TRANSLATION, TRAVEL, AND GENDER:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THREE WOMEN ARABIC TRANSLATORS IN VICTORIAN BRITAIN

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This thesis analyses the translation careers and practices of three British Victorian women translating from Arabic to English in the late nineteenth century. It examines the lives and works of the English aristocrat and Arabian horse breeder Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917), and Scottish twin sisters and academics Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926) and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920). The thesis investigates how Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's gender intersected with their other identity signifiers, their personal circumstances, the circumstances of their area of interest, and historical and national circumstances to impact their translation careers and practices.

Drawing on the theoretical structures of Pierre Bourdieu's habitus, field, and capital, alongside the frameworks of Orientalism and intersectional feminism, this research presents a biographical and textual analysis of the women's lives and works, combining archival research and a close reading of their travelogues, diaries, and correspondences with a comparative textual analysis of their translations and Arabic source texts, in addition to the paratextual materials in their translations. This combined methodology facilitates the examination of the internal and external pressures and influences on the translation career trajectories of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson, the discriminatory gender practices the women faced during their careers, their interaction with Orientalism and its effect on their translation practices, and their use of translation to amplify their voices and advocate for causes important to them. The thesis makes a timely contribution to the field of feminist translation studies, namely to scholarship recovering the work of historical women translators and their social contexts, as well as the emerging field of translator studies, which examines a translator's biographical data to enhance understanding of their translation output.

Key Words: Gender and translation, Arabic translation, Historiography of translation, Victorian Britain, Orientalism, Pierre Bourdieu, Intersectionality

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List of Abbreviations

ST: Source Text

TT: Target Text

SC: Source Culture

TC: Target Culture

List of Surnames

This thesis revolves around the life and work of three women, but their respective husbands are also frequently discussed. At the time of their marriages societal rules dictated the women take their husbands surnames as their own, which could lead to confusion over who is the focus of the discussion when talking of 'Blunt' (Lady Anne or her husband Wilfrid?), 'Lewis' (Agnes or Samuel?) and 'Gibson' (Margaret or James?). For this reason, I have decided to refer to the three women by their married surname, and their husbands by their final two surnames (all the subjects of my research had multiple final names, including matrilineal surnames). It is also my personal preference to go against the dominant expectation where women are often referred to by their first names while men are identified by their surnames. Therefore, the following names will be used as identifiers:

- Blunt: Lady Anne Blunt
- Scawen Blunt: Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (Lady Anne Blunt's husband)
- Lewis: Agnes Smith Lewis
- Savage Lewis: Samuel Savage Lewis (Agnes Smith Lewis' husband)
- Gibson: Margaret Dunlop Gibson
- Young Gibson: James Young Gibson (Margaret Dunlop Gibson's husband)

1. Introduction

In the summer of 2010, I was researching the life of the Victorian translator, explorer, and Orientalist Sir Richard Burton (1821-1890), as part of a "Translation History" module for a Masters in Translation Studies with the University of Portsmouth. At the time I was living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and conducting my studies as a 'mature' distance student (I was then in my late twenties having spent several years working in international development), while my husband was in graduate school. My research that summer analysed the impact of Sir Richard Burton's habitus on his translation from Arabic into English of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1885), and introduced me to three key areas of research out of which this PhD thesis evolved: first, the translation of Arabic literature in Victorian Britain; second, Pierre Bourdieu's sociological theory of habitus (alongside which I also learned of his theories of field and capital), and third, and perhaps most importantly, the influence and impact of Burton's wife, Isabel Burton (1831-1896), on her husband's work.

I read with fascination about the life of Isabel Burton, particularly the power dynamic that existed between herself and her husband, and her role and involvement in his work, including his translations from Arabic. Although she did not publish any Arabic translations of her own, following her husband's death Isabel Burton published an expurgated version of his translation of the *Arabian Nights Entertainments,* titled *Lady Burton's Edition of her Husband's Arabian Nights* (1886), deemed by her to be a more acceptable edition for the Victorian mores of the time (Melman, 1995, p. 306).

Isabel Burton's life and works prompted me to wonder if there were other Victorian women who not only travelled through the Middle East and learnt Arabic, but who translated Arabic texts into English and published them for the British reading public. This provoked several questions: if such women did exist,

how would I find them? What would they have translated? How did their lives lead them to Arabic translation, and would their translations seem different to male Orientalists of the time? I started with Melman's short biographies of British women in the Middle East, listed in an appendix at the end of her work, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918* (Melman, 1995). Whilst previous scholarly research has recovered a significant corpus of Middle East-related work authored by Victorian women (Mills, 1991; Melman, 1995; Lewis, 1996; Hodgson, 2005; McVicker, 2008), very few of these works were published translations from Arabic into English, and within Translation Studies, there has so far been no research on British Victorian women who translated Arabic texts and published their English translations. With the biographies as a starting point, and following up on leads in other texts, after six months of research I found only three women who met my requirements: British, living and working within the long nineteenth-century, and who published translations from Arabic for an English-reading audience. The three were Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917), Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926), and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920). Eleven years later this thesis is the summation of my research into these three women's lives, works, and Arabic translations.

1.1. Women Arabic Translators in Victorian Britain? The Case of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson in their Historical Context

Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917) was a British aristocrat, the daughter of mathematician Lady Ada Lovelace, and the granddaughter of Lord Byron. Born into a wealthy and prestigious family, she led a privileged life, was well-educated and well-travelled. In her late twenties she married a diplomat and poet, Wilfrid Scawen

Blunt (1840-1922), and the two embarked on many journeys through North Africa and the Middle East, culminating in two expeditions through the Arabian Peninsula for the purpose of improving the Royal Geographical Society's maps of the region, and purchasing pure bred Arabian horses for the establishment of their Arabian horse stud in England. It was following these journeys that the couple started to publish work on the region, beginning with a two-volume travelogue of their Arabian Peninsula expeditions. Blunt was labelled as the author and her husband the editor of the travelogues, which were followed some years later by two translations from Arabic into English of pre-Islamic poetry, the first extracted from the epic poem the *Sirat Bani Hilal*, which the Blunts' published as *The Stealing of the Mare* (1892), and the second a translation of the collected poems known as the *Mu'allaqāt*, published as *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (1903). For both works Blunt was credited as the translator and her husband the 'versifier'. Blunt used the information and research she had gathered for these publication and other pre-Islamic sources to write, in her final years, a book chronicling the history of the Arabian horse. She died before she was able to see the book in print, but portions of the manuscript were published posthumously by her daughter in *The Authentic Arabian Horse* (Wentworth, 1945), and she is known today as the first European woman to cross the Nefud desert of Saudi Arabia, and the founder of one of the most successful Arabian horse studs in the West.

Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926) and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920) were twin sisters, born in Irvine, Scotland. The only daughters of a solicitor who raised them as a single father following their mother's death, the twins, like Blunt, were well-educated and well-travelled compared to many middle-class Scottish girls of the time, with a particular aptitude for languages. An unexpected financial bequest following the death of a wealthy relative resulted in the twins attending schools in both Scotland and London, in addition to significant travel in Europe. Following the death of their father when the twins were in their early twenties, they embarked on a life of travel and learning, with Lewis publishing three novels in her early adulthood,

as well as a series of travelogues which documented their travels through the Middle East. Inspired by their Middle East travels, Lewis and Gibson studied Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek (along with several other Semitic languages), and in 1892 they undertook a journey to St. Catherine's Monastery at the foot of Mt. Sinai in Egypt. Within the monastery's library Lewis and Gibson located numerous early Christian texts that they spent the remainder of their lives photographing, transcribing, and translating. The Sinai expedition launched their careers as translators and academics, and the sisters subsequently published over forty works, including multiple translations from Arabic of early religious texts and biblical apocrypha, becoming noted Semitic and biblical scholars.

A brief sketch of the social, political, and cultural contexts that Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were working within will now be outlined, introducing key elements and tensions that affected the women's career paths and translation output that will be examined in detail in later chapters.

The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 saw the Mediterranean, North Africa, and Middle East open up to British interests abroad, and as the nineteenth century continued, Britain seized the opportunity to extend its empire through the region, exercising economic, political, and military dominion over its colonised subjects (Cavaliero, 2013, p. xvi). Viewed through the lens of colonialism, and often used as a justification for British imperial expansion, indigenous populations and cultures brought under British control were frequently depicted as an inferior 'other': strange, barbarous, and exotic, in need of a British 'civilising' influence. The imperial project promulgated these racist stereotypes, along with a large proportion of British and European nineteenth-century cultural production, at times reaching back through history to pit European Christendom against its old Crusader enemy, Islam. Even at the end of the long nineteenth century, some in the West still thought in these dualities, exemplified by the (perhaps apocryphal) tale of the French General Henri Gouraud, who, when he entered Damascus in 1920, stood over the tomb of Salah al-Din and announced, "Saladin, we're back!" (Kabbani, 2008, pp. 23-24).

This hegemonic Western belief in the inferiority of the Middle East and the imperialist project of dominion over it — what Edward Said would come to term "Orientalism" (1978) — influenced nineteenth-century Britons and Europeans working, writing, and travelling within the region, and the unequal power relationship affected their interactions with the Arab world. In addition to the Victorian stereotype of the Middle East as barbaric and uncivilised, a second image took root within Western ideas of Arab culture during this time: that of the Middle East as a place of exotic, hedonistic indulgence, which, for Victorians, often positioned it as an anathema to their conservative public mores (Kabbani, 2008).

The translation of Arabic literature into English, alongside other Orientalist cultural production through the nineteenth century played a significant role in the promulgation of these racist stereotypes and the accentuation of the Arab world as an inferior 'other' (ibid.). In the eighteenth century a French Orientalist named Antoine Galland (1646-1715) introduced Europeans to selection of medieval Middle Eastern folktales known in the West as the *Arabian Nights,* through his French translation, *Les mille et une nuits* (1704-1717) (Irwin, 2009, p. 14). It was the first translation of the *Nights* into a Western language and captivated European audiences with its magical tales from far-off lands (ibid.). Further eighteenth-century publications such as Ridley's *Tales of the Genii* (1764) and Sheridan's *Nourjahad* (1767) reinforced the image of the Middle East as a region of both exoticism, barbarism, and indulgence (Irwin, 2009, p. 296). In 1763, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Turkish Embassy Letters* — correspondence from her time spent in Ottoman Istanbul — were published posthumously and hugely popular (even today, the letters have never been out of print). Her descriptions of life in the city seemingly corroborated eighteenth-century Western fantasies of the East, writing to a friend, "[t]his, you will say, is but too like the Arabian tales…these very tales…(excepting the enchantments) are a real representation of the manners here" (Montagu in Hodgson, 2005, p.19).

The fascination with these 'Arabian tales' continued into the nineteenth century, which produced multiple translations of the *Nights* into English, as well as a fashion for Orientalist art and literature. In 1836 the Orientalist Edward Lane published his "enormously influential" *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, an account of his observances of Egyptian life and culture during the three years he spent in Cairo in the 1820s (Irwin, 2009, p. 23). Between 1838 and 1841 Lane went on to publish a serialised version of his English translation from Arabic of *The Thousand and One Nights*, which drew on his earlier study of Egyptian life (Irwin, 2009, p. 24). In a nod to the importance of understanding a translator's background and context for their translations (which this thesis will highlight), Lane's aim was a more educational and family-friendly translation of the *Nights* that informed his readership of the history and culture of the Arab world. Lane's translation was accompanied by a large number of footnotes on a wide variety of every-day topics, and he expurgated any sections he deemed too explicit for conservative Victorian mores, to the extent that entire tales were left out in his translation. Lane's educational translation of the *Nights* was popular family reading until the 1880s when two more, unexpurgated translations hit the Victorian publishing market.

Between 1882 and 1889 a new serialised, subscription-based publication of the *Nights* was released by the English poet and translator, John Payne, titled *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (Irwin, 2009, p. 27). Unlike Lane, Payne did not expurgate the more explicit elements of the *Nights* (one reason for the book to be published through subscription only was to circumvent Victorian print obscenity laws), nor was his translation meant for educational purposes. Payne "thought of his translation as a work of literature" (ibid.) and therefore included the portions previously omitted by Lane — albeit still rendered in "allusive paraphrases" — and did not include any footnotes or other paratextual elements. Payne's translation was well-received and over-subscribed, but he did not publish any further copies, and his translation came to be overshadowed by one produced by his friend and fellow translator, Sir Richard Burton.

Burton was a titan of the Victorian age; a diplomat, Orientalist, explorer, and linguist amongst many other talents, he travelled through Africa in search of the source of the Nile, and entered Mecca disguised as a Muslim man (Europeans were prohibited from entry) (Byatt in Burton, 2001, p. xv). Already famous because of his two-volume published account of that journey, Burton knew of Payne's oversubscribed English translation of the *Nights* — he had in fact worked with him on some of it — and decided to publish his own version, also through a subscription service, resulting in his ten-volume translation, *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*, published in 1885, followed by six supplementary volumes published between 1886-1888 (Irwin, 2009, p. 29-30).

Burton's translation of the *Nights* immediately captured public attention, not least because he did not expurgate sexually explicit portions of the source text but accentuated and often expounded upon them in his footnotes (Irwin, 2009, p. 33). Burton's translation style was flamboyant, painting exaggerated scenes of exotic hedonism, heroism, and barbarous exploits. He incorporated archaisms, Biblical terms, Elizabethan English, Chaucer, and his own lexical inventions to render his idea of mediaeval Arabic into English, which one critic termed a "linguistic Never Never Land" (Irwin, 2009, p. 31). Burton felt it his right to improve on the Arabic source text, embellishing or rearranging where he felt necessary (Burton, 1888, p. xiii), and in addition to his target text, he included a huge amount of paratext, appending extensive footnotes and a final essay in which he used to illustrate his exploitative and derogatory views on race and sexuality.

The translations into English of the *Arabian Nights* had a huge impact on the way Victorian Britain viewed the Arab world (Hodgson, 2005, p. 19). By the end of the century, the text was common in middle and upper-class Victorian homes, although which version was dependent on the purchaser. As one contemporary reviewer stated, "Lane is for the library, Payne for the study and Burton for the sewers'" (Reeve in Irwin, 2009, p. 36). These nineteenth-century translations of the *Nights*, along with other Orientalist cultural

production, helped reinforce the image of the Middle East and Arab culture as an exotic 'other', exaggerating differences and reinforcing the idea of the region's inferiority compared to 'civilised' Europe.

In addition to the popularity of Orientalist art and literature, the nineteenth century also ushered in a new era of travel to North Africa and the Middle East. The end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 not only opened military and trade routes through the Mediterranean for British colonialist expansion, but also for commercial travel enterprises which middle and upper-class Victorians embarked on with aplomb, adding to the popularity of all things 'Eastern'. As described by Melman (1995), travel to the Middle East became easier as the century wore on, as maritime and land routes were continually improved upon. By the 1850s the British traveller had access to weekly steamship departures to Malaga from Southampton, and bi-weekly to Alexandria, Egypt (Melman, 1995, p. 11). Railway routes between Alexandria and Cairo, and Jerusalem and Jaffa resulted in relative ease of movement for travellers through the region by the 1880s, giving rise to the evolution of "grand- to mass-tourism" in the Victorian era (ibid.).

This increase in colonial interest and commercial tourism to the Middle East during the nineteenth century augmented production of another literary genre that proved both popular and influential on Victorian perceptions of Arab culture – the travelogue. Victorian travelogues were written by a variety of visitors to the Middle East, many of whom were often male, institutionally, or governmentally backed explorers and Orientalists (Kabbani, 2008, p. 25). These (male) writers frequently positioned themselves as the explorer-hero, a gentleman in uncivilised lands whose travel writing served to further imperialist opinions of the Middle East as a region needing to be controlled, or who reinforced popular opinion of the Arab world as one of barbaric customs and hedonistic indulgences (ibid.).

There was, however, another visitor to the Middle East during the nineteenth century, one who also engaged in cultural production relating to the region but whose perspective did not always align with the male-driven

Orientalist gaze: the Victorian woman. Nineteenth-century middle and upper-class British women are often thought of as constrained in both thought and movement, restricted to the domestic sphere, and, if they did travel, are frequently portrayed as appendages, secondary to husbands or other patriarchal figures heading the travelling party. Their contributions to the field of Victorian Orientalism and the age of empire are marginalised, viewed as either witnesses or victims, with no independent voice (see detailed discussion in Chapter Two).

On the occasion that a woman is highlighted for her travels or work in the region, she is often portrayed as an "eccentric spinster", an anomaly, rather than one in a long line of women who travelled and wrote about the Middle East (Mills, 1991, p. 61). In fact, research has recovered many hundreds of Victorian women who travelled to the region and returned to publish work regarding it (Mills, 1991; Melman, 1995; Hodgson, 2005). Whether their work conformed to traditional Orientalist and imperial views on the Arab world, whether it resisted it — was the 'other' within empathetic to the 'other' without? — or featured elements of both continues to be debated and explored, as more women's lives, experiences and work are recovered from this historical period. It was within this political and cultural context that the three women this thesis examines, Lady Anne Blunt, Agnes Smith Lewis, and Margaret Dunlop Gibson lived and worked. All three began their translation careers in the latter half of the nineteenth-century, when Victorian appetites for all things 'Eastern', including art, literature, and travel, were at their height, and Orientalism was shaping the way the West interacted with the Middle East politically, militarily, and culturally.

1.2. Research Questions, Aims, and Methods

This thesis analyses how far gender, understood as one identity category among other intersectional elements such as class and religion, influenced the lives, translation careers and translation practices of Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917), Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926), and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920). In order to answer this overarching research question, the following sub-questions will be posed:

a. How did Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's gender intersect with their other identity signifiers (such as religion and class), their personal circumstances (upbringing, education, social milieu), the circumstances of their area of interest (the Middle East and its relationship to the West), and historical and national circumstances (Victorian culture and the politics of empire) to impact their translation careers and practices?

b. How did these intersections impact how Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's private lives intertwined with their public roles as translators?

c. How do Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's personal diaries, journals and correspondences shed light on the interlocking categories of gender, class, and religion and the impact of them on their translation decisions and practices?

d. How are these intersections reflected in their translation practices from Arabic into English at a para/textual level? More specifically, did Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's gender along with other intersectional factors such as class and religion, result in differing translation approaches and strategies from those of male Victorian Orientalists?

By pursuing these questions, this thesis will provide visibility for all three women within the field of Translation Studies, where their work as translators has so far been overlooked. It will also help to fill a gap within the corpus of research on Victorian women and their cultural production relating to the Middle East, where there has been little focus on women of the period who translated from Arabic to English, therefore contributing to the established field of feminist translation studies. This research will not only add Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson to the historical record of Victorian women Arabic translators, but, drawing on previous Translation Studies research on the importance of understanding a translator's background in order to understand their translations (Meylaerts, 2006, 2013; Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts, 2018; Hassen, 2018), it will also offer insight into how the women's personal circumstances and social context influenced their work. Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts (2018) argue for the "analysis of the socio-biography" of translators (along with other cultural mediators) "as a way to reconstruct their social and biographical trajectories" (p. 14). This includes a translator's upbringing, education, and social milieu – all of which will be examined within a biographical analysis of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's lives and works.

In this regard, this thesis will also contribute to the emerging and dynamic research area of 'translator studies', an expression first coined by Chesterman (2009) to emphasise that a translator's biography should be explored as part of wider analyses of their work. As Baer (2018) states, whilst translator biographies had not been investigated in detail until the end of the twentieth century, it can now be considered a sub-field that has gained traction since the sociological turn in Translation Studies, leading to an increasing amount of investigation into individual translators and their contexts, in addition to the translations themselves (p. 51). Indeed, recent influential publications (Kaindl, Kolb and Schlager, 2021) have focused on literary translators as translatorial subjects with cultural, social, and psychological factors that are key to a comprehensive understanding of translation. In this dissertation I will follow some of the different translator-centred approaches previously identified, namely historical-biographical perspectives as well as

the use of paratexts to shed light on translators themselves.

Expanding from the research questions, this thesis aims to further understanding of the following aspects of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's lives, translation careers and practices:

a. The discriminatory gender practices levelled against Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson and its impact on their careers.

b. The internal and external pressures on them as women and translators, such as their personal and national circumstances, along with their area of interest and socio-historical context.

c. Their translation strategies from Arabic into English, in relation to nineteenth-century Orientalist literary tropes as outlined by Said (1978), to determine whether they conformed or resisted these norms.

d. Their use of para/texts to further their own personal aims and agendas, or promote causes of import to them, which in turn provided advocacy and visibility for secondary societal groups.

To answer the research questions outlined above and achieve the aims of the thesis, the following methods will be employed:

a. The application of Pierre Bourdieu's sociological tripartite of habitus, field, and capital to provide insight into the impact of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's childhood and upbringing (habitus), professional sphere (field), and social position and assets (capital) on their translation careers and practices.

b. The application of Edward Said's theory of Orientalism to facilitate a better understanding of the historical, social, and political context of the women's translation careers and works.

c. The use of the theoretical framework of intersectional feminism, combined with prior research within Translation Studies exploring the interaction of gender and translation, to provide analysis of how gender intersected with other elements of the women's identities (such as class and religion) and its influence on their work.

d. A close reading of archival sources, including personal diaries, logs, travel journals, private correspondences, and contemporary newspaper letters and reviews to facilitate biographical accounts of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's lives.

e. Finally, a textual analysis of a selection of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's translations. This will include analysis of Blunt's translations published posthumously within *The Authentic Arabian Horse* (Wentworth, 1945) and those recovered from her personal papers in the Wentworth Bequest at the British Library, a comparative analysis of Lewis' *Haiqār and Nadan* (Conybeare, Rendel Harris, and Lewis, 1898) with Burton's translation of the same text within his *Supplemental Nights to the Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night* (1888), and a comparative analysis of Gibson's *The Story of Aphikia* (1901) also with Burton's translation of the tale included in his *Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1885). Building on previous scholarship (Batchelor, 2018; Hassen, 2018) which has demonstrated how useful the study of paratexts is to reveal a translator's social, cultural and religious context, the analysis will also examine the paratexts to Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's translations, which contain relevant information pertaining to the women's motivations and practices as translators, giving further insight into how gender and other identity signifiers intersected and influenced their translation output.

1.3. Overview of Thesis Structure

This introduction has contextualised my interest in this subject area, and explained how this research is filling two gaps within current scholarship: first, within the corpus of studies on the cultural production of Victorian women regarding the Middle East, and secondly within the field of the historiography of translation, both areas which have overlooked nineteenth-century women translating from Arabic into English. By so doing, I will be contributing to the subfields of feminist translation studies and translator studies. I have also offered the historical context in which Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson lived and worked and presented my aims and methodology. Subsequent to this introduction, and in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's lives, careers, and translations, this thesis is structured around one theoretical chapter and two further chapters within which the case studies of the three women's lives and works will be presented.

Following this initial chapter, Chapter Two will introduce and examine the three theoretical frameworks outlined above, beginning with a brief overview of each. First, Pierre Bourdieu's sociological tripartite of habitus, field, and capital will be introduced, with each third of the framework being discussed in a sub-section: habitus will be defined first, and its application within Translation Studies presented, followed by the definition and application of capital, and then the definition and application of field. Finally, the Bourdieu section will conclude with a discussion of how habitus, field, and capital will be applied to the case studies of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson. The second part of the chapter will present Edward Said's theory of Orientalism, along with details of its application within Translation Studies. It will also include an overview of Said's perspective on Victorian Orientalism, as well as criticism and limitations of the theory. As with Bourdieu, the section will end with an explanation of how Orientalism will be applied to my case studies. The final third of the chapter will discuss the framework of intersectional feminism, beginning with

a definition of Kimberlé Crenshaw's paradigm of intersectionality. This will be followed by an examination of how intersectionality has been employed within Translation Studies, and then an overview of the corpus of work that has examined historical gender bias in translation theory and practice, gender being one of the main identity signifiers studied within an intersectional framework. Finally, the chapter will discuss how the paradigm of intersectional feminism will be applied to the subsequent case study chapters on Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson.

Chapter Three will present my first case study, analysing the life, career, and translations of Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917). The chapter will begin with detailing the primary and secondary sources used to research and analyse Blunt's life and translation work. It will then present Blunt's biography, viewed through the theoretical frameworks outlined in Chapter Two, including her childhood and education, her marriage and the gendered power dynamic between herself and her husband, their Middle East travels together, and their working relationship which saw the publication of a two-volume travelogue and two translations of pre-Islamic poetry. The biographical section will conclude with an examination of Blunt's marital separation and emancipation from her husband, and her final years in Egypt where she worked on her *magnum opus*, a history of the Arabian horse, parts of which were published posthumously by her daughter in 1945. The third section of the chapter will present a textual analysis of samples of Blunt's translation work from her daughter's publication (*The Authentic Arabian Horse*, Wentworth, 1945), along with translations recovered from her personal papers, correspondences and diaries at the Wentworth Bequest in the British Library. This will allow conclusions to be drawn regarding how the hierarchical gender dynamic of her marriage affected her intellectual freedom, how her translations resisted Orientalist trends of Victorian Arabic translation, and how she used her translations and paratexts to advocate for the protection and preservation of the tribal culture located in what is now central Saudi Arabia. These conclusions will be elaborated on in the final section of the chapter.

Chapter Four will analyse the lives, careers, and translations of Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926) and her twin sister, Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920). Because the women were twins who spent the entirety of their lives living and working together, examining both within the same chapter allows for a better account of the relationship between the two and the work they accomplished together. To the best of my knowledge, neither sister left an individual, personal journal for public access, but they did leave a corpus of published work which they had often worked on jointly. They were raised and educated together, and lived and worked with each other throughout their adult lives, even during their respective marriages. Because their lives and works were so intertwined, combining their analysis is more efficient as separating them would result in an excess of repetition, particularly for the biographical focus. The chapter will begin with a discussion of the primary and secondary sources used for the research, followed by the biography of Lewis and Gibson, using the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter Two to deepen understanding of the internal and external pressures that impacted the twins' translation careers and practices. This will include examination of Lewis and Gibson's childhood and education, early travels and works, including Lewis' travelogues *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870), an account of the twins' first trip to the Middle East, and *Through Cyprus* (1887), a travelogue which includes valuable information regarding Lewis' Arabic language acquisition and evolving impressions of the relationship between Europe and the Middle East. The chapter will also feature detailed accounts of each sister's marriage and its impact on their translation careers, along with Lewis and Gibson's expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, where the religious texts they photographed there launched their careers as translators and academics. The biographical analysis will conclude with an examination of how the twins' gender, class and religion intersected to impact — whether through structures of privilege or oppression — their translation careers.

The final third of the chapter will present the para/textual analysis: relevant examples from the twins' paratexts will be presented (introductions, prologues, epilogues, footnotes, etc.), demonstrating how the

twins employed them to highlight issues or further their own interests and agendas. A comparative textual analysis will then follow; first Lewis' translation of *Haiqār and Nadan* (Conybeare, Rendel Harris, and Lewis, 1898) with Burton's translation of the same text titled "The Say of Haykar the Sage", found within his *Supplemental Nights to the Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night* (1888). Second, a comparison of Gibson's *The Story of Aphikia* (1901) will be analysed alongside with Burton's translation titled "The King and his Wazir's Wife" found within his *Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1885). The comparative para/textual analysis, combined with the biographical analysis, will allow conclusions to be drawn regarding how gender and other intersectional identity signifiers interlocked to impact Lewis and Gibson's careers as translators along with their translation strategies and practices.

Drawing on the preliminary conclusions reached at the end of each chapter, my concluding remarks will be presented in Chapter Five, along with a discussion of the limitations of the thesis and potential for further research. References and appendices will then follow.

2. Theoretical Frameworks: Sociology, Orientalism, and Intersectionality

This chapter outlines the three theoretical frameworks that will be applied to the biographical and para/textual analysis of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's lives and works to establish how far gender, along with other intersecting elements in the women's lives, influenced their translation careers and output. An overview is presented below, followed by a detailed explanation of each framework, their definitions, their usage within Translation Studies, and their relevance and application to this research.

One of the consequences of the "cultural turn" Translation Studies experienced in the 1990s has been the inclusion of sociological theories to help analyse and evaluate translation production, process, and reception, often shifting the lens from the translation to the translator, and the role and influence of the social networks and institutions within which they are embedded (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990; Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts, 2018). Translators do not work within a void, rather they are positioned within a "context, history and convention" that exact influence over the translations they produce (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990, p. 11). Since the cultural turn, scholars have attested that to fully understand the production and reception of a translation, one must first understand the social, cultural, and economic contexts the translator is situated within. To this end, subsequent research has enhanced our understanding of translators and their work by examining their personal and professional lives within these contexts. In 1999, Canadian academic Jean Delisle published his study of eleven historical translators in *Portraits de Traducteurs* which, due to criticism for its focus solely on male translators, was followed up with *Portraits de Traductrices* (Delisle 2002), a study of the biographies and works of eleven women translators whose lives spanned the

seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries. Although it is impossible to offer a comprehensive list of all publications focused on recovering the life and work of translators across different geographies and time periods, a sample of publications on this research in addition to Delisle's include Krontiris' (1992) study of women translators during the English Renaissance, Shamma's (2009) analysis of three (male) nineteenth-century translators of Arabic literature, Meylaerts' (2013) article on the social and cultural positioning of Flemish translator Roger Avermaete, Castro's (2011) examination of twentieth-century Galician and Catalan women translators respectively, and finally Brown's (2020) account of women translators in early modern Europe.

Drawing upon these sociological approaches within Translation Studies, this research will apply the theoretical frameworks of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* developed by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) to help evaluate how gender, understood to be operating within an intersectional paradigm, influenced the translation careers and practices of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson. Bourdieu's sociological theories have been previously employed within Translation Studies to analyse the behaviour of individual translators and the influence of the social structures within which they operate. Habitus has been applied to investigate the impact of a translator's background and cultural context on their work (Simeoni, 1998; Vosloo, 2007; Meylaerts, 2013; Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts, 2018), the existence of a specific field for translation, in isolation from the literary field that Bourdieu focuses on has been the object of debate (Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 2005, 2014; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf 2006, 2007), and capital has been drawn upon to analyse the assets, stakeholders and external pressures on translators and the business of translation (Gouanvic 2005; Wolf, 2006, 2010).

In addition to the Bourdieu tripartite, Edward Said's (1935-2003) theory of Orientalism will be applied to further examine the specific socio-cultural context that Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were translating within. Orientalism has frequently been used within Translation Studies to critically examine translators and

translation practice working between the Middle East and Europe, for example Ali's (1981) analysis of the reception of nineteenth-century translations of the Arabian Nights in English, Cortés' (1995) article which evaluates the effect of Orientalism on a translator's foreignising or domesticating strategies, Faiq's (2004) edited collection of essays on cultural issues that arise in translation between Arabic and Western languages, and Hassen's (2018) study of nineteenth-century Quran translator Fatma-Zaïda's feminist translation practices. As the subjects of my research, Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson spent extensive time in the Middle East and all translated from Arabic at the end of the nineteenth century, when much of Britain's political and cultural interests were focused on the Arab world. Said's theoretical structure will assist in analysing the women's approaches to and experiences of the Middle East, and the resulting impact on their translations.

Finally, alongside the theoretical structures presented by Said and Bourdieu, this research will also analyse Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's translation careers and practices through the structure of intersectional feminism and the paradigm of Kimberlé Crenshaw's intersectionality. Whilst Crenshaw (1989) was not the first scholar to discuss how identity signifiers can interlock to position an individual within a privileged or discriminatory societal position, she was the first to coin the term "intersectionality" to describe this occurrence. Although Crenshaw's focus has been on African-American women's experiences of discrimination where they are "multiply-burdened" due to their gender *and* race (1989, p. 140), the theory has been used widely — particularly in the social sciences — to explore the results of intersecting factors surrounding identity, such as gender, race, age, religion, sexual orientation, etc.[1] Within Translation Studies, intersectionality can be used as a tool to examine the multiple dimensions that make up a translator's identity and influence their societal position (Castro and Ergun, 2017, 2018). For Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson, the theory helps to connect the Bourdieusian tripartite and Orientalism by viewing them through the perspective

[1] Both Von Flotow (2009) and Block and Corona (2014) give overviews of how intersectionality has been used in the social sciences.

of overlapping factors such as gender, class, and religion, allowing for conclusions to be drawn regarding how influential gender was on the women's careers and practices, and how far it was just one factor among many that intersected to influence the three women's work.

2.1. Bourdieu's Sociology of Translation: Habitus, Field and Capital

2.1.1. Definition and Application of Habitus

In *The Logic of Practice* (1990), Bourdieu outlines his theory of habitus as an internal set of dispositions and principles within an individual that "generate and organize [spontaneous] practices" (p. 53). These principles and dispositions are accumulated and internalised from early childhood and are heavily influenced by family upbringing and social class. An individual's social and economic context creates a framework of conditions (e.g. gender roles, labour division, economic consumption, familial relationships) that "produce the structures of the habitus, which in their turn are the basis of the perception and appreciation of all subsequent experiences" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 54). As such, the habitus is the product of an individual's social, cultural, and economic history, resulting in practices and behaviours in adulthood which can only be explained through examination of the person's past (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 54-55).

Over the past two decades Translation Studies scholars have operationalised Bourdieu's theory of habitus as an analytical tool to explore and explain the socio-cultural history and context that influence individual translator's behaviours and practices. Meylaerts' (2013) article applies the habitus structure to explore the

background and social context of the Belgian literary translator Roger Avermaete, who was Flemish but translated literature into French in the early twentieth century. In addition to literary translation, Avermaete was also a writer, actor, activist, journalist, and magazine editor. Because of his multi-positional context, mediating between Flemish and Francophone Belgian cultures, Meylaerts argues that it is impossible to analyse Avermaete's translations as merely end products, or his literary translations in isolation without considering his habitus, social context, geopolitics, and other professions. Meylaerts uses habitus to explore the internal pressures and conflicts Avermaete faced identifying as bi-cultural, particularly during the interwar period when Francophone writers were often marginalised in favour of work in Flemish, and how these conflicts impacted his translation practices and career (2013, pp. 120-121).

Translation Studies scholars have also considered a sub-branch of Bourdieu's habitus theory, which is his argument that while the "primary" habitus is inculcated through childhood experience, one can also develop a later, "specific" habitus, based, for example, upon professional experiences (Gouanvic, 2014, p. 32). Simeoni's (1998) article draws upon the idea of the specific habitus, proposing that translators possess a specialised "translatorial habitus" (p. 14) that guides their professional practices and develops alongside the primary habitus outlined by Bourdieu. Simeoni argues that this translatorial habitus is inherently submissive due to the secondary role translators have historically played in European society (1998, p. 32). He suggests that in the West, the first patrons of translators were those belonging to royal, governmental, or religious authorities, and as such the first texts requiring translation were often legal, economic, or sacred, and therefore "not to be tampered with" (1998, p. 12). For translators working within these contexts, there was no room for creativity or error, and subservience to their patron coupled with fidelity to their source texts were the accepted norms. Simeoni argues that this historical precedent has influenced translators through the centuries, creating a 'translatorial habitus' that is inherently submissive, "to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself", resulting in a translator that is "the quintessential servant: efficient,

punctual, hardworking, silent, and yes, invisible" (1998, p. 12).

While Simeoni's article does not address how gender and a translatorial habitus may intersect, Wolf (2006) suggests that for women translators, an intrinsically submissive habitus could be due to the social, cultural, and historical framework of male dominance in Western society. She states that masculine dominance is an "invisible, pervasive violence" woven through the fabric of our everyday lives, and therefore goes unquestioned (2006, pp. 136-137). Wolf's theory that women translators could inherently possess a subservient, specific, translatorial habitus because their primary habitus has developed within a gender-biased society will be considered in relation to Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson. Due to their gender the women were relegated from birth to a secondary position within society and expected to acquiesce to patriarchal Victorian gender norms. Simeoni's theory suggests that the three women would have also acquired a specific translatorial habitus concordantly with their careers that mirrored this gendered hierarchy. This research will consider both Wolf and Simeoni's theories when analysing the women's biographies and translations, evaluating how far the women's primary habitus influenced their translation careers and practices, and whether they also developed a translatorial habitus that was inherently subservient due to Victorian gender norms.

Simeoni's theory of a translatorial habitus has received criticism within Translation Studies research. Sela-Sheffy (2005) suggests that it "allows almost no room for understanding choice and variability in their [the translator's] action" and is too generalised a concept to be applicable across individuals in all cases and time periods (p. 3-4). She argues that while Simeoni's theory may play into the "popular image" (p. 4) of translation work, it is not supported by historical or empirical evidence, positing that in some cases translators are considered revolutionary rather than submissive, often using translation as a vessel to introduce "new cultural models into varied areas of life, including language and literature" (Sela-Sheffy, 2005, p. 6).

Studies conducted by Robinson (1995), Von Flotow (2000), Delisle (2002), Johnston (2013), Barcardí and Godayol (2014, 2016), and Brown (2020) highlight historical examples of women translators who resisted stereotypical gender-norms and actively worked against gendered power hierarchies within their socio-cultural settings. Renaissance translator Margaret Tyler (1540-1590) campaigned for the right to translate literary texts rather than the religious works considered appropriate for women translators at the time (Robinson, 1995), nineteenth-century American translator Julia Smith (1792-1886) used her translation of the Bible to promote women's intellectual freedom (Von Flotow, 2000), and Victorian translator Jane Sinnett (1804-1870) used her translations to criticise British Imperialism and colonial expansion (Johnston, 2013). All three studies reveal women translators who did not conform to the model of Simeoni's submissive translatorial habitus, but rather show evidence of translators who used their work to resist traditional societal norms and introduced new, controversial ideas to their readership.

Building on these previous studies, this research will apply Bourdieu's habitus theory to analyse the background and upbringing of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson, evaluating how far each woman's habitus impacted their later translation careers and practices, and to what extent familial and societal gender norms influenced its development. Whether the three women also acquired a submissive translatorial habitus as Simeoni's (1998) theory would suggest, or whether Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson utilised their translations as vehicles for resisting traditional Victorian gender-norms will also be considered.

2.1.2. Definition and Application of Field

Defined by Bourdieu as a "social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy" (1993, p. 162), *field*, the second branch of Bourdieu's sociological model, is the

societal and cultural structure individuals are positioned within, and where cultural production (such as art, literature, and philosophy) occurs. Bourdieu's theory specifically focuses on the literary field, where writers produce works "in a particular social universe endowed with particular institutions and obeying specific laws" (1993, p. 163). He argues that to understand any writer and their works, one must first understand their position within their field. By this measure, it could be argued that translators also work and create within a specific translation field, and that to understand a translator's decisions and practices, scholars must examine the norms, rules, and constraints of the translation field they are working within.

Whilst it is possible to posit the concept of a specific translation field from Bourdieu's writings, the existence of it in practice has been subject to some debate within Translation Studies. Translation sociologists have manifested differing opinions, with some arguing that a translation field does exist as an independent entity (Sela-Sheffy, 2005), and others suggesting that translators mediate between fields, often depending on the subject matter of their translations (e.g. moving between literary and technical translations) (Simeoni, 1998: Wolf 2006, 2007: Gouanvic, 2005, 2014).

Simeoni (1998) suggests that the borders of a translation field are more fluid than those of the literary field, therefore contradicting Bourdieu's rigid framework. Because translators often occupy a space between fields (and particularly between cultures) their work shifts, changes, and is subject to external laws and standards (Simeoni, 1998, p. 19). Conversely, Sela-Sheffy (2005) argues that a specific field does exist for translators, one that it internally regulates with "its own internal repertoires, professional ethoses and self-images" and which forms a "distinctive field of action" (p. 11). Wolf (2006, 2007) contends that rather than occurring within its own independent field, translation takes place in a mediation space – a space that is always an in-between. She suggests that "the translation field or space is always situated between various fields" and only exists momentarily (Wolf, 2006, p. 135-136). Because of this, Wolf is doubtful that Bourdieu's field theory can be applied to translators and argues for the application of Bhabha's model of

a *third space* to translation practices (Wolf, 2007). She hypothesizes that the idea of a mediation or third space allows for the overlap of differing cultures and fields inherent in translation, a factor that Bourdieu's more rigid framework does not (Wolf, 2007, p.113). Gouanvic (2014), does not support the idea of the existence of a translation field, but posits rather that translators are able to move between fields depending on the subject matter of their translations.

Simeoni, Wolf, and Gouanvic argue against the existence of a translation field according to the framework outlined by Bourdieu, an argument which has weight when considering the present translation profession. Twenty-first century translators are expected to fulfil multi-dimensional roles between cultures, contexts, and texts, switching between a variety of subject areas (literary, administrative, technical, medical, legal, etc.) and interacting with many different stakeholders. However, the existence of a specific translation field may depend on the social and historical context a translator is working within.

In the case of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson I would concur with Sela-Sheffy and argue that for nineteenth-century Arabic translation such a field did exist. Victorian Arabic translation was niche, often operating within academic Orientalism, with rules and norms independent of the (albeit closely related) literary field. The translating, editing, and publishing of translations was a much more internalised process than it is today. Blunt's editor was her husband, and they used a private press to publish their translations. Lewis and Gibson acted as each other's editors, and had their work published through Cambridge University Press due to personal network connections. The field was insular and elite rather than populated by the myriad external actors and processes faced by present-day translators. Victorian Arabic translators also often knew each other personally – Blunt's husband, for example, had met Sir Richard Burton in Buenos Aires, and the Blunts, Lewis, and Gibson often entertained leading Arabists in their homes. Because of the insular nature of nineteenth-century Arabic translation, I argue that Bourdieu's field theory can be applied in this case to explore and analyse the specific, autonomous field that Victorian Arabic translators were working within.

Accepting the existence of such a field, this research will evaluate how far gender, alongside other intersectional layers such as class and religion, impacted Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's positions within it. Victorian Arabic translation was a traditionally male domain, an old-boys' network of privately educated male Orientalists. How Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson managed to access this field, work within it, and whether they conformed to or resisted its standards and norms will be a focus of this research.

2.1.3. Definition and Application of Capital

The final branch in Bourdieu's tripartite, *capital*, is "accumulated labour", i.e., the intellectual, material, and social assets that a person accrues over their lifetime (1986, p. 241). Bourdieu (1986) divides capital into four distinct categories: economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. *Economic* capital involves the material or monetary goods an individual accrues, *social* capital is comprised of a person's relationships, networks, connections, etc., *cultural* capital includes academic knowledge and education, and finally *symbolic* capital incorporates prestige, honours, titles, etc. that an individual receives. The scope of a person's capital allows them to compete for power within their specific fields, helping to facilitate their success or failure (Bourdieu, 1986).

Capital has been drawn upon and applied in Translation Studies to analyse the individual assets of a translator, deepening understanding of the influence and impact of those assets on a translator's decisions and practices. For example, Gouanvic's study (2005) focused on symbolic capital, arguing that translators benefit from and inherit the symbolic capital associated with their source text in its original culture. Analysing the work of translator Maurice Coindreau, Gouanvic argued that Coindreau's French translations of American writers such as Faulkner, Hemingway and Steinbeck helped establish the popularity of

American literature in France. Wolf (2006) evaluated the differing capitals of German female and feminist publishing houses, concluding that in her study, social capital was the most influential asset for the publishing house's success. She employed the same theory again in a subsequent study of a professional dispute between an interpreter and a volunteer interpreting organization (Wolf, 2010), analysing the competing capitals of both parties.

