

Translation and the Western Ideology of Domination
during the 11th -15th Centuries: An Arab Perspective

الترجمة وأيديولوجيا الهيمنة لدى الغرب من القرن الحادي عشر حتى
القرن الخامس عشر: منظور عربي

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Abstract

The Western ideology of domination which lies at the heart of translation studies has attracted little attention. The present paper aims to investigate the origin of this ideology and its implications for translation in the 11th-15th centuries, from an Arab perspective. It raises questions about the origin of domination and its implications for translation. A qualitative historical approach delving into post-colonialism is adopted to give a new meaning to evidence and historical events using description, analysis and interpretation. It concludes that the Catholic Church dominated the scene especially through the Crusades and missionary schools. Manifestations are evident in the huge translation movement it led, the translation of the Holy Quran, twisting facts, Latinizing Arab names, setting fires into libraries, among others. The study however is not attempt to displace 'Western' translation theories and practices from the global scene, instead it desires to draw scholars' attention to other possible challenging perspectives.

Keywords: Translation, Domination, Westernisation, Post-colonialism

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ملخص البحث

لم يول علماء الترجمة إهتماماً كافياً لأيديولوجيا الهيمنة عند الغرب، والتي تقع في قلب دراسات الترجمة. يهدف البحث الحالي إلى دراسة أصل أيديولوجيا الهيمنة عند الغرب ومنشئها وأثر ذلك على الترجمة في القرن الحادي عشر حتى الخامس عشر من منظور عربي. وهو ما يتطلب وجود منظور آخر يختلف عن نظيره الغربي الذي يتميز بصورته النمطية غير الإنسانية عن العرب والإسلام والترجمة (نظرية وممارسة). هذا البحث دراسة نوعية تاريخية تركز على تناول الترجمة من خلال منهج "ما بعد الاستعمار"، خاصة ما طوره رافايل (٢٠١٥). والهدف هنا تنظيم الدلائل التاريخية وإعطائها معنى جديد بدلاً من تقديم تحليل سلطوي للأحداث، وذلك باستخدام الوصف والتحليل والتفسير كأدوات بحثية. وتخلص الدراسة إلى أنه يمكن الرجوع بأيديولوجيا الهيمنة عند الغرب إلى ما قبل القرن الحادي عشر، وأن الكنيسة الكاثوليكية كانت وراء هذه الهيمنة وقد تجلت في حروبها الصليبية على الإسلام والمسلمين والاستشراق وإنشاء مراكز للترجمة في عواصم غربية مختلفة، وأن الغرب استخدم الترجمة كوسيلة أو أداة للهيمنة. علماً بأن القصد من البحث ليس إبعاد نظريات الترجمة الغربية عن المسرح العالمي، بل يأمل في لفت أنظار الباحثين والممارسين في مجال الترجمة إلى الآراء والتفسيرات الأخرى لمجريات الأمور في هذا الصدد. من ثم يلزم إعادة رسم خريطة علم الترجمة من منظور غير غربي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الترجمة، الأيديولوجيا، الهيمنة، التغريب، ما بعد الاستعمار.

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Introduction

Literary and linguistic theories haunted translation researchers from WWII well into the 1970s and 80s. But in the 1990s, a 'cultural turn' directed research towards new trends like translation as rewriting, translation and gender, and translation and post-colonialism. Post-colonialists have approached translation from language and power, Westernisation, colonisation, Eurocentrism, imperialism, ideology, and identity perspectives, among others. The investigation of the history of translation studies has led researchers to describe it as a shameful history based on colonialist and imperialist intentions and a twist of many globalized 'facts' which are taken for granted and shape many people's world of knowledge.

Generally, the term 'postcolonial translation' refers to "the rewriting of classical works within or for modern postcolonial societies...but it may also refer to works of opposition or resistance produced under colonialism. can also include resistance to neo-colonialism" (Goff 2014:1). Cheyfitz argues that "From its beginnings, the imperialist mission is ...one of translation: translation of the 'other' into the terms of the empire" (1991:112). The 'shameful history of translation', borrowing Bassnett and Trivedi's expression (1999b:5), and the unethical absence of innocence in the act of translation provide a solid ground for a reconsideration of many of the discipline underpinnings, tenets and practices nowadays (Ahmed 2016a).

Taking as its starting point the argument that translation is not always an innocent rendition of an original text, this study aims to investigate the origin of the Western ideology of domination and its implications for translation during the 11th-15th centuries, from an Arab perspective. The terms Western and European are used interchangeably in the present paper to refer to the same entity, Europe. It is important and even necessary to present a perspective which differs from the dominant stereotyped and inhumane image delineated about the Arabs, Islam and translation (theory and practice). Translation can be a dangerous soft

power tool in the hands of a tyrant dominant authority. Domination here denotes one viewpoint that excludes and demolishes the others in order to prevail and follow certain interests and agendas. In philosophy, McCammon (2018) defines domination as "a kind of unconstrained, unjust imbalance of power that enables agents or systems to control other agents or the conditions of their actions".

