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Translation as Decolonization: Nyerere, the Bible and Shakespeare

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Abstract

As the first president of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere has enormously influenced the politics, economy, and culture of the country. Beside his well-known identity as a politician and poet, he was also an important literary translator. The subject of this study is Nyerere's Swahili Bible and Shakespearean Translations. This study offers critical reflections on what translation does through an examination of Nyerere's Bible, comparatively with missionary translations, and Shakespeare, comparatively with Chinese translations, within the context of the most recent theory and praxis of prismatic translation. The central argument is that translation is decolonization as well as modernization.

The main body of this study consists of five chapters. Chapter Two provides the contexts of this study, including a brief history of Swahili and Chinese translations from the middle nineteenth to middle twentieth centuries and a review of the previous studies on Nyerere's Swahili translations of the Bible and Shakespeare.

Chapter Three compares Nyerere's Bible translation with those of the missionaries and argues that Nyerere's translation was a practice of decolonization: it aimed at disempowering the colonial legacy in Swahili language and literature. By introducing the traditional poetic form into his translation of the Bible, Nyerere created a literary synthesis which combines the Biblical content and Swahili literary form, extended the boundary of traditional literature, and challenged the norms of colonial translations.

Chapter Four brings the Chinese translation of *The Merchant of Venice* into the discussion of Nyerere. Both Chinese and Swahili translations emerged during a vernacular movement in both countries, in which the old literary forms were challenged, and vernacular literature was promoted and experimented. This chapter looks at the dynamic interactions of Nyerere and his Chinese counterpart Zhu's literary translations with Swahili and Chinese literary traditions respectively and shows how the former participated in the decolonization as well as modernization of the latter.

Chapter Five compares the adaptations and reception of *Julius Caesar* in the Swahili and Chinese translations by Nyerere, the Swahili critics and their Chinese counterparts, and sees Nyerere's translation as an imagining of a new state.

Chapter Six compares the adaptations and reception of *The Merchant of Venice* by Nyerere, the Swahili Critics and their Chinese counterparts, and explores Nyerere's translation as an imagining of a new society.

A comparative analysis of missionary and Nyerere's translations of the Bible, and Chinese and Swahili translations of Shakespeare shows the uniqueness of Nyerere's Swahili translations in that they create a new literary tradition, imagine a new state, and

look forward to a new society. The comparison also reveals that literary translations from English, considered a colonial language in both Chinese and Swahili contexts during the period covered by the study (the first half of the twentieth century), shared a common decolonial impulse.

This study concludes that post-colonial translation studies, in addition to examining literary translation as a form of European domination and distortion of the colonies, would benefit from seeing translation as the site and means of decolonization as well as modernization in the colonies.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As Tanzania's first president, one of the African kings of philosophy and an influential political thinker, Julius Nyerere has been the subject of an enormous number of studies, most about his political legacies, political ideology, and his biography. Nyerere's other identities were as a leader of Tanzanian intellectuals, a poet, and a translator. His translations include the four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Bible, as well as Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*. There are fewer existing studies on Nyerere's translations than on his political legacies and ideology. Furthermore, they have usually focused on one specific text and lack a comprehensive view. This thesis contains a systematic study that emphasises the inner logical connections between Nyerere's different translations. Due to their particularities, Nyerere's works are good case studies in the context of post-colonial literary translations.

Nyerere's identity as an influential African political leader in a post-colonial country has resulted in an abundance of biographies about him and studies of his political ideology, which is helpful for the study of his translations. Nyerere's translations were produced from the 1960s to the middle of the 1990s, a period that coincided with his decolonization enterprise of state-building and nation-building, which offers a unique perspective to look at the role of literary translation in this enterprise. Nyerere's source texts were the Bible and Shakespeare, which are two major elements of the English

language, literature, and culture. They played a crucial role in the colonial expansion of the British Empire as the central texts for religious and cultural colonialism. A study of the changes in the translations of these texts can provide new perspectives on post-colonial translation.

This study examines Nyerere's translations of the Bible and Shakespeare within a comparative framework. It first compares Nyerere's Biblical translations with the translations of missionaries. All translations were based on English source texts. The comparison reveals the features of both versions and indicates the nature of decolonization in Nyerere's version. This study then compares his translations of Shakespeare with Chinese translations. It explains the reason for choosing Chinese as a case study from a textual perspective in due course, specifically in the similar experiences of the two languages due to the influence of British cultural imperialism, colonialism and their similar enterprises of decolonization through vernacularisation in language and literature. It also explains this choice from a contextual perspective, specifically in the same imaginings of a new state and a new society in the adaptations and receptions of the two plays: *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*.

The influence of the Swahili Bible on Swahili language and literature is far more significant than the Chinese Bible¹ on Chinese language and literature. Hence, they are

¹ See e.g.: In *The Translation of the Bible into Chinese: The Origin and Unique Authority of the Union Version* (2021), Ann Cui'an Peng makes a historical survey of Chinese Bible translation; in 'The Bible as Chinese Literature: Medhurst, Wang Tao, and the Delegate's Version' (2003), Patrick Hanan offers case studies of the Chinese Bible translations and the strategies applied by the translators to make the texts literary in Chinese; in 'Rewriting Jesus in Republican China: Religion, Literature, and Cultural Nationalism' (2011), Ni Zhange looks at how the rewriting of

not compared in this study. The creation of *Standard Swahili* was initially to meet the need to translate the Bible into this indigenous language and to print it in a common form for the convenience of its cross-region usage. After the translation of the New Testament by the German missionary Dr Johann Krapf was completed in 1846 in Kimvita Kiswahili of Kenya (Mojola 2000, 511), the German and British missionaries dominated Bible translation for more than a century until after independence when many Africans started translating Biblical works. Bible translation laid the foundation of the orthography and lexicography of the Swahili language. The process of standardisation greatly shaped the appearance of the language and determined the fate of its various dialects and their literary forms. The standardised Unguja dialect and its literature thrived, while other dialects and their literatures were hindered. The literary form of prose in the translations influenced the development of Swahili literature. In his use of the traditional poetic form in his translation of the Bible, Nyerere decolonised the norms of the missionaries' translations while pushing the local poetic form to the forefront of a new Swahili literary tradition.