This research will employ Bourdieu's framework of capital to explore and analyse the economic, social, cultural, and symbolic assets accrued by Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson throughout their lives, and their intersections with gender, in order to evaluate how far these assets affected the three women's careers and practices as translators. Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson all enjoyed substantial economic capital; they were independently wealthy and not reliant on either a spouse or employment for financial support. This resulted in significantly more freedoms than most Victorian women experienced and meant that their roles as translators were not limited or motivated by financial concerns. Likewise, social capital, specifically the women's class positions, played a key role in the success of the women's careers. Blunt was born an aristocrat and therefore imbued with social capital from birth, immediately immersed within an influential social network. As the only legitimate granddaughter of Lord Byron she was famous in Victorian society and considered elite even amongst the aristocracy. Her position amongst English upper-class society meant that she was easily able to access a national and international network of establishment connections that facilitated her and her husband's Middle East expeditions, and the subsequent publications of their travelogues and translations from Arabic.

As middle-class Scottish women, Lewis and Gibson were not bestowed with the same kind of social capital from birth that Blunt possessed. However, the twins did accrue significant social capital throughout their lifetime, particularly upon Lewis' marriage to an influential academic at Cambridge University. Whilst the marriage was cut short due to her husband's untimely death, the privileged societal position within the

Cantabrigian network that Lewis (and by default, Gibson) gained and maintained after her husband's passing opened the door for their expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai, and their resulting careers as Semitic scholars and translators.

Cultural capital — particularly education — was critically important to all three women and their career trajectories, as without formal language training they could not have embarked on careers as Arabic translators. The forward-thinking childhood education Blunt, Lewis and Gibson received was also extremely influential upon their later lives, as it was not only more rigorous and expansive than most Victorian girls' schooling, but its content served to expand the horizons of all three women beyond the domestic sphere. Finally, symbolic capital will be explored and applied, potentially having had a significantly different impact on the translation career of Blunt compared to that of Lewis and Gibson. Blunt was born titled, and continually benefitted from the prestige attached to her family name and position within the English upper-class, although she was never formally recognised for her work by any British institution. Lewis and Gibson sought to earn symbolic capital through their scholarly translation work within academic Orientalism, receiving honorary doctorates and awards, giving their translations and careers academic credibility.

Translation Studies scholars have recognised the importance of understanding the social contexts and histories surrounding a translator to fully understand the background, production, and reception of their work (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1990; Delisle, 2002; Chesterman, 2009; Baer, 2018; Kaindl, Kolb and Schlager, 2021). Through the application of Bourdieusian theoretical models, scholars have furthered our understanding of the internal and external pressures that influence a translator's behaviour (Simeoni, 1998; Gouanvic, 2005, 2014; Sela-Sheffy, 2005; Wolf 2006, 2007; Meylaerts, 2013). By applying the frameworks of habitus, field, and capital to help analyse the lives and translations of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson, my research will offer a comprehensive study of the social-cultural contexts the women were situated within in order to draw conclusions regarding the influence and impact of these contexts on their translations, both at

the career and lexical level.

2.2. Said's Theory of Orientalism: Western Perspectives on the Arab World

In addition to Bourdieu's tripartite, Edward Said's (1935-2003) theory of Orientalism will also be applied as a framework to help contextualise and critically examine Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's translation careers and practices, as the theory addresses how Western Europe has engaged with the languages, literature, history, and cultures of the Middle East since the end of the eighteenth century. First proposed in his seminal work, *Orientalism* (1978), Said defines his theory as a European discourse for representing and dominating what he terms 'the Orient' (including the Near, Middle East and India). Said argues that since the late eighteenth century, this discourse — primarily stemming from Britain and France — has employed a filtered (and inaccurate) representation of Middle Eastern culture that has been based on European preferences.

For Victorian Britain (a particular focus of Said's work), the Middle East was represented through scholarship and cultural production as a region that was romantic, strange, and exotic, but ultimately inferior (Chittiphalangsri and Henitiuk, 2019, p. 395). It was, according to Said, a place to be colonised, dominated, and controlled, with a populace that represented Europe's "deepest and most recurring images of the Other" and which was positioned by Victorian Orientalists as its "contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (1978, p. 1). This research will examine how Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson interacted with the Arab world, and how far these interactions were influenced by Orientalism; did their translation careers and practices reflect Said's belief that all Victorians considered the Middle East the inferior 'Other' compared to the West? Or

did the three women's perspectives diverge at any point from Said's narrative?

Said suggests that the discourse of Orientalism has and continues to dictate the way Europeans deal with the Arab world, "dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it" (1978, p. 3). He argues that Orientalism's distorted lens — where Europe is positioned as the East's intellectual, cultural, and economic superior — has meant that no European "writing, thinking or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism" (ibid.). In short, Orientalism's discourse of dominance has influenced how European scholars, writers, artists, and other cultural producers have approached and interpreted the Arab world: studying, writing, and creating from a position of perceived authority, producing works which have fostered and reinforced the West's illusory image of the exotic otherness of the East.

2.2.1. Application of Orientalism within Translation Studies

Within Translation Studies research, scholars have employed Orientalism as a framework through which to examine a translator's practices, often using it as an explanatory tool when analysing strategies of either domestication or foreignisation employed by the translator (Sengupta, 1990; Venuti, 1995; Cortés, 1995), including nineteenth-century Arabic translation (Lefevere, 1992; van Leeuwen, 2004; Shamma 2009). Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) analyses the domestication vs. foreignisation debate through examination of the history of translation and the in/visibility of the translator within a translated text. He argues that the Western reading public's preference for texts of immediate fluency and familiarity results in publishers and translators, especially those translating from non-Western languages, employing domesticating translation techniques; techniques that could be considered a form of ethnocentric violence,

where cultural and lexical differences in the ST are suppressed and replaced with items familiar to the target culture (1995, p. 14). Domesticating practices, Venuti suggests, whilst increasing the fluidity of a translation and creating the illusion of reading the text in its original format, can lead to decreased visibility for both translators and the source cultures they are translating from (1995, p. 32). Foreignising strategies, conversely, result in a translation that is, according to Venuti, more deferential and respectful to the source culture (1995, p. 125). However, he suggests that those translations that preserve the ST's unique voice and identity are at risk of being overlooked or misunderstood by the reading public (Venuti, 1995, p. 191).

Sengupta's (1990) study examines the domestication vs. foreignisation debate through the self-translations of Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941). Offering an example of the Orientalist lens through which non-European writers are often viewed and represented in the West, Sengupta demonstrates how Tagore's own domesticating strategy affected the popularity of his poetry in its English translation. Tagore was a Bengali writer and artist who self-translated his poetry into English, which appealed to his British audience because he was assigned "the stereotypical role that was familiar to the colonizer" (Sengupta, 1995, p. 58). For the British public Tagore was not represented as his authentic self — a Bengali writer and artist — but instead was billed as a spiritual Eastern seer offering the "wisdom and exoticism of the 'other' world" (Sengupta, 1990, pp. 58-61). Tagore realised that his English target audience would be unfamiliar with the style and content of his Bengali poetry — poetry about love and spirituality based on Hindu Vaisnava literature — and potentially unwilling to accept its non-Christian basis, so he embraced a strategy of domestication for the translation of his poetry from Bengali into English (Sengupta, 1990, p. 59).

Inspired by Romantic and Victorian literature, Tagore changed the style, imagery, and tone of his original poems, along with the language register, making it adhere to the contemporary literary predilections of the time. He domesticated his poetry to "suit the ideology of the dominating culture or system", which, according to Sengupta, resulted in the loss of "the lyrical qualities of the originals" (1990, pp. 57-58).

Although his translations were popular in Britain at the time of their publishing, their popularity was short-lived, as it was "not based on an intellectual appreciation of his works but on the emotional association of the East as an enigma" (Sengupta, 1990, p. 62). Now considered one of Bengal's greatest writers, Sengupta argues that Tagore's strategy of domestication meant that his poetry was only fleetingly popular in the West, as rather than rendering its originality in translation Tagore domesticated it to match the literary aesthetics of the time; his "overt faithfulness to the target-language audience" meant that "the poet and his poetry were lost in this politics of translation" (Sengupta, 1990, pp. 62-63). Sengupta's study demonstrates how Orientalism can skew the representation of non-European writers and their work, pigeon-holing them into cultural stereotypes, whilst exerting pressure on a translator to produce a translation culturally and literarily palatable to a Western readership.

More recent scholarship (Shamma, 2009; Chittiphalangsri, 2014; Chittiphalangsri and Henitiuk, 2019), has argued that viewing Orientalist translations exclusively through the opposing poles of domestication and foreignisation can result in an oversimplification of a translator's aims and methods, ignoring the multi-layered socio-cultural-political landscape the translator is working within. Shamma's (2009) study of three Victorian Arabic translators (Edward Lane, Richard Burton, and Blunt's husband, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt) argues against Venuti's claims that domestication strategies marginalise the target culture while foreignisation preserves it, suggesting instead that the deployment and result of these strategies depend entirely on the translator's aims and the societal context of the TT readership.

Using case studies of the Arabic translations of Sir Richard Burton, and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's versification of Blunt's translations of pre-Islamic poetry, Shamma argues that while Burton's 1885 translation of the *Arabian Nights* foreignised the ST according to Venuti's criteria, it also exoticised it to such a degree that rather than fostering appreciation for the source culture, Burton's translation served to highlight and reinforce European stereotypes of the Arab world, portraying the Middle East as a place of hedonistic

indulgence and barbarism, positioning it as opposite to European enlightenment and intellectualism (2009, p. 71).

Conversely, Scawen Blunt's domesticating strategies for pre-Islamic poetry were not employed as acts of violence against the source text and culture, but rather used to garner support for Arab nationalism from his readership (Shamma, 2009, p. 107). Scawen Blunt was a staunch anti-imperialist, and his work sought to reinforce the similarities between Arab and European literature, producing poetry in a style and register Victorian readers would be familiar with. He "couch[ed] the Arabic texts in the familiar terms of European chivalric romance" not to reduce Arab culture, but rather to foster feelings of familiarity and understanding between Europe and the Arab world to try and shore up support for the Arab nationalist movement (Shamma, 2009, p. 107). Shamma's study shows how Venuti's strategies can be manipulated depending on the translator's aims, giving further credence to the idea that an individual translator's historical, social, cultural, and political context is essential to understanding their translation decisions.

2.2.2. Said's Perspective of Victorian Orientalism

In *Orientalism* (1978), Said presented his overview of Victorian Orientalism — including the establishment of it as an academic field — through the work of a select group of European men who inaugurated a canon of Orientalist scholarship and literature that would influence the relationship between Europe and the Middle East through the nineteenth century and beyond. To better understand the development of Said's theory, and the social, cultural, and political environment that, as Arabic translators, Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson had to enter and work within, a brief sketch of Said's analysis is worth outlining.

The European Enlightenment of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century resulted in the West no longer viewing the Arab world solely through the religious counterpoints of Christianity and Islam (Chittiphalangsri and Henitiuk, 2019, p. 395). Western scholars began taking more interest in the ancient history and languages of the region, "rescuing the Orient" from obscurity and reconstructing its "lost languages, mores, and even mentalities" (Said, 1978, p. 121).

Said described how French Orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) reconstructed the East through anthologies and chrestomathies that presented Sacy's filtered version of Eastern history, languages, and literature to the European student (1978, p. 125). Because the cultural production of the Near, Middle East and Asia was almost unknown in Europe at the time, Sacy believed that a Western audience would only be receptive to highlighted extracts. He therefore produced a huge body of scholarly work that claimed to be representative but was in fact a curated version of the history and culture of the region according to Sacy's interpretation of European interests (Chittiphalangsri and Henitiuk, 2019, p. 399). Thus, accurate representation of this huge swath of the world, its peoples and cultures became "less important than what the Orientalist made of it" (Said, 1978, pp. 127-128). Sacy's work was widely used by Victorian Orientalists, to the extent that "every major Arabist in Europe…traced his intellectual authority back to him" (Said, 1978, p. 129). Said argued that Sacy's work and influence produced the Orientalist canon of the nineteenth century, resulting in the hierarchical power dynamic that positioned European Orientalists as gatekeepers for the image, history and cultural production of the Arab world that was received in the West.

In addition to Sacy, Said focused on the work of a second influential French scholar, Joseph Ernest Renan (1823-1892). Renan was part of the second generation of nineteenth-century Orientalists following Sacy's establishment of the study of the Arab world as an academic field (Said, 1978, p. 130). Unlike Sacy's chrestomathic mode of study, Renan's contribution to the field was the establishment of Semitic scholarship as part of "new" nineteenth-century philology, which included "comparative grammar, the reclassification

of languages into families, and the final rejection of the divine origins of language" (Said, 1978, p. 135). Renan established the comparative academic model, where Semitic languages were contrasted with Indo-European, a practice which revealed his racial prejudices, as he (like Sacy before him) presented to the academy selected examples of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic that highlighted "defects, virtues, barbarisms, and shortcomings in the language, the people, and the civilization" (Said, 1978, p. 142). Renan considered Semitic to be secondary to Indo-European, which he believed to be more mature and civilised, creating a body of work that was both influential whilst also inherently prejudiced against the people, history and cultures of the Near and Middle East.

Said argues that the work of Renan, Sacy and other early nineteenth-century Orientalists revealed "the way cultural generalization had begun to acquire the armor of scientific statement" (1978, p. 149). The curated highlights and overgeneralisations of these early Orientalists' work meant that Europe and the West received a reconstructed view of the Arab world, reconstructed through the lens of the academic Orientalist who intellectually, culturally, and linguistically subordinated the region and represented it as secondary to Europe on every level (Said, 1978, p. 153).

The Orientalist field that Sacy and Renan helped to establish was small and citationary, with agreed upon codes of practice. According to Said, the "amateur enthusiast" was no longer taken seriously as a scholar, and as such entry into the field required certain conditions to be met: potential scholars had to have been educated at university in an Orientalist discipline, travel to their region of study was financially supported by a relevant academic or government institution (e.g. the Royal Asiatic Society or Royal Geographical Society), their work was published through an accredited body, and Said argued, above all, it was rooted in science (1978, p. 191). Said presented the field as exclusively male, a "brotherhood" based on a shared view of the secondary and otherness of Africa, the Middle East and Asia, and consisting of men who through their work positioned themselves as the authority on their areas of study, filtering information received by the

West and reconstructing the East as they saw fit (1978, p. 122).

In addition to this new academic field of Orientalism the nineteenth century also saw the expansion of European travel to and exploration of the Arab world (as discussed in Chapter One). Victorian culture was enthusiastic for exotic and adventurous travel, and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 meant that crossing the Mediterranean could be accomplished with relative ease, making North Africa and the Middle East more accessible to the European traveller who could afford it. Travellers to, and European residents in the Arab world produced their own cultural production about the region through literature, art and poetry, and this combined with the body of work produced by academic Orientalists resulted in, according to Said, "a formidable library" which no one could avoid and whose influence was felt through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century (Said, 1978, pp. 156-157).

2.2.3. Criticism of Orientalism

Said provides an in-depth analysis of the establishment of academic Orientalism in the nineteenth century and its influence on the West's perception and interaction with the Arab world. In a Bourdieusian sense he describes the field of Orientalism that Victorian scholars were working within, and the parameters assigned within the field that conferred credibility upon their academic work. Here Bourdieu's theory of capital also overlaps with Orientalism within Said's explanation of how the field established certain requirements for entry: the cultural capital needed for a university education, the economic capital provided by institutions to fund travel and expeditions, the social capital required to network within the small academic community and finally the symbolic capital associated with the public prestige and authority that was conferred upon the academic Orientalist.

Whilst Bourdieu's field and capital models are easy to integrate with Said's theory, the habitus of Victorian Orientalists is not discussed by Said, leading to a frequent criticism; that the monolithic nature of his theory leaves little room for individual agency, divergent views, or dissent. Irwin (2006) strongly criticised Orientalism, calling it "malignant charlatanry" (p. 3) and stating that Said "libelled generations of scholars" with sweeping generalizations of both their personal viewpoints and academic contributions (p. 295). Van Leeuwen (2004) argued that Said does not accommodate for alternative views to the Victorian discourse he suggests, leaving no room for an anti-imperialist stance or a European seeking a realistic view of Arab culture. For Said, the hegemonic nature of Orientalism was an inherent part of European identity, politics, and culture, and therefore every actor was influenced by it.

I concur with the criticism of Said's theory that there is a danger within it to generalise Western attitudes towards the Arab world. Historical record proves that not all Victorian Orientalists supported the furthering of the imperialist cause in the Middle East, nor did they consider themselves culturally or politically superior to its Arab population. Blunt's husband spent his life denouncing British imperialism, defending Arab culture, and supporting Arab nationalism.[2] Shamma's (2009) study of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's works offers an example of a Victorian who did not conform to Said's theory, but of his views, work and actions Said offered no explanation, treating him as an anomaly; "in the final analysis they all (except Blunt) expressed the traditional Western hostility to and fear of the Orient" (1978, p. 237). There is no further analysis or mention of Scawen Blunt and he was considered by Said to be a "minor exception" (Shamma, 2009, p. 118).

While Scawen Blunt's actions merit only a brief mention by Said, references to his wife — Lady Anne Blunt — who was an equal participant in their travels and work are noticeably absent. This introduces a second

[2] It should be noted that while Scawen Blunt championed independence for the Arab world, he did not champion independence for women or his wife; he stood against discrimination based on race, but not gender.

major criticism of Said's theory: not only does it exclude divergent views, the work and influence of nineteenth-century women Orientalists and issues surrounding gender are completely ignored (Mills, 1991; Melman, 1995; Lewis, 1996). Lewis (1996) considered Said's work to be both a "homogeneous discourse…and irredeemably male" (p. 17). By not discussing women or gender, Said marginalises the role women played in the politics and economies of empire, reducing their role as cultural producers influenced by Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Because of this, Said's theory offers no insight into how Victorian women approached the Arab world, or whether their viewpoint may have differed from Victorian men and the dominant discourse Said presents.

Said is not the only scholar to have marginalised women's involvement in nineteenth-century Orientalism. Melman (1995) suggests that traditional scholarship often places Victorian women within "social rather than political history" (p. 6), confining them to the role of either witnesses to or victims of empire. One example of this is Behdad's study of the Blunts as an "Orientalist couple" where he argues that in Blunt's travelogues, her husband is presented as the "heroic adventurer" whilst she is relegated to the role of "deheroicized female witness" (1994, p. 97). Describing Orientalism as a "patriarchal system", Behdad suggests that women travellers such as Blunt were treated as "the excluded Other" and considered exceptions or anomalies in a masculine field (Behdad, 1994, p. 110). There is no arguing that Blunt was an exception – she was the first European woman to cross the Nefud desert in Saudi Arabia — but I do not agree with Behdad's characterisation of her as deheroicised or a witness in her travelogues. It is true that the Blunts' relationship reflected Victorian gender norms, where Blunt shouldered the burden of the logistics, accounts, and note-taking, but it is also true that she was an equal participant in every aspect of their expeditions. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapter on Blunt, but I would argue that Blunt is presented not as a marginalised or inferior character in the couple's travelogues, but front and centre alongside her husband; dressed in male Arab clothing, armed, and riding astride, experiencing the same

highs and lows of their journeys.

Other scholars have also reassessed women's interaction with empire and Orientalism (McClintock, 1995; Melman, 1995; Mills, 1991; Yegenoglu, 1998; Hassen, 2018; Salhi and Bougherira, 2020). In contrast to Said's marginalisation of women's roles in Orientalism, they argue that women were engaged in, interacted with, and played their own part in the expansion of empire and development of the Orientalist field. McClintock (1995) suggests that although women's secondary societal status meant they were often viewed as outsiders in imperialist frameworks, they still "experienced the privileges and social contradictions of imperialism", albeit from a different standpoint to men (p. 6). For Victorian women living in colonial countries, their race meant that they were privileged, situated within positions of power ("if borrowed"), regardless of gender, over the colonised populations they lived among (McClintock, 1995, p. 6). In terms of women's cultural production, Mills (1991), Yegenoglu (1998) and Hassen (2018) argue that the art, literature, and scholarship nineteenth-century women produced about Africa, the Middle East and Asia, was subject to different internal and external influences compared to their male counterparts, often resulting in work that was contradictory; sometimes conforming to the traditional Orientalist discourse outlined by Said, and other times resisting it. Hassen's (2018) study of the nineteenth-century Arabic translator Fatma-Zaïda, a woman who translated the Quran into French, provides an example of a cultural producer who used both her translation and paratext to strongly resist stereotypical Orientalist representations of Islam and Arab culture, employing feminist translation strategies to emphasise, and in some instances insert, information that supported a more fair and equal treatment of women.

2.2.4. Applying Orientalism to Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson

Although its monolithic nature and marginalisation of women and gender issues draws criticism, Orientalism remains a useful framework for this research as it helps to contextualise the social, cultural, and political contexts Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were living, working, and translating within. Previous translation research (Shamma, 2009; Chittiphalangsri, 2014) has demonstrated the importance of analysing 'Orientalist' translations from the socio-cultural position of the translator, rather than evaluating them within the narrow polarity of domestication vs. foreignisation, and work by Mills (1991) and Melman (1995) has highlighted how European women had differing experiences with and in the Arab world than European men because of their gender, resulting in alternative cultural production that often resisted typical Orientalist, male-led approaches. Building on this prior research, the following chapters will present biographical and textual analysis using the framework of Orientalism to shed light on how Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson interacted with the Arab world, how they were able to access the male-dominated field of academic Orientalism, and how far their lives, work and viewpoints conformed to the Victorian Orientalist discourse presented by Said or resisted it.

2.3. Intersectional Feminism

This section presents the paradigm of "intersectionality" coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), along with an overview of prior research within Translation Studies on translation and gender, focusing on historical gender bias against women translators, and how women have used translation as a vessel to amplify their

voices and disseminate information on causes important to them. Building on this previous research, the inclusion of an intersectional perspective will complement the focus on gender, allowing analysis and contextualisation of how other identity categories and elements in Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's lives interlocked with it, particularly religion and class.

2.3.1. Crenshaw's Paradigm of Intersectionality and Gender Identity

The third theoretical framework that will be applied when examining the lives of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson to evaluate the impact of gender on their translation careers and practices is Kimberlé Crenshaw's paradigm of intersectionality. Crenshaw, a feminist activist and lawyer, coined the term "intersectionality" in a paper published by the *University of Chicago Legal Forum* in 1989, within which she explored the multi-dimensional discrimination faced by Black women in America in relation to a dispute regarding discriminatory employment practices at General Motors. She argued that prevailing feminist ideas surrounding prejudice against women too often focused "along a single categorical axis", e.g. gender, race, or sexuality, but never multiple interlocking factors at the same time (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). This, Crenshaw suggested, had resulted in the marginalization (particularly from the US women's movement) and silencing of Black women's voices, who are subject to social prejudice due to both their gender *and* race, resulting in markedly different experiences to those of white women, whose race situates them in a place of privilege in US society (ibid.). The term "intersectionality" refers precisely to the overlapping of not one, but multiple identity factors, and the interrelation between them that positions individuals in places of privilege or oppression. It is a metaphor which soon became a theoretical tool for examining the many issues that influence the societal position of an individual or group (1989, p. 139). Rather than all women experiencing gender discrimination equally, intersectionality illustrates how gender is in fact just one

element that interlocks with many others (race, sexuality, age, religion, etc.) which in turn interact with patriarchal and societal norms and practices to inform a woman's experiences.

Whilst Crenshaw may have given the theory of intersectionality both a label and heightened visibility, the idea that the layering of different identity signalling factors could result in discrimination had certainly been previously discussed. Earlier in the 1980s, Davis (1983) wrote about how the US women's rights movement of the nineteenth century revolved around the societal limitations placed on women and sexuality, particularly white, middle-class women, which sidelined both Black women and the labour movements begun by working-class women (1983, pp. 54-57). One of the most illustrative examples of this gap between the foci of the women's movement and the conditions faced by those on the sidelines is Sojourner Truth's (1797-1883) famous "Ain't I a Woman?" speech that she delivered to a room of white, middle-class men and women at a women's rights meeting in Ohio in 1851 (Block and Corona, 2014, p. 30). A poignant example of the intersectionality of race and gender, Truth, a Black abolitionist and freed slave, approached the lectern (despite protests that a Black woman should not be allowed to take the stage), where she dismissed the arguments of previous speakers who had posited that women who needed help to cross puddles and enter carriages should not be allowed to vote (Davis, 1983, p. 61). Truth pointed out that she was a woman yet had never received any help from a man to do any of those things, nor any help with any other aspect of her life: she was also able to work, eat, plough, and endure abuse equal to any man (Block and Corona, 2014, p. 30).

Truth used her speech to highlight her equalness to the men in the audience, but it also highlighted the vast gap between her experience of discrimination as a Black woman in America, and the white, middle-class women's experiences that the men had previously spoken against. Truth's speech provides a snapshot of intersectionality in practice, an example that all women do not experience gender discrimination equally, and often, gender is just one factor among many that intersect within the societal discrimination they face.

As white, British women, Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson did not face the racial discrimination Sojourner Truth experienced, as both their race and class placed them in privileged societal positions, but their gender still positioned them as secondary within British society. This thesis will explore how these intersecting factors of both privilege and oppression manifested themselves in the women's lives and impacted their translation careers and practices.

2.3.2. Intersectionality in Translation Studies Research

Since Crenshaw's paper, intersectionality has been operationalised through many academic disciplines, including sociology, linguistics, and Translation Studies, to explore the multi-layered societal factors that can influence not just discrimination, but also identity in general (McCall, 2005; Hancock, 2007; Davis, 2008). It has also encouraged scholarly research to expand outward from studying these factors in isolation or as dualities (e.g. gender and race, or gender and sexual orientation), to encompass the many intersecting factors that make up a person's identity and inform their experiences (Block and Corona, 2014, p. 31). Within Translation Studies, intersectionality can be used as a tool to examine interlocking internal and external factors that influence a translator's decisions and practices and has been employed to analyse the many intersections surrounding women, gender and translation (Castro and Ergun, 2018; Brown, 2019).

Both Castro and Ergun (2018) and Brown (2019) explain that much prior research within Translation Studies (particularly Feminist Translation Studies) could be considered intersectional even if the research does not explicitly state the use of the intersectional paradigm. Both consider Spivak's *The Politics of Translation* (1993) to be intersectional research, in which Spivak examines how both gender and postcolonial oppression manifest within translation, along with other studies that have analysed how gender has interlocked with

"race, sexuality and/or geopolitics (particularly in regard to nationalism, colonialism and orientalism)", such as Santaemilia (2005), von Flotow (2011) and Larkosh (2011) (Castro and Ergun, 2018, p. 134).

What Castro and Ergun call the "intersectionality turn" of the past decade, particularly within Feminist Translation Studies, has "helped feminist translation somewhat grow away from an exclusionary, essentialist focus on gender (defined in relation to an abstract notion of a supposedly universal, singular patriarchy)" (2018, p. 135). In other words, intersectional research within Translation Studies has facilitated the publication of studies that no longer analyse gender in isolation, but rather consider the impact of gender's interaction with other identity signifiers, and how this interaction impacts the theory and practice of translation. It is within this new tradition that my research is framed.

Intersectional research within Feminist Translation Studies broadly falls into two categories: "critical enquiry" and "critical praxis" (Brown, 2019, p. 263). Brown offers several examples of intersectional work which fall under critical enquiry, e.g. Ergun's (2013) article outlining the intersections between feminist translation and feminist sociolinguistics, and Taronna's (2017) study of the feminist translations of Joyce Lussu which examine the intersections between gender and politics (Brown, 2019, pp. 263-264). The praxis cohort includes Reimóndez's (2017) study which argues for future feminist translation and interpreting to "open up a space for multiple and non-hegemonic voices…to arrive at a better understanding of the complex, intersectional workings of oppression" (Brown, 2019, p. 264). To this end, Reimóndez calls for more research into "the intersections of coloniality, class and gender in language acquisition, translation and interpreting" and "more diversity and better training within the profession" (ibid.). Another work that examines intersectionality in praxis is Piacentini et al.'s (2019) article, which calls for improved support and training for interpreters working in migrant healthcare, enabling a deeper understanding of the varied yet interlocking factors that impact their patients' health. To the best of my knowledge, intersectional approaches to Translation Studies have so far lacked critical research which focuses on the interconnection

between gender and class, and gender and religion, two key identity markers in the cases of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson.

Whilst some scholars (as noted above) have adopted intersectionality as a tool for Translation Studies research, the paradigm has also been met with some criticism from others in the field. The main question has been whether the model is too specific to be applied successfully beyond the scope of its original parameters within Crenshaw's paradigm; intersectionality evolved from the experiences of African-American women, and scholars have queried whether it can be used outside of its context, or in situations where those women are not the focus (Kapp, 2005 and Cooper, 2016, in Brown, 2019). Brown suggests that intersectionality's emergence from a "specific context" with "specific aims" means it "may not be the best way of reflecting on identity more generally" (Brown, 2019, p. 265). I would not concur with this criticism however, because as noted above intersectional research has been extant both prior to the coining of the paradigm, and also successfully used in research which has focused on experiences of women within other societal contexts (e.g. postcolonial territories). This demonstrates that the paradigm can be applicable within different contexts and I therefore consider it a useful framework to employ for the analysis of the translation careers and practices of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson, coupled with the theoretical structures of habitus, field, and capital alongside Orientalism. Whilst their gender relegated the women to a secondary position within patriarchal Victorian society, other factors, including class and religion, afforded them positions of privilege which facilitated their translation careers. By examining how these factors interlocked with gender within the framework of intersectionality, I will be able to draw conclusions regarding how far gender influenced and impacted Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's work, and how far it was just one of multiple elements that contributed to their careers and output.

2.3.3. Historical Gender Bias in Translation Theory and Practice

Having introduced the application of intersectionality to help analyse the influence of gender on the translation careers of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson, the following section will add further context by outlining prior research into historical gender biases and discrimination levelled against women translators and their work, the reactions to these discriminatory practices, and how these issues have been examined within Translation Studies. Whilst intersectionality involves the study of multiple identity signifiers that influence the privilege or oppression of individuals, over the past thirty years, much of the focus within Translation Studies research regarding women and translation has focused on gender (Chamberlain, 1988; Von Flotow, 1991; Robinson, 1995; Simon, 1996; Wolf, 2005). This thesis will draw upon this significant corpus in three areas to help shed light on the role of gender within Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's work: first, the gendered language used to describe translation practices and the historical perception of translation as inferior to authorship; second, the types of gender discrimination faced by women translators in the literary field; and third, the methods employed by some women translators across time to resist the stereotypical view of translation as secondary to authorship, reproductive rather than creative and therefore non-threatening to patriarchal societal norms.

2.3.3.1. *Use of Gendered Language to Describe Translation Practice*

In 1985 Hannay published *Silent but for the Word*, an edited volume focused on women writers, translators, and patrons of religious texts in Tudor England. Within it, Lamb's chapter on the Cooke sisters (four Tudor women translators) discussed Renaissance attitudes to translation. Lamb included a quote from Anglo-Italian translator John Florio, who, in the preface to his 1603 translation of Michel de Montaigne's *Essays,* claimed his work to be "defective...since all translations are reputed femalls [sic]" (Lamb in Hannay, ed. 1985, p. 116). This metaphorical gender marking of a translation as female and therefore 'defective' has

been an oft employed trope within discourses on translation, where the source text is represented as the original, productive, male entity, while the translation is considered secondary, reproductive, and therefore female.

This gendering of the relationship between source text/author and target text/translator, and the subsequent power struggles that ensue, has been examined within Translation Studies since the early 1990s (Von Flotow, 1991; Simon, 1996; Martín Ruano, 2005) following the publication of an article by law professor Lori Chamberlain in *Signs*, the Chicago journal of feminist studies, titled *Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation* (1988), which was then reproduced in Venuti's *Translation Studies Reader* (2000). Chamberlain's article revealed that historically this gendered discourse had often metaphorically compared translation to marriage, judging the translation's success or failure by its in/fidelity to its source text. In later texts she argued that centuries of translation theory had analysed the merits of a translation through allegorical "chaste maidens, mistresses, and unfaithful lovers" (Chamberlain in Baker, 2001, p. 94). Among many historical examples, Chamberlain cited the German scholar Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), who argued — in favour of a translator's fidelity to their source text — that a translator would always prefer to "sire children who are their parents' pure effigy, and not bastards" (Schleiermacher quoted in Chamberlain, 1988, pp. 458-459).

This tension between faithfulness to a source text and a translator's agency is also expressed in the French phrase, "les belles infidèles", employed since the late seventeenth century when French philosopher Gilles Ménage (1613-1692) stated that like a woman, a translation can either be beautiful or faithful, but never both (Chamberlain, 1988, p. 450). This employment of gendered language to describe translation practices is not limited to distant history, but has continued through to more recent scholarship: my research revealed a 1910 (male) reviewer of Lewis' *Old Syriac Gospels* who described her translation as a "labour of love" that she exhibited "rare devotion" over, and her "feminine delicacy of painstaking precision" had led to her

translation's "happy consummation", finally calling her translation the "queen of the ancient versions" (Sprengling, 1910).

This metaphorical gendering of translation as female (a concept which began long before the nineteenth century), placing it in a subservient position to authorship, and comparing the translator-text relationship to one of marriage could have worked in Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's favour – the secondary, supposedly uncreative nature of translation meant that they were accepted in the field as translators as it was deemed appropriate work for women, a benign practice that was thought of as unlikely to resist societal norms or promote controversial concepts or causes. However, as the following section will explain, many women translators have used the supposed unthreatening nature of translation as tool for the dissemination of new and, in some cases, provocative ideas.

2.3.3.2 *Translation as a 'Safe' Occupation for Women*

Research within Translation Studies has explored how the gendered discourse that assigns authority/masculinity to the source text whilst marking the translation as secondary/feminine has impacted the perception of translation as a profession (Lamb, 1985; Von Flotow, 1991, 1997, 2000; Martín Ruano, 2005; Castro, 2011). Scholars argue that the notion of translation as a submissive, non-threatening or uncreative task has resulted in it being often considered an appropriate profession for women, who have, throughout history, frequently been relegated to secondary positions within social hierarchies.

Von Flotow (1997) has suggested that historical limitations on women's access to education resulted in them engaging in translation as the "humble" option, perceived to be reproducing someone else's work rather than advancing their own ideas or creativity; "silent, passive, transparent interpreters" engaging in a non-threatening action to patriarchal societal norms (p. 76). Lamb (1985) argued that Florio's assignation of his

translation as 'defective' and therefore female exemplifies Tudor society's "low opinion" of translation, an opinion that meant Tudor women were permitted to translate as it was felt that their work would not "threaten the male establishment as the expression of personal viewpoints might" (p. 116).

2.3.3.3. *Gender Discrimination against Women Translators*

Because of this historical practice of 'permitting' women to translate due to its supposed passiveness, Castro (2011) has posited that the result has been the sidelining, censorship, and marginalisation of women translators, preventing them from achieving recognition for their work and contribution to cultural production. These discriminatory practices have manifested themselves in a variety of forms throughout history (and will be discussed in detail below), including the limiting of women's freedom over their choice of translation subject, an absence of recognition for their work or work being attributed to a male contemporary, and women translators forced to conceal their gender and adopt male pseudonyms for the publication of their texts.

In early modern England, for example, societal traditions dictated that women translators were only permitted to translate religious works (Arcara, 2007; Taillefer de Haya and Muñoz-Luna, 2013). The humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540), who, while supportive of women's education, clearly preferred them to remain within a restricted intellectual sphere; "Whan she shall lerne to write, let nat her example be voyde verses, nor wanton or tryflyng songes, but some sad sentence, prudent and chaste [sic]" (Arcara, 2007, p. 4). The societal discrimination against women translators producing anything other than religious or 'chaste' texts led translator Margaret Tyler in 1578, to use her translation preface (titled "Epistle to the Reader") as a tool to defend herself against critics of her choice to translate Ortúñez de Calahorra's *Espejo de príncipes y cavalleros* (*A Mirrour of Princely Deedes and Knighthood*), a popular Spanish romantic epic (Robinson, 1995; Arcara, 2007). Robinson (1995) called Tyler's preface "an openly and unapologetically feminist

document", where she utilised the paratext of her work to give voice to her opposition of the societal discrimination and limitations placed upon women translators at the time (p. 6). Tyler argued that as society permitted women to read literature, it should also permit women to translate it, opposing patriarchal authority and restrictions on women's creativity, and resisting the traditional gender roles ascribed to women (Arcara, 2007, p. 4).

This research will reveal how Lewis and Gibson used the paratext of their translations of religious documents to highlight biblical women and their roles in ancient society, in addition to using them to advocate for their own intellectual capabilities, reinforcing their positions as academics in a male-dominated field. While translations of religious texts may have been historically deemed a 'safe' option for women, Lewis and Gibson challenged this status quo (as will be shown in Chapter Four), using their translations as entry points into academia, and as tools to increase the visibility of historical women.

In addition to historical limitations placed on women's choice of translation genre, many women translators also experienced discrimination through a lack of recognition, support, and attribution for their work. One example (among many) is Woods's study (2010) of the twentieth-century translator Willa Muir (1890-1970), who through the 1930s and 40s co-translated Kafka from German into English with her husband Edwin Muir. Following the publication of their translations, reviewers and readers often attributed much of the work to her husband, when in fact Muir's personal papers and diaries indicate that she was the primary translator (Woods, 2010). In her diary Muir expressed regret at letting her husband take the credit for her work: "[E]ven the translations I had done were no longer my own territory, for everyone assumes that Edwin did them. He is referred to as ''THE'' translator. By this time he may even believe that he was. He has let my reputation sink, by default" (Muir quoted in Woods, 2010, p. 61). From the evidence presented, Muir never recovered from the fact that her husband was considered the primary translator, stating that she was left "without a shred of literary reputation" and complete lack of acknowledgment for her work (Woods,

2010, p. 61). My own research on Blunt will explore the misattribution of her translation work, which, in an echo of Muir's case, has been credited to her husband. These discriminatory practices, where women's contributions are not acknowledged and their translations not accredited to them, silence their voices, marginalise their role in cultural production and restrict their impact and influence.

As a method of shielding themselves from such discriminatory practices and societal criticism, several women translators (recognising that cultural norms and expectations would relegate their work to a secondary or inferior position) chose to publish translations under pseudonyms, suppressing their real names and in some cases their gender (Wolf, 2005; Castro, 2011; Martin, 2013). German translator and author Theresa Huber (1764-1820) published her translations using her husband's name, Ludwig Ferdinand Huber (Wolf, 2005), and Aphra Behn, a prominent sixteenth-century English writer and translator signed her early translations under the pseudonyms 'Astrea' or Mrs. A. B. (Martin, 2013).

Translation Studies research reveals a wide spectrum of discrimination against women translators stemming from the historical perception of translation as a reproductive, non-threatening and inferior activity. Women translators have had their professional lives restricted due to gendered societal norms; their freedom to choose the subject of their translations historically curtailed, credit for their work assigned to men, and the inability to publish under their own names, all of which has resulted in the marginalisation of women translator's contributions to cultural production.

2.3.3.4. *Women Translators' Resistance to Biased Gender Norms*

Despite the evidence that the categorisation of translation as reproductive has often resulted in it being assigned as 'women's work' and considered secondary, and the discrimination experienced by many women in the translation profession, research has also revealed women translators using their work to influence

their readership, promote their own, new or alternative ideas and to resist societal gender bias (Von Flotow, 2000; Castro, 2011; Hassen, 2011, 2018; Scholl, 2011; Johnston, 2013; Barcardí and Godayol, 2014; Brown, 2020). Martín Ruano (2005) argues that because of the social contexts and pressures translators are situated within, they rarely conform to the invisible, passive servant that a gendered discourse of translation promotes. Translation Studies scholars whose research has recovered the lives and works of women translators demonstrate that throughout history, many women have used translation, not as the 'humble option', but rather as a method of resistance and subversion of society's hierarchical gender norms imposed on them.

The scholars mentioned above have shed light on these women translators who operationalised the spaces available to them in their translations, both within the target text and paratext (prefaces, introduction, notes, etc.) to disseminate new and alternative intellectual ideas and promote causes important to them (such as the women's movement). Their translation practices and products were not secondary acts of subservience, nor did they reflect typical gender roles, but rather were a way for women to use translations and a translation career to transcend the societal gender biases and limited spheres they were situated within.

Von Flotow (2000) analyses the example of American bible translator Julia Smith (1792-1886), arguing that rather than being dismissed as secondary or inferior, her 1876 translation of the Old and New Testament was employed as a tool to champion the women's suffrage movement. Smith's translation was published to "make a deliberate political statement" by demonstrating the work of an independent female intellectual, and "pose a further ideological challenge to the status quo" (von Flotow, 2000, pp. 12-13). Smith's text was distributed through a network of women's rights advocates and was used as an authority by female activists for further publications regarding the treatment of biblical women in translation. Castro (2011) offers the example of Galician academic and feminist Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851-1921), who translated Mill's *The Subjection of Women* into Spanish in 1869. Mill's work is considered a foundational text for the philosophy

of the British women's movement and Pardo Bazán's translation introduced this and other feminist literature into Spain's reading public for the first time. Neither Pardo Bazán nor Smith could be considered to occupy a passive or non-threatening role as a translator, and rather than having their translations considered as secondary or inferior, their works served as tool for the promotion of women's rights in the late nineteenth century.

In addition to disseminating ideas surrounding gender equality, several nineteenth-century women used their translations to critique contemporary politics, especially issues surrounding empire and colonialism (both Blunt and Lewis authored travelogues that included critical views of British imperialism). Johnston (2013) examines the life and work of English translator Jane Sinnett (1804-1870), who translated the travelogues of Austrian ethnographer Ida Pfeiffer (1797-1858). Pfeiffer travelled throughout the British colonies, and Sinnet used her translations of Pfeiffer's colonial journeys as conduits for her own criticisms of British imperialism. Her "aggressive questioning" and tone in her translations seemed to reinforce her distaste for empire and anti-imperialist ideology (Johnston, 2013, p. 146). Sinnett regarded her translations of Pfeiffer's travelogues as important not only because of the commercial success of women-authored travelogues in Victorian Britain, but because she felt that as a German woman, Pfeiffer offered an outsider's view on the British empire that she hoped would "re-orient the perspective" of her readers, introducing them to alternative views that could inspire critical thinking regarding British involvement abroad (Johnston, 2013, p. 150).

