce the ulama's authority. Rather, it grew by its own logic, i.e. a socio-historically determined logic which carries minds down established ways of thinking about the best Qur'an translator. This illustrates how the recruitment of the translator follows established grooves which have become over time a historical necessity and are accepted as reality.

To grasp the locus of ideology in this case, one must return to Marx's formula "they do not know it, but they are doing it" (see discussion in Žižek 1989, 27–30). The question which arises is: is the expression of ideology in the knowing or the doing? Ideology resides in the doing; should it be in the knowing, ideology would acquire the form of "false" consciousness because translators would appear to have a "false" representation of reality. As noted above, the translator is in reality just an embodiment of a complex ideological apparatus. The translator and commissioner's practices become simply an expression of such apparatus. The translator's profile clearly expresses the ideological relations, not in what translator/commissioner think about the best Qur'an translator, but in what they are already *doing* – in their choice and their very materialization of that choice in the translator's profile.

As regards the second element, the profile accentuates how the translator occupied prestigious positions that only the distinctive few can occupy. This implies that the translator's profile as an academic plays a central role in the recruitment process. The translator's profile indicates that the degree of repute Khalidi enjoys in academia also plays an important role in the recruitment process. In the eyes of Penguin Classics, the translator is an academic grounded in Islamic knowledge, which is attested by the degree of repute he enjoys in academia.

The idea that the Qur'an translator has an academic background surely owes something to ideology. Althusser's idea of overdetermination – which suggests that a given effect enjoys more than a sole cause because it is subjected to a host of determinants – helps to unearth the ideology which lies beneath such a portrayal of the translator (see Althusser 1969/2005, 87–127). The dominant narrative not only determines the translator's profile but also the struggle over whose profile accords with the narrative. The struggle is manifested in how the majority of cases adhere to the main components of the translator narrative (see findings in Appendix II). This suggests – as Althusser (1969/2005, 118) explains in his idea of "determinant in the last instance" – that a single determinant operates as the dominant and organizational

determinant of all others' conditions of existence. Khalidi's case manifests that he is an academic specialist in Islamic studies. Since the translator narrative specifies having Islamic knowledge, not any academic can translate the Qur'an, but a specific kind of academic. The emphasis of the translator's profile on Khalidi's academic experience is an expression of struggle to meet the demands of the translator narrative, viz. the main determinant of the translator's profile.

Khalidi's case somewhat differs from the previous case. The blurb implies the Arabic competence of Khalidi, who graduated from two prestigious universities and taught in others as Professor of Arabic. The translator's competence in English is not mentioned, though it can be perhaps assumed that the translator exhibits competence in English based on the fact that he authored extensively in English. The implied Arabic competence in Khalidi's case is somehow surprising (see other examples in Appendix II). The reason is perhaps that the publishing company, Penguin Classics, is inclusive, in the sense that it publishes a wide range of books and is also an academic-oriented house. Such a reason may be important because it may suggest their criteria for selecting Qur'an translators are little different from those for selecting translators more generally, such as academic capital (Khalidi is a scholar) and competence in the source and target languages.

A key question: Why does the profile emphasize Khalidi's Arabic competence? Read via Althusser's lens, the emphasis on Arabic competence expresses social relations, which determine the translator's profile. By relations in this context, I mean the translator narrative – the stories that translators and agents of translation tell themselves about who should translate the Qur'an. Arabic competence on the translator's part is one of the translator narrative's main components. Reproducing the translator narrative conceals the intricate, already operating ideological apparatus that not only determines the subject's choice to emphasize the Arabic competence but also orients the subject's choice towards reproducing the narrative and, by

extension, the ulama's authority. The translator/commissioner's consciousness thus becomes an expression of the ulama's consciousness. As Althusser (1971) explains, subjects are an embodiment of the Subject.

There is little or nothing one can do about the strict adherence to the translator narrative. The translator narrative is there, and attempts to rewrite the narrative would sound illegitimate and even lead to accusations of blasphemy[1]. This institutional hegemony illustrates how the translator narrative drives forward the recruitment of translators – or rather the practices understood through translators' profiles. In other words, the translators/commissioners are predestined to turn towards the translator narrative because they recognize their subjection to the Subject within the dominant practice of Qur'an translation.

This case illustrates the workings of ideology at the level of recruitment, indicating how ideology is materialized in practice. Khalidi's profile as portrayed by the publishing company shows that the Islamic knowledge demonstrated by the translator and his academic capital are emphasized in tandem. An important implication of this portrayal is that the publisher's understanding of the good translator relies on the degree of repute that the translator enjoys in the academic community of Islamic studies. Thus, the profile actually offers a highly complex picture of the selection process because it is not completely formulated in light of the translator narrative. The only components reproduced by the commissioner's description are that the translator should be steeped in Islamic knowledge and should exhibit a linguistic competence in both languages. The translator's profile, however, actively participates in the development

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[1] Rashad Khalifa's case examplifies such a situation. Khalifa, a Qur'an translator, was accused of blasphemy following his translation. Abdur-Raheem Kidwai, a renowned Qur'an translation scholar, excludes Khalifa's translation from his 1987 survey of Qur'an translations on the grounds that it contains blasphemous statements against the Hadith (A.-R. Kidwai 1987, 69). However, Kidwai includes Khalifa's translation in his 2005 survey only to reemphasize how blasphemous the translation is so that Khalifa's "outrageous opinions" do not mislead "unsuspecting readers" (A. R. Kidwai 2005, xiv). Also, Saudi Arabia's Council of Religious Scholars, in a fatwa issued after his Qur'an translation publicly appeared, accused Khalifa of blasphemy as he was neither versed in Islamic law nor as grounded in Islamic history as the Muslim scholars (*'ulamā'*): "His field of study […] is agricultural engineering", and is therefore "not eligible to the duty of calling to Allah in a right manner" (Ibn Bāz 1989). The fatwa then publicly labelled Khalifa as a *kāfir* (disbeliever). This public apostasy led to Khalifa's murder in 1990 (Musa 2008, 88).

of the translator's narrative by adding another element which pertains to the degree of repute in academia that the translator possesses. The emphasis on repute can be viewed as part of the marketing policies of the company, which targets an academic readership, and as part of an ideological struggle between publishers. Thus, the criteria of recruitment in the case of Khalidi are: Islamic knowledge, academic experience and Arabic competence.

Case iii: Thomas Cleary (2004)

The third case of Thomas Cleary introduces new insights into the examination of the operation of the Qur'an translation narrative at the level of commissioners. Cleary's translation, entitled *The Qur'an: A New Translation*, appeared in 2004 from a little-known publishing house, Starlatch Press in Chicago. The only information available about this publishing house pertains to the books they publish, mostly germane to topics of Islam and the Qur'an. A da'wa organization, NAQA, suggests on its website that Sheikh Ibrahim Osi-Efa, one the organization's preachers, was amongst the founders of Starlatch Press, which also implies that it is an *exclusive* publisher (see http://www.naqa.org.uk/teachers/sheikh-ibrahim-osi-efa/).

Cleary is described in a different way as "one of *the world's most renowned translators of scriptural texts*" and "the translator of many works representing a variety of religious tradition, including Islamic, Buddist, Taoist, and Confucian" (Cleary 2004, cover copy). This passage shows the criteria of selection seen most alluring in the eyes of the commissioner. Cleary is portrayed as an experienced translator, particularly shown to have translated a number of important religious books. This implies that the Qur'an translator must first and foremost demonstrate experience in translating scriptural texts. Two elements seem to be emphasized: translation experience and knowledge about Eastern religions. The first element is not specific about the type (educational, professional, literary, etc.) and time of experience that the translator must have in order to be qualified to translate the Qur'an. It does not tell us about

Cleary's linguistic competence: is he an English or Arabic native speaker? What role do these languages play in the process of selection? None of these questions is discussed.

However, the profile stresses Cleary's professionalism as a translator. In so doing, the translator/commissioner introduces the ideology of translation as a profession into the heart of the Qur'an translator's image. Here, one witnesses a new factor appertaining little to the Qur'an translator narrative: translation experience. Cleary's case not only reproduces the key criteria of the translator narrative (see below), but also struggles to expand the Qur'an translator's image. Exemplary is Cleary being introduced as a professional translator, yet with the formula: "scriptural texts". The commissioner's understanding of the Qur'an translator oscillates between two narratives: the professional translator and the Qur'an translator. This indicates how some previously established scriptural knowledge is required, despite the fact that Cleary is a known professional translator. This portrayal of Cleary clearly expresses social relations, where the translator is *recognized* in the guise of the dominant practice. As Althusser (1971, 181) aptly demonstrates, individuals live in ideology, which ensures, amongst other things, "the mutual recognition of subjects and Subject, the subjects' recognition of each other, and finally the subject's recognition of himself [herself]".

Concerning the second factor, Cleary is described as an expert who demonstrates a breadth of knowledge on religions. In fact, he holds a Ph.D. in East Asian Languages and Civilizations and works primarily as a translator, implying that the translator according to the publisher is someone who has achieved a level of educational maturity. In the eyes of the commissioner, Cleary's attested experience and his educational level in Eastern civilizations – which, by implication, involves the study of Eastern religions, including Islam – are of paramount importance. The translator's profile as advertised in the blurb does not specify the level of knowledge that the translator has: is he a scholar of Islam? Does he just possess some general knowledge about Islam and the Qur'an? What kind of knowledge is it?

Indeed, what lies behind the translator's portrayal as an expert in religious scriptures is the idea that the only way for the translator's profile to acquire legitimacy so that the translator may participate in Qur'an translation is to identify with and recognize the Qur'an translator narrative and its main component: Islamic knowledge. The identification with the narrative is not identification with a universal consensus on what qualities the translator should possess, but identification with an established order inscribed in ritual practices and governed by an ideological apparatus (Althusser 1971, 169). When the Qur'an translator's properties are already predetermined before the process even begins, the translator's profile becomes a product recognisable by the translator/commissioner. Such recognition allows the dominant order to reproduce itself via participants freely exercising their forced choices. The term "freedom", used to designate the translator's (or commissioner) break with the shackles of tradition, is itself the term which mystifies the workings of the dominant order or the translator/commissioner's role in reproducing the ulama's authority: "our 'freedoms' themselves serve to mask and sustain our deeper unfreedom" (Žižek 2002, 2).

The scene of religio-ideological interpellation in Cleary's case resides in the portrayal of the translator as an expert on religions, whose expertise appears as something "obvious" and too "natural" to be questioned. Such "obviousness", as Althusser (1971) explains, is the site of ideological interpellation. Indeed, anyone who wishes to translate the Qur'an should possess the particular knowledge on the Qur'an gained from a set of established discourses: "That's obvious! That's right! That's true!" (Althusser 1971, 172). However, it is not "obvious" how giving exclusive status to such knowledge serves to sustain the ulama's authority and extend their reign over interpretations of the divine. In this act of interpellation, the translator narrative sets a kind of order, a kind of mystical voice which runs as something like this: you want to be a Qur'an translator? OK, prove it, in your identity, in the way your profile relates to the Qur'an translator's image. The narrative's voice penetrates the translator's profile; it gets full

confirmation in the profile's fidelity to the Qur'an translator's image and in the translator's recognition of his subjection to the Subject.

In general, expert knowledge appears as a prerequisite for the job (a condition imposed by the commissioner/translator or whoever wrote the blurb). This conceals the social relations expressed in the blurb itself (from the translator narrative's active role as an ideological apparatus to the forced ideological choices) which mystifies the translation and translators' functioning. The translator justifies himself (or the commissioner justifies the translator's selection) by having expert knowledge. Indeed, one does not become a Qur'an translator, one is made a Qur'an translator by identifying with the Subject (by investing in education or qualifications – whatever). The passage from individual to translator means that the ulama's authority is reproduced as the ulama embody the knowledge to be consulted. Thus, the translator is reduced to a pure function, deprived of essence but endowed with the freedom to actively engage with the authorities, seeking the knowledge which satisfies his subjective position. His activity becomes what Žižek (1997, 115) calls a "false activity". He thinks that he is active while his true position "is passive".

The case emphasizes the workings of ideology at the level of recruitment, where the translator/commissioner accepts the translator narrative as reality. In Althusserian terms, such a reality operates as expert knowledge defining the parameters within which translators are expected to translate the words of God. That with Islamic knowledge one can translate the Qur'an is, therefore, not a natural property of Qur'an translation per se, but the product of positioning the translator's profile within complex social structures and a historically determined ensemble of practices. That is, the commissioner does not treat Cleary as a translator because he is in himself a translator; he is a translator because the commissioner *recognizes* him as such, and his profile ensures that *recognition* will take place. Note as well that ideology not only reproduces translators (as subjects obedient to the Subject) but also

rationalizes the networks of relations masking the ulama's authority: an act of rationalization and naturalization, inherent features of ideology (Eagleton 1991, 5–6).

In sum, Cleary's case shows that the commissioner reproduces at least one of the components of the translator narrative, namely Islamic knowledge as a vital competence on the part of the translator. The case also actively participates in the development of the translator narrative, with a new way of looking at the Qur'an translator as having translation experience, a component that merited little attention in the translator narrative. In fact, Cleary's case emphasizes translation experience as an important component, although not the only one and not the first on the list. What this case, however, exemplified is that ideology is integrated into the logic of recruitment, thus illustrating how the practice of translation cannot escape ideology.

Case iv: Talal Itani (2012)

The fourth case that illustrates the operation of the translator narrative at the level of ideological recruitment is that of Talal Itani. Talal's translation, entitled *Quran in English: Modern English Translation Clear and Easy to Understand*, was published in 2012 by his own publishing company: ClearQuran. What makes Itani's case unique is the fact that it is self-published. Having self-published his translation means that the translator acted both as a commissioner and as a translator. Importantly, this highlights the selection criteria according to the individual who commissioned himself to translate the Qur'an into English, demonstrating what components of the translator narrative he reproduced by acting as a commissioner himself. The translator introduces himself as follows:

> Talal Itani is an electronics engineer, software developer, and writer […] Talal first encountered the Holy Quran in 1992. *He studied and researched the Quran for 15 years*, then decided to translate it himself, into clear and easy-to-read modern English (Itani 2017).

Moreover, he emphasizes:

It was translated by a *Muslim*, who saw firsthand the miracles inside the Quran. His *native language is Arabic; his everyday language is American English* […] For many years, *he translated speech between his mother and his wife*. For a living, he develops quality software (Itani 2017).

Itani's description emphasizes three factors that make an eligible Qur'an translator in his own eyes: (i) Islamic knowledge, (ii) linguistic competence and (iii) translation experience. Itani's utmost concern was to develop his Islamic knowledge; he studied the Qur'an for over fifteen years, otherwise his professional life revolved around developing software. The translator must, by implication, invest years of studying the Qur'an prior to the translation work, although Itani is not specific as to the degree of Qur'anic knowledge and the type of knowledge that one must seek: should one study exegesis, or such linguistic rules underlining the language of the Qur'an as syntax, grammar and rhetorical patterns, or study the Qur'an in general? This shows that Itani does not operate at the level of Qur'an narrative, in a sense that he is not concerned about whose works are to be consulted in the course of reading the Qur'an.

Itani also observes the Qur'an translation practice which disguises the real nature of things, religious authority. At an early stage, the translator narrative appears to Itani as a mysterious agency with demands on account of his distorted subjective position. As the blurb stresses, translating the Qur'an entailed Itani fifteen years of effort put into learning the Qur'an. This explains how Itani surrenders to the tenacious narrative, which is tense beyond endurance, in that he could feel himself as a Qur'an translator only via the translator's image dictated by the Qur'an translator narrative. That is, Itani acts as the personification of the translator's image. He recognizes himself as a subject subjected to the Subject, an ideological recognition pertinent to the workings of ideology at the level of agency (Althusser 1971, 181).

Itani earns legitimacy as a translator insofar as he posits himself as the embodiment of a transcendent symbolic authority. As Žižek (2005, 226) puts it: "insofar as he accepts that it is not himself, but the big Other who speaks through him, in his words". After all these years

invested in learning the Qur'an, Itani recognizes himself as ready to translate the Qur'an and therefore commissions himself to make the translation. In fact, he transforms himself into an operative image, where his "objective" understanding of becoming a translator becomes an expression of the ulama's authority, which understanding operates merely as an appearance of "a thorough subjectivism" (Žižek 2017, xxxiii).

Itani's case illustrates the struggle to secure a place in the dominant order. He portrays himself as a "faithful interpreter" (to use Pickthall's terminology, see Case I in Cap. 3) who can provide a faithful translation: a "Muslim" who *recognizes* "the miracles inside the Quran". On that account, Itani's insistence on being a "faithful interpreter" attests to the influence of the narrative, indicating how his *recognition* takes place in a historically determined ensemble of practices. Note that most translators in the twenty-first century never allude to whether the translator should be a believer in Islam, although a large number of them are Muslims. This illustrates how tenacious the translator narrative is because even the slight changes that occurred over time in the translator's image (e.g. it's not necessary to be a Muslim in order to translate the Qur'an) remain vulnerable and can be overturned by the ideology which perceives "non-Muslims" as a threat to Qur'an translation and the preservation of faith. This exemplifies what a "noted professor" had in mind when he spoke of non-Muslims translating the Qur'an: "The call for the translation of the Qur'an must be regarded as the first link in the long chain of plotting which Western colonialism began since the end of the nineteenth century" ("A noted professor" of Islam cited in Ayoub 1986, 38).

Concerning linguistic competence, Itani says that "his native language is Arabic, his everyday language is American English" (Itani 2017). This passage indicates how he struggles to meet the narrative's demands, a struggle which offers the best confirmation of Althusser's famous line: "the subject's recognition of himself" (Althusser 1971, 181). Note that the narrative demands that one demonstrates linguistic competence in both languages. Itani

recognizes his real self as an agent of the Qur'an translation narrative. In so doing, he freely gives up the kernel of his individuality and accepts the Qur'an translator's image. That is, he had to go through the process of losing his individuality to the translator narrative in order to become a translator. He thus freely recognizes that the "hail was really addressed to him" (Althusser 1971, 174). It goes something like this: Yes, I learned the Qur'an. I speak Arabic and English, and I've already got experience in translating "between [my] mother and [my] wife". Yes, it's me who can translate the words of God. Thus, what stands is the ideology lying beneath Itani's attempt to find an answer to the key question: who should translate the Qur'an?

Although Itani speaks of the imagined translator in general terms, what stands out in his case is the act of self-interpellation. Although many translators translate on their own initiative, in the case of translating such an important book as the Qur'an, self-appointment or self-commissioning of translation is exceptional. Such an example, although a self-interpellation, demonstrates the same criteria as those demonstrated in the previous cases. As a commissioner, Itani recognizes how one must take control over the situation by occupying a position in relation to the Subject. His endeavour to meet the translator narrative's key components is the perfect embodiment of the Subject. It is therefore no surprise that Itani illustrates the invisible hand of the ulama in that he engages in a well-defined goal to bring about an innocent translation, "clear and easy-to-read modern English […] and highly faithful to the Arabic Original"; yet the final outcome, though totally unintended, is the reproduction of the ulama's authority. That is, the translator's outcome is itself a by-product of him being caught in the matrix of power relations. In fact, Itani, amongst others, participates unknowingly in the operation of ideology by following his goal as if his choices were moderated by the invisible hand of the ulama.

However, Itani offers a complex picture of the Qur'an translator by not fully drawing on the translator narrative. As mentioned before, he speaks of three components constituting the

Qur'an translator's image: Islamic knowledge, linguistic competence and translation experience. The first two components are derived from the translator narrative while the last is not. First, while implying that the translator needs to be well grounded in Islamic knowledge, Itani makes an indirect reference to the translator narrative, thereby reproducing an important component of the narrative which requires translators to be well steeped in Islamic knowledge. Second, Itani is not specific about linguistic competence. He implies that the translator must exhibit a linguistic competence in both languages to appreciate the linguistic hurdles in the course of translation. Third, Itani's case adds, by implication, another component to the translator narrative, which is that the translator needs to demonstrate translation experience. This shows that Itani actively participates in the development of the translator narrative, which adds to the interpellation process (note that translators are interpellated at the moment they enter and participate in the reproduction and development of the narrative on Qur'an translation). Indeed, Itani's case of self-interpellation demonstrates how such a translator operates within the boundaries of the narrative by commissioning himself to produce a translation based on criteria mostly set forth by the Qur'an translator narrative. This is indicative of how ideology is a pervasive phenomenon within which even the logic of self-recruitment takes place.

4.2 What Do the Cases Share in Common?

As Appendix II indicates, out of thirty cases, the great majority (twenty- eight translations) indicate "Islamic knowledge" as the highest competence in the hierarchy of the prerequisites for translating the Qur'an. In respect of translation experience, ten translators are said to have such experience, fourteen are not characterized in terms of whether they had any prior translation experience, and only two are advertised as "professional" translators. Out of the thirty cases, there are only four who are described as manifesting a high "Arabic competence"

besides "Islamic knowledge". Such a result shows that the recruiting process focuses primarily on the status of the translators in Islam or Islamic studies.

"Islamic knowledge" is the essential medium through which translators appear to be recruited. It is the main component emphasized in translators' profiles as essential. By this token, recruitment seems to be mainly occupied with knowledge of Qur'an translation as a primary element, and hence with ensuring translator's operation within the boundaries of the Qur'an translator's image. Adherence to the image has not only become the passionate aim for most translators (see e.g. Itani who spent fifteen years to learn the Qur'an before translating), but also a must, a virtue that must be attained. The image is, therefore, to be found inscribed into the translators' profiles. This indicates how the translator's image guides the recruitment of translators.

What is emphasized by the profiles serves the reproduction of the Qur'an translator's image. The fact that most profiles, as Appendix II shows, talk about the Qur'an translator in a way more or less congruent with the image is indicative of the fact that there exists somehow a common consensus amongst translators/commissioners. As Appendix II illustrates, most cases adhere to the main components of the Qur'an translator's image as introduced in chapter 3.1; this in itself is evidence of reproduction of the translator's image. In fact, this universal construction of the Qur'an translator is not subject to fierce ideological disagreement, though when it comes to translation at the textual level, the actual values of particular ideologies are defended in the text as chapters 5–6 will show.

It should be noted that the translator's image is put in place to regulate the translator's behaviour, as shown in the above analysis. The impulse to regulate translators by creating the translator's image is an impulse to control what can be said and written within determined boundaries. In this way, the translator's image as reproduced in most profiles operates as an

instrumental ideology to control consciousness and ensure social integration so that translators act in conformity with the ulama's dictates.

The translators' profiles, therefore, operate as an extension of the translator's image, thus transmitting a "universal" ideology that justifies and legitimizes the ulama's authority. They also reproduce attitudes and behaviour necessitated by the powerful group. In the context of the inclusive sense, these profiles reflect the recruitment process and provide translators with the ideology required to fulfil their role in society as translators of the divine. In other words, the recruitment of translators occurs in view of the dominant image.

The inscription of the image into the translators' profiles stabilizes the individual translators and ensures that they fit the dominant narrative. This kind of practice seeks to fix the image for all time, so as to appear as common-sense. Needless to say, common-sense is the outcome of power relations (Gramsci 1971, 326). Put in this way, representations of translators, which depict them as exegetes and lettered in Islam alone, reduce them to those categories. As such, they constrain the translators in terms of what is permissible thought and behaviour, interpellating them into the dominant order.

Indeed, translators/commissioners appear to reflect upon the translation and, through a common sense of what it means to be a Qur'an translator, organize the profiles. Each profile is structured around the main components of the narrative – operating as a grand ideology. Most profiles, therefore, can exist only by operating within the framework of the grand ideology. It is the function of ideology to shape the energies of the members of a particular translation activity in such a way that the translators/commissioners' behaviour is a matter of adhering, as a must, to the requirements of the translator's image. In other words, it is ideology's function to channel translators/commissioners' energy within the activity of translating the Qur'an for the purpose of the continued existence of this ideology.

The translator's image is more complex than it may appear. It may seem as if, because the image is external, partial and collectivizing, the image dislocates the translators from themselves, anchoring them to only a part of who they are. Yet, from the other side, because translators exist socially in and through their image, without an image there is no such thing as a socially situated translator. Translators, society, and the image do not exist independently of one another, and at the theoretical level, it is meaningless to criticize the image in general for depriving translators of their individuality, just as it is meaningless to contend that translators reproduce nothing but the image. The image is not so much the mediation between translators and society as constitutive of that relation.

The relation between translators and society entails identification with the image on the part of the translators. As demonstrated in the above analysis, translators identify with the image and recognize their subjection to the Subject, but they differ as to the degree of their identification with the image (some identify with all components of the narrative while others do not). In this case, we have an image based on identification since, according to the narrative, one can become a Qur'an translator only by adhering to such components. Identification remains something of a theoretical enigma as identification with any subject position can never be complete, since the subject is fragmented and can always occupy different subject positions (Davies 1991, 42; Pym 2011, 76). But leaving aside the theoretical analysis, in many situations, identification can be discussed more simply. Translators/commissioners identify with the image to a greater or lesser degree as the image constitutes a framework of recruitment. It is important to emphasize that the given image has no fundamental essence, that is, it is a cultural construct, being specific to particular views on Qur'an translation as illustrated in chapter 3.1. The translator's image is not a thing, but a description discursively constructed, and its components slowly change according to time, place and usage. This is useful insofar as it

reminds us that the image is ideologically loaded and serves power relations, especially those of the ulama.

Through this process of identification, ideology penetrates the translator's profiles, creating a universal discourse about the Qur'an translator which informs social praxis. In so doing, ideology, therefore, becomes almost an orthodoxy, one encountered again and again in literature, translation paratexts (as shown in chapter 3) and translators' profiles. Its function is to turn the particular into a pervasive and therefore universal naturalism so as to create subjects.