Shakespeare entered Tanzania and China in the middle of the 19th century to the early 20th century when the two countries were experiencing colonization and decolonization. In Tanzania, this period signalled the end of colonial rule and the transferring of power from the colonisers to the African people. Nyerere and his colleagues faced the mission

the figure of Jesus in the gospel stories as a symbol of national survival and revival is the constitution and negotiation of literary and religious authorities at the crucial moment when China was seeking to reformulate its cultural identity as a modern nation.

of forming a European-type nation state. The tasks of state-building and nation-building were faced by the Tanzanian intellectuals. Moreover, from the 1960s, under the background of the Cold War between the socialist and capitalist camps, Nyerere led his country in a socialist experiment. In China, the 20th century saw the collapse of the system of emperors, which had been maintained for thousands of years, as well as the invasion of European powers, such as Britain, Germany and France, and Russian, American and Japanese powers, making China a semi-colony. For Chinese intellectuals, the thinking and practice of forming a modern nation state was also a priority.

In both Tanzania and China, to adapt to the changing times, the forms and content of traditional literature also needed to change. The traditional format of rhyme and metre in poetic literature was challenged by free verse and prose in the vernacular. The didactic themes of traditional literature on the Islamic religion and Confucian morality were replaced by themes of exploring modernity, which aligned with the aim of forming a new state and a new society. Modernisation was a route to achieving decolonization. In this study, taking a comparative perspective, Shakespeare's Swahili and Chinese translations are explored in their respective political and cultural contexts to reveal the nature of decolonization in the translations' language and literature, as well as the nature of decolonization in their imaginings of a new state and a new society.

1.1 Theoretical Framework, Approach and Methodology

Several key concepts in translation studies inform the theoretical framework of this

study. These are the politics of translation, post-colonial translation study, prismatic translation study, translation as colonization, translation as decolonization and comparative literature in translation studies. The politics of translation are relevant in that this study focuses not only on the texts of the translations but also on the political contexts that produced them. Post-colonial translation study applies to this study as it looks at translations produced in post-colonial societies and tries to reveal their common features. Prismatic translation study is related to this study in that it is not only comparing one source text and its one translation but is comparing one source text (respectively) and its multiple translations in two languages. Translation as colonization hints at the research question of this thesis: as translation was once part of the colonial agenda, what is the role of translation in the era of decolonization? The anticipated conclusion to this inquiry is translation as decolonization in the sense that literary translation from English to a local language could participate in decolonization from two perspectives: in form, with literary translations participating in the decolonization of colonial legacies and local literary traditions, and in content, with literary translations providing grounds for the imagination of new states and new societies. Comparative literature in translation studies is associated with the main methodology of this study.

1.1.1 Politics of Translation

Since the 1990s, translation studies have moved on from merely comparing the original texts to the translations to looking beyond the text and considering it in its political and cultural environment. Translations are no longer seen as inferior to the original works;

rather, they exist in their own right. This study looks at the politics of translation, analysing the influence of the power imbalance on translations in the epoch of colonization and decolonization. André Lefevere (1992) sees translation as a rewriting of the original text (xi). He argues that the reception, acceptance, or rejection of literary translations are, like other literary texts, governed by 'issues such as power, ideology, institution and manipulation' (ibid., 2). The rewriting of literary texts through translation can be ideological (conforming to or rebelling against the dominant ideology) or poetological (conforming to or rebelling against the dominant or preferred poetics). This study looks at the poetological and ideological rewritings in Nyerere's Swahili translations of the Bible and Shakespeare. The discussion of the poetological dimension is based on the changing of the aesthetical forms of the texts according to the changes in cultural politics occurring in colonial and post-colonial times. The discussion of the ideological dimension is based on the political metaphors in the content of the translations. In the poetological dimension, this study analyses how the literary forms of Nyerere's translation contrast with the norms of other translations in the colonial period. In the ideological dimension, this study investigates how his considerations of state-building and nation-building are reflected in his translations.

1.1.2 Post-Colonial Translation Studies

The idea of translation being merely a copy of the original only came into being after the invention of printing and the spread of literacy, when the author was seen as the owner of their works. Early colonial expansion occurred around the time of the

development of the printing industry in Europe. When early Orientalists first encountered literary works from Africa and Asia, they usually saw them as products of a culture that was inferior to theirs. When they produced translations of Oriental texts, influenced by a Eurocentric mentality, they would edit the original literary texts and make them fit the norms of Europe. Examples of this are Edward Fitzgerald, who translated the Persian collection of poems *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, and Edward Lane, who translated *One Thousand and One Nights*. Fitzgerald accused the Persians of artistic incompetence and suggested their poetry only became art when translated into English, while in his translation, Lane informed his readers that the Arabs were far more gullible than educated European readers (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999, 6). This Eurocentric mentality dominated the linguistic, cultural, and literary interactions between the European and non-European worlds.