A more contemporary example and differing approach to resisting gendered stereotypes in translation is discussed by Hassen (2011), in her analysis of women Quran translators. Translating from a language that uses grammatical gender (Arabic) into one that has natural gender (English) can produce a translation conundrum, as feminine imagery and concepts that are implicit within feminine marked nouns in the source language can be lost in the transfer to a natural gender language. Hassen (2011) outlines the example of the

Arabic word for "sun" (*shams)* which in Arabic is marked feminine. The feminine symbolism surrounding Quranic descriptions of the sun is often lost in English translations, with translators frequently rendering the item neutral or even marking it as male (Hassen, 2011, p. 219). One of the translators Hassen discusses, Laleh Bakhtiar (1938-2020), solved the problem of transfer loss by adding the letter 'f' in her translation beside words that are gendered feminine in the ST (Hassen, 2011, p. 220). While it might be considered interference in the TT, Bakhtiar's strategy ensures that Arabic words that take a feminine gender are not lost or rendered neutral when translated into English. Hassen argues that the highlighting and preservation of feminine imagery in translations of the Quran is particularly crucial in the current political climate, "because of the way Islam has been [negatively] perceived in stereotypes about gender and the role of women in society" (Hassen, 2011, p. 220).

2.3.4. Applying Intersectional Feminism to Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson

As has been shown above, much of the research into women and translation has had a primary focus on gender and its impact on both translation theory and practice. Drawing upon this research, in particular (a) the historical assignation of translation as feminine/secondary, (b) the discrimination faced by women translators, and (c) the methods women translators have employed to resist or subvert this discrimination, this thesis will analyse how these gendered issues affected and influenced the translation careers and practices of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson. However, just as translators do not work in a vacuum, gender does not operate in isolation, and will not be examined as such; rather, this research will be framed within the intersectional turn in feminist translation studies to analyse gender alongside other interlocking elements in the women's lives, such as class and religion, which will allow for a more inclusive and comprehensive analysis of the external and internal pressures on the women's careers and practices. This will provide a

deeper understanding of the trajectory of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's translation careers, their choice of source texts, individual translation strategies, and the reception and recognition of their work, adding to the corpus of intersectional approaches to gender and translation, and contributing to the recovery of women translators lives and works.

3. The Life, Career, and Translations of Lady Anne Blunt

This chapter examines the life and works of the Victorian aristocrat and Arabist, Lady Anne Blunt (1837-1917), analysing the role of gender alongside other identity signifiers, including class, and their influence over her translation career and practices. To determine how far gender and its intersections impacted her work, the chapter explores Blunt's life, career and publications using the following methods:

a. A close reading of historical sources pertaining to Blunt's childhood, marriage, travels and works.

b. A textual analysis of a selection of Blunt's translations.

c. The application of the theoretical frameworks described in Chapter Two to interpret the results.

This will provide a comprehensive examination of Blunt's translation practices at the textual level, alongside a broader overview of the internal and external pressures upon her life and career. As previous scholars have demonstrated (Meylaerts, 2006, 2013; Shamma, 2009; Castro, 2011; Hassen 2018) a thorough examination of the influences on a translator's life and the sociological context of their translations, encompassing their personal, social, and national circumstances, facilitates deeper insight into their translation approaches, strategies, and output, and in Blunt's case enables an assessment of the impact of gender, alongside other intersectional factors, on her work.

3.1. Primary and Secondary Sources

This chapter draws upon a corpus of archival primary sources to examine Blunt's early life, marriage, translations, and influences. These include a large quantity of Blunt's personal papers, correspondences, and diaries (which she kept daily from early childhood until her death), and which are currently held within the Wentworth Bequest at the British Library in London (BL ADD MS 53817-54155). The papers and diaries were examined to gather evidence of Blunt's translations, in addition to her interactions with the Arab world, her thoughts on her translation process, scholarship, and publications, and her personal and working relationship with her husband, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt. Because her relationship with her husband was fraught and they eventually separated in later life, her personal diaries reflect these tensions as she records the daily course of their marriage from its beginnings, through to its deterioration and aftermath.

Also drawn upon was a collection of letters, photographs and newspaper clippings belonging to Blunt's husband, held at the Houghton Special Collections Library at Harvard University in Massachusetts, USA (*Wilfrid Scawen Blunt Papers*, MS ENG 1235). This collection includes a small sample of Scawen Blunt's correspondences with publishers and acquaintances, as well as contemporaneous newspaper clippings regarding Scawen Blunt's political activism and reviews of the couple's publications. The collection provides insight into what Blunt's contemporaries thought of both her husband and the couple's published works. There were no diaries present, so the content does not echo the personal nature of the Wentworth Bequest.

In addition to utilising these publicly accessible collections, during the course of my research I was made aware of a portion of Blunt's unedited translation manuscript from her translation of the *Mu'allqāt*, prior to

its versification by her husband and publication as *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (1903). I had hoped to locate her translation manuscripts for both publications of the couple's pre-Islamic verse within the public archives, but they were not present. With no mention of their existence or possible location in the secondary sources, at earlier stages of my research I concluded them to be lost (as stated in my Qualifying Report). However, in March of 2015 further investigation resulted in an anonymous source revealing that Blunt's translations had indeed survived, and the source provided me with photographs of five pages of *Mu'allaqāt* translation from Blunt's notebooks, thus proving their existence. I conducted an analysis of the translations, but unfortunately, due to copyright issues and the requirement of anonymity from the source, I am not able to include the analysis or the translations themselves within this thesis. If the collection becomes publicly available at a future date, scholars interested in Blunt may be able to access them for further study.

Unable to incorporate the anonymous source's contribution into this thesis, I used the translation extracts and writings produced by Blunt and published by her daughter, Lady Judith Wentworth, for the purpose of textual analysis (*The Authentic Arabian Horse*, 1945), along with evidence recovered from the Wentworth Bequest. Several of the initial chapters of *The Authentic Arabian Horse*, which describe the breed's history and cultural heritage, were written by Blunt and published unedited by Wentworth, giving her mother a voice posthumously and revealing Blunt's views on the Arab world and Islam in addition to providing examples of her translations of pre-Islamic texts. Wentworth's book also provides insight and commentary on her parents' marriage and working relationship, offering a daughter's perspective on her mother's life and work. Like Blunt's diaries, Wentworth's account reflects her personal feelings on the discord of her parents' marriage and her own strained relationship with her father, and as such her opinions on Scawen Blunt are often unfavourable.

In 1986, portions of Blunt's diaries were published in the collection *Lady Anne Blunt: Journals and Correspondence,* edited by R. Archer and J. Fleming. The editors focused on diary entries and personal

correspondence related to Blunt's work as an Arabian horse breeder and the stud she founded, and so the collection reflects this interest. The volume has been used as a source for research when time and geographical constraints limited my access to the original copies of Blunt's diaries in the British Library.

Two biographies have been written of Blunt, the first by H.V.F. Winstone in 2003 and the second by L. McCracken Lacy in 2017. Winstone's biography focuses on Blunt's Middle East travels and relationship with her husband, and as such her translations are only mentioned in passing. Despite its lack of details on her translation work, the book provides a useful reference and timeline for important events in Blunt's life. The 2017 biography also focuses on her travels and the politics that surrounded her relationship with her husband, rather than her translation publications, but again is useful for corroborating information regarding Blunt's life. Both Behdad (1994) and Melman (1995) discuss Blunt's travels and travelogues within larger academic studies of women travellers and Orientalists, but again neither discuss her translation work. In Shamma's 2009 study of Victorian translators, he included a study of the Blunts' publications of pre-Islamic poetry. However, in an example of the marginalisation of women translators and their work, Shamma only acknowledged in a footnote that it was infact Blunt who was the sole translator of the poems, focusing his study instead on her husband's use of language in his 'versification' of her translations.

Except for a brief mention by Shamma (2009), Blunt's translations have so far been unexamined within Translation Studies, a gap which this thesis fills. As other scholars have demonstrated when recovering women's literary work (Arcara, 2007; Krontiris, 1992; Woods, 2011) it is important to understand the historical and sociological contexts and pressures women faced in order to draw conclusions regarding their decision-making practices. As such, using the sources described above, this chapter reconstructs Blunt's life and works chronologically, in addition to presenting a textual analysis of her translations to give an overview of how gender, understood to be working within an intersectional framework with other overlapping factors, impacted her career trajectory and translation output.

3.2. Biographical Analysis of Lady Anne Blunt

3.2.1. Blunt's Early Childhood

Lady Anne Isabella King-Noel, later known as Lady Anne Blunt following her marriage, was born in London on the 22nd of September 1837, the middle child between two brothers (Winstone, 2003, p. 21). The only granddaughter of Lord Byron, and daughter of the mathematician Lady Ada Lovelace and scientist Lord William Lovelace, Blunt's childhood was marked by family wealth, aristocratic privilege, and scholarly pursuits.

Blunt's parents, Lord and Lady Lovelace, followed aristocratic Victorian tradition in being both physically and emotionally distant from Blunt and her brothers, but they did express concern that their daughter grow to be an independent intellectual, and not a typical "Miss" only interested in "flirting and embroidering" (Lovelace in Winstone, 2003, pp. 23-24). Blunt's mother, Ada Lovelace, enjoyed a celebrated career as a mathematician and is now widely acknowledged as the world's first computer programmer (Woolley, 2009). Lovelace wrote that she hoped her daughter would become a metaphysician or mathematician, while Blunt's father wanted her to marry a man who would encourage her academic pursuits, rather than restrict her to a life of domesticity (Winstone, 2003, p. 22). Pursuing a scholarly life, her parents believed, would alleviate the "female misfortune" of her being born a girl (Lovelace in Winstone, 2003, p. 24).

To fulfil their ambitions of an academic daughter, Blunt was provided with a world-class education, far more than most Victorians (male or female) experienced. Taught privately within the Lovelace estates and overseen by her grandmother Lady Byron (Lord Byron's widow), Blunt spent her childhood being educated

by leading Victorian and European figures, including art lessons from John Ruskin, singing and music lessons when in Europe from Clara Schumann and "Madame Schubert" along with visits to Karl Mozart and Johann Strauss, and science taught by Dr. William Carpenter, one of the leading physicians of the late 19th century (Winstone, 2003, p. 83). The effort and expense were not wasted on Blunt, who was a both talented and dedicated scholar.

In addition to intellectual parents and an exemplary education, Blunt's childhood and adolescence were privileged by exposure to some of Victorian society's most influential figures, particularly those involved in the expansion of the British empire and Middle East exploration. Blunt noted in her diary the bedtime stories told to her by her aunt, the Middle East traveller and archaeologist Lady Hester Stanhope;

> I was born in that house [10 St. James's Square] and all my earliest recollections are there. None of them very delightful except that of my Aunt Hester coming and telling stories of her travels to us, the children. And of the room she slept in; her coming being a joy. (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 181)

Stanhope was an English aristocrat, explorer and early archaeologist who worked, lived, and eventually died in Lebanon (Hodgson, 2005). Her digs at Ashkelon (in what is now Israel) are considered the first excavations in biblical archaeology (Gibb, 2005), and the bedtime stories Blunt listened to were possibly her earliest exposure to the travel, study, and exploration of the Middle East, all relayed by a pioneering woman scholar.

Another childhood visitor was the family friend and eminent archaeologist Sir Henry Layard. According to Winstone (2003), Blunt would frequently listen to Layard discussing his finds at Nimrud and Nineveh (in modern day Iraq), including his 1851 discovery of the library of Ashurbanipal (p. 54). Layard's excavations in Iraq were continued by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and in 1858 a twenty-one-year-old Blunt was in the audience when Rawlinson presented his decipherment of cuneiform tablets from Ashurbanipal to the Royal

Geographical Society (p. 85). Also included in this circle of eminent Victorians were the Nightingale sisters; Florence and Parthenope, two of Blunt's closest childhood friends (p. 68). Her friendship with Florence Nightingale continued into her early adulthood; Blunt kept abreast of Nightingale's experiences in Turkey during the Crimean War and, following Nightingale's return to England, she worked with both sisters to raise money for medical supplies to be sent out to the Crimea (p. 85).

Whilst Blunt's societal position as an elite member of the English aristocracy meant that she benefitted from a high-quality education and influential social network, gender remained a discriminatory factor that positioned her as secondary to her brothers during her childhood. Although Blunt was the middle child of the three Lovelace children, she was last in line to inherit her family's wealth, titles, and estates due to the aristocratic practice of male-preference primogeniture. Blunt recalled this hierarchy playing out during childhood mealtimes, when her brothers would be served the choicest dishes as their health and well-being was prioritised, while she received leftovers or portions so small she often found herself hungry (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 181). In addition to experiencing the prioritisation of her brothers' welfare over her own, Blunt's mother and aunt died by the time she was a teenager, leaving her with only the male members of her immediate family to accompany her into adulthood. This intersection of gender and class meant that Blunt's childhood was influenced by both independent female role models (such as her mother Ada Lovelace, her aunt Hester Stanhope, and friend Florence Nightingale), alongside gendered aristocratic traditions, resulting in a childhood that, although privileged, was not immune from discrimination, and the manifestation of gender roles in Blunt's life which carried further into her marriage and work was complex and often contradictory.

Despite the discriminatory gender practices regarding inheritance, Blunt's childhood remained imbued with wealth, education, and an elite social network, placing her in a position of privilege compared with most Victorian girls. Viewed through the framework of Bourdieu's habitus, field, and capital, it is possible to

analyse and explore Blunt's youth in more detail alongside the intersecting factors of gender and class, to understand how much her childhood experiences impacted her later translation career and practices.

Blunt's habitus — defined by Bourdieu as an internal set of dispositions and principles garnered during childhood that "generate and organize [a person's] practices" (1990, p. 53) — was instilled with habitual and rigorous academic study from a young age, and she saw how education facilitated the careers of her mother and aunt. Blunt continued the practice of daily scholarship into her adult life, enabling her at the age of thirty-seven to undertake the learning of Arabic. She was a self-motivated and dedicated student, mirroring in her adulthood the academic rigor she had engaged in as a child.

Blunt's habitus was not only infused with the importance of intellectual scholarship, but also the importance of outdoorsmanship. Her grandmother, Lady Byron, believed that the best education for her granddaughter was one of academic study combined with learning about the natural world, and Blunt consequently spent many childhood hours out-of-doors honing her skills in horsemanship, husbandry, and agriculture, becoming a talented equestrian (Winstone, 2003, p. 31). This childhood familiarity with the outdoors, and the skills Blunt acquired, made her uniquely capable of handling the challenging expeditions she engaged in as an adult, traversing both the Sahara and Nefud desert of Saudi Arabia on foot, horse, and camelback, spending each night in camp. Thus, these two aspects of her childhood habitus, academic scholarship combined with outdoor expertise, were essential contributors to her success as an Arabic scholar and Middle East traveller.

As previously noted, Blunt's childhood exposed her to conflicting gender roles which influenced her habitus. As a daughter rather than son, she was aware of her inferior position within the family hierarchy due to aristocratic practices surrounding primogeniture, but on the instructions of forward-thinking parents who sought to counter the disadvantage her gender posed, Blunt was provided with an exemplary education

which equipped her with equal intellectual opportunities as an adult. She also witnessed the independent careers of her mother, aunt, and female friends, demonstrating that provided they had the social network, economic means, and intellectual capability (usually facilitated by their class position), the life of a Victorian woman did not have to conform to the traditional domestic role of the 'angel in the house', and the disadvantages of gender could be overcome. Blunt expressed enthusiasm for this alternative trajectory in a letter to her grandmother, Lady Byron, where she wrote that she did not want a life that followed the "course of a smooth river through a flat plain", but rather one that followed "the course of a rocky torrent descending from the mountains"(Blunt quoted in Winstone, 2003, p. 67). A habitus inculcated with critical thinking, physical skill and independent female role models meant that Blunt was uniquely equipped to take on a life of exploration and scholarship.

The Bourdieusian capital that Blunt accrued during her childhood was also an essential component to the success of her scholarly pursuits as an adult. Her societal position as a member of the English upper-class impacted all four categories of capital within Bourdieu's framework: Blunt's large economic capital was provided by her family's inherited wealth, which afforded her an extremely privileged lifestyle, growing up in stately homes, tutored by leading experts, and extensive travel abroad. Cultural capital was bestowed upon her by her parents and grandmother, who provided Blunt with an extensive education in a wide spectrum of subjects, including mathematics, science, literature, art, music, and languages. Her social capital, even as a child, was powerful due to her upper-class positioning within the Victorian aristocracy. By birth Blunt was a member of an elite network of Victorians and Europeans, including royalty, leading politicians, and the literati, which connected her to influential societal figures and, significantly, women who did not fit into traditional Victorian gender roles. Finally, the symbolic capital Blunt inherited from her grandfather, Lord Byron, should not be underestimated. Byron was considered a Victorian hero, a martyr who died fighting to emancipate the Greeks from Ottoman oppression, and as such Blunt was something of

an aristocratic celebrity. Although Lord Byron died before Blunt was born, his name opened doors both at home and abroad where "British communities came out in force" to meet her as did "the native intelligentsia" (Winstone, 2003, pp. 71-72). Byron's international fame and prestige meant that Blunt was welcomed by the local population wherever she went, easing the logistics of travel between communities and countries.

As for the Bourdieusian concept of field, one would not necessarily expect to find Blunt engaging with it at a young age, but she was exposed to the field of Victorian Orientalism during her childhood and adolescence, including the translation of Middle East languages. Blunt's social network featured some of the leading Victorian Orientalists and Middle East scholars of the time, including her aunt, Lady Hester Stanhope, and family friends Sir Henry Layard and Sir Henry Rawlinson. These interactions with contemporaries who travelled to, worked with, and studied the languages and cultures of the Middle East must have made the region seem much more accessible to the young Blunt than the average Victorian girl, and the fact that she was an eager recipient of the stories told to her by Stanhope and Layard, among others, shows that her interest in the region was piqued at a young age.

In summation, Blunt's childhood habitus featured academic discipline and an affinity for the outdoors that she would apply later in life to facilitate both the study of and travel to the Arab world. The capital provided by her family wealth, elite social network, and prestige of the Byron line meant that she was equipped with an extensive education and opportunities for further education and travel both at home and abroad. Blunt had access to the field of academic Orientalism from an early age and as a child was inspired by some of the nineteenth-century's leading Orientalists. Through these structures, gender and class also intersected. Discriminatory gender practices of the English upper-class meant that Blunt was aware of her secondary place in the family hierarchy and experienced inferior treatment compared to her two brothers, but conversely, she also witnessed how a superior societal position coupled with means and education allowed

many women within her social circle (including her own mother) to resist traditional Victorian gender norms, allowing them to forge independent, professional careers outside of the domestic sphere.

3.2.2. Gendered Power Dynamics of Blunt's Marriage

In 1866 at the age of twenty-nine, Blunt was introduced to her future husband, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (Winstone, 2003, p. 90). The woman who introduced them, Madame d'Usedom, had written to Scawen Blunt to tell him that she would find him "a nice rich wife", and felt Blunt would be a good match for him (Longford, 2007, p. 57). Blunt does not make any note in her diaries of their first meeting, but Scawen Blunt wrote later that his prospective wife;

> [w]as in every way one to make me happy; quiet and good and most distinguished with many gifts natural and acquired, a good musician and a better painter…it would be an ark of salvation for me I should be a fool to overlook. (Scawen Blunt quoted in Longford, 2007, pp. 57-58)

Scawen Blunt was neither an aristocrat nor particularly wealthy, but he was ambitious and came from a reputable family. He was a diplomat when Blunt met him, and an aspiring poet, so Blunt, with her combination of wealth and Byronic heritage appealed to him. He wrote later that the marriage "placed me almost in the rank of the world's sublimities" (Longford, 2007, p. 71). Whilst her first impressions of her husband are unknown, Blunt accepted his proposal and the couple were married on the 8th of June 1869 at St. George's Church in Hanover Square, London (Winstone, 2003, p. 100).

Unfortunately for Blunt, the marriage was a largely unhappy one. Her husband was domineering, controlling, and repeatedly unfaithful. According to their daughter, Lady Judith Wentworth, when her mother and father met Scawen Blunt was a "handsome and splendid but utterly lawless young firebrand

whose brilliant and hypnotic personality enslaved half the women in Europe and was destined to be her [Blunt's] first joy and her last tragedy" (Wentworth, 1945, p. 70). Whether Blunt was aware of her new husband's reputation is unclear. Regardless, Blunt fulfilled her role as a committed and dutiful wife and upon their marriage they began trying for a family to provide Scawen Blunt with the male heir he desired (Longford, 2007, p. 82).

Childbearing was fraught with difficulty and loss for Blunt. She became pregnant two months following her marriage, but the pregnancy ended with the first of recurrent miscarriages she would suffer (Longford, 2007, p. 74). Outlined by Winstone (2003), of the first miscarriage she wrote in her diary, "I was taken ill. And thus we lost the hope of having a child soon" (p. 106). Scawen Blunt became uneasy – he wanted a son and heir and "began to despair and to greet successive miscarriages as if it were entirely his wife's responsibility" (p. 108). For Blunt, the emotional and physical toll of so many losses was profound.

On the 14th of November 1870, to the couple's delight Blunt gave birth to a boy (p. 114). But the joy was short-lived. Three days later she wrote in her diary, "Had the little child in bed with me. He died on Friday morning at half past 2 [sic]" (ibid.). She suffered another miscarriage the following April, writing; "Today is a dark day for me, a day on which all the world seems blank and every little thing gives me pain, no future seems at all hopeful" (p. 116).

Then in March 1872 Blunt delivered premature twin girls; one died within hours of birth, the other a few days later. Of this loss Blunt wrote;

> It is better that my own child should die in my arms if it must die. I feel as if I could not bear anyone else to touch it. Oh, it was so lovely to me, it had feet and hands like its father and its voice went to my heart, and it opened its eyes and looked at me, how many times and the last time the eyes were open they saw me and I kissed the lids to shut them forever and I kissed my child's hands and feet and head. I kissed the mouth. (pp. 118-119)

Finally, on the 6th of February 1873, Blunt gave birth to her only child to survive infancy: a girl named Judith Anne Dorothea (p. 120). Blunt always acknowledged her daughter's birthday in her diary. On Judith's twentieth birthday she wrote, "This is the most valuable day of my life, so its anniversary is the happiest" (6th February 1893, BL ADD MS 53985). The couple continued to try and expand their family, but Judith was their only child. Blunt would suffer further pregnancy losses including the late-term miscarriage of a boy while travelling through Algeria with her husband. In a rare display of tenderness towards his family, Scawen Blunt wrote of the loss in his diary;

> In the silence of a moonlit night I went out alone and heaped with a bitter heart a cairn of stones where our hope lay buried…it was perhaps the blackest week of all my wandering life, a week of helplessness and self-reproach for having thus brought her [Blunt] into a wild land at such an untimely moment; of grief for what might have been to us both once more the joy of a male heir, not again to be granted. (Scawen Blunt in Longford, 2007, p. 98)

In a testament to Blunt's fortitude she continued with the journey through the desert, despite what must have been severe physical and psychological trauma, and although he expressed regret in his diaries about having placed Blunt in such a position, Scawen Blunt made no effort to cancel or amend their planned travels.

This hierarchical power dynamic, where Scawen Blunt's demands and well-being always took precedent, was typical of the Blunts' relationship and established early on, even prior to their marriage. In letters exchanged between them during their courtship Blunt addressed him as "My tyrant" or "Master", and in her later diaries and letters to her daughter she referred to him as either 'H.F.' (Head of Family) or 'H.H.' (Head of Household) (Longford, 2007, p. 71). Although this nomenclature may have been used as a private family joke, Scawen Blunt accepted the 'tyrant' role wholeheartedly: he was domineering and expected submissiveness from his wife. Their daughter stated that her father, "ruled all round him with the absolutism of a Turkish Sultan" (Wentworth, 1945, p. 76) and that her mother "was frightened of him from the start" (Longford, 2007, p. 72). Whether Blunt feared her husband is unclear from her personal diary entries, but

she was certainly treated as secondary in the relationship and expected to acquiesce to all his demands without protest. In one example, Blunt was forced to give up the violin playing she had been educated in since her youth, because her husband found the instrument "excruciating" and she was met with his disapproval if he came home to find her "fiddling" [Blunt's underlining] (Winstone, 2005, p.106).[3] In another example, during an 1871 riding trip through Portugal and Spain, Scawen Blunt decided to take up amateur naturalism, with the intent of bringing out a "Book of Birds" (Winstone, 2005, p. 115). He subsequently spent the trip "taking potshots at every bird in sight" with a view to having them stuffed and sent back to England (ibid.). Blunt, an ardent animal lover who would eventually turn her Egyptian home into an animal rescue "hated the idea but went along with it loyally" (ibid.) For her husband, marriage had no limiting effect on his actions, nor his extramarital relationships with other women. The respect and loyalty he demanded for himself was not afforded to his wife.

One could question why Blunt tolerated such a marriage for thirty-seven years before the couple's eventual separation, particularly as she was situated in such a privileged economic and societal position with no need of a husband for financial or social capital. However, in nineteenth-century Britain, a marriage with this gendered power dynamic was not unusual. Victorian women were expected to conform to a societal ideal of the role of 'the angel in the house', inhabiting a domestic sphere where their duties concerned motherhood, housekeeping and subservience to the authority of their father, husband, brother, or other male guardian. Conversely Victorian men had the freedom of the public sphere, engaging in education, commerce, politics, and law. Men were also permitted much more sexual freedom, even within marriage, a reality which women were expected to tolerate. Victorian society believed that men had "the fundamental right…to call on their wife at any time; it was a woman's duty to comply" (Goodman, 2013, p. 406).

[3] Blunt's instrument which she 'fiddled' on, a 1721 Stradivarius, was most recently sold at a 2011 auction in Japan to a private collector for a record-breaking US$15.9 million and named as one of the best-preserved Stradivarius' in existence (BBC News, 2011).

Moreover, because of a Victorian belief that all men possessed a strong sexual drive, they were permitted to engage in intimate relationships outside of their marriage (Goodman, 2013, p. 408).[4] Scawen Blunt himself justified his absences to his new wife after she had sent multiple letters inquiring after his whereabouts a few months into their marriage, writing;

> If I never went away but dined at home every night of my life our love would be smothered to death. I have a horror of getting overgrown by habits which hide all the beauty of life and even you would regret it if I became a sleepy idiotical [sic] husband. (Scawen Blunt in Longford, 2007, p. 78)

It is evident from her diaries that Blunt was disappointed with this arrangement ("I don't agree with Lady G. [Lady Gregory, one of Scawen Blunt's mistresses] having all the rose leaves while the thorns are kept for me" (Blunt quoted in Winstone, 2005, p. 218), which continued for the duration of their marriage, but she frequently wrote about it with a sense of resignation, noting in her diary on the 17th of March 1880, "Wilfrid dined out — I at home — such is life" (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 115). Regardless of her unhappiness Blunt tolerated her husband's behaviour until her final years, and it was within this context that the couple lived, travelled, and translated together, with Blunt inhabiting the role of the submissive Victorian wife while her husband was the patriarch with final sway over all family decisions.

At first glance, the influence of independent female role models from Blunt's childhood (Lovelace, Stanhope, and Nightingale) seemed to have had little impact on her approach to her marriage, and her husband's first impression of Blunt as "quiet" and "unobtrusive" (Scawen Blunt in Longford, 2007, pp. 57-58) would reinforce Wolf's (2006) theory that women translators could inherently possess a submissive translatorial habitus due to their secondary position in Western society. The dutiful role Blunt took on within

[4] However, although infidelity within marriage was technically justified within Victorian society, it could be frowned upon if excessive (as in the case of Scawen Blunt) due to Victorian moral code. Many Victorians subscribed to the idea that a man should "reign in his appetites" once married (Goodman, 2013, p. 406).

her marriage mirrors Simeoni's description of a translatorial habitus, where the translator is "the quintessential servant - efficient, punctual, hardworking, silent, and yes, invisible" (1998, p. 12). Blunt appeared to possess these subservient qualities, conforming to traditional Victorian gender norms and inhabiting the secondary role in her marriage, but as the years went on and the power dynamic between the couple became more strained, veins of independence and resistance to husband's dominance became more apparent.

3.2.3. Blunt's Middle East Travels

Although in England tension over Scawen Blunt's infidelities caused strain in their marriage, the Blunts' found themselves united during their travels through the Middle East where they experienced a temporary harmony in their relationship. Scawen Blunt wrote later that their travels through the Arab world were "our true times of marriage, more than in Europe, and they were happy times" (Longford, 2007, p. 95). The primary reason for this is that in the Middle East Scawen Blunt was monogamous to his wife – a situation that greatly pleased Blunt and one that she experienced nowhere else. Her husband wrote that his "pleasures in the East were not those of the flesh" and that during their travels there was "little time for thought still less for passionate longings bred of idleness" (Longford, 2007, p. 94). Blunt wrote in her diary of her happiness after returning from their first trip to Turkey, noting, "I have been almost too happy…I supposed in our being alone…and if we never make another journey I shall never be happy any more (in that way)" (Longford, 2007, pp. 95-96). This cohesiveness between the couple would be critical to their success and even survival during their Middle Eastern travels, as what started as commercial tourist excursions quickly developed into more serious exploratory expeditions.

It is not surprising that the Blunts would venture to the Middle East – prior to his marriage Scawen Blunt had been a diplomat and posted to Istanbul. Whilst there he became "disturbingly aware" of the differences between Christianity and Islam, and considered the city's clean, aesthetically pleasing and morally virtuous aspects due to its Muslim population, and its vices the fault of Orthodox Christianity (Longford, 2007, p. 25). Throughout his life he often had crises of faith and found himself disillusioned with Christianity, searching for answers elsewhere. In 1867 during his diplomatic posting in Buenos Aires, Scawen Blunt met the Orientalist and explorer Sir Richard Burton. He was left fascinated by Burton's stories of the Middle East and became "snared by the spell of faraway Arabia" (Simmons, 1987, p. 256). Following his marriage Scawen Blunt left the diplomatic corps (his new financial situation negated any need of employment) and turned to the role of poet, but was intent "to act my own part of hero in the world, not merely to be the bard of heroes" (Scawen Blunt in Longford, 2007, p. 93). By the 1870s the Middle East "dominated" Scawen Blunt's thoughts, and travel to the region fulfilled his desires for both religious enlightenment and adventurous undertakings (Longford, 2007, p. 126). Blunt dutifully followed alongside her husband, and all his Middle Eastern ventures were conducted in partnership with her.

Their first joint experience of the East was a trip to Turkey in 1873. From the outset they avoided traditional tourist routes and luxuries – the avoidance of anything Western (including people) would be a hallmark of all their subsequent journeys through the Arab world. Scawen Blunt wrote that their Turkey trip involved "bodily toil, of an abstemious habit in meat and drink, rough lying on the ground by night, endurance of sun, wind, and rain by day" (Longford, 2007, p. 94). Not only was the trip a portent of the manner of their future expeditions, it also offered the first glimpse of the Blunt's political leanings. Scawen Blunt found himself admiring of the perceived freedom of the Turkish population, in opposition to what he felt was too much government interference at home. He wrote that the Turkish people he encountered "could wander where they would, work or not work at their choice, bring up their children as they pleased, being free of

school boards and sanitary boards and all those restrictions and obligations which make our poor men's lives intolerable" (Longford, 2007, p. 95).

The following year the couple travelled to Algeria, again eschewing Western comforts, instead travelling by horse and camel alongside the local population. A resistance to European company is evidenced in their notes and diaries, and they chose the company of the Algerians over the French colonists. Blunt wrote disdainfully of passing "a wretched village of [French] colonists" on the eve of their trek through the Algerian desert, where they spent their final night before the journey in the local caravanserai, "Here we slept for the last time in beds" (BL ADD MS 54068). Despite the availability of European-style lodgings and provisions offered to them by the French, the Blunts chose to avoid colonial accommodations and slept in the Arab caravanserai. These initial rejections of colonial society would grow as the years passed and Scawen Blunt became a staunch anti-imperialist. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the couple's views were made explicit in their later publications and correspondences, where they often championed Arab nationalism, independence from colonial rule and (for Blunt in particular) the preservation of Bedouin culture from outside encroachment.

In the autumn of 1875 Scawen Blunt scandalised Victorian society after one of his extra-marital affairs became public, and the couple decided to escape the predicament by spending the winter in Egypt (Winstone, 2003, p. 131). This trip was the most challenging the couple had so far undertaken, trekking by camel and horse through the desert of the Sinai Peninsula towards Jerusalem. They experienced some danger when threatened with attack by local tribesmen and ran out of water, but rather than dissuade them from further travels, the challenges inspired the couple to learn more of Arab (particularly Bedouin) life, language, and culture (ibid.).

The following winter the Blunts set out on the first of two major expeditions to the Arabian Peninsula, which were far more demanding than any of their previous Middle East travels. The aims of the expeditions grew out of multiple interests the couple had. Blunt's childhood education in equestrianism had grown into an adult expertise, which she shared with her husband, and the couple had previously purchased three Barb horses in Algeria which they had exported to their estate in England (Longford, 2007, p. 120). Since then their interest in the indigenous horse breeds of the Middle East had grown, and both Blunt and her husband were intent on locating and purchasing purebred Arabian horses from the nomadic tribes of the Najd in Saudi Arabia, with a view to establishing their own Arabian horse stud in England. In addition to the search for purebred Arabians, the expeditions were backed by the Royal Geographical Society, as little was known about the interior of the Arabian Peninsula at that time, and Scawen Blunt was tasked with expanding and adding to RGS maps and knowledge of the region (Longford, 2007, p. 128).

The first expedition lasted from winter 1877 to spring 1878, where Blunt and her husband traversed the northern part of the peninsula, from Damascus through the Syrian desert to Baghdad. Later that year they returned for their second expedition and journeyed to the Najd region of central Saudi Arabia, where they crossed the Nefud desert. At the time only a handful of Europeans had completed the crossing of the Nefud, and Blunt was the first European woman to make the journey (Winstone, 2003, p. 157). The couple succeeded in contacting the tribesmen they had sought and purchased purebred Arabian horses which they transported back to England. Blunt subsequently established one of the most successful Arabian horse studs in Europe.

These two desert expeditions were dangerous and difficult, even for experienced Victorian explorers. They involved negotiating some of the harshest terrain and climate on earth. During the crossing of the Nefud desert Blunt described typical camp life in her travel journal:

> December 26th 1878: The tent was blown down during the night in a sandstorm and we crouched under its ruins till morning came, the wind still blowing but a little less furiously, and our eyes full of sand. (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, p. 59)

Despite the harshness of the conditions and dangers the couple faced, the Arabian Peninsula expeditions produced two positive outcomes in Blunt's life: a new interest and respect for the nomadic tribes of central Saudi Arabia, which her later writings and translations revolved around, and a deeper connection with Scawen Blunt – or at least the man he was in the desert.

Blunt cherished the time spent with her husband in what she came to call "our own desert" (Longford, 2007, p. 131), far removed from the societal pressure of Victorian high society. She wrote later of the romance and satisfaction the journeys had for her, "I think of the desert which I have lived in, and loved, and the wonderful and happy life we have led" (Longford, 2007, p. 100). The desert isolation provided Blunt with freedom from the emotional abuse inflicted by her husband's infidelities. Blunt wrote that their "minds were busy all day long with the things before us…A vivid present shut out our past and future, and even in moments of danger we had not time for the thought of death" (Wentworth, 1945, p. 167). Scawen Blunt shared his wife's feelings, writing that they were a "very competent travelling unit" (Longford, 2007, p. 123) and that in the desert they were, if only briefly, united: "What I thought she thought, what I did she did, what I felt she felt" (Longford, 2007, p. 95). Daily expedition life occupied every thought, and Blunt had no time to dwell on past hurts or future concerns.

Although the desert journeys brought Blunt a welcomed affinity with her husband, and a respite to the tension typically found between them, there is evidence to suggest that Blunt still found herself subservient to her husband's authority. The organizing and expediting of the journeys seemed divided along the same gendered hierarchical dynamic as their relationship back in England. Throughout their travels, it was Blunt who was the logistics officer, interpreter, note-taker and journal keeper (it was Blunt's expedition notes and

diaries that were used to produce maps of the region for the Royal Geographical Society). Scawen Blunt gave orders and expected his wife to fulfil them. Blunt's personal diary reveals her resentment at this dynamic and her displeasure at having her time consumed with 'domestic' tasks. On the 16th of December 1878 she wrote that she had to spend the afternoon in the Arabian desert "altering the stuffing of Wilfrid's saddle…a most annoying surprise to me" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 58). The following March she noted that she spent the day in Baghdad "packing, which I hate…Wilfrid only does his own share while I have the provisions to take with us, and the things to be sent home, besides my own particular clothes and books to look after" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 89). Their daughter would later write that her mother was "doctor, vet, saddler and universal provider", while her father "slept in the shade of his tent unconscious of any obligation to lend a hand" (Wentworth, 1945, p. 84).

Several scholars (Behdad, 1994; Winstone, 2003; Shamma, 2009) have interpreted this dynamic to mean that Blunt played an inferior role to her husband during their expeditions, relegating her contributions to the background role of a scribe-witness compared with Scawen Blunt's position as the primary explorer-orientalist. Conversely, Melman (1995) and Lacy (2017) argue that the reality was more nuanced, findings which my own research concurs with. Although Blunt appeared to fulfil the subservient role within their travelling partnership, she also benefitted from the responsibilities she took on. The cultural, linguistic, and equestrian expertise she acquired during the journeys provided her with the foundation for her future work as a leading Arabian horse breeder and respected Arabist. She also used information from her expedition notes and journals as the basis of research for her magnum opus on the Arabian horse (Winstone, 2003, p. 141), and within the scope of Victorian women travellers she was a pioneer — the first European woman to cross the Arabian desert — for which she was celebrated and respected. Whilst gender may have positioned her as secondary within her spousal relationship during the expeditions, the cultural and symbolic capital

gained from enhanced her already prestigious societal standing, and was the launchpad for her future endeavours.

The expeditions also offered Blunt a temporary reprieve from the social norms of English upper-class society, a liberation she found nowhere else. She rode upfront alongside her husband rather than behind, and because she was the better Arabic speaker of the two was always involved in daily expedition decisions or negotiations (Winstone, 2003, p. 152). She was also armed with a revolver, prepared to defend herself if the need arose. Blunt rejected her guide's advice that she would be safer if she stayed on foot in the middle of their travelling party, replying that should they be attacked she would "stick to my mare and my gun, for without these I should be perfectly helpless" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 96). Blunt was determined to have agency over her person and be in control of her fate, rather than being left defenceless and reliant upon others for protection.

It was Blunt's capital, rather than her husband's, that ensured the success of the two Saudi expeditions. Blunt's economic capital meant the couple could spend months abroad at a time, paying for lodgings, provisions, guides etc., whilst leaving the running of their estate and their daughter in the care of staff back in England. Both her habitus and cultural capital had imbued her with a passion and expertise in all aspects of equestrianism, enabling her (rather than her husband) to oversee and execute all the equestrian logistics of the expeditions. She was far more than a competent horse rider; she also had the knowledge needed to expertly recognise the anatomical and temperamental qualities needed in the Arabian horses the couple wished to export back to England to establish their stud. In addition to providing evidence of her dissatisfaction at the unequal burden it placed upon her, the quote above about having to stuff Scawen Blunt's saddle also provides an insight into Blunt's professional expertise - saddle stuffing is a task usually reserved for a professional.

Judith Wentworth's assessment of her mother's role in the travelling partnership is accurate: Blunt shouldered the bulk of the logistics, organizing, packing, equine care and interpreting whilst attending to her husband's daily needs. At the same time, she considered these journeys the happiest periods of her marriage, far removed from the constraints (for her) and distractions (for him) of English society, and where she enjoyed a freedom from the gendered expectations placed upon her. The couple battled equally through the physical and psychological hardships brought on by extremes of climate and terrain, sharing the highs and lows of their desert explorations. Blunt was the first European woman to cross the Nefud Desert in Saudi Arabia, her journals were used to fill in gaps in anthropological and topographic knowledge of the region, and her selection of Arabian horses for export founded one of the most successful Arabian horse studs in Europe. She later used the notes and knowledge of Bedouin culture that she gained during the expeditions as the basis for her final book on the history of the Arabian horse. Rather than positioned as a marginalised or inferior contributor compared with her husband during these expeditions, I would argue that Blunt was the cornerstone to the success of these journeys, and without her dedicated effort and expertise the achievability of them would have been in question.

3.2.4. The Blunts and Orientalism

The Najd expedition was the last of the explorative travels the Blunt's conducted. Scawen Blunt was prone to bouts of ill health, and during their final expedition he contracted dysentery, which proved near fatal, and made further challenging journeys impossible (Longford, 2007, p. 148). Despite this limitation, the couple's connection with the Middle East continued and on the 17th of February 1882 they purchased a farm outside of Cairo on the edge of the Sahara, where they wintered annually for the following twenty years, and where

Blunt would eventually move to permanently, living out the final years of her life in Egypt (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 149).

Following their return from the Arabian Peninsula the couple became dedicated Arabists. For Blunt's husband this meant involvement in Middle East politics, which was at the time intertwined with European, particularly British and French, imperialism. Scawen Blunt was a staunch supporter of Arab nationalism and publicly, politically, and financially supported the unsuccessful 'Urabi Revolt, a revolutionary movement led by Ahmed 'Urabi, an Egyptian military officer who led an uprising from 1879-1882 against the British and French influenced Khedive. He railed publicly against British colonialism, not only throughout the empire to the east but also in Ireland where he was a fervent supporter of Home Rule.[5] His reputation became such that the British government considered him a dangerous radical, and during the 'Urabi Revolt Lord Houghton wrote to *The Times* calling for Scawen Blunt to be shot as a traitor (Longford, 2007, pp. 182-185; Winstone, 2005, p. 200). In *Orientalism* (1978), Said singles out Scawen Blunt as the only Western Orientalist to resist typical hegemonic Victorian attitudes of superiority and dominance towards the Arab world.

Blunt also supported and was involved in her husband's political endeavours, but her private and public writings indicate that her true passion (alongside the preservation of the pure-bred Arabian horse) was the long-term independence and preservation of tribal culture of Saudi Arabia from external influence, rather than the political machinations of the day. Upon her return from Najd she set about expanding her knowledge of Arabic and Arab literature, in particular that of the nomadic tribes who she had met during the Arabian Peninsula expeditions, whom she considered to be the most "*asil*" or noblest Arabs (and by this

[5] Scawen Blunt became involved in Irish politics in the 1880s, to the extent that in 1887 he was arrested in Ireland for organizing meetings in support of the nationalist cause and sentenced to two months hard labour in Galway gaol, a sentence which he served in 1888 (Winstone, 2005, p. 230).

distinction possessed the purest bred Arabian horses) (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, p. 33, 1986). There is racial bias in Blunt's interest in the Najd culture of central Saudi Arabia. She thought them the most "authentic" Arabs, because historically they were the descendants of the pre-Islamic peoples of the region and retained much of their pre-Islamic culture and traditions (Melman, 1995, p. 298). In addition, both Blunt and her husband saw in the tribal hierarchy a reflection of the British class system and their own aristocratic way of life, equating the Arabian Sheikh with the English 'country squire' and as such held a preference for those tribesmen whom they considered to be the most blue-blooded (ibid.). Blunt's interest in the tribes of the Najd and their specific strains of Arabian horses resulted in a lifelong commitment to championing the protection and preservation of their culture, culminating in her manuscript on the history of the Arabian horse, published posthumously by her daughter, as part of Judith Wentworth's book *The Authentic Arabian Horse* (1945). As such, Blunt's writing and actions meant that like her husband, rather than adhering to the dominant trends of Orientalism which perceived the Arab world as an exoticised fantasy or an inferior region to be exploited and controlled, Blunt used her publications to voice support for the independence, protection, and preservation of Najd culture against external influences.