The Western domination in the field of translation theory and practice is evident all along history, but it is quite interesting to track this ideology during the Middle Ages in particular because that period constitutes a Golden Age for the Arab civilisation. Evans recommends that scholars interested in medieval translation studies may inspect areas generally ignored, such as "the role of ideology in the shaping of a translation" (1994:23). Therefore, this study raises two questions about the origin of the Western ideology of domination and its manifestations in translation. It employs a theoretical framework based on Rafael (2015)'s view of translation as a conquest. It adopts a qualitative approach describing, analysing and interpreting historical events which suits the aim of the study, namely exploring the origin of the Western domination and the factors that led to its manifestation onto translation.

The importance of a study as such lies in reconsidering the events of history from a perspective which differs from the dominant Western viewpoint. Thus, it fills in the gap in the literature regarding the full understanding of the origin of an ideology that has overwhelmed the discipline and its underpinnings for long, as well as its implications for translation during the 11th -15th centuries. It also goes far beyond many post-colonial translation studies that are concerned with the history of colonialism from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries.

The paper is divided into four sections in addition to this introduction and the conclusion: a review of the literature, theoretical and methodological frameworks, the origin of the Western ideology of domination, and the manifestations of translating for domination

1. Review of the Literature

1.1 Early Studies and a New Cultural Turn

Post-colonial scholars have been interested in discussing the domination of the Western thought in the field of translation in the last three decades under various and different perceptions and conceptions.

Eric Cheyfitz holds the opinion that the Anglo-American policy of colonisation has generally been a model since the 16th century and that translation was "the central act of European colonisation and imperialism in America" (1991:4). Meanwhile, Copeland in her book *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages* (1991) reflects on the supremacy and power of some languages over others in translation and maintains that medieval translation had an ideological learning-of-the-ancient project which consequently mirrors "the mastery and appropriation of a privileged discourse" (1991:106). Lefevere suggests some factors that govern the acceptance or otherwise the rejection of a literary text, such as 'power, ideology, institution and manipulation' (1992:2). Again, manipulating translation diminishes the traditional view of translation as an innocent, honest and faithful act. What is good about these early studies is injecting the discipline with a different way of thinking, called the cultural turn which has opened the door for valuable research and developments ever since.

For instance, Rafael studies the relationship between conversion into Christianity and translation during the Spanish colonisation of the Philippines (from 1521). He examines the Tagalogs' attempts to read and interpret "the Christian-colonial discourse in their own language" in a way that "tended to change the meaning of that discourse" (1993: xii). He explains how translation shapes one's own thoughts about set forms of social order (p.210). Also, Niranjana (1992) approaches translation historically back to the colonial times when the coloniser aimed to establish and support its cultural superiority over the colonised nations. The British coloniser used translation as part of its colonial discourse since the late 18th century to get information about the colonised people; translation reflected the coloniser's own ideas about the world (pp.2,11). She employs the terms 'power', 'domination' and 'historicity' to address the translation of literature into the language of power (English) two centuries

ago; here translation becomes a tool for inequality between nations and languages (p.1). Likewise, Spivak assures that in such translations, which she calls 'translatese', "there can be a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest (2012:314-316). While Robinson talks about translation and 'empire' or 'power', maintaining that translation "has always been an indispensable channel of imperial conquest and occupation" (2014:10).

1.2 Later Studies and Deeper Analysis

Scholars have started to reveal shocking facts about translation from a postcolonial point of view. Venuti (1998) examines the hegemonic powers' marginalisation of translation, referring to the United States and Great Britain. He exposes their practices as 'scandals' of translation. The inequality between texts, authors or systems and the imbalanced relationship between the coloniser's acclaimed superior knowledge and the colonised's inferior status, even in the modern sense of the word 'colonisation' and 'neocolonisation' pushed Bassnett and Trivedi (1999a) to talk about post-colonial translation. They call for reconsidering translation history: "we need to think again about the history of translation and about how it was used in the early period of colonisation" (1999b:3) because translation is:

a highly manipulative' process of transfer across both linguistic and cultural boundaries; it is not at all 'an innocent, transparent activity', being highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems (p.2)

Likewise, Tymoczko (1999) discusses early Irish literature in English translation and uses terms like 'postcolonialism', 'power', 'imperialism' to explain how translation fits into the representation of the other or self to the self or the other. She concludes that translation "can be part of a colonial project" (p.294). Actually, translation can shape the identity of the other (Ahmed 2016b). Tymoczko (2010) tracks Westernisation in Bible translation starting from Cicero and the Romans, in the Western exaltation of literature and literary translation, and in the definition of translation as a 'transfer' image.

In 2001 Blumenfeld, von Flotow and Russell attempted a courageous project about translation in the Middle Ages and Renaissance through collecting essays on the interventionist power of translators and Europeanisation to make translations meaningful to the European readers. Zhiri's essay shows how intervention occurs for 'identifiable, though not always stated, reasons': sometimes translators take specific parts from originals and leave others, and/or add personal comments (2001:14). Gentzler (2008)'s outrageous account of translation in the Americas reveals that translation is not a communication between two separate cultures or identities; instead, linguistic suppression and conflict have reshaped some cultures like the many native cultures which are wiped out. On the other hand, Heller and McElhinny (2017:42) approach language socio-linguistically and position language in the centre of the political and economic contexts of colonialism and capitalism; they argue that missionaries had a role in this regard. Missionaries paved the way for the colonisers to understand the colonised and rally support for their policies.