However, this ideology which is constitutive of the subjects is also subject to negotiation, and that subject-qualification can be altered, within certain limits, by the meta-discourses prevailing in a particular space. This includes, for example, the way translators are talked about and the way translation is conceptualized in time and place. It goes without saying that the changing nature of the narrative elicits new forms of subject-qualification. This means that the production of subject-qualification varies according to the meta-discourses and that the recruitment of translators (whether self-conferred or institutionally conferred) depends on their qualifications, i.e. on the recognition of their subjection to the translator's image.

The point is that the translator's image is inherently unstable. As Appendix II shows, most translators negotiate the image, adding and adhering to some criteria of what a translator is. This marks changes in understanding the Qur'an translator. For example, Cleary's, Salami's and Itani's cases emphasize translation experience as an important component, an idea which escapes the translator's image as historically defined. Also, the idea that the translator should translate in lucid English is a new idea introduced to the narrative as late as the early twentieth-first century. Lucid translation becomes the most popular norm in today's Qur'an translation activity as discussed in the previous chapter, CASE IV. So different historical periods are marked by different configurations of knowledge and power relations that shape the translation practices and the social order of particular historical periods. Consequently, the translator's

image is not a static entity; it is marked by a series of changing discourses and practices intrinsically bound up with time and space. The image in this sense is in a continuous process of formation.

Although the translator's image does change in the course of historical development, it is relatively fixed, i.e. it is more or less tenacious and difficult to break, let alone to operate outside it. Most profiles reflect the ideal of the Qur'an translation narrative and are attracted to the idea of "the best Qur'an translator". They all share the basic features that make them Qur'an translators, in a sense "ulama", which enable them to translate on behalf of the ulama. This is the premise for the translator's image of today.

However, in speaking of the translator's image as governing the translators/commissioners' behaviour, we speak only of one pole in the interconnection between ideology and translation. Althusser emphasizes the interests of ideology in governing the behaviour of individuals, but governance is at the same time determined by the practices of individuals. He believes that our thoughts are constituted within ideology, which he suspects as veiling the interests of the ruling group, and his scepticism is so strong that he could hardly ever use words like agency – precisely because of the fact that subjects cannot operate beyond the boundaries of the dominant ideology, and not because subjects cannot have agency (see Althusser 1971). Therefore, the other pole to be considered is the translators/commissioners' activity, infiltrating, in turn, the translator's image.

While it is true that the translators/commissioners can adapt themselves to the demands of the translator's image, they are not a blank book in which the ulama write their text. The translators/commissioners' activity and active/passive presence are inherent features in the recruitment process. It happens that they are both passive and active: passive in the reproduction of the translator's image and the authority behind it, and active in the sense that they are actively involved in the process of reproduction, which involves changes,

development, and even exclusion of some components which may be considered obsolete, such as that the translator should be a Muslim.

This idea poses a puzzling question. Is not the assumption that the translators/commissioners' behaviour is governed by their active intervention contradicted by the assumption that their behaviour is [governed] beyond their control? This question is not as difficult to answer as it may seem at first glance. One must differentiate between the factors constitutive or leading to the development of the translators' image in their profiles and the original image as historically defined. Both may be said to determine the recruitment process. That is, the recruitment process functions in two ways: first, by the influence the translator's image has on the formation of the real translator. Since the profiles are an expression of the translator's image, they channel the ulama's authority into the translator's behaviour. Second, in addition to the image, the changes in the translation activity over time also have the function of moulding the translator's behaviour in a desirable direction. Both the image and the new changes guide the practice of recruitment as the profiles indicate.

Indeed, the discussion of this topic is all the more important because in the context of translation, what Qur'an translators are practicing (by which I mean how they represent themselves, how they talk about their translation, who they are and how they are represented) is what makes them translators of the divine. That kind of representation shows how recruitment is a mode of ideological practice and, most importantly, how ideology is a universal feature of translation. Yet the main thrust of the argument thus far has been to demonstrate how the application of a broader concept of ideology can illuminate signs of ideological breakthroughs in a novel way in the context of Qur'an translation. The step in understanding such signs is to listen to the voice of the translators in the context of our analysis. Insofar as their experience of what it means to translate the Qur'an is part of the practice of translation,

they are as much a part of the situation as important variables. They are, furthermore, an essential force in the ideological breakthroughs.

4.3 Conclusion

It has been shown that the image of the ideal Qur'an translator constructed over time affects how Qur'an translators are experienced and how individuals experience themselves as translators of the divine, as in the case of Itani who studied the Qur'an for over fifteen years to qualify himself for the project. The analysis has indicated an ideological recruitment of translators into the dominant narrative, further confirming how translation praxis takes place via and in ideology. That is why when it comes to translating the Qur'an, individuals must demonstrate their "Islamic knowledge" first, and only after that their language knowledge.

The significance of the analysis lies in that it helps us to understand how ideology characterizes all translations by showing how recruitment is a mode of ideological practice. In the Althusserian sense, ideology is not a kind of discourse imposed on the translators at the level of consciousness, but a central ingredient of any translation activity: an unconscious phenomenon (Althusser 1969/2005, 231), a kind of discourse that one does not normally reflect on and which assumes a material form (praxis). The defining feature of Qur'an translation is then the commodification of the translators' experience itself. Translators recognize themselves as part of a family, a chain of tribes, or a committee of the ulama. Their consciousness becomes no more than an expression of the consciousness of such a committee.

Reproducing the Qur'an translator's image at the level of recruitment implies that the translation also reproduces, by extension, a "certain" mode of interpretation. This leads to the next two chapters' main discussion, which pivots on the idea that the struggle to meet the demands of the translator narrative does not mean that the translator's job is strictly to reproduce a universal interpretation or that the translation is without agency, but rather that

there is a struggle between the particular and the universal, and the translator's text is the product of such struggle. That is to say, ideological struggle is inevitable, a point overlooked by Althusser's theory as discussed in chapter 2.3.3 but emphasized in Gramsci's discussion of translatability; it is a struggle for domination to occupy the universal (the field), and this entails the use of translation as an ideological (state) apparatus to establish and maintain particular social orders.

Chapter 5

Qur'an Translation as an Ideological State Apparatus

This chapter examines how Qur'an translation operates as an Ideological State Apparatus (ISA), showing that translation is used as a site of ideological struggle, where the idea is to advance a particular ideology to occupy the field, thus ensuring the reproduction of relations of domination. The analysis helps us to illustrate further how ideology is a universal feature of translation by demonstrating how Qur'an translation is used as a mechanism to occupy the field of ideological relations – ideology at the grand level. By taking the Saudi Arabia state apparatus as an example, this chapter illustrates how a particular Saudi state ideology struggles to deny its own particularities, transforming itself from the particular to the universal: a transhistorical phenomenon, a field, wherein people make sense of their world(s).

Saudi Arabia is the only Arab Muslim-majority state actively disseminating Qur'an translation worldwide. The Saudi state was born as the product of the Āl Saʿūd dynasty's attempt to unite the Arabian Peninsula under the rhetoric of religious unification, connected with the Wahhabi movement. Wahhabism refers to a socio-religious reform movement associated with the teachings of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (1703–92), a Muslim scholar who lived in the Arabia Peninsula during the eighteenth century. Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's movement aims to cure the moral decline of Islamic society and ensure the return to "authentic" Islam. It is noteworthy that the Wahhabi orthodoxy began as part of the eighteenth-century movement of religious revival, in a time of increasing pietist and Salafī pleas for religious reforms, where current doctrinal structures were charged with bringing harmful innovations, calling instead for literal interpretations of the scriptures, a return to primitive Islam. The early movement as led by Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was influenced by and, in turn, influenced current

and later movements of Islamic renewal (*tajdīd*): "it was the first throb of life in the modern Islam" (Iqbal 2013, 152) and "the extreme expression of a tendency which can be traced in many parts of Islam in the course of the eighteenth century of the movement for the return to the pure monotheism" (Gibb 1953, 168–69).

Arguably, Wahhabism today differs from the founding father's original teachings, according to many scholars (see for example Al-Yassini 1985; Layish 1987, 280; Jones 1995, 32; al-Rasheed 1996, 361; see also discussion in Ayoob and Kosebalaban 2009). In the nineteenth century, Wahhabism became a label for religious extremism, thus acquiring the reputation of "fundamentalism". By the end of the century, Wahhabism acquired some benign definitions, with later scholars such as Rashīd Riḍā who in the 1920s viewed the movement not as a threat to Islam, but as a precursor to the rise of pan-Islamism (Voll 2009, 160–61). In the twentieth century, the doctrinal tenets of the movement, which emphasizes the literal reading of the scriptures, became increasingly stern, with the official ulama codifying overly strict codes of conduct (Okruhlik 2009, 92).

However, these changes at the doctrinal level did not impact the model of leadership initially set by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, which continues to influence the relationship between the ulama and the ruling elite. As noted by Voll (2009, 164), what distinguishes the Wahhabi movement from others is the style of leadership, i.e. the relatively non-political *mujaddid* (reformer), the puritanical teacher, whose role is to legitimize the policies advocated by the ruling elite. Though this model was quite common in the repertoire of leadership models in the Islamic tradition, especially amongst the Salafi-pietist movement in the eighteenth century, the Wahhabi movement firmly placed this model as the most powerful and visible style of leadership. In Saudi Arabia, Wahhabism as an official orthodoxy therefore operates, in the context of the 1980s when *The Noble Qur'an* was published, as a state creed embodied in the historical relationship between the ruling family and the ulama, who were bureaucratized from

the beginning of the Saudi state to serve the ruling family. The ulama's power depends on their appointment by the king more than on their religious knowledge: they have been practically civil servants. That does not deny the complex relationship of both opposition and support but rather emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between the ruling elite and the official ulama. In fact, Juhaymān al-ʿUtaybī, who led the seizure of the Mecca mosque in 1979, accused the official ulama of interpreting the Qur'an in a way that justified the ruling dynasty's policies (Nevo 1998, 42; Gause III 2009, 137–38).

Central to the movement's project are questions of social relations, especially issues of marital relations. The historical legacy of Wahhabism transformed piety into a public project to provide a universal discourse about tradition based on divine sources, thus fostering the Saudi state's piety as an Islamic state distinct from any other states of Muslim majority in terms of identity discourse. The institutionalization of the Wahhabi teachings (characterized by the movement's [overly] literal reading of the Qur'an and the Sunnah) is the product of an ongoing alliance between the state and ulama, whose support is still cherished for obedience to the monarchy and construction of the Saudi nation as distinct from other nations. In return, the state gives the ulama independence particularly in matters of social relations, especially in the 1980s, a period of intensive modernization of the state bureaucracy.

It is Wahhabism as a state project which offers a space where religion and the state meet to provide the best example of an Islamic society. This is precisely what makes Wahhabism an ideology in the particular sense: a set of discourses that serve to legitimize and reproduce a particular structure of power (Eagleton 1991, 8). Therefore, Wahhabism has not just been a reform movement characterized by the imposition of its doctrine on the general public, but also "a state religion" defending the state's interests (Nevo 1998, 40).

This chapter applies Althusser's notion of ISA, as discussed in chapter 2, to show how Saudi Arabia's ideological struggle for hegemony finds expression in the text. The operation of

translation as an ISA implies the appropriation of the original text to serve a particular agenda. The discussion reveals how the state uses Qur'an translation to advance its self-proclaimed image as the guardian of faith, focusing on the most widely disseminated translation: al-Hilālī and Khān's *The Noble Quran* (1989/2000), produced by the King Fahd Complex for the Printing of the Holy Qur'an, a Saudi state institution.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section one discusses the connection between the state and Qur'an translation and how the former came to support al-Hilālī and Khān's translation. Section two offers a paratextual analysis of *The Noble Quran* and how it is used to boost the state's self-proclaimed image as part of a campaign to appropriate translation. Section three examines the interplay between state and ideology to illustrate how the text operates as an ideological state apparatus by rationalizing particular ideological practices, turning them into more or less ideology in the grand sense: a structural field in which people experience their social relations, explaining how the particular is transformed into the universal. The chosen verses are 2:222, 2:228, 4:1, 4:2–3, 4:28, 4:34, 4:57, 24:31 and 33:59. They all seek to guide Muslims' behaviour in social situations by setting out ethical codes of conduct. These verses revolve around different themes, ranging from marriage and ethical dress to the idea of creation and the afterlife, and highlight how *The Noble Quran* constructs social relations and conduct in Islam.

5.1 Qur'an Translation and the Saudi State

The Saudi state agenda espouses the mass production of literature, disseminated abroad to convey Saudi Arabia's self-proclaimed image as the guardian of Islam (Commins 2006, 155; Al-Rasheed 2007, 6; Noorhaidi 2008, 267; T. C. Jones 2009, 111). As Madawi al-Rasheed (2005b, 150) observes, the kingdom exports its advocated variant of Islam besides oil and gas and "has taken the responsibility to propagate faith more seriously than have other Muslim

governments, thanks to its wealth, its quest for legitimacy and its symbolic significance as the land of Islam and its holy shrines".

To facilitate this domination, the Saudi state established the most prodigious printing plant and Qur'an distributor worldwide, Medina's King Fahd Complex, inaugurated in 1984 by King Fahd Bin 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Sa'ūd (1921–2005) and overseen by the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance (MIEDG). This plant offers translation in diverse languages, besides printing the Qur'an in the original and has hitherto published over 80 Qur'an translations in 91 languages (42 Asian, 18 European, 18 African and 13 others currently in progress, e.g. Danish, Dutch and Serb). The Complex employs some 1,070 individuals (scholars, managers and technicians; no details given about translators) and has a printing capacity of an average annual production of eighteen million copies per year, which can rise up to threefold when required, according to the Complex's website. By 2019, the Complex's cumulative output reached 311,882,269 million copies, most of which were donated across mosques, religious and educational institutions, libraries, hotels and charity shops worldwide. This scale of activity is sustained by state investment; the Complex's 2005 annual budget was estimated at over $106 million (Taji-Farouki 2015, 49–50). In fact, the Complex's annual budget is part of the MIEDG's budget allocated by the state. There are no figures on either the Complex or the Ministry's websites pertaining to the Complex's 2018/2019 allocated fund; the only state figures available are about the number of copies so far produced by the Complex (for further detail, see http://qurancomplex.gov.sa/Tree.asp?section=7&TabID=13&SubItemID=1&l=eng&SecOrder=13&SubSecOrder=1.).

The Complex incorporates many divisions, such as the Complex's High Commission, the Complex's Scholarly Council, the Scholarly Committee for Revising and the Translation Centre. Each division plays an important role with respect to Qur'an translation. For example, the Complex's High Commission performs administrative roles such as strategic planning and

approving cooperation requests, whereas the Complex's Scholarly Council develops work plans, and follows new writings on the Qur'an. The Translations Centre, as dedicated to the service of Qur'an translating into diverse languages (see above), studies problems germane to Qur'an translation and aims to provide solutions. It has a scholarly council, which examines existing translations and prepares research papers for publication. The Scholarly Committee for Revising edits and revises the Qur'an's translated copies following sources of "recitation", "calligraphy", "vowelling", "punctuation" and "exegesis" (see http:// qurancomplex.gov.sa/Display.asp?section=7&l=eng&f=nobza03&trans=.). The Complex also includes other supplementary divisions such as the Centre for Research and Islamic Studies, the Centre of Serving the Sunnah and Sirah [Biography] of the Prophet, the Qur'anic Studies Centre and the Training and Technical Qualification Centre.

Note that such a keen interest in religious hegemony (expressed by distributing Qur'an translations, and the financing of religious institutions where Qur'an translations are largely disseminated) was the result of changing circumstances, namely the immediate crisis of the Mecca mosque siege and the rise of Shiism in the region in the late 1970s. In fact, Saudi Arabia for decades utilized religion to distinguish itself from other regional actors advocating pan-Arabism: the union of all Arab states. In so doing, Saudi Arabia had aimed to discredit pan-Arabism and instead emphasized pan-Islamism. With the demise of the pan-Arabism project following the War of 1967, Saudi Arabia crowned itself as the cradle of Islam and the legitimate ruler of all Muslims (Al-Rasheed 2002, 5). The rise of the Iranian Islamic model, however, threatened Saudi Arabia's authority and its distinct Islamic identity, which was developed in relation to other regional identities. To re-establish itself, the Saudi state narrowed its identity from pan-Islamism to a variant of Sunnī Islam, thus reducing Iran to the Shī'ī Other. This was the context in which the King Fahd Complex was built to reassert the Saudi state as "the last bastion of Islam".

The Complex first endorsed Abdullah Yusuf Ali's translation into English, *The Holy Qur'an: Translation and Commentary* (1934): a translation highly acclaimed for its poetic language though it contains some "serious" problems, viz. reproducing "the exegetical material from mediaeval texts without making any effort at contextualization" (Mohammed 2005). The Complex favoured Yusuf Ali's translation owing to "its distinguishing characteristics, such as a highly elegant style, a choice of words close to the meaning of the original text, accompanied by scholarly notes and commentaries" (as noted in the preface to Yusuf Ali 1985, vi). The Complex made this decision after having considered a number of translations which failed to "imitate the diction or the style of the Book of Allah", and were greatly influenced by prejudices (Yusuf Ali 1985, vi). This decision is hardly surprising because Muslim majority states such as Syria, Libya and Qatar had already reprinted Yusuf Ali's translation (M. H. Khan 1986, 97).

However, the Complex abandoned Yusuf Ali's translation in 1989 for three possible reasons: (i) Scholars viewed Yusuf Ali's oeuvre as "polemic" against Jews because he was writing "at a time both of growing Arab animosity toward Zionism and in a milieu that condoned anti-Semitism" (Mohammed 2005); (ii) he belonged to the Bohra Shi'a, a sect within the Shi'i branch of Islam opposed by Saudi Arabia (Wild 2015, 172) and (iii) he was not considered a scholar of Islam because the "pseudo-rationalist spirit of his time" informs some of his footnotes in the translation (A.-R. Kidwai 1987, 68).

The Complex then decided to support Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and Muhammad Muhsin Khān's translation: *Explanatory English Translation of the Holy Qur'an: A Summarized Version of Ibn Kathīr Supplemented by al-Ṭabarī with Comments from Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, first published in 1977 and followed by a second edition in 1978, republished in 1989 as *The Noble Quran*. The Complex commends al-Hilālī and Khān's translation for three possible reasons:

(i) The translation reflects the conventional views of Ibn Kathīr and al-Ṭabarī, celebrated Sunnī exegete and historians, which are "very much needed for Qur'anic studies" (M. H. Khan 1986, 103). Although Khan suggests that studying the views of these two commentators is required in Qur'anic studies, he gives no link between the Saudi state religion and these two exegetes. In fact, these two exegetes have been used to support Wahhabi views, as noted by Commins (2006, 124): when it comes to Qur'anic exegesis, Wahhabis teach primarily the works of Ibn Kathīr and al-Ṭabarī.

(ii) Al-Hilālī was a professor of the Islamic faith in the Islamic University of Madinah, distinguished for his particular erudition in the field of linguistics and for his teaching experience in languages. Though Khan was not a religious scholar by training (he was a cardiologist and served as the director of the Islamic University of Madinah), he nonetheless translated *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* into English, a translation which gained him wide currency (Lauzière 2016, 202).

(iii) The Islamic University of Madinah, to which both translators were affiliated, approved the translation (Schwartz 2004). It is worth noting that the Islamic University of Medina and also the Imam Mohammed Ibn-Saud Islamic University are seminaries "for the training of clerics in Wahhabism", according to Stephen Schwartz (2004), a Wahhabism expert.

The complex's decision to sponsor a new translation brings to the fore a central theoretical question regarding the illusory nature of translation: can translation exist at all? This question relates to the idea of translation as an intertext and essentially the motive behind the re-translation, i.e. "the act of translating a work that has previously been translated into the same language" (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2009, 33; Pym 2011, 90). Indeed, a great many motives may drive the re-translation of the Qur'an in general – such as the perceived poor quality of existing translations (Venuti 2004, 1), the archaic language of older translations, the ideological nature

of past texts, the financial rewards of translating the text, or simply the translator's appreciation of the original text (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2009, 235). However, al-Hilālī's translation typically highlights the desire to interpret the text according to a different set of values "so as to bring about a new and different reception for that text in the translating culture" (Venuti 2004, 3), an issue I will return to below when I discuss the ideological functioning of al-Hilālī's translation at both the textual and paratextual levels.

Al-Hilālī's life trajectory demonstrates how translation is always influenced by social circumstances; it is never free of influence. From 1968 to 1974, al-Hilālī served as professor of Islam at the Islamic University in Medina. In this vocation, he was noted for his particular erudition in the field of linguistics. In fact, he devoted a considerable time throughout his life to the study and teaching of Arabic and other languages. These skills were noted by Saudi clerics who hoped to disseminate their religious ideas worldwide to reach distant communities who had little or no command of Arabic. Thus, al-Hilālī, together with Khān, was entrusted with the task of translating the Qur'an into English under the auspices of the Saudi religious establishment.

Though it might seem that al-Hilālī's interest in languages might have led him to accept and translate the Qur'an, his life trajectory indicates otherwise. In the 1930s, taking a similar stance to Rashīd Riḍā, he opposed the translation of the Qur'an. He both appreciated the Ahmadiyya movement for its ability to preach in the foreign language yet devalued its translation as totally against the rule of Islam (al-Hilālī 1932, 232). However, in the 1970s, the ambition of the Saudi state clerics helped to override al-Hilālī's prior objection to translation. In fact, al-Hilālī did not hesitate to comply with the will of the religious establishment, even though he believed that translation would not generate emotion and spur conversions to Islam, as does the original Qur'an (al-Hilālī 1971a, 57).

This change in position towards Qur'an translation demonstrates how the defining feature of re-translation rests on the figure of the first translator/translation who/which influences the re-translation process. That is, the new translator is forced to develop a critical stance towards past translations, an unavoidable feature in the re-translation process. It is clear that most re-translations take into account their predecessors. This must not be taken as an axiom, or a fact, as some re-translations are passive, being produced under no direct or prior influence or even the knowledge of earlier versions (Pym 1998, 82). However, the fact that the Qur'an has been translated into English over 70 times suggests that most translators may have had prior knowledge of at least some earlier translations. This allows us to conjuncture that translators, unless proven otherwise, are in one way or another responding to their predecessors (Armin Paul 1989; Paloposki and Koskinen 2010).

Al-Hilālī's rejection of Sayed Ahmed's English translation, sponsored by the Ahmadiyya movement, and his later acceptance of the task of translating the Qur'an, is a useful reminder of how re-translation is influenced by prior translations. In addition, the complex's abandonment of Yusuf Ali's translation for the reasons outlined above is also reminiscent of what Koskinen and Paloposki (2015, 29) called "the story of re-translation", which goes something like this: "the first translator is the 'bad' guy, who is, however, often generously regarded as having tried his best but who was unable to produce anything with lasting value. The *re-translator*, in turn, is the hero: the modern, well-read, balanced and cultured translator who 'finally' gives the readers the unbiased, faultless, faithful rendering of the original". Meredith McKinney, an award-winning translator of classical and modern Japanese literature, describes this process clearly in the context of her work:

> After a century, not only language but social mores and indeed everyday life itself have undergone considerable changes, such that conveying it all in our contemporary English can often seem rather jarring. This is particularly true of dialogue, of course, which is always acutely

sensitive to register problems, but to a lesser extent it influences choices we make about the prose in general.

This came home to me when I translated an early modern Japanese classic by Natsume Soseki, Kokoro, written in 1914. Glancing at the previous translation, made about fifty years ago, I registered how old-fashioned it seemed. Old-fashioned to me, of course, not to the translator, who hadn't hesitated to make the novel read like a contemporary work. Well I can do better than that, I thought happily (McKinney 2011, 65).

McKinney's words show how translators have a relationship to their precursors. Her criticism of the past translation paved the way for the rise of her new translation. As Koskinen and Paloposki (2015, 32) argue, a polemical approach is an ineluctable fate. To find his/her own voice, the translator must revisit ageing translations, which ageing triggered the desire for making the classic new.

If one considers translation a performative act embedded in structures of power which occasion interpretations – an idea reiterated, amongst many others, by Roman Jakobson (in his concept of intersemiotic translation as connected to non-verbal sign systems) and George Steiner (in the argument that "*inside and between languages, human communication equals translation*" (Steiner 1998, 49; italics in the original)), one might well say that re-translation operates as an antithesis complementing or rather objecting to the precursor who failed or fell short of conveying the original meanings of the book (Bloom 1973, 49–76). Thus, the value of re-translation lies in its potential to open up ways of thinking about the operation of translation in the wider framework of beliefs and assumptions, especially in relation to the operation of translation as an ideological apparatus, a tool to legitimize power relations, emerging as most successful in making the voice of the Saudi religious establishment heard and the state's voice extremely noticeable.

Since Saudi Arabia regards itself as the legitimate ruler of all Muslims (Al-Rasheed 2002, 5), the Complex uses translation as part of a campaign to fulfil a religious duty: the call for

Islam (*da'wa*) to support Muslim minorities living abroad. The Saudi leadership indeed vows to support minority Muslims living abroad via knowledge transfer, a pledge which characterizes the state because it fulfils a religious duty: the call for Islam (*da'wa*). In 1998, 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Bāz and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-'Uthaymīn issued a fatwa* entitled *Muslim Minorities: Fatwa Regarding Muslims Living as Minorities* encouraging expressions of faith, ultimately conducive to bolstering the Islamic character of brethren and nurture the practice of their belief (Ibn Bāz and al-'Uthaymīn 1998, 19).