3.2.5. Restrictions on the Scope of Blunt's Scholarship

The gendered power dynamic between the Blunts was multi-faceted. In the Middle East, Blunt was provided with relief from the tensions within her marriage produced by social pressures at home (namely her husband's public infidelity). She was also provided with a freedom from gendered European expectations of her, as she was responsible for the logistical facilitation of the expeditions, able to ride astride and armed as she wished, and was responsible for her own safety at the head of the travelling party. Once the couple returned to England however, the hierarchical and gendered nature of the marriage was more acute,

particularly regarding Blunt's intellectual and scholarly freedoms, which were overseen, controlled, and restricted by her husband.

Blunt had picked up conversational Arabic throughout the couple's travels, but upon their return from Najd she pursued the study of Arabic daily, a passion that would continue for the rest of her life. Her teacher was the Syrian journalist and political activist John Louis Sabunji (1838-1931), who taught her for many years and who often checked her translations or discussed points of uncertainty with her (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 155). As the years went on, Arab languages, literature, and culture became Blunt's "absorbing interest" and she built a reputation as a respected Arabist, frequently hosting Islamic scholars and European Orientalists to discuss academic research (Wentworth, 1945, p. 74).

Despite Blunt's academic talent, her intellectual freedom was restricted within the parameters of her marriage, where traditional Victorian gender norms were adhered to: Scawen Blunt controlled her work, overseeing what Blunt read, studied, and translated. Not only was he controlling of her scholarship, but he could also be extremely critical of it. Their daughter Judith wrote that her father would "throw cold water" on Blunt's writing to the extent that she sometimes abandoned or destroyed work he had criticised – indicating how far his influence affected her self-esteem and confidence in her work (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 479). In September 1881 Blunt wrote that after reviewing a portrait she had painted of him, Scawen Blunt stated that she "ought not to attempt 'flesh' painting, and other discouraging things which so affected me that I rubbed out my work" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 142).

Blunt's study of Arabic was firmly under her husband's control. An entry from her diary demonstrates this power struggle between the spouses, and the patriarchal hierarchy that always seemed to prevail:

> My professor was to be expected — he came at 10 and staied [sic] till 1 — we read some *Moayyad* during which H.F.[6] passed through the garden room and said to A. Effendim [Blunt's professor] in a patronizing tone "I would like the *sitt* [Arabic for 'lady'] to translate some of that book" pointing to the *Aghani*, and by way of informing me not to read the *Moayyad*. (30th December 1902, BL ADD MS 54010, my additions in square brackets)

The year of the above diary entry is 1902, by which time Blunt was 65 years old and had been studying Arabic for almost thirty years. She was a respected Arabic scholar, spoke at least five other languages fluently, had been the first European woman to cross the Nefud Desert, and had established one of the most successful Arabian horse studs in Europe. Yet despite Blunt's many accomplishments and her childhood observance of independent female role models, the gendered power dynamic between the couple was constant and it was rare for her to be treated as an equal by her husband. Scawen Blunt was always 'Head of Family', interrupting her Arabic lesson, speaking directly to her teacher rather than to her, and dictating what Blunt should study and translate. Despite the couple's shared respect and appreciation of the languages, literature and culture of the Middle East, and the common bond they had found during their travels there, the hierarchical nature of their relationship and the tension it caused between them was always present.

3.2.6. The Blunts' Travelogue and Editorial Control

Following their expeditions of 1878 and 1879, the Blunts published their first joint work, a two-volume travelogue of their Arabian Peninsula journeys. Volume One was titled *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (Blunt, 1879) and was followed two years later by Volume Two, *A Pilgrimage to Nejd* (Blunt, 1881). Throughout their travels Blunt kept extensive, detailed, and scientific daily notes in her travel journals, writing down geographical, geological, historical, and anthropological points of interest.[7] She also sketched

[6] "H.F." stands for "Head of Family", the moniker Blunt used for her husband in her letters and diaries.
[7] These travel diaries are currently housed in the British Library as part of the Wentworth Bequest.

throughout the journeys to compile a pictorial record of their journey. Scawen Blunt then collated and edited her journals to produce the two-volume travelogue. During the production process, Blunt made many entries in her personal diary noting that it was her husband who was writing the travelogue for publication, while she was tasked by him with the copying up of his efforts:

25th July	Wilfrid wrote a good deal and I copied as much
26th July	Wilfrid wrote all the morning and I copied
31st July	Wilfrid went down at an early hour to go on writing the book and get volume I done for tomorrow…I went down afterwards and began copying…the rest of the day was spent in W. writing and I copying, got volume I finished

Table 1: Copying up the Travelogue (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, pp. 52-53)

While Scawen Blunt used his wife's journals as a foundation for his writing of the travelogue, both volumes were published under her name, with Scawen Blunt acknowledging his role only as 'editor'. Despite him occupying a seemingly secondary role to his wife in this regard, Blunt's diary entries provide the evidence that his role was much more authorial than editorial. Prior research has noted that Scawen Blunt's writing of the travelogue reworked Blunt's journals "in excess of the wildest hopes of the most zealous editor", altering her portrayals of individuals, events, and time frames to the extent that the published volumes often vary greatly from Blunt's original notes (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 13). One of many examples is the brotherhood ceremony Blunt's husband took part in with Faris, Sheikh of the Shammar tribe. In Blunt's journal it is described thus:

> Faris said in the afternoon to Wilfrid that he wished to be "akhook el youm wa baad." [your brother, today and always] Wilfrid in reply proposed they should swear brotherhood, which they did each holding the other's belt in the form described by Mr. Skene: "Walahi, Billahi, Tleahi", each repeated several times, then "akhooan". I think Faris was very much pleased. He wishes to dine in our tent, 'with his brother', and he spent most of the evening here talking. (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 22)

In the published travelogue this four-sentence journal entry was expanded by Scawen Blunt into a two-page description of the ceremony. Whilst using the journal entries as a starting point to then expand on for the published work would be expected, to assign its authorship publicly to Blunt is clearly inaccurate – it was her husband's literary creation using Blunt's work as a basis. Despite this arrangement, the resulting impression was (and continues to be) that the two volumes were written solely by Blunt, a fact she would come to resent as the years passed due to this misattribution of her work.

The extract above also reveals an important aspect of Blunt's writing that was a feature of her translations (which will be discussed in detail later in this chapter): her sparse and unemotional style, where events are recorded with pinpoint accuracy, lacking in any embellishment or exoticisation. Both Melman (1992) and Behdad (1994) used Blunt's travel journals as an example of European work on the Arab world that resisted Said's theory of Orientalism and avoided nineteenth-century literary tropes that exoticised the Middle East, or positioned its people, places, and culture as inferior to the West. One reason for this could be the gendered professional dynamic that existed during the couple's expeditions and reflected traditional Victorian gender roles: as the woman in the partnership, Blunt was considered outside of male-dominated Orientalist field and therefore not subject to its literary trends or stereotypes. Although her efforts formed the foundation of the couple's publications on the region, it was her husband who was classed as the professional Orientalist. Upon their return to England, it was Scawen Blunt who presented their work to the Royal Geographical Society. Blunt had to sit silently watching her husband's speech, while he read from her notes (Behdad, 1994, p. 97). Because Blunt was placed outside of the field of professional Orientalism, instead of reconstructing the Arab world through a filtered Orientalist lens, Blunt recorded every event and interaction with precision, allowing the Arabs she wrote about to "represent themselves" rather than speaking for them (Melman, 1992, p. 297).

Blunt's personal diaries reveal that her main regret over being named as the author of the travelogue stem from what she considered mistakes within it, both in the body of the text and her sketches that were included. Blunt's two primary concerns lay in the inaccurate opinions included in the travelogue regarding the breeding of the Arabian horse, and in the imprecise reproductions of her sketches by the publishers. Her diary entry for the 25th of May 1879 reads:

> One tiresome printers blunder is that the pedigree of Arabian breeds of horses is placed at p. 273 in Vol 2 where it is mentioned, and Wilfrid in ending his chapter says "I add a table…" etc., and no table is given. I am also annoyed that Murray has let the outside picture done by Wilfrid be spoiled. The Bedouin's keffiyeh is pulled off his face and a long nose substituted for the piece that should cover the face. Then he is no longer riding Beteyen's mare but a curiously altered creature, head neck and legs having been 'improved'. Then all my careful drawings, except those few of which I saw proofs before leaving, have been tinkered and minced by the engravers, my camels made the awkward animals they are presented as by people who never saw one except perhaps for five minutes in the zoological gardens, and my horses are turned into kadishes [horses with no pedigree] such as you may see in the streets of London. (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 108)

Blunt's daughter Judith expands on her mother's objections further:

> Lady Anne Blunt was very anxious to correct certain mistaken first impressions, gathered from the northern Arabs and the British Consul, Mr. Skene, at Aleppo, which were embodied in her books, Pilgrimage to Nejd and Bedouins of the Euphrates. These included the usual "El Khamsa" and some of Mr Skene's views about "out-side strains," which were not true desert traditions, and a few of the Abd el Kader inventions. These impressions had always been more those of Mr. Blunt that her own, but she was so much concerned about the impossibility of withdrawing them that she never could bear to hear the books mentioned. (Wentworth, 1945, pp. 31-32)

Her daughter's words and Blunt's diaries make clear the dissatisfaction she felt: the publisher's 'improvement' of her sketches had rendered them inaccurate, and because the travelogue was the product of her husband's writing, his views on the historical pedigree of the Arabian horse infiltrated the text, views that she did not agree with and did not want her name associated with. Upon receiving the first copy of *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* (the first volume of the travelogue), Blunt noted in her diary that she wrote

to the publisher and "spoke my mind as civilly as I could about what I don't like", although to her dismay these errors were never corrected in later editions (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 109).

Blunt's frustration with the imprecision of the travelogue did not dissipate over time but seemed to heighten as the years progressed. Twelve years following the publication of *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphra*tes, she wrote of her horror when the Bishop of Salford told her that he had read and enjoyed her book: "That book's authorship *will* stick to me. Such are the consequences of allowing my name to be put on the title page" (Blunt's emphasis, Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 231). The following year, in October of 1892, her irritation was apparent again when she was asked to write a newspaper column:

> I am trying to compose an answer to the effect that I cannot compose columns or anything else. It is very tiresome that everyone fancies I am a writer. I shouldn't mind only I can't do it, and nobody believes one's explanation because of W. [Scawen Blunt] having fatally insisted on sticking my name on the book of <u>his</u> travels. (Blunt's emphasis, Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 244)

This extract demonstrates Blunt's exasperation at being assigned authorship to a text that was not her work, the content of which she did not agree with, and also reveals her opinion of herself as outside of the literary field. Blunt's frustration at being considered the author of *Bedouin Tribes of the Euphrates* and *Pilgrimage to Nejd* is made clear in her diaries. She is unable to reconcile her bent for accuracy and precision with the inaccuracies in the travelogue that bears her name, and she was embarrassed to be associated with work that she considered to be her husband's. She would not make the same mistake again and the power dynamic between them seemed to shift slightly towards Blunt, as she became more insistent on agency and correct assignation over her work. For the couple's next joint venture — two translations of Arabic literature — the role played by Blunt and her husband, and the division of labour between the two, was made explicitly clear.

3.2.7. Blunt's Arabic Translations of Pre-Islamic Poetry

Her disappointment with the travelogue notwithstanding, Blunt agreed to collaborate with her husband on two further projects: two translations of Arabic literature. The translations were the final joint works the couple pursued. Removed from the isolation of the desert and returned to English society, their marriage deteriorated, but their work together on the translations provided a final shared bond.

The couple's first published translation, *The Celebrated Romance of the Stealing of the Mare* (1892) is a story translated into English from the medieval Arabic epic, the *Sirat Bani Hilal.* The epic is an oral poem whose precise date of composition is unknown but is believed to have been performed since the 14th century AD, and the content passed down orally through generations. It is composed in the Egyptian dialect and relates the exploits of the Bani Hilal tribe as they travelled from the Arabian Peninsula to Egypt in the 10th century AD.

The Blunts' second translation was published eleven years later. *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (1903) is also a translation of Arabic oral poetry, but the source is older than the *Sirat Bani Hilal*. The seven poems, known today as the *Mu'allaqāt*,[8] are pre-Islamic, composed by seven poets from what is now central Saudi Arabia in approximately the sixth century AD. Today the *Mu'allaqāt* are considered a foundation stone of Arabic literature, representing "the most precious literary heritage of pre-Islamic Arabia" (Bushrui and Malarkey, 2015, p. xxxiv). *The Seven Golden Odes* deal with similar themes to the *Stealing of the Mare*, celebrating the heroic deeds of the seven tribal warrior-poets and relaying their adventures in love and battle.

[8] Nineteenth-century Arabic transliteration was not standardised. In Blunt's personal diaries and notes she varies the spelling of *Mu'allaqāt*, writing Moallaka, Moallakat or Moallakate at differing intervals.

Echoing the production process of the travelogue, the published versions of both translations were edited and 'versified' by Blunt's husband, who used her translations from Arabic to English as a foundation for his verse. It is therefore not Blunt's translations that the audience is reading, but rather Scawen Blunt's poetry. This is apparent from the paratexts of both translations, where, unlike the travelogue, there is no ambiguity regarding the division of labour between the couple. Added to the cover title and title page are the words "*Translated from the Original Arabic by Lady Anne Blunt. Done into Verse by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt*" (for *The Stealing of the Mare*) and "*Translated by Lady Anne Blunt. Done into English Verse by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt*" (for *The Golden Odes*). Blunt's personal correspondence confirmed this arrangement, as she wrote to a friend, "the translating is mine alone, the poetry H.F's [Head of Family]" (15th August 1903, BL ADD MS 54129).

3.2.8. The Gendered Dynamics of the Blunts' Translation Process

The tense power dynamic between the couple was apparent during their work on the translations of *The Stealing of the Mare* and *The Golden Odes*. Scawen Blunt was the dominant overseer, insisting on long hours of work from his wife who, as she had with the travelogue, provided him with a foundation (in this case translations from Arabic to English) which he turned into verse for publication. However, although Blunt is positioned once again in the seemingly inferior, reproductive role of translator while her husband occupies the position of producer-creator-poet, as with all their previous joint ventures, it was Blunt's contribution that made the end result possible. Not only did she shoulder all the translation work, her diaries reveal that she also provided her husband with the biographical and historical research that he used for his introductions and notes to the translations and in addition was the responsible party for correspondence with the publishers, rendering her position essential rather than secondary.

Blunt was first introduced to the *Mu'allaqāt* during one of her earliest Arabic lessons. Whilst in Cairo, her diary entry for the 19th of November 1880 reads, "I had my first Arabic lessons from Habib Jamati…he has the merit of having brought me the moallaqat of Lebid" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 117). Over the next twenty years Blunt would study, learn, and work on translating the seven *Mu'allaqāt*, whilst Scawen Blunt also spent several years working on the versification of her translations. An entry for the 20th of July 1901 reads, "Visit of Professor Yorke Powell. H. F. [Head of Family] read aloud under the verandah the 2 Moallakas (of Imral Kais and El Harith) 'done' complete into English poetry, these the professor admired immensely and approved he being an Arabic scholar and authority" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 285).

In the final year before publishing the *Odes* the pace of work intensified, and Blunt's diaries reveal her daily effort on both the translation and the historical research. On the 8th of May 1903, Blunt wrote "Some talk of Moallakate I have to look out 7 lives of 7 poets also material for notes" (BL ADD MS 54011). Four days later Scawen Blunt wrote to her, saying "Don't forget to let me have the biographies of the seven Moallakate writers. The rest I can manage" (BL ADD 54089-54129). Researching and writing up notes for a biography on seven pre-Islamic Arabian poets would be no small task today, let alone in 1903 and particularly given Blunt's bent for exactness and precision in her work. From May through to September she worked continuously on the project. The following is a selection of Blunt's diary entries during this period, revealing her daily work on the Arabic translation, the biographies of the seven poets, and the historical notes which were included at the end of the published *Odes*:

13th May	Looking through for lives of poets all the morning
14th May	Busy with life of Zoheyr and of Imra 'lKays
27th May	H.F. before I went handed me proof sheets of Zoheyr and Lebid <u>his</u> version. [Blunt's emphasis]

30th May	Could in fact hardly spare time as the collating of three readings of the Moallaka keep me busy
31st May	After luncheon more writing (Moallaka)
6th June	I found that the Arabic work would take every minute I could spare
7th June	All day long with exception of short walk with H.F. hard at the Arabic texts and no chance of finishing before tomorrow night
15th June	…between 11 and 12 when there were still some house details to be finished I was called off by H.F. to look through the Imra 'lKays poem and to give details of the account of that poet's life
22nd June	First part of day occupied by Tarafa's life and Moallakate finishing up with H.F. who also wanted the 4 lines by El Khismik (T's sister) lamenting him, translated
6th Sept	I go to bed and do some Moallaka when in it
9th Sept	Was occupied by looking through with H.F. the Moallakat notes. We have today finished all but El Harith and Amr ibn Kolthum

Table 2: Mu'allaqāt Process (BL ADD MS 54011)

It is clear from her diary entries that the translation of the *Odes* dominated this year of Blunt's life, taking priority over all other duties and tasks – the power dynamic shifting to favour Scawen Blunt's demands on her time and academic prowess. In the August she wrote to a friend that the translation had been "some years on hand" and that the stanzas were "tough morsels" to work on, but despite the challenge of the source text, she was pleased with the result of her translation and Scawen Blunt's verse (15th of August 1903, BL ADD MS 54129). Noting that she was "astounded" at Scawen Blunt's "genius of giving that ancient Arabian desert tone combined with beauty of language in English", she wrote that when the translation was published, she hoped her friend would "read it and perhaps care for it", stating that the text is "a window into a strange world…and mostly extremely romantic" (ibid).

Her public praise for Scawen Blunt's poetry, and her appreciation of the subject matter notwithstanding, working with her husband was a strain for Blunt. The camaraderie of their desert travels was gone, and the years had not softened Scawen Blunt's domineering personality, nor curbed his infidelity, which sowed seeds of deep resentment. In March 1898, after almost thirty years of marriage, Blunt wrote in her diary that "he will do as he pleases and it is no use trying to stick to people who don't want one. Of course not to be wanted is mortifying, but I ought to be used to it after all these years" (Winstone, 2003, p. 277). The year prior to the publication of the *Odes* Blunt wrote:

> He wastes his regard on his poetesses and other admiring feminine acquaintances – friends I will not call them. But he might leave some crumbs for those who really do care for him and really are more capable of appreciating him than these people who amuse themselves with him. (BL ADD MS 54011)

Blunt's diaries make plain her disappointment with her husband's personal behaviour, along with her exasperation at the working conditions she was subjected to during the translation process of the poems. On the 15th of June 1903 (a day which had been spent collaborating on the *Odes*), Blunt wrote that her husband spent the afternoon "asking in presumptory [sic] tones" if she had completed parts of the work "as if faultfinding" (BL ADD MS 54011). Two months later as the project was drawing near completion, she wrote that Scawen Blunt had sent a telegraph to inform her that he and several guests would unexpectedly be arriving at the estate that afternoon (ibid.). Having to suddenly host guests at the estate would no doubt have caused Blunt extra work, but she writes "however that does not matter. What was exhausting was his demands on my time and brain for finishing up notes to moallakat which I had to help about however worn out and sleepy" (ibid.). Her diaries reveal her frustration at his behaviour, but at the same time an obligation to comply, illustrating that Scawen Blunt remained, at that time, the patriarchal, dominant partner in the working relationship, although it was Blunt who provided the material essential to its success. In this manner the translation and versification of the seven *Mu'allaqāt* was completed and *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* published at the end of 1903. It was the couple's final collaboration.

3.2.9. Marital Separation and Emancipation

The translation of the *Mu'allaqāt* was the final collaborative effort between Blunt and her husband. For over thirty years she had publicly stood by him, but without the translation projects to connect them the relationship disintegrated, and she sought physical, emotional, and intellectual independence. Her journals and correspondences in the final years of their marriage reveal more explicit bitterness towards Scawen Blunt, not just over his personal conduct but also his literary freedoms. In a letter to her brother a few months following the publication of the *Odes*, Blunt described her frustration at 'domestic' duties preventing her from not writing a history of Egypt, and her anger upon finding out that Scawen Blunt had taken the project for himself:

> Wilfrid has plunged vigorously into…writing that history of Egypt that was to have been compiled by me. It had been already settled not to go on with the Unwin arrangement [the publisher] – the conditions were too burdensome, and after that although I meant to have done something independently I found myself so hampered by the duties of "domestic life" (however truly undomestic it be in reality!) that I could never carry out such a labour. Whereas Wilfrid whose lot it is to be waited on can write as much as he likes. (31st January 1904, BL ADD MS 54129, Blunt's emphasis)

Here a shift is detected in Blunt's identity. The earlier years of self-depreciation and a lack of confidence in her abilities are noticeably absent. At the age of sixty-seven she writes confidently of her wish to take on the role of author for the Egypt book, and of her exasperation at the gendered power dynamic of her marriage which left Scawen Blunt free to appropriate her literary projects, whilst she was restricted and forced to forfeit her literary aspirations for domestic duty.[9] By 1905 the couple avoided each other's presence and were living in separate parts of the estate. In a turning of the tide, Blunt wrote of her resistance to his control: "If I ever did care to 'follow' [Scawen Blunt] I am far from doing so now! Never again" (Archer and

[9] Blunt had always resented her domestic responsibilities and their impingement on her freedom: "How I hate the housework…I cannot sacrifice all my life that remains to this sordid work" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 294).

Fleming, 1986, p. 307). Although at this time the couple were not formally separated, the physical independence that resulted from separate living quarters meant Blunt enjoyed a certain amount of freedom from her husband's criticism and oversight, and she began to author and publish independent literary work for the first time.

Encouraged by her daughter, on the 23rd of December 1905 Blunt had a review she had written of a book on the history of the thoroughbred horse published by *The Speaker* (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 308). It was the first time her own writing had been published, uninfluenced and unedited by her husband. In it she wrote a searing critique of the author's work which she felt contained "staggeringly sweeping generalisations" and "speculations…so bewildering that it leaves the reader's mind oppressed with unsolved puzzles" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, pp. 498-500). The author's history of the Arabian horse was, according to Blunt, "haunted all the while by a sense of the unreality of the scene" (ibid.). Blunt's own words in print for the first time corroborate what her personal travel journals had previously shown: an insistence on accuracy and the communication of facts over embellishment or exaggeration to provide reliable information to the reader.

In 1906 Blunt and her husband officially separated (Longford, 2007, p. 363). The separation was not amicable and there was extended and bitter legal wrangling over the division of the stud and estate (ibid.). Following a meeting with her lawyers on the 12th of June, Blunt wrote that "whatever happens I will have *no more partnership* – what I have must be mine and mine only" (Blunt's emphasis, Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 312). This statement reveals her eagerness for independence and to finally escape Scawen Blunt's patriarchy that had dominated her life. On the 1st of August she wrote of her final day at the family estate before departing for Egypt: "Lovely day the last at Newbuildings where almost all traces of me will be effaced…Farewell to Newbuildings after 37 years!" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 314).

Blunt not only left the family home, but left England entirely and moved permanently to Egypt, where she took up residence at 'Sheykh Obeyd', the couple's Cairo farm whose ownership was transferred solely to her as part of the couple's separation agreement. She wrote in her diary of her relief at the transaction being completed, "I am happy in being actually owner of a home of my own. I cannot say what a reposeful feeling is the sense of possession; now for the last years of my life there is a place I cannot be turned out of" (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 319). Her physical and financial emancipation achieved, Blunt took one final step to gain full intellectual freedom, wrestling her manuscript on the history of the Arabian horse from Scawen Blunt's control. Her diaries show that she worked daily on what she termed her "horse book" until the final days of her life (Archer and Fleming, 1986, pp. 374-389). In 1913 she sent a draft to her husband who responded, still critical and attempting to exert his authority despite their separation, that "certain chapters I should be very sorry to see published…I propose to write the introduction, treating the scientific part which she has done very badly", even arguing that he had "a claim to do this" (Scawen Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 479). What claim Scawen Blunt felt he had over Blunt and her work following their separation is unclear, but unlike years prior when his criticism would cause her to doubt her ability and prevent her from continuing, Blunt would brook no more dismissal of her work. At the age of 76 Blunt had gained physical, financial, and intellectual emancipation from the man who had dominated and dictated her adult life. Her diary entry for the 7th of September 1913 proves this new independence:

> Now about H.F.'s letter. He wants to re-write my book, although it is like the curatic egg, good in parts, and might be "developed" if there were omissions of what is not "worthy". I shall thank him for his letter and ask him to return me my writings which I will read with his remarks alongside and then I will answer what he says. But I can have no more joint work. Whatever I do I will be responsible for, and it shall be mine alone. I being the worm that has turned. (Blunt in Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 361)

Blunt had, at the end of her life, embraced her physical, economic, emotional, and intellectual independence from the gendered, hierarchical dynamic of her marriage. Scawen Blunt continued to try to maintain control over her work, publishing an anthology of 'his' poetry, *The Poetical Works,* in 1914. Within it he included

almost 150 pages of his versification of Blunt's translations of *The Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* and *The Stealing of the Mare* (Scawen Blunt, 1914, pp. 75-217). In a further example of the marginalisation of women translators and their work previously demonstrated by Woods (2010) and Castro (2011), not only did Scawen Blunt fail to acknowledge that these poems were translations from Arabic, but nowhere in the paratext did he indicate that it was in fact his wife who was the translator and that the poems had been previously published — with the translation correctly accredited to her — in 1892 and 1903, instead claiming their creation as his own.

Despite his continued attempts at interference following their separation, Blunt and her academic work were at last free from Scawen Blunt's control. She had total agency over her actions and lived out the remainder of her life at Sheykh Obeyd, writing the 'horse book', riding her horses and camels out into the desert, and hosting a steady stream of eminent Arab and European visitors. Her separation from her husband did not diminish her societal standing, her class position, social network or economic capital, and her travels, translations and expertise as an Arabist were well-respected, enabling her entry into the field of Orientalism independently of Scawen Blunt. Regular visitors to Blunt at Sheykh Obeyd were members of the Arab Bureau (a branch of British Military Intelligence) who considered Blunt's home a "favoured refuge" for meetings, and included T.E. Lawrence, David Hogarth, Everard Fielding, and Gertrude Bell, key players in the planning and execution of the 1916-1918 Arab Revolt (Winstone, 2005, p. 313). On the 16th of November 1916, Blunt wrote in her diary of an "absorbingly interesting visit" from Hogarth and Fielding, who told her that Bell had done "most valuable work at Basra" and that she was confident that the "Intelligence Dept. as to Arab matters is now very well served" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 379). Blunt had first met the younger Bell in 1904, a member of the next generation of English women Arabists, and the two held each other in high esteem, there being "so much we both care about" (Blunt quoted in Winstone, 2005, p. 303). Bell was a frequent visitor to Sheykh Obeyd, and their friendship meant that Blunt's life

connected three centuries of prominent Victorian women Arabists, beginning with her aunt, Lady Hester Stanhope (1776-1839) relaying stories of the Middle East to her as a young child, and finishing with her friendship with Gertrude Bell (1868-1926) who would go on, following Blunt's death, to become one of the most prominent English women Arabists.

Blunt's final months were filled with excitement as she had finally completed the manuscript for the 'horse book'. On the 21st of October 1917 she wrote that she had shown it to Hogarth, who as well as being the acting director of the Arab Bureau was also an acclaimed archaeologist and keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University. Her excitement palpable, she wrote happily that "Mr. Hogarth says he may *perhaps* be able to arrange for printing privately a few copies at the Govt. Press!!!" (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 389). Unfortunately, Blunt would not live to see her book in print. The following month she suffered a bout of dysentery from which she did not recover (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 390). She died and was buried in Cairo on the 15th of December 1917, at the age of eighty (ibid.). An obituary titled *Nomad and Scholar* in a British Newspaper called her a "distinguished personality" with "many rare gifts", and continued:

> A fine Arabic scholar, some of her translations of Arabic classics have been done into verse by her husband, Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, of Newbuildings, Sussex. The most learned Moslem students accepted her as an authority on disputed passages. Of a nomadic temperament, she had travelled in many wild lands and was a brilliant horse and camel rider. Her stud of Arabian horses, collected in her desert travels, is famous; her book on the breed was finished only a few weeks before her death, on the edge of the desert. (*The Midland Daily Telegraph*, 24th Dec 1917)

The author of the obituary is unknown, but it is revealing because despite her husband's seemingly dominant and primary role in both their public and private lives, he is mentioned only as the versifier of her translations. Rather than being described in gendered, inferior terms as a travel companion, appendage or supporter of her husband's work, Blunt's achievements are recognised as her own. Clearly accepted into the academic field of Victorian Orientalism on her own merit, she is described as a "scholar" and "authority"

on Arab literature, and the stud, Arabian travels, translations, and her 'horse book' are all correctly credited to her. Despite traditional Victorian gender roles which could have positioned her as secondary, along with Scawen Blunt's control permeating throughout her adult life, Blunt's capital, particularly her class position and independent wealth, alongside her academic expertise, meant that she was able to live and work independently in the final years of her life, was accepted into the field of Orientalism as a separate entity from her husband, had both a voice and influence, and was publicly respected and celebrated for it.

Blunt's daughter, Lady Judith Wentworth, furthered her mother's legacy and provided public visibility for her work by publishing portions from the manuscript of the 'horse book' as part of Wentworth's own work on the Arabian horse in 1945. Within its pages Wentworth wrote about her mother's life and work at length, stating that Blunt had spent almost her entire adult life working tirelessly in the shadow of Scawen Blunt. Wentworth published sections of her mother's work unedited as the initial chapters of the book, which describe the ancient history of the Arabian horse. The chapters are the culmination of Blunt's lifetime of research on the culture of the Najd and include translations and historical information from pre-Islamic sources regarding the types of horses and equestrian traditions of the nomadic population at that time. The chapters also contain a public call from Blunt for the preservation and protection of Najd culture, to "preserve as a precious relic and memory of past ages this voice of the men of Nejd [sic]" (Blunt in Wentworth, 1945, p. 313), a motivation that helps explain Blunt's precise rendering of her STs without exaggeration or hyperbole (a textual analysis of which will be presented in the following section). With the aim to accurately record and help to preserve a culture she greatly respected, Blunt translated as exactly as possible, with little to no engagement with typical Orientalist trends of dominance, exoticization, or reconstruction according to Western preferences. In her travel journals, translations and final work, Blunt sought to communicate the culture of the Najd free from interference or embellishment, allowing her readers

to “hear the voice of Nejd before time and civilization have beaten us and silenced it forever” (Blunt in Wentworth, 1945, p. 313).

3.3. Textual Analysis of Blunt’s Translations

A fact-based, rather than reconstructed, representation of Arab culture, were key features of Blunt’s work on the Middle East, both in practice and on paper, as a way of resisting the hegemonic Orientalist approaches to the Arab world of exaggeration and dominance. In *The Authentic Arabian Horse* (Wentworth, 1945) Blunt explained that for the original reciters of the *Mu’allaqāt* (published by the Blunts’ as *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* in 1903), precision was of utmost importance: “the alteration of a single syllable was an unforgivable offence and absolute ruin to the culprit’s reputation” and the poems had to be “depicted with vigour, simplicity and truth” (Wentworth, 1945, p. 109). She argued that the traditional verses were “simple and unadorned by the imagination of journalistic Orientalism”, contrasting Orientalist images of the Arab world as a place of exoticism and excess (ibid., p. 141). She was also critical of prior English translations of pre-Islamic literature, privately calling past translations of the *Mu’allaqāt* “ridiculous renderings” (BL ADD MS 54129) and stated that the Arabic translations of fellow Victorian and Arab horse enthusiast William Tweedie (*The Arabian Horse: His Country and People*, 1894) were “extraordinarily painful” (Wentworth, 1945, p. 190).

Blunt’s disapproval of Orientalist translations of Arabic literature, and her belief that Bedouin texts should be rendered with an exacting simplicity, is reflected in her translation practices and the resulting TTs that will now be analysed. Echoing the stylistic features of her travel journals, Blunt prioritised a close rendering

of the ST and respect for the SC in her TT. In this vein, the result of Blunt's translation strategy is a precise and minimalist translation, avoiding Orientalist tropes of Western superiority and exaggerated racial stereotyping.

As has previously been discussed, it is not productive to use the two translations of pre-Islamic poetry the Blunts' published for the purpose of textual analysis (*The Stealing of the Mare*, 1892; *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia*, 1903) as they are the end result of Scawen Blunt's poeticisation of Blunt's translations from Arabic. Her original translations of these published texts, while in existence, are not currently publicly accessible. Instead, the analysis will examine portions of Blunt's translations gathered from her posthumously published chapters within Wentworth (1945), her personal papers in the Wentworth Bequest at the British Library (which include items published by Archer and Fleming (1986)), and those retrieved by myself during field work at the British Library in the summer of 2014. These include:

- An English translation of a medieval short story about the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid, written by the 8th century Arab poet Abu Nuwas. Blunt's TT — dated the 30th of September 1880 — along with three lines of ST is from one of her Arabic notebooks in the Wentworth Bequest (BL ADD MS 54064). This is the earliest example I have been able to locate of Blunt's Arabic to English translations, written one year following the couple's return from the Arabian Peninsula. It offers a productive analysis as it reveals her approach to her translations and stylistic tendencies from the very beginning of her Arabic studies.
- Blunt's translation from Arabic of the genealogy of a strain of Arabian horse called the Dahman Nejib. A first draft of the translation manuscript is in the Wentworth Bequest (BL ADD MS 54141), but the ST is not present. This first draft is published as an appendix in Archer and Fleming (1986, pp. 491-497), and an additional final version is published as a chapter in Wentworth's *The Authentic Arabian Horse* and credited to Blunt (1945, pp. 206-211). Although there is no ST to compare her

translation to, the existence of the initial and final draft is fruitful for analysis as it reveals if, where, and how Blunt made herself visible in the final published TT.

- A selection of Blunt's translations of pre-Islamic texts regarding the history of the Arabian horse, published in Wentworth under the chapter titled "The Golden Horsemen of Arabia: Days and Deeds" (Wentworth, 1945, pp. 109-117).
- Finally, Blunt's discussions surrounding the translation of Arabic to English of equine terms, along with her Arabic-English equestrian lexicon, also published in Wentworth (1945, pp. 316-325).

The examination of these sources clearly illustrates Blunt's translation strategies, which will be analysed in the following sections: her resistance to nineteenth-century Orientalist translation norms of exaggeration and exploitation, her preference for an accurate representation of both her STs and SC in her TTs, and her focus on the promotion and preservation of Najd culture.

It should also be noted, whilst recognising that the use of the terms "accuracy" or "accurate" when describing a translation has historically been the subject of wide debate within Translation Studies, often tied to concepts of equivalence and norms (Toury, 1978; Venuti, 1995; Schäffner, 1998; Pym, 2010), for the purposes of this thesis the definition of accuracy is understood to mean "the extent to which a translation matches its original" (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 2014, p.3). It encompasses a translation style that communicates the content of the ST in a spare and limited way, neither adding large amounts of superfluous text in the TT, nor omitting significant portions of the ST from the translation.

3.3.1. Blunt's Sources for 'The Horse Book'

Whilst the manuscript of Blunt's manuscript on the history of the Arabian horse was never published in its entirety, the portions that were included posthumously within her daughter's *The Authentic Arabian Horse*

(1945) offer insight into Blunt's translation strategies and opinions on the translation of Arabic literature, specifically pre-Islamic literature that details the history and culture of the Arabian horse. Blunt wrote that she categorised information on the subject into three groups, or "voices": first, the "Inner Circle of Nomad Central Arabia" which she also termed "The Nomad Voice of Nejd"; second, the "Outside World of the East"; and third, the "Outside World of the West" (1945, p. 86). Blunt believed only information from the first voice, the "Inner Circle", could be trusted to provide credible information on the history and culture of the Arabian horse, as the Bedouin has their "own, original local tradition" regarding it which developed in isolation and independently from external influences (ibid.).

The second voice she considered to be the Islamic Arab world, which had diluted information on the Arabian horse and Najd culture due to it having "grafted" onto it, "a fantastic fabric of romantic legends" and "pious inventions", connecting the history of the Arabian horse to Islamic beliefs and traditions rather than tracing its roots further back to the pre-Islamic age (1945, p. 86). The third and final voice, that of the West, comprised of Orientalists and other interested Europeans who, according to Blunt, had "eagerly repeated" the "myths" and "highly coloured inventions" of the Islamic voice and Arab world beyond the Najd, and whose writings on the horse could not be considered reliable or convincing as they had no more "authority as to real history than Greek mythology (1945, p. 95). Unlike Blunt they had not travelled to the region, which she considered "inaccessible to the ordinary traveller or resident in the East" (Wentworth, 1945, p. 135). She was therefore placing herself in a position of authority on the subject, unlike other Westerners who had "quoted, misquoted and repeated ad nauseum" information they had gleaned from sources outside of the Najd (ibid.).

Because of Blunt's belief that later Islamic and European sources were unreliable regarding the history of the Arabian horse, she exclusively mined the very earliest Arabic texts from the region for information when writing her chapters on the horse's heritage and nomadic culture surrounding it. Her diaries provide an account of the years she spent reading through many volumes of pre-Islamic literature extracting and

translating applicable references (Archer and Fleming, 1986; BL ADD MS 54011-54013). In addition to using extracts from the *Mu'allaqāt* and *Sirat Bani Hilal* for her historical chapters, Blunt also identified and translated horse-related references from three other texts: the *Kitab al-Aghani*, or *Book of Songs*, an encyclopaedia of Arab poetry ranging from pre-Islamic times to the ninth century A.D.; the *Hamasa*, an anthology of Arabic literature also compiled in the ninth century; and the multi-volume work *Ayyam al-Arab*, or *Days of the Arabs*, an heroic epic chronicling tribal warfare on the Arabian Peninsula between the fifth and seventh century A.D..

Blunt's use of these earliest sources, and her dismissal of later writings influenced by Islamic or European perspectives, reveal her determination to relay only what she considered to be the most reliable information on the cultural heritage of the Arabian horse, free from elaboration, exaggeration, or distortion. She wanted to provide her readers with historical facts gleaned from her translations rather than fictional tales, and above all else sought to accurately represent the history and culture surrounding the Arabian horse in her work. This preference is seen in several discussions she wrote about concerning the mistranslation of equine terms stemming from Najd culture. In one example, she described how she had often heard the Arabic word "hadudi" used by Europeans to describe a stallion prepared for breeding, but had never heard the term "in Arab mouths" and questioned its provenance (Wentworth, 1945, p. 139). She later discovered that it was indeed an inaccurate term adopted by Europeans, which in Najd culture was only used in relation to camels, not horses (ibid.). The correct term for a stallion in this circumstance would be, according to Blunt, "shebban" from "y'shebb" (*to serve)* (ibid.). Not only had this term been lost in the information transfer between Najd and European horse breeders and replaced with "hadudi", but at one point the correct term, "shebban", was misheard and misunderstood by a prominent American political cartoonist and Arabian horse breeder named Homer Davenport (1867-1912). Davenport had visited the Najd and purchased horses there in 1906, and then distorted the word into "chubby" in English, producing a strain of Arabian horse in the US dubbed the "Chubby Strain", causing confusion when the physique of the Arabian horses did not

match their "chubby" moniker (Wentworth, 1945, p. 139). Blunt acknowledged the problems these confusions in knowledge transfer cause, writing in a footnote that Davenport's translation error "is how history is made", emphasising how inaccuracies in translation can lead to misconceptions and misrepresentations of the SC (ibid.).

3.3.2. Use of Transliteration in the Target Texts

One text that demonstrates Blunt's dedication to a precise rendering of her STs is her translation of the genealogy of an Arabian horse called the *Dahman Nejib*, of which there are two translation manuscripts extant: the first is held in the British Library (BL ADD MS 54141) and was also published by Archer and Fleming (1986). This manuscript has a note appended to it written in Blunt's hand, stating that the TT is a "rough translation but has to be put in shape", indicating that it is an initial draft of the ST that she needed to work on further prior to publication (BL ADD MS 54141). The second version is her finalised TT published by Wentworth, which is accompanied by a paratext in the form of an introduction written by Blunt explaining the ST provenance and her translation process (1945, pp. 206-211). Since there is no ST present in the British Library or, to the best of my knowledge, located elsewhere, it is not possible to compare Blunt's TTs with the original Arabic. Yet, both the paratext and the TTs are worthy of analysis because of the insight they provide into Blunt's approach to the translations; and also to identify where Blunt has added, removed, or changed lexical items between the two TTs and to understand why.

In the paratext to the finalised translation published in *The Authentic Arabian Horse* Blunt explained that her TT was a "translation from a copy in Arabic of the original document, which Prince Mohammed Ali was kind enough to have written out for me, the books of the Abbas Pasha I collection now being in his hands" (Wentworth, 1945, p. 206). Abbas Pasha I (1812-1854) ruled Egypt between 1848-1854 and was a leading breeder of Arabian horses; in fact, Blunt purchased many of his stock when his stud was sold off in

the late nineteenth century. Among his large collection of texts on Arabian horses was the genealogy of the Dahman Nejib line, which was copied by an Egyptian scribe and presented to Blunt by Prince Mohammed Ali Tewfik (1875-1955), a member of Egyptian royalty and a keen Arabian horse breeder, who had inherited the Pasha's collection of equine literature (ibid.).

Blunt used the paratext to the Dhaman Nejib translation to highlight the fact that the ST is original "Bedouin testimony" regarding the initial mare of the strain and therefore considered by her to be the most reliable source for the history of the bloodline rather than drawing on external Arab or Western writings (Wentworth, 1945, p. 206). The paratext provides further insight into her translation process and motivations by revealing that her friend and estate manager, Mutlak al-Batal, assisted her with the translation of culture-specific lexical items in the ST (ibid.).[10] Describing him as "my guide in translation", she uses his full name and tribal identity to reinforce his linguistic expertise as a member of a prominent Najd tribe: "Mutlak el Batal el Muteyri of the Dushan (the clan of El Duish, supreme Sheykh of the Muteyr tribes)" (ibid.). By confirming his position as a tribe member, she is indicating to her readers that she possessed the cultural and social capital needed to produce a factually correct rendering of the ST, as she had his cultural expertise to rely on. Blunt elaborates further by stating that the scribe who had copied down the ST for her had made spelling errors when writing out culture-specific Najd words, as they were "unacquainted with the terms currently in Nejd tribes about their horses" and so she had called on al-Batal's expertise to "verify many of the words and phrases" which had "been written unintelligibly by the Egyptian copying scribe" (ibid.). Here she not only reinforces al-Batal's cultural knowledge and linguistic proficiency — thereby lending credibility to her TT — but she also underscores Najd culture as the "Inner Voice" with its own unique language and traditions, separate from the rest of the Arab world (ibid.).