The Arab scholars' contributions to the field are also valuable. But one can make the following quick, general remarks. Most of these contributions are written in Arabic so they are unavailable to international readership. Ancient scholars are significantly important but not easily accessible. Many of the recent available studies are a replica of the Western views in a way or another; few are Arab-oriented and mostly tackle the history of translation and orientalism (cf. Awni 2012; Osman 2018; Qandeel 2019; Al-Khateeb 2012; Aashour 1963; Al-Awadhi 1997).

Generally speaking, post-colonial studies concur that translation played a significant role in the colonial discourse and was manipulated to serve the colonial ideology and agendas, a matter which manifested itself in a trend of translating local texts into the language of power and superiority, English. From this review of the literature, it appears that there is still a gap in understanding the origin of the Western ideology of domination and how it affected translation during the 11th-15th centuries.

2. Theoretical Construct and Methodology

2.1 Rafael and the Ideology of Conquest

Western empires used translation as a tool for domination over the colonised ideologically, politically, economically, culturally, etc. Ideologies and ideas can be disseminated through language and translation to and from the other. Thus, translation can serve the interests and intentions of power. Rafael (2015) considers the way Western empires dealt with translation as a 'kind of conquest', reflecting the power and authority of the colonisers. He argues that they looked at language and translation from a reductive view, called 'logocentrism' (which becomes a kind of conquest of language itself), reducing them to merely instruments for power in their hands. Consequently, whatever comes in their way to achieve their intentions should be suppressed or modulated.

The desire for domination pushed empires towards imposing certain ideas and traditions over the colonised. This results from their stance that they are superior to the weak, inferior, and barbarian Other and that they claim they have the responsibility of changing and civilising this uncivilised Other. This ideology of conquest "sees imperialism as synonymous with the imposition of a kind of global order that rebels social chaos" (Rafael 2015:83). Western colonisers might or might not realize the violence, inequality and injustice brought about to their subjects. But they maintain having good reasons for colonisation, e.g. civilising those nations, converting them into Christianity, democratising them, helping the marginalised, and liberating them from terrorism, Rafael demonstrates. The same holds true for the European domination ideology which led to the Crusades in the Middle Ages, regardless of intentions.

Translation_ like institutional bureaucracies and the media_ is a mediated action in itself and can reveal malicious intentions especially when politicised. Language and translation are used to enhance the empire's power and practice since power decides what is meaningful and what is not.

Despite the rich insights post-colonialists have brought about into the field, there exist some criticisms. Munday maintains that "it is

important to remember that theorists themselves have their own ideologies and agendas that drive their own criticisms" (2016:213). Similarly, Cronin argues that post-colonialists have their own political agendas and manipulation strategies because they promote for a certain ideology against another (1996:197). I do not agree with Munday because the validity and reliability of post-colonial studies are evidence-based, not just a matter of opinion.

2.2 Methodology

As aforementioned, little attention has been paid by translation scholars to the Western ideology of domination and its manifestations in translation during the 11th-15th centuries. From this problem statement, the study was able to formulate its aim, the investigation of the origin of this ideology and its implications for translation during that period, from an Arab perspective. It is not intended, in any means, to attack the West or the Catholic Church, or to replace Western domination by another local dominating perspective. It rather attempts to challenge the dominant knowledge. In this context, the following research questions (RQs) were developed:

RQ1-What is the origin of the Western ideology of domination?

RQ2-What are the implications for translation?

To answer, the following objectives were set:

- 1-To identify the gap in the knowledge and understanding of the topic;
- 2-To describe, analyse and interpret some historical events to explore the origin of this ideology;
- 3-To investigate how translation was used as a tool for domination.

In so doing, the study derived its theoretical tenets from Rafael (2015)'s post-colonial approach. It followed a qualitative historical methodology. A qualitative method is quite useful here because it attempts to understand and explore the reasons and motivations behind events and actions and to uncover people's various interpretations of them with a view to giving insights into the issue at hand and generate new thoughts (MacDonald and Headlam: n.d.). The goal of a historical approach, Toland and Yoong explain, is "organising and giving new meaning to evidence rather than providing an authoritative account" of them (2011:13). The present study relied on description, analysis and

interpretation as tools of research. However, the historical approach may be criticized for the subjective role of the researcher which represents its principal part, therefore section 4 about five manifestations of the Western ideology of domination aimed to overcome such subjectivity. Finally, various themes were discovered in the data, which led the researcher to use a strategy of deductive-constructed analysis at times.

The Catholic Church domination over Europe continued for centuries. Domination can be said to start with the emergence of a rival religion to the Church's powers and dominance, hence the Crusades started. That's why the time scope of the paper lies between the Crusades period (11th-13th century) and the 15th century because during that period the European individuals aspired to change their lives towards more fertile intellectual and scientific renaissance outside their borders. The paper also concentrates on Andalusia and Sicily in particular for their significance to the study.

The opinions of scholars used for the validation of the paper's stance (like Awni 2012, Osman 2018, and Qandeel 2019) originate from sound academic research rather than mere personal impressions. The sources are validated and coincide precisely with the views of many Arab scholars about translation and history.

Rereading history from an Arab perspective enabled the researcher to design the discussion part. With some adaptations, section 3 on the ideology origin was inspired by Osman (2018:329-349;Trans.)'s categorisation of the factors that helped the Catholic Church ruin the Arab Renaissance: Urban II's announcement of launching the Holy Wars, the Crusades, and the establishment of Orientalism and its scientific institutes in Europe. This section was divided into two parts answering RQ1. Section four explains the manifestations of domination in five subsections answering RQ2. This is a too multifaceted topic to be addressed in one research of any scope. The researcher was aware of the study limitations such as the size and time of research.