Note that Qur'an translation, as used in preaching, plays a role in homogenizing distant Muslim communities. The Saudi state's support of brethren is manifested in a myriad of forms such as the financing of religious institutions, the building of madrasas and mosques, such as the London's biggest mosque – the famous Regent's Park Mosque – where boxes of the *Noble Quran* line the shelves on the inside walls of the mosque, gifted from the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, the King of Saudi Arabia (Al-Rasheed 2005a, 156). In addition, Saudi Arabia funds the building of Islamic universities from Nigeria to Malaysia, and of Islamic schools from Buenos Aires to Beijing. It builds Islamic centres in most world cities: Brussels, Geneva, Madrid, London, Washington, Budapest, Vienna, Lisbon and many others (MacEoin 2007, 25–26). Further, Saudi-supported Qur'an translation is disseminated free of charge on the internet in many languages, e.g. English, French, Spanish, Russian, Indonesian, Chinese and Swahili (see the Complex's website for general reference), on many different websites (see e.g. www.thenoblequran.com, www.noblequran.com/translation/, www.quran.qurancomplex.gov.sa) and in many different formats, including pdf, word, audio, sign translation, calligraphy (Wild 2015, 165). The mushrooming of mosques, however, aims to institutionalize the Saudi variant of Islam, thereby establishing "a cultural infrastructure enabling the reproduction of religious beliefs and practices and helping Muslim children to be consciously socialized to imbibe the norms and values of their parents' generation" (Ansari

2004, 11). Mosques thus become the preserves of the "true" faith. However, Saudi Arabia's support of distant Muslims pertains to disseminating not only *The Noble Quran* but also the state's image as the land of Islam (*dār al-islām)* and the legitimate ruler of all Muslims. This is the crux of the next section which examines how such an image seeps into the translation paratexts.

5.2 Paratextual Analysis

In the context of translation, the Saudi state grants *The Noble Quran* the authority to communicate Islam's message on behalf of the state and, therefore, simultaneously delivers the state's self-conferred image as the guardian of Islam. In a certificate of authentication which bears his stamp as the then grand mufti of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Bāz grants clearance to publish and reproduce the translation (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, I). According to the certificate, The General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta accepts the translation after having decided that the translators correctly rendered the Qur'an into English during their time in the Islamic University of Madinah. The certificate's original version goes as follows:

Figure 1. Ibn Bāz's Letter.

Figure 2. Ibn Bāz's Letter (my translation).

In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

To Whom It May Concern

God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you

The General Presidency of Scholarly Research and Ifta in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia confirms that Dr Muhammad Taqī al-Dīn al-Hilālī and Dr Muhammad Muhsin Khān have correctly translated into English the meanings of *The Noble Quran*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-imām al-bukhārī*, and *Kitāb al-lu'lu' wa-al-marjān*. Therefore, there is no reason to forbid these books from entering and circulating in the Kingdom.

Blessings and peace upon our Prophet Muhammad and his companions

General President of Scholarly Research and Ifta

Signature

'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Bāz

There is no question that this certificate supports the state's broader campaign of proselytism. Having the certificate attached as the first page in the translation is not a coincidence as it informs the reader how the translators earned the authorities' approval, namely that of Ibn Bāz, one of Islam's most authoritative figures in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The certificate also aims to bring to the reader's attention the status of religious authority through an appeal to authentication by an authoritative figure who ironically spoke no English yet considered the translation as "correct".

In fact, the translation was authorized by not only Ibn Bāz but also the then Minister of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance, ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī. In the foreword to the translation, the Minister conveys to the reader Saudi Arabia's commitment to deliver Islam's message by supporting the translation and transferring knowledge to Muslims abroad. He writes,

> following the directives of the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques, King ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz Al Saʾud, may Allah guard him, to give the book of Allah all the importance due to it, its publication, its distribution throughout the world, preparation of its commentary and translation of its meanings into different languages of the world; and in view of the firm faith of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the importance of translating the meanings of the Glorious Qur'an into all the important languages of the world to enable the non-Arabic-speaking Muslims to understand it, and in fulfilment of the injunction of the Prophet M "Convey my message even if it be one single ayah", And with the view to serve our English-speaking brethren, King Fahd Complex For the Printing of the Holy Qur'an at al-Madinah al-Munawwarah has the pleasure to present the English-speaking reader with this English translation by Dr. Muhammad Taqi-ud Din al-Hilali and Dr. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, which has been revised on behalf of the Complex by Fazal Ilahi Zahir, Dr. Amin ad-Din Abu Bakr, Dr. Wajih ʿAbderrahman and Dr. V. ʿAbdur Rahim (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, III).

Addressing this passage is crucial to understanding translation's role as an ideological state apparatus. The Minister situates the state's role in a broader context, showing how translation is vested with the power of not only the religious authorities but also the state itself, embodied in the king's image. The king as a symbol of the highest authority seems to have championed Qur'an translation to support the country's religious structure. This illustrates how translation is not only an expression of some kind of religious agenda but also more like a state agenda at a critical moment of historical crisis (see the discussion above on the context which surrounded the building the King Fahd Complex).

These peritextual materials legitimize the state's role in the development of the project. Legitimation demonstrates how the state comes to secure from readers a tacit consent to its self-conferred image as the guardian of Islam; a consent to its authority to provide readers with the "correct" rendition of the Qur'an. However, legitimation means "establishing one's interests as broadly acceptable" (Eagleton 1991, 54). In other words, the translation seems to be fighting to secure credibility for the state's image, thus operating as an ideological state mechanism.

In addition, the translation also includes some addenda which are intended to epitomize the state's efficiency and the King's input to the project. For example, the addendum written in Arabic calligraphy in Figure 3 and supplemented with a translation in Figure 4 expresses gratitude to Saudi Arabia's King for his efforts to disseminate the translation. Precisely, it aims to inform the reader of the King's support and generosity towards the development of the project. This example once again manifests how the state not only backed its religion but also its own image as the centre of Islam and the guardian of the "true" faith.

Figure 3. (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 958).

إِنَّ وِزَارَةَ الشُّؤُونِ الإِسْلاَمِيَّةِ وَالأَوْقَافِ وَالدَّعْوَةِ وَالإِرْشَادِ

فِي المَمْلَكَةِ العَرَبِيَّةِ السُّعُودِيَّةِ

المُشْرِفَةِ عَلَى مُجَمَّعِ المَلِكِ فَهْد

لِطِبَاعَةِ المُصْحَفِ الشَّرِيفِ فِي المَدِينَةِ المُنَوَّرَةِ

إِذْ يَسُرُّهَا أَنْ يُصْدِرَ المُجَمَّعُ هَذِهِ الطَّبْعَةَ مِنَ القُرْآنِ الكَرِيمِ

وَتَرْجَمَةَ مَعَانِيهِ إِلَى اللُّغَةِ الإِنْكِلِيزِيَّةِ

نَسْأَلُ اللَّهَ أَنْ يَنْفَعَ بِهِ عُمُومَ المُسْلِمِينَ

وَأَنْ يَجْزِيَ

خَادِمَ الحَرَمَيْنِ الشَّرِيفَيْنِ المَلِكَ فَهْدَ بْنَ عَبْدِ العَزِيزِ آلَ سُعُود

أَحْسَنَ الجَزَاءِ عَلَى جُهُودِهِ العَظِيمَةِ فِي نَشْرِ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ الكَرِيمِ

وَاللَّهُ وَلِيُّ التَّوْفِيقِ

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Figure 4. (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 959).
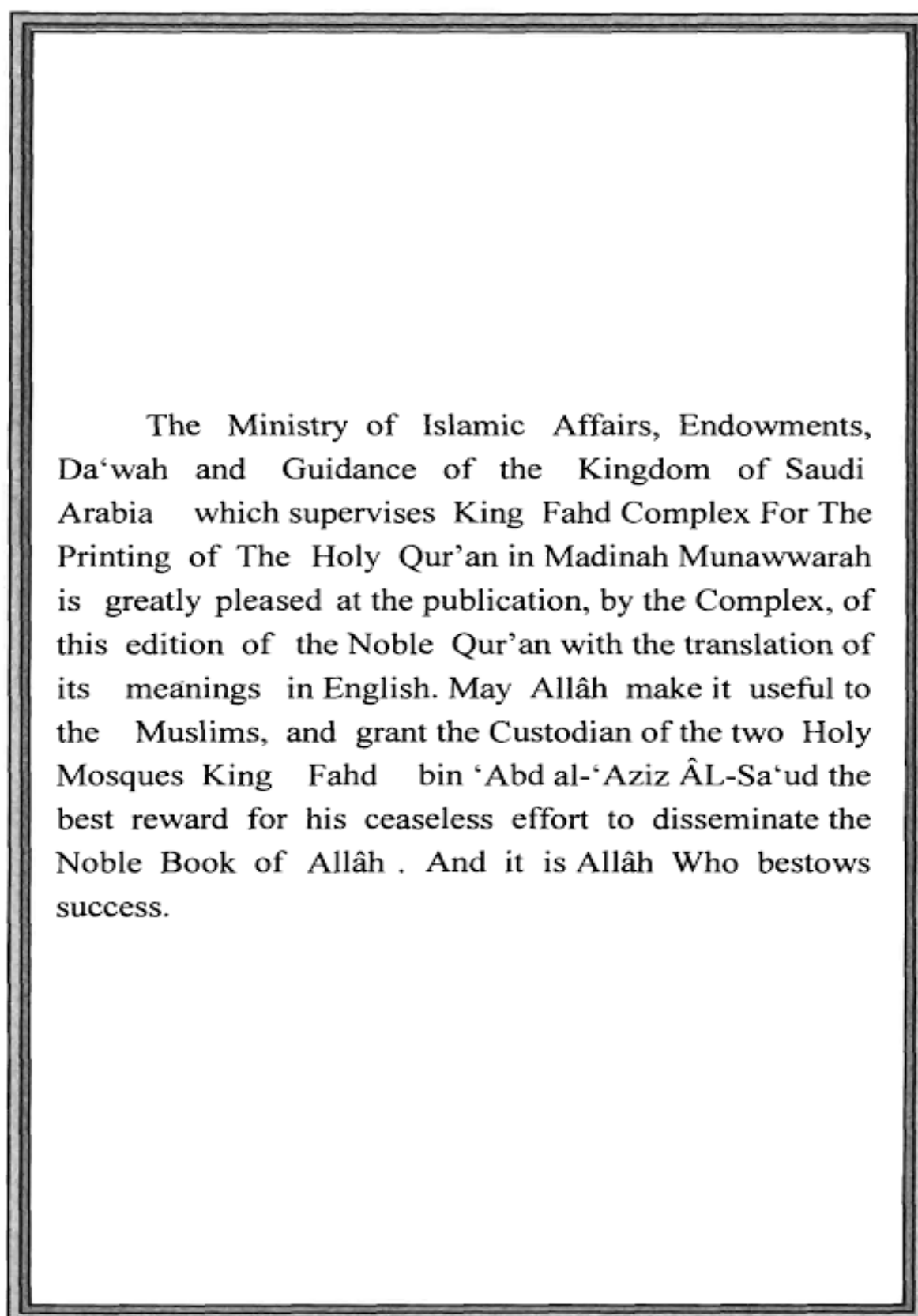
The Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Endowments, Da'wah and Guidance of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia which supervises King Fahd Complex For The Printing of The Holy Qur'an in Madinah Munawwarah is greatly pleased at the publication, by the Complex, of this edition of the Noble Qur'an with the translation of its meanings in English. May Allâh make it useful to the Muslims, and grant the Custodian of the two Holy Mosques King Fahd bin 'Abd al-'Aziz ÂL-Sa'ud the best reward for his ceaseless effort to disseminate the Noble Book of Allâh . And it is Allâh Who bestows success.

These addenda's presence in the translation highlights the state's role and its quest for legitimacy. Since they aspire to deliver the state's self-conferred image as the guardian of faith, they are the embodiment of the status quo and the tenets of the historical alliance between the state and Wahhabism, in which the state vows to support the campaign of religious proselytism. The inclusion of these addenda and the certificate of authentication demonstrates how the state finds new opportunities to assert itself and its ideology and how it has been a powerful agent in shaping its own image abroad. Thus, the translation becomes a form of monarchical legitimacy used to enforce the state's image. Note that it is not only about enforcement but also universalization of such an image beyond linguistic borders.

Indeed, central to *Noble Qur'an* is the state's status as crucial for the service of Islam. The peritexts' role is obvious: enforcing the state's desirable image. The translation excels in praising the state's efforts embodied in the King's image, thereby granting the state greater visibility and expanding its favourable image as the guardian of faith. The translation operates thus as an ideological state apparatus aspiring to universalize the state's piety by means of addenda which reflect the state's input to producing and distributing *The Noble Quran*.

5.3 Text Analysis

Case i: Q 4:1

This verse presents one of Qur'an's versions of creation, commonly known as the creation of Adam and Eve. The prevailing idea in the collective imagination is that Eve was created from Adam. This verse requires analysis as it informs social relations and shows the workings of translation as an ISA.

يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ ٱتَّقُواْ رَبَّكُمُ ٱلَّذِي خَلَقَكُم مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالاً

كَثِيراً وَنِسَآءَ وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ ٱلَّذِي تَسَآءَلُونَ بِهِ وَٱلأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيباً

O mankind! Be dutiful to your Lord, Who created you from a single *person* (Adam), and *from* him (Adam) He created his *wife* [Hawwa (Eve)], and from them both He created many men and women and fear Allah through Whom you demand your mutual (rights), and (do not cut the relations of) the wombs (kinship). Surely, Allah is Ever an All-Watcher over you (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 106).

The key terms are: "نَفْس" *nafs* and "زَوْج" *zawj*. *Nafs* (feminine) has several meanings: "person", "self", "essence", "spirt" and "being" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970a, 3:688). In the text, the translators include a parenthetical remark ("Adam") to explain the meaning of *nafs* (translated as "person"). This remark, however, adds a layer of interpretation which is absent in the original; nowhere in the original does the Qur'an state that creation of humankind began with a male person nor does it talk about the origin of the human race in relation to Adam. This clearly suggests that the divergencies in the translation from the ST serve the ideological disposition of the Wahhabi state.

The inclusion of "Adam" and "Eve" in the translation expresses the creation of humankind in gender terms, thereby establishing gender hierarchy and differentiation. The foundation of male superiority in the translation is also advanced by the translation of *zawj* as "wife". *Zawj*, a masculine noun¸ means "spouse" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970c, 2:60–61). The translators translate *zawjahā* as "wife" with a parenthetical addition "Eve", thus suggesting the priority of Adam's creation. This idea presupposes the existence of hierarchy and in fact fosters the prevailing interpretation amongst classical jurists that Eve was created from Adam and, consequently, man was created prior to woman, thus establishing the principle of male superiority as the dominant norm. This is clearly an act of naturalizing and universalizing male superiority in translation "so as to render [it] self-evident and apparently evident" (Eagleton 1991, 5).

The story of Adam and Eve features prominently in Saudi discourse. For instance, al-'Uthaymīn, (like Ibn Bāz, a prominent Saudi scholar), who influenced Saudi Arabia's religious

policies in the 1980s, interprets Q 4:1 to mean that *nafs* and *zawj* refer to Adam and Eve respectively. He utilizes the hadith that Eve was derived from one of Adam's ribs to arrive at such an interpretation, which actually ends up reproducing the same ancestral discourse that constructs men and women as binary opposites. This illustrates how the translation of Q 4:1 is anchored in the exegetical tradition. Yet, it is not simply an act of reproducing ancestral beliefs, but of *promoting* them in translation. Promoting a particular set of beliefs is one of ideology's devices used to legitimize relations of domination (Eagleton 1991, 5).

The translation of Q 4:1 as expressing male superiority in creation manifests the historical legacy of classical literature. The translation acquires an ideological state function when such an interpretation of the verse is institutionalized in state functionaries and universalized in translation. Influential Saudi clerics are instrumental in this institutionalization. Ibn Bāz, the grand state mufti (1993–1999), played an important role in homogenizing woman's image as an inferior being. He returns to pre-modern texts and fatwas to imbue the Muslim woman with the universal order of piety, propriety and conformity. In a fatwa explaining the hadith: Eve was derived from one of Adam's ribs, he claims how the woman much like Eve "will not be free of [a certain degree of] crookedness in her moral character, exactly like a rib. Hence, it is not possible to straighten her without divorcing her" (see fatwa in al-Dawīsh 1996, 319). Ibn Bāz's perception of the Muslim woman conceptualizes her as an ethical subject deprived of her individuality, thus rendered as subordinate to the man's authority. What is interesting is not this perception, which occupies translation and circulates in Saudi discourse amongst Saudi Arabia's most popular scholars, but how it is nurtured and universalized as the most cherished image of the pious Muslim woman. This view appears in the *Noble Quran* as natural and therefore legitimate since it is already naturalized at the institutional level.

This perception of women was emphasized in the Saudi state narrative in the 1980s: "women were denied individual legal personality, and were placed under the authority of their male

guardians and the state, each reinforcing the other's patriarchy" (Al-Rasheed 2013, 74). This narrative illuminates the climate in which the translation arrived. The network of clerics was instrumental in establishing such a climate, which dictates how women should be talked about vis-à-vis creation, an idea that sprang from the Wahhabi scholars' imagination and their dialogue with mediaeval exegetical literature. The translated Q 4:1 perpetuates, therefore, not only the clerics' perception of women but also the state's efforts to establish a pious Muslim community for legitimacy. The translation as such operates as an ideological mechanism legitimizing the narrative on women congenial to the state. This illustrates how the interplay of power relations in translation takes place, and especially how the Wahhabi ideology intervenes in translation to legitimize power relations struggling for the appropriation of translation: in fact, the appropriation of the hegemonic discourse. Through Gramsci's lens, *The Noble Quran* seems to be both interpretive and transformative of the Wahhabi language into a historical necessity.

Case ii: Q 2:228

This verse, often known as "the degree verse", is another controversial verse pertaining to the social relations between husband and wife. The controversy occurs at the end of the passage when the Qur'an determines the functional distinctions between husbands and wives as regards their roles and responsibilities towards each other.

وَٱلْمُطَلَّقَاتُ يَتَرَبَّصْنَ بِأَنْفُسِهِنَّ ثَلَاثَةَ قُرُوءٍ وَلاَ يَحِلُّ لَهُنَّ أَن يَكْتُمْنَ مَا خَلَقَ ٱللَّهُ فِي أَرْحَامِهِنَّ

إِن كُنَّ يُؤْمِنَّ بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلآخِرِ وَبُعُولَتُهُنَّ أَحَقُّ بِرَدِّهِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ إِنْ أَرَادُوٓاْ إِصْلاَحاً وَلَهُنَّ

مِثْلُ ٱلَّذِي عَلَيْهِنَّ بِٱلْمَعْرُوفِ وَلِلرِّجَالِ عَلَيْهِنَّ دَرَجَةٌ وَٱللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ

And divorced women shall wait (as regards their marriage) for three menstrual periods, and it is not lawful for them to conceal what Allah has created in their wombs, if they believe in Allah and the Last Day. And their husbands have the better right to take them back in that period, if

they wish for reconciliation. And they (women) have rights (*over their husbands as regards living expenses, etc.*) similar (to those of their husbands) over them (*as regards obedience and respect, etc.*) to what is reasonable, but men have a *degree (of responsibility)* over them. And Allah is All-Mighty, All-Wise (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 49).

In this passage, the translators take the liberty to set the roles whereby both husbands and wives abide. This is evident in the translation of "وَلَهُنَّ مِثْلُ ٱلَّذِي عَلَيْهِنَّ" *walahunna mithlul ladhī 'alayhīnna*. Whereas the original does not regard husbands as the recipient of obedience, the translation inserts a reference to define the Muslim woman's role. The *Noble Quran* communicates the idea that the woman must obey her husband who must, in turn, provide for the house according to God's laws. Note that the association of women with housekeeping operates as a key to their subordination. Though the word "housekeeping" does not appear in the translation, speaking of "living expenses" vis-à-vis the husband defines, by implication, the woman's role vis-à-vis the "housework". A great deal has been written about women's role in patriarchal societies, including 1980s' Saudi Arabia, so that one connects the translation to the idea that the housework is unquestionably a woman's undertaking (see e.g. AlMunajjed 1997, 59–80; Zuhur 2011, 218–31; Al-Rasheed 2013, 108–33; Al-Sudairy 2017, 89). With the wife's role goes housework and with the husband's role goes financial care for the house. Obviously, linking the woman to the house and the husband to the financial care becomes tightened in patriarchal societies, and thus infiltrates translation as the analysis below demonstrates. On the whole, translators insert those imagined obligations as part of their text, representing them as divine. Women, as depicted in the translation, are not only expected to care for the house but also obey men's authority, further indicating how ideology actually operates at the level of translation. As Eagleton (1991, 27) suggests, "it is part of the function of the dominant ideology to inculcate such beliefs".

Note that the addition of "as regards living expenses" and "as regards obedience and respect" is an outward expression of classical exegetical literature followed by Wahhabi

scholars. The mediaeval Sunnī scholar al-Zamakhsharī, for example, relates *walahunna mithlul ladhī 'alayhinna* to how women should do the housework whereas husbands support the house (al-Zamakhsharī 1134/2009, 133). Much more recently, al-'Uthaymīn (published posthumously 2002, 3:100) interprets the verse to mean that wives should observe their obligations towards their husbands. Though husbands also have obligations towards their wives, *men and women*, al-'Uthaymīn continues, cannot be equal as "men have a degree (*daraja*) over them", according to God. The word *daraja* has a host of meanings: "degree", "rank", or "grade". The word signifies comparison when associated with the key conjunction "على" *'alā*, i.e. "above" or "over". Al-'Uthaymīn relegates women to a lower status compared to their counterparts, decontextualizing the verse which in fact addresses wives and husbands regarding divorce (Abdel Haleem 2005, xxv). However, this relegation of women is the product of the patriarchal mode of production, not exclusive to Wahhabism.

Introducing this interpretation as part of God's divine law in translation ("men have a degree (of responsibility) over them [women]") serves to underscore the necessity to emphasize the ideological and hierarchical differences. Although the verse talks about "husbands" and "wives", the translation gives "men" and "women" instead, generalizing and advancing male superiority and also mystifying the normative behaviour which views women as obedient. This thereby maintains not only Wahhabism, but also Wahhabism under the auspices of the state and, by extension, the state's discourse on women. Indeed, what makes Wahhabism a domineering state ideology as regards the translation is "its ability to intervene in the consciousness of those it subjects, appropriating and reinflecting their experience" (Eagleton 1991, 43). Thus, the translation's attempts at appropriating words of God illustrate the state's struggle to shape experiences of divine speech.

However, the state does not impose wifely obedience in translation in a straightforward way. Should one consider the broader picture, one finds the translation makes sense within the Saudi

state's narrative on women. More recently, though the "godly" women's status in the Saudi state narrative has slightly changed compared to the 1980s, when the translation appeared, women "work as teachers, doctors, nurses, and social workers – professions that underline their status as *caregivers* and support workers, which are seen as acceptable roles for women" (al-Rasheed 2016, 293). So, although one cannot disregard the exegetical literature's influence on portraying women in the translated Q 2:228, "the subordination of women is linked to the project of the state" (Al-Rasheed 2015, 293).

Since the Saudi state always projects itself as a moral agent guarding women's chastity by drawing on religion to define their roles (Al-Rasheed 2015, 294), the state functionaries excel in providing rulings pertaining to women's roles. In his responsum to whether women can take jobs, Ibn Bāz (1990, 4:309) rules that God "commanded women to remain in their homes" as "the general rule". They should "leave their homes only when necessary". Truly,

> The man is responsible for spending and making a living. The woman is responsible for rearing the children with kindness and compassion, breastfeeding, and other endeavours that are appropriate for women and particularly related to women such as teaching children, administering the education of girls, doctoring and nursing women, and so forth. When a woman neglects her household duties, the home and its members fall apart and the family unit actually and symbolically disintegrates. Consequently, we are left with what appears to be a society, but lacks essence and meaning (Ibn Bāz 1987, 1:419).

This responsum highlights the social space and time where the translated Q 2:228 appeared to promote women's image as caregivers and obedient, which image was accepted by the state at the time (and still is even today). This manifests how translation operates as an ideological state apparatus, reproducing the same state narrative and, by extension, universalizing it. Universalization delineates translation's role in interpreting and transforming the original as "part of the hegemonic struggle" (Lacorte 2010, 221). If it is rational to settle for such a translation where the ST and the TT contradict each other, it is also rational to say that the

translation ideologizes the divine text so as to ensure concerted actions to preserve a given social order (Eagleton 1991, 56).

Case iii: Q 4:2–3

These verses pertain to the treatment of orphans during the time of revelation. The verses have been the subject of intense debates amongst scholars as they address the question of polygamy in Islam. In fact, polygamy is a very ancient practice that prevailed historically and has been practiced by different cultures and societies across time and space. The understanding of these verses in the context of translation elucidates how Qur'an translation operates as an ideological state mechanism.

وَآتُواْ ٱلْيَتَامَىٰ أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَلاَ تَتَبَدَّلُواْ ٱلْخَبِيثَ بِٱلطَّيِّبِ وَلاَ تَأْكُلُوٓاْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ إِلَىٰ أَمْوَالِكُمْ إِنَّهُ كَانَ حُوباً كَبِيراً وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَلاَّ تُقْسِطُواْ فِي ٱلْيَتَامَىٰ فَٱنكِحُواْ مَا طَابَ لَكُم مِّنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ مَثْنَىٰ وَثُلٰثَ وَرُبٰعَ فَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَلاَّ تَعْدِلُواْ فَوٰحِدَةً أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمٰنُكُمْ ذٰلِكَ أَدْنَىٰ أَلاَّ تَعُولُواْ

And give unto orphans their property and do not exchange (your) bad things for (their) good ones; and devour not their substance (by adding it) to your substance. Surely, this is a great sin. And if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan-girls, then *marry (other) women* of your choice, two or three, or four but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one or (the captives and the slaves) that your right hands possess. That is nearer to prevent you from doing injustice (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 106).