[10] al-Batal managed the Egyptian estate, Sheykh Obeyd, that the Blunts' had purchased as a couple and which Blunt received as her own property following her marital separation.

The aim of Blunt's translation was to provide an accurate record of the lineage of this specific strain of Arabian horse, which is essential to enable breeders to trace their stock from. As such, both of her TTs can be difficult to follow for someone unfamiliar with the content and style of the ST (which is reminiscent of the patriarchal genealogies in the Old Testament), but Blunt did not seek to rectify this by either domesticating her TT, or adding footnotes or other extratextual gloss to make it easier to read. She changed little between her initial translation and the final version published in Wentworth. She did not add excessive or irrelevant text, rather, the changes she did make strive to improve the clarity of the lineage in her TTs, rearranging the word order, adding numbers to identify the offspring of the original mare, and according to Archer and Fleming, giving her "editorial comments" in square brackets and additional words to improve understanding in round brackets (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 491). The following extracts from each TT reveal Blunt's insertions:

Blunt's First Draft (Archer and Fleming, 1986, p. 492)	"…when Ibn Fursan died she [the mare] foaled a filly in possession of the widow and children, that she died and the filly was suckled by a black ass belonging to the widow and because of the black ass she was called Dahma [the strain was called Dahman]. Afterwards the widow sold this filly to Ibn Azeyran of the Asam of Khatan and her stock multiplied with him."
Blunt's Published Translation (Wentworth, 1945, p. 207)	"1. The mare, when Ibn Fursan died, remained with his widow and children and foaled a filly (2) and died. 2. The filly was reared by a black ass belonging to the widow and was called Dahmeh (the dark one) because of her being fed by the black ass. Then Ibn Azeyran of the Aasem of Qahtan bought her from the widow, and with him her produce multiplied."

Table 3: Blunt's TTs of the Dahman Nejib ST (1)

Both TT examples show Blunt's clarifications; in the first draft she has inserted information in square brackets to confirm the identity of the initial mare at the head of the lineage, and then the name of the strain. In the published TT she has gone further, numbering the first mare and her descendants to make the genealogy easier to follow (the numbering system goes up to seven). She has also added the translation of *Dahmeh* in brackets following the transliterated name of the strain ("the dark one"), to help explain the

following line that tells of the filly being named after the black ass. As a leading breeder of Arabian horses, Blunt approached her translation with the interests of a stud manager rather than professional or literary Orientalist, and her insertions were made to support the clarity of the information being relayed. She did not employ Orientalist literary tropes that exaggerated or stereotyped the SC and her lexical choices preserve much of the ST in its transliterated form.

It could be argued that Blunt's lack of domesticating practices, and her transliteration of Arabic names in her TTs heighten the 'otherness' of the SC, leaving the Western reader unfamiliar with Arabic names and terminology with a challenging TT to follow and resulting in an foreignised or exoticised TT by default. The following extracts provide further examples of Blunt's retention of Arabic names and titles in the TTs, and in the final, published version she has inserted an additional epithet for one of the officials in question, adding "Supreme Sheykh of Muteyr" to clarify the tribal role of Wathban al-Duish:

Blunt's First Draft (Archer and Fleming, 1986, pp. 491-492)	"One (a mare) of them he gave to Ibn Aleywa of Ajman with whom the stock increased to three Dahmehs and who would not part with any of them until at length in the days of Wadban el Duish they were taken from him by force (when) Mujeyham el Dheyyi of the Beraat of Muteyr and Salim ibn Aleywa el Ajmani claiming the three Dahmehs."
Blunt's Published Translation (Wentworth, 1945, p. 207)	"…and he gave one of them, 3. a mare, to Ibn Aleywa of Ajman with whom they increased to three [that means three with the dam]. But in the days of Wathban El Duish supreme Sheykh of Muteyr, Mujeyham El Dayyi of the Beraa tribe of Muteyr claimed from Salim Ibn Aleywa El Ajmani the three Dahmehs, who would not let them go until they were taken from him by force."

Table 4: Blunt's TTs of the Dahman Nejib ST (2)

Whilst the practice of retaining and transliterating Arabic names and titles in her TTs may accentuate the otherness of the SC, I would argue that this is not due to a purposeful strategy of exoticisation like those

employed by other Orientalist translators such as Sir Richard Burton, who often sought to emphasise the differences between the Arab world and the West by presenting the Middle East as a faraway region with a strange and unfamiliar culture. Instead, knowing the purpose of the ST and context of her translation, I would contend that Blunt had to render the lineage precisely for the bloodline to be able to be traced accurately. She therefore could not change, limit, or omit the Arabic names and titles of the owners of the horses, or those that indicated time periods, no matter how unfamiliar or exotic they may have seemed to readers of her TT.

Whilst — as has been previously noted — Blunt wrote of her distaste for Orientalist norms regarding the translation of Arab literature and the heritage of the Arabian horse, her aim in her translations was to communicate a precise picture of Najd culture rather than a reconstructed Victorian portrayal, even if that meant acknowledging that the Arabic language can, in certain contexts, be more detailed and elaborative than English. It can therefore be understood that, for Blunt, this meant shedding light on the fact that the nomadic tribes of the Arabian Peninsula used many more lexical items for equine terms than those found in English. In *The Authentic Arabic Horse* (1945), Wentworth included her mother's Arabic-English equine lexicon as an appendix, titled "Lady Anne Blunt's Records of Arabic Words: Concerning horses and showing the overpowering predominance of horses in influencing the language" (pp. 316-325). The lexicon provides an extensive list of Najd equestrian terminology collected by Blunt and is a demonstration of her extreme attention to detail, for example the section entitled "Trotting" consists of a list of fourteen different Arabic words and their definitions for "trot" (1945, p. 318), ten different Arabic words for "neighing" (1945, p. 324), and fifteen different Arabic words for "fiery – hot headed" (1945, p. 321). The following table provides examples of entries in the lexicon:

Arabic	**English**
Shantah	Full Gallop
Aghyath	(He gallops. Yessru—A Kahtan word)
Ghara	He galloped

Wilaf	Gallop, Galloping
Karraba	
Kamsan	
Harf	
Nakala	
Rakdet	
Khayyal	
Kamasa	
Maltan	
Nakkal	
Nakeel	
Harraj	

Table 5: "Gallop" from Blunt's Arabic-English Lexicon

Whilst it could be argued that this type of lexicon accentuates the "otherness" and foreignises the Arab world by highlighting the differences between the English and Arabic language surrounding the horse, I would counter that rather than being motivated by a desire to spotlight the unfamiliar, the lexicon provides further evidence of Blunt's continual pursuit of precision in her rendering of Najd culture, and her wish to represent the language and traditions as authentically as possible. At the same time, the lexicon serves to relay the message to the reader that the culture is unique and reinforces Blunt's call for its protection and preservation from external influences.

3.3.3. Use of Archaisms in the Target Texts

Whilst in the Dahman Nejib translation Blunt avoided literary tropes due to the factual content of the ST, in her translations of pre-Islamic literature she employed a poetic and literary style familiar to her readers through the use of archaic language and phrasing. Blunt's 1880 translation of a story by eighth-century poet Abu Nuwas — located within one of her Arabic notebooks in the British Library and the earliest translation sample found for this research — includes the words "verily", "shewed", and "thus", providing her TT with a sense of the historic provenance of her ST (BL ADD MS 54064, see Appendix 1 for a full version of this translation). Likewise, Blunt's translations included within Wentworth (1945), which had been rendered

during the thirty-seven years following the translation of the Abu Nuwas story, also all feature archaic language and sentence structure, proving that Blunt deployed this method throughout her Arabic translation career. One example published in Wentworth from the *Day of the Arabs* reads:

> Then beheld I the steeds with tails aloft closing upon ye with that same aloftness of camels refusing their remnant of milk. Took I part with the horsemen that day of Awara when pierced I with lance below the quiver of El Mutamattar. (1945, p. 111)

Blunt's choice of "steeds", "aloft", "ye", "lance" and "quiver" all add to the sense of a historical romance, and her phrasing reflects traditional renderings of ancient texts, writing "beheld I", "Took I", and "pierced I", rather than 'I beheld', 'I took' and 'I pierced', again giving the reader the impression of an ancient ST.

Blunt's husband also employed archaisms for his versification of *The Stealing of the Mare* (1892) and *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia* (1903) and is important to consider how his strategies may have influences her own.[11] Shamma (2009) argues that Scawen Blunt's use of archaic language in his verse was a strategy of domestication intended to equate pre-Islamic poetry with that of Western chivalric romance, a literary genre familiar to the Blunts' Victorian audience, and which would serve to elevate Arab culture to a level above the dismissive Orientalist trope which categorised it as uncivilised or inferior. He wrote in his

[11] A short extract from the published *Mu'allaqa* of Imru' al-Qais in the *Seven Golden Odes* reveals the extent of Scawen Blunt's archaic rendering, noting that his use of the strategy is much more frequent than Blunt's:

> Fátma, nay, my own love, though thou wouldst break with me,
> still be thou kind awhile now, leave me not utterly.
> Clean art thou mistaken. Love is my malady.
> Ask me the thing thou choosest. Straight will I execute.
> If so be thou findest ought in thy lover wrong,
> cast from thy back my garments, moult thee my finery.
> Woe is me, the hard heart! When did tears trouble thee
> save for my soul's worse wounding, stricken and near to die? (1903, p. 5)

paratext to the *Odes* of his appreciation of Arab culture and its literary styles, and his belief that it exerted influence over Western literature, tracing a line back from Medieval European stories of the knight errant to the adventures of the pre-Islamic desert warriors (1903, p. xiv). Blunt's own motivation for the use of archaic language in her TTs is not as clear. Different hypotheses may be suggested: She may well have shared her husband's political and literary views. She may have also been following the stylistic tradition of English translations of this genre, as all prior translators of pre-Islamic texts had also employed archaic language in their translations (although given her criticism of these translators it seems unlikely that she would use their texts as a paradigm to draw upon).

I would add two further explanations; first, Blunt's bent for accuracy may have led her to implement archaic language as a strategy to reflect the age of the ST and remind the target audience that they were reading ancient verse rather than a recent text. Second, her language choice reflected her belief in the romance of the pre-Islamic texts and her enjoyment of them as such. In addition to her letter to a friend stating that the *Mu'allaqāt* were "extremely romantic" (15th August 1903, BL ADD MS 54129), in Wentworth she described the original composers as "warrior-poets" who were "illustrious", "strong" and "valiant", engaging in "bloodthirsty romances" and stated that "hours could be spent reading the hunting and fighting poetry of the reciters" (Wentworth, 1945, pp. 111-116). Her archaic language not only reflects the age of the STs but also their romantic elements. For Blunt, an additional element of romance could be the fact that ancient Najd poetry was personally linked to her own experience of travelling through the region, which, despite its hardships, was the happiest period of her marriage. It was the location where she and Scawen Blunt worked together without distraction and engaged with its people and culture, whom the Blunts' considered the descendants of the original reciters of the pre-Islamic literature she translated.

Building upon her stylistic preferences for a fact-based representation of the Middle East in her travel journals, this textual analysis has demonstrated that Blunt's translation practices echoed her earlier writings regarding the Arab world. The precise rendering of Najd culture, with as little exaggeration as possible are

the hallmarks of her translation strategy. Although she employed a range of translation techniques depending on the aim of the ST, including what could be argued as a familiarising strategy through the use of archaisms, and transliteration which could be seen as accentuating the "otherness" of the ST and SC, none are employed to an excessive degree and Blunt does not overly romanticise nor exoticise Arab culture.

Analysing Blunt's translations through the Bourdieusian tripartite, alongside Orientalism and intersectionality, I posit the following conclusions: First, Blunt's childhood was academically rigorous and imbued her with a resolve for the pursuit of precision in her work. Her parents' mathematical and scientific careers, coupled with their insistence on an academically focused education for her, meant that Blunt's habitus inculcated her with a scholarly predisposition for fact-based analysis. This predisposition influenced her work throughout her life and is clearly seen in her preference for authentic source texts for her history of the Arabian horse.

Secondly, because of discriminatory Victorian gender norms Blunt was barred from the old boys' club of the field of Orientalism and considered herself external to it. When describing her translations of the *Mu'allaqāt* to a friend, Blunt wrote that she "present[ed] materials in a different aspect from the usual, learned though they be, orientalists" (15th Aug 1903, BL ADD MS 54129). Believing herself outside of the field, she did not engage in or feel obligated to perpetuate its norms, resisting typical nineteenth-century stereotypes of the Middle East as an exotic yet inferior place to be subjugated by Western powers. Rather, she felt the opposite, that the Bedouin culture of the Najd was something that needed to be preserved, protected and represented accurately in Western literature. In *The Authentic Arabian Horse* she defended her translations and literary work on the region:

> Although these people are in a very small minority compared with the enormous mass of the outside world, Eastern and Western, their ideas certainly deserve some further notice than they have yet received…My object is to present the seldom-heard voice from within before it shall have

> been finally stifled by the growing pressure from without, as might well happen even as a more or less immediate consequence of the appalling upheaval of 1914, but inevitably must happen later on. (1945, pp. 311- 312)

This extract reveals Blunt's motivation for her work: to educate the West and present her readers with a more accurate representation of Najd culture, rather than an Orientalised version of it, before its assimilation into other cultures through external pressures. The lens through which she viewed the Middle East and interacted with Orientalism was markedly different from typical Victorian Orientalists. For Blunt the Middle East was not an exotic fantasy where one could indulge hedonistic desires, nor was it an inferior culture to be dominated or controlled. Rather it was a region that housed a unique culture which Blunt sought to record and preserve. Just as Melman (1992) and Behdad (1994) argued that Blunt's travel journals resisted Orientalist tropes regarding the Arab world, this textual analysis has revealed that her translation approach continued that resistance, facilitating the highlighting and promotion of a representational portrait of Najd culture, rather than a stereotyped Western construct.

3.4. Preliminary Conclusions

Gendered dynamics permeated through many elements in Blunt's life, in particular her marital relationship, influencing her translation process and production, which often saw her actions fall on a spectrum between subservience and resistance to traditional Victorian gender norms. Her childhood exposed her to independent female role-models (including her mother, grandmother, and aunt) who demonstrated to Blunt that she did not have to conform to the supposed ideal of the 'angel in the house' and be restricted to the domestic sphere. However, despite these strong female role-models, the intersection of gender and class

meant that a vein of discrimination against Blunt was apparent throughout her childhood, giving her awareness of her secondary position to her brothers due to aristocratic rules of primogeniture. Although she was the middle child, her gender meant that she was last in line to inherit her family's wealth and titles, and therefore her brothers, as heirs to the family estate, had their needs and wellbeing placed before her own. These situations presented dichotomies surrounding gender that Blunt often encountered: while the women in her family imbued her habitus with a sense of independence and agency over her life and work, the gendered hierarchy between her siblings could also have left her with a sense of subservient duty to male authority, which she carried into her adult life and marriage.

The intersecting of gender and class also influenced her childhood education and the cultural capital she carried through into her adulthood. Her scholarly parents recognised the disadvantages of her gender in Victorian society, and took steps to counter them, providing her with an education that placed her in a privileged position compared to most Victorian women. The family's wealth, societal position and social network meant that they were able to provide Blunt with the best tutors, and her comprehensive education inculcated her habitus with the practice of academic rigour and scientific precision that she employed throughout her life, facilitating her adult work as a dedicated Arabist. Whilst her gender could have presented obstacles to her ambitions, and for many Victorian women it did, Blunt's position as a member of the upper-class British aristocracy, and the wealth and connections that accompanied this status meant that publicly there were very few barriers she could not overcome.

Blunt's private life, however, was another matter. The gendered hierarchy that she experienced as a child within an aristocratic family was reflected in her marriage, where she was not treated as an equal but positioned as secondary in the relationship by her husband, adhering to traditional Victorian gender roles. This chapter has documented the control Scawen Blunt exerted over her daily life and work, but it has also demonstrated her essential role as the facilitator of their enterprises, whether it was organizing their travels,

the founding and running of the stud, management of their stately homes and estate, or their scholarly work together, without Blunt's economic and social capital, along with her untiring work ethic, the success of any of them is questionable. Whilst Scawen Blunt's criticism often affected her self-esteem and confidence in her work, her diaries reveal her frustration and a vein of resistance to her husband's behaviour. Despite her private forbearance, it is apparent that for the duration of their marriage Blunt's intellectual freedom was restricted and her academic pursuits were dictated by her husband. Within the confines of her marriage, her gender was used against her as a discriminatory tool for oppression, a factor which no other intersecting identity signifier could counter.

Despite Scawen Blunt's seemingly impenetrable authority, this chapter has been able to analyse Blunt's original translation work free from her husband's editorial control. The textual analysis demonstrated that Blunt's approach to the translation of pre-Islamic poetry was counter to Orientalist literary trends of the time that often reconstructed the Arab world for Western readers within the framework of an exotic fantasy or barbaric and inferior culture. Blunt's interest in the history, people and traditions of the Najd meant that she focused on communicating a realistic representation of its culture, resulting in translations that are free from exaggerated racial stereotypes or excessive literary embellishment. Here gender once again may have had an influence, as she considered herself outside of the male-dominated Orientalist field, rather than a member of the old boys' club. Rather than restricting or isolating her however, her status as an outsider meant she was not compelled by the field's norms to employ typical Victorian Orientalist tropes in her writing. Instead she wrote her travel journals, her translations, and her final work on the Arabian horse with an unexoticised precision, letting her subjects speak for themselves rather than be spoken for through skewed Western reconstructions.

At the end of her life, separated and emancipated from her husband's control, Blunt metamorphised into the independent female scholar that she had been witness to as a child. The dissolution of her marriage meant

that gender no longer intersected in the same hierarchical way it once had. She outlived her brothers and became the sole heir of her family's estate, and she was free to work as she wished, with enough capital (wealth, intellect, and societal connections) to write her book on the Arabian horse unimpeded, and with enough confidence to reject outright Scawen Blunt's final attempt to control or influence her scholarship.

Despite the gendered discriminatory practices that Blunt experienced during her marriage, and her lack of agency over her work during this time, she still had a voice and influence. Her husband recognised the essential contribution she made to their endeavours, and therefore always included her in them, enabling her to travel, learn, and write about the Arab world. In turn Blunt used the opportunities presented to her to carve out her own path in an otherwise tightly controlled environment. Although her travel journals and translations were, at the time, commandeered by her husband, Blunt later used them as the foundation for her final work on the history of the Arabian horse, in which she publicly called for the preservation of Najd culture, a controversial suggestion that upended Orientalist tropes of European hegemony and exploitation. Despite the appearance of subservience to her husband, like many women before her, Blunt utilised the supposed non-threatening genres of travel writing and translation for her own ends, enabling her to advocate for a cause she felt strongly about, and present an accurate depiction of Arab history and culture to her readers, rather than one reconstructed to promulgate Western stereotypes of the Arab world.

4. The Lives, Travels, and Translations of Twin Sisters: Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson

This chapter analyses how gender, alongside other intersectional identity signifiers such as class and religion, impacted the lives, careers, and translations of two further Victorian Arabic translators, Scottish twin sisters Agnes Smith Lewis (1843-1926) and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (1843-1920). Born Agnes and Margaret Smith in Irvine, Scotland, the twins grew up to travel widely through Europe and the Middle East, acquiring in-depth knowledge of many European and Semitic languages, including Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek. In 1893, at the age of fifty, Lewis and Gibson became famous as sisters who recovered the earliest known Syriac Gospels (along with other texts relating to early Christianity), following an 1892 expedition to the Monastery of St. Catherine located at the foot of Mount Sinai in Egypt.[12] The twins subsequently dedicated the remainder of their lives to the publishing of transcriptions, translations, and academic articles relating to the large body of religious texts they were able to recover from St. Catherine's and elsewhere in Egypt and Palestine. Throughout their lives, issues surrounding gender and gender bias influenced and impacted their travels and translation work, and Lewis and Gibson often used their translations and other literary works (particularly their travelogues) to highlight these issues and the women's movement, which they were both staunch supporters of.

So far there has been no examination of Lewis and Gibson's translation careers or publications within Translation Studies. This chapter will fill that gap by evaluating the influence and impact of gender and

[12] Syriac is a dialect of Aramaic and was often used for written texts in the early Christian Church.

other intersecting factors on the twins' translation careers and practices, by utilizing the following methods and chapter structure:

a. A close reading of primary and secondary sources encompassing the twins' childhood, marriages, travels, and published works to produce a biographical analysis of the women's lives.

b. The application of the Bourdieusian framework of habitus, field, and capital, in conjunction with Orientalism and intersectionality to help interpret the results.

c. A comparative para/textual analysis from the corpus of Lewis' and Gibson's published translations from Arabic to English.

As I have already argued, other scholars (Krontiris, 1992; Arcara, 2007; Woods, 2011; Hassen, 2018) have shown it is essential to examine the historical, cultural, and social context of women's circumstances to understand their decision-making practices. The structure outlined above facilitates a comprehensive evaluation of the impact of gender within an intersectional framework on the twins' translations at both the professional and lexical level, while also providing an in-depth examination of the internal and external pressures on Lewis and Gibson's careers as translators and Semitic scholars.

4.1. Primary and Secondary Sources

The primary sources used for this chapter comprise of the twins' published works alongside contemporaneous newspaper articles and correspondence. Prior to their 1892 expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery, Gibson had only published her late husband's translation of the epic poem of El Cid: *The Cid Ballads: and Other Poems and Translations from Spanish and German* (1887). Gibson was the editor and wrote the preface, while Lewis wrote a memoir of her late brother-in-law included at the end of the book. Whilst Gibson had only the one publication to her name prior to 1892, Lewis was already a prolific writer, having published three novels (*Effie Maxwell*, 1876; *Glenmavis*, 1879; *The Brides of Ardmore*, 1880), three travelogues (*Eastern Pilgrims*, 1870; *Glimpses of Greek Life and Scenery*, 1884; *Through Cyprus*, 1887), and a biography of her late husband (*Life of the Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis*, 1892). Following their 1892 expedition, both women transitioned into careers as independent biblical scholars and translators of religious texts, publishing over forty transcriptions, translations, and academic articles. The twins' translation corpus, alongside their earlier published works, have been the main primary sources of research for this chapter. For the para/textual analysis, Lewis' translation of *Haiqār and Nadan* (Conybeare, Rendel Harris and Lewis, 1898) will be analysed and compared with Sir Richard Burton's translation of the same text, titled "The Say of Haykar the Sage", which he included as part of his *Supplemental Nights to the Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night* (1888). Gibson's translation of *The Story of Aphikia* (1901) will also be analysed alongside Burton's translation titled "The King and his Wazir's Wife" found within his *Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1885).

In addition to these primary sources, a variety of secondary sources have been utilised. Two biographies have been written about the lives and works of Lewis and Gibson, the first published in 1985 by Allan

Whigham-Price, a Presbyterian Minister and lecturer at the University of Durham, and the second in 2009 by Janet Soskice, Professor of Philosophical Theology at the University of Cambridge. Although the Whigham-Price biography is a useful reference for a timeline of events, it has not been relied upon for detailed information on the women's lives. Whigham-Price took the plots of two of Lewis' early novels and used their content to reconstruct the twin's childhood. While Lewis' novels were about young Scottish women, they were not autobiographical, nor did she ever claim that any content in her novels was based on hers or her sister's real-life experiences. As justification for his strategy Whigham-Price suggests that "first novels by minor writers are frequently autobiographical, and I have therefore ventured to treat as factual the account of their schooldays therein described" (1985, p. xi). To date there is no evidence to suggest that Lewis used childhood experiences as inspiration for her novels, and I therefore concluded that these chapters could not be used as a reliable source for information regarding Lewis and Gibson's youth.

In addition to problematic early chapters, Jefferson (2009) and Soskice (2009) both criticise Whigham-Price's inaccurate account of Lewis' discovery of the Syriac Gospels at St. Catherine's Monastery. A bizarre rumour emerged after the twins' deaths (from sources unknown) that suggested that one morning, whilst Lewis and Gibson were sitting down to eat with the monks, this priceless biblical text appeared before them being used as a butterdish and was literally served to Lewis for breakfast (Whigham-Price, 1985, p. 125). This unlikely story is clearly inaccurate as both Lewis and Gibson wrote detailed accounts of the Gospels' discovery process, corroborated by the brethren present at the time (Gibson, 1893, Lewis, 1898). Why Whigham-Price would print this rumour in his biography is unknown, as he had access to the twins' accounts of the finding. He also claimed that Lewis' discovery of the Gospels was "not the result of diligent burrowing" but "one of those curious accidents", when in reality her find was far from accidental (Whigham-Price, 1985, p. 125). Lewis and Gibson had spent months preparing for the expedition to St. Catherine's and knew precisely what section of the monastery's library they wished to search. Additionally, Lewis had been

studying ancient Syriac for the previous three years for the exact purpose of identifying and analysing St. Catherine's trove of religious texts. As Jefferson (2009) points out, Whigham-Price's perpetuation of the butterdish story reduced Lewis' discovery to an accident rather than an event based on detailed preparation and research, marginalising her achievement. It also portrayed the monks of St. Catherine's as clownish characters unable to recognise priceless manuscripts, instead of dedicated librarians who had spent hundreds of years carefully guarding the library's texts.

This episode is emblematic of the overall picture Whigham-Price portrays of Lewis and Gibson. Although he readily acknowledges their academic talent and achievements, at times he reduces them to gendered Victorian caricatures – eccentric lady-travellers who just happened to make some of the greatest discoveries in biblical archaeology of the late 19th century. Cornick and Binfield (2006) published a brief overview of Lewis and Gibson's lives and scholarly work, acknowledging the problems with the Whigham-Price biography. Describing the "racy affection" with which Whigham-Price wrote about the twins they stated that their research had "tried to move behind his [Whigham-Price's] biography to original sources" (Cornick and Binfield, 2006, p. 3). Albeit brief, the Cornick and Binfield publication readdressed Lewis and Gibson's corpus of work, repositioning them as serious academics and translators. The editors suggested that while the twins' lives record "a small chapter in the emancipation of women" it records "a rather larger one in the history of women's contribution to the study of theology", and they called for a more comprehensive re-examination of Lewis and Gibson's lives and work (2006, p. 2).

In 2009 the call for re-examination was answered with the publishing of a second biography, written by Janet Soskice. The Soskice biography provided a fact-based, comprehensive study of the twins' childhood, travels, and academic career, and has been used as a main secondary source for this chapter where there are lacunae in the primary sources. Also in 2009, an academic article was published by Rebecca J. W. Jefferson in the journal *Medieval Feminist Forum,* titled "Sisters of Semitics: A Fresh Appreciation of the Scholarship

of Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson". This article reinforced information in the Soskice biography, furthered recognition for the twins' academic contributions to biblical scholarship and provided, for the first time, a full catalogue of Lewis and Gibson's published works.

4.2. Biographical Analysis of Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson

4.2.1. Lewis and Gibson's Early Childhood

Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson were born in Irvine, Scotland, on the 11th of January 1843 (Soskice, 2009, p. 7). Their mother died shortly after their birth due to complications from labour, leaving the two infant girls in the care of their father, a solicitor named John Smith, who raised them alone and never remarried (ibid.). Smith shared a commonality with Lady Anne Blunt's parents and grandmother despite the great class divide between them: he supported the right of access to education regardless of gender. Like Lady Byron, Smith believed that in addition to a comprehensive education for girls, rigorous scholarship should be combined with an aptitude for the outdoors. To this end, Smith sent his twin daughters to be educated at the Irvine Royal Academy, a "forward-looking establishment" that did not segregate its pupils according to gender, but instead taught its curriculum to both sexes together in the same classroom. Lewis and Gibson's time outside of the classroom was spent learning equestrianism and walking in the Highlands, where Smith gave his daughters "considerable freedom to roam". Their father recognised the twins' aptitude for languages and encouraged their abilities by rewarding the girls with a visit to each country they acquired the language of. By the time they were teenagers Lewis and Gibson were fluent in French, German, Spanish,

and Italian, and had visited much of Europe, which greatly enhanced their educational capital and nurtured the linguistic aptitude which would be crucial for their later careers (Soskice, 2009, p. 9).

A second influential figure in Lewis and Gibson's childhood was their local church minister, William Bruce Robertson, who provided the twins with their earliest exposure to Middle East history and culture. Raised as Scottish Presbyterians, they spent a considerable amount of time in the company of Robertson, who in addition to seeing them each Sunday moved into the house next door and even accompanied the family on their European travels. Smith and Robertson were close friends and shared similar views on social issues. Like Smith, Robertson supported education equality. He himself was well educated and had studied at the University of Glasgow and the University of Halle, enjoying literature, science, and the arts (Soskice, 2009, pp. 13-14). According to Soskice, Robertson encouraged the twins to read texts that were controversial for many Victorian households, or even sacrilegious, such as works by Charles Darwin and Orientalist Ernst Renan (2009, p. 15). Lewis and Gibson also listened keenly to Robertson's Sunday sermons, which often included "vivid evocations" about the most recent discoveries in biblical archaeology from the Middle East (Soskice, 2009, p. 13). The readings of contemporary Orientalists, biblical scholars and Robertson's sermons would most likely have been Lewis and Gibson's primary sources of information regarding Middle East history and culture.

While Victorian gender norms prescribed limits for girls' education, Scottish Presbyterianism placed considerable importance on it for its congregation regardless of gender, and so the twins benefitted from Smith and Robertson's strong belief in this central tenet of their religion. Rather than placing Lewis and Gibson in a discriminatory position, the intersection of gender and religion in the twins' childhood privileged them by providing them with the benefits of a quality education, imbuing their habitus with the scholarly practices they would build upon during their academic careers. Smith and Robertson's influence imparted three further features of the twins' habitus: a staunch Presbyterian belief in God, a passion for

travel, and intellectual independence through their comprehensive schooling. These three cornerstones of the twins' childhood – faith, travel, and academia, deepened as Lewis and Gibson got older, and became the foci of their adult lives, combining climatically with their expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, which launched their careers as biblical scholars and translators.

When Lewis and Gibson were fourteen, the family's fortunes were changed by the death of a wealthy cousin, a railway investor turned millionaire who upon his death bequeathed a large portion of his fortune to the twins' father (Soskice, 2009, pp. 15-18). The family's economic capital and societal position were suddenly elevated, and Smith immediately put the money towards the advancement of his daughters' education, moving the girls from Scotland to London for the remainder of their secondary education (Soskice, 2009, p. 19). By the age of eighteen, Lewis and Gibson found themselves similarly equipped for adulthood as Blunt: wealthy, well-educated, linguistically talented and experienced in overseas travel.

In 1866, at the age of 23, the twins' fortunes changed again, this time by their father's unexpected death (Soskice, 2009, p. 20). Not only did they find themselves entering adulthood highly educated and experienced travellers, Lewis and Gibson were now the inheritors of their father's bequest, resulting in a lifetime of financial independence without need of employment or a spouse for economic support. Smith, in an act of resistance to the discriminatory Victorian tradition of the transfer of a woman's financial assets to her spouse upon marriage, outlined in his will several protective measures for the twins' inheritance, circumventing this norm and ensuring that if Lewis or Gibson married, their spouse would not automatically gain access to their finances (Soskice, 2009, pp. 19-21).

Gender, class, and religion created a tri-layered intersection throughout Lewis and Gibson's childhood. Because of the family's following of Scottish Presbyterianism, which encouraged education regardless of gender, both their father and minister facilitated a high level of schooling for both girls up to the age of

eighteen, alongside a cultural education of European languages and travel. Unlike Blunt, who was subject to the gendered inheritance rules of the English upper-class, the middle-class twins (who had no brothers) enjoyed the focus of their father's benefaction, who ensured their educational and financial well-being.

This intersection meant the twins accrued considerable economic and cultural capital in terms of education and personal wealth, which were essential elements in the success of their later careers as academics. The inheritance their father bequeathed them resulted in Lewis and Gibson's independent wealth, and they needed neither husbands nor employment for their survival or economic stability. Their financial circumstances combined with the comprehensive education provided to them granted Lewis and Gibson freedom to live their lives as they saw fit – and like Blunt equipped them with the academic skill set and economic resources to overcome many of the obstacles their gender presented; a rare situation compared to most middle-class Victorian women.

Despite their considerable independence, there was one discriminatory Victorian gender practice that the twins were not able to circumvent as they entered adulthood: their gender barred them from higher education, meaning Lewis and Gibson were not permitted to obtain a university degree. This positioned them outside of the academic field, and with the ability to obtain academic credentials (and thus an academic career) prohibited, the route the twins would eventually take to enter academia would hinge on the social capital provided to them by their future husbands.

4.2.2. First Middle East Travels and Travelogues

The following section examines Lewis and Gibson's first journey to the Middle East, their impressions of the Arab world, and interaction with Orientalism gleaned through the travelogue Lewis wrote upon their

return. Unlike Blunt, Lewis' travelogue was written up and edited by her own hand, but similarly to Blunt's journals, the travelogue reveals two elements of her writing that are echoed in her later translations: firstly, a more representational portrayal of Arab culture rather than the exaggerated and exoticised style oft employed by Victorian Orientalists, and secondly, the use of her publication as a tool to highlight and advocate for issues she felt strongly about, which in Lewis' case were issues surrounding women's rights.

Following their father's death, the twins, along with a female friend Grace Blyth, embarked on a year-long trip to the Middle East, departing in the winter of 1868 and travelling through what is now Turkey, Lebanon, Israel, and Egypt (Lewis, 1870). Upon their return to England, Lewis published an account of their journey titled *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870), which not only told of their travels, but also the changing gender dynamics of the time. The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a groundswell of resistance to gender discrimination, and the women's movement was gaining traction in Britain. Women's issues, particularly women's intellectual and physical emancipation, feature heavily throughout Lewis' travelogue, revealing her interest and support for the movement.

The intersection of gender, race and class resulted in critical opinions of the women's planned Middle East journey. Lewis writes in the opening lines of her travelogue that popular opinion classed the Middle East as a destination suitable only for men, although a "strong woman" could potentially "accompany" her husband (1870, p. 1). Three unmarried middle-class women travelling without a male escort was controversial. Their social circle was horrified, concerned for the women's safety amongst "Mohammadens", "barbarians", and "dangerous talk" (Lewis, 1870, pp. 1-2). To counter these gendered and racist views and defend the women's plans, Lewis argued that:

> The means of communication are now so much improved, the art of providing for a traveller's comfort is carried to such perfection, that any woman of ordinary prudence (without belonging to

> the class called strong-minded) can find little difficulty in arranging matters for her own convenience. (ibid.)

In addition to arguing that modern conveniences simplified the logistics of travel and negated the need for a male escort, Lewis also described the trip as a pilgrimage (and therefore virtuous by nature), and labelled herself, Gibson, and Blyth as pilgrims. She stated that they were undertaking the journey "for the purpose of visiting scenes endeared to us by so many hallowed [i.e. biblical] associations", a reasoning that aligned more with conservative Victorian gender norms (ibid.). By placing herself and her companions in a pious role, she countered any criticism that accused the women of transgressing into the more masculine spheres of exploration or adventure. Lewis also employed both habitus and capital as an argument to support her travel aspirations, arguing that her practice of independent thinking (habitus) and extensive education (capital) would shield herself, Gibson, and Blyth "from the influence of such dangerous opinions as, it is said, we shall hear in the varied society with which it may be our lot to mingle" (Lewis, 1870, pp. 1-2). Modern convenience, a religious purpose and the trio's intellectual capability, permitted, Lewis argued, herself, Gibson, and Blyth to travel independently without male accompaniment.

Following this opening defence of the women's plans, Lewis' travelogue frequently features encounters that further reveal the trio's resistance to male authority. Discussing travel logistics, she wrote that "a [male] courier we do not want, as without his services we are in a much more advantageous position for gathering information" (Lewis, 1870, p. 3), and towards the end of the travelogue Lewis stated that "we met with nothing disagreeable until we put ourselves under male protection" (ibid. p. 198). Lewis' distrust of male responsibility for the women's affairs is a reoccurring theme throughout the travelogue, at one point asserting that "it doesn't do to believe all that gentlemen tell you" (Lewis, 1870, p. 207). Demonstrating the women's shared opinion, Blyth is also featured as having made the following prophetic statement: "I don't think you should trust to priests to learn the truth…you should study the Bible for yourself" (Lewis, 1870,

p. 64). These examples make plain Lewis' support for women's emancipation from male authority, along with her willingness to publicly resist the traditional gendered power dynamics of Victorian society.

Just as Lewis' travelogue begins with a justification of women's freedom of movement, so does she end it by reiterating the success of their independent journey. As the trio returned to England via Europe, she wrote that they met men who were "very much amazed at our independence" (Lewis, 1870, p. 307), and that they also encountered two German women:

> "Are you travelling without a gentleman?" they asked.
> "Yes, and have got on very well till now."
> "So are we," said they, and both parties laughed heartily. (Lewis, 1870, p. 317)

By bracketing the travelogue with justification and evidence of the success of the trio's Middle East travels, Lewis communicated her belief that women no longer needed to be restricted by Victorian gender norms, nor submit to male authority over a woman's intellectual and physical freedom. Under the guise of the non-threatening travelogue, Lewis used *Eastern Pilgrims* as a tool to advocate for women's rights, and their first journey to the Middle East (particularly Egypt) provided both Lewis and Gibson with the experience necessary to embark on their later expedition to Mount Sinai - the catalyst for their careers as biblical scholars and translators.

In addition to *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870) being a rallying cry for women's independence, it also reveals Lewis' first impression of the Middle East and her interaction with Orientalism. Throughout the travelogue she employed romantic imagery when describing the geography of the Middle East and her surroundings: "At sunset a beautiful soft light was thrown on the opposite bank [of the Nile], the range of low white battlement-looking hills, and the distant mosque of the citadel looming in the background, like the scenery of some fairy dream" (Lewis, 1870, p. 115). She treated biblical sites with religious reverence: "How strange the

sensation produced by gazing for the first time on a biblical mountain!... the countless glories of Lebanon thrill the soul with awe when we realise their connection with the early history of our religion" (Lewis, 1870, p. 74). But despite the romanticism of her geographic imagery, Lewis' writing often relayed the gritty and harsh reality of daily life for colonised populations under the grip of European imperialism. Rather than furthering the Orientalist fantasy of the Middle East as a land filled with exotic scenes of indulgence and hedonism, Lewis provided her readers with candid accounts of hardship, poverty, and disease. Her description of Cairo is worth quoting in its entirety as the antithesis to the romantic imagery often seen in Orientalist literature:

> I have heard a great deal about the poetry of the East…and more particularly of Cairo. I have not yet found out where it is. Is there any poetry in seeing people housed like pigs, and with clothing as scanty as their bristles? Is there any poetry in condemning women to walk with a dirty piece of cloth before their mouths? Is there any poetry in the bleeding sides of the donkeys? Is there any poetry in being half suffocated with dust every time you go out, and seeing so many people blind of an eye? Is there any poetry in the mosquitoes? Is there not great sameness in the blue green of the palm-tree and the prickly pear, and in the dull green of the olive? Is there not great sameness in gazing at a landscape of sandhills? (Lewis, 1870, pp. 111-112)

This searing description of Cairene life is in direct contrast to Victorian Orientalist literary tropes and is an example of Lewis' uncompromising writing style. She candidly offered her impressions of life in the Middle East and used her travelogue to communicate to her readers the disconnect between descriptions of the Arab world in European literature and the realities on the ground. As a woman writing her first travelogue, with no prior knowledge of Arabic nor academic credentials, Lewis, like Blunt, was situated outside of the field of Victorian Orientalism, and was not restricted by its norms or trends. She was free to express her opinions and impressions of the Arab world as she saw fit with no professional repercussions, nor obligations to the Orientalist trends of the time.

The above quotation offers a further example of Lewis' advocacy for women's rights, but in this case the intersection of gender and race produced a discriminatory element in her writing against Arab women

wearing the hijab. Lewis felt that Muslim women had been "condemned" by men to wear the hijab and claimed that Arab women must feel "uncomfortable…with those nasty veils over their mouths" (1870, p. 34). She wryly suggested that a woman's mouth "seemed to require a covering more than any other part of the face" (1870, p. 124). As a supporter of women's physical and intellectual independence from male authority, Lewis was unable to reconcile the wearing of the hijab with her belief in women's empowerment. She did not make any attempt to understand the reasons behind the practice, nor the religious significance for the wearer, but considered it evidence of a patriarchal society where a woman's voice is silenced or at best, secondary. This shows a more typically Orientalist element in Lewis' writing, where she reconstructed the cultural practice through the lens of the women's movement in the West, approaching the tradition believing herself to be more emancipated than Arab women, and therefore spoke for them, rather than letting them speak for themselves.

Eastern Pilgrims reveals several stylistic elements that Lewis would go on to use in her translation work. Like the works of other Victorian women such as Julia Smith (Von Flotow, 2000) and Jane Sinnet (Johnston, 2013), Lewis employed a seemingly unthreatening travel narrative as a tool to advocate for new ideas. Her work is littered with interactions and examples that promote gender equality and resistance to Victorian norms of male authority. It also reveals a spectrum of writing styles that Lewis engaged with; geographical descriptions are romantic and some of her opinions are more typically Orientalist (such as placing Arab culture in a secondary position to her own), yet at the same time many of her descriptions oppose Orientalist norms, describing harsh realities of daily life in the Middle East, rather than exaggerating or exoticizing the people and culture.

4.2.3. Further Travels, Travelogues and Language Acquisition

Lewis and Gibson returned from their trip inspired by the sights they saw in the Holy Land. The twins' Presbyterian work ethic inculcated into their habitus from childhood, their resistance to traditional gender roles, coupled with their wealth and education, made them determined to live purposeful lives rather than succumb to what Lewis termed a "'butterfly existence'…flittering about, gaily ornamented, from luncheons to teas, from dinner parties to balls with no fixity of purpose" (Lewis in Soskice, 2009, p. 56). To this end the twins spent the next twenty years developing their connections to the Middle East through further travels to the region and the study of Arabic. Lewis also wrote two more travelogues that revealed her continued support and advocacy for women's rights, alongside an increasingly critical view of colonial practices and the aims of empire. It was during this time that the twins also began to take an interest and gain experience with literary translation, not through any formal academic training, but through Gibson's marriage to her husband.

Gibson became engaged to James Young Gibson in 1872, two years following the publishing of Lewis' *Eastern Pilgrims* (Soskice, 2009, p. 53). Young Gibson had been a Presbyterian minister, but he had suffered from ill-health and left the church to pursue the life of a writer and literary translator, spending time in Spain studying Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Catalan literature (Soskice, 2009, p. 53). Because of his physical and psychological ill-health, the marriage was repeatedly postponed, and the couple did not wed until 1883, when Gibson was forty years old and Young Gibson fifty-seven (Soskice, 2009, p. 64).