Eurocentrism defines the form and content of the translations from the European colonial centres to their colonies. For the colonisers, translating Biblical texts and texts of literary classics was a process of implementing a colonial civilising agenda. Biblical translations brought Christianity to the colonised people, while literary translations brought them European culture and its values. Both forms of translation were seen as civilising the locals. In the eyes of nationalists, European religion and culture were destructive to their own religious and cultural traditions, so needed to be resisted. Nevertheless, such an interaction also contains the potential of creating new literature and culture. In the words of Homi Bhabha:

...we should remember that it is the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and renegotiation, the *in-between* space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture. It makes it possible to begin envisaging national anti-nationalist histories of the 'people'. And by exploring this Third Space, we may elude the politics of polarity and emerge as the others of our selves. (Bhabha 1994, 38-39)

Scholars have noted the asymmetric relationship between Europe and the rest of the world in terms of translation. Bassnett and Trivedi (1999) suggest that, in colonial times, Europe was usually regarded as the great Original, the starting point, and the colonies were, therefore, copies or 'translations' of Europe, which they were supposed to imitate. The notion of the colonies as copies or translations of the great European Original inevitably involved a value judgement that ranked the translation in a lesser position in the literary hierarchy (4). They then suggest that the European translators had the mentality of European cultural ascendancy during the colonial era:

Both these translators were spectacularly successful, but when we start to examine the premises upon which their translation practice was based, what emerges is that they clearly saw themselves as belonging to a superior cultural system. Translation was a means both of containing the artistic achievements of writers in other languages and of asserting the supremacy of the dominant, European culture. (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999, 6)

Having such a notion, there was always something that was lost in translation. When post-colonial theorists review the previous translation studies, they criticise the view that regards a translation as only a copy of the original. In their studies, instead of looking at what is lost, they try to reveal what is gained or distorted in the translation. For example, in her seminal essay, Gayatri Spivak criticises the distortion of the

translation of 'Third World' literature into English. In her words:

In the act of wholesale translation into English there can be a betrayal of the democratic ideal into the law of the strongest. This happens when all the literature of the Third World gets translated into a sort of with-it translateese, so that the literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan. (Spivak 2012, 315)

In the anthology *Post-Colonial Translation: Theory and Practice* (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999), the contributors of different linguistic backgrounds provided cases describing how writers and translators use translation to serve their own aims in writing, which indicates the unsettling power of translation. For example, Maria Tymoczko suggested that post-colonial writers in Africa such as Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o use translated words in their English novels to challenge the standard language and to highlight the hybridity of the text. Moreover, G. J. V. Prasad showed how Indian English writers have created a space of bilingualism by defamiliarizing English and making their works sound like translations. Vanamala Viswanatha and Sherry Simon pointed out how in India and Canada, translation is a particular indicator of cultural tensions.

Different from existing post-colonial translation studies, which mainly focus on revealing how the asymmetrical power relations between the British Empire and its colonies resulted in the distortion of the English translations and writings (as a kind of translation) of the local languages, this study discusses how translations from English literature into local languages can be creative and used to express local issues, becoming part of decolonization and modernization practices.

1.1.3 Prismatic Translation Studies

There is no literary translation that can be regarded as a thorough transmission of the original. To pursue a better or more appropriate version, literary works have been translated and retranslated, especially the classics, which usually have many versions as they circulate around the world. There are many norms that affect the translation of a literary work, such as ideologies, aesthetic standards, and economic issues. Through different voices, handwritings, spellings and idioms, the dialects of the language of the target text are constantly changing across history, and any given translation, in any form, is just one among many actual and possible versions. Two routes have been taken by scholars to discuss translation's pluralising forces: one text's different translations in one target language, and one text's different translations in several languages. The concept of a perfect translation has been given up by researchers because variabilities always exist.

Regarding the phenomenon of the variabilities of translation, Matthew Reynold raises the metaphor of a 'prism'. Traditionally, the metaphor for translation is a 'channel', which an original text goes through and comes out as another text. Reynold suggests that translation is also a 'prism', which the light (the original text) enters and leaves in multiple colours (various translations). Prismatic translation study sees the translations into different target languages as 'each continuous with the source though different from it and related to the other version though different from all of them' (Reynold 2019, 3). The changing of the metaphor opens up new perspectives to see translations

produced at different times and in different languages as creations of individual translators that are comparable and that reveal many cultural, poetical and ideological elements behind them. In the discussion of Nyerere's translations of Shakespeare, this study introduces the Chinese translations of Shakespeare and looks at them comparatively as different yet related texts. The similarities between the Swahili and Chinese translations of Shakespeare make sure that the comparison is more revealing than a 'channel' way of watching only one source text and one target text in two languages. Through a prismatic comparison of English, Swahili and Chinese texts, this study seeks to explore the role of translation in the process of nation-building in the colonial and post-colonial eras in both countries.