The operative phrase in this verse is "فَٱنكِحُواْ مَا طَابَ لَكُم مِّنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ" *fānkiḥū mā ṭāba lakum mina al-nisa'* which can be literally translated as "marry who you desire of women". The translators render the phrase as "marry (other) women". The inclusion of "(other)" suggests that the man can marry more than one woman and so Islam permits polygamy, a customary cliché and a highly debatable question. The context, however, discusses polygamy as part of a bundle of recommendations on orphans and widows with orphaned children who, at the time of

revelation, were subjected to fraud by men whose primary goal was to confiscate their wealth. To address the problem, one solution suggested by the Qur'an is marriage to four female orphans to sway men from such a custom. The translation instead gives the right to men to marry four women, as opposed to the verses' content which intends to secure justice for orphans. Accordingly, marriage in the context of this verse is talked about vis-à-vis female orphans rather than all females in general. However, all females are reduced into a state of passivity to accept polygamous situations as the natural order of things dictated by God's immutable laws. This is Wahhabism's call to the return to the "authentic" tradition at its purest, which found its way into the translation of the Qur'an. That does not suggest that polygamy characterizes the authentic tradition, but as an ancient practice which was part of the prevalent means of production, polygamy is translated as being part of God's message and will, regardless of context.

The translation does not just promote an ancient practice but actually legitimizes it. To legitimize such a discourse does not necessarily mean to naturalize it; it might be already seen as "natural" in the space from which the translation sprang, yet not necessarily elsewhere. That is to say, ideology operates at the level of Qur'an translation to legitimize a particular practice as God's order. As Eagleton (1991, 55) suggests, one of ideology's devices is legitimation, and a mode of domination is legitimated when subjects' social choices and behaviour are congruent with those of the ruling power.

Significantly, women's status as introduced in the *Noble Quran* is not only a hostage to the translators' reading, but also to the Saudi state and its religious ideology. Although many scholars elsewhere animadvert on women's situation with regard to polygamy, since the 1980s the Saudi state's clerics have "actively promoted polygamy as a religious obligation" and "have spared no effort to propagate it as a natural social necessity, sanctioned by divine authority" (Al-Rasheed 2015, 298). According to a fatwa promoted by the Saudi state, men can marry

four women owing to their strong libidos. Polygamy could (i) benefit them, especially when the woman is sexually unavailable, e.g. during menstruation, childbirth, fatigue and travel. Having several wives cuts the risk of illegitimate sexual encounters. Polygamy (ii) also boosts the Muslim community's demographic expansion, leading to its empowerment (see fatwas collected in al-Juraysī 1999, 387–88). Thus, polygamy is not only something pertaining to personal desires, but also a practice put at the service of the Muslim community and, by extension, Islam. This call for polygamy renders women subservient, an object of sexual satisfaction and contributes to the physical reproduction of Muslims as divinely ordained. In fact, "public calls for the promotion of polygamy, always sponsored by the state, equate women's acceptability with their overall acceptance of Islam" (Al-Rasheed 2015, 298).

In sum, the translated Q 4:2–3, though seemingly in dialogue with ancient traditions, is used as an instrument to promote the Saudi state together with its clerics' perception of the Muslim woman. As the Saudi state establishes its legitimacy on maintaining the semblance of Islam, the 1980s state narrative on women was not only articulated at the Saudi society level in particular but at the collective level via translation. The Saudi ulama not only meant to legitimize the Saudi rule in the eyes of Saudis in particular but also in the eyes of all Muslims, using Qur'an translation as an apparatus to do so. In this way, translation expresses the state's ideas in ideal form, giving them the form of universality as "the only universally valid ones" (Marx and Engels 1846/1998, 68). Therefore, Wahhabism operating as a state ideology and driven by global interests suppresses the historical relativity of its own ideas and eventually transforms itself into a grand ideology (field), thus encompassing time and space. Wahhabism becomes, much like Althusser (1971, 170–71) said, a transhistorical phenomenon, but this in the end depends on the degree of universalization achieved and the consent of the social subject that translation managed to create.

A central problem with which commentators have struggled pertains to the issue of marital relations introduced in this verse. The verse outlines the nature of the spousal relationship and establishes measures of marital discipline when the cause of discord is wifely *nushūz* – a serious act of defiance. The verse is often connected with the issue of domestic violence. While domestic violence exists almost everywhere, within Muslim communities the problem is usually attributed to verse Q 4:34. Consequently, the verse is considered to be as a site of controversy and, hence, merits analysis in the context of translation.

ٱلرِّجَالُ قَوَّٰمُونَ عَلَى ٱلنِّسَآءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ ٱللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَىٰ بَعْضٍ وَبِمَآ أَنْفَقُواْ مِنْ أَمْوَٰلِهِمْ فَٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتُ

قَٰنِتَٰتٌ حَٰفِظَٰتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ ٱللَّهُ وَٱلَّٰتِي تَخَافُونَ نُشُوزَهُنَّ فَعِظُوهُنَّ وَٱهْجُرُوهُنَّ فِي ٱلْمَضَاجِعِ

وَٱضْرِبُوهُنَّ فَإِنْ أَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلاَ تَبْغُواْ عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيلاً إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيّاً كَبِيراً

Men are *the protectors and maintainers* of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means. Therefore the righteous women are *devoutly obedient* (to Allah and to their husbands), and guard in the husband's absence what Allah orders them to guard (e.g. their chastity, their husband's property, etc.). As to those women on whose part you see *ill-conduct*, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) *beat* them (*lightly, if it is useful*), but if they return to obedience, seek not against them means (of annoyance). Surely, Allah is Ever Most High, Most Great (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 113).

The terms which have contested meanings are: "قَوَّٰمُونٌ" *Qawwāmūn*, "قَٰنِتَٰتٌ" *Qanitāt*, "نُشُوزَ" *nushūz* and "ٱضْرِبُوهُنَّ" *aḍribūhunna*. *Qawwāmūn* means "in charge of", "carer", "provider" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970a, 3:192). *Qanitāt,* could mean "faithful" or "good" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970a, 3:169). *Nushūz* has several meanings: "disobedience", "gross misconduct", "misbehaving", "infidelity" and "deviation" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970a, 3:637). The word *ḍaraba* (pl. *aḍribūhunna*) encompasses a broad spectrum of meanings, e.g. "to cast", "to

strike", "to prohibit", "to beat", "to travel" and "to set up" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970c, 2:519–23). First, *qawwāmūn* in the verse's context rests on a dual basis: the divine preference of men over women vis-à-vis the socio-economic norms of the family. The translators render this term in Q 4:34's context as "protectors and maintainers". The translation gives the impression that men are superior to women and have advantages over them mostly by virtue of their physical strength (protectors) and capacity for strenuous work (maintainers). This makes women's protection and maintenance incumbent upon men, thereby inscribing the notion of authority (absent in the original) at the heart of Q 4:34. Women, therefore, lose their right to self-determination and so become reduced to inferior beings.

Also, the verse pertains to marital relations, so it addresses "husbands" and "wives" rather than "men" and "women". In choosing "men" and "women", the translation does not confine *qawwāmūn* to the family unit but extends it to society at large, owing to the "assumed" inherent superiority of men over women. In so doing, *qawwāmūn* switches from a question of marital relations to a question of gender relations in general. However, the translators' choices are not exceptional; they are merely a reflection of ancient society. Classical exegetes interpret *qawwāmūn* to mean that men are the managers of women's affairs as God has made the one superior to the other (see e.g. al-Zamakhsharī 1134/2009, 34; Ar-Rāzī 1209/1981, 10:90–91). That is to say, the translation of *qawwāmūn* as "protectors and maintainers" reproduces ancestral discourse and accepts male supremacy as the norm, the natural order of things.

Second, the original uses *qanitāt* to describe "good wives" before God. The translators translate *qanitāt* as "obedient", i.e. wifely obedience. The original does not confirm the husband as the recipient of the wife's obedience. In fact, the inserted parenthetical remark "to Allah and to their husbands" not only orders obedience to husbands but equates the wifely obedience with obedience to God. This interpretation features in classical literature: "know that a woman cannot be righteous without being obedient to her husband" (see e.g. Ar-Rāzī

1209/1981d, 10:91). Once again, the translators seem to read the Qur'an through the eyes of past ancestors, thus executing in translation Wahhabism's call to the return to "authentic" tradition.

Third, the translation of *qanitāt* as "obedient" had a knock-on effect on the translation of *nushūz* as "ill-conduct". The general discussion of the husband's superiority over his wife and the wife's obedience to her husband become inextricably tied to the husband's authority to determine what constitutes "ill-conduct". Though the original talks about a serious act of defiance threatening the relationship between husband and wife, "ill-conduct" conveys more or less the general idea of obedience: the wife must obey the husband's commands much as she obeys God. *Nushūz* in the translation thus pertains no longer to gross misconduct but to misconduct in general, however defined (e.g. anger, shouting, etc.). It is also interesting how "ill-conduct" is not explicitly defined, implying that it is up to the man to decide what is considered as "ill conduct".

The next relevant word in Q 4:34 is *ḍaraba*. The translators render the word as "beat". The translation follows its own logic (drawn from classical exegetes) which extends men's rule over women in relation to discipline. One therefore gets the impression that since the husband is given the right to protect the wife, he is also given the right to discipline her in case of "ill-conduct". The general discussion appertaining to the husband's power over the wife, i.e. *qawwāmūn*, is translated into a discussion of physical discipline: "beat". In the light of the classical interpretations, the translators follow Ibn Kathīr, who recommends that: "if they did not obey after being admonished and abandoned, you are justified to beat them, not severely" (see Ibn Kathīr 1358/2004, 2:290).

The above analysis illuminates how the historical legacy of Wahhabism mediates women's status in the translation of Q 4:34. Alone, this does not capture the workings of translation as an ideological state apparatus. Under the auspices of the state, the translation legitimizes

"wife's obedience to husband", enforcing a Wahhabi discourse that creates a rationale for the foundation of the state's image as the guardian of women and Islam. When a woman sought Ibn Bāz's responsum on her husband's abusive behaviour, he encouraged her to either use her wealth and seek divorce (bearing in mind how this could harm their children) or remain in the marriage and abide – which he suggests is a much preferable decision (Ibn Bāz cited in Chaudhry 2015, 155). This fatwa idealizes women as obedient wives and mothers. Their place is within the family, with men as their protectors. Women are therefore the reproducers of the family's traditional values and of what it means to be a mother. Such idealized women are "in effect the partner of the Saudi state" which aims to protect "Islamic morality" (Doumato 1992, 33).

The Noble Quran, as embedded in a hegemonic discourse, legitimizes social relations and ethical conduct in line with Wahhabi ideology. Legitimation as an ideological device (see Eagleton 1991, 54–56) serves to establish the state's perception of women as widely acceptable, thus naturalizing the state ideology's interests in translation. The translation thus promotes the ulama's idea of wifely obedience as the highest spiritual value

Note that such a perception of women is not only the prerogative of the Wahhabi ulama but also state bodies. In 1977, when a journalist from a local newspaper, *'ukaz*, published an article criticizing the idea of men as women's guardians, the Department of Religious Guidance, a state functionary, requested punishment of the author in a fatwa citing verse Q 4:34: "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means". The fatwa also praised the Saudi state for supporting the spread of authentic beliefs on the Muslim woman and her role in society:

> Thank God, [it] is known for its deference to the Shariah law and its enforcement of it on its subjects
> and this is part of God's favor on it and the reason for its survival, glory, and God's siding with it.

May God stay it on the right path, reform its men, and help it to protect His [/Her] religion, His [/Her] Book, and the Sunnah of His Prophet from the mockery of the mockers, the atheism of the atheists and the scorning of criminal (cited in Doumato 1992, 33).

This position illustrates the link between the state and the ulama in legitimizing a particular model of the wife. As the fatwa is an ultimate expression of the state's rule, the translation's reproduction of the same narrative is ultimately an expression of the state's rule itself. The state gains control over translation through the ulama and the translators (embodied in their image) who reproduce the Saudi state's narrative's core tenets, creating the climate for the translation to operate as an ideological apparatus.

The translation of Q 4:34, thus, legitimizes the state narrative as acceptable by eliciting readers' consent so as to interpellate them as subjects of the dominant ideology. This marks an attempt to transform this particular ideology into a field, which explains how ideologies struggle to become universal.

Case v: Q 2:222

This verse was amongst many revealed in response to a series of questions posed by early Muslims to the prophet, e.g. Q 2:215 charity, Q 2:217 waging wars in the prohibited months, Q 2:219 drinking and gambling, Q 2:220 treatment of orphans and Q 2:222 menstruation. The Qur'an's reference to menstruation is, therefore, part of divine guidance vis-à-vis communal anxiety about pertinent social matters, indicating how Q 2:222 was revealed to set the boundaries on abstention from sex during menstruation as it is a period of pain.

وَيَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ ٱلْمَحِيضِ قُلْ هُوَ أَذًى فَٱعْتَزِلُوا۟ ٱلنِّسَآءَ فِي ٱلْمَحِيضِ وَلَا تَقْرَبُوهُنَّ حَتَّىٰ يَطْهُرْنَ فَإِذَا تَطَهَّرْنَ فَأْتُوهُنَّ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَمَرَكُمُ ٱللَّهُ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلتَّوَّابِينَ وَيُحِبُّ ٱلْمُتَطَهِّرِينَ

They ask you concerning menstruation. Say: that is an Adha *(a harmful thing for a husband to have a sexual intercourse with his wife while she is having her menses)*, therefore *keep away* from women

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during menses and go not unto them till they have purified *(from menses and have taken a bath)*. And when they have purified themselves, then go in unto them as Allah has ordained for you (go in unto them in any manner as long as it is in their vagina). Truly, Allah loves those who turn unto Him in repentance and loves those who purify themselves (by taking a bath and cleaning and washing thoroughly their private parts, bodies, for their prayers, etc.) (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 48).

Adhá is the operative word in the original and has several meanings: "damage", "harm" and "injury" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970b, 1:41). In the translation, the translators assert how God commands husbands to abandon sex during the period as it incurs harm. However, they take reference to menstruation to mean harm on the man's part, giving the impression that the woman's body is polluting during menstruation.

Note that the addition "a harmful thing for a husband" marks women as "impure" and "capable" of transferring defilement to men. This addition operates as a means of subjugation and control propagated not via the Qur'an but via traditional readings of the verse. The translation views the woman's menstrual blood as polluting, though the ST does not indicate the woman and her body as polluting. Moreover, the verse emphasizes intercourse (i.e. vaginal intercourse) only, leaving the issue of intimacy between husband and wife open to various cultural interpretations.

The translators seem to universalize their own particular beliefs by projecting a historically specific interpretation as true of all times and, as a result, universal. The many parenthetical remarks used portray women as "weak" due to natural cycles, an idea introduced as Godly. As Eagleton (1991, 10) suggests, "ideologies do often enough deceptively generalise their own highly particular beliefs to global or transhistorical status".

Projecting woman as impure evokes the classical readings of Q 2:222, consolidated during Islam's formative period, which call men to avoid their women during the menstrual period. Mediaeval exegetes believe that the verse was revealed to lessen a corpus of common ostracizing rituals against women in the Judo-Christian tradition. The Jews isolated the

menstruating women from the household while the Christians had sex during the period. The verse hence appears to order Muslims to refrain from sex during menstruation and, by extension, end such customary rituals, described by classical exegetes as "the practice of *al-jāhilīyah*", the age of pre-Islamic ignorance (see e.g. Ibn Kathīr 1358/2004, 1:585; al-Zamakhsharī 1134/2009, 129). In fact, the historical narrative that God intervened to lessen "the practice of *al-jāhilīyah*" ostracizing women rationalizes the idea of menstruating women as impure.

This idea enters the translation not only in the parenthetical remark but also in the text itself, especially in the translation of "فَٱعْتَزِلُواْ ٱلنِّسَآءَ" *fā'tazilū al-nisa'* as "keep away from women". This can instead be translated as "retire from sex" or "let women alone". The translated verse prohibits all kinds of intimacy with menstruants besides virginal intercourse. The choice of "keep away" can be explained by social structures rather than by the patriarchal readings which justify it. In other words, Wahhabism alone cannot explain why *The Noble Quran* chose "keep away" despite the currency of exegetical literature addressing menstruation in a different way (see e.g. Ar-Rāzī 1209/1981, 6:76; see also discussion in Naguib 2010, 37–43). But Wahhabism as a state ideology does explain why such an ostracizing interpretation made inroads into the text. According to Al-Rasheed (2013, 17), the obsession with the female's body reflects a process whereby the Saudi state uses women to define the nation's image. In fact, since the state was constructed as a project calling for the return to the "authentic" Islam, women have always been used to materialize such a return.

The Muslim woman's image as polluting also operates at the level of the official Saudi state discourse, especially in the corpus of fatwas produced by the state muftis. Consider, for example, a very cherished idea which constructs women as an inferior being: "women are deficient in reason and religion". This idea is promoted by Ibn Bāz, a Saudi figure known for "reinforce[ing] the Saud family's policies through his influence with the masses of believers"

(Kepel 2004, 186). For him, deficient in reason means "their memory is weak" while deficient in religion is "attributed to the fact that while menstruating, or having postpartum bleeding, women neither pray nor fast, and they do not make up their prayers. However, they (women) are not to be blamed for this deficiency; it is a deficiency imposed by the Law of God" (Ibn Bāz 1987, 1:292) In his opinion, it is the Mighty's logic. When Ibn Bāz was asked whether a menstruating woman can recite the Qur'an, his response bore the mark of the mediaeval tradition: "there is no harm if a menstruating or postpartum bleeding woman reads books of Tafsir nor in her reciting the Qur'an without actually touching the Mushaf (the physical copy of the Qur'an) according to the strongest opinion among the scholars" (Ibn Bāz 1987, 1:384). This illustrates how reproducing the patriarchal discourse in the translation goes far beyond simply regurgitating classical beliefs, showing how translation legitimizes a discourse appropriate to the understanding of the Saudi's state functionaries who view women as "weak creatures, subject to natural cycles that reduce their ability to act, assess, and evaluate situations requiring courage, speed, and other cherished masculine qualities" (Al-Rasheed 2015, 296).

In legitimizing particular hegemonic practices, translation operates as an ideological state apparatus, justifying and universalizing them as the words of God. By way of universalizing *particular* beliefs, Wahhabism as state ideology assumes a transhistorical status and thus transforms itself from a particular ideology to the grand ideology (field). In the process of transformation, the translation rationalizes and generalizes a particular socio-historical discourse as normal and, therefore, natural. As Gramsci (2000, 196; Lacorte 2010, 221) illustrates, central to translation is the act of interpreting and transforming the world as part of the struggle for hegemony, an ideological struggle for the occupation of the field.

This verse discusses how God by means of His/Her guidance can lift the burden on humans who are created weak and susceptible to diversion from His/Her teachings. Since the Qur'an in this verse uses the term "ٱلإِنسَانُ" *al-insān* which might be translated as "man", the translation may undergo a matrix of gender relations which determine the Muslim woman's image in general. The analysis of this verse illuminates *The Noble Quran*'s role as an ideological state apparatus, whose goal is to legitimize a particular state of affairs.

يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ أَن يُخَفِّفَ عَنْكُمْ وَخُلِقَ ٱلإِنسَانُ ضَعِيفاً

> Allah wishes to lighten (the burden) for you; and *man* was created weak *(cannot be patient to leave sexual intercourse with woman)* (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 112).

Al-insān is the key term in this verse and means "humankind", "human being", "humans". It can also be translated as "man" in reference to all human beings. The *Noble Quran* translated *al-insān* as "man" with a particular reference to "woman", however. The translators impute man's "weakness" to unbridled lust for sex with women. The inclusion of "cannot be patient to leave sexual intercourse with woman" indicates how the translation of *al-insān* as "man" depicts man and woman as sexually differentiated and, eventually, as gendered in Qur'anic and socio-institutional terms.

The translators read an inherent moral weakness in man into the translation by reducing him to a sexual subject and woman, by extension, to a sexual object, justifying the idea that women need to be protected from men who are morally weak by nature. Man and woman's portrayal in Q 4:28 does not originate in the Arabic text itself but has been read into the translation in a problematic way. The Qur'an does not amplify on man's weakness nor does it refer to women. By canonizing this reading, the translators also canonize man and woman's image, legitimize sexual differentiation and elevate male superiority over female.

The translators insinuate how men can be attracted to women, an idea which converts women into inferior beings and sexual objects. By presenting sexual differentiation as God's order, the translators universalize and legitimize patriarchal policies which marry sexual differentiation with gender values. These values acquire a transhistorical form and so "are projected as the values of all humanity" (Eagleton 1991, 56).

Explicit reference to sexual differentiation does not only serve to set the gender norms but also creates a climate where women accept such norms as being producers of Muslims, housewives, etc. based on the "authentic" tradition and *tafsīr*. In fact, the translators not only manage to link "weakness" to male's sexual desire, but also universalize and naturalize such an image in ways faithful to the Wahhabi teachings, which follow Ibn Kathīr and al-Ṭabarī's works that form a solid part of the Sunnī-al-Ḥanbalī canon. For example, al-Ṭabarī (922/1994, 2:244) and Ibn Kathīr (1358/2004, 2:267) interpret "weakness" in reference to women, i.e., men become sexually stimulated in the presence of women. This indicates how a preexisting normative behaviour firmly underlies the translators' perception of both women and men as gender distinct categories and how they embrace and canonize the preexisting normative behaviours on women in translation.

While the *tafsīr* allows the translators to elevate male superiority to the heights which it has attained, thus legitimizing Wahhabi practices, embedded in deep-seated classical readings, it is equally true that the Saudi state also influences the development of the Qur'an translation along Wahhabi lines. As much as the translation of Q 4:28 reflects Wahhabi teachings, it is also used in the service of the state narrative on women. In fact, the obsession with sex manifests how women are used to mark the nations' ethical boundaries (Al-Rasheed 2013, 17). Since the 1980s the Saudi state has financed clerics to enforce sex segregation and so protect females from males' alleged unbridled lust, confirming the state's compliance with Wahhabism's requirements (Al-Rasheed 2013, 17). In a fatwa on gender mixing, Ibn Bāz (1987, 1:461) calls

for strict sex segregation on the grounds that the female's body is a source of *fitna*[1], which attracts men, thereby leading to tremendous corruption (cf. al-'Uthaymīn's fatwa in al-Rāwī 2004, 212). Such a fatwa both depicts man as a sexual subject and woman as a sexual object. Essentially, this is one of the fatwas produced by state functionaries which illustrate the climate in which the translation was published to legitimize a particular image of woman.

However, it is not just a matter of legitimizing a particular understanding from a Wahhabi perspective, but is also closely connected with the state's rule and how restricting and regulating women's lives turned into an occupation of the state functionaries. That is to say, Wahhabism alone cannot explain why the translated Q 4:28 reflects a particular obsession with sex and how women are a subject of greater control in the *Noble Quran*. Obsession with sex reflects the historical alliance between Wahhabism and the state: Wahhabism and "its focus on the private sphere as a protected and heavily regulated arena, and the state's desire to gain religious legitimacy through controlling and regulating the private sex lives of its citizens" (Al-Rasheed 2013, 233). Therefore, the Muslim woman's image, as nurtured in the Saudi state apparatuses, explains how introducing the strictest Islamic interpretation in translation became one of the easy solutions to naturalize and rationalize both the state and its religion. Since the 1980s, "the issuing of fatwas on women coincided with the state's desire to restore its Islamic legitimacy at a time when this had come under threat" from the rise of the Iranian model (Al-Rasheed 2013, 132). The rise of fatwas thus delineates the role of state functionaries in creating the favourable conditions for depicting women in Q 4:28. The 1980s' climate explains how Qur'an translation has become one of the pillars upon which the affirmation of Islamic identity is universalized, indicating how the translation is more than an expression of Wahhabism; it is an ideological state apparatus naturalizing the state's policies on women.

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[1] It is noteworthy that fitna has various meanings in Arabic, including "seduction", "charm", "strife", "chaos", "unrest", "affliction", and many others. However, the fatwa employs the word in the context of "seduction" which leads to chaos and corruption of the heart and God's laws.

The translation of Q 4:28 demonstrates an instance where certain values (in this case, those of Wahhabism) particular to a specific time and space are transformed into universally timeless values, i.e. represented as "the common interests of all members of society, that is, expressed in ideal form" (Marx and Engels 1846/1998, 68). This indicates the transformation from the particular to universal, which involves several strategies, namely legitimation, rationalization and promotion. Wahhabism as state ideology seeks to rally to its banner translation, an organ whereby Wahhabism fashions a discourse within which its own values and interests may best thrive.

Case vii: Q 24:31 & 33:59

These verses were revealed to define the acceptable social behaviour of Muslim women. They are the main verses on the basis of which a model of veiling for all women can be advanced. The controversial point in these verses pertains to the minimum dress requirement for all believing women. The meanings of these verses regulate social behaviour of the Muslim woman. The first verse Q 24:31 reads as follows:

وَقُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَلاَ يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إلاَّ مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَىٰ جُيُوبِهِنَّ وَلاَ يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إلاَّ لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ

And tell the believing women to lower their gaze (from looking at forbidden things), and protect their private parts (from illegal sexual acts, etc.) and not to show off their adornment except only that which is apparent *(like palms of hands or one eye or both eyes for necessity to see the way, or outer dress like veil, gloves, head-cover, apron, etc.)*, and to draw their veils all over *Juyubihinna (i.e. their bodies, faces, necks and bosoms, etc.)* and not to reveal their adornment except to their husbands, their fathers… (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 470–71).

The contested terms are: "إلاَّ مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا" *illā mā ẓahara minhā* and "جُيُوبِهِنَّ" *juyūbihinna*. First, the Qur'an instructs women not to display their adornments except that which appears

ordinarily thereof. Most jurists believe that the Qur'an leaves room for custom and established practices to determine what *illā mā ẓahara minhā* would include in terms of adornment (see e.g. Ar-Rāzī 1209/1981a, 23:206; Abū Ḥayyān d.1343/2010, 8:33). The translation, however, does the opposite. The translation of *illā mā ẓahara minhā* as "which is apparent" implies that the Qur'an aims to eradicate all forms of adornment; the result is that women, seen as sexual enticers, must be covered from head to toe save "one eye or both eyes for necessity to see the way". By introducing such ideas as divine, the translators render the women's bodies not only as something pudendal but also as corrupting those men who see them.