In the intervening decade between Gibson's engagement and marriage, the twins continued to pursue their shared interests of travel and scholarship, particularly the study and acquisition of new languages. Throughout the winter of 1878 the twins studied Spanish alongside Young Gibson, and in 1879 they began the study of modern Greek under the tutelage of Edinburgh University professor, J. S. Blackie (Soskice,

2009, p. 56). Much like their late father and childhood minister, Blackie was also a champion of women's education and was more than willing to spend time teaching and encouraging Lewis and Gibson in their academic pursuits (Soskice, 2009, p. 56). The twins' study of Greek culminated in an independent journey through Greece in the spring of 1883, and upon their return Lewis published her second travelogue, *Glimpses of Greek Life and Scenery* (1884). The twins' acquisition of Greek not only added to their cultural capital but proved to be an essential factor in the later success of their expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery, as it enabled easy communication with the Eastern Orthodox monks who lived there.

Whilst Gibson was on her honeymoon in the winter of 1883, Lewis decided to travel to Cyprus accompanied once again by Grace Blyth, one of the few times in their lives that the twins travelled without each other. Lewis and Blyth included stops in Egypt and Lebanon as waypoints on their way to Cyprus, and following their return Lewis published her third travelogue, *Through Cyprus* (1887), an account of their experiences. This text is worthy of analysis here because it provides further evidence that Lewis' religious faith and commitment to women's rights continued to be important themes in her life, in addition to providing insight into her acquisition of Arabic, an essential asset for her later career as a translator. It is also another example of Lewis using her work as a vehicle to publicly advocate for issues she felt strongly about, a strategy she would later employ in the paratextual areas of her translations. Just as in *Eastern Pilgrims*, *Through Cyprus* highlighted women's issues alongside criticism of British imperialism and discrimination against Egyptian Christian communities.

The early chapters describe Lewis' Arabic language acquisition. Because of her gender she was barred from the university education that provided male Orientalists with their language skills, but her economic capital meant she could employ tutors to teach her privately, and since her return from the twins' first trip to the Middle East in 1869, Lewis had employed a Syrian professor from University College, Habib Salmone, as her Arabic teacher (Lewis, 1887, p. 27). Upon her arrival in Cairo in the winter of 1883 *en route* to Cyprus,

Lewis took the opportunity to continue her study of Arabic and deepen her knowledge of colloquial Egyptian "which I hoped would prove useful to us in our future wanderings" (Lewis, 1887, p. 25). Five years later her knowledge of colloquial Egyptian would help facilitate the journey to St. Catherine's Monastery.

For the seven weeks that she spent in Cairo Lewis spoke exclusively in Egyptian Arabic with her dragoman, Said Mohammed, and attended classes at a local American Mission school, sitting in lessons with young Egyptian girls studying (in Arabic) "arithmetic, spelling, grammar, Bible history and astronomy, taking my turn in reading and answering questions, and making myself a source of much amusement to the girls" (Lewis, 1887, pp. 25-26). When it was time to leave Egypt for Lebanon, Lewis spent a further two weeks studying Arabic in Beirut (Lewis, 1887, p. 85).

The linguistic and cultural immersion Lewis experienced during this period resulted in deep personal friendships and cultural insights that moved Lewis' perspective further from the Western position of superiority to a more empathetic intermediary or often defender of Arab culture. For example, when discussing the Egyptian girls at the American Mission, Lewis talks fondly of her friendship with them and states that she found "no difference whatever between them and the generality of English girls – yes, even of those girls who were once my own school-fellows" (Lewis, 1887, p. 26). Her placement of Egyptian and British schoolgirls on an equal footing was a disruption to traditional Victorian views of Arab women and demonstrated Lewis' willingness to publicly resist promulgating European stereotypes regarding the Arab world.

In another example Lewis attended two church services, one alongside Egyptian women and the other alongside members of the Black Watch (Lewis, 1887, p. 54). In this instance she recognised her unusual positioning between cultures, as both a British woman and Arabic speaker, and acknowledged the unequal power dynamic between them, stating that she felt she had been privileged to have been able to worship

"with conquerors and conquered" (Lewis, 1887, p. 54). She frequently reproached discriminatory European tropes regarding Arab culture, often praising or defending everything from Egyptian home-cooking to the cleanliness of mosques. Even before her career as an Arabic translator had begun, *Through Cyprus* shows Lewis positioned as a mediator, offering her readers alternative interpretations of the Arab world rather than typical Orientalist stereotypes.

In addition to the deepening cultural insight Lewis' language immersion provided, *Through Cyprus* offered another opportunity for Lewis to use her writing to promote and highlight issues important to her. Just as she did in *Eastern Pilgrims*, Lewis foregrounded women's issues, using her travelogue to shed light on gender discrimination. However, unlike *Eastern Pilgrims,* where she focused on the discrimination European women were subject to, in *Through Cyprus* she spotlighted the gender bias Arab women experienced. This shift in focus could be due to the deepening cultural knowledge provided by her Arabic language immersion which had enabled her to interact directly with Arab women and girls, enhancing her understanding of Arab women's experiences of discrimination.

Lewis' focus within the spectrum of gender discrimination that she advocated for during her time in Cairo was education equality for Egyptian girls. Recognizing the benefits her own education had provided her, she told pupils at a Coptic boys school that "what they acquired in school would never be lost, it was a property which they could carry with them wherever they went" (1887, pp. 67-68). She went on to discuss gender equality in education with the headmaster and his teaching staff, telling them that in England girls "have the same lessons that the boys have. We find it a much better plan" (Lewis, 1887, p. 68). When met with resistance to this idea from the schoolmasters, who argued that the Coptic Church prescribed a limited education for girls, Lewis persisted, contending that nothing in the Gospel restricted education for women, "St. Paul said that women were to keep silence in the churches: but he never said they were not to learn anything" (Lewis, 1887, pp. 68-69). Despite her efforts, Lewis was unable to persuade the headmaster to

change his policies and was so dissatisfied that when she returned to her hotel, she immediately searched through the Old Testament in Arabic to find an appropriate passage supportive of women's education for her to deploy in future debates (1887, p. 69). This example demonstrates Lewis' public advocacy for education equality regardless of race, and the use of her travelogue to disseminate this idea to her readership.

Lewis continued using *Through Cyprus* as a vessel to voice her concerns over other discriminatory practices she witnessed during her time in Egypt, including religious intolerance faced by the Egyptian Coptic community. She described herself engaged in debate with her Muslim dragoman, Said Mohammed, who did not consider Copts to be Egyptian. Arguing against him, Lewis told him that 'Copt' and 'Egypt' were from the same Greek root, and that she believed them to be descended from ancient Egyptians, and as such they "have as good a right to dwell in their country as their conquerors, the Arabs (Lewis, 1887, pp. 30-31). Lewis later described the Copts to her readers as descendants of early Arab Christians, believing the Coptic Church to be "a relic of the one founded by St. Mark, or more probably by St. Peter" (1887, p. 57). For Lewis, the Coptic community's connection to early Christianity made them an essential part of Egyptian society, and she used her travelogue to highlight the discrimination they often faced to her Victorian readers. Just as Blunt did for the Najd tribes of central Arabia, Lewis publicly advocated for the protection and preservation of Coptic culture and religion against external pressures.

In a further example Lewis revealed the dangers faced by Egyptian Copts caused by the nationalist uprising of Ahmed 'Urabi — the only instance of overlap between Lewis, Gibson and Blunt that I found in the course of this research. When Lewis reunited with the Coptic dragoman she employed for the Jerusalem leg of the 1869 journey, Armanûs Tadrûs, they discussed the recent failed revolt led by Ahmed 'Urabi that the Blunt's had supported. Tadrûs told Lewis that had the uprising been successful, most Copts in Egypt would have been killed (Lewis, 1887, p. 31). It is interesting to find the two women on opposite sides of the uprising, whilst simultaneously both supporting secondary societal groups — Lewis is using her travelogue to give

visibility to discrimination against Coptic Christians, discrimination that her friend Tadrûs believed to be purported by Arab nationalists, who in turn were being supported by the Blunts in their own resistance against British Imperialism.

This dialogue gave Lewis the opportunity to voice her concern over a third issue: the conduct of British colonists in Egypt. Whilst assuring her audience that the 'Urabi uprising was "a danger to Christendom" and therefore necessary for the British government to quell, she considered the resulting naval bombardment of Alexandria to have been an overreaction (1887, pp. 73-74). Just as Jane Sinnet had used Ida Pfeiffer's travelogues as a vessel for criticism of British Imperialism (Johnston, 2013), so Lewis employed *Through Cyprus* for the same end, explaining that although in the past she had been supportive of the British Empire and imperialism, her experience in Cairo had forced her to rethink her opinion (1887, pp. 36). She candidly stated that the British in Egypt had "failed to earn the love either of Europeans or of natives. Some would go so far as to say that they have earned hatred" (1887, p. 32).

Lewis' main concern lay with the behaviour of British officers and their wives, denouncing what she perceived as them being occupied with society events rather than service and duty, and arguing that opportunities to assist the local population, particularly in terms of medical care, were being squandered or ignored (1887, p. 37). She instructed her readers in what she believed to be appropriate behaviour abroad (perhaps hoping it would reach the ears of the colonists in Cairo), informing them that civility and respectfulness for their "fellow-creatures" was necessary, irrespective of race or gender, and that nothing was worse for a person than being "patronised by those who have no shadow of a right to do either" (Lewis, 1887, p. 35). This critique not only reprimanded colonists in Egypt, but by using the term 'fellow-creatures' rather than 'fellow-men' and stating that the British had no right of authority over the people they encountered, Lewis was advocating for the removal of the hierarchical power structure British Imperialism and Orientalism was based on, and calling for respect for all people, regardless of race or gender.

Once again Lewis had employed the unassuming travel narrative, seemingly about a trip through Cyprus, to communicate her deepening resistance to typical Orientalist approaches and interpretations of the Arab world, a growing dissatisfaction with British colonialism and the impact of imperialism on the local populations, and a public call for equality in education access regardless of race or gender. This period of her life also greatly enhanced her cultural capital, adding Greek and Arabic to her language corpus, which were essential elements of hers and her sister's translation careers.

4.2.4. Marriages and Entry into Academia

Clearly intellectuals and motivated by a strong Presbyterian work ethic, the twins had already spent a large portion of their adult lives travelling, language learning and, in Lewis' case, writing travelogues. A life of scholarship appealed to their natures, but how to act upon their academic interests when, due to their gender, all avenues of higher learning and academic professionalism were barred to them was an obstacle. It would be the combined cultural capital supplied by Gibson's husband, and the social capital of Lewis', that would see them finally breach the gender gap and enter the male-dominated academic field.

Lewis returned from the Cyprus trip in the spring of 1884 and moved into a house in Surrey with Gibson and her new husband (Soskice, 2009, p. 67). Gibson's husband, a translator of Spanish literature, asked the twins to help with his work, and with his expertise Lewis and Gibson began learning the art of literary translation, assisting with the editing of his translations from Spanish to English of Cervantes's *Journey to Parnassus* (1883) and *Numantia* (1885) (Soskice, 2009, p. 65). Unfortunately for Gibson, her marriage was short-lived and her husband died unexpectedly in 1886. The trio's final collaboration was completed the following year, when Gibson published her late husband's translation of the epic poem of El Cid, titled *The*

Cid Ballads: and Other Poems and Translations from Spanish and German (1887). Gibson was the editor of the text and wrote the preface, whilst Lewis contributed a memoir of the life of her late brother-in-law.

Gibson's preface and Lewis' memoir provides insight into Young Gibson's painstaking translation process, a strategy which could have influenced the detailed and precise nature of the twins' own translation styles. Gibson stated that it was her husband's "endeavour to be more faithful to the original" than previous translations of the Spanish epic, and that "each verse was weighed by him with as much care as if it had been a sovereign at the royal mint" (Gibson, 1898, p. vii). In the memoir, Lewis noted that Young Gibson had spent years sending proofs back and forth to the printers "for correction and revision. He must have had some sheets at least a dozen times" (Lewis in Gibson, 1898, p. xlvii). In her concluding remarks, Lewis stated in admiration of her brother-in-law that "Few have done their appointed work in this world so thoroughly" (Lewis in Gibson, 1898, p. iv). One cannot help but think that Young Gibson's quest for precision in his translation, as witnessed by the twins, would have influenced their own scrupulous style.

In January 1887, Lewis suggested a two-week trip to Cambridge to provide her sister with a distraction from her grief (Soskice, 2009, p. 78). With their capital in languages, travel and now translation established, Lewis and Gibson's trip to Cambridge provided the final element to allow them entry into the academic field. This element would turn out to be a man Lewis met on the final day of their two-week stay and later marry: an academic and librarian of Corpus Christi College, Samuel Savage Lewis (Soskice, 2009, p. 79).

The Rev. Samuel Savage Lewis was an Anglican priest, lecturer in Classics and chief librarian of the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (ibid.). On the final day of the twins' visit, through a series of happy accidents, he gave them a tour of the library, showing them a portion of its large collection of ancient, medieval, and renaissance manuscripts of which he was the curator (ibid.). Lewis was impressed by his intellect and he equally impressed by her – they were married by the end of the year, Lewis at the age

of forty-three and Savage Lewis forty-nine (Soskice, 2009, p. 82). Gibson, widowed for only just over a year, moved with the newlyweds to a house in Cambridge, as did the twins' dedicated travel companion, Grace Blyth (Soskice, 2009, p. 84).

Religion and scholarship were not the only interests that the twins had in common with Savage Lewis. In addition to being a minister and academic, he also loved to travel and had amassed a great collection of geological and historical items from his trips abroad, including coins, gems, and Christian relics (Soskice, 2009, p. 80). Faith, travel, and academia, those three cornerstones of Lewis and Gibson's lives so far were now shared with Savage Lewis and bound the members of the household together. During their marriage Lewis travelled extensively with her husband, accompanying him on his expeditions to add artifacts to his personal collection (ibid.). Gibson's husband had enhanced the twins' cultural capital by providing them with tutelage in translation, now Lewis' husband offered the twins two further elements: the opportunity to learn the art of antiquities collecting and, more importantly, the social capital provided through access to his academic network at the University of Cambridge.

The twins' economic capital placed them in the unusual position of being able to fund many trips abroad for Savage Lewis, far more than most academics of the time, and so they often found themselves not only collecting items for his personal collections, but also items for other members of the Cambridge academic community, and as such slowly expanded their academic social network (Soskice, 2009, p. 87). As with all influential male figures in the twins' lives, Savage was also a great supporter of Lewis and Gibson's scholarship — he supported the women's movement and the broadening of women's education, and actively contributed to it by teaching Latin at the Association for the Higher Education of Women for several years (Soskice, 2009, p. 81). According to Lewis, her husband was "one of the first to believe in the future success of the [women's] movement, and sacrificing much of his time to it with the utmost zeal and devotion" (Lewis in Soskice, 2009, p. 81). Following the marriage, the trio began building a house in Cambridge that

would equally accommodate the scholarly pursuits of all three parties and would become the twins' lifelong home. In recognition of their Scottish roots, they named the house 'Castlebrae' and included huge glass-fronted display cabinets to exhibit Savage Lewis' collections, in addition to three private studies — one for each of them, providing the twins with a literal 'room of their own' for their academic pursuits (Soskice, 2009, p. 88).

The social capital of Lewis' marriage provided the twins with access to the field of Cambridge academia — a field which, as middle-class Scottish women with no academic or professional credentials would have been impenetrable without him. As a Cambridge lecturer and head librarian's wife, Lewis took on the role of host for dinners, luncheons, and other social activities for an array of her husband's academic neighbours, guests, and colleagues. This new scholarly circle comprised of several members who would be integral to the twins' futures as academic translators, including a young theologian named Francis Crawford Burkitt (who would later become Professor of Divinity), The Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, Robert Bensly, and fellow Scottish Presbyterian and Professor of Arabic, William Robertson Smith (Soskice, 2009, pp. 84-90). Robertson Smith in turn introduced the twins to a Semitic scholar named Solomon Schechter who was at Cambridge reading Rabbinics, and through his wife, Mathilde Schechter, Lewis and Gibson befriended a young Mary Kingsley, who would later become one of the most famous nineteenth-century explorers of Africa (Soskice, 2009, pp. 96-97).

The twins settled into their new lives in Cambridge, anticipating a life of faith, travel, and academia with Savage Lewis. However, the happy arrangement was short-lived. In the spring of 1891, a mere three years following their marriage, Savage Lewis died unexpectedly whilst on a train journey with Lewis (Soskice, 2009, p. 98). With the untimely passing of Savage Lewis, the twins may have been concerned that the academic field he had opened for them would close, but this did not happen. Lewis and Gibson remained in Cambridge, keeping Castlebrae as their primary residence, and building on connections they had already

established, continued to host academic friends and expand their scholarly network. Linguistically talented, experienced travellers, independently wealthy and now armed with an elite academic network, the twins were suitably equipped to overcome almost all obstacles they may have faced due to discriminatory Victorian attitudes regarding gender-roles, and, in their late forties, embarked on the careers and translation work that would occupy the rest of their lives.

4.2.5. First Expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery

This section describes Lewis and Gibson's expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai, Egypt, where they recovered the source texts that would launch their careers as translators of biblical apocrypha and Semitic scholars. Both sisters wrote travelogues recording the journey and their stay at the monastery; Gibson's *How the Codex was Found* (1893), and Lewis' *In the Shadow of Sinai* (1898), which have been used as the primary source material for the following account.

The winter following her husband's death, Lewis read of a manuscript, *The Apology of Aristides,* recently discovered by a Cambridge academic, J. Rendel Harris, at the library of St. Catherine's Monastery located at the foot of Mount Sinai in Egypt (Gibson, 1893, p.3). The news renewed an interest the twins had in travelling to the monastery, which they had been keen to visit due to its "hallowed associations"[13] and the encouragement of Gibson's late husband, who had visited many years prior (ibid.).

[13] St. Catherine's Monastery is a site of pilgrimage for Christians, as they consider it to be the location of the 'burning bush', where, according to The Old Testament, God revealed himself to Moses. The monastery is also located at the foot of Mount Sinai, the biblical site where Moses is said to have received the Ten Commandments.

Through their Cambridge network, Lewis and Gibson were able to relay the news of their planned expedition to St. Catherine's to Rendel Harris himself, who, aware of the twins' impressive scholarly and financial capital, was immediately supportive of the idea as they would be able to examine manuscripts in the monastery's library he had not had the chance to study (Gibson, 1893, p. 4). Rendel Harris, along with many of their academic circle rallied around the twins to help facilitate a successful first expedition, with Lewis claiming that the sisters were "almost overwhelmed by offers of kindly help" (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 7). Rev. R. H. Kennett, a friend of Lewis' late husband, began instructing Lewis in Syriac (the language many of the texts at St. Catherine's are written in, along with Arabic, Greek, and Hebrew) and Francis Burkitt taught her the Estrangelo script — an early Syriac writing system (Gibson, 1893, p. 8). Rendel Harris instructed the twins in photography so they could photograph manuscripts for transcription and translation, lending them his own camera (Gibson, 1893, p. 4).

In addition to the academic support provided to them by their Cambridge circle, Gibson considered their unique capital of being fluent in both conversational Greek and Egyptian Arabic essential to the success of the expedition. The twins would easily be able to communicate with both the Bedouin they would rely on to guide them through the Sinai desert, and also the monks of the Greek Orthodox Church who resided in St. Catherine's, "so that we anticipated no difficulty in making friends with the custodians of the library" (Gibson, 1893, p. 5).

The planned expedition seemed devoid of any gendered criticism or doubt casts on the twins' abilities to perform their tasks. However, some discriminatory comments must have reached them, because just as she did twenty-three years earlier at the start of *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870), Lewis wrote in defence of their travel plans again, this time against a gendered critique that suggested the twins would be barred from entry to St. Catherine's (an all-male enclave) on account of them being women. She confidently dismissed the criticism and wrote that her and her sister's prior experience travelling in Greece, including interactions with Greek

Orthodox monks, combined with their knowledge of modern Greek meant the twins "could afford to laugh at the prediction that, being women, we might possibly be refused admission into a Greek convent" (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 9).

Arriving in Cairo in January 1892, Lewis and Gibson immediately set out for Mount Sinai, guided by Bedouin equipped with tents, camels and supplies for the journey (Lewis, 1898, p. v). As with Blunt's expeditions, this was no Thompson's Nile cruise — the journey to St. Catherine's was hard going, and exposure from heat, wind and a lack of drinking water were very real threats. Lewis described one part of their crossing "over sand plains, where we suffered greatly both from heat and thirst…Even within [the tent] we became covered with wind-blown sand…We were at our wits end to get anything drinkable" (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 65).

They arrived at St. Catherine's on the 6th of February 1892, and were welcomed and admitted entry by the monks, their gender being no issue (Lewis, 1898, p. vi). They brought with them a letter of introduction from Rendel Harris which they gave to the Prior and to the monastery's librarian, Fr. Galaktéon, who were "delighted at being able to converse with us in their own tongue" (Lewis, 1898, p. vi). The monks asked Lewis and Gibson what they wanted to see at the monastery, and Lewis replied, "All your oldest Syriac manuscripts, particularly those which Dr. Harris had not time to examine, for I want to take a report of them to him" (Lewis, 1898, p. vi).

In one of their meetings prior to the twins' departure for Egypt, Rendel Harris had told Lewis and Gibson of his belief that the monastery's library contained texts of particular importance to biblical history, but he had not been able to examine them all on his previous visit (Lewis, 1898, p. iv). He described to Lewis that within the library there was a "dark closet" with a chest full of manuscripts, a description which so inspired Lewis that she "constantly dreamt" of it before her departure for Egypt (Lewis, 1898, p. iv). Following

Lewis' request to see the oldest Syriac manuscripts, the chest from the dark closet was produced, and Lewis and Gibson set to work examining the ancient and delicate documents within. It was painstaking work and the twins spent up to eight hours a day deciphering and photographing texts they considered important. It was also winter, and the library had no glass in its windows, so Lewis and Gibson had to work in "bitterly cold" conditions, with the temperature in their tents at night often dropping well below zero (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 39). After over a month of work, Lewis and Gibson departed St. Catherine's on the 8th of March 1892, armed with over a thousand photographic negatives of texts to be developed and analysed upon their return to Cambridge (Lewis, 1898, p. ix). These included almost four hundred photographic negatives of a Syriac palimpsest which Lewis had immediately spotted among the manuscripts that were brought out from the chest in the 'dark closet' (Lewis, 1898, p. ix).

The power dynamic between the twins (particularly Lewis) and Rendel Harris is interesting, as although at first glance it seems to conform to traditional gender roles, where Harris is the authoritative Orientalist-hero and the twins are positioned as secondary scribe-witnesses, collecting information for his academic use, in reality they used each other's capital for their mutual benefit. Rendel Harris needed the twins' financial backing for the expedition, and taught them photography, loaned them his camera, sent letters of introduction, and told Lewis about the 'dark closet' for his own academic purposes. As for the twins, the knowledge that Rendel Harris imparted was invaluable, and without it their expedition may not have been the success that it was. Whilst Lewis told the monks she was there to photograph texts for Harris, and shared her discoveries with him and others upon their return, both Lewis and Gibson also used the photographs for their own benefit, to launch their careers as Semitic scholars. Just as Blunt used the research she did for her husband as a foundation for her later work on the Arabian horse, the twins used their photographs of texts for Rendel Harris to facilitate their own careers. Using the gendered, hierarchical assignation of roles, where the woman's essential work is conducted in the background while the male Orientalist seemingly reaps the

benefit, all three women disrupted this tradition, using the work they did for a male authority to launch their own, successful, and independent scholarly careers.

4.2.6. The Recovery, Transcription, and Translation of the Sinai Palimpsest

Gendered power struggles became apparent once the twins returned to Cambridge with photographic evidence of their finds at St. Catherine's, but whilst still at the monastery, the twins had to decipher exactly what the palimpsest (along with other delicate manuscripts) contained. On the first day of work Lewis was presented with the 'dark closet' texts, and immediately spotted a "forbidding" looking manuscript, extremely fragile, covered in dirt with its pages stuck together, several of which required separating with steam from a kettle (Lewis, 1898, p. vii, Lewis in Gibson, 1893, pp. 52-53). Lewis identified the manuscript as being a history of the lives and martyrdoms of women saints, written in the Syriac Estrangelo script, and dating from approximately A.D. 698. Lewis also spotted something else — faint traces of red ink, written in a mixture of Estrangelo and Greek, beneath the biographies of the women saints (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 53). She recognised the manuscript as a palimpsest, an item she was familiar with due to childhood stories the twins' father had told them about such texts, and immediately set about trying to decipher the red-ink underwriting (Lewis, 1898, p. vii).

A palimpsest is a repurposed manuscript, in this case written on vellum, where the original writing has been removed, usually scraped away, in order to reuse the vellum for a new text. However, "there is nothing that does not leave its mark" (Gibson, 1893, p. 73), and it is often possible to observe residual traces of the older writing underneath the new. In some cases, researchers are able to remove the overwriting altogether to reveal the original text.

Lewis was able to read enough of the Estrangelo underwriting to recognise that the text was from a "sacred narrative" (Lewis, 1898, p. viii). She showed her discovery to Gibson (who at that time read Arabic but not Syriac), pointing out to her sister the words in red ink that said "Evangelium", "of Matthew", "of Luke" and "of John", and concluded that the underwriting must be an early version of the Gospels (ibid.). Lewis and Gibson decided to photograph the entire text and take the negatives back to Cambridge for further analysis.

The twins returned to Cambridge in April 1892 and spent six weeks developing the negatives of the texts they had photographed for the purpose of transcription and translation. They also indexed all the photographs (Lewis the Syriac and Gibson the Arabic) in a painstaking process which involved deciphering which biblical passage was represented by each paragraph of their oft-blurry photographs (Gibson, 1893, p. 73). During this period Lewis and Gibson tried to communicate their findings to the Cambridge Orientalists who had supported their expedition, but upon the twins' return they could not persuade any of them to come to Castlebrae to examine the photographs they had been meticulously developing (Lewis, 1898, p. x). While there is no concrete evidence for the reason for this reluctance, both Jefferson (2009) and Soskice (2009) argue that the twins' findings were initially dismissed by their academic circle due to gender bias. I would suggest also that the intersection of gender and class produced a discriminatory element, where the elite, old boys' club of Orientalists at one of the world's leading seats of higher learning did not consider that two middle-class Scottish women with no university degree or institutional support could have discovered anything worth their time.

By mid-July Lewis and Gibson were "almost in despair" over the fact that they could not get any of their Cambridge circle to take their finds seriously (Lewis, 1898, p. x). In their frustration the twins employed a tactic that turned the discrimination they were facing to their advantage: rather than trying to penetrate the masculine sphere of academia, and ask scholars to their house, the twins capitalised on their position within the domestic sphere and decided to host a lunch, to which they invited a number of their female friends

(along with their Orientalist husbands) to Castlebrae on the 15th of July 1892 (Lewis, 1898, p. x).

Amy Persis Burkitt arrived for the lunch accompanied by her husband Francis Burkitt, the young lecturer who had taught Lewis the ancient Estrangelo branch of Syriac that the palimpsest was written in (Lewis, 1898, p. x). Lewis seized the opportunity of his presence to spread out a selection of the palimpsest photographs for Burkitt's perusal, and "he became at once deeply interested and asked me to entrust him with a few to study at home" (Lewis, 1898, p. xi). Two days later the twins received a letter from Amy Burkitt, stating that her husband had inspected the photographs and had immediately taken them to Professor Bensly, the Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic, who confirmed what Lewis had suspected all along: the underwriting of the palimpsest was the earliest known and most complete text of the Gospels in Syriac (Lewis, 1898, p. xi).

With Prof. Bensly's confirmation Lewis and Gibson's photographs were no longer subject to discriminatory dismissal, a shift in attitude that the twins recognised. Gibson pointedly stated that "it is not a little amusing to look back, and think of how nearly [due to their delay] several eminent Syriac scholars amongst our friends just managed to miss discovering its [the palimpsest's] value" (Gibson, 1893, p. 74). Having been ignored for months, within three days of Burkitt and Bensly's examination of the photographs Lewis and Gibson welcomed both men (along with Rendel Harris) to a meeting at Castlebrae on the morning of the 18th of July. The five decided that the best course of action was to return together to St. Catherine's Monastery and transcribe the complete palimpsest *in situ*, as although the twins' photographs were clear enough to indicate what the underwriting was, transcribing it in person was far superior to produce a scholarly translation (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 125).

In February 1893, Lewis and Gibson returned to St. Catherine's Monastery, this time accompanied by Prof. Bensly and his wife Agnes Bensly, Francis and Amy Burkitt, and Rendel Harris (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p.

125). The three men worked on the transcription of the palimpsest throughout the day, but at night the manuscript was housed in Lewis' tent, where she worked by candlelight, focusing her efforts on the transcription of the upper-writing — the lives and martyrdoms of women saints — for her own scholarly ends (she would later publish a translation of this transcription in 1912) (Lewis in Gibson, 1893, p. 132). During the day Lewis and Gibson worked on their own projects in the library, cataloguing all the Syriac (Lewis) and Arabic (Gibson) manuscripts, and transcribing a 12th century Palestinian Syriac Lectionary (which the twins would later translate and publish jointly in 1897). Gibson was particularly satisfied at being permitted to index the Arabic manuscripts, publishing a catalogue of them in 1894, as prior to the twins' arrival the monks, suspicious of foreign interference, had barred anyone from examining their substantial collection (Gibson, 1893, p. 89). Gibson felt that she "had accomplished a daring feat" when she was able to convince the Archbishop to let her complete this task (Gibson, 1893, p. 89).

The group spent over a month at St. Catherine's, returning to Cambridge in March of 1893 (Lewis, 1898, p. xiv). In a blow to morale and the plans for the palimpsest, three days following their arrival back in England Prof. Bensly fell ill and died unexpectedly, leaving the publication of the palimpsest's transcription solely in the hands of Burkitt, Rendel Harris, and Lewis (Lewis, 1898, p. xv).

During their second expedition to St. Catherine's, Lewis' discovery of the palimpsest had become known in England, and upon their return to Cambridge both the academy and general public were keenly interested in the details, providing the twins with a flush of publicity (Soskice, 2009, p. 182). Newspapers dedicated column inches to the thrilling story of two women crossing the deserts of Egypt to discover Gospels in a far-off monastery, launching them from obscurity into the public eye. Lewis and Gibson's official entry into the field of academia had in fact begun prior to their second expedition to St. Catherine's, when fellow Scottish Presbyterian and Cambridge Arabic professor, Robertson Smith, had "insisted" that the sisters present a selection of their findings from their initial expedition to the Ninth International Congress of

Orientalists in September 1892 (Gibson, 1893, p. 74, Lewis, 1898, p. xiii). It was Lewis and Gibson's first foray as independent scholars, rather than appendages to their late husbands, and introduced the women and their finds to the scholarly community. Now having returned from a second expedition armed with a full transcription of the palimpsest, along with photographs and transcriptions of many other valuable texts, the twins' utilised the capital of their Cambridge network to launch their careers as independent scholars. In June 1893 Robertson Smith stepped in once more, arranging a contract between Lewis, Gibson, and the prestigious Cambridge University Press (of which he was a board member) for the publication of the transcription and translation of the palimpsest, along with other works the twins brought back from St. Catherine's (Soskice, 2009, p. 188).

That same summer Dr. Robert Kennett (who had previously taught Lewis Syriac) began Syriac lessons for Gibson so that she would be able to work alongside her sister deciphering challenging portions of the palimpsest among other Syriac texts (Soskice, 2009, p. 191). In the autumn, Rendel Harris "bent the university's rules", arranging for Lewis and Gibson to attend his paleography classes, the first women to ever do so, where the sisters studied the science of reading and deciphering ancient manuscripts (Soskice, 2009, p. 192).

In 1894 Cambridge University Press published Bensly, Burkitt and Rendel Harris's transcription of the 'Sinai' palimpsest, titled *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*. Lewis was included as a contributor to the publication, writing the introduction to the transcription, her first piece of purely academic writing to be published. This introduction will be examined later in the chapter, but as other scholars have noted (Jefferson, 2009; Soskice, 2009), Lewis used the opportunity presented by the introduction to showcase her scholarly talents and promote herself as an academic. Providing an in-depth description of her discovery of the palimpsest, a meticulous description of the manuscript itself and a detailed analysis of the overwriting regarding women saints, Lewis' introduction left her target audience in

no doubt of her academic prowess and position as a scholar (Bensly, et al., 1894, pp. v-xxiv).

The publication of the palimpsest's transcription was met with rave reviews and its importance clear to biblical scholars (Soskice, 2009, p. 195). Bensly, Burkitt, and Rendel Harris had confirmed what Lewis had suspected from the outset, that she had discovered the earliest known Syriac copy of the Gospels, dating to the end of the fourth century A.D. The find was considered by her peers to be "one of the most valuable ever made in the field of Biblical archaeology" and Lewis' introduction to the transcription proved her scholarly acumen (D.S.M., 1926, p. 386). Equipped with publishing contracts from Cambridge University Press and a trove of photographs of untranslated biblical texts, Lewis and Gibson's social, cultural, and economic capital had enabled them to overcome academic limitations typically imposed on Victorian women and had, in the space of two years, transitioned from the feminine sphere of 'lady-travellers' to the male-dominated field of biblical scholarship, and thus embarked upon careers as translators of biblical texts that would define the rest of their lives.

4.2.7. Reception of Lewis and Gibson by the Academic Community

The twins would go on to establish themselves as talented and well-respected scholars, but despite the quality of their work and the support of male academics, particularly Robertson Smith and Rendel Harris, a vein of gender discrimination ran through Lewis and Gibson's academic careers. As often seemed to be the case, Lewis frequently found herself publicly defending her work and position, as both women employed their cultural and social capital to overcome gendered obstacles that were placed in their paths.

Following the transcription's publication, Lewis felt that a translation into English of the Sinai palimpsest

was needed, and spent the remainder of 1894 working on it, publishing again through Cambridge University Press her translation titled *A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest* (1894). She felt that the Victorian public, who had been so fascinated by her discovery, deserved to be able to access and read these early Gospels in English, and that the knowledge and information contained within them should not be reserved only for scholars of Syriac (Lewis, 1894, p. ix). Lewis also stated in her introduction that she produced a translation of the Gospels in their entirety, because "the cause of truth will be best served by placing a translation of the whole text before our readers, and not merely isolated passages, which are apt to be misconstrued when detached from their surroundings" (ibid.). She wanted the text publicly available and within its full context, to maximise her reader's understanding of its content, rather than having it limited by academic or religious authorities, perhaps a nod to her belief in the importance of education for all. Lewis' discovery of the earliest known Syriac Gospels, her translation of them into English, and now the publishing of her translation by Cambridge University Press must have filled Lewis with a sense of having achieved the Presbyterian edict that her life be purposeful, instilled in her through her childhood habitus.

With their purpose as translators of religious texts established, the twins' work ethic was unstoppable. That same year, 1894, they established their own academic journal, *Studia Sinaitica* (also published by Cambridge University Press), which they used to produce transcriptions and translations of texts from St. Catherine's. Over the next fourteen years Lewis and Gibson published twelve volumes of *Studia Sinaitica*, and eight volumes of *Horae Semiticae*, a second journal the twins' founded to publish translations of religious texts they acquired outside of their journeys to St. Catherine's (Jefferson, 2009, p. 34).

As both Jefferson (2009) and Soskice (2009) have noted, the twins' work was well-received by the academic community and they quickly gained respect for their meticulously detailed and precise translations of religious texts. Contemporary reviewers were almost universally positive, lauding Lewis and Gibson as the

"learned twin sisters of Cambridge" and ranking them amongst the leading scholars in their field (Nestle, 1902, p. 407). Jefferson quotes a reviewer for Gibson's work as stating that "she belongs to the very select band of women who are great scholars" (Jefferson, 2009, p. 35), and of Lewis, a reviewer of her *Old Syriac Gospels* wrote that she had "given added proof of her right to a place in the foremost rank of scholarship" (Sprengling, 1910, p. 358). The status provided by their Cambridge academic network, and the fact that their translations were published by Cambridge University Press, meant that although not formally connected to the university, the twins benefitted from its elite reputation. Their connections, social class and economic capital positioned them as the "learned twin sisters of Cambridge" rather than Irvine, and even though they were women, the intertwining of their discoveries and subsequent translations with their Cantabrigian circle meant that they were always associated with the upper echelons of academic society.

Further evidence of Lewis and Gibson's respected scholarly reputation occurred in May 1896, when the twins returned from Cairo where they had purchased fragments of religious texts from antiquities dealers (Lewis, 1898, p. 172). Believing several of the fragments to be connected to the history of Judaism, the twins contacted their old friend and Cambridge University lecturer in Talmudics, Dr. Solomon Schechter, telling him of their purchases (Lewis, 1898, p. 173). This time there would be no months of delay, pleading or faux social occasions needed to persuade their Cambridge circle of the potential of their finds. Schechter immediately arrived at Castlebrae to examine the fragments and saw that the sisters had brought home a leaf from the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus, written by Jesus ben Sira, the only one of its kind to be found (Jefferson, 2009, p. 36). Furthermore, the fragments the twins had purchased contained clues that led Schechter to Egypt later that year, to the Ben Ezra synagogue in Old Cairo, where he discovered a trove of over 200,000 Hebrew manuscripts known today as the 'Cairo Genizah', the world's largest collection of manuscripts recording the history of the Jewish people from the early medieval period onwards (ibid).

Despite all their academic successes and the strength of their social and economic position, as other scholars have noted Lewis and Gibson were not immune to gender discrimination and hierarchical power dynamics, which remained a factor within their academic careers and which often found them pitted against Victorian norms regarding women's roles and behaviour (Cornick and Binfield, 2006: Jefferson, 2009: Soskice, 2009). In 1896, Agnes Bensly, the wife of the late Prof. Robert Bensly published her own travelogue of the return trip to St. Catherine's on which she had accompanied her husband, alongside Lewis, Gibson, the Burkitts and Rendel Harris (1896). Upon its publication, Lewis sent many letters to the press strongly denouncing allegations Bensly had made in her book, namely that it had been Prof. Bensly and Burkitt, rather than Lewis, who had been the first to recognise the palimpsest as that of the Syriac Gospels, and secondly, that Lewis and the librarian of St. Catherine's, Fr. Galaktéon, had an improper relationship, which had resulted in her gaining access to the palimpsest previously barred to (male) Western scholars.

In her book Bensly stated that she had witnessed her husband and Burkitt "deciphering some of the under-writing [of the palimpsest], and I well remember their exclamations of gladness and triumph when they found it to contain the earliest Syriac translation of our Gospels" (1896, pp. 12-13). Upon reading this Lewis immediately wrote to the press correcting this misappropriation of her work and reasserting her authority as the palimpsest's identifier:

> On another point Mrs. Bensly's memory has played her false. Before my sister and I showed a few of our 400 photographs of the palimpsest to Mr. Burkitt, in 1892, I told him that I had read some of the under-writing at Sinai, and that I knew it to be a Syriac text of the Gospels not later than the fifth century. This statement was already in print for an article I wrote for the "Presbyterian Churchman" during our journey home. (Lewis, "Correspondence", *Leeds Mercury*, 24th Nov 1896)

In the same letter Lewis wrote of her horror at Bensly's description of the interaction between herself and Fr. Glaktéon. Bensly stated that upon the party's arrival at St. Catherine's, Fr. Galaktéon:

> Rushed forth with loud shouts of merriment, and fell on the neck of Mrs. Lewis…He patted her affectionately, he felt her garments, he made her sit by his side with his arm around her shoulders…His excessive friendliness augured well for his readiness in producing his literary treasures. The good old man had to be propitiated. (Bensly, 1896, pp. 104-105)

Lewis emphatically rejected the accusation that Fr. Galaktéon was overly familiar with her physically, and that as gatekeeper to the library's manuscripts he had to be appeased in this way. She felt that the insinuation tarnished both of their reputations and argued that upon their arrival he had done no more than greeted her with the traditional custom of kissing her hand, and that rather than access to manuscripts being the result of a *quid pro quo*, the access provided was based strictly on scholarly grounds, due to Fr. Galaktéon's intellectual interests (Lewis, 1896).

Bensly's accusations are examples of the gendered power dynamics women translators have often been subject to throughout history. As with the Muirs (Woods, 2010) and the Blunts, the appropriation of women's translation work by men was not unusual, but unlike Muir and Blunt, Lewis went on the offensive to publicly reclaim her work and authority. The insinuation from Bensly that Lewis had used her gender as a means for achieving her academic ends, rather than achieving them based on scholarly merit and equal terms with her male colleagues must have been particularly galling. What effect Lewis' letters to the press had on public opinion is unclear, but what is clear (and shall be discussed in more detail later in this chapter) is that for their published translations Lewis and Gibson included detailed accounts of the recovery and identification process for all of their source texts, firmly establishing their roles in this process, and leaving no room for doubt or misappropriation of their contributions.

In addition to the gender discrimination revealed by Bensly's publication, official academic recognition for Lewis and Gibson was also uneven, exposing the gender bias that ran through English academic institutions into the beginning of the twentieth century. The importance of the twins' finds to biblical scholarship, the publicity that surrounded them and the quality of their translations meant that both British and European

universities took notice. Five years following their first scholarly translations Lewis and Gibson were formally acknowledged by the academic field through the conferring of honorary degrees — academic qualifications that at the time were usually reserved for men. In 1899 the University of Halle-Wittenberg awarded Lewis an honorary Doctor of Philosophy due to "the high esteem in which we [the faculty] hold your learning and your splendid scientific merits" (Blass quoted in Soskice, 2009, p. 241). In 1901 the University of St. Andrews conferred honorary Doctors of Law upon both Lewis and Gibson, and in 1903 the University of Heidelberg awarded both sisters Doctors of Divinity (Soskice, 2009, pp. 250-259). Upon acceptance of their degrees the twins always appended their academic qualifications to their names on their publications, publicly signalling their institutional recognition and thereby reinforcing their academic credibility.

However, not all universities were ready to embrace gender equality and confer degrees upon women. Although Cambridge University Press was the twins' main publisher, and Cambridge was at the centre of their scholarly network, the university never granted Lewis or Gibson a degree, despite public campaigning on their behalf. Soskice writes of calls in local newspapers for Cambridge University to formally acknowledge Lewis and Gibson's scholarly merit, quoting from an anonymous writer to the *Cambridge Independent* who argued that "had they [Lewis and Gibson] chanced to be men they would have received Honorary Degrees from this University long ago" (Anonymous quoted in Soskice, 2009, p. 237) and in another instance, "Many men who have received them are far less distinguished than these ladies…It is not a question of sex, but of scholarship, and many men as well as many women here are loudly pleading for Honour to whom Honour is due" (Anonymous quoted in Soskice, 2009, p. 241). Despite the public outcry, this was one gender barrier that no amount of social, cultural, or economic capital could help them overcome, and they were never formally recognised by an English university.

Lewis and Gibson continued to work as translators of biblical texts well into their seventies, visiting St. Catherine's Monastery several more times to further examine the Sinai palimpsest and other manuscripts they worked to transcribe and translate. In 1915 they were the first women to be awarded the Royal Asiatic Society's Triennial Medal in recognition of their "special eminence in Oriental research" (*Newcastle Daily Journal*, 10th June 1915). They also continued to be advocates for women's rights, signing their names alongside other women to a letter to *The Times* advocating for women's suffrage in 1917 (Soskice, 2009, p. 268). In 1919 Lewis' physical and mental capacities declined and Gibson became her sister's caretaker, but on the 10th of January 1920, Gibson suffered a stroke and died the next day at the age of seventy-seven (Soskice, 2009, p. 269). Lewis never recovered her ability to work although she lived for another six years before passing away on the 29th of March 1926 at the age of eighty-three (Soskice, 2009, p. 270). An obituary for Gibson in *The Aberdeen Daily Journal* praised both twins' remarkable academic achievements and lauded them as "among the most distinguished Oriental scholars of the present day" (14th January 1920).