The similarities between the Swahili and Chinese translations of Shakespeare are as follows:

1. Both are translations of a European language (English) to a non-European language (Swahili and Chinese). Behind the asymmetrical relationships between these languages is the economic, military, and cultural hegemony of the British Empire over East Africa and China.
2. Both translations were produced under a background of decolonization. Before this, translations from the European centres to the colonies went hand in hand with colonialism. The earliest Swahili and Chinese versions of Shakespeare were both from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. They were both introductory

texts meant to offer the Swahili and Chinese readers a taste of the works of the greatest English writer. In other words, both versions were educational. When Nyerere and the Chinese translator Zhu Shenghao decided to retranslate the plays, they were obviously not satisfied with the previous versions. Lamb's version was an abridged edition and was originally written for children, with the aim of encouraging young British people to read Shakespeare. There was a mentality that the colonised people needed to be educated by being introduced to the greatest English writer, yet not to himself (his own works) but to an abridged version. The complete translations of Nyerere and Zhu were, in a sense, an action of accommodating Shakespeare into their own literary and cultural traditions. Their translations of Shakespeare in the two languages did not contain a colonial agenda but were instead a practice of decolonization.

3. Swahili and Chinese both have long literary histories with their own aesthetic and poetic traditions, which means that when translations enter the two lingua-cultural systems, adaptations are needed. The adaptations applied by translators bring decolonial and modern features to the local poetic languages and traditions.
4. In the colonial epoch in Tanzania and China, Shakespeare's plays were regarded as containing British modern culture and values, which the local people could learn from or refer to. From the content of the plays, translators and critics have instead highlighted common themes of modernisation and decolonization from the perspective of building a new state and a new society.

1.1.4 Translation as Colonization

In the process of the British colonization of the colonies, translation played the role of implementing Britain's language and exerting cultural dominance over the local people. Before encountering English literature, the Swahili language and the Chinese language both had long traditions of written literature, one with a history of hundreds of years and the other thousands of years. The literature of both countries has its own traditional themes, types and aesthetical standards. From the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, the two literary traditions experienced unprecedented changes. English literature entered Tanzania and China in its original form or in translations and had dynamic interactions with the local linguistic, literary, and cultural systems. English literary translation intervened in the development of the literature of the local languages.

Traditional Swahili literature was written in Ajami characters and had a deep connection with Arab-Islamic literature. The main traditional genre of Swahili literature is poetry, with themes such as the history of Islam, stories of the Prophet and his followers, and chronicles of the coastal states. After colonial times, the Europeans dominated the development of the Swahili language and literature. From the second half of the 19th century, German and British missionaries, as well as linguists like Johann Ludwig Krapf and Edward Steere, produced works documenting the Swahili language, including editing dictionaries and publishing introductory works on the grammar. They

replaced the Ajami characters with the Roman alphabet. Under the rule of the British colonial government, a large number of English literary works were translated into Swahili (Mazrui 2007, 25). An Inter-Territorial Language Committee that governed education and publication in the Swahili language in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika and Zanzibar was founded in 1930 and operated until 1964 when it was incorporated into the University College, Dar es Salaam. All Swahili textbooks published during this time were scrutinised by the committee. These books included Swahili writings and translations. One of the guidelines of the committee was 'making arrangements for translating into Swahili of the textbooks and books of a general nature selected, or for direct authorship in Swahili of such books' (Whiteley 1969, 83). During the colonial era, the colonial educational institutions and publishing houses decided what was to be translated and published. Through the efforts of the British colonial government to promote the language in its East African territories, and the Tanzanian government's nation-building efforts after independence, *Standard Swahili* was accepted by the East African people, and as a result, literature written in this language became the mainstream. As Mazrui suggests:

...the overwhelming proportion of the widely circulating materials produced by Euro-Christians, using what was conceived to be *Standard Swahili*, came to set the linguistic ideal by which East Africans, including the Swahili people themselves, were now expected to abide. The de-Islamization of Swahili, its ecumenicalization, was rapidly proceeding, a development that affected the destiny of Swahili literature in major ways in the decades to come. (Mazrui 2007, 26)

Not only did the Swahili writers convert to *Standard Swahili* from the Ajami characters

but they also applied new literary forms, including prose fiction and written drama, to their literature. In the colonial and post-colonial periods, Swahili writers broke out of the boundaries of tradition, assimilating the forms, themes, and ideologies of European literature. For example, Euphrase Kezilahabi's novel *Ngoni* and *Mzingile* were evidently influenced by his studies of philosophy from Ancient Greece to the 20th century, and psychology. (see Diegner 2005, 26; Rettová 2018, 440) Said Ahmed Mohamed's writings have been identified with socialist realism (Mazrui 2007, 30), and also with postmodernism (see Traore 2014). He is sometimes regarded as the Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o of Swahili literature (Mazrui 2007, 30.) The playwright Ebrahim Hussein imitated the design of Aristotelian drama in his early writings, then adopted Brechtian dramaturgy. In his later writings, he has tried to synthesise the legacy of Western theatre and the traditions of the indigenous arts. (Mazrui 2007, 34-35)

In the Chinese context, the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was a time of political and cultural turmoil. The Qing dynasty was overthrown as the influences from the European and Japanese colonial empires were rising. Facing the pressure of foreign forces, the Chinese intellectuals were eagerly seeking a way to save the country and to avoid being colonised by them. Forging a path to modernisation was the priority of the Chinese intellectuals. During the May Fourth Movement, which was initiated by progressive intellectuals with the aim of modernising Chinese culture, English literary translation stimulated the emergence of modern Chinese literature, including the vernacular verse.