3. The Origin of the Western Ideology of Domination

The Western interest in the Arab region emerged with the emergence of a new religion, Islam, in the Arab Peninsula in the 7th

century. Some grudge feelings increased with the remarkable rise of the Islamic civilisation. The West might have not expressed explicitly its grudge and hatred against the Muslims until the 11th century with the first Crusade. The Catholic Church, which had dominated Europe for centuries, did not want to lose power and authority, so it thought of defending itself by following an attacking rather than defending strategy, thus extending domination to the Arab World as well. Hence came the Crusades and the establishment of Arabic language and translation schools in Andalusia, Sicily, France, etc.

3.1 The Catholic Church and the Crusades

The Roman Catholic Church was the real ruler of Europe for almost ten centuries. Arising from a decaying Roman empire, popes controlled kings (revealing a long-held conflict between papacy and empires) and clergies (Osman 2018:330-332). It subjugated peoples to their tyrant authority. Some priests tortured and persecuted scientists and reformers, among others, under religious allegations. They did everything to keep their wealth and positions.

Since the emergence of Islam and its extension outside the Arab Peninsula, the Church had felt the strength and the danger of its thoughts to their influence areas. Nebelsick demonstrates how the achievements of the Arab and Muslim scholars "appropriated, appreciated and preserved Greek classical learning and built upon it," and laid down the bases for "a quite unprecedented revival of learning in Europe" (2014:5,ix; cited in Deeb:143). The Church attempted to prevent Christians from converting and to revert Muslims. Osman states that "the West started to hold its grudge against the Muslim countries the moment the Arabs went out of the Arab Peninsula to invite people to worship Allah.. and spread His religion", and this intensified with the annexation of new lands to its territories (2018:329). The Muslim scholars achievements are undeniable; Covington (2007) admits it: "In mathematics, astronomy, medicine, optics, cartography, evolutionary theory, physics and chemistry, medieval Arab and Muslim scientists, scholars, doctors and mapmakers were centuries ahead of Europe". The grudge roared high as Arab achievements in sciences and arts reached unprecedented levels in the 9th-13th centuries

with an enormous translation movement into Arabic. This can expose the first signs of a strong dogmatic Western ideology of domination.

The Byzantine Pope Martin I was accused of preaching some of the rich Muslims in the Levant in 649-653. Leo VI (847-855) urged the army to launch a war against Muslims promising the soldiers who would die for Christianity or for land to be in heaven. Hadrian II (867-872) advised people to subjugate Muslims religiously and politically. Jonathan VIII sent appeals to emperors to save Christians from Muslims claiming that the sins of their victims would be forgiven if they die for such causes. Kedar (1984:3-4; cited in Qandeel 2019:238) and Culter (1963:8-28; cited in *ibid.*) give details about how the Catholic Church aimed to revert Muslims at that early time. Organised missions were dispatched in the twelfth century. Priests advised the Pope, princes and kings to unite armies and collect money to attack Muslim cities and expel Muslims.

When some Muslim cities in Europe, like Andalusia, had started to weaken, the Catholic priests took the chance to realize their strategic dream of destroying Muslims, restoring those cities and dominating the world. Convincing the princes and knights to participate in the wars and that they had the right to get the lands they restore (but keeping in mind the Church's rights and privileges), Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) managed to extend the Church's control to all those Spanish and Italian lands (Qandeel 2019:243). He did not declare war against Muslims directly, instead he preferred to secretly prepare for war in the beginning. Some researchers link between his ministerial reforms and the propaganda made for the 'Holy War' albeit the ministerial heritage which considered war an absolute evil (cf. Flori 1997:317-335). Contrarily, his successor Urban II, Pope of Rome (1088-1099) accepted to help the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos to fight Seljuk Muslims. His appeals to European rulers represented the main catalyst for convoking the Crusades. The first Crusade hustled from Constantinople on to Asia Minor (the Levant and Palestine); then six other Crusades were launched.

The Crusades brought havoc to mankind and grudges have accumulated between the West and Muslims ever since.

3.2 The Catholic Church and Schools of Translation

There is no consensus among historians on an accurate date when orientalism emerged in the Muslim countries: during the Crusades, in Andalusia under the Muslim rule, or in the Levant by the Christian monk Jonathan A-Demashqi (about 650-750). Yet, there were surely individual attempts made voluntarily and informally by Catholic priests. The Spanish Saint Raymond Lull (1235-1314) studied Arabic and the Holy Quran for nine years. He advised the Pope of "establishing scientific institutes and universities in European cities to teach Arabic and Islamic religion to interested young priests and students"; he explained the benefits to the Church and the consequences on Islam as those institutes "would graduate a group of educated supporters who have a perfect knowledge of the enemy's language and are able to revert Muslims, to fight them intellectually, and to ruin the secrets of their strength" (p.337-338).