This biographical analysis has detailed how gender, understood to be operating within an intersectional framework, impacted the trajectory of Lewis and Gibson's translation careers. The childhood influences of their father and church minister, following the Scottish Presbyterian tenets of the importance of education and a rigorous work ethic, facilitated the best schooling the family's economic capital allowed (which expanded considerably upon a large financial bequest), and meant that the twins' scholarly talents were encouraged and developed from an early age. However, because of the discriminatory gender practices of the time, Lewis and Gibson were barred entry to university, and therefore prevented access to the academic field via a traditional route.

The economic capital the twins' accrued via their familial inheritance resulted in an independence that left them free to pursue their own interests rather than seeking employment or marriage for survival, leading to many years of travel, language study, and literary pursuits. Through Lewis' published travelogues her

support of the women's movement is apparent, and, as Von Flotow (2000) and Johnston (2013) demonstrated through their studies of fellow nineteenth-century translators Julia Smith and Jane Sinnet, Lewis used her publications as an unassuming guise through which she was able to publicly advocate for women's rights, both European and Arab, alongside other issues she felt strongly about, giving visibility to the religious discrimination faced by Coptic Christians, along with criticism of colonial behaviour and British Imperialism. Lewis' travelogues also reveal a writing style that resisted typical Orientalist literary tropes that exoticised or stereotyped Arab culture. Like Blunt, she focused instead on precise reporting of her experiences rather than promulgating Western reconstructions of the Arab world, seeking to convey an accurate portrayal of life in the Middle East rather than a Western fantasy. How many of these elements carried over into the twins' translations will be examined in the following textual analysis.

The intersection of gender and class would ordinarily have prevented entry into the lofty academic circles of biblical scholarship for Victorian women such as Lewis and Gibson (two middle-class women with no higher education or formal institutional support), but the economic, cultural, and social capital provided by Lewis and Gibson's childhood and marriages enabled them to overcome Victorian gender-norms that typically restricted women's roles to a domestic sphere. Their childhood education and inheritance and Young Gibson's tutelage in the art of translation, coupled with access to Savage Lewis' elite academic network at the University of Cambridge enabled the twins to gain entry to the academic field. The twins built on this capital to facilitate their expeditions to St. Catherine's, following which their exceptional scholarly talent became clear through their subsequent translation work. Whilst gender discrimination was a factor in Lewis and Gibson's careers, demonstrated by Lewis' often public defence of her and her sister's actions, and the fact that the university their careers were centred around did not bestow an honorary degree despite public pressing, it did not prevent them from successful academic careers, through which they were able to use their work to promote the women's movement and advocate for women's rights.

4.3. Paratextual Analysis of Lewis and Gibson's Translations

Having examined how far gender intersected with other identity signifiers to influence the overall translation careers of Lewis and Gibson, the following section will shift focus to a para/textual analysis of the twins' published translations, investigating how gender impacted their translation decisions and practices at the lexical level. The analysis will examine how Lewis and Gibson used their paratexts and translations to (a) justify their positions as women scholars, (b) highlight historical and biblical women, and (c) move their source texts away from Orientalist reconstructions, repositioning them within a biblical context.

4.3.1. Highlighting of the Twins' Academic Achievements

From Lewis' first translation of the Syriac Gospels in 1894, until their deaths in 1920 and 1926 (Gibson, Lewis respectively), the sisters published over forty works comprising mainly of religious translations and transcriptions of texts they either photographed at St. Catherine's or privately purchased on the antiquities market. Readers of their publications were left in no doubt of the twins' academic expertise as Lewis and Gibson operationalised the paratexts of their publications (the prefaces, introductions, and footnotes) to highlight their scholarly achievements. The motivation behind this strategy, in my view, being to lend justification and credibility to their positions as scholars in a male-dominated field, where their gender may have invited doubt or criticism over their academic capabilities. The following analysis provides examples of such instances, focusing on four areas that the twins highlighted, (a) their authority over their source

texts, (b) support from other (male) academics, (c) referencing their catalogue of previous publications and finally (d) providing visibility for each other's academic work.

4.3.1.1. *Authority over Source Texts*

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Lewis had been subject to gender discrimination when it was incorrectly suggested that her male colleagues Bensly and Burkitt, rather than herself, were the first to recognise the Syriac Gospels as the underwriting of the Sinai palimpsest. Portions of work or even entire translations being attributed to men rather than the women responsible has often occurred throughout translation history, as this thesis demonstrated when Blunt was not credited as the translator of the pre-Islamic poetry published by her husband in his anthology, along with the Muir case investigated by Woods (2010). The effect of this misattribution on Lewis and Gibson meant that they subsequently used their translation introductions and prefaces to ensure accurate attribution for the identification of STs they had either photographed *in situ* or privately purchased. The initial lines or opening paragraphs of their prefaces or introductions always detail the circumstances surrounding the discovery and identification of their ST, and most importantly, the fact that either Lewis or Gibson were solely responsible for the recovery of the text. The following tables contain a list of examples from the twins' paratexts illustrating this point:

"The manuscript from which I have transcribed these Epistles was **found by my sister**, Mrs. A. S. Lewis, in February 1892, in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai" [14] (Gibson*, An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Studia Sinaitica II, 1894, p. 5). "**We photographed the whole of these Epistles** during our stay at the convent in 1892" (Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Studia Sinaitica II, 1894, p. 5). "The story…is taken from the Arabic MS. No. 508 in the Library of the Convent of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, where **I photographed it during my second visit**, in 1893, and where **I revised it and re-photographed** various pages on **my two subsequent visits** in 1895 and 1897" (Gibson, *Apocrypha Arabica*, Studia Sinaitica VIII, 1901, p. vii).

Table 6: Examples of Gibson's authority over STs

"These "Select Narratives" form the upper script of the Palimpsest **which I discovered** in the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai in A.D. 1892" (Lewis, *Select Narratives of Holy Women*, Studia Sinaitica X, 1900, p. vi). "The manuscript from which these leaves are taken was **bought by me** at Suez from a commercial antiquary on his travels in 1895" (Lewis, *Leaves from Three Ancient Qurâns*, 1914, p. v).

Table 7: Examples of Lewis' authority over STs

This strategy of the twins' differed from their male contemporaries, who did not feel it necessary to detail their recovery or identification of ST's so early on in their introductions. In Rendel Harris's introduction to *The Apology of Aristides* (1891), he does not describe the discovery process of the ST until the third page of his introduction, far later than Lewis or Gibson. Likewise, Mingana, who was Lewis' co-editor on *Leaves from Three Ancient Qurâns* (1914), does not write about his role in the process of identification and translation of the ST until the twenty-first page of his introduction. Burton (whose translations will be discussed later in this chapter) does not begin the discussion of the STs he used for his translation of *The Arabian Nights* (1885) until the eleventh page of his introduction. The reason for this disparity, in my view,

[14] Unless otherwise stated, the emphasis within all quoted examples is my own.

is that Lewis and Gibson's male peers were not as susceptible to the discriminatory practice of appropriation of their work or finds. Lewis and Gibson had experienced this discrimination first-hand through Bensly's publication, and so felt it necessary to publicly assert their authority over their STs to ensure they were correctly attributed.

The result of this strategy is that from the outset of the translation the target audience is aware that either Lewis or Gibson were the parties solely responsible for the recovery and identification of the STs they translated, removing any ambiguity, and leaving no room for others to claim responsibility or authority over them.

4.3.1.2. *Research Processes and Academic Support*

In addition to establishing authority over their STs, Lewis and Gibson used the paratexts of their translations to relay their research processes to their target audience. Often involving detailed and lengthy descriptions of the discovery, identification, transcription and translation process, this strategy ensured that the twins' readership was assured of their academic expertise and credibility in handling important biblical manuscripts – a factor that would have been implicitly assumed of a male scholar due to his ratification by an academic institution, but not necessarily assumed for two uncredentialed women who were not permitted to attend university nor be employed by one, and as such had to prove their academic abilities through any available method. For example, in the introduction to Gibson's *Apocrypha Arabica* (1901), she describes the ST for *The Book of the Rolls*:

> The codex consists of 156 leaves, all paper, with the exception of five, which are vellum, measuring 20x15 centimetres. The hand-writing, as may be seen from the frontispiece is very like that of Plate XX. of the Palaeographic Society's Facsimiles of Ancient MSS. Oriental Series Part II. the date of whose original is A.D. 885. I may therefore claim that this Sinai MS. is at least older than the four Paris MSS. 76, 77, 78 and 79, of which No. 76 is dated A.D. 1336-7, and copied from a MS. of A.D. 1176-7. (Studia Sinaitica VIII, 1901, p. x)

This example shows Gibson providing a meticulous description of the ST, in addition to her own academic proficiency in examining, identifying, and translating such texts. Not only does she provide detailed information about the make-up of the ST itself, but she also informs the target audience of her awareness of alternative, later STs, and references her use and familiarity with The Palaeographic Society, giving institutional credibility to her assertions.

As well as detailing their research processes, the twins often included references to other (male) scholar's work or opinions that supported their own arguments regarding disputed details or the historical importance of a ST, using the social capital of male scholars to buttress their claims. Again from her introduction to *The Book of the Rolls* in *Studia Sinaitica*, Gibson wrote the following:

> Dr de Lagarde says of this treatise, in reviewing Prof. Bezold's book (*Mittheilungen*, Vol. III., pp. 50-51) [Bezold was also in possession of an alternate ST], that it is important, even though it may be worthless in itself, because of the influence it has exercised. It is the source from which many authors have drawn; it runs in Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic through the churches of Asia and Africa, and it serves as the leading line of ancient history, as well as the philosophy of religion. (Studia Sinaitica VIII, 1901, p. ix)

Although now a controversial historical figure due to his political views, at the time of Gibson's writing de Lagarde was a prominent Orientalist and bible scholar. By including his name amongst other academics who corroborated the historical importance and influence of her ST, Gibson provided her target audience with academic authority and evidence that supported her decision to photograph, transcribe and translate it.

In Lewis' introduction to her *Translation of the Four Gospels* she wrote: "Dr. Nestle, of Ulm, and Mr. Rendel Harris have both expressed the opinion that it [the Sinai palimpsest] represents, not a duplicate of the Curetonian, but the very first attempt at rendering the Gospel into Syriac" (1894, p. xxxii). Both Rendel Harris and Nestle were renowned and respected biblical scholars, and the inclusion of their names reinforces academic support for Lewis' assertion of the Sinai palimpsest's antiquity.

In another example, Gibson writes in the introduction to her translation of the Epistles of St. Paul that both Prof. Robertson Smith and Prof. Karabaçek of Vienna had studied the manuscript she was using as her ST and confirmed it to be from the ninth century A.D. (Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Studia Sinaitica II, 1894, p. 6). As has previously been noted in this chapter, Robertson Smith was a leading professor of Arabic at Cambridge University and likewise Josef von Karabaçek was an Orientalist professor at the University of Vienna, who is now considered one of the founders of papyrology. Establishing in her introduction that world-renowned scholars such as these two men had examined and authenticated her ST gives Gibson's translation further academic credibility for it to be considered a serious contribution to the field of biblical scholarship.

By using their paratexts to detail their research processes, and referencing support from leading male scholars, Lewis and Gibson provided academic legitimacy to their STs and translations, demonstrating their academic expertise, and circumventing discriminatory gender practices by leveraging male capital to bolster their positions as independent scholars in the academic field.

4.3.1.3. *Referencing Previous Publications*

Within their paratexts, Lewis and Gibson frequently referenced translations that they had previously published or were in progress. By highlighting their corpus of academic work, the twins' added further evidence to strengthen their reputation as serious scholars, offering proof that they were already established as translators of biblical texts. The following examples are extracts from the twins' paratexts, demonstrating the foregrounding of their translation corpus:

"It had the number 155 on its tattered back, and it retains this number in **the catalogue of Arabic books which I made** the year after its discovery, **a catalogue which will be published as No. III of this series**" (Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Studia Sinaitica II, 1894).
"There is no date discoverable in our MS., **No. 508 in my catalogue of the Arabic MSS**. (Studia Sinaitica, No. III), the same **from which I have already edited** the Anaphora Pilati and the Recognitions of Clement" (Gibson, *Studia Sinaitica VIII*, 1901 p. x).
"As **my sister is giving a translation** of this story from the Syriac of the upper script of the Palimpsest of the Four Gospels, **in No. X of the present series**, I did not think it necessary to translate the Arabic here" (Gibson, Studia Sinaitica VIII, 1901, p. xiii).
"The Arabic MSS., according to the list **published by my sister, Mrs. Gibson**, number about 629" (Lewis, *A Translation of the Four Gospels*, 1894, p. x).

Table 8: Lewis and Gibson's foregrounding of prior translations

4.3.1.4. *Providing Visibility for each other's Academic Work*

The examples above not only show references to Lewis and Gibson's body of work, but also recognition for each other's scholarship. Providing visibility for the other twin's academic contributions is an oft-featured element in Lewis and Gibson's paratexts, reinforcing their mutual support, highlighting each other's achievements, and adding to the target audience's sense of both women's academic talent. The following is a selection of examples demonstrating this strategy:

"I therefore resolved, **with the help of my sister, Mrs. James Young Gibson**, to photograph the whole book and thus take a complete copy home to Cambridge" (Lewis in Bensly et.al., 1894, p. v).
"The quires are quinions…with Syriac quire numbers running in the usual order, and with Georgian signatures running the opposite way, **which my sister was first to observe**" (Ibid.,).
"Nor must I forget **my sister, Mrs. James Young Gibson**, without whose constant aid my photographs of the manuscript would probably never have been published" (Ibid., p. xxiv).

"In conclusion, I have to **thank my sister, Mrs. James Y. Gibson**, for her careful revision of my proof-sheets" (Ibid., p. xxxiv). "…amongst other suggestions **one of Mrs. Gibson's may be noted**…" (Lewis, A Translation of the Four Gospels, 1894, p. xxvi). "I am **indebted to my sister, Mrs. James Y Gibson, for helping me in the correction of proofs**, a task which was much facilitated by our possession of the manuscript…My sister has saved me the great trouble of compiling a glossary" (Lewis, Studia Sinaitica VI, 1897, p. xi).

Table 9: Lewis' paratextual acknowledgement of Gibson's work

"**Mrs. Lewis read a paper on these two manuscripts** at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists; where they excited much interest" (Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Studia Sinaitica II, 1894, p. 5). "I have to express my **thanks to my dear sister, Mrs. S. S. Lewis**, the discoverer of this little manuscript…**for assisting me to correct the proofs**" (Gibson, *An Arabic Version of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Studia Sinaitica II, 1894, p. 8). [Thanks to] "**My sister, Mrs. S. S. Lewis,** for reading over the Arabic proofs" (Gibson, Studia Sinaitica V., 1896, p. xx).

Table 10: Gibson's paratextual acknowledgment of Lewis' work

It is clear from Lewis and Gibson's use of the paratexts to their translations, that they felt it necessary to reinforce their positions as translators and scholars in the following ways: ensuring accurate attribution for the discovery and identification of their STs, detailing their precise research processes, using male academic support to legitimise their translations, and highlighting their already established translation corpus. Unlike their male counterparts they were not employed by a university or academic institution, they were pursuing an independent career as biblical scholars and translators, and as such their positions in the academic field were not as secure as their male peers. Lewis and Gibson had to leverage the spaces available to them, in this case their paratexts, to provide themselves with visibility as translators and scholars, highlighting their abilities, and fending off any potential gendered discrimination or dismissal of their work.

4.3.2. Foregrounding of Historical Women

The following section of the paratextual analysis examines how Lewis and Gibson used their translations to foreground historical and biblical women, providing them visibility and ensuring accurate recording of their lives and stories. As this chapter has previously discussed, Lewis and Gibson had a keen interest in women's issues and were ardent supporters of the women's movement. Lewis' early novels, *Effie Maxwell* (1876), *Glenmavis* (1879) and *The Brides of Ardmore* (1880) were centred around women's lives, and she used her travelogues, *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870), *Glimpses of Greek Life and Scenery* (1884) and *Through Cyprus* (1887) to highlight and advocate for women's issues both at home and abroad. The twins' expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery and their subsequent transition into academia did not deter Lewis and Gibson from continuing to use their published texts as vehicles to give visibility to women's issues, rather they actively used them to recover the lives, roles and influence of historical and biblical women in the Christian Church.

4.3.2.1. *Lewis and the Martyrology of Women Saints*

While it is the Syriac Gospels revealed by the Sinai palimpsest that Lewis and Gibson are now most known for, several of the translations and texts that the twins published were connected with the overwriting on the palimpsest's surface: an account of sixteen martyred women saints written in Syriac in 778 A.D. Lewis' interest in women's issues and her recognition of a women's martyrology could have been the catalyst for her to investigate the palimpsest from the outset, and she certainly utilised the overwriting for her own scholarly ends.

Lewis leveraged the overwriting early on to promote her academic aspirations, when she featured extensive extracts, analysis, and translations from the text in her introduction to Bensly, Burkitt, and Rendel Harris's transcription of the Syriac Gospels (*The Four Gospels in Syriac*, 1894). Not only did Lewis' introduction

allow her to showcase her scholarly expertise and skill in translating ancient Syriac, but it also provided her with the opportunity to shed light on the historical women featured in the overwriting, even though they had no bearing or relation to the content of the Gospel transcription that followed. Lewis' introduction featured the initial lines from each of the women's martyrdoms, including the Syriac ST and her translation into English, e.g. "The story of St. Barbara in the city of Heliopolis" and "The martyrdom of Sophia and of her three daughters, virgins, Pistis, and Elphis, and Agápe" (Lewis in Bensly et al., 1894, pp. vii-viii). Lewis also included a substantial quotation from the Syriac overwriting along with her translation regarding the virginity of Mary, "Her virginity did not prevent her conception, and her giving birth did not destroy her virginity" (Lewis in Bensly et al., 1894, p. xiii) and she included the final paragraph of the overwriting and her translation of it into English which repeated the women's names and order of the martyrology once more:

> The end of this book, Select Narratives. First, of the blessed Thecla; second, of Eugenia; third, of Pelagia; fourth, of Marinus; fifth, of Euphrosyne; sixth, of Onesima; seventh, of Drusis; eighth, of Barbara; ninth, of Mary; tenth, of Irene; eleventh, of Euphemia; twelfth, of Sophia; thirteenth, of Theodosia; fourteenth, of Theodota; concerning the Faith; fifteenth, of Susan; sixteenth, of Cyprian and Justa; seventeenth, of the Mansions in Paradise. (Lewis in Bensly et al., 1894, p. xiv)

By operationalizing the palimpsest's overwriting in her introduction to *The Four Gospels in Syriac* (Bensly, et al., 1894), Lewis showcased her scholarship and brought visibility to the women's stories contained within it. This was only the beginning of Lewis' use of that ST. She would go on to feature information regarding the martyrologies throughout her career in multiple publications, increasing publicity for these historical women. In her travelogue of their Sinai expeditions Lewis wrote about visiting the Convent of Mar Thekla in Ma'alula, Syria, and relaying to the Abbess how Thekla was the first woman recorded in the martyrology overwriting:

> We were greatly interested in our visit to the Convent of Mar Thekla. It contained only three nuns, pleasant, ruddy-faced women. The Abbess was distinguished by a fur lining to her robe, and took

> great pride in showing the tomb of the first of woman martyr, and various rude little paintings commemorative of her life. She was greatly interested to learn that Thekla's is the first story of the series of saints' lives which over-lie the Gospels in the Syriac palimpsest which I had found at Sinai. (Lewis, *In the Shadow of Sinai*, 1898, pp. 137-138)

This extract not only provides visibility for the historic Thekla but is also a further example of two recurring elements in Lewis' publications: the reinforcement of her scholarly credibility, in this case the reiteration that she was the sole discoverer of the Sinai palimpsest, and the lack of exoticization in her writing, conveying a modest impression of the nuns rather than engaging in overly Orientalised descriptions of Arab women.

Lewis' use of the martyrology text reached its zenith in 1900 when she transcribed and translated the entire ST overwriting from Syriac into English and published it in the twins' own journals, *Studia Sinaitica IX* (the transcription) and *Studia Sinaitica X* (the translation), as "Select Narratives of Holy Women", including in her introduction a comprehensive account of each woman's life and death. Whilst the Syriac Gospels may be the more historically significant of the palimpsest's texts, Lewis was not content to let the overwriting — a history of sixteen women's deaths in the name of Christianity — be relegated to the shadow of the Apostles. Contributing to the recovery of the lives of these historical women, Lewis spent almost a decade spotlighting them in every palimpsest-related work she produced, culminating by publishing the full transcription and translation of the ST eight years following her photographing of it.

4.3.2.2. *Historical Women in Gibson's Translations*

Much like her sister, Gibson also used her translations to accurately record historical or biblical women, in addition to highlighting women's roles and gender dynamics in the early Christian Church. Her travelogue accounting for Lewis' discovery of the Sinai palimpsest, *How the Codex was Found*, although mainly consisting of Lewis' journal entries, included an epilogue written by Gibson that described the travels of an

early Christian woman saint, St. Sylvia of Aquitaine (1893). Not only does the epilogue highlight St. Sylvia's travels through the Middle East, Gibson used it to spotlight the twins' own achievements, stating that "Although we were the first women who had ever worked in the convent library, we were by no means the first who have travelled to Sinai" (1893, p. 108). Gibson underscored the fact that she and Lewis were the first women scholars to conduct research within the monastery, while at the same time emphasising that many women had made the journey prior to them as part of religious pilgrimage. Gibson discussed the diary of St. Sylvia that recorded the saint's journey to Sinai in the 4th century A.D, stating that not only does the text provide an overview of the status of Christianity during the final years of the Roman Empire, but it also revealed something important to Gibson: that the existence of an ancient woman's travel journal "proves that the love of adventure is by no means a new phenomenon in our sex" and that the "narrative of a woman's experience…is singularly like our own" (Gibson, 1893, p. 123). Just as Lewis felt the need to justify their travel plans at the beginning of *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870), Gibson operationalised the paratext of her travelogue to highlight the example of St. Sylvia, using it as validation for the twins' desire to travel and explore by showing that these aspirations were not a new trend but a continuation of a long line of historical women travellers.

Following the twins' expedition to St. Catherine's, Gibson's career as a scholar and translator offered her an opportunity to engage with and translate subject matter featuring the histories of Christian women, alongside gender dynamics within the early Christian Church. In 1903 Gibson published her translation from the Syriac of the *Didascalia Apostolorum* as part of the twins' journal series *Horae Semiticae.* The ST is a third century set of rules for Christian Bishops purportedly handed down by the Apostles, of which large sections address the treatment of women and includes chapters titled, "That every man should please his Wife alone", "The Doctrine about Women, that they please and honour their Husbands only", "About Widows", "How it befits Widows to conduct themselves", "Of the Appointment of Deacons and

Deaconesses" (Gibson, 1903, pp. xi-xii). Of the 26 total chapters, seven directly address either women's roles in the church or gender dynamics between the sexes.

In her introduction to the translation, Gibson advanced her opinion on the rules laid out in the ST, stating that "most of the precepts and practices inculcated are excellent, and well worthy of our own consideration" and goes on to argue that if a follower of Christianity considers the ST to be "of Apostolic authority", then they should "adopt its rules in their entirety" rather than selectively adhering to only those that are convenient or agree with their own judgement or values (Gibson, 1903, p. v). Gibson elaborated with an example, stating that "if implicit obedience is to be given to Bishops (Ch. IX., p.48), they, the Bishops, must be elected by all the people (Ch. III., p. 10)" (Gibson, 1903, p. v). The fact that Gibson particularly selects this edict as an example to highlight is interesting, as it could reflect her interest in not only a democratically elected hierarchy within the Christian Church but also the promotion of the vote for women. Specifically stating that elections by "all" the people (both men and women) for the selection of Bishops should be adopted would have been contentious. Not only was this not (and still is not) a practice in the English Christian Church, but at the time of Gibson's translation women did not yet have the franchise, so suggesting that they should be allowed, via Apostolic decree, to vote alongside men in the election of Bishops is an example of her candid support and promotion of a controversial gender issue.

Gibson also operationalised the paratexts of her translations to correct, clarify and expand upon inaccurate or disputable statements in her STs, particularly those regarding women's names, social status, relationships, and genealogies, furthering the accurate recovery and recording of historical and biblical women. In her 1901 translation from Arabic into English of *The Book of the Rolls* she wrote that the ST was written to defend the genealogy of Mary and "prove her descent from David", an ancestry which was being "impudently called into question" by certain actors (Gibson, 1901, p. x). Although Gibson wrote that many of the proper names in the ST had been "much spoiled, probably by repeated copying", she was still able to

identify and cross-reference many of them with proper names in the books of the Old Testament (ibid.). However, several of the women's names and details in the ST are inaccurate and Gibson wrote of her interest in wishing to know the references the ST author had used for them (ibid.). She considered many of the women's names mentioned in the ST to be "probably conjectural", and highlighted several inaccuracies related to them, including the family tree of Bathsheba - "decidedly wrong" – and a substantial list of other errors on the part of the ST author, e.g. "Tala'ia daughter of Amon is no doubt Athaliah", who the ST states was the daughter of Omri and sister of Ahab, when in fact Gibson points out that Athaliah was "the daughter of Ahab and granddaughter of Omri, in every way worthy of her parentage" (Gibson, 1901, pp. xviii-xix). Sharing her sister's bent for accuracy and precision in her translation, but not wanting to amend or insert herself into the TT, Gibson uses her footnotes to correct errors in the ST and promote the accurate recording of these women's names and details.

In the introduction to her translation of *The Recognitions of Clement* (translated into English from the Syriac and Arabic), Gibson demonstrated how precision in the rendering of biblical or historical women's names can help date a ST (Gibson, Apocrypha Sinaitica, *Studia Sinaitica V*, 1896, p. xv). She wrote that a date in the Syriac ST indicated that it cannot have been written later than the fourth century A.D., and that the content of the ST involved several recognizable historical women, including Matthidia, sister of the Roman Emperor Trajan and mother-in-law of Hadrian (ibid.). Gibson concluded that this biographical information would date the ST to somewhere between 150-170 A.D., and she also took the opportunity to inform her target audience that statues of the women mentioned in the ST were on display at the British Museum, indicating both their historical significance and the benefits of precisely recording women's biographical information in historical texts (ibid.).

Gibson also used her introduction to comment on the culture and freedoms enjoyed by women during this period (150-170 A.D.), as the ST tells of women freely travelling between Rome and Athens. She felt it

necessary to explain or defend this practice, stating that there was nothing historically inaccurate about the concept of women travelling between the two cities, and that even middle-class women were able to travel abroad at the time, therefore the ST describing a woman from Roman nobility travelling with her children to Athens "for their education and her own convenience" would not be unusual (Gibson, 1896, p. xvii). Here Gibson used the opportunity to enlighten her readers about the freedom of movement Roman women enjoyed, a right that both Lewis and Gibson were keen advocates for during their own time period.

As these examples demonstrate, Lewis and Gibson used the prefaces, introductions, footnotes, and endnotes of their translations to spotlight the historical and biblical women featured in their STs, and to advocate for the accurate recording and recovery of these women's lives. Just as they used their travelogues to promote women's issues and highlight gender dynamics, the twins' operationalised these paratextual sections of their translations to increase visibility and recognition for the historical and biblical women within their STs.

4.4. Textual Analysis: Lewis' *Ahikar* vs. Burton's *Arabian Nights*

The following textual analysis presents a comparative study of Lewis' translation from Arabic of *The Story of Haiqâr and Nadan* (included in *The Story of Ahikar*, Conybeare, Harris, Lewis, 1898), with Sir Richard Burton's translation of the same ST, published ten years prior, titled *The Say of Haykar the Sage*, which he included as part of his *Supplemental Nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1888, Vol. 6). The *Ahikar* TT was chosen for analysis because of the opportunity to compare it with the TT of a male Victorian Orientalist. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only example from Lewis' Arabic TTs that

had also been translated by a fellow nineteenth-century scholar. It therefore uniquely allows for an examination of Lewis' translation alongside Burton's, exploring how her context and motivation differed to his, and evaluating how far gender impacted her lexical decisions.

Lewis' TT is one of a collection of translations of the same 'Ahikar' story from different languages, collated and published by her friend and colleague Rendel Harris, who wished to see the tale "rescued from the Arabian Nights and…restored to the Biblical Apocrypha" (1898, p. v). Rendel Harris believed that the story originated not from Arab folklore, as Burton's TT would suggest, but as part of the Hebrew Book of Tobit, and as such set out to prove its biblical ancestry by publishing a collection of translations from a variety of ancient STs (1898, p. xxi). Rendel Harris translated the story from the Aramaic, Syriac, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic STs, whilst Lewis was assigned the Arabic, and a third scholar, J. C. Conybeare translated the Armenian version. Published together as *The Story of Ahikar*, Rendel Harris argued in the introduction that the story should be reevaluated as more than a "pretty romance" from "a conventional Arab tale", and instead examined as a part of biblical literature (1898, p. vii). It is through this lens, viewing the ST as biblical rather than folkloric, that Lewis produced her translation.

4.4.1. Differing Translation Styles

Whilst Lewis considered her ST to be of a biblical nature, Burton, alternatively, situates the same ST within the folkloric and Islamic context of the *Arabian Nights*. As a result, the two translators produce starkly contrasting TT of the same ST, conveying wholly different impressions of the ST's history and culture to the TT audience. To further understand the circumstances surrounding Lewis and Burton's output, an evaluation of their differing translation styles is needed.

While Lewis employed the paratexts of her publications to raise her scholarly profile and increase the visibility of the women featured in her translations, within the TTs themselves Lewis greatly reduced her visibility, striving above all else for a precise translation style that was as felicitous as possible to her STs. The pursuit of truth was an important element in Lewis' writings and translations, from childhood her habitus had been inculcated with a serious, scholarly disposition, and whether it was advocating for her readers to study the Bible for themselves rather than trusting church hierarchy, using her travelogues to reveal harsh realities of life for populations under colonial rule, defending herself against public slander or producing translations that provided the public access to religious texts, Lewis doggedly pursued accurate representation in everything she did. Her translation style was as representative of the ST as possible, avoiding exaggeration, elaboration, or extensive creative license. One reviewer for her 1910 translation of *The Old Syriac Gospels* claimed that "her text comes as near as is possible with so difficult an exemplar to the scholar's ideal of purely objective accuracy" (Sprengling, *The Biblical World Journal*, 1910).

Two reasons for Lewis' detail oriented and exacting translation style will now be explored. Firstly, the gender dynamic of her position as a scholar could have influenced her translation strategy. As a woman, traditionally positioned outside of the academic field and not affiliated or employed professionally with any institution of higher education, her work would have come under more scrutiny and could have been more easily dismissed as that of an amateur hobbyist rather than serious, independent scholar. As such her translations had to be as irreproachable as possible to be taken seriously by her male colleagues who were educated and employed through official academic channels.

Secondly, her religious beliefs resulted in a respect and reverence for her STs, almost all of which were biblical. Because of their religious nature Lewis sought to render their content as precisely as possible, as she believed herself to be translating religious teachings and histories from the early Christian Church, along with tracts handed down by apostolic authorities, and in some cases, the actions and words of Jesus himself.

She did not therefore engage in creative license or exoticism for texts she considered sacred, wanting to communicate the word of God as accurately to her readers as possible. These two influences on Lewis' translation style will now be examined in more detail.

4.4.1.1. *Religious Context of Lewis' Source Texts*

Lewis and Gibson were devout Presbyterians, committed to a life of religious scholarship, and as such both felt a deep reverence for the STs they translated, as almost all were manuscripts from the early Christian Church. Lewis wrote on numerous occasions of her veneration for such texts; in her introduction to *Studia Sinaitica VI*, regarding the translation of two Gospel Lectionaries recovered at St. Catherine's, she stated that:

> The origin…and the history of the dialect in which they are written, are both involved in so deep an obscurity that even the scant light which the rubrics of this book throw on them will be highly welcome. It is generally conceded that the dialect in which they are written…is probably that which our Lord spoke, and which bewrayed St. Peter. (1897, p. viii)

Here Lewis is discussing how the ST revealed important information regarding the dialect that Jesus himself would have spoken. With that in mind she would want to produce a translation that was as representative of the ST as possible, so as not to dilute or obscure any of the religious significance of the contents.

In a further example that demonstrates her reverence for the Syriac Gospels of the Sinai palimpsest, the painstaking precision she engaged in to translate them, and further evidence of her using her translations to promote women's issues, Lewis wrote the following:[15]

> The piece of my work…which has given me the greatest satisfaction consists in the decipherment of two words in John iv. 27. They were well worth all our visits to Sinai, for they illustrate an action of our Lord which seems to be recorded nowhere else, and which has some degree of

[15] I have included the quote in full as it demonstrates multiple elements critical to Lewis' translation style.

> inherent probability from what we know of His character. The passage is, "His disciples came and wondered that with the woman He was *standing and talking*" [Lewis' emphasis]. Professor Bensly had seen the final letter of the word *qaem*, "standing," and, not being able to guess what it was, he had conjected the letter *l* before it, thus making it the unimportant article *lam*. I saw at the first glance [when Lewis returns to Sinai for the third time to review the palimpsest] that there was no *l,* and that a little brown *Alef a* was embedded in a word of the upper writing. I did not touch this, but a light application of my brush [with the reagent] brought up a *q* before that again so as to form the word *qaem*. *E* is one of those short vowels which are not written in ancient Syriac. Why was our Lord standing? He had been sitting on the well when the disciples left Him, and we know that He was tired. Moreover, sitting is the proper attitude for an Eastern when engaged in teaching. And an ordinary Oriental would never rise of his own natural free will out of politeness to a woman. It may be that He rose in His enthusiasm for the great truths He was uttering, but I like to think that His great heart, which embraced the lowest of humanity, lifted Him above the restrictions of His race and age, and made Him show that courtesy to our sex, even in the person of a degraded specimen, which is considered amongst all really progressive peoples to be a mark of true and noble manhood. To shed even a faint light upon that wondrous story of His tabernacling amongst us, is an inestimable privilege, and worth all the trouble we can possibly take. (Lewis, 1898, pp. 97-98)

This quote reveals the overlaying of several influences on Lewis' translation process and strategy. Firstly, her consideration that her translating of only two words, 'standing' and 'talking', was her greatest achievement shows the amount of thought, effort and importance she allocated to each word of her ST and TT, recalling Gibson's observation of her husband James's meticulous handling of each word of his translation of El Cid (see section 4.6). Secondly, it makes clear the deep reverence she holds for being responsible for deciphering Jesus's true interaction with the woman at the well, and being the first person to render it into English. Finally, Lewis uses her translation of these two words to promote gender equality, arguing that Jesus's treatment of the woman at the well should be used as an example for all modern societies to follow, and that the treatment of women as equals is a mark of an educated and just man.

Lewis' respect for her STs and their religious content is one of the main reasons for her detail-oriented and exact translation style. She believed the texts to be rooted in biblical history and set down by early religious or even Apostolic authorities, and as such sought to render the STs as accurately as possible, providing her readers with a precise rendering of the religious content, and leaving no room for creative license or the exaggerated and exoticised style of European Orientalist literature.

4.4.1.2. *Lewis' Academic Credibility*

A further possible influence on Lewis' precise and translation style was the gendered dynamics of the male-dominated academic field she was part of. As has been discussed elsewhere in this chapter, Lewis used the paratexts of her translations to reinforce her academic credibility and establish her position in the field as an independent scholar. While the paratexts were an opportunity to highlight her academic clout, her translations themselves were her proving ground. Her efforts to establish her position as a respected scholar would be nullified if the translations themselves were not considered a success amongst her peers. As a woman in a male-dominated field, an independent scholar with no official academic training and working outside of a university appointment, she could leave no room for criticism of her work - her TTs had to be as infallible as possible. She could not engage in the use of creative license or the exaggerated Orientalist style of Burton as she would risk her work being dismissed as not scholarly, and her translation of 'Ahikar', published alongside other version translated by leading male academics of the time (Rendel Harris and Conybeare), had to be irreproachable to rise above gendered Victorian stereotypes regarding women's roles.

In contrast Burton worked under no such restraints. The aim of his TT from the outset was to "produce a full, complete, unvarnished, uncastrated copy" of the *Arabian Nights* of which the 'Ahikar' ST is part, although in Burton's TT he gives it the title of *The Say of Haykar the Sage* (Burton, 1885/2001, p. xxv). As discussed in Chapter One, Burton's translation strategy and style produced a TT that he thought the ST "offered or ought to have offered", and had no qualms using his own creative license:

> [t]o change the order of the sentences, to delete tautological words and phrases, to suppress descriptions which are needlessly re-iterated, and in places to supply the connecting links without which the chain of liberties is weakened or broken. These are liberties which must be allowed, unless the translator's object be to produce a mutilated version of a mutilation. (Burton, 1901/1888, p. xiii)

Burton did not subscribe to Simeoni's (1998) theoretically submissive role of a translator to their ST, but rather asserts his dominance over it, believing it his prerogative to add or remove textual items in his TT as he saw fit, a strategy that Lewis actively avoided. Burton did not consider himself part of the academic Orientalist field that Lewis was immersed in and wrote of his disregard for their conventions and norms. When discussing the transliteration of Arabic, Burton stated that he "deliberately reject[s] the artful and complicated system, ugly and clumsy withal, affected by scientific modern Orientalists…it would be wholly out of place in one whose purpose is that of the novel, to amuse rather than instruct" (Burton, 1885/2001, p. xxxiv). Burton approaches the 'Ahikar' text through the lens of a literary translator, and while he rejects "scientific" Orientalism, he engages in typical nineteenth-century literary Orientalist trends, exoticizing and eroticizing what he considers a folkloric ST in his translation, and assuming total creative freedom. In contrast Lewis worked within the translation norms of academic Orientalism, situating the ST within a biblical context and, giving herself as little visibility as possible in the TT, rendered its religious content with exacting precision.

4.4.2. Comparative Analysis of Lewis' and Burton's Target Texts

The result of these differing approaches can be seen in the translation decisions made by Lewis and Burton when rendering lexical items in their TTs. This is immediately apparent from the opening lines of both TTs, presented in the following table:

Lewis' TT	In the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.

	There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was vizier of the king Sennacherib.
Burton's TT	In the name of Allah, the Compassionating, the Compassionate, the Eternal One, the Termless, the Timeless, and of Him aidance we await. And here we begin (with the assistance of Allah Almighty and His fair furtherance) to invite the Story of Haykar the Sage, the Philosopher, the Wazir of Sankharib the Sovran, and of the son of the wise man's sister Nadan the fool. They relate that during the days of Sankháríb the King, lord of Asúr and Naynawah there was a Sage, Haykar hight, Grand Wazir of that Sovran and his chief secretary…

Table 11: First Paragraphs of Lewis' and Burton's Ahikar TTs

Because Lewis considered the 'Ahikar' story to be rooted in biblical literature rather than Arab folklore, she situated religious lexical items from the ST within Christian traditions in her TT, even if the item could potentially be translated as an Islamic reference. Lewis was immediately presented with a translation challenge as the first two words of the ST are بسم الله [bismillah], a traditional Islamic phrase meaning 'In the name of Allah' or 'In the name of God' (Conybeare, et al. 1898/1913, p. ١). Burton points out this Islamic connection in his introduction, stating that 'Ahikar' is "famous in folk-lore throughout the East, [and] begins with the Orthodox Moslem [sic] "Bismillah"" (Burton, 1888/1901, p. viii). As such in Burton's TT he translates 'bismillah' as "In the Name of Allah", immediately situating the tale within an Islamic context (1888, p. 3). Lewis renders it as "In the name of God" (Conybeare et al., 1898/1913 p. 130), thus avoiding any Islamic reference and conveying the idea that the ST could have been written by a Christian source. The decision of Lewis and Burton to use 'God' and 'Allah' respectively in their TTs is a consistent feature of their translation strategies, the result of which is two translations of the same ST being situated within two different religious traditions.

This religious positioning resulted in Lewis using biblical translation norms for proper nouns in the ST. The name of the king, سنحاريب (transliterated would read Sanhārīb), Lewis translated as "Sennacherib", an Old Testament Assyrian king (Conybeare et al., 1898/1913, p. 130). Burton steered clear of biblical associations for the king's name and, eschewing the transliteration system of academic Orientalists, rendered his own transliteration as "Sankhárib" (1888, p. 3). The same translation strategy was applied to other proper nouns in the ST, where Lewis used biblical renderings, thus placing her TT within an Old Testament tradition, whilst Burton transliterated using his own personal system. So اتور (transliteration: Atūr) is rendered "Assyria" by Lewis (Conybeare et al., 1898/1913, p. 130) and "Asúr" by Burton (1888, p. 3) and نينيوى (transliteration: Nīnīwā) becomes "Nineveh" in Lewis' TT (ibid.) and "Naynawah" in Burton's (ibid.).

As these initial paragraphs indicate (and in line with Rendel Harris's statement in his introduction that the translators' aim was to move the 'Ahikar' story away from the *Arabian Nights* and place it within the canon of biblical literature), Lewis produced a TT situated within the history and literary traditions of the Old Testament, a familiar text to much of her readership. For reasons of gender, religion, and scholarship (as has previously been discussed), Lewis also rendered a precise, academic translation free of the exoticization or exaggeration of the Orientalist literary field. Conversely, Burton took every opportunity to exaggerate, exoticise and eroticise in his TT, accentuating the 'otherness' of the Arab world to his English readers. The use of Islamic lexical items in Burton's TT not only placed the story within the context of Islam and the Arab world, but it immediately foreignised the translation for his English readership, placing it outside of the familiar sphere of Western, Christian-oriented literature.

Even seemingly straightforward ST items were exoticised by Burton and thrown into sharp relief when compared to Lewis' precise, academic rendering. The following table provides examples of Lewis' renderings of standard nouns (colours, materials, etc.) that had clear equivalents in English which Lewis utilised, but Burton resisted and instead opted for exoticised versions:

Source Text (1898, pp. ١-٢)	My literal translation	Lewis' TT (1898, pp. 130-131)	Burton's TT (1888, pp. 3-5)
الارجوان	Purple	Purple	Escarlate
الحرير	Silk	Silk	Sendal
القرمز	Crimson	Crimson	Alkermes
الملك	King	King	Sovran
القرابين	Sacrifices	Sacrifices	Corbans and victims

Table 12: TT examples from Burton's and Lewis' translations of Ahikar

The examples above show Burton's unusual and stylised language he employed when translating even simple lexical items, and so instead of Lewis' straightforward 'purple', 'crimson', 'king', Burton rendered as 'escarlate', 'alkermes' (here he transliterates the Arabic instead of providing the standard anglicised version of the word) and even the possible 'sovereign', he amplifies to 'sovran', demonstrating his idiosyncratic lexical style, and again accentuating the 'otherness' of the Arab world, compared to Lewis' use of terms familiar to her TT audience.