Second, the Qur'an instructs women to use their *khimār* to cover their *jayb* (pl. *juyūbihinna*). According to the *Lisan al-'arab*, *khimār* means a piece of cloth which covers the head. A *jayb* means the bosom and could also mean the woman's cleavage (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970b, 1:900–901). Classical commentators emphasize how women in Mecca and Medina used to expose their bosoms even though their hair was covered, explaining how the verse was revealed to order women to hide their bosoms using the cloth covering their hair (see e.g. Ar-Rāzī 1209/1981a, 23:207). The Qur'an does not indicate in the ST that the *khimār* should also cover the face and hands. In fact, Arabic uses the term *niqāb* when talking about covering the face, but the original does not use such a term. While the ideas imposed by the translation regarding the moral dress-code do not originate from the ST, the fact that the TT includes them demonstrates a tendency to sacralize and universalize particular beliefs peculiar to a certain exegetical enterprise as the belief of all Muslims. In so doing, the translation legitimizes the dominant order because the universalization of particular beliefs "may provide some significant impetus in gaining legitimacy" (Eagleton 1991, 57).

To justify their translation, the translators insert a hadith in a footnote, which states:

Narrated Safiyyah bint Shaibah: 'Aisha used to say: 'When the Verse': [Q: 24:31] was revealed, (the ladies) cut their waist sheets at the edges and covered *their heads and faces* with those cut pieces of cloth' (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 470–71).

The translated hadith's striking feature is that the way it is translated into English also plays a role in supporting the translators' approach to Q 24:31. The hadith's original version says:

عن عائشة، قالت لـما نزلت هذه الآية { وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عـلـى جُيوبِهِنَّ } قال شققن البُرْدَ مـما يـلـي الـحواشي ، فـاختـمرن به.

A literal translation goes as follows:

Aisha said: When [the verse Q: 24:31] was revealed, [the women] took their garments and tore pieces of cloth from the edges and covered their head.

The hadith's original version does not use the word "face", as the translated version does. This shows how *The Noble Quran* not only forces the desired moral praxis on Q 24:31 but also on the hadith itself, which is quoted to support the translators' choices, thus imposing the idea that women are obliged to cover their face, save the eyes, according to both God's universal mandate and the prophet's tradition.

Note that the inclusion of hadith is an act of rationalization. The translators transcend justification to rationalization; in a sense, they aim to offer "an explanation that is either logically consistent or ethically acceptable for attitudes, ideas, feelings, etc." (Laplanche and Pontalis 1980, 375). Since appealing to tradition generally benefits the Wahhabi ideology (as part of its call to the return to "authentic" Islam), rationalization as an ideological device helps in universalizing women's dress code in *The Noble Quran*.

Similarly, another verse used to promote an acceptable veiling model is Q 33:59. In this verse, God instructs the prophet to ask his wives to lower their garments. The original reads as follows:

يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِىُّ قُل لِّأَزْوَٰجِكَ وَبَنَاتِكَ وَنِسَاءِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِن جَلَٰبِيبِهِنَّ ذَٰلِكَ أَدْنَىٰ أَن
يُعْرَفْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذَيْنَ وَكَانَ ٱللَّهُ غَفُوراً رَّحِيماً

O Prophet! Tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to *draw their cloaks (veils) all over their bodies (i.e. screen themselves completely except the eyes or one eye to see the way)*. That will be better, that they should be known (as free respectable women) so as not to be annoyed. And Allah is Ever Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 570).

The operative phrase is "يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِن جَلَٰبِيبِهِنَّ" *yudnīna 'alayhinna min jalābībihinna*, which could mean "lower their garments". *Jilbāb* (pl. *jilbābihinna*) literally means "garment" rather than a "veil" (Ibn Manẓūr 1312/1970c, 1:477). In the translation, God commands women to draw over their bodies a large veil and cover everything save their eyes. Note that the original does not use the word "veil". The word's inclusion marks the translators' intervention at the level of the text to promote the idea that the veil guards women's chastity and keeps men at bay. As such, women's body becomes a symbolic representation of a community which aims to protect its symbolic image.

The translation tries to normalize the idea that women in the public sphere are a danger in relation to men, who can be out of control and sexually provoked in the presence of women. However, the translation of *jilbāb* as "cloak" or "veil" not only expresses the strictest interpretations on feminine matters but also universalizes a particular depiction of the woman's body as corrupting. In so doing, the translation redefines what constitutes inappropriate behaviour in terms of women's dress codes, thereby legitimizing the kind of discourse which views women as morally inferior to men.

However, this translation is not an isolated case; it is part of a campaign obsessed with concealing all parts of the female body. Interestingly, al-Hilālī's early writings in the 1980s suggest how the veiled woman is not obliged to cover her face (see Hilālī 1971, 195, 1977, 27, 1981, 7–10). This illustrates how "the chief Wahhabi scholars of Saudi Arabia demanded that

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the translation conforms to their own views rather than al-Hilali's" (Lauzière 2016, 203–204). Wahhabi scholars interpret Q 24:31 and Q 33:59 as an obligation to cover all parts of the female's body (see Al-ʿUthaymīn 2015b, 165–69, 2015a, 481–87 (published posthumously)). Note that such an understanding is not exclusive to the Wahhabi clerics but in fact firmly versed in al-Ḥanbalī school of jurisprudence. Their opinion which makes inroads into translation must be interpreted against the backdrop of its relation with the state, to illuminate how the *Noble Quran* operates as an ideological state apparatus.

The Wahhabi clerics' treatment of the public display of women's bodies rests on the view that women are a source of *fitnah*; therefore, they must be shielded from men, a view which "has come to be seen as a proof of *female* immorality and inferiority" (Barlas 2002, 57). The Wahhabi clerics thus view women as "weak subjects who need to be looked after, provided for, and protected" (Al-Rasheed 2013, 29). Such a view resonates well with the Saudi state narrative on the Muslim woman. For years, the state has been promoting the visible signs of piety as defined by its ulama (Al-Rasheed 2015, 296). Women embody those signs: "their invisibility in the public sphere is, ironically, a visible token of state piety and commitment to Islam" (Al-Rasheed 2015, 296). In a legal ruling on the woman's godly image, close to the translation's date of publication, Ibn Bāz rules that women "are to cover themselves in this manner [draw their outer garments over their persons] when leaving their homes […] This prevents men of diseased hearts of molesting them" (Ibn Bāz 1987, 1:461). The Saudi state endorsed this ruling and, as a result, for years "the total veiling of the body, including the face, is considered a requirement in the public sphere, excluding prayer and pilgrimage" (Al-Rasheed 2015, 297). However, the translation universalizes such a ruling beyond Saudi Arabia's public sphere to interpellate a multitude of subjects so that the covering of women becomes not only a requirement of Saudi women, but also all Muslim women.

In sum, the translation of Q 24:31 and Q 33:59 is not unique; in a sense, it reproduces the Wahhabi readings of the Qur'an which draw on al-Ḥanbalī school's teachings. What is unique about the translation is reproducing the woman's godly image as promoted by the Saudi state. By defining women's morality in terms of dress-codes, the translation rationalizes and universalizes the state's narrative and becomes the medium for expressing the state's dominant ideology, thus operating as an ideological state apparatus. Values particular to Saudi society or its adopted ideology are represented as the values of all Muslims, expressed as the divine truth, as God's words. In so doing, the translation represents the Wahhabi ideology's interests, embodied in its relationship with the state, as the common interests of all Muslims, i.e. "expressed in ideal form […] as the only rational, universally valid ones" (Marx and Engels 1846/1998, 68). This explains how the transformation of ideology from the particular into the field takes place and how *The Noble Quran* becomes a means by which people imbibe not only a particular understanding of Islam but also Wahhabism's interests and, by extension, those of the state, namely its self-proclaimed image.

Case viii: Q 4:57

This verse talks about the pleasure of companionship and harmony in paradise as opposed to the despair of hell (c.f. Q 2:25 and Q 3:15). The verse does not explain the companions' nature, and it is perhaps this scarcity of detail that has led scholarly discussions to determine in greater detail the companions' nature. The analysis of this verse is important as it illuminates aspects of the nature of human relationships, thus constructing particular social relations.

وَٱلَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ وَعَمِلُواْ ٱلصَّالِحَاتِ سَنُدْخِلُهُمْ جَنَّاتٍ تَجْرِي مِن تَحْتِهَا ٱلأَنْهَارُ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَآ أَبَداً

لَّهُمْ فِيهَآ أَزْوَاجٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ وَنُدْخِلُهُمْ ظِـلاًّ ظَلِيلاً

But those who believe (in the Oneness of Allah - Islamic Monotheism) and do deeds of righteousness, We shall admit them to Gardens under which rivers flow (Paradise), abiding therein

forever. Therein they shall have *Azwajun Mutahharatun [purified mates or wives (having no menses, stools, urine, etc.)]* and We shall admit them to shades wide and ever deepening (Paradise) (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 118).

The critical phrase is "أَزْوَاجٌ مُطَهَّرَةٌ" *azwāj muṭahhara*. First, *zawj* (pl. *azwāj*), as a common term, means "spouse" and applies equally to both male and female companions in marriage. Note that the translators transliterate the original and insert a parenthetical remark to elaborate its meaning. For them, *azwāj* mean earthy wives and, therefore, they equate the word with female delightful companions, implying that sexual companionship awaits those pious men who shall have multiple wives (purified *azwāj*) in the afterlife.

The women purportedly represented in the translation are represented as intimate agents essential to male believers to make sense of the afterlife. Such a view not only debases women's status in Islam and conjures up lust fantasies vis-à-vis women but also contradicts the ST, which does not mention women nor does it suggest that women are temptresses to attract men so as to attain salvation. Such a depiction of women is not exclusive to the translators or Wahhabi ulama but reflects the legacy of classical commentators who interpret *azwāj* as referring to earthly women (see e.g. Ibn Kathīr 1358/2004, 2:338; al-Ṭabarī 922/1994, 2:49; Ar-Rāzī 1209/1981, 10:141; al-Suyūṭī and al-Maḥallī 1467/1997, 110).

The translators utilize a hadith to justify their translation of *azwāj muṭahhara*. The hadith runs as follows:

Narrated Abu Hurairah: Allah's Messenger said, 'The first group (of people) who will enter Paradise will be (glittering) like the moon on full-moon night […] Everyone of them will have two wives; the marrow of the bones of the wives' legs will be seen through the flesh out of excessive beauty' (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 118).

Of sexual pleasures, there are plenty in this passage. This is perhaps the only reason it is incorporated to stress and rationalize the sexual objectification of women. The translation landscape of paradise in Q 4:59, supported by this hadith, formulates how men shall enjoy the

bliss of the afterlife with beautiful women, whose role is to entertain them. Whether the hadith truly renders the prophet's teaching or simply shows the translators clinging to mediaeval commentaries (or perhaps their obsession with sex) seems irrelevant. Note that the translators use the hadith to rationalize their image of women as sexual objects and men as subjects of sexual desire, thereby portraying a particular understanding as true of all times.

A clear affinity exists between *The Noble Quran* and rationalization as an ideological device. Depicting women as such not only reproduces classical exegeses but rationalizes them. Translators' ideological interventions can thus "be seen as more or less systematic attempts to provide plausible explanations and justifications for social behaviour which might otherwise be the object of criticism" (Eagleton 1991, 52). The translators' justification of their choices may rationalize as thoroughly and may render the dominant ideology's perceptions of gender relations more acceptable.

Second, *muṭahhara* means "pure" or "purified". The original does not state that "purified" could mean "having no menses, stools, urine", but the translators added a footnote to proffer such an understanding, which emanates from the classical tradition. Most classical jurists interpret *muṭahhara* to mean women deprived of menses or any kind of filth (see e.g. al-Ṭabarī 922/1994, 2:391; Ibn Kathīr 1358/2004a, 2:338). The explicit inclusion of "having no menses, stools, urine" is then not too far removed from attitudes of past generations and, therefore, serves merely as an expression of the indigenous patriarchal society. The association of women with body aspects, however, sits well with the depiction of women as weak and irrational beings. As Ibn Bāz perpetuates, women are deficient in reason and religion and thus weak in body and soul – an expression of male superiority (Ibn Bāz 1987, 1:292).

In general, the portrayal of the Muslim woman in the translation of Q 4:57 operates at two levels. First, they are presented as sexual objects whom pious men bed in the hereafter and, second, as objects purified from filth, menses and other bodily aspects. These two levels

relegate women to a weak object and, therefore, to a lower position in comparison with their counterparts. Note that translation's role in propagating such a godly woman's image must be seen in the context of women's special role defined by the Saudi state narrative, albeit by inference a little inferior compared to men in terms of the social roles women play in the kingdom. That is to say, neither Wahhabism nor classical commentaries alone can elucidate the persistent depiction of women as weak in the translation. The state plays a role too.

The state remains the main arbiter, capable of overlooking certain rulings or exegetical materials on the Qur'an or promoting them to stabilize the monarchy. In the 1980s, the state co-operated with the Wahhabi ulama to boost its religious heritage as the guardian of Islam (Al-Rasheed 2013, 20). As women's traditional roles are seen as an emblem of such a heritage (Doumato 1992, 32), the number of rulings on women issued by the Saudi ulama in the second half of the twentieth century exceeds thirty thousand ('Abd Allāh 2005, 20). This highlights the climate where the translation appeared, suggesting how women's image as weak creatures emanates not only from the Wahhabi ulama's writings but is nurtured in ideological state apparatuses, of which translation then becomes a part.

Indeed, the translation of 4:57 renders patriarchal beliefs natural, identifying them with patriarchal societies' common sense that women are by definition weak, which shows how Wahhabism as a state ideology "offers itself as an 'Of course!', or 'That goes without saying'" (Eagleton 1991, 39). Thus, the translation redefines the original as reality itself. The transformation of ideology into reality takes place, i.e. ideology from the particular into the universal (field) as "part of the *dehistoricizing* thrust of ideology, its tacit denial that ideas and beliefs are specific to a particular time, place and social group" (Eagleton 1991, 39). As Gramsci (2000, 196; Lacorte 2010, 221) illustrates, transforming and interpreting is a common feature of ideology in the hegemonic struggle to occupy the field. Only by denying its own

particularity, ideology becomes a field where people reproduce relations of domination and themselves as subjects of those relations.

5.4 Conclusion

The question at issue is whether translation operates as an ISA, according to which some textual and paratextual materials could reflect the state's adopted ideology. The analysis shows that translation has a tendency to legitimize the state's self-proclaimed image as the guardian of faith. This involves the reproduction of verses in a particular way, inscribing the state's adopted ideology to the TT to inform social practices and provide ways of talking about social conduct. Such an involvement indicates how Qur'an translation operates as an ISA, trying to appropriate the field to constitute social subjects.

The significance of this analysis lies in showing how Qur'an translation is a site of ideological struggle to demonstrate further how ideology is a property of translation. However, the point is that translation may be classified in accordance with its function. It is shown that the function of *The Noble Quran* as an ISA is to transform the particular into the universal, thus denying the historical specificity of Wahhabism as a state ideology. In so doing, *The Noble Quran* appropriates the original in a way that proves more faithful to the corpus of knowledge, which it promulgates to express the state's interests. It also discredits other forms of knowledge and promotes a particular way of life beyond linguistic borders. This ensures the hegemonic expansion of Wahhabism as a state ideology: the hegemony of a discourse which informs and constructs social subjects.

This hegemonic approach, however, extends the circle of conflicts but does not close it. That is to say, translation does not only function as an ISA but also as an ideological apparatus under the patronage of resisting ideologies independent of state power. Resistant translations can contribute to showing how ideology features in all translations even though their aim is to

deconstruct the prevailing ideology in translation. The next chapter examines the operation of translation as a counter-ideological apparatus resisting the transformation of the Saudi state's particular ideology into universal and, in effect, struggles for the transformation of its own particular ideology into universal, thus showing how even counter-ideological attempts cannot escape ideology.

Chapter 6

Qur'an Translation as a Counter-Ideological Apparatus

This chapter analyses translation as a counter-ideological apparatus, operating outside the realm of state power, which challenges the prevailing Wahhabi ideology of official Saudi translation. The analysis helps to illustrate how ideology is a characteristic of translation by illustrating how even counter-ideological attempts are not exempt from ideology. In other words, counter-ideological attempts to dismantle the dominant ideology are also ideologically-driven.

This chapter uses Bakhtiar's translation to examine the operation of translation as counter-ideological apparatus. The idea of counter-ideological apparatus is used to add a nuance to the potential of Althusser's theory of ideology as applied to translation; as the critique of Althusser's presented theory in chapter 2 made clear, he overlooks the role of the ideological struggle against state hegemony. The analysis reveals how Bakhtiar's translation uses Qur'an translation as a tool to counter the ideological hegemony present in the dominant translation and, consequently, universalize her own adopted ideology.

Bakhtiar's translation was selected because it utilizes a counter-Wahhabi ideology, namely Muslim feminism. Muslim feminism is feminist discourse which derives its understanding from the Qur'an and is articulated in the context of Islam (Badran 2009, 242). It is not an identity but a set of practices through which one seeks justice for Muslim women (Cooke 2001, 59) and which accentuates the idea that the Qur'an is antipatriarchal, and that patriarchal practices were read into the Qur'an through a tradition of patriarchal teachings (Wadud 1999, 2; Barlas 2002, 21).

This chapter consists of two sections. Section one analyses how Bakhtiar uses Qur'an translation as an ideological apparatus at the paratextual level, showing how she sets the scene for her counter-ideological intervention at the textual level. Section two examines the use of Qur'an translation as a counter-ideological mechanism at the textual level, analysing the same verses highlighted in the previous chapter (see the introductory part in chapter 5 on why those verses in particular). Verse Q 4:57 is excluded because Bakhtiar employs a similar approach as in her translation of Q 4:1. If the verse was included, the analysis of Q 4:57 would appear rather repetitive.

6.1 Paratexual Analysis

Before the analysis begins, it is important to introduce Bakhtiar briefly in order to contextualize her ideological affiliation. Bakhtiar, born in the United States to a Christian mother and a Muslim father in 1936, had a liberal upbringing. She attended a Catholic school, practicing Catholicism at a young age. In 1964, Bakhtiar's story with Islam began to unfold. She moved to Iran where she obtained a degree in classical Arabic and studied Islamic culture and civilization under Seyyed Hossein Nasr, a renowned philosopher, who inspired her to convert to Islam[1]. Bakhtiar's journey with translation began, and she translated over 25 Islamic books (see http://www.kazi.org/Books/quran-and-quranic-studies/sublime-quran-original-arabic-and-english-translation-vol-2-paperback). Today, Bakhtiar still works as an editor at Kazi Publications, a Chicago-based non-profit book publishing and distribution centre, which publishes exclusively on topics ranging from Islamic culture and civilization to Qur'anic and

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[1] It should be noted that Nasr recently published a Qur'an translation, entitled *The Study Quran* (2015) as parallel to *The HarperCollins Study Bible* (2006). This translation is accompanied by an extensive commentary and "grounded in the classical Islamic tradition", both Sunnī and Shīʿī alike (Nasr 2015, xi). It was described as "a monumental achievement" (Bruce 2016, 638) and a piece of work that "vividly conveys something of the Qur'an's long and intellectually vibrant history of interpretation" (Geissinger 2017, 272), which can also "function as a kind of encyclopedia of Quranic commentary" (Davary 2016, 401) and as "an effective primer" for scholars, students, and general readers (Laabdi 2017, 471).

Hadith studies (Nimer 2002, 110). She became a member of the Global Muslim Women's Shura Council, a branch of the Women's Islamic Initiative in Spirituality and Equality, declaring gender equality in Islam and explaining the mystery of the "true" faith: the cause which *The Sublime Qur'an* serves.

As can be seen from the analysis of cases in Appendix II, Bakhtiar – much like other translators – adheres to the main components of the translator's image as historically defined. This indicates how she uses the image to the extent that she is admitted into the translation circle then challenges the prevailing translation, *The Noble Qur'an*. She must find ways of getting her message across while staying somehow within the boundaries of tradition. This requires the capacity to exploit the image available to her, setting the ideological intervention at the furthest limit of what the authorities are obliged to permit or unable to prevent. Below, we explore how she uses her preface to set the scene for her intrusion into translation with the potential to contribute to social change, using Qur'an translation as a counter-ideological mechanism.

The ideological intervention of Bakhtiar's translation has been outlined in her preface to confirm Muslim feminist ideology. She chose this ideology to counter-argue the previously imposed ideology present in earlier translations, especially *The Noble Quran* in which Wahhabism prevails. As explained in the previous chapter, Wahhabism has strong views regarding social conduct, particularly related to women; therefore, Bakhtiar sees it as reasonable to counter the prevailing Wahhabi ideology in translation with a Muslim feminist one. She expresses the will to universalize through the translation a kind of social conduct that brings men and women to equity so as to refute the Wahhabi ideology. According to Bakhtiar, men have hitherto produced the dominant exegesis (the traditional *tafsīr*) embedded in a misogynistic understanding that merits women an inferior social status (see also Wadud 1999;

K. Ali 2006; L. Ahmed 1999, 1992); rectifying such an "injustice" forms the heart of Bakhtiar's translation task and, thus, her social and ideological task.

Bakhtiar places herself firmly within the boundaries of tradition. She formulates her ideological ideas using the prophet's domestic behaviour as an example, and in so doing, she rejects the social conduct and relations introduced in *The Noble Quran*. She believes that most translations are not internally consistent with the Qur'an's general tenor and the prophet's behaviour with women, thus obliterating the Qur'an's message plausibly or implausibly owing to patriarchal interpretations (Bakhtiar 2007, xi; 2011, 431). Therefore, she claims that introducing "the woman's point of view" in translation is indispensable (Bakhtiar 2007, xix). This is indicative of how Bakhtiar sets the scene to impose a particular ideology, thus showing how translation operates as an ideological apparatus.

It is noteworthy that Bakhtiar, much like Hilālī (see discussion in Cap. 5.1), rejects previous translations and see them as raw materials that need to be amended. For her, the previous translators are predecessors to be surpassed. There is a feature which, in the case of Bakhtiar, illustrates the direct cause of her version – assuming that all earlier translations contain radical ideological shifts: they are too patriarchal to be inclusive of God's original meanings; thus, a revision *en masse* is indispensable. This indicates that when it comes to a "classic" like the Qur'an, translation does not exist – that is, there is always a retranslation of the translation to the point that past translations give rise to new translations. Retranslation becomes a polemical act by definition (see Popovič 1976), where the process of translation is generated because existing translations fail to convey the spirit of the Qur'an: they are too old-fashioned, too patriarchal, too foreignized, too domesticated, too …, too … and so on.

Bakhtiar suggests that it is socially progressive to read the Qur'an through the eyes of women, so as to encourage people to actively reflect on women's status in Islam, justifying why it is laudable to have a translation by a woman who appreciates both the Qur'anic

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intertextual structure and the prophetic tradition. According to Bakhtiar, to read the Qur'an without taking into account the woman's perspective is to construct a biassed Islam. This justification showcases the ideological reasoning behind Bakhtiar's translation to counter the prevailing patriarchal translation, indicating how ideologically different is her translation. In fact, she engages in an active process of rationalization of the Muslim feminist discourse, which represents "more or less systematic attempts to provide plausible explanations and justifications for social behaviour which might otherwise be the object of criticism" (Eagleton 1991, 52).

Bakhtiar asserts that the absence of a woman's perspective in *tafsīr* and translation for the past 1500 years "clearly needs to be remedied" (Bakhtiar 2007, xix). By recognizing how the structure surrounding the practice of translating the Qur'an is patriarchal, she attempts to disaggregate such a structure to re-establish the Qur'an's "egalitarian" stance, saying "clearly the intention of the Quran is to see man and woman as complements of one another, not as superior-inferior" (Bakhtiar 2007, xix). Therefore, Bakhtiar, as it appears, utilizes her own ideology in an attempt to depose the prevailing Wahhabi ideology. As a result, she transforms her particular ideology into a universal one through translating the divine text, thereby denying the historical specificity of her adopted ideology, i.e. the ideology being specific to a particular time and place rather than applicable to all times .

Bakhtiar aims to assure the reader how her translation, *The Sublime Qur'an*, sets out to liberate women who have been subdued in prevalent translations (Bakhtiar 2007, xxii). What stands out is how she portrays herself as an active agent aiming to boost an "egalitarian" reading. While claiming to have an "egalitarian" translation which negates "male interpretations" read into the Qur'an, Bakhtiar (2007) is consciously shaping the reader's perception of the Qur'an itself through her translation and negotiating social conduct. This

highlights her role as an ideological agent countering the hegemonic expansion of *The Noble Quran* which imposes an ideology against which she is vocal (see analysis in Cap. 5.3).

Bakhtiar's emphasis on social conduct shows how she struggles to empower women to negotiate their social practices using her translation and realize that they have a status of their own different to the one that men have given to them throughout history. Therefore, translating the Qur'an from "the woman's point of view" has made Bakhtiar realize how the prevailing images of women as, for example, obedient wives, are socially constructed to subjugate them. Breaking silence on this helps women recognize that the inferior status ascribed to them is not something peculiar to them as women (Bakhtiar 2007, xix). It is enforced on all women by virtue of being women. Therefore, "this translation was undertaken by a woman to bring both men and women to equity so that the message of fairness and justice between the sexes can be accepted in Truth by both genders" (Bakhtiar 2007, xxi). Evidently, Bakhtiar utilizes translation as a means to an end, particularly to counter-attack patriarchal ideology through the realization of what she calls "the woman's point of view". This indicates how Bakhtiar legitimizes the Muslim feminist discourse, calling for an active attempt at reinterpretation, even if the attempt is not so efficient (see, e.g. Wadud 1999; Barlas 2002). In so doing, her use of legitimation strategy (Eagleton 1991, 54) helps to impose a rather different ideology against forms of subordination in translation, thus showing how ideological struggle to transform praxis, as illustrated by Gramsci, lies at the heart of translation, a point overlooked by Althusser in his analysis of social formation.