In 1311, the Pope agreed to establish four departments to teach Arabic and Islam in Salamanca (Spain), Paris (France), Bologna (Italy) and Oxford (UK) universities, and a department in the Papal Court. King of Majorca funded a language school for the Franciscan missionaries at Miramar in 1276. Convington (2007) explains that the translation from Arabic originals (or from a mediating language) helped the West revive for almost five hundred years:

ancient Greek knowledge preserved in Arabic texts, as well as original Muslim science, was translated principally into Latin, Hebrew and Castilian Spanish to blossom gradually across Europe. In the courts of Toledo, Palermo and London, and the universities of Salerno, Padua, Paris and Oxford, a network of intellectual cross-pollination arose that spanned more than half a millennium.

Thus a remarkable translation movement appeared in the region, being close to the Arab Muslim civilisational centres in North Africa.

Translations with certain agendas and interests ignore the ethical role of translation as a source of knowledge and enlightenment. This is precisely what happened in translations from Arabic into Latin, then into English and other European languages during the Middle Ages. Two types of orientalist emerged: those who perfected Arabic and those who

did not but were able though to read their masters' comments and write directly in their European languages. Translation was often used as tool in the hands of orientalists, providing "a main source of information, research and studies for the Catholic armies and princes of wars to fully control Muslim countries", while the Crusades targeted Muslim unity, economy, people and lands (Osman2018:232). Deeb argues that "many Western writers have ignored or distorted such a civilization by presenting a horrific and an exaggerated image of Islam and the Muslims" (2014:139). Huff (2012) for instance defends the West unreasonably in his book *What the West Doesn't Owe Islam*. Of course not all Europeans who wrote about Islam did not give credit to the Islamic civilization; there are writers whose attitude were two-fold in this regard, i.e. they acknowledge it yet they "reflected explicit aversion through using recurring stereotypes of Islam and Prophet Muhammad" (p.140).

Again, this came out of a desire for domination. That in mind, a deformed image of Islam and Muslims fed a hidden, and sometimes explicit, unjustified hatred between the West and Islam. The strategy employed began with studying Arabic and Quran, translating and deforming Muslims and Arabs, and twisting facts about their sciences, history and culture (p.242).

4. The Implications of Domination for Translation

Spanish kings were fanatic in dealing with Muslims after the Arab rule had ended in Andalusia. They led a movement of restoring lands and insisted on reverting Muslims. Queen Isabella I (1451-1504) and King Ferdinando II (1452-1516) got united through marriage and aimed to uproot and expel the rest of Muslims from the country. They practiced all sorts of collective massacres. But in Sicily, King Roger I for instance preferred co-existence with Muslims. The Western ideology of domination exhibits itself in, yet not restricted to, the following aspects.

4.1 Translation Movement

During the period extending from the 11th to 15th centuries, Western Europeans started to aspire to a better fertile scientific and intellectual life beyond their borders. Some references indicate that translating Arabic books into Latin date back to Sylvester II, the Vatican

Pope. The Catholic Church fully controlled Toledo (of significant importance to the West for its location at the centre of Andalusia) after expelling Muslims. Then, it was ready for Raymondo's big project of translation (Awni 2012:243-244). First, books in Algebra, math, medicine and pharmacy were translated, the same route which Muslims pursued in their renaissance in the 9th century. Later, astronomy, geography, philosophy and other disciplines were added to the list of translated books (ibid).

Two trends of translation emerged: the translation of the Arabic books that the Arabs had previously translated from Greek, Persian, Indian and Chinese _a matter without which the West would have lost most of their original Greek treasures_ and Arabic commentaries, and the Arab scholars' scientific and intellectual writings alike. Convington (2007) says:

True enough, much of ancient science came back to Europe via Arabic translations, which were subsequently translated into Latin and other languages... Some key texts, like Ptolemy's *Planisphere*, Galen's commentary on Hippocrates's treatise *Airs, Waters, and Places* and the final chapters of the third-century B.C. mathematician Apollonius' book on conic sections exist only thanks to the Arabic translations, since the original Greek manuscripts have all disappeared.

The West got sources for translation from many venues like Andalusia (Spain), Sicily, Sardinia and the Levant, but the present study concentrates on Andalusia and Sicily as I will explain.

On the one hand, before the Arabs expanded their rule to Andalusia in 912, it was like any other European country, full of ignorance and chaos due to internal conflicts and deterioration (Awni 2012:219). Muslims stabilized and reconstructed it and it became one of the richest countries in the region, where Muslims and Christians co-existed peacefully. For three centuries, Caliphates dispatched missions all over the world to fetch and translate (into Arabic) invaluable books. They established translation schools where Muslim scholars translated books

from different disciplines into Arabic and contributed with their own writings to a golden age of knowledge, translation and renaissance.

The Arab renaissance aggravated the Western grudge. Hence, Europeans started to influx into the country to benefit from the cultural and economic recovery there. When Europeans restored Andalusia, the translation movement (from Arabic) increased and their students translated whatever they could, producing a comprehensive European renaissance (Aashour 1963:43; Trans.). Awni, for instance, says:

The fall of Toledo specifically in the Spaniards' hands had a significant impact on European renaissance and the beginning of a formal history of a new age of translation, language and cultural transfer from Arabic into Latin.. which never stopped until the Great Industrial Renaissance in the 19th century. (2012:240)

Christian Spaniards taking over Toledo in 1085 cooperated with people from different nationalities to translate many of the books in its famous Arabic library, e.g. Gundisalinius-Johannes Hispanus, Gerard von Cremona, Michael der Schotte and Herman der Deutsche. "These itinerant scholars disseminated critical Arab revisions of Greek learning and popularized the revolutionary innovations made by generations of Islamic astronomers, physicians, mathematicians and physicists", Covington (2007) comments. Raymond Souvetat, Toledo Archbishop (1126-1151), established Toledo School of Translation, launched with eight Dominican priests who learned Arabic in 1250. Christians, Jews and some Muslims transferred into Latin and other European languages the Quran and books in math, medicine, chemistry, astronomy, physics, metaphysics, natural history, sociology, psychology, logic and politics. Toledo was the 'Muslim Arab bridge' through which Europe crossed from ignorance to renaissance (Awni 2012:246-247).