Lewis avoided the Orientalist stereotype of exoticizing Arab culture in her TT, in addition to avoiding the eroticizing of Arab women, unlike Burton who frequently used sexualised or exploitative imagery in his TT. A noun featured several times in the 'Ahikar' ST is "**الجوارى**" [women servants] who attend the king, which Lewis translated as either "handmaidens" or "maidservants", but Burton translated as "concubines". Lewis' rendering conveyed no sexual connotation regarding these women, and therefore no sexual relationship between them and the king, whereas Burton has made a sexual relationship explicit. The result is two very different impressions of the king's court and culture, where Lewis' Old Testament King Sennacherib has no hint of impropriety, but Burton's King Sankhárib possesses a troupe of concubines, playing into Orientalist tropes of the Middle East being a place of indulgence and hedonistic fantasies.

These opposing strategies are employed several times throughout the two translator's TTs, where Lewis rendered items accurately but sparingly, with no exaggerated sexualization or eroticization, whilst Burton frequently eroticised. When translating a sentence describing a woman as مزخرفة [adorned] with clothes and oils, Lewis used "bedizened", communicating an extravagant but not necessarily overtly sexual impression, whereas Burton rendered it as "adulterated", again using explicit sexual imagery to sensationalise the woman in the ST. The same woman is later described as " سفيهة" [foolish], which Lewis translated as "silly" but Burton translated as "immodest". Once again, the two TTs offer different interpretations of the ST subject, Lewis' *silly* woman *bedizened* with clothes and oils conveys an almost de-eroticised image compared to Burton's *immodest* woman who is *adulterated* with them.

This textual analysis demonstrates the importance of understanding the circumstances and influences behind a translator's decision-making processes. Lewis' intention in translating the 'Ahikar' ST was to move it away from Orientalist literature and reposition it as part of the biblical canon. As such her translation strategy was to render a precise and scholarly translation, enabling her to communicate the religious content and historical significance of the ST as exactly as possible, and by dint of her academic approach, fend off any gendered criticism of her work. By contrast, Burton's intention was to keep the ST as part of the folklore tradition of the *Arabian Nights*, to which end he situated it firmly within an Islamic setting and employed typical Orientalist strategies of exoticization and eroticization that exaggerated the 'otherness' of the Arab world for the entertainment of his English readers.

4.5. Textual Analysis: Gibson's *Aphikia* vs. Burton's *Arabian Nights*

In 1901, Gibson transcribed and translated *The Story of Aphikia*, which she published in her *Apocrypha Arabica* collection (1901, pp. 59-63). *Aphikia*, like Lewis' *Ahikar* text, had connections to Arab folklore that had resulted in it being included as one of the tales in the *Arabian Nights* cycle. Several nineteenth-century Orientalists incorporated the folktale version in their translations of the *Nights*, including Burton, who titled it "The King and his Wazir's Wife" within the section "The Craft and Malice of Women" (1885, pp. 129-132).

Although the section *Aphikia* belongs to in the *Nights* cycle would suggest a negative impression of the woman at the centre of the story, in actuality the tale tells of the moral superiority of a wife successfully defending herself against the sexual advances of a king whilst her husband, the king's advisor, has been sent away. When the advisor returns home, he finds evidence that the king has been in his house, and assuming his wife has been unfaithful to him he shuns her. Hearing that the wife has been mistakenly punished by her husband, the king assures the advisor of his wife's fidelity and the story ends with the couple reunited. In the *Nights* ST the wife, advisor, and king are unnamed and not placed within any specific historical period, but Gibson's ST identifies the woman as Aphikia, wife of Jesus ben Sira (the writer of Ecclesiasticus), and the king as King Solomon. Gibson points out that the featuring of these three historical participants points to the tale being apocryphal rather than historically accurate, as Jesus ben Sira and King Solomon did not live at the same time (1901, p. xi).

Aphikia provides further evidence of the twins' use of their introductions to highlight historical women and gender dynamics as previously analysed in this chapter. In her introduction Gibson refers to Jesus ben Sira

as "the heroine's husband", assigning Aphikia the primary role as heroine and placing Sira as secondary (1901, p. xii). This is particularly poignant as the twins' considered Sira to be a misogynist, who had written in his Ecclesiasticus text the "extraordinary statement" that "better is the wickedness of man than the goodness of a woman" (ibid.). Gibson considered this statement "a reflection which he might well make during the two years of sulkiness here attributed to him" (ibid.). The "two years of sulkiness" Gibson refers to is the length of time Sira supposedly shunned Aphikia, thinking she had been unfaithful.[16]

Because Gibson's translation used a different ST to the one used for the *Nights* translations, a word-for-word comparative analysis between Gibson and Burton is not possible. Gibson's ST is from a Christian source, a Karshuni[17] text she described as "a Paris paper M.S. Fonds Syriaque 179" (1901, p. xii). The author of her Karshuni ST assigned biblical names to the characters and locations, situating the story within Christian literature. Burton's ST is from the collection of Arabic manuscripts that made up the *Nights,* dubbed the 'Calcutta II' corpus, edited by Sir William Hay Macnaghten (Burton, 1885/2001, p. xxxiii). Despite not being able to consider the translations side-by-side, it is still possible to read them and see that Gibson's aim was a scholarly translation of the Aphikia story within the biblical literary tradition familiar to her audience, and to therefore render it as precisely as possible. Burton's aim was to translate the ST as part of the *Nights* cycle, and as with *Ahikar* he employed exoticization, positioned his translation within an Islamic context, and engaged his idiosyncratic use of English to accentuate the 'otherness' of the Arab world and Arab culture. Gibson translated items such as "In the name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy

[16] The twins relished the fact that it had been themselves, two women, who had recovered the original leaves of Ecclesiasticus in Cairo which had led Solomon Schechter to discover the Cairo Genizah (Soskice, 2009, p. 223). Lewis wrote of their delight in her travelogue *In the Shadow of Sinai*: "Another aspect of the matter affords us intense amusement and gratification. Sirach [Jesus ben Sira], the author of Ecclesiasticus, was a woman-hater. The names of Deborah, Ruth, and Judith do not occur in his list of national heroes; and one of his aphorisms runs: "Better is the wickedness of a man than the goodness of a woman" (Ecclus. Xlii. 14). It seems therefore a just judgement upon him that the Hebrew text of his book, the text which he actually wrote, should have practically disappeared for fifteen centuries, and should have been brought under the eyes of a European scholar, I might say a scholar of his own nation, by two women" (Lewis, 1898, pp. 179-180).

[17] Arabic written in Syriac.

Ghost", "King of the children of Israel", "Solomon the Wise" and "son of David" so the Christian/Old Testament context is clear (1901, p. 59), whilst Burton used Islamic references such as "by Allah", "Allah prosper the King", and "Almighty Allah" to position his text within Arab-Islamic culture (1885/2001, pp. 129-131). Burton's distinctive language use is also apparent and in stark contrast to Gibson's scholarly, straight-forward style, using terms in his TT such as "espied", "thee-wards", "seal-ring", "saith sooth", "thither", "bequetheth", "marvelled with exceeding marvel" (ibid.), compared to Gibson's often archaic but not exaggerated language. The last paragraphs of both translator's STs contain the final part of the story, where Aphikia's husband learns that she has been faithful to him all along and reunites with her. The following two extracts of Gibson and Burton's portion of the tale demonstrate the translation style and aims of each:

Gibson, 1901, p. 62	Then Jesus rose at once, and with his mother-in-law, and entered his abode and sat with Aphikia his wife and inquired of her, and she informed him of what had happened, and he glorified the Lord God of the name of Israel.
Burton, 1885, pp. 131-132	"Hearkening and obedience," answered the Minister and, returning home sent for his wife and made his peace with her and thenceforth put faith in her chastity. This I tell thee, O King (continued the Wazir), for no other purpose save to let thee know how great is their [women] craft and how precipitancy bequetheth repentance.

Table 13: TT example from Burton's and Gibson's translations of Aphikia.

Gibson's simple and unembellished language is apparent in this example, along with the biblical context of her translation, communicating an alternative impression of the story, setting and culture when compared with Burton's exaggerated and foreignised version.

Both Lewis and Gibson, with their *Ahikar* and *Aphikia* translations, did not extend the visibility that they provided themselves with in their paratexts to their TTs. In the translations themselves, Lewis and Gibson

fulfilled the role of Simeoni's "quintessential servant" (1998, p. 12), and pursued strategies of fidelity to their STs, precision in their lexical choices, and avoidance of Orientalist tropes of exoticization or hegemonic dominance. Their aims were to communicate the sacred content of their texts without translator interference, and the possibility of their work being dismissed by the academic community due to their gender drove them to ensure their translations were as scholarly and serious in tone as possible.

4.6. Preliminary Conclusions

As with Blunt, this chapter has explored how gender, alongside other intersectional factors including class and religion, impacted the career trajectories and translation practices of Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson. At first glance, it could be surmised that Lewis and Gibson's gender would have been an obstacle to successful academic careers due to the secondary and restricted position most Victorian women found themselves situated in, but their cultural (education), social (class positioning and social network), and economic (financially independent) capital meant they were able to overcome discriminatory gender practices to become distinguished scholars, using their work to disseminate religious texts to the English reading public, whilst bringing visibility to the historical and biblical women featured within them.

The twins' childhood was marked by a father and influential church minister who believed in the importance of education, regardless of gender, along with a staunch Presbyterianism that imbued Lewis and Gibson's habitus with a devout faith in God along with the idea that a life should be purposeful. The inheritance from a distant relation greatly enhanced the family's economic capital and societal positioning, allowing the twins

to be sent to school in London and facilitating trips abroad, granting the twins a superior education and experience with oversees travel before the age of eighteen.

Their father's death in their early twenties left the twins wealthy, educated, and independent with no patriarchal figure claiming authority over them. This was a rare opportunity for Victorian women, one which bestowed them with complete control over their lives. Whilst the intersection of class and religion afforded them a privileged societal position (they had the wealth and religious backing which facilitated and encouraged education and independence of thought) gender did present an obstacle at this stage in their lives as they could not continue their schooling at university due to restrictions placed upon women's higher education. Following their father's death, the twins embarked on adulthood through travel and writing, where Lewis used her travelogues as a tool to advocate for women's issues and offer critical commentary on the practices of colonialism, along with a resistance to Orientalist literary tropes. Her writing style did not subscribe to typical Orientalist trends of the exoticisation of Arab culture, nor the promulgation of Western superiority, and she described scenes of daily life in the Middle East with a frank and honest realism.

Despite their extensive travels and Lewis' literary pursuits, it was the twins' marriages that provided them with the social and cultural capital that enabled them to enter the academic field which would have, due to their gender, otherwise been barred to them, fulfilling their faith-based drive for a purposeful life. An education in literary translation provided by Gibson's husband, combined with the elite academic network of the University of Cambridge provided by Lewis' marriage meant that the twins were able to embark on their first expedition to Sinai and returned, laden with hundreds of photographs of ancient texts ready to launch their academic careers.

The textual analysis provided in this chapter revealed how Lewis and Gibson rendered precise, close translations of biblical texts into English, with as little interference in the TT as possible, moving away from typical Orientalist approaches to Arabic translation, and engaged in an exhaustive translation process to reproduce the religious and historical content of their STs as accurately as possible. Whilst their visibility as translators within the TTs themselves was minimal so as not to obscure or detract from the religious content, the twins operationalised the paratexts of their translation publications — their prefaces, introductions, and footnotes — to reinforce their positions as credible scholars and translators, ensure correct attribution for their work, and promote the accurate recording of the lives of the historical women in their STs. These strategies equipped Lewis and Gibson's translations with a defence against discriminatory gender practices that could have dismissed their work as secondary to their male colleagues, whilst also providing them with the opportunity to promote the women in their STs as well as their own academic work.

Being middle-class women, the intersection of gender and class should have prevented their entry into the elite echelons of academic Orientalism, but the economic, cultural, and social capital they accrued through their lives left them in a uniquely powerful position, enabling them to circumvent typical Victorian gender-norms that would have restricted their lives to the domestic sphere. Within their TTs they rejected Orientalist tropes of exoticisation and the accentuation of otherness, in favour of an unembellished precision, enabling them to be seen as credible women scholars, and also allowing the culture and religious content of their STs to speak for itself, rather than being reconstructed through the lens of Western Orientalism. Conversely, they deployed their paratexts as amplifiers for their own voices, using the seemingly unthreatening genre of religious translation to promote their own agendas: using the paratextual spaces available to them to reinforce their positions as reputable scholars within the field of academic Orientalism, highlighting their academic achievements, and promoting the accurate recovery and visibility of the historical women featured in their STs.

5. Concluding Remarks

This thesis set out to answer the question of how far gender, understood to be operating within an intersectional framework, influenced the lives, translation careers, and translation practices of Victorian Arabic translators Lady Anne Blunt, Agnes Smith Lewis, and Margaret Dunlop Gibson. More specifically, my aim was to explore how different identity signifiers central to the three women's lives, such as gender, class and religion, intersected with their personal circumstances (e.g. childhood, education, and social milieu), their area of interest (the Middle East and its relationship with West), and historical and national circumstances (Victorian culture and the British empire at the end of the nineteenth century) to impact their career trajectories and translation output.

Using the theoretical structures of habitus, field, and capital, alongside Said's theory of Orientalism and the model of intersectional feminism, I conducted a biographical analysis of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's childhoods, travels, and publications, alongside a paratextual analysis of Lewis and Gibson's publications, and a comparative textual analysis of a sampling of all three women's translations from Arabic to English. This methodology enabled me to present an in-depth analysis of the women's lives and works to draw conclusions on how far gender influenced the women's translation careers and practices, and how far it was just one of several identity categories such as class, race, and religion, that impacted their work. Following the Bourdieu tripartite of habitus, field, and capital, whilst incorporating Orientalism and intersectionality, these conclusions will now be presented.

Despite belonging to different social classes within Victorian society (Blunt belonged to the upper-class echelons of British society whilst Lewis and Gibson were middle-class), the three women's childhoods shared a common bond: their parents recognised the societal disadvantages that being born female could

pose in nineteenth-century Britain and strove to compensate for this fact; as examined earlier, Blunt received more education than her elder brothers, whilst Lewis and Gibson were educated "as if they had been boys" (Soskice, 2009, p. 9). All three were provided with an expansive education, equipping them with a habitus imbued with independent intellectual thought and academic rigor, and the cultural capital of entering adulthood with a quality education – a privileged skillset that the majority of Victorian women did not possess. The high standard of their education also points to the fact that whilst gender alone may have predisposed the trio to a disadvantageous societal position, when intersected with social class and supported by the substantial economic capital their families benefitted from, Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were in fact placed in far more privileged societal positions than most Victorians, whether women or men. Without their class positions (and the cultural and economic capital that accompanied them), it is highly doubtful that they would have been able to access the education provided to them, and therefore they would never have received the academic foundation essential to their later linguistic studies.

Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were also exposed to two other important childhood experiences which influenced their habitus: overseas travel and strong adult role models. For Blunt this included extensive travel through Europe, and exposure to some of the most influential nineteenth-century travellers to the Middle East, including her aunt, Lady Hester Stanhope, and Orientalists Sir Henry Layard and Sir Henry Rawlinson. She also witnessed both her parents engaged in independent academic careers, rather than their relationship being divided along traditional gender roles where the mother would take on the domestic responsibilities whilst the father engaged in the public sphere. Instead, her parent's relationship disrupted typical Victorian gender dynamics as her mother was a highly successful and respected mathematician, whilst her father was a scientist. This non-traditional childhood of an extensive education, and an intellectual familial and societal network, in addition to overseas travel provided Blunt with a cultured and intellectual habitus from which to build off of and engage in travel and translation as an adult.

For Lewis and Gibson, strong role models and European travel also featured in their childhood, although details of their childhood are scant compared to Blunt's. What is clear is that their father, John Smith, and their childhood minister, William Bruce Robertson, recognised the disadvantages their gender could present (even going so far as to prevent the sister's economic capital from being accessible to a spouse upon marriage), and instilled in Lewis and Gibson's habitus the Presbyterian principles of the importance of education and the pursuit of a purposeful life, rather than the feminine 'butterfly existence' that Lewis expressly wished to avoid. The bookshelves of their childhood home were filled with the scientific tomes of Darwin and Renan in addition to religious texts and they travelled often to Europe, Robertson regaling them all the while with the latest archaeological news from the Holy Land. Like Blunt, this combination of education, travel, and exposure to new ideas, both scientific and archaeological, equipped them with a habitus imbued with the practice of academic rigour and religious purpose from which they built their careers as adults.

For all three women, the Bourdieusian concept of capital was critical to their success as translators and, when viewed through the paradigm of intersectionality, it has become clear through the course of this research that Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's social class (which Bourdieu's capital encompasses) was just as important and influential an identity signifier as their gender. Their middle and upper-class societal positions provided them cultural capital — specifically their childhood education — that bestowed an academic affinity for languages which all three would build upon when studying Arabic as adults. It was as adults however, that the discriminatory gender practices of Victorian society began to infiltrate their trajectories as translators, as once Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson reached the age of eighteen, they were barred from pursuing a university degree or higher education on account of them being women. They were blocked from the traditional educational route of the professional (male) Orientalist, but despite this discrimination, all three were able to circumvent this limitation via alternative routes, employing their economic and social capital to enable them to enter the field later in life and without professional or academic qualifications. Once again,

whilst gender presented a disadvantage, their class position and the benefits that accompanied it facilitated their success despite the barriers they faced.

Economic capital was also an essential factor in the success of the women's careers. The wealth all three possessed meant they were able to spend large amounts of time in the Middle East and hire language tutors both in situ and in England to teach them Arabic. Blunt's position as an aristocrat within the British upper-class combined with her family's wealth, meant that she was not expected nor in need of employment for economic security, and, following her separation from her husband, enabled her to buy her own house in Egypt and engage independently in literary pursuits of her own choosing and free from restrictions. Lewis and Gibson were bestowed with substantial economic capital as young adults following the death of their father, which, with no other patriarchal relatives or guardians to interfere, left the twins needing neither employment nor spouses for support. Their father went so far as to ensure their inheritance would be protected from discriminatory Victorian marriage laws through his will, which meant they were immune from suitors who would have pursued a union with them purely for their own economic gain. Had Blunt's wealth been protected in a similar manner, she may not have possessed the same appeal to the young and financially in need Scawen Blunt, and her married life could potentially have taken a quite different turn.

In combination with Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's economic capital, the women's accrued social capital facilitated the success of their travels in the Middle East, their entry into the interconnected field of Orientalism and Arabic translation, and the publication of their works. Blunt, as a member of the aristocratic elite and a Victorian celebrity due to her grandfather Lord Byron's legacy, was able to access any social network she desired. As a couple, the Blunts' easily garnered institutional support for their journeys from the Royal Geographical Society and were welcomed by expats and local communities alike during their travels through the Middle East. Blunt enjoyed the company of the leading Arabists, literary figures, intellectuals, and politicians of the day, whether in England with Scawen Blunt, or in her final years in Egypt. On account of her class position, her social network facilitated an ease when it came to both travel

through the Middle East and her study of the language, literature, and culture of the Arab world upon her return.

For Lewis and Gibson, although born without the elite social network of the English upper-class like Blunt, the sisters still possessed essential social capital accrued through their connections with the Presbyterian Church and their marriages which was key to their success as Arabic translators and Semitic scholars. Without these connections accessed through their middle-class positioning, it is difficult to envisage how the twins would have achieved the same level of academic success had they faced the multi-layered discrimination produced by the intersection of gender and a lower social class.

The second research question asked how these intersections impacted the ways in which Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's private lives intertwined and overlapped with their public roles as translators and academics, drawing on recent scholarship — both within and beyond the newly coined subfield of translator studies — demonstrating that understanding a translator's societal context is key to understanding their translations (Meylaerts, 2006, 2013; Chesterman 2009; Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts, 2018; Baer, 2018; Hassen, 2018; Kaindl, Kolb and Schlager, 2021). The biographical analysis has demonstrated that gender, class, and religion played prominent roles in the women's personal lives and impacted their translation work, but intersected differently for Blunt compared with the twins, given the very different gender dynamics within the women's marriages which manifested and impacted their career trajectories and translation output.

For Blunt, whilst during her youth the capital of her social class had outweighed the disadvantages of her gender, upon her marriage to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, no amount of social, cultural, or economic capital could outweigh the oppressive, gendered dynamics he imposed upon her personal and academic life. Continually positioned as his inferior, Blunt's subservient role in their patriarchal relationship meant that her husband dictated almost every aspect of Blunt's life, including the suppression of her intellectual freedom, permitting her to only engage with work approved by him. He claimed her travel diaries for himself, editing them

beyond recognition yet publishing them as travelogues under her name; a fact Blunt always resented. He forced her to endure a gruelling schedule when requiring translations of pre-Islamic poetry for him to 'versify' and publish, and although the initial publications of the poetry correctly ascribed the translation work to Blunt, following their separation he publicly marginalised her role by not crediting her as the translator when publishing the poetry in an anthology of 'his' works (*The Poetical Works*, 1914). It was only after their separation, once Blunt was physically and psychologically emancipated from him, that she was no longer subject to his gendered discrimination. As it had during her childhood, her class position — encompassing her impressive social, cultural, and economic capital — rose to the fore, countering any gender discrimination that may have presented itself, and resulted in her ability to spend her final years working independently on a project of her choosing, i.e. her magnum opus on the history of the Arabian horse.

For Lewis and Gibson, their personal life intertwined with their careers as translators and Semitic scholars in very different ways to Blunt. Rather than experiencing gender discrimination and intellectual restriction within their marriages, both their husbands, Samuel Savage Lewis and James Young Gibson, were supportive of the twins' academic talents and endeavours. Gibson's husband provided the twins with their first experiences of literary translation and encouraged them in their travels to the Middle East. He also appreciated their support and advice on his own work as a translator of Spanish literature. Likewise, Savage Lewis admired and encouraged his wife's scholarly work, ensuring that both Lewis and Gibson each had a private study within their Cambridge home, Castlebrae, from which to work without interruption. The gender dynamics of their marriages, whilst not as clear as Blunt's (mainly due to the lack of personal diaries on the part of Lewis and Gibson) does not appear to have been a barrier to the twins' academic pursuits. What is clear from Lewis and Gibson's biographical analysis, however, is the extent to which their religious beliefs had the largest impact on their translation careers and output.

With a habitus imbued with the Scottish Presbyterian tenets of the importance of education and the necessity of living a purposeful life, it is not surprising that Lewis and Gibson, when finding themselves widowed following the deaths of their husbands, and wealthy, following the death of their father, chose to fulfil those obligations instilled in them from childhood. Their first trip as independent adults was to the Middle East, and included a pilgrimage through Jerusalem and Palestine, motivated by the chance to see for themselves the biblical sites they held sacred. Following their husband's deaths, they had the freedom and finances to travel anywhere in the world, but they decided on an expedition to St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai, inspired by descriptions of it from Gibson's late husband, and the recent discovery of an important Christian text. The twins were clearly explorers, but they wanted to explore with a purpose, and the prospect of visiting St. Catherine's Monastery and potentially locating further noteworthy religious documents was the perfect opportunity to fulfil their exploratory and academic interests alongside what they considered to be their religious duty. The texts they found in the monastery's library and the many subsequent years they dedicated to translating and publishing them, are a testament to the strength of their religious beliefs, without which Lewis and Gibson's widowhoods would surely have taken a different path.

The research also aimed to shed light on gender discrimination the three women faced and its impact on their lives and work. The biographical analysis has revealed that whilst the benefits of their social classes often countered the discrimination that would have been levelled against them as women in Victorian society, they could not circumvent it entirely, and there were many instances (for Blunt especially) where gender discrimination was an ever-present burden that impacted their translation work. As discussed above, Blunt's experience of gender bias was centred within her private life, where she was subject to the dominating personality of a husband who did not perceive her as an equal, but positioned her as secondary in the relationship and controlled all aspects of her intellectual life, dictating the scope of her Arabic language study and ordering the translation of texts which he would then commandeer.

By contrast, demonstrating the multi-faceted ways women can experience discrimination, the gendered prejudices that Lewis and Gibson faced were received from the public sphere. When writing *Eastern Pilgrims* (1870), Lewis' travelogue for the twins' first trip to the Middle East, she felt obligated to publicly justify their decision to travel without a male chaperone, defending her and her sister's intellectual capabilities to carry out such a journey, and positioning them as pilgrims visiting the Holy Land in order to comply with Victorian social mores that would have frowned upon women traveling purely for travels sake. In the same vein, Gibson used the epilogue of her travelogue, *How the Codex was Found* (1893), to justify her and her sister's journey to St. Catherine's Monastery, and whilst highlighting the fact that they were the first women scholars to study in the monastery's library, she emphasised the fact that they were not the first women to visit, stating that the path to the monastery had been trodden by many women pilgrims for over a thousand years. Clearly the twins felt that Victorian society would consider their gender a disadvantage when it came to their travels, and a situation which would normally have required a male overseer. However, by connecting their journeys with those of pilgrims, and female pilgrims at that, and highlighting their education and intellectual abilities, this intersection of gender, religion, and class supported their position of privilege and facilitated the acceptance of their travels seemingly without reproach.

Whilst their travels were supported (and their Sinai expeditions encouraged by their Cambridge network), Lewis and Gibson both wrote about an instance of what appears to be gender bias when they returned to Cambridge following the discovery of the palimpsest (Lewis, 1898, p. x). Upon their return, none of the (male) scholars within their social circle would come to their house to examine the evidence they had gathered (Gibson, 1893, p. 74). The twins' requests for meetings went unanswered, and although there is no direct evidence to explain why, I concur with Jefferson (2009) and Soskice (2009), that resistance to Lewis and Gibson's invitations may have been because their colleagues did not believe that two women outside of the field of professional and academic Orientalism, with no institutional support or university education, could have brought back anything of import.

Following the confirmation of the ancestry of the palimpsest, as their careers as biblical scholars and translators took off Lewis had to defend herself in writing once again, this time in response to discriminatory allegations that marginalised her achievements by not crediting her with the discovery of the Sinai palimpsest (and instead assigning responsibility to the more established male scholars Bensly and Burkitt). In addition, she was forced to defend her reputation against an accusation that she had engaged in an improper relationship which had resulted in her accessing the religious texts within the library of St. Catherine's Monastery. These allegations sidelined her expertise in the identification of ancient manuscripts in favour of the male academics who examined the palimpsest after she presented it to them, and also reduced both Lewis and Gibson's feat in gaining access to the contents of the library at St. Catherine's by falsely accusing her of an illicit *quid pro quo*. Gibson publicly defended her sister against the allegations. Trying to ensure proper attribution for the discovery of the palimpsest and to give a detailed breakdown of how the twins journeyed to Sinai and accessed the monastery, she swiftly published a travelogue of the events to correct false accounts that were beginning to circulate (*How the Codex was Found*, 1893). Although different from Blunt's experiences, these episodes show that despite Lewis and Gibson's abundance of economic, social, and cultural capital, they were also not immune to discriminatory gender practices.

A third research question the thesis set out to answer was how Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's personal diaries, journals and correspondences helped to shed light on the interlocking identity categories of gender, religion, and class and the impact of them on the women's translation decisions and practices. The answer is perhaps more straightforward for Blunt than for the twins, for the Wentworth Bequest at the British Library houses all of Blunt's personal diaries, logs, account books and a large amount of personal correspondence between herself and her husband, family, and friends. This wealth of information provides a deep insight into her personal life and context; her personal address book reads as a who's-who of Victorian high society, full of the names of aristocratic families, Prime Ministers, politicians, scientists, and writers, clearly demonstrating

her influential social network (BL ADD MS 54065**)**. Within her extensive diaries, which she began writing at just eight years old, she described her daily life, as well as her feelings on everything from the devastation of her miscarriages and infant losses, to her frustration and disappointment in her husband's lack of fidelity, along with detailed accounts of the couple's expeditions through the Middle East, including her admiration of Najd culture and love for the desert. Her diaries reveal the unequal power dynamic between the couple during their married years, the near-constant criticism from Scawen Blunt, as well as her feelings of emancipation, intellectual freedom, and resistance to his demands upon their separation. She also detailed the working processes of the couple, particularly regarding their translations of pre-Islamic poetry, showing how Blunt worked tirelessly at her husband's command on the translations from Arabic, whilst also gathering the biographical data on the poets that they used for *The Golden Odes* (1903), which Scawen Blunt then versified and edited to his liking. Another helpful insight for analysis of the couple's working relationship is the fact that it is possible to compare Blunt's travel diaries of their expeditions with the final versions 'edited' by her husband, which although published under her name make plain how far the published travelogues differentiated from her original accounts by his hand – a fact that she always regretted.

For Lewis and Gibson, the lack of accessible personal diaries meant that primary source information regarding their childhood and personal relationships was somewhat scarce. Fortunately for this research, their travelogues (based upon their travel journals), their newspaper correspondences and the paratexts to the large volume of their published translations have been mined for information regarding their personal contexts, including the intersections of gender, class and religion. Lewis' early travelogues make clear her independence of thought and person, alongside the twins' religious beliefs and support for women's rights. They also chart her evolving opinions on British imperialism, beginning with support for British machinations abroad but reaching a point to where she is critical of both the impact of colonialism on its subject nations and more personally, the behaviour of British soldiers in colonial society. She wrote regrettably of her belief that British colonial personnel (and their wives) spent their time socializing, rather

than working to improve the lives of the people they were governing. These comments by Lewis are further examples of her belief that one should lead a purposeful life that contributes to society, an aim that she sought to achieve through her translation work. The two travelogues Lewis and Gibson published detailing their Sinai expeditions and the discovery of the palimpsest were based on their travel diaries and, as discussed above, were used by the twins to publicly confirm the timeline of events that motivated their expeditions, the details of their access to the monastery's library, the discovery (and recovery) process of the palimpsest and other religious texts, and the fact that it was Lewis who immediately recognised the contents of the palimpsest before anyone else.

The newspaper correspondences of Lewis and Gibson, whether penned by them or referencing them, are useful because they shed further light on how gender intersected with the women's careers. As previously discussed, Lewis wrote numerous letters to newspapers in her defence when accused of an improper relationship in exchange for access to texts in the library of St. Catherine's, and within the same allegation, not correctly credited for her identification of the palimpsest. Other newspaper correspondence also highlights the issues of gender that surrounded them. Towards the end of their careers an anonymous letter was sent to the local Cambridge newspaper decrying the university's lack of degree bestowed upon them, purely because they were women. As the letter writer aptly put it, "it is not a question of sex but of scholarship" – clearly there was support for them to receive an honorary degree despite their gender, but the discriminatory practices of English universities that only conferred degrees upon men were unfortunately not overlooked in the twins' favour. In a final act of resistance, Lewis and Gibson signed their names to a letter to *The Times* in favour of women's suffrage, alongside many other prominent women of the long nineteenth century. Their letters and correspondences demonstrate their commitment to the women's movement and defence of their rights throughout their careers.

Finally, the thesis investigated how the intersection of gender with other identity signifiers (such as class and religion) was reflected in Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's translation practices from Arabic to English at a

para/textual level. More specifically, it sought to explore whether these intersectional factors resulted in differing translation approaches and strategies from those of male Victorian Orientalists. In order to answer these questions, I conducted a textual analysis of translation samples for all three women, and drawing on previous research that has highlighted how paratexts can be used in Translation Studies to reconstruct a translator's social context, motivations and aims with their translations (Batchelor, 2018; Hassen, 2018), I also conducted a paratextual analysis of the women's translation corpus. These analyses revealed that Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson often used their translations to resist typical nineteenth century representations of the Arab world, and that the twins specifically used their paratexts as vehicles for both reinforcing their positions as academics and also highlighting women's issues within a historical and biblical context.

For Blunt, the textual analysis revealed multiple strategies she employed to communicate a representative rendering of her STs and SC, including transliteration and the use of archaisms, with a focus on the precise translation of the history of the Arabian horse and equine terms culturally specific to the Najd tribes of Saudi Arabia. Her strategies contrasted with the often embellished, exploitative and racially stereotyped Orientalist tropes of translated Arabic texts during the Victorian era, which she privately criticised as "ridiculous renderings" and strove to rectify mistranslations of equestrian Najd terms. In her final work on the history of the Arabian horse, Blunt explained how precision in recitation was of utmost importance to the reciters of pre-Islamic oral poetry, and how she wished its uniqueness would be conserved, rather than reconstructed through the lens of Western Orientalism. She publicly called for the preservation of Najd literature and culture, and hoped that her work allowed what she considered to be the authentic Arab voice to be heard, before being assimilated by external encroachment or diluted by outside influences.

For Lewis and Gibson, their work resisted nineteenth century Orientalist translation norms within the literary tradition, but as translators of Christian texts the twins conformed to the standards of biblical translation, where TT without addition or exaggeration were the norm. The twins strictly followed this approach due to both their religious faith, which resulted in them wanting to render texts sacred to them as

accurately as possible, and also to reinforce their credibility as serious scholars within the field of Semitic scholarship, which, due to their gender, could have positioned them at a disadvantage. They were keenly aware that as women lacking in higher education and outside of the old boys' club of the professional or academic Orientalist, their work could have been easily dismissed, but their social capital provided them with an elite academic network through which they garnered support and education, and this combined with their precisely rendered translations helped shield them from such discrimination. Here class (their social network) and religion (motivating their adherence to academic norms) intersected to counter the disadvantaged position gender alone would have place them in. Instead, they were accepted into the academic field, but they used the paratexts of their translations to remain in their privileged positions and reinforce their status as serious scholars. More specifically, as the paratextual analysis demonstrated, Lewis and Gibson used their prefaces, introductions, footnotes and epilogues as spaces to provide visibility and evidence of their scholarly achievements, subject knowledge, support for their work from male contemporaries, and the highlighting of each other's publications, all of which helped to cement their status as credible academics and translators, countering any potential naysayers who would have rejected their work on account of gender bias.

For the translations themselves, the comparative textual analysis of Lewis' translation of *Ahikar* with Burton's translation of the same text, and Gibson's *Aphikia* (also compared to Burton's version) revealed that the twins' aimed to recontextualise the STs for their reading audience as serious religious works rather than Arab folktales, moving their TTs away from the field of Orientalist literary tradition and its tropes of exoticisation and exaggerated otherness that the STs had previously been classified within. Burton situated his TTs within a folkloric and Islamic setting, whilst Lewis and Gibson presented their TTs as part of the biblical canon. Burton seized every opportunity to exaggerate, stylise and exoticise in his TT, accentuating the otherness of the ST and making himself highly visible in his TTs. Conversely, the twins strove for much less visibility, seeking to render the religious content and historical record contained within their STs as

accurately as possible, and in keeping with the norms of biblical translation. There is no exaggeration, exoticisation, or eroticisation in their TTs, and rather than highlighting otherness, the twins sought to produce scholarly translations that would be within a familiar biblical style for their reading public.

A further result emerged from the para/textual analysis of Lewis and Gibson's translations that also resisted the norms of nineteenth-century Orientalism. This was the extent to which the twins used their paratexts and choice of STs to highlight historical and biblical women, ensuring their accurate representation, in addition to employing their translations as a tool for the recovery and recognition of these women's lives. Lewis spent over a decade promoting the women saints featured in the palimpsest's overwriting, culminating in her translation of the full ST, *Select Narratives of Holy Women*, in 1900. Likewise, Gibson dedicated a considerable amount of her work to ensuring the accurate representation of biblical women in her STs, using her paratexts whenever necessary to contextualise and correct any erroneous information regarding them. The biographical analysis of the twins having provided context regarding their belief in and championing of women's rights, it is not therefore surprising that they would use their translations to acknowledge and provide visibility to historical women – promoting their role and importance within the early Christian Church.

For all three women, the para/textual analyses highlighted their preference for a more fact-based representation of the ST content and culture, resisting Orientalist tropes that exaggerated and exoticised the Arab world. They also limited their visibility within their TTs, inserting themselves as little as possible. This would seem to corroborate Simeoni's (1998) theory (as discussed in Chapter Two) of a translator positioning themselves as secondary to the ST due to the possession of a subservient translatorial habitus. However, rather than conforming to this theory, I would argue that far from considering themselves inferior as translators, Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were focused on the precise rendering of their translations due to the high regard in which they held their STs, in order to present a more realistic image of the ST content and culture to their Victorian readers, who may have only been exposed to Arab culture through the

stereotypical lens of Orientalism. The analysis also revealed that although the women limited their visibility in their TTs, they used their work to advocate for their own agendas, again clearly not conforming to Simeoni's theory that translators have typically been invisible servants (1998). All three women had specific aims in mind for their translations – Lewis and Gibson wanted to render the sacred content of their TTs for English readers and wherever possible foregrounded biblical women, in line with their beliefs in the women's movement, and Blunt sought to spotlight the unique Najd culture of Saudi Arabia, preserving its traditions and calling for its protection from both internal and external pressures. Rather than considering themselves subservient to their STs, I would argue they saw themselves as advocates for them.

5.1. Limitations of the Thesis and Further Research

As with all research, there have been limitations to its scope, and also areas which could benefit from further investigation. Having conducted the entirety of the PhD as a part-time, distance learner based in the US, access to primary source material in the UK has posed some challenges. In 2014 I visited the UK and accessed the Wentworth Bequest at the British Library, which houses all of Blunt's personal diaries and correspondences (of which there are over 300 items). At the time, I was searching the bequest for her original translation manuscripts of *The Stealing of the Mare* (1892) and *The Seven Golden Odes* (1903), which turned out not to be present. Instead, I copied down notes from her travel and personal diaries regarding her translation work, and upon careful examination of these materials -initially beyond the focus of my search- I realised it was a productive avenue of inquiry. I therefore intended to return to the British Library, once my research on Blunt was more established, to examine the contents of the bequest and to incorporate her personal diaries and notes into the focus for investigation. However, a combination of personal circumstances (namely two periods of maternity leave) and a global pandemic imposing international travel

restrictions, prevented me from returning to search the bequest for further details on her translation process with Scawen Blunt, particularly with regard to their translation of *The Stealing of the Mare* (1892), and the process by which the paratexts for both of their published translations were written. Evidence from an anonymous source confirmed the existence of Blunt's translation manuscripts in a private collection, but copyright restrictions prevented me from using them for this research. If the collection becomes publicly accessible in the future, if could provide a more comprehensive analysis of her translation style and strategies.

In the case of Lewis and Gibson, there were no personal diaries available for public access, meaning that primary source information regarding the twins' childhoods and personal relationships was limited. However their large translation output, along with their travelogues, were easily accessible online. One location I had planned to visit was the Westminster College Archive held at the Westminster College Library in Cambridge, but again this was not possible due to a combination of personal and pandemic restrictions. This archive houses, according to their website, "the books, papers, watercolours and photographs of Mrs. Agnes Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Gibson, scholars, explorers, and benefactors of the College in Cambridge" (Westminster College, 2021). While there is no reason to think that the archive houses any pertinent biographical information that has not already been recorded in all the secondary sources I consulted, examination of any extant letters and correspondences between the twins and their Cambridge associates regarding the discovery, transcription and translation process of the palimpsest, could potentially have shed more light on any gendered bias, or in contrast, support, the twins may have experienced at the outset of their academic careers.

Two areas for expansion could be embarked upon by future scholars examining the translation work and careers of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson. The first is the extent to which Blunt's religious conversion to Catholicism, the religion rejected by her husband in his youth, during their second expedition through Saudi Arabia intersected with gender and class to impact her relationship with her husband, her opinions on Islam,

and subsequently the Bedouin culture she was so passionate about. An examination of her religious beliefs and their influence, along with the possibility of an expanded translation corpus to examine, would provide further information from which to reconstruct her social context and motivations behind her translations. Finally, for Lewis and Gibson, an analysis of how their Scottish identity intersected with class and race to impact their acceptance into the English boys' club of academia could produce some fruitful results regarding the impact of national identities on their careers.

5.2. Interdisciplinary Contributions to Academic Fields

This thesis is a significant contribution to the field of feminist translation studies, particularly the feminist historiography of translation from an intersectional perspective, where the lives and translations of Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson have so far been unexamined. By so doing, it also adds new women translator biographies to the emerging field of translator studies, which is so far lacking from an explicit feminist approach that helps counterbalance the endemic invisibility faced by women translators across history. Given the contextual circumstances of these three women translators, my dissertation also powerfully contributes to the field of historical research on Victorian women's cultural production regarding the Middle East, which has so far overlooked the role of Arabic translators.

Drawing on previous Translation Studies research outlining the importance of understanding a translator's background and social context in order to fully understand their translations, and the theoretical frameworks of habitus, field, and capital, alongside Orientalism and intersectional feminism, this thesis has demonstrated that while Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson's gender presented obstacles to their career paths and translation practices, it did not derail them. When intersecting with other identify signifiers, in particular their social

class, the women were in fact often positioned in places of privilege rather than the oppression that their gender might have suggested in nineteenth-century Britain. Once all three women were free from the bonds of marriage, whether by widowhood or separation, Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson were able to use their social, economic, and cultural capital to overcome any obstacles that their gender may have presented, and carve out a space of their own to pursue their academic and translation interests. Rather than being considered secondary or inferior as both women and translators, all three ended their lives as successful and respected Middle East scholars. Despite it all Blunt, Lewis, and Gibson had a voice, they employed their translations as vessels to amplify these voices and champion causes important to them, and they were able to use their positions of privilege, drawing upon their education, economic capital, and social networks to circumvent the Victorian gender norms that, in isolation, would have restricted them.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Blunt's Translation of Abu Nuwas

The following is a translation from an Arabic notebook belonging to Lady Anne Blunt, written in Blunt's handwriting and dated the 30th of September 1880 (BL ADD MS 54064):

"Story of Haroun el Rashid and his slave خالصة and the poet أصمعى

El Asmai was waiting one day in the ante chamber when H. el R. came by with a necklace in his hand which he shewed to El Asmai asking him to admire it. El Asmai inquired what he intended to do with it. The caliph replied that it was a gift to his favourite Khalisa and begged El Asmai to write some verses for the occasion. Now the poet did not like the lady because she was stingy and never gave him any presents, but he only said "very well" adding that he would write something. He waited till the caliph entered the [one word is unclear here] and then wrote on the door:

قد ضاعً شعري على بابكم كما ضاع عقد على خالصه

(Verily my verse is thrown away on the door, just as a necklace is thrown away on Khalisa)

Then he went out guessing what would happen; that Khalisa would come out to see what he had written. She came and not finding the poet turned to go back and saw the verses on the door. Having read them she rushed in to tell the Caliph how she had been insulted. But El Asmai who had been on the watch came in and rubbed out the tails of the "ains" – so that the verse stood thus –

قد ضاء شعري على بابكم كما ضاء عقد على خالصة

(Verily my verse shines on the door just as shines a necklace on Khalisa)

And then the Caliph came with Khalisa to see the lines – and he read them and could find nothing to blame but on the contrary only a charming compliment. But Khalisa could not be pacified – she cried out:

قلع عيني

My eyes he put out"