English literature contained the culture and values of the British Empire, which represented the peak of modernisation at that time, so Chinese intellectuals put effort into translating these works, imitating them, and spreading them to the people. Literary translation was an important element that led to the creation of and assisted in the development of modern Chinese literature, as Gao Yu (高玉) suggests:

在现代时期，文学翻译与文学创作之间的关系要比现在紧密得多，很深地纠缠在一起，互相渗透。外国文学始终是推动文学创作的重要动力，而外国文学对中国文学的影响就是通过翻译文学的中介来完成的，并且如何影响、影响的程度以及影响的方式等都与翻译有着直接的关系。(Gao 2008, 160-161)

In the contemporary era, literary translation and literary writing have a more intimate relationship than before. They are deeply entangled with each other. They permeate each other. Foreign literature was always a source of motivation for Chinese literary creation. The influence of foreign literature on Chinese literature is mediated by translated literature. The questions of how, to what extent and in which way such influences happened are all immediately connected with translation. (Author's translation)

Writers and translators used the vernacular (*baihua*, 白话) to translate foreign poems, which stimulated the development of Chinese vernacular poems. As the famous poet and Shakespearean scholar Bian Zhilin (卞之琳, 1910-2000) explains:

西方诗，通过模仿与翻译尝试，在‘五四’时期促成了白话新诗的产生。在此以后，译诗，以其选题的倾向性和传导的成功率，在一定程度上更多地介入和新诗创作发展中的几重转折。(Bian 2002, 503)

Through imitation and translation, Western poetry affected the emergence of new vernacular poetry at the time of the May Fourth Movement. To a certain extent, translated poetry, including the success and popularity of selected themes,

contributed to the emergence and development of new poetry. (Author's translation)

Many of the influential modern Chinese writers were also translators, such as Lu Xun (鲁迅, 1881-1936), Mao Dun (茅盾, 1896-1981), Ba Jin (巴金, 1904-2005), Bing Xin (冰心, 1900-1999), Feng Zhi (冯至, 1905-1993), Zhou Zuoren (周作人, 1885-1967), Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋 1903-1987) and Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白 1899-1935). Those writers and translators learnt themes and styles from their translations of foreign literature.

作家翻译的过程也是学习西方文学作品的过程，有时候翻译和创作几乎是同步的。许多中国现代国家的作品都有他们翻译的作品的影子。(Gao 2008, 162)

The process of translation was also the process of learning, and sometimes translation and creative writing by translators and writers went hand in hand. In many of the works of the modern Chinese writers, there are shadows of their translations (Author's translation)

Translation, however, is more than imitation. It is also decolonization. Decolonization can be political, economic and cultural. In the political domain, it means the retreat of the colonial empires and the establishment of independent states in the former colonies. In the economic domain, it concerns the economic control of the newly independent states and the methods to avoid the exploitation of the colonial powers. In the cultural domain, it is about how the independent states revive and develop their cultures that have been destroyed by the cultural systems of the colonial powers. The 20th century saw the decline of the British Empire from its peak and the rise of nationalist

movements among the colonised people. The development of national literature and culture was among the tasks of the decolonization movements in the colonial era, as was modernisation after independence.

1.1.5 Translation as Decolonization

The term ‘decolonization’ was first used by political historians to describe the political changes that had occurred in the former European colonies after the 1960s. Various scholars have given different definitions of this term, such as ‘the creation of self-governing nation states’ and the ‘rejection of the civilization of the white man’ (Hargreaves 1996, 224; Delavignette 1977, 133). Decolonization as a political phenomenon can be traced back to the independence movement in Haiti that started in 1791, yet as a global-scale political change, it was most intense and most successful in the three decades following World War Two. In addition to politics, decolonization is also about language and culture, as suggested by Raymond F. Betts:

Decolonization was first the subject of political historians and political scientists who viewed the activity as either a national or an international problem, one of party formation, mass protest, nation building, big state rivalry. Decolonization remains a subject of concern to social scientists, but it has more recently figured prominently in literary criticism, itself informed by cultural anthropology, the new hybrid most frequently described as colonial or postcolonial discourse, with “discourse” meaning not only language but the cultural conditions that inform and direct it. (Betts 1998, 3-4)

In his book *Decolonizing the Mind* (1986), the famous Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o discusses the colonization of people’s minds by the colonial powers and the

associated decolonization in the post-colonial epoch. Ngũgĩ sees language as the key factor in the colonial subjugation of the minds of the people. In the tone of a Marxist, he wrote:

In my view language was the most important vehicle through which that power fascinated and held the soul prisoner. The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation. (Ngũgĩ 1994, 9)

Ngũgĩ emphasises the importance of African writers using African native languages to express themselves in their literary writings. To Ngũgĩ, African-language writing is the way to decolonise people's minds, which is the pre-condition of the general decolonization of the continent. Different from Ngũgĩ's argument of African-language writing being the proper method of self-representation for African writers, in *The Empire Writes Back* (1989), the co-authors Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin suggest the method of African English-language writers showing self-representation by appropriating the language and culture of the colonial centre and transforming it, breaking it down and infusing it with local registers. The hegemonic English of the coloniser is then transformed into the 'englishes' of the colonies. In their words:

Though British imperialism resulted in the spread of a language, English, across the globe, the english of Jamaicans is not the english of Canadians, Maoris, or Kenyans. We need to distinguish between what is proposed as a standard code, English (the language of the erstwhile imperial centre), and the linguistic code, english, which has been transformed and sub-verted into several distinctive varieties throughout the world. (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1989, 8)

The ‘englishes’ of the colonies, hence, have become a source of creativity and a method of self-expression in the sense of decolonising the colonial-imposed hegemonic English expressions. Different from Ngūgī’s African-language writing and Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin’s ‘english’ writing as two models of decolonising colonial domination and developing indigenous expressions, this study looks at literary translation from English into Swahili to explore how translation can be a form of decolonization. The cases of this study are Nyerere’s translations of the Bible and Shakespeare from English into Swahili. In a comparative approach, this thesis also introduces Chinese translations of the same Shakespearean source texts as Shakespeare was also in a central position in foreign literary translation in China during the first half of the 20th century. Nyerere’s choice of the Bible and Shakespeare was certainly not random. They are the two sources that have contributed the most in terms of translated literary works from English into the languages of the colonies, serving as central texts for cultural colonization.