On the other hand, the Arabs ruled Sicily from 828 to 1091. Prince Al-Hasan bin Ali Al-Kalbi paid a great attention to the country's renaissance. He improved agriculture, extracted silver, iron, copper and sulfur, and widened trade and commercial relations (Awni 2012:221). Michele Amari (1852/2003; Trans.) indicates that European kings, who witnessed the Arab advancement when they restored the island, treated

the Arab community well and encouraged it to pursue its activities. Three factors helped Sicily play an active role in translation from Arabic: location, Muslim rule and Muslims (p.225). From mid-13th to mid-14th centuries, the Arab renaissance in Sicily began to deteriorate. Jewish translators who had little knowledge of Arabic transferred Arabic books (particularly in medicine) into Hebrew and Latin; they focused on mistakes made by Arab authors or previous translators (p.1). Amari assures that owing to the Arabs, Europe managed to be connected to Greek philosophical and scientific achievements, new scientific innovations of Persia, India and China, and the Arabs' achievements in Algebra, astronomy, medicine and chemistry in the 10th - 13th centuries.

Generally speaking, the translation movement led by the West and orientalism helped create a mistaken image about the Arabs and Islam (cf. Said 1978). Indeed, Deeb (2014:151) points out to some facts that contributed to this state: translators' lack of experience, their desire to impress readers with fantasies brought about from the East and their knowledge based largely on old Christian theologians' views.

4.2 Translating and Latinizing Arab Names

Famous translators of the period include Gerard Cremona (who translated over 70 Arabic books into Latin on different topics especially math, physics, chemistry and medicine), Adelard of Bath, Michael Scot of Scotland and Herman von Kärnthen of Germany. Jewish translators overwhelmed the scene, e.g. Domingo Gundisalvo, Zayed bin Zaket, Yahuda Hakoun and Al-Rabbani Zac. Translation between the early 12th century and mid-13th century was made orally from Arabic into Spanish (a mediator language), then written into Latin and later into local European languages, a matter which at times opened the door for making mistakes. That's to say, the oral translation together with the mediator language could likely increase the probability of making shifts or errors in the translation process.

Indeed, translators conquered Arab and Muslim scholars' works through, for example, Latinizing authors' names and thus deforming their identity. Jaber Ibn Hayyan, Latinized as *Jabirian* (721-813), is an Iraqi scholar who wrote on medicine, numerology, cosmology, astrology,

alchemy, magic, mysticism and philosophy. He is the father of Arab chemistry and founder of modern chemistry. Al-Khawarizmi, Latinized as *Algorithmi* (781-850), is a Persian polymath and wrote about mathematics, algebra, geometry, trigonometry and physics. O'Leary De Lacy (1922), a British orientalist, assures that translating Arabic books like Al-Khawarizmi's helped the West build their renaissance. Al-Farabi, Latinized as *Alpharabius* (872–951), is a Kazakhstani philosopher, scientist, mathematician, cosmologist, jurist and musician. He wrote about political philosophy, ethics, logic and metaphysics. His commentaries on Greek works preserved them in the Middle Ages. Ibn al-Haytham, Latinized as *Alhazen* (965-1040), an Iraqi mathematician, astronomer, and physicist, is considered the father of optical science. His *Book of Optics* influenced Paolo Toscanelli (1397-1482) the famous Italian astrologer and mathematician and preceded Roger Bacon's and Johannes Kepler's writings in the 17th century (cf. Convington 2007). Ibn Sina, Latinized as *Avicenna* (980-1037), is an Uzbekistani thinker, physician, astronomer and writer; the West translated his medical works_ like 'The Law' (translated 35 times) and used them as primary reference books at European universities for centuries. Will Durant consider scholars like Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd "lights from the East for the Schoolmen, who cited them next to the Greeks in authority" (1950:342). Ibn Bājjā, Latinized as *Avempace* (1080-1138), is an Arab Andalusian polymath who contributed to the field of astronomy, physics, philosophy, medicine, botany, music and poetry. Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), accredited as the father of observational astronomy, modern physics and modern science, derived his theories from Ibn Bajja. Ibn Tufail, Latinized as *Abu Bacer Aben Tofail* (1105-1185), is an Andalusian polymath, physician, astronomer, philosopher, theologian, writer and novelist whose famous novel *Hayy ibn Yaqdhan* was translated many times, influenced the Christian thinking significantly. Additionally, Ibn Rushd, Latinized as *Averroes* (1126-1198), is a famous Arab philosopher, writing about medicine, manners, logic and religion. His explanations of Aristotle's works were translated into Hebrew and Latin and have represented a model for free thinking for Europeans. Those translations formulated the basics of the Jewish science (Al-Shaqah 1987:177; cited in

Awni 2012:178). Mosa bin Maimon, Latinized as *Maimonides* (the Jews' intellectual and religious leader) translated his teacher Ibn Rushd's writings into Hebrew and Latin (Awni:179; see also Masood 2009 for an attempt to document the Arab and Muslim scholars' contribution to European enlightenment).