Drawing a link between subordination and empowerment by rectifying injustice is crucial for the ideological struggle to counter patriarchal ideology. While claiming complete fidelity to "the woman's point of view", Bakhtiar rejects any view of the Qur'an that rests outside the bounds of what is considered to be "the woman's point of view". This rejection shows her failure to recognize the equal force of the counter-ideological approach to her translation while

recognizing the heavy ideological influence of *The Noble Quran*. In fact, through implicating Muslim women, who "have been waiting for over 1400 years for someone to pay attention to this issue through a translation of the Quran" (Bakhtiar 2007, xxii), she paints herself as a saviour of readers from the ideologically-imposed translation.

In sum, the translator's preface is rife with instances of resistance to *The Noble Quran*. The preface thus becomes merely a vocal protest for Bakhtiar's adopted ideology. This resistance shows how Bakhtiar's preface sets the scene for her translation to counter ideologically the hegemony of the Wahhabi ideology. This reaction to the prevalence of patriarchal attitudes in translation implies the role of her translation as a counter-ideological apparatus used to deconstruct the dominating Wahhabi ideology.

Between Text and Paratext: A Note on Gender Marking

Focusing on gender-marking helps to disposition patriarchal ideology, as *The Noble Qur'an* overlooked linguistic features regarding gender-marking, thus diminishing the importance of feminine words in meaning. Thus, Bakhtiar aims to re-project their importance in meaning construction to problematize the prevailing ideology. Bakhtiar portrays through her particular technique how she makes up for the linguistic losses between SL and TL.

Interestingly, Bakhtiar places an (f) where words refer to women in the Qur'an to indicate the feminine gender of Arabic words which are gender-neutral in English. She says:

> when words in a verse refer directly to a woman or women or wife or wives and the corresponding pronouns such as (they, them, those), I have placed an (f) after the word to indicate that the word refers to the feminine gender specifically. (2007: xli)

In TS, this is often known as a compensation technique, where translators rectify the semantic and linguistic losses between the SL and TL (see Hervey, Higgins, and Haywood 1995). This technique features prominently in Bakhtiar's translation. Consider verse Q 2:228:

And the women who are to be divorced will await by themselves three menstrual periods. And it is not lawful for them (f) that they (f) keep back what God created in their (f) wombs, if they (f) had been believing in God, and the Last Day. Their husbands have better right to come back during that period if they (m) wanted to make things right. For the rights of them (f) in regard to their husbands is the like of rights of their (f) husbands in regard to them (f), as one who is honorable. And men have a degree over them (f). And God is Almighty, Wise (Bakhtiar 2007, 33).

Bakhtiar seems to denaturalize the binary opposition masculine/feminine. The sheer presence of (f) illustrates how Bakhtiar is mainly motivated not by linguistic considerations, but quite explicitly by a struggle against patriarchy. The fact that she does not highlight masculine categories, perhaps using an (m), demonstrates that because male has been conceptualized as superior in nature, it must be combated in translation not only through lexical choices, as will be shown in Section 6.3 below, but also by bringing the grammatical construction of Arabic to the reader's attention. The reason why markers ought to be used in translation is to bring it into line with "the woman's point of view", indicating how Bakhtiar uses Qur'an translation as a counter-ideological apparatus to dismantle the Wahhabi ideology prevalent in *The Noble Quran*. In the process of doing that lies the workings of translation in the transformation of praxis, an idea for which Gramsci is known, which shows how Bakhtiar does not simply reproduce a universal ideology as Althusser's limited explanation indicates, but she is engaged in the hegemonic struggle against the dominant state ideology.

The search for an equal translation begins with a single intervention at the level of grammar. Translation becomes a symbol of and the medium through which the ideological struggle for the "correct" rendition is pursued. The struggle is communicated and made meaningful by codes of signification, one of which is (f) used to legitimize a resisting ideology. Legitimation of a particular social order essentially reflects a power struggle carried on at a symbolic level (Eagleton 1991, 54). This struggle shows how translation is appropriated to universalize a

particular ideology and deny its historical particularity, an act of ideological struggle against the dominant state ideology, unlike what Althusser predicted.

The marker (f) in Bakhtiar's text operates at two levels: (i) grammatical gender and (ii) greater visibility. At the first level, (f) mirrors the structure and linguistic patterns of Arabic. It indicates how Bakhtiar attempts to convey a gender balance in translation. At the second level, (f) may excite the reader's attention, deserving further scrutiny. In fact, it creates greater feminine visibility and illustrates how gender hierarchy is built into the act of translation itself, an ultimate target of feminists: "making the feminine visible in language means making women seen and heard in the real world" (Lotbinière-Harwood in her translation of Gauvin 1989, 9).

Bakhtiar animadverts on translators' tendency to "put emphasis on interpreting a Quranic verse without precisely representing the original Arabic word" (2007: i). In so doing, they divorce linguistic features from meaning, as doing so demystifies the patriarchal ideology implemented in their translation. Therefore, linguistic features persist only as a matter of grammatical function rather than ideology. This explains why the ideological premises of "the original Arabic word" remain so often concealed (Bakhtiar 2007, xiii). However, Bakhtiar's attempt to radically question their approach to gender marking does not correspond to her stated aim to bring men and women to equity. She particularly struggles to offer an entirely consistent gender-inclusive language throughout the text. For example, she overlooks the patriarchal image of God as a *He*: "Truly:, the seizing by force by thy Lord is severe. Truly, *He* causes to begin and *He* causes to return" Q 85:12–3. Such an image operates as one of the subliminal influences on perceptions and the construction of the man language, as it does not recast the image of God to include both men and women. In fact, it automatically conjures up the picture of God as a man. This shows how Bakhtiar is primarily concerned with verses affecting social practice and conduct, overlooking the operation of ideology at levels that do not disrupt the social status of women.

Another example occurs in her translation of Q 45:15: "Whoever did as one in accord with morality, it is for *himself* and whoever did evil, it is against *himself*. Again, to your Lord you will be returned" (Bakhtiar 2007, 481). Once again, Bakhtiar diverges from her stated aim to produce an inclusive translation since this verse does not affect women's social practices. Therefore, she did not change the verse, further indicating how she uses translation exclusively as a counter-ideological apparatus when it comes to verses pertinent to social conduct. This example shows the serious shortcoming of Bakhtiar's enterprise, particularly when she does systematically the opposite in the preface: "a person considers *himself* or *herself* a good example of submission if *he* or *she* follows the example or sunnah of the Prophet" (2007: li, emphasis added).

However, in reference to verse 4:28, where *The Noble Quran* translated as "[*al-insān*] [*man*] was created weak (he can't wait to have sexual intercourse with women)", Bakhtiar took the liberty of clarifying the generic term *al-insān* as "human being" rather than "man" as a masculine figure: "human being was made weak". As the ambiguity of the word man would risk problematizing social conduct whereas Q 45:15 and Q 85:12 do not impose immediate problems for social conduct, she refrains from achieving equity regarding these verses. This inconsistency indicates the ideological operation of Bakhtiar's translation as a counter-ideological apparatus precisely aiming to impose a particular ideology on social conduct.

Bakhtiar aims to emphasize the implications of the Arabic language's structure where social conduct is affected by using strategies in translation that might mitigate the effects of changing the feminine into neutral. This seems to be a necessary prelude to resistance to universalizing a particular ideology in which women are given greater visibility in translation. Her use of (f) is unique in its own right; in a sense, it tries to, first, intervene more formally to mirror the SL's linguistic structure and, second, strive for greater feminine visibility. Both represent attempts to compensate for the inherent gender differences between the SL and TL in the interest of "the

woman's point of view". This gender-marking strategy is an example of a counter-ideological apparatus being used in translation to make readers think of the feminine structure in Arabic and, by extension, of women where they ordinarily may not. This illustrates translation's role as a counter-ideological mechanism aiming to depatriarchize translation and change people's mental landscape in the interests of the Muslim feminist ideology and at the expense of the Wahhabi ideology.

6.2 Textual Analysis

Case i: Q 4:1

This verse tells the story of creation and is of major importance for understanding the Qur'an's account of creation and informing social praxis. The Noble Quran gave women a lower status informed by the Saudi state's adopted ideology. In the context of this verse, Bakhtiar's translation illuminates aspects on the role of translation as a counter-ideological mechanism. Unlike *The Noble Quran*, *The Sublime Quran* renders Q 4:1 as follows:

يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ ٱتَّقُواْ رَبَّكُمُ ٱلَّذِي خَلَقَكُم مِّن نَّفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَخَلَقَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا وَبَثَّ مِنْهُمَا رِجَالاً

كَثِيراً وَنِسَآءً وَٱتَّقُواْ ٱللَّهَ ٱلَّذِي تَسَآءَلُونَ بِهِ وَٱلْأَرْحَامَ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلَيْكُمْ رَقِيباً

> O humanity! Be Godfearing of your Lord Who created you from a *single soul* and, from it, created its *spouse* and from them both disseminated many men and women. And be Godfearing of God throughWhom you demand rights of one another and the wombs, the rights of blood relations. Truly, God had been watching over you (Bakhtiar 2007, 70).

Bakhtiar translated the key term "زَوْج" *zawj* as "spouse". Her choice runs against the prevailing translation of *zawj* as "wife" referring to Eve, which introduces a form of gender distinction reflected in creation as demonstrated in the analysis of the same verse in the previous chapter. Her translation signals that the creation from a single soul/person nullifies any apparent

distinction because the essence of existence is one. This clearly indicates how Bakhtiar uses translation as a counter-ideological apparatus to advance a particular ideology.

The translation of *zawj* as "spouse" insists on the term's classical meaning, which is a loanword from Greek *zeugos* through Aramaic, used in reference to pairing: one of the pair; one of the couple; spouse. Bakhtiar makes it clear that the Qur'an does not posit the creation of humankind from a male person; her translation indicates how the pair is ontologically inseparable, hence equal as there exists a non-hierarchial relation between the sexes in Q 4:1. The translation of *zawj* as "spouse" does not espouse sex-gender dualism, therefore becoming gender-neutral by not associating *zawj* with "wife" which would effectively treat male as normative. The translation's reference to the pair does not establish the idea of binary opposition between the sexes but opposes the idea that woman was created from man, a view which is foundational to the principle of male superiority, hence to sexual differentiation, hierarchy and inequality.

This line of interpretation features in Muslim feminist discourse. According to Riffat Hassan (1999, 345), the word *nafs* is grammatically feminine while the word *zawj* is grammatically masculine. These grammatical conventions assume a degree of distance from the inherited biblical tradition which suggests that Adam was the first creation and Eve was a derived second creation, hence ontologically inferior. In fact, the term *ādam* in the Qur'an "refers, in twenty-one cases out of twenty-five, to humanity"; in none of the cases is there a suggestion that man was created prior to woman or vice versa. (Hassan 1999, 345). The Qur'an, Asma Barlas argues, does not prioritize either man in its account of the creation story or in its account of moral agency (2001, 25). The Qur'an employs *ādam* as "both a universal and a specific term, and it is in its universal (generic) sense that the Quran uses it to define human creation" (Barlas 2002, 136). Therefore, *nafs* is not a gendered category, but "undifferentiated humanity", a "life form" or "being" (Hassan 1999, 346; Barlas 2002, 136).

This view of *nafs* influenced Bakhtiar's translation of *zawj* as "spouse" rather than "wife". The term "spouse" conveys the meaning of *zawj* as "compassionate, non-hierarchical, male-female couple"; thus, an equal partner of "the basic unit of society" (Offen 2000, 22). Indeed, the translation of *zawj* as "spouse" attenuates both the patriarchal sentiment expressed in *The Noble Quran* and the prevalent traditional reading of the creation story. This indicates the operation of translation as a counter-ideological apparatus to socialize a particular ideology, which breaks with the ideology expressed in *The Noble Quran*. The translation not only challenges Wahhabism but also struggles to appropriate part of the field (ideology at the grand level) by universalizing this particular ideology so as to construct social subjects. As Gramsci (2000, 196; Lacorte 2010, 221) illuminates, translation is engaged in a hegemonic struggle to change praxis by transforming the particular into universal.

Indeed, this example demonstrates an attempt designed to naturalize a rising ideology resisting the conceptualization of the Muslim woman in the prevailing Qur'an translation. Naturalization, one of ideology's strategies (Eagleton 1991, 58), gives the impression that translation is just literal, thereby closing the gap where the critique of Islamic feminism ideology could be inserted. That is, the translation adheres to a literal translation as possible in a way which excludes how such a translation is itself the product of ideology.

Case ii: Q 2:228

This verse, known as "the degree verse", pertains to marital relations and is a controversial verse in Islamic scholarship. The controversy is about the respective positions of husband and wife. *The Noble Quran*, as illustrated in the previous chapter, translated Q 2:228 in a way which attributes fixed gender roles. The analysis of this verse in the context of Bakhtiar's translation further highlights how she uses translation as a counter-ideological apparatus.

وَٱلْمُطَلَّقَاتُ يَتَرَبَّصْنَ بِأَنْفُسِهِنَّ ثَلَاثَةَ قُرُوءٍ وَلَا يَحِلُّ لَهُنَّ أَن يَكْتُمْنَ مَا خَلَقَ ٱللَّهُ فِي أَرْحَامِهِنَّ

إِن كُنَّ يُؤْمِنَّ بِٱللَّهِ وَٱلْيَوْمِ ٱلْآخِرِ وَبُعُولَتُهُنَّ أَحَقُّ بِرَدِّهِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ إِنْ أَرَادُواْ إِصْلَاحاً وَلَهُنَّ مِثْلُ

ٱلَّذِي عَلَيْهِنَّ بِٱلْمَعْرُوفِ وَلِلرِّجَالِ عَلَيْهِنَّ دَرَجَةٌ وَٱللَّهُ عَزِيزٌ حَكِيمٌ

And the women who are to be divorced will await by themselves three menstrual periods. And it is not lawful for them (f) that they (f) keep back what God created in their (f) wombs, if they (f) had been believing in God, and the Last Day. Their husbands have better right to come back during that period if they wanted to make things right. For the rights of them (f) in regard to their husbands is the like of rights of their (f) husbands in regard to them (f), as one who is honorable. And men *have a degree over them* (f). And God is Almighty, Wise (Bakhtiar 2007, 33).

Bakhtiar translates the key term "دَرَجَةٌ" *daraja* as "degree". She does not explain whether "degree" pertains to a specific right or to a general statement about gender roles. The expression "over them" implies comparison and thus a degree that men have been given over women. Furthermore, the translation of "لِلرِّجَال" as "men" generalizes the verse's context which talks about husbands and wives rather than men and women. This example resembles the shortcomings of an ideologically motivated translation. Bakhtiar expresses her aim to provide an egalitarian translation, and she has previously demonstrated how her framework of the social status of women informs her translation. However, in this verse, Bakhtiar fails to implement her adopted ideology in the translated text. By translating *daraja* as degree, she does not seek an alternative term which complements her ideology.

Muslim feminist scholars maintain that *daraja* does not pertain to male privilege. Wadud, Hassan and Barlas offer three differing readings of *daraja*, with Wadud (1999, 68) interpreting it as the husband's right to pronounce divorce without arbitration or assistance, Hassan (1999, 357) as the husband's right to remarry without observing a waiting period compared to the wife and Barlas (2002, 196) as a specific reference to the husband's right in divorce. Whichever reading one may prefer, they suggest, *daraja* should not be interpreted as an ontological status

of men as males or as to their rights over women, but as a specific reference to the husband's rights in divorce (Barlas 2002, 196). Therefore, Rim Hassan, a Qur'an translation scholar, suggests an alternative translation which would ensure the gender egalitarianism of the verse: "And husbands have *an advantage in comparison with* wives" (Hassen 2012a, 221). According to her,

> First the term *daraja* should be translated as 'advantage.' Secondly the Arabic particle 'ala' should be translated as 'in comparison with' in order to avoid the words 'over' or 'above,' which suggest a hierarchical ranking in English. Thirdly and most importantly, the words 'men' and 'women' should be translated as 'husbands' and 'wives' in order to reflect the context of the verse and to ensure a constant reminder that the verse concerns divorcees and should not be extended and generalized to all aspects of men and women's relations (Hassen 2012a, 221).

Yet, Bakhtiar's translation instead serves as an underpinning to the traditional reading espoused by *The Noble Quran*. This failure makes starkly obvious the problems of Bakhtiar's claims to produce a translation internally consistent with the Qur'an's internal logic. In fact, the Qur'an offers internal consistency regarding the meaning of *daraja*: "To attribute an unrestricted value to one gender over another contradicts the equity established throughout the Qur'an with regard to the individual: each *nafs* shall have in accordance to what it earns" (Wadud 1999, 68–69). This shows how Bakhtiar's translation contradicts her own aim (stated in the preface) to produce an egalitarian translation as part of a counter-ideological apparatus. One reason might be related to her approach to closely adhere to the form and structure of the original text. Also, choosing to have no commentary, footnotes, or endnotes in the text so as to not disturb the reading flow, Bakhtiar further reduces the implementation of the "woman's point of view", if she had initially realized the significance of the verse in relation to social conduct.

Bakhtiar's translation universalizes the traditional interpretation which portrays women as second-class beings and enshrines a Wahhabi view of Q 2:228 (see analysis of this verse in

Cap. 5.3). Hence, her translation of this verse can be seen as a tool to universalize, rather than counter, a Wahhabi ideology. Universalization, Eagleton suggests (1991, 56), is "an important device by which an ideology achieves legitimacy". In connection with this, Bakhtiar's Q 2:228 becomes the medium of expression for her to universalize the dominant ideology, an act which in fact opposes her stated aim.

In sum, Bakhtiar's translation shows how the Wahhabi readings of the verse continue to exist since her opposition is relatively unprepared and vulnerable. Through closely translating this verse in accordance with the predominant readings, Bakhtiar abandons her previously stated ideological framework and, by implication, reproduces the Wahhabi translation of the verse, further proving that "there is no practice except by and in ideology" (Althusser 1968) and that ideology is a universal feature of translation.

Case iii: Q 4:2–3

Another bone of contention is the question of polygamy, centred around Q 4:2–3. Note that the word "polygamy" itself has no direct equivalent in Arabic even though the practice of polygamy prevailed before the advent of Islam. Arabic uses the expression *ta'addud al-zawjāt* to convey marriage to more than one wife. Today, polygamy has been subjected to growing criticism by liberal reformists and Muslim feminists alike. The critique of polygamy signals a celebration of female bonding in the face of male oppression. As discussed in the previous chapter, *The Noble Quran* encourages polygamy, and this is explained in terms of the societal circumstances in which the translation arrived. The analysis of Bakhtiar's Q 4:2–3 illustrates how translation can be utilized as an ideological mechanism to counter the hegemonic expansion of such a dominant translation.

وَآتُواْ ٱلْيَتَامَىٰ أَمْوَالَهُمْ وَلاَ تَتَبَدَّلُواْ ٱلْخَبِيثَ بِٱلطَّيِّبِ وَلاَ تَأْكُلُوٓاْ أَمْوَالَهُمْ إِلَىٰ أَمْوَالِكُمْ إِنَّهُ كَانَ حُوباً

كَبِيراً وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَلاَّ تُقْسِطُواْ فِي ٱلْيَتَامَىٰ فَٱنكِحُواْ مَا طَابَ لَكُمْ مِّنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ مَثْنَىٰ وَثُلَٰثَ وَرُبَٰعَ

فَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ أَلاَّ تَعْدِلُواْ فَوَٰحِدَةً أَوْ مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَٰنُكُمْ ذَٰلِكَ أَدْنَىٰ أَلاَّ تَعُولُواْ

And give the orphans their property and take not in exchange the bad of yours for what is good of theirs. And consume not their property with your own property. Truly, this had been criminal, a hateful sin. And if you feared that you *will* not act justly with the orphans, then, marry who *seems good to you of the women*, by twos, in threes or four. But if you feared you *will* not be just, then, one or what your right hands possessed. That is likelier that you not commit injustice (Bakhtiar 2007, 70).

Bakhtiar consistently uses the verb modal "will" when the word "justice" appears: "you *will* not act justly", "you *will* not be just". Therefore, she implies this verse pertains to justice: acting justly, dealing justly, justice to the wives, justice to the orphans, etc. "Will" in English is used to express a willingness, demands, or an expression of determination (Hewings 1999, 36–38). In so doing, Bakhtiar accentuates how the verse discourages, rather than encourages, polygamy. The frequent use of "will" thus conveys how polygamy is made permissible with the greatest reluctance, indicating Bakhtiar's clear attempt to discourage the practice as one will not be fair even if he desires to do so. As Muhammad Abduh explained, *ta'addud al-zawjāt* in the Qur'an "was a response to existing social conditions and was given with strictest possible reluctance". Since one cannot do justice to more than one wife, "the Divine Law, in its content, contemplated monogamy as the original and ideal state of marriage" (Abduh cited in Abdel Kader 1987, 53–54).

Furthermore, Muslim feminist readings also address this verse. Wadud (1999, 84), for example, argues that polygamy in the Qur'an aims to secure orphans' rights rather than being a solution for social or economic problems (e.g. wife's infertility, sexual needs, etc.). Barlas (2002, 196) stresses that polygamy does not have a sexual function in the Qur'an, nor does it exemplify male privilege, since the Qur'an restricts the number of wives and made marriages

contingent on a number of factors, especially justice, which cannot be achieved when taking into account Q 4:129: "You will never be able to be just between wives, even if you were eager …" (Bakhtiar 2007, 89).

The significance of Bakhtiar's Q 4:2–3 hinges on its interpretation in conjunction with Q 4:129. This is clear in Bakhtiar's use of "will" to discourage polygamy in line with Q 4:129. Her use of an intertextual approach illustrates her attempt to counter ideologically the dominant narrative encouraging polygamy. Implicit in her translation is the fact that viewed under this light, it can be an attempt to reconcile the Qur'an with her adopted ideology, thus espousing a practice analogous to Muslim feminist scholars. In other words, what separates Bakhtiar's translation from *The Noble Quran* is not the use of "will" to discourage polygamy but the use of translation as an ideological mechanism to resist the dominant ideology and appropriate the ideological field. As explained in chapter 2, based on Gramsci's discussion of translatability, translation is immersed in a process of ideological struggle not only to counter the occupation of the field but also the transformation of that field in the interest of the particular ideology in question. This ideological struggle, an idea found missing in Althusser's theory, features in all translations, but at the same time indicates that translation cannot escape ideology as it is always driven by the desire to "destroy one hegemony and create another" (Gramsci 2000, 196).

Bakhtiar's focus on the verse's grammatical features (in the use of "will") renders the feminist ideology in translation natural and self-evident as grammatical features may escape readers' attention much more easily than those of lexical features. Naturalization of the Muslim feminist ideology is to do with controlling, rather than rectifying, translation, i.e., to ultimately control what is permissible thought and behaviour in society, a universal feature of ideology. As Eagleton (1991, 6) explains, ideology can operate as a confirmation or a challenge to a particular social order. And it is the latter function that Bakhtiar's Q 4:2–3 is concerned with.

This example shows how Bakhtiar employs grammatical features to advance a particular ideology, further indicating how translation is used as an ideological mechanism to counter the hegemonic expansion of *The Noble Quran*.

Case iv: Q 4:34

This verse establishes measures whereby the nature of the spousal relationship can be determined. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, it is often read out of context and interpreted to condone domestic violence. The analysis of this verse in the case of *The Sublime Qur'an* sheds further light on translation's role as a counter-ideological apparatus.

ٱلرِّجَالُ قَوَّٰمُونَ عَلَى ٱلنِّسَاءِ بِمَا فَضَّلَ ٱللَّهُ بَعْضَهُمْ عَلَىٰ بَعْضٍ وَبِمَا أَنْفَقُواْ مِنْ أَمْوَٰلِهِمْ فَٱلصَّٰلِحَٰتُ قَٰنِتَٰتٌ حَٰفِظَٰتٌ لِّلْغَيْبِ بِمَا حَفِظَ ٱللَّهُ وَٱلَّٰتِي تَخَافُونَ نُشُوزَهُنَّ فَعِظُوهُنَّ وَٱهْجُرُوهُنَّ فِي ٱلْمَضَاجِعِ وَٱضْرِبُوهُنَّ فَإِنْ أَطَعْنَكُمْ فَلاَ تَبْغُواْ عَلَيْهِنَّ سَبِيلاً إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ عَلِيّاً كَبِيراً

Men are supporters of wives because God gave some of them an advantage over others and because they spent of their wealth. So the females, ones in accord with morality are the females, ones who are morally obligated and the females, ones who guard the unseen of what God kept safe. And those females whose resistance you fear, then admonish them (f) and abandon them (f) in their sleeping places and *go away* from them (f). Then if they (f) obeyed you, then look not for any way against them (f). Truly, God had been Lofty, Great (Bakhtiar 2007, 76).

Bakhtiar's Q 4:34 differs from mainstream translations in the way she translates "قَوَّٰمُونَ" *qawwāmūn*, "قَٰنِتَٰتٌ" *qanitāt*, "نُشُوزَ" *nushūz* and "أَضْرِبُوهُنَّ" *aḍribūhunna*. She renders *qawwāmūn* (often translated as "maintainers and protectors") as "supporters". The translation contests *The Noble Quran*, which gives women an inferior status by making the protection and maintenance of women incumbent on men. This case restores an important contextual dimension to her translation, which she overlooks in the case of Q 4:2–3—that is, the topic of the verse is husbands and wives, rather than men and women. In so doing, Bakhtiar avoids generalizations

which would expand the meaning of the verse to include men and women rather than husbands and wives.