1.1.6 Comparative Literature in Translation Studies

The first aspect of decolonization in literary translation is decolonising the colonial legacies in the local language and literature through translation. The second aspect is receiving foreign language and literary traditions to decolonise and modernise the local language and literary traditions, critically receiving the culture and values of the colonial powers through literary translation and addressing the local issues of decolonization, including state-building and nation-building.

For the first aspect, this study looks at how Nyerere's practices of Bible translation decolonised the colonial legacy in the Swahili language and literature by comparing Nyerere's version with the missionaries' versions as Bible translation is in the domain of the British language and cultural colonization of the Swahili language and literature. Bible translations in Chinese have not had the same significant influence on the Chinese language and literature as on the Swahili language and literature, so will not be included in a comparative study.

For the second aspect, this study looks at Shakespeare's Swahili and Chinese translations in a comparative literature approach. Comparing the adaptations and receptions of the same Shakespearean source texts in Swahili and Chinese reveals the common features of decolonization in literary translation. The development of the Swahili and Chinese languages and their literature has been affected by English literary translations. This study looks at how translations of Shakespeare have reflected and participated in decolonising and modernising local literary practices and traditions while promoting vernacular writing. Shakespeare was seen as an emblem of British culture and values, with his works offering models for the people of the colonies to learn from or refer to in their enterprises of modernisation and decolonization. Due to the different domestic cultural and political contexts in Tanzania and China, the adaptations of the translators and the receptions of the critics to Shakespearean Translations have been different in the two countries. Such differences result in the

different considerations of the intellectuals in the countries regarding decolonization.

In *Julius Caesar*, Nyerere and the Tanzanian critics paid attention to the themes of popular unrest, the competition between politicians, the role of a political leader, and the relationship between the elites and the commoners. All of these themes were related to the political reality of the new country and their concerns about building a stable state. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Nyerere and the Tanzanian critics focused on the themes of the emerging of a capitalist society, anti-Semitism and a society bonded by money instead of love. All of these themes were related to their concerns of building a new society which, instead of being a capitalist one, would be a *Ujamaa* socialist one.

The attentions of Zhu and the Chinese critics on the same two plays were on similar themes concerning state-building and nation-building, but their adaptations and appropriation of them in expressing local issues were not identical to their Tanzanian counterparts. For *Julius Caesar*, the Chinese translators and critics were more concerned with the spirit of law expressed by Caesar and the role of the masses in state-building. For *The Merchant of Venice*, the Chinese translators and critics paid more attention to the issues of the role of the law and female liberation. The new society imagined by the Chinese intellectuals was close to the society of capitalist Venice. The nature and uniqueness of decolonization in the sense of imagining a new state and a new society in Nyerere's translations of Shakespeare are revealed through the comparison with Chinese translations. The universal nature of translation as

decolonization is argued within this comparison.

1.2 Research Materials

1.2.1 The Bible

The Bible and Shakespeare's works were the most translated English literary texts during the British colonial expansion across the world.² The early missionaries to East Africa saw Swahili translations of Biblical texts as a way of 'translating the highest scientific knowledge into practical [African] life' and 'introducing African peoples into the modern mental world of Europe' (Roehl 1930, 200-201). The missionaries enthusiastically studied the languages of the local people, and once they had mastered them, they quickly translated the Bible into those languages. In East Africa, there was an outpouring of Biblical materials produced by the missionaries during the early colonial times. From 1900 to 1950, Biblical materials dominated the publishing scene (Rollins 1983, 51). These Biblical materials became the most accessible, and in most cases, the only accessible reading materials for the local people. As Viera Vilhanová suggests:

The role of the Bible translated in African languages was enormous. The publication of the Bible in full or in part was usually the first major publication in an African language and in many cases, it remained for the long time the only publication that people could read in their own languages. (Vilhanová 2006, 210)

The history of Swahili Biblical translations can be traced back to the middle of the 19th

² The Bible is considered a literary work as it contains many stories, songs and poems and it has influenced literary creation across the world for more than two millenniums.

century when European missionaries entered East Africa. The early Swahili Bible was available mainly in two dialects: the Kimvita dialect spoken in Mombasa and the Kiunguja dialect spoken in Zanzibar. The Biblical texts in both dialects were produced in the Roman script. Before Christians entered the region, Swahili, which was already spoken as the native tongue of the Swahili-speaking Muslims and as an additional language among the non-Muslim East Africans, was written in the Ajami script. The shift from Ajami to Roman script symbolised the Christian appropriation of the language. Different choices made by the translators reflected the denominations of the different missions in East Africa, such as the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Mombasa and the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) in Zanzibar. The translators and missionaries of both denominations wanted the Biblical texts in the language of their mission area to be dominant.