Very few names were not Latinized, e.g. Ibn Kaldun (1332-1406), a Tunisian historiographer and historian who set the basics of modern sociology historiography, economics and demography. His influence extends to renowned thinkers like Ronald Reagan. Niccolo Machiavelli regard him as one of the greatest philosophers in the Middle Ages.

The list is endless and my purpose is not to record laboriously the Latinization of the Arab and Muslim scholars' names. Rather, examples are necessary for the purposes of an evidence-based research.

4.3 The Translation of the Holy Quran

The translation of the Holy Quran was essential for the West to understand the new rival religion, to present a deformed image about it to the West and Muslims alike, and to dominate the world as Raymond Lull hoped. The origin of the Western hatred towards Muslims may be attributed to priests and Jewish historians in the Arab Peninsula and Egypt and their racial writings about Islam and Prophet Mohammad even before Islam. Their views affected many Catholic priests who used to make pilgrimage to the Arab region at that time (Qandeel 2019). Western translations can account for most of the incorrect image of the Other; they resulted in "a combination of a little fact and much imagination of a very biased character" (Jones 1942:202).

The Catholic priests' translation of the Quran in the 12th century was full of misunderstanding, hatred and twisted facts. It constituted a solid ground for the Orientalist movement. Since then, "no Catholic translator managed to get rid of its (i.e. the first translation's) poison and destructive damages to the present time" (Osman2018:240). Therefore, the West established institutions to teach Islam from their perspective and collected donations for this end. The Catholic priest Gendisalvo assigned the translation of the meaning of Quran into Latin to the French priest Petrus Venerabilis and the English priest Robert of Ketton (known as

Robert von Chester). Robert's translation, 'Corpus Toletanum', have misled the Europeans' understanding of the Holy Quran for centuries (p.274). Vrolijk and van Leeuwen (2014:7) admit that Robert's translation "was not intended to spread the knowledge of Islam so much as to combat Islam as a false faith". In his forward to the translation, Robert wrote that the reader could be convinced then of the rival religion's absurdity. With the same intentions, Rodrigo Jimenez, a Spanish Archbishop, asked the Catholic priest Marcus Teletanus to make the second translation in 1210. The same applies to the rest of the Western translations of Quran.

Muslims, who created their civilisation through translation, had been reluctant to translate the Holy Quran and its teachings until about mid-20th century. Therefore, Christian and Jewish translators, who had no or little knowledge of Arabic, made such translations motivated by their own agendas.

4.4 Changing Facts and Knowledge

Isaac bin Omran Al-Israeli, a physician and a philosophy teacher at the King's court, was the first Jew to translate (into Hebrew) in Andalusia. Similarly, the Jewish translator Samuel bin Tibbon translated Ibn Rushd's into Hebrew, transferred later into Latin. Domingo Gonzales translated Ibn Sina's 'Self' into Latin. In Sicily, King Frederick II established Naples University in 1224 and he relied principally on Jewish translators to transfer the Arab heritage.

Generally, translators selected certain Arabic works to be transferred. They made additions to originals and omitted others. They highlighted mistakes of authors if any. And they demonstrated certain ideologies (Ahmed 2014). Names of authors were often deleted, replaced by others, or changed into Christian ones. Translations did not give due credit to the Arab or Muslim contributions and those who read and benefited from the translations did not either. Roger Bacon (1214-1292), for example, did not set the empirical approach in the 13th century; he learned Arabic and Arab sciences at Oxford. Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) did not invent the method of calculating the imbalance in the moon movements; the Muslim mathematician and astronomer Abol-Wafa Al-Bozгани (940-989) did and his tremendous astronomical and mechanic

discoveries changed the world. Muhammad Al Tusi the Muslim scientist (1201-1274) drew vanguard models for the Earth centre and axes, which were attributed to Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543). Abdel-Rahman Al-Sufi the Muslim astronomer (903-986) discovered two dwarf galaxies in the southern hemisphere of the sky, rather than the Western scholars who called them the Magellanic Clouds. Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519), the Italian painter and polymath, learned Arab sciences, translated the Muslim astronomer Al-Farghani's works into Latin and got the Arabic numbers from the Arabs. Danti (1536-1586) read the works of many Arab scholars in Latin and he must have been inspired by their literature. Indeed, the Muslim heritage translated during the Middle Ages needs a re-investigation.

Many a time, the West attributed some Islamic projects in architecture, irrigation and construction to themselves, establishing a new memory for the world. In Andalusia, for instance, mosques were transferred into churches and cathedrals where names of Christian priests were engraved onto the walls and where access was denied to Muslims take for example the Cathedral of Córdoba (originally Great Qurtoba Mosque), Alhambra (Alhamra) Palace, Barcelona (originally Ishbilia) Cathedral, Toledo (Tulitela) houses, Valencia castles and bridges.

The Western domination attempts during the Middle Ages are best described as a conquest. This point brings us back to Rafael's Translation and the Ideology of Conquest (2015). Whether conquest was done intentionally or unintentionally, it remains a conquest.