In choosing to translate *qanitāt* as "morally obligated", Bakhtiar refrains from using the literal translation of the term as "obedient" in reference to husbands, an idea espoused by *The Noble Qur'an* (see analysis in Cap. 5.3). Thus, she counters the Wahhabi ideology and the prevailing reading of the verse, enforcing instead "the woman's point of view" as the most appropriate alternative that offers an inclusive reading of the verse. This is a clear act of exclusion which characterizes all ideologies aimed at securing legitimacy (Eagleton 1991, 56).

Qanitāt translated as "morally obligated" had a knock-on effect on the translation of *nushūz* as "resistance". "Obligation", unlike "obedience", has a negative connotation in the context of the verse; the Wahhabi translation was therefore successful in translating women's resistance to obedience (positive in that it implies obedience to God) as "ill-conduct" (negative in that it implies disobedience to God) (see Cap. 5.3 on the translation of *nushūz* in *The Noble Quran*). However, Bakhtiar refutes this translation choice by translating *nushūz* as "obligation", a negative connotation, which is challenged through its positive counterpart "resistance", thus shedding a sympathetic light on women's domestic status. As a result, her translation conforms to her adopted ideology which addresses social conduct in relation to women.

The translation of *nushūz* as "resistance" paves the way for the translation of Bakhtiar's most ideologically-infused amendment in Q 4:34: the translation of *aḍribūhunna*, which is often rendered as "strike" or "beat". Her translation of *aḍribūhunna* aims to ward off male interpretations which suppress women and incite domestic violence. Under the light of a woman's perspective, she examines the meaning of the word *ḍaraba*, the root of *aḍribūhunna*, illustrating how *ḍaraba*, which appears as many as 58 times in the Qur'an, can equally cover a broad spectrum of meanings, including: "To cast, throw or fling upon the ground; to set a barrier; to engender; to turn about; to make a sign or to point with the hand; to prohibit, prevent

or hinder from doing a thing one has begun; to seek glory; to avoid or shun or leave; to turn away oneself; to be with shame; to be in a state of commotion; to be in a state between hope and fear; and to go away" (Bakhtiar 2007, xxviii). Given that the word *ḍaraba* can be used in many ways and that the general tenor of the Qur'an's chapter four denounces oppression against women and accentuates their rights, central to Bakhtiar's logic is the question: why is *ḍaraba* simply translated as "strike" or "beat"?

Bakhtiar chose "go away", a translation found in Edward Lane's influential *Arabic-English Lexicon*, as the term sits well with the behaviour of the prophet, who "never beat anyone" according to the earliest biographies (Bakhtiar 2011, 433). If the verse is taken literally to mean "strike" or "beat", it would insinuate that the prophet failed to execute God's command, while "he clearly believed that it was not within his Sunnah to do such a thing" (Bakhtiar 2011, 433). Therefore, *ḍaraba* could only hold a meaning consistent with God's message when interpreted as "let the emotions subside" (Bakhtiar 2011, 433). In her opinion, this translation not only replaces conventional readings but adds "internal consistency" to the general tenor of verses pertaining to marriage, since God in the Qur'an instructs men to grant divorce for women who refuse to remain in marriage with no harm inflicted on them (Bakhtiar 2007, xxxiv).

Bakhtiar's translation has two important features worth noting. It emphasizes the present tense of *qawwāmūn*, suggesting how the verse describes the behaviour of the prophet who supported his wives. It connects the idea of support with the translation of *'aḍribūhunna* as "go away", claiming that it reflects the prophet's peaceful behaviour. What Bakhtiar does in criticizing the earlier positions on this verse is absolutely central to advancing "the woman's point of view" in translation. In so doing, she uses translation as a tool to empower the Muslim feminism ideology, showing how ideology governs the process of translation.

Bakhtiar's translation accords well with the views of Islamic feminists who address the issue of domestic violence, especially the word *ḍaraba*. Barlas (2002, 189), for example, claims that

the literal translation of *ḍaraba* as "beat" or "strike" is not the only way to read the original: "it is questionable whether the term *ḍaraba* even refers to beating, hitting or striking a wife, even if symbolically". This is because wife-beating contradicts the totality of the Qur'an's teaching, which calls for love and harmony. Hassan (1999, 354) argues that *ḍaraba* has a wide range of meanings; it cannot be simply read as a sanction for wife-beating.

Ingenious as Bakhtiar's attempt may be, it cannot be simply reduced to reproducing Islamic feminists' ideology. That does not mean that the translation is without effects. Because it functions as an ideological apparatus, the translation creates the conditions for the rise of a woman's perspective in Qur'an translation. The counter-ideological operation in Bakhtiar's translation is the active dismissal of the pre-existing patriarchal order. This is done by rationalizing the Muslim feminist ideology which underscores the importance of Q 4:34, which is translated along lines etched on the Wahhabi ideology. Rationalization is one of the means whereby ideology challenges dominant structures of power (Eagleton 1991, 58). This illustrates how translation and ideology map onto one another unproblematically. In rationalizing a resisting ideology, Bakhtiar exposes Wahhabi meanings in Q 4:34 and encodes her own, thus showing how Qur'an translation operates as a counter-ideological apparatus struggling to interpret and transform its ideology into practice, a view for which Gramsci is known, as discussed in chapter 2.2.

This struggle is conducted in translation, and its effects are felt not only in translation but also in other aspects of people's lives. Daisy Khan records an instance of these in her *Born with Wings* (2018), where she offers insights into a court child-custody case from 2010 USA brought by a Muslim American woman against her husband, a Muslim doctor from India. While the wife claimed that the husband beat her for "disobedience", the husband claimed that Islam sanctions wife-beating in case of "disobedience", showing evidence in the mainstream Qur'an translation of *ḍaraba* as "beat" to the judge. In so doing, he sought protection under the

religious freedom of law. The wife, on her part, took *The Sublime Quran*, and pointed to the word *ḍaraba*, where it was translated as "go away from them". "That evidence" is believed to have "helped her win the child-custody case" (D. Khan 2018).

The above example displays the hallmarks of *The Sublime Quran*, something about its rejection of orthodoxy and, therefore, operation as a counter-ideological apparatus. Though it uses different linguistic resources to resist the imposition of particular social conduct, *The Sublime Quran* engages in an ideological struggle to redefine conduct, just as *The Noble Quran* perpetuates its own desirable social conduct, which engenders resistance. The difference between them lies in their functioning: in the patronage of whom and from what point of view. What they do underline, however, is how translation becomes a site of struggle, a struggle of particular ideologies to appropriate the field, grand ideology in the Althusserian sense, where people make sense of their world(s).

This case shows how translation operates as a counter-ideological mechanism to resist the dominant Qur'an translation. Resistance is fuelled by ideology, however. That is, Bakhtiar's translation is motivated by more than resistance to the dominant translation, but also by ideological considerations. The counter-attack of the Wahhabi ideology in translation involves introducing a particular way of interpreting the verse, indicating how ideology is evident in Qur'an translation practices, and how Althusser's inclusive theory can be expanded to include the idea of ideological struggle against state ideology using Gramsci's input on the operation of translation as a transformative and interpretive act.

Case v: Q 2:222

This verse discusses the question of menstruation in Islam. As discussed in the previous chapter, it was translated in line with the Saudi state's adopted ideology, which translation sparked debates on how the verse should be approached. The analysis of this verse in the

context of *The Sublime Quran* would further demonstrate how translation operates as a counter-ideological apparatus.

وَيَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ ٱلْمَحِيضِ قُلْ هُوَ أَذًى فَٱعْتَزِلُواْ ٱلنِّسَآءَ فِي ٱلْمَحِيضِ وَلاَ تَقْرَبُوهُنَّ حَتَّىٰ يَطْهُرْنَ

فَإِذَا تَطَهَّرْنَ فَأْتُوهُنَّ مِنْ حَيْثُ أَمَرَكُمُ ٱللَّهُ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يُحِبُّ ٱلتَّوَّابِينَ وَيُحِبُّ ٱلْمُتَطَهِّرِينَ

They ask thee about menstruation. Say: It is an impurity, so *withdraw from your wives* during menstruation. Come not near them (f) until they cleanse themselves. And then when they (f) cleansed themselves, approach them (f) as God commanded you. Truly, God loves the contrite and He loves the ones who cleanse themselves (Bakhtiar 2007, 32)

This translation tries to restore context to the original verse. Q 2:222 talks about marital relations in particular, rather than women in general. In translating "ٱلنِّسَآءَ" *al-nisā'* as "wives", Bakhtiar does not generalize the verse's context to accommodate all women, thereby premising her approach on "the woman's point of view" which refuses to make generalizations about women's social conduct. This clearly indicates how Bakhtiar uses translation as an ideological mechanism to fulfil her aim.

The operative phrase in this verse is "فَٱعْتَزِلُواْ ٱلنِّسَآءَ" *fā'tazilū an-nisā'*, however. Bakhtiar renders it as "withdraw from your wives". The translation does not give the impression that the feminine body is polluting, unlike *The Noble Quran*. So, Bakhtiar not only rejects *The Noble Quran*'s approach to the verse, which encourages husbands to keep away from their wives during menstruation as thought to produce unfavourable conditions for husbands, but also naturalizes a Muslim feminist ideology at the level of divine discourse. Naturalization occurs when she follows a literal approach to the text, which could not be read as imposing harsh restrictions on menstruating women.

Note that Muslim feminist hermeneutics excludes *tafsīr* to produce a reading which enhances the authority of a more lenient reading in favour of a literal reading of the verse. In fact, the *tafsīr* tradition (particularly, Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Shāfi'ī) has consistently rejected the

idea of the woman's body as polluting (Naguib 2010, 44). Muslim feminist hermeneutics is, however, criticized on the grounds that it avoids engaging with the complex tradition:

> there is a danger that the whole endeavour could turn into a self-assuring exercise for the believing Muslim feminists, an exercise that is perhaps more attentive to the western gaze than to the Muslim condition, and which despite placing them in a niche position within Western modernity, eventually wastes the moment of a second reading from within the tradition (Naguib 2010, 47).

If one considers Bakhtiar's approach to translation as literal and designed to exclude *tafsīr*, then her translation becomes an agency for perpetuating Muslim feminist hermeneutics. What is called "exclusion", an ideological device (Eagleton 1991, 56), is put to use as it is clear that Bakhtiar is addressing a problem from "the woman's point of view". Whether intentionally or not, the literal approach advocated by her suggests that "any exposure of the false nature of male superiority, while not a direct assault on male power, is an indirect attack which undermines it" (Spender 1990, 1). Therefore, Bakhtiar's literal strategy surreptitiously counters the prevailing ideology in the dominant translation while avoiding direct ideological intervention as she does in the case of Q 4:34, for instance.

If the translation does not reproduce an already existing ideology, it would sound as if it exhibits no necessary ideological function, which simply cannot be the case. The locus of this view can be found in *Ideology: An Introduction* (1991, 56), where Eagleton holds that ideology is a universal feature of discourse, but what characterizes ideologies is their function in the field of power relations. In connection with this, Bakhtiar's translation expresses Muslim feminist ideology by adopting a strategy used in the Muslim feminist hermeneutics (the exclusion of centuries of exegetical tradition and instead adopting the literal approach to the verse).

There is no doubt that Bakhtiar makes use of the "woman's point of view". She avoids falling into reflections on the underlying meaning of *fāʿtazilū an-nisāʾ*. Consequently, the functioning of translation as an ideological apparatus is not weakened but rather expressed in

forms which downplay the use of *tafsīr*. What she does is merely an act of ideological exclusion in order to unread patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an. She is not concerned with the verse's underlying meaning, but with showing how the Qur'an does not ostracize menstruating women. So, her approach excludes the possibility of critical reading only to open the verse for readings other than the one disseminated in *The Noble Qur'an*.

This case shows how Bakhtiar employs a literal strategy to counter the dominant ideology, further indicating how ideology governs the activity of translation. Her translation ideologically struggles to enable the logic of the Muslim feminist ideology on menstruation to take the mediator's role and call for a literal translation of Q 2:222. In so doing, her translated verse, read through the lens of Gramsci, advances a different ideology in order to dismantle one powerful ideology occupying the field and create another (Gramsci 2000, 196).

Case vi: Q 4:28

This verse addresses how God can lift the burden on humans, who are created weak and susceptible to deviate from His/Her teachings. It is translated in an exclusive manner whereby the Wahhabi ideology is introduced in the context of this verse as shown in chapter 5. The analysis of this verse in the case of *The Sublime Quran* further emphasizes translation's role as a counter-ideological apparatus, whose goal is to depatriarchize translation.

يُرِيدُ ٱللَّهُ أَن يُخَفِّفَ عَنْكُمْ وَخُلِقَ ٱلْإِنسَانُ ضَعِيفاً

God wants to lighten the burden on you. And the *human being* was created weak (Bakhtiar 2007, 75).

In this verse, the key term "ٱلْإِنسَانُ" *al-insān* is generic and used to mean "humankind", "human being", "humans". *The Noble Quran* translates the term as "man" in reference to "woman", i.e., men becomes sexually stimulated in the presence of women. As shown in the previous chapter, *The Noble Quran* read an inherent moral weakness into man on the grounds that he

"cannot be patient to have sexual intercourse with woman" (al-Hilālī and Khān 1989/2000, 112). *The Sublime Quran*, however, translates *al-insān* as "human being", a direct translation which gave the verse an inclusive understanding, avoiding the contextual assumption which is introduced by *The Noble Quran*. This illustrates Bakhtiar's use of translation as counter-ideological apparatus.

Note that Bakhtiar tries to offer an inclusive understanding throughout her translation when it comes to generic terms (see also some of the verses where generic terms appear, e.g. Q 10:12, 11:9, 14:34, 15:26, etc.). The inclusive translation of generic terms engenders a different way of interpreting the verse and thus counters the exclusiveness of *The Noble Quran*. By translating *al-insān* as "human being" instead of "man", Bakhtiar arrives at an understanding of how translation can be used to promote equity. One thus recognizes how linguistic behaviour is one of the ways to counter the Wahhabi ideology, in which Qur'an translation is one of the most heavily ideologized terrains.

Bakhtiar does not simply substitute the Arabic term with an inclusive English equivalent but eliminates the tendency to set the Wahhabi interpretation covertly as the norm in Qur'an translation. This demonstrates a high degree of awareness on her part to regulating linguistic behaviour in translation. Her choice to render generic terms in an inclusive language, however, is evidently not value-free or made at random. In fact, her choice is caught in a web of social relations, especially within Muslim feminist discourse, which aims to unread patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an.

To clarify, Bakhtiar's translation surreptitiously showcases how generic terms are tailored to complement the Wahhabi ideology naturalized in the dominant translation (see e.g. *The Noble Quran*). However, Bakhtiar's translation is also subject to ideology and its strategies. This is evident in that it rationalizes the inclusive language called for by feminists (see e.g. Spender 1990; Cameron 2002). Rationalizations aim to substitute supposedly irrational beliefs

which impose a social hierarchy on translation. Therefore, her translation, as Eagleton (1991, 51) explains, can be seen as more or less a systematic attempt to universalize a *particular* ideology. What lies beneath such a universalization is an attempt to appropriate translation and, by extension, transform and interpret the ideological field, an idea advanced by Gramsci, as illustrated in chapter 2.

Bakhtiar's translation indeed sits well with her stated aim to produce a translation from a woman's perspective. Although she does not define that, she seems to follow feminist discourse which calls for critical observation of language use in social situations as language can be used as a tool to reinforce stereotypes and particular social conduct. This indicates that the only way to counter an ideology is through another ideology, further confirming Althusser's idea that there is no practice except by and in ideology, and also the limitation of his theory that overlooks the operation of counter-ideological struggle against the dominant state ideology.

Case vii: 24:31 & 33:59

These are the main verses used by Muslim scholars to address the question of women's dress code in Islam. *The Noble Quran* translates these verses in a way that obliges Muslim women to wear the veil, over-investing the term with culturally-detailed prescriptions (e.g. covering face, body, hands, etc.). The struggle for the appropriation of these verses can sacralize a particular dress code for women. The study of how these verses are discussed in *The Sublime Quran* sheds further light on the operation of translation as a counter-ideological apparatus.

وَقُل لِّلْمُؤْمِنَاتِ يَغْضُضْنَ مِنْ أَبْصَارِهِنَّ وَيَحْفَظْنَ فُرُوجَهُنَّ وَلاَ يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلاَّ مَا ظَهَرَ مِنْهَا وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَىٰ جُيُوبِهِنَّ وَلاَ يُبْدِينَ زِينَتَهُنَّ إِلاَّ لِبُعُولَتِهِنَّ أَوْ آبَائِهِنَّ . . .

And say to the females, ones who believe to lower their (f) sight and keep their (f) private parts safe and show not their (f) adornment but what is manifest of it. And let them (f) *draw their head*

coverings over their (f) bosoms; and not show their (f) adornment but to their (f) husbands or their (f) fathers […] (Bakhtiar 2007, 333).

Bakhtiar does not advance the idea that women should wear a veil or cover their faces as *The Noble Quran* teaches (see analysis in Cap. 5.3). Note that the original gives no details on how women should dress; this is what makes prevalent readings (as in e.g. *The Noble Quran*) essentially cultural (Lamrabet 2018, 158). The Qur'an uses the word "خمار" *khimār* to command women to cover their bosoms. Bakhtiar translates the key phrase " وَلْيَضْرِبْنَ بِخُمُرِهِنَّ عَلَىٰ جُيُوبِهِنَّ" as "draw their head coverings over their bosoms" (Bakhtiar 2007, 333). In so doing, she breaks with the shackles of tradition which necessitate that *khimār* means a "veil" used to cover all parts of the woman's body. She follows a liberal reading, which suggests that *khimār* means a head covering traditionally worn by ancestral Muslim women and which was let down over their back leaving their bosoms bare. Therefore, Bakhtiar's translation concerns covering the bosom rather than the hair, face, hands, etc.

A similar approach appears in her translation of Q 33:59.

يَٰأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ قُل لِّأَزْوَاجِكَ وَبَنَاتِكَ وَنِسَاءِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِن جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ ذَٰلِكَ أَدْنَىٰ أَن يُعْرَفْنَ فَلَا يُؤْذَيْنَ وَكَانَ ٱللَّهُ غَفُوراً رَّحِيماً

O Prophet! Say to thy spouses (f) and thy daughters and the females, ones who believe to *draw closer their (f) outer garments* over themselves (f). That is more fitting so that they (f) be recognized and not be maligned. And God had been Forgiving, Compassionate (Bakhtiar 2007, 406).

The operative phrase is "يُدْنِينَ عَلَيْهِنَّ مِن جَلَابِيبِهِنَّ" *yudnina 'alayhinna min jal-abibihinna*, i.e., "lower their garments". The verse commands the prophet's wives and also female believers to cover themselves with their "جلباب" *jilbāb*, which literally translates as "garment". Bakhtiar opts for a literal translation, thus deviating from *The Noble Qur'an* that translates *jilbāb* as "veil" – enforcing a particular dress code.

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In her translation of both verses, Bakhtiar attempts to offer a non-prescriptive text. In so doing, she deconstructs the prevailing interpretation featured in *The Noble Quran*, which entails Muslim women to be fully covered to protect them from molesting men. Orienting the verse to how women must dress would construct a particular dress code conforming to a particular ideology. Therefore, Bakhtiar reconstructs the verse in order to dismantle the particular dress code introduced in *The Noble Quran*. Yet, her non-prescriptive attempt is not exempt from ideology, in this case, Muslim feminism.

Muslim feminism discusses the idea of the dress code when it explored the context in which the verse was revealed. Wadud (1999, 10), for example, claims that these two verses meant to universalize the principle of sexual modesty rather than a particular cultural dress code. Barlas (2002, 54; 2007, 267) celebrates Wadud's interpretation in believing that traditional interpretations dehistoricize and openly subvert the verses' purpose. According to them, such terms as *khimār*, *jilbāb* and *ḥijāb* have become over-invested with meaning which renders female bodies pudendal and corrupting.

Following this ideology, Bakhtiar's translation exemplifies an indirect resistance to the Wahhabi ideology as it is predicated on the need to unread traditional interpretations from Qur'an translation. This demonstrates how she is engaged in a naturalization process which redefines the dress-code along the lines of Muslim feminist discourse. She naturalizes her approach as part of a literal strategy of translation in an attempt to eliminate the particular designated cultural interpretation. Naturalization is a strategy whereby ideology achieves legitimacy (Eagleton 1991, 56), and is used in Bakhtiar's case to counter the cultural hegemony evident in the Wahhabi translation.

Indeed, Bakhtiar's literal approach to the text shows how the verse can be reinterpreted in translation by considering the most important influences on social practice and conduct. This, however, is not just a simple reflection or a particular attempt to be as literal as possible, but a

desire to uncover the "true" message and so have some kind of control over social relations. If one compares her translation with *The Noble Qur'an*, one would notice how Bakhtiar's approach maintains what she calls "the woman's point of view" which builds on the Muslim feminist ideology.

This analysis shows how Bakhtiar offloads the meanings that have long been attached to these verses by the state ideology in *The Noble Qur'an*. What is at stake is not realizing what she calls "the woman's point of view" in *The Sublime Quran*, but her translation's function as a counter-ideological apparatus aiming to appropriate Qur'an translation as part of a struggle to occupy the ideological field as illustrated by Gramsci. In other words, this case exemplifies a clear act of resistance in which translation is used as a tool not only to propose a different "point of view" but to transform a particular ideology into universal, further confirming how ideology is a universal feature of translation.

6.3 Conclusion

The analysis demonstrates how Bakhtiar uses translation as a counter-ideological apparatus to break with the Wahhabi ideology of *The Noble Qur'an*. This is evident in the use of both textual and paratextual materials as a part of a strategy to propose the resisting ideology in translation. However, it is not only a matter of proposing a particular ideology but also transforming the particular into the universal, thereby denying ideology's historical specificity. In so doing, the translation becomes a space for a power struggle to occupy the field and therefore reproduce social subjects.

The significance of this analysis lies in that it helps us to illustrate how ideology is a universal feature of translation by demonstrating how even counter-ideological attempts do not float free of ideology. While Bakhtiar seeks to refute the prevailing ideology in translation, she utilizes a different ideology to do so, indicating how ideology infiltrates translation. This

confirms Althusser's theory that there is no practice except in and by ideology. The application of his theory, though limited in its explanation of ideological struggles but further developed by Gramsci's idea of translation as an interpretive and transformative act, is useful in illuminating how translation is a manifestation of ideology in praxis.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 General Remarks

This study began with the reconsideration of the concept of ideology as applied to translation. It showed that TS literatures on ideology paid scant attention to the theoretical implications of the concept. They rarely considered the history of the emergence of ideology qua concept and the possible contribution of its different facets to the study of translation. Still less did they attempt to explain the existence of many different meanings of ideology and the rise of one meaning to be the most common of them all. This is how, on the one hand, the examination of ideological aspects of translation suffers from reductionism in TS and, on the other hand, the exploration of broadly conceived ideological translation-related phenomena – such as religious translations, as was the case in Eugene Nida's biblical translations – hardly benefits from sociological theories of ideology.

As chapter 2 demonstrates, it is common in TS literature to delimit ideology in at least two ways. One delimitation often stresses the study of how political ideas influence translation leading to the dissemination of a particular political hegemony. For the translation scholar, it goes without saying that texts that are subject to some form of political power will be most of interest. Another delimitation is about linking ideology with manipulation. In such a scheme, translation is manipulated for some form of political agendas or else is the result of coercion. Thus, ideology as a concept is bound to swerve back and forth between these two delimitations.

The central problem with this understanding of ideology as applied in TS is that it has a hard time explaining the voluntary contribution of translators in the operation of power. The translators' input in ideologizing translation, whether consciously or subconsciously, goes

unnoticed in the limited sense of ideology. For whatever reason, ideology is more often than not inscribed into the translator's behaviour. That is, consent is achieved not by manipulation or some kind of coercive forces but through the creation of subjects as carriers of ideology. Thus, it was argued that ideology should be seen as a universal feature of translation rather than in a limited sense.

It is against the limited use of the concept that this work tried to share the usefulness of the broader concept of ideology. This concept stresses individuals' praxis as a manifestation of ideology in practice. This perspective has been dubbed the "inclusive". It was born out of the work of Althusser and Gramsci. Although there are significant differences between Althusser and Gramsci, what they have in common is their emphasis on the philosophy of praxis. This includes the active, creative capacity of people to recognize their position and construct their ideological practices. Further, both are interested in the workings of ideology as a constitutive mechanism.

By adopting the inclusive sense of ideology, it was demonstrated that ideology is the medium through which translators approach their translations. Ideology becomes everything that belongs to the world. From this point of view, then, translation involves more than the analysis of political beliefs as there is ultimately nothing but ideology, and translation, therefore, does not escape the material conditions of the world. This is obvious in the case of translating a religious text, such as the Qur'an.

The inclusive sense of ideology demonstrates how ideology regulates the praxis of Qur'an translators, dealing with issues such as the way the Qur'an should be translated, talked about and who translates it, to the extent that translation takes place at all. This disciplinary power of ideology involves the organization of the translator's behaviour through the imposition of a particular translator's image as a transcendental phenomenon. As shown in chapters 3–4, this image operates as an ideological apparatus capable of determining translators' practices and as

a mask for authority and control, i.e. it justifies and legitimizes the ulama's authority. It thus became obvious that the narrative was put in place for the pursuit of common interests of the ulama as collective figures. The imposed image was, therefore, seen as an instrument to teach translators to practice the craft of ruling on behalf of the ulama.