There was also competition between Christianity and Islam as, before encountering Christianity, the Swahili language had a long history of interaction with Arab-Islamic culture. As a result, quite a large number of Swahili words are borrowed from Arabic especially the ones related to religion. As Farouk Topan (1992) notes, 'almost all major terms for an Islamic discourse in Swahili are derived from Arabic' (335). Missionaries like Krapf and Steere had no problem with the Arabic-Islamic component in Swahili as it made their task easier due to its suitability in expressing religious ideas. However, others like the German Lutheran missionary Dr Karl Roehl were of the opinion that too many Arabic words in the Swahili Biblical translations was inappropriate and acted in

his translation practice to use Bantu words wherever possible instead of Arabic words. This Bantuisation of Bible translation was a means of trying to gain cultural and religious dominance.

The standardisation of the Swahili language from the late 1920s favoured the Kiunguja dialect, while the northern dialects, including Kimvita and Kiamu of Lamu Island in Kenya, were abandoned. In the process of standardisation, the need to create a common Swahili Bible in *Standard Swahili* became urgent. Under the lead of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), which incorporated different missions in East Africa, a version in *Standard Swahili* and standard orthography was finished in 1952. This Swahili Union Version became the leading Swahili Bible. In Mojola's words (2000), it 'has become "King James Version" equivalent of the Swahili speaking world' (521). The version that is most widely used today is the *Biblia Habari Njema*, which was sponsored by the Bible Society of Kenya (BSK) and the Bible Society of Tanzania (BST), published simultaneously in the two countries in 1996. This version is the first major Swahili translation of the Bible for which Africans themselves have been wholly responsible and in which they have fully participated at all levels (Mojola 2000, 521). The *Biblia Habari Njema* symbolises the East African people taking the power of spreading and interpreting religious texts from the European and American missionaries.

The creation of *Standard Swahili* was inseparable from the publication of Swahili Biblical texts. In addition to the aforementioned versions, Biblical texts, especially the

gospels, were translated and retranslated many times, with the texts changing in accordance with the changing of the Swahili language. Such changes were part of the standardisation process operated by the colonial authorities. The Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee, which was founded by the British colonial governments of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1930, was in charge of standardising the Swahili publications in the British colonies in East Africa (Whiteley 1969, 82). The Swahili Biblical materials published in East Africa in Swahili from 1930 to the end of 1950 were scrutinised by the committee. The Bible still influences the Swahili language and literature today. The motifs and metaphors in the Bible have also inspired Swahili writers in their creative works. The literary works of famous Swahili writers, like *Nagona na Mzingile* by Euphrase Kezilahabi, *Ziraili na Zirani* by W. E. Mkufya have all appropriated Biblical stories and characters.

Nyerere's Biblical translations included the four gospels, *Matayo (Matthew)*, *Marko (Mark)*, *Luka (Luke)* and *Yohana (John)*, as well as the *Mtendo ya Mitume (Acts of the Apostles)*, which were published by Benedictine Publications Ndanda in 1996. His translations of these Biblical texts are among the bestsellers in Tanzanian Christian bookstores.³ Although the German missionary Dr Johann Ludwig Kapf first translated chapters of the Bible into Swahili as early as 1840 when he was in Mombasa (Frankl 1992, 13), to conduct a comparative analysis with Nyerere's version, this study chooses the later versions of the Biblical texts published by the BFBS between 1892 and 1934.

³ I bought the newest version from the bookstore of St. Joseph's Cathedral in Dar es Salaam.

The author located them among other substantial collections of Biblical translations in Swahili in the library of the University of Dar es Salaam during the fieldwork for this study in 2020. The relatively large number of copies compared to the other works in this library indicated their wide reach among the people. If the BFBS's version of the translation represents a colonial strategy to spread Christianity and build cultural domination, then this study argues that Nyerere's version represents an effort of decolonization.

1.2.2 Shakespeare

Shakespearean texts were the most applied to introduce the people of other languages and cultures to English culture. With the expansion of the British Empire, more and more Shakespearean texts were translated into different languages, covering each region under the influence of the empire, including its African and Asian colonies and semi-colonies, such as China. People of different languages accepted Shakespeare in their own languages, either in adaptations of the stories in the plays or in translations of them. His plays have been performed in East Africa in the Swahili language, in India in the Hindi language and in China in the Chinese language, among other regions.

Shakespeare entered Swahililand in the middle of the 19th century when a slim volume of stories from Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* was published as *Hadithi za Kiingereza* ('English Tales') on the island of Zanzibar in the 1860s. Its translator was Bishop Edward Steere of Zanzibar (Wilson-Lee 2016, 6). After that,

Shakespeare's stories in Swahili adaptations were used as teaching materials in the colonial schools in East Africa. Nyerere translated two Shakespeare plays: *Julius Caesar* (1963; revised version *Juliasi Kaizari* in 1969) and *The Merchant of Venice* (1969). Mushi translated *Macbeth* as *Makbeth* (1968), *Tempest* as *Tufani* (1969). Francis Warwick translated *Macbeth* as *Mabruk* (1970) and *The Merchant of Venice* as *Mlariba* ('Usurer') (1971)

In China, the most influential Shakespearean text before the full translations was also the translation of Lamb's adaptation. The first version was *Xiewai qitang* (海外奇谭, *Strange Stories from Overseas*), including ten stories, and it was published in 1903. The translator was anonymous. The second version was *Yinguo shiren yinbianyanyu* (英国诗人吟边燕语, *An English Poet Reciting from Afar*), translated by the famous Chinese translators Li Shu (林纾) and Wei Yi (魏易), including the 20 stories in Lamb's adaptation, and it was published in 1904 and reprinted in 1981 (Meng 2014, 90). Lin and Wei's version has had a bigger influence, so it is discussed in this study.