4.5 Setting Fires onto Libraries

In 961, the Caliphate Abdel-Rahman III, known as Al-Nasser Ledeen-Ellaah, established Qurtobah (Cordoba) public library. He asked his men to go everywhere the globe to look for rare books and masterpieces. The library was said to contain nearly 400 000 books. It was divided into a huge book hall and various centres for research, writing, translation, proof-reading and revision (Elian 1997). Ibn Al-Haytham (Alhazen) worked in the translation centre, translating from Greek and Latin into Arabic. Books were written in gold and decorated with wonderful pictures. When Andalusia started to weaken, the crusaders

swept the country and burned the library in Qurtobah's public square, then threw the ash into the river.

The crusaders captured Ghernatah (Granada) in 1492. After Queen Isabella had issued a decree to chase Muslims, the human heritage in its library, about 1-2 million books (Polastron 2004/2010:192; Trans.), were burned in Bibarrambla Gate square under the supervision of the Catholic Archbishop Cisneros and inspection courts. Thousands of books survived however and were given to Spanish churches and various European countries to make use of them, a matter which helped these countries build their scientific and intellectual renaissance. Lists of forbidden books were publicized and anyone who owned, read or sold them was sentenced to death. The libraries of Toledo, Seville, and Valencia, Zaragoza, among others, met same destiny.

The situation in Sicily was a little bit different. When the peninsula fell into the Normans' hands (a minority) in 1091, they followed a policy of religious and racial tolerance with Muslims (the majority), especially because Sicily was a vital logistic and military base for the crusaders during that time (Al-Zaydi 2013:39). Sicily was an important centre for transferring the treasures of the Muslim civilisation and the old Greek masterpieces to Europe.

Finally, hatred and fanaticism led to demolishing the Islamic civilisation through burning books, chasing and killing Muslims, changing names of architectural buildings and places, replacing mosques with churches and cathedrals, preventing the use of Arabic, imposing Western culture and life style on Muslim inhabitants, etc. The German orientalist Sigrid Hunke said that the Arabs lost about 1.005000 volumes in Andalusia due to Spanish fanaticism which ruined an 8-centuries civilisation (cited in Elian 1997:21).

Conclusion

This study has investigated the origin of the Western ideology of domination and its implications for translation in the 11th-15th centuries, from an Arab perspective. To answer two research questions, it followed a qualitative historical methodology and derived its theoretical tenets from a post-colonial approach to translation.

The paper found out that the origin of the Western ideology of domination may be traced back to the religious writings of Jews and Christians in the Arab Peninsula and Egypt even before the emergence of Islam. Those writings created a deformed image about the yet-to-come Prophet, Islam and the Arabs. From there, the image spread to the Catholic Church of Rome. Grudge and hatred accumulated and the desire for domination took a formal shape in the 11th century when the Church and Europe announced a Holy War under the name of the Cross in 1096. On the other hand, the Catholic Church started an unprecedented movement of orientalism. It established translation schools and universities and sent missionaries everywhere.

The Western ideology of domination resonates across five phenomena the study decided to explore. First, the West discovered that renaissance could be attainable through translating the great fruits of the Muslim civilisation_ including the latter's Arabic translation of and commentaries on important Greek works_ into Latin and different European languages. Second, translation was a conquest of original texts: adding or omitting parts, replacing others, deleting authors' names or swapping them with theirs or other writers', selecting Arabic works which had some mistakes, etc. The names of Arab and Muslim authors were Latinized in order to demolish from nations' memory any reference to a great Muslim civilisation and replace it with a Western domination. Queen Isabella of Spain for instance insisted on converting, chasing and killing Muslims, and burnt religious and non-religious Muslim (and Jewish) books, for instance. Third, Muslims had not translated or interpreted the meaning of Quran before the mid-20th century, therefore the Holy book was left to Western translations and perspectives. Mostly made by Christian and Jewish translators, the first translations created a stereotyped inhumane image of Islam and the Arabs which have affected

later translations. Prince of Wales, Charles George, explains that this image can be attributed to an inherited history that is used to looking at Islam as an enemy:

if there is much misunderstanding in the West about the nature of Islam, there is also much ignorance about the debt our own culture and civilisation owe to the Islamic world. It is a failure which stems, I think, from the straitjacket of history which we have inherited. The medieval Islamic world, from Central Asia to the shores of the Atlantic, was a world where scholars and men of learning flourished. But because we have tended to see Islam as the enemy of the West, as an alien culture, society and system of belief, we have tended to ignore or erase its great relevance to our own history. (George 1993)

Fourth, translations of scientific and intellectual Arabic books changed some facts and knowledge to suit the interests of a dominant powerful West. Finally, the dominant West who refused to accept or co-exist with others burnt Muslim libraries in a crime that history will ever forget.

This paper, however, is not an attempt to displace the Western civilisation from the global scene or spread grudge and hatred against it. Nor does it undermine the genuine efforts of some sincere translators in the 11th-15th centuries. In fact, it stresses not only the importance but also the inevitability of having a dialogue between the West and the others rather than the Western monologue overwhelming the scene. Through this rereading of history, it hopes to draw attention to reconsidering history and how translation can be used as a dangerous tool for conquest. The Arab and Muslim heritage during that period must be excavated. De-Westernisation of disciplines becomes sine qua non of redrawing the historical map of the field. Further researcher can enhance a better understanding of this fertile topic.

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