It was illustrated that the image is not geared merely to delimiting the spheres of influence of various grand ideologies, but also towards establishing a more or less permanent mechanism for control of the translator's behaviour. Around the turn of the twenty-first century, it appeared indeed to be common knowledge that the image (the narrative on Qur'an translation) had become well accepted amongst translators/commissioners. Translators were shown, through the process of identification, to participate in the ideological practice and create their subjection to the Subject that embodies the illusion of universality. The outcome of this subjection is said to be normal, but in fact, it is hard to escape the [regulatory] ideology that regulates what is permissible thought and behaviour. It establishes the very possibility of viewing the world in a particular way to ensure the reproduction of a particular dominant order.

Translators' identification of the narrative includes the building up of a consistent biographical continuity with past translators. Thus, their [contemporary translators] profiles were understood in terms of the dominant narrative. These profiles have an account of how translators think of themselves as Qur'an translators in light of past and present circumstances. They use language that was in use before to define who they are in the context of social relationships. What they practice is what makes them translators of the divine, i.e. how they represent themselves, how they talk about their translation, who they are and how they are represented. That kind of representation informs us of how they make sense of Qur'an translation and how they recognize themselves as translators.

Translators' recognition of themselves and, thus, their constitution as translators is the work of ideology. Ideology interpellates them as concrete subjects. It is the work of ideology to bring

the translator into being because "there is no practice except by and in an ideology" (Althusser 1971, 170). As the analysis showed, Qur'an translators voluntarily adhere to certain criteria in order to be considered eligible to translate the Qur'an. Those criteria are not a mere by-product of translation agencies, but they operate in a broader dynamic of power relations in society, thus being inherent in its ideological operation. Those criteria allow ideology to achieve a certain degree of invisibility that strengthens its grip over subjects, thus reproducing relations of domination. Without those criteria, the very concept of who is a Qur'an translator would be unintelligible.

However, this does not deprive the translator of any agency, but as shown in chapters 3–4, when individuals *recognize* themselves as translators, they engage in practices of self-recognition, constitution and reflection. Translators appear to reflect upon the translation and, through a common sense of what it means to be a translator, organize their profile, work and experience. This involves the recognition of their obligations and the narrative which guides their actions. However, the narrative is inherently unstable, though powerful. As the analysis demonstrated, most translators negotiate the Qur'an translator's image, adding and adhering to some criteria of what is a translator.

Consequently, the narrative is not a static entity; it is marked by a series of changing discourses and practices intrinsically bound up with time and space and their current social power. The narrative in this sense is a continuous process of formation, being constantly revised in light of new practices. For example, the idea that the translator should translate in lucid English is a new one introduced to the narrative as late as the early twenty-first century. This shows us that it is not only the ulama who create the translator's image which orients the translator's behaviour, but also, once constituted, translators influence the narrative and, indirectly, the way Qur'an translation should be conducted. It was, therefore, emphasized that

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ideology is the intermediary in both directions, forming the overall structure of Qur'an translation, namely the translator's image and the ideas which infiltrate the narrative.

The fact that translators are constituted as subjects to reproduce the narrative does not mean they are meant to reproduce a particular interpretation of Islam. Qur'an translation rather operates as part of the ideological struggle to inculcate beliefs in translation. Chapter 5 demonstrates how Qur'an translation functions as an ISA using Saudi Arabia as an example. The major breakthrough for Qur'an translation as an ISA was the year 1984, which saw the establishment of the King Fahd Complex for Printing the Holy Quran in Saudi Arabia. This centre proves to be influential in its own right because of its unique spending on disseminating Qur'an translation. It is designed not only to spread *The Noble Quran* worldwide but to guarantee legitimacy for the house of Saud and the establishment of religious hegemony in line with the Wahhabi ideology.

Translation as an ISA defines and produces the object of knowledge that is appropriate to the workings of Wahhabism in an intelligible way while excluding other forms of knowledge as unintelligible. This involves the production of verses in a particular way, giving meaning to the ST and providing rules of what is permissible or thinkable about social conduct. The formation of a new Qur'an involves ideologizing the original text in ways which inform us about Wahhabism and its connection to the Saudi state and, by extension, about the operation of translation as an ISA.

Needless to say, ideology is not simply repressive; it does not exist simply to subject people into the dominant order. Rather, it is productive. That is, it brings subjects into being, as shown in the Althusserian model (see discussion in Cap. 2.2). It is implicated in producing subjects, making them grow into a force that preserves the social order, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, subjugating them or even destroying them. For example, when the Saudi state produces this massively ideologized translation, it is not in a sense forcing people to accept its

ideology. Rather, what the state does is to create the condition of acceptance of this ideology. The proliferation of the Wahhabi ideology in translation is constitutive of the development of new techniques of governance, in a social sense related to the regulation of social behaviour. The ideology disseminated in translation thus regulates social practices in ways that produce subjects subjected to the Subject. That is, translation as a reflection of the Wahhabi ideology decides how the Qur'an is to be understood while enforcing that understanding as natural rather than specific.

While Qur'an translation acts as an ISA, it also functions as a counter-ideological mechanism independent of state power, outside a particular polity. That is to say, where there is ideological struggle to occupy the field, there is counter-ideological struggle. Chapter 6 demonstrates that the rise of the Saudi model of translation had been challenged, particularly in matters of social conduct. Bakhtiar's translation was the first attempt influenced by the Muslim feminist desire to channel "the woman's point of view". By making "the woman's point of view" the agent and the medium through which the "correct" rendition could be achieved, Bakhtiar had prepared the ground for using translation as a tool of resistance to the Wahhabi ideology's attempts to appropriate the field.

The appropriation of the field of ideological reproduction was resisted through the ideologization of translation, which is also a reflection of the appropriation of the field. It was shown that Bakhtiar seeks to recapture the field and, through the process, challenge the Wahhabi ideology in Qur'an translation. In this sense, the appropriation of the field is resisted through an occupation attempt of the field, where subjects are constituted. Just as the Saudi state might be said to have privileged the appropriation of translation as a social site of domination, Bakhtiar also privileges translation in an attempt to appropriate the field. After all, appropriation is the purpose of domination. The process of appropriation, however, entails

systematic attempts to impose a particular ideology on people. So, what Bakhtiar does is precisely resistance in the form of domination.

The ideologically-driven nature of Bakhtiar's translation articulated in the voices of resistance also means that the translation is at the heart of interpreting and transforming the field of social relations. Therefore, the occupation of the field was central to Bakhtiar's project, an idea which shows how translation is used as a counter-ideological apparatus to transform the particular into universal, further confirming that "there is no practice except by and in an ideology" (Althusser 1971, 170). That is, translation cannot escape ideology though it aims to do so, since the moment it steps out of an ideology, it steps into another.

In short, the red thread running through this work was a critical analysis of ideology as applied in TS, in order to show the problems involved in the current application of that concept. Nonetheless, that was where the theoretical focus stopped. My aim was not to provide a critical deconstruction of ideology as applied in TS; rather, it was to provide an introductory examination of ideology and translation in the inclusive sense of the concept. The main benefit of this sense is its capacity to make visible how ideology regulates the activity of Qur'an translation. Thus, it was concluded that there is no Qur'an translation which is not the work of some ideology or other. Evidently, there is hardly a translator's behaviour which is not, to some extent, governed by the workings of ideology; the behaviour is in one way or another regulated by a governing ideology.

In so doing, this work has opened up two new and productive lines of enquiry in the field of TS. The first concerns employing the inclusive concept of ideology in the study of translation while the second shows how a refined notion of ideology can be deployed in the context of Qur'an translation. Based on that, translation was conceptualized as an activity always and inevitably embedded in a wider framework of ideological beliefs that shape the language used

in the text. This helps to view translators' behaviour as related to an ideology in a broader sense and ideology as something inseparable from translation.

7.2 How Can this Study Be Developed?

This study can be further developed by deploying the inclusive concept of ideology to translation historically, sociologically and culturally to expose the interplay of power, agency and consciousness in shaping the meaning and significance of translated texts. For instance, one can enlarge the scope of the present research in various ways:

(1) **Diachronically**, it would be interesting to comparatively examine several historical eras, viz. the Early Modern Period (1500–1750), the Mid-Modern Period (1750–1914) and the Modern Period (1914–present) because these are the most important periods in the history of Qur'an translation;

(2) **Linguistically**, in addition to English, one could also consider French translations because these two are among the key languages into which the Qur'an has been translated, and they represent the most influential political powers that have colonized and thus shaped the modern history of the Middle East;

(3) **Theoretically**, it would also be of great interest to widen the theoretical understanding of ideology by drawing on present-day theorists, such as Slavoj Žižek, Judith Butler and Michel Pêcheux. These are the theorists who have critically engaged with seminal ideas proposed by Althusser within Marxist and neo-Marxist traditions and developed them and enriched them from non-Marxist positions, such as post/structuralism, post/modernism;

(4) **Sociologically**, one may continue to problematize the perception of translation as a transparent transfer from Language A to Language B and show it rather as an active

social agent, capable of shaping social spaces, hierarchies, configurations of power distribution and perceptions of Islam across the modern world;

(5) **Methodologically**, an important methodological point is to take readers into consideration[1]. An archival investigation into how readers over time have viewed Qur'an translations and translators – i.e. who should translate the Qur'an in their eyes – would widen one's understanding of the interpellation process in different historical phases. Of particular interest is how a certain set of social and political relations informed the historical transition of the image of the Qur'an translator, and how such an image constituted, reconstituted and maintained power relations in the publishing industry.

Furthermore, the potential of the inclusive sense can be explored to identify the mechanisms used by social forces to encourage consent in society. This would shed light on the role translation plays in maintaining the hegemony of certain powers within a given society in a particular period of time. To exemplify, it would be interesting to study how the Subject of Qur'an translation cooperates with other Subjects, such as the Subject of Business and the Subject(s) of a particular subject matter. Examining how cooperation between Subjects takes place would stimulate new trains of thought into the workings of ideology in translation.

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[1] As late as 2017, Ahmed Saleh Elimam was the first scholar to investigate the target readers' expectations of Qur'an translation in his survey. One of the points addressed in his survey pertains to the readers' image of the Qur'an translator. In the overall number of 70 responses, Elimam's result shows that 25.7% prefer a native speaker of English to translate the Qur'an and 28.6% desire a native speaker of Arabic to undertake the project. With regard to the translator's religion, out of 63 responses, 84% prefer the translation to be done by a Muslim, 1.3% by a non-Muslim, and 14.7% responses see that the translator's religion of no importance to translating the Qur'an (Elimam 2017, 64). Elimam's survey is indeed revealing in terms of the translator's competences as seen through the eyes of the reader. One could apply a similar survey to investigate the reader's conceptualization of the ideal Qur'an translator and study the complexities involved in the context of readers in tandem with such other social agents involved in the process of translation.

7.3 Beyond the Qur'an as a Case

The contribution of ideology in the grand sense can indeed be explored in texts other than Qur'an translation, especially in those texts where human agency is at stake. For example, freelance translation, through the lens of interpellation, can be understood as a formation of the capitalist mode of production. This involves the specific organization of freelance translation along capitalist lines. In *Living in the End Times* (2010, 207), Žižek argues that "only in capitalism *is* exploitation 'naturalized', inscribed into the functioning of the economy—it is not the result of extra-economic pressure and violence, and this is why, in capitalism, we have personal freedom and equality: there is no need for direct social domination, domination is already inscribed in the structure of the production process". Žižek suggests that capitalism naturalizes the relations of domination with ideas such as free exchange, work for money, putting pressure on people to generate money and participate in money exchange activities – pressure that can be realized in the form of finding jobs, thinking about the future, such as buying a house, etc.

Drawing on Žižek's argument, one might investigate how individuals are constituted as freelance translators working under certain conditions (e.g. low wages, deadlines, contractual works), features of capitalist relations. This approach to freelance translation could be connected with how translators, for example, reproduce capitalist values and, thus, capitalism. It might be interesting to explore what freelance translation means for translators, that is, their active role in shaping the profession, what it means to be a freelance translator and their reflections reproduce or challenge capitalism.

Appendices

Appendix i

Twentieth Century Translations

1. *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an: An Explanatory Translation* (1934/2000), by Marmaduke Pickthall;
2. *The Holy Qur'ān, Translation and Commentary* (1937/1946), by Yusuf Ali Abdullah;
3. *The Holy Koran: An Introduction with Selections* (1953), by Arthur John Arberry;
4. *The Koran Interpreted: A Translation* (1955), by Arthur John Arberry;
5. *The Quran: A New Interpretation* (1997), by Colin Turner;

Twenty-First Century Translations

1. *The Translation and Commentary on the Holy Qur-an* (2000), by Zohurul Hoque;
2. *The Quran: The First Poetic Translation* (2000), by Fazlollah Nikayin;
3. *An Interpretation of the Quran: English Translation of the Meanings: A Bilingual Edition* (2000), by Majid Fakhry;
4. *The Quran* (2002), by Mohammad Javad Gohari;
5. *The Tajwidi Qur'an* (2003), by Abdullah Nooruddeen Durkee;
6. *The Qur'an with a Phrase-by-Phrase English Translation* (2004), by 'Ali Quli Qara'i;
7. *The Qur'an: A New Translation* (2004), by Thomas Cleary;
8. *Quran Made Easy* (2004), by Mufti Afzal Hoosen Elias;
9. *The Qur'an: A New Translation* (2005), by M.A.S. Abdel Haleem;
10. *The Qur'ān* (2007), by Alan Jones;
11. *The Gracious Qur'an: A Modern-Phrased Interpretation in English* (2007), by Ahmad Zaki Hammad;
12. *The Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān with Explanatory Notes* (2007), by Mufti Muhammad Taqi Usmani;
13. *The Qur'an with Annotated Interpretation in Modern English* (2008), by Ali Ünal;
14. *The Qur'an: A New Translation* (2008), by Tarif Khalidi;
15. *The Sublime Quran* (2007), by Laleh Bakhtiar;
16. *The Quran: A New Translation* (2009), by Maulana Wahiduddin Khan;
17. *The Generous Qur'an: An Accurate, Modern English Translation of the Qur'an, Islam's Holiest Book* (2009), by Usama Dakdok;
18. *The Holy Qur'an in Today's English* (2010), by Yahiya Emerick;
19. *The Qur'an: An English Translation* (2011), by Nazeer Ahmed;
20. *The Wise Qur'an: A Modern English Translation* (2011), by Assad Nimer Busool;
21. *The Glorious Qur'an: English Translation* (2012), by Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri;
22. *What is the Quran? Message of the Quran in Simple English* (2013), by Abdur Raheem Kidwai;
23. *Quran Translation* (2013), by Ijaz Chaudry;
24. *The Qur'an: A New Annotated Translation* (2013), by Arthur J Droge;
25. *The Quran: Modern English Translation Clear and Easy to Understand* (2014), by Talal Itani;
26. *The Quran Translation in Simple, Easy, and Plain English* (2014), by Faisal Fahim;
27. *The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary* (2015), by Seyyed Hossein Nasr;

28. *The Clear Quran: A Thematic English Translation of the Message of the Final Revelation* (2016), by Mustafa Khattab;
29. *The Magnificent Quran* (2016), by Ali Salami;
30. *The Quran – A Plain English Translation* (2017), by Musharraf Hussain.

Appendix ii

Translators	Selection Criteria (PC, Amazon, Google Books)	Publishing Houses
Zohurul Hoque	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	*Holy Qur-an Pub Project* (although there was no info found about the company, its name gives a hint that this company is associated with the dissemination of Quran or research about it).
Fazlollah Nikayin	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	*Ultimate Book* (an independent publishing company).
Majid Fakhry	- *Islamic knowledge*	*New York University Press* (an inclusive academic publisher).
Abdullah Nooruddeen Durkee	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	*An-noor Educational Foundation* (according to the author's school website, the PC works in concert with his school 'The Green Mountain School' to engage in many projects).
Mohammad Javad Gohari	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Quran Institute* (an independent publisher affiliated to Oxford International Studies Institute and publishes exclusivity on Qur'an).
Sayyid Ali QuliQara'I	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	*Islamic College for Advanced Studies* (academic publications on philosophy, religion and Islamic studies).
Thomas Cleary	- *Translational expertise*	*Starlatch Press, US* (an exclusive PC).
M.A.S. Abdel Haleem	- *Islamic knowledge* - High level of Arabic competency	*Oxford World's Classics* (an inclusive PC)
Mufti Afzal Hoosen Elias	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	ZamZam Publishers (according to its website, the company appears that it only publishes books that are on Islam).
Ali Ünal	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	Tughra Books ("Tughra publishes books on Islam as a religion, Islamic history and art").
Mufti Muhammad Taqi Usmani	- *Islamic knowledge*	MaktabahMa'ariful Qur'an (according to its website, the company appears that it only publishes books of Mufti Afzal Hossen Elias).

Alan Jones	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience - High level of Arabic competency	*Gibb Memorial Trust* ("the objectives of the Memorial Trust are to promote the study and advancement of the history, literature, philosophy and religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs").
Laleh Bakhtiar	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	*Kazi Publications* ("Books on Islam & Muslim World")
Ahmad Zaki Hammad	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Lucent Interpretations LLC* (no info was found).
Tarif Khalidi	- *Islamic knowledge* - High level of Arabic competency	*Penguin Classics* (an inclusive PC)
Maulana Wahiduddin Khan	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Goodword Books* (the company only publishes Islamic books).
Usama Dakdok	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Usama Dakdok Publishing* (the author's publishing company).
Yahiya Emerick	- *Islamic knowledge*	*CreateSpace* ("it provides free tools to help you self-publish and distribute your books, DVDs, CDs, and video downloads on-demand on Amazon.com").
Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Minhaj-ul-Quran Publications* (the author's publishing company).
Nazeer Ahmed	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Xlibris Corporation* (self-publishing and on-demand printing services provider)
Assad Nimer Busool	- *Islamic knowledge* - High level of Arabic competency	*Xlibris Corporation* (self-publishing and on-demand printing services provider)
Abdur Raheem Kidwai	- *Islamic knowledge* - Quran Translations' scholar	*VivaBooks* (An Indian Publishing Company that operates at distributing various subjects including religion).
Ijaz Chaudry	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Lulu Com* (self-publishing and on-demand printing services provider).
Arthur J Droge	- *Islamic knowledge*	*Equinox Publishing Ltd* (an academic publisher which publishes on subjects attracting general readership such as "archaeology, linguistics, cultural history, the academic study of religion, cookery and popular music").
Talal Itani	- *Islamic knowledge* - Translation experience	*ClearQuran* (the author's publishing company).
Faisal Fahim	- *Islamic knowledge*	*CreateSpace* ("it provides free tools to help you self-publish and distribute your books, DVDs, CDs,

			and video downloads on-demand on Amazon.com").
Seyyed Hossein Nasr	-	*Islamic knowledge*	*HarperCollins Publishers* (an inclusive PC)
Mustafa Khattab	-	*Islamic knowledge*	*Book of Signs Foundation* (a non-profit organization which exclusively distributes Khattab's translation and other books on Islam).
Ali Salami	-	*Translational expertise*	*Leilah Publications* (an inclusive PC).
	-	Translation Studies scholar	
Musharraf Hussain	-	*Islamic knowledge*	*On pre-orders* (the author usually publishes with Kube, an inclusive publisher of scrips on Islam).
	-	Translation experience	

Appendix iii

Selected Titles by Translators

Translators	Exegetical Translation of Titles	Literal Translation of Titles
Muhammad Pickthall	*The Meaning of the Glorious Quran*	
Abdullah Yusuf Ali	*The Meaning of the Holy Qur'an*	
Richard Bell		*The Qur'an*
Arthur Arberry	*The Koran Interpreted*	
Nessim Dawood	*The Koran*	
Malik Ghulam Farid	*The Holy Qur'an: Arabic Text with English Translation and Short Commentary*	
Colin Turner	*The Qur'an: A New Interpretation*	
Zohurul Hoque	*The Translation and Commentary on the Holy Qur-an*	
Fazlollah Nikayin	*The Quran: The First Poetic Translation*	

Majid Fakhry	*An Interpretation of the Quran: English Translation of the Meanings: A Bilingual Edition*	
Mohammad Javad Gohari		*The Quran*
Abdullah Nooruddeen Durkee	*The Tajwidi Qur'an*	
'Ali Quli Qara'i	*The Qur'an with a Phrase-by-Phrase English Translation*	
Thomas Cleary	*The Qur'an: A New Translation*	
Mufti Afzal Hoosen Elias	*Quran Made Easy*	
M.A.S. Abdel Haleem	*The Qur'an: A New Translation*	
Alan Jones		*The Qur'ān*
Ahmad Zaki Hammad	*The Gracious Qur'an: A Modern-Phrased Interpretation in English*	
Mufti Muhammad Taqi Usmani	*The Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān with Explanatory Notes*	
Ali Ünal	*The Qur'an with Annotated Interpretation in Modern English*	
Tarif Khalidi	*The Qur'an: A New Translation*	
Laleh Bakhtiar	*The Sublime Quran*	
Maulana Wahiduddin Khan	*The Quran: A New Translation*	
Usama Dakdok	*The Generous Qur'an: An Accurate, Modern English Translation of the Qur'an, Islam's Holiest Book*	
Yahiya Emerick	*The Holy Qur'an in Today's English*	

Nazeer Ahmed	*The Qur'an: An English Translation*
Assad Nimer Busool	*The Wise Qur'an: A Modern English Translation*
Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri	*The Glorious Qur'an: English Translation*
Abdur Raheem Kidwai	*What is the Quran? Message of the Quran in Simple English*
Ijaz Chaudry	*Quran Translation*
Arthur J Droge	*The Qur'an: A New Annotated Translation*
Talal Itani	*The Quran: Modern English Translation Clear and Easy to Understand*
Faisal Fahim	*The Quran Translation in Simple, Easy, and Plain English*
Seyyed Hossein Nasr	*The Study Quran: A New Translation and Commentary*
Mustafa Khattab	*The Clear Quran: A Thematic English Translation of the Message of the Final Revelation*
Ali Salami	*The Magnificent Quran*
Musharraf Hussain	*The Quran – A Plain English Translation*

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Glossary of Key Terms

Fatwa: an opinion on a point of Islamic law issued by an official authority.

SEE ALSO: *Qur'an.*

Hadith: A collection of sayings used for Tradition, containing an account of what the prophet Muhammad said, did, tacitly approved, or disapproved. In addition to the QUR'AN, the HADITH constitutes a major source of guidance for most orthodox Muslims.

SEE ALSO: *Qur'an*.

Hegemony: A process by which domination of the ruling group is achieved. Domination in this sense is secured through consent, not coercion, by controlling the major institutions and dominant modes of production.

SEE ALSO: *ideology; interpellation.*

Ideological State Apparatus (ISA): A term refers to a network of institutions functioning in the patronage of the STATE and which assist in the reproduction of the relations of domination. Such ISAs as schools, churches, and the media operate to maintain social order, support the state ideology, and incorporate all members of societies within the dominant ideology. Reproduction is not only secured by ISAs, but also by Repressive State Apparatuses (RSAs) as the police and the army which function predominantly by violence rather than IDEOLOGY as in the case of ISAs.

SEE ALSO: *ideology; interpellation; state.*

Ideology: An ensemble of beliefs and practices through which individuals recognize their real relations of existence. Ideology in this sense considers all beliefs as socially determined, and it is seen as a practice rather than an illusion.

SEE ALSO: *ideological state apparatus; interpellation; subject.*

Inimitability: An idea emerged over time into a full-fledged concept which suggests that the Qur'an is a linguistic miracle, establishing the divine origin of the book and asserting Muhammad's prophethood. Most Muslims regard the beauty of the Qur'an's language and the coherence of its linguistic structure as miraculous features of the Qur'an.

SEE ALSO: *untranslatability*.

Interpellation: A process by which individuals recognize their sense of identity. The word "interpellation" is derived from the French verb *interpeller* which means "to call out". The French verb was translated into English as "interpellate" and "hail". Both terms are used interchangeably. Interpellation is closely linked with Althusser's theory of IDEOLOGY.

SEE ALSO: *ideology; ideological state apparatus*.

Islamic feminism: "a feminist discourse and practice articulated within an Islam paradigm. Islamic feminism, which derives its understanding and mandate from the Qur'an, seeks rights and justice for women, and for men, in the totality of their existence" (Badran 2009, 242).

SEE ALSO: *Wahhabism*.

Narrative: "the everyday stories we live by" (M. Baker 2006, 3). Narrative refers to those "public and personal 'stories' that we subscribe to, and which guide our behaviour. They are the stories we tell ourselves, not just those we explicitly tell other people, about the world(s) in which we live" (M. Baker 2006, 19).

SEE ALSO: *ideology*.

Paratext: All materials that surround the translated text whether peritext (the materials that are inside the published translation, such as preface, introduction, notes, appendices, etc.) or epitext (the material that are outside the published text, such as public blurbs about translations, critical reviews, editorial notes, etc.).

SEE ALSO: *untranslatability*.

Qur'an: The holy book of Islam, which is considered to have been revealed to Muhammad through the agency of the archangel Gabriel.

SEE ALSO: *Hadith.*

Religion: "A unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them" (Durkheim 1995, 44).

SEE ALSO: *Qur'an; Hadith.*

State: The social institution organized around a set of functions to reproduce a particular mode of production.

SEE ALSO: *ideological state apparatus.*

Subject: An ideological construct situated within a particular system of domination. Subjects are hailed or interpellated by IDEOLOGY and are constituted through webs of ideological practices.

SEE ALSO: *ideology; interpellation.*

Untranslatability: In the context of the QUR'AN, untranslatability refers to those instances in which the Quranic expressions lose their beauty when translated into a different language. Untranslatability suggests that the Qur'an is a linguistic miracle and therefore cannot be translated into other languages; it can only be accessed in the original.

SEE ALSO: *inimitability.*

Wahhabism: A movement which appeared in central Arabia and is named after Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, an 18th-century theologian. Wahhabism as an ideology refers to an embodied relationship between the Saudi state and its religious ulama.

SEE ALSO: *Islamic feminism.*