Since the publication of *Xiewai qitang* and *Yinguo shiren yinbianyanyu*, generations of Chinese translators have endeavoured to bring Shakespeare to Chinese readers and audiences. Each of his plays has been translated into Chinese at least twice. There are also two versions of the complete works of Shakespeare in Chinese translations. Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋) translated 37 plays between 1930 and 1967, publishing this volume in Taiwan in 1967. Zhu Shenghao (朱生豪) translated 31 plays between 1935 and 1944,

which were published in 1947 after his death (Meng 2014, 107). Zhu's translations are acclaimed for their high quality and have been reprinted repeatedly from 1954 to the most recent version in 2016.⁴ In these reprints, with the aim of meeting Zhu's standard, the six plays that he left untranslated are supplemented with translations by other renowned translators.

In Chinese, in addition to Zhu's translations, there were other translations of Shakespeare by other Chinese translators in his time. As early as 1904, Lin Shu (林纾) and Weiyi (魏易) translated Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* into classical Chinese (wenyan, 文言). Other influential translators were Tian Han (田汉), who translated *Hamlet* in 1922, and Zhang Caizhen (张彩真), who translated *As You Like It* in 1923, Gu Zhongyi (顾仲彝), who translated *The Merchant of Venice* in 1930, and Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋), who translated the complete works of Shakespeare from the 30s to the 70s. However, none of these translators' translations have had the same impact as Zhu's, not only because *The Complete Works in Shakespeare in Chinese* (Shashibiya quanji, Beijing, 1978), based on Zhu's thirty-one and a half of the thirty-seven plays and other renowned translators' supplements, is the first translated complete works of a foreign author to be published in mainland China, but also because of the popularity of his translations, as stated by the Chinese Shakespearean like Scholar Lu Tongling, 'Zhu has made Shakespeare a part of Chinese culture through his vivid translations, which

⁴ The following is a WorldCat link for the versions of Zhu's translations: <https://search.worldcat.org/zh-cn/search?q=k%3A%E5%A8%81%E5%B0%BC%E6%96%AF%E5%95%86%E4%BA%BA+AND+au%3AZhu+Shenghao&itemSubType=book-printbook&itemSubTypeModified=book-printbook>

are loved not only by highly educated scholars but also by ordinary literary amateurs, including children' (2012, 531), also Murray J. Levith: 'Zhu's translations, popular to this day, are considered by many to be the very best due to their fluency and sensitivity to Shakespeare's nuances of diction and word play' (2004, 12). Lu and Levith's high praise resonate with many scholars and critics of Chinese translations of Shakespeare, including Yang Lingui (2013, 63-64) and Duan Zili (2015, 1).

Although Liang Shiqiu was the first one to translate the complete works of Shakespeare into Chinese and published them in Taiwan in 1967, his translations were not as influential as those of Zhu. The reason of it is of politics; as William Baker and Tianhu Hao suggest, Liang was politically on the wrong side and his translations and commentary were criticized as paragraphs and fell afoul of Mao Zedong for their opposition to the class struggle (Baker and Hao 2021, 29). The other reason for choosing Zhu Shenghao's translations is his partly politicised and patriotic motivation for doing the translations. The complete Shakespeare in Japanese had long been available, while the Chinese version was wanting. Japan's invasion of China increased Zhu's determination to translate Shakespeare. In a letter to his future wife Song Qingru (宋清如), he expressed his motivation to equal or the Japanese in the domain of translating the Bard (Wu and Zhu 1989, 108). As Baker and Hao suggest, Zhu 'was reacting to a perceived need to Westernize Chinese culture. His translations were also an act of national rivalry with his Japanese counterpart as well as patriotic defiance to the Japanese invaders'. (Baker and Hao 2021, 29) Zhu also portrayed as something of

a cultural hero. His dedicated life as a Shakespeare translator has been sentimentalized into a 'model comrade' story. Zhu was seen as a martyr, like the peasants and workers who laboring for and often sacrificing their lives in the interests of the “people”. (Levith 2004, 130) Because of the high quality and influence of Zhu's translations, and his political motivation, this study focuses on his translations of Shakespeare rather than those of others, such as Liang Shiqiu. Zhu’s translations are representative of the Chinese translations of Shakespeare in the discussion of state-building and nation-building.

For the specific two plays this thesis discusses, *Julius Caesar* was first translated in 1925 as *Luoma dajiang gaisa* (罗马大将该撒, *The Great Roman General Caesar*) by Shao Ting (邵挺) and Xu Shaoshang (许绍山), with following versions published by other translators in 1931, 1935, 1938, 1944, 1947 (by Zhu) and 1967 (by Liang). *The Merchant of Venice* was first translated as *Weinisi shangren* (威尼斯商, *The Merchant of Venice*) in 1930 by Gu Zhongli (顾仲彝), as *Qiaozhuang de nülüshi* (乔装的女律师, *A Female Lawyer in Disguise*) in 1933, with following versions published by other translators in 1936 (by Liang), 1942, 1947 (by Zhu) and 1954 (Meng 2014, 92-93).

Nyerere’s translations of *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice* received more critical attention than any other Swahili literary translations in the 20th century. One reason for this was that Nyerere’s translations are high in quality. Any comprehensive study of Swahili translation must include a discussion of Nyerere's works (e.g.

Hadjivayanis 2011; Mazrui 2016; Talento 2021). Another reason was Nyerere's identity as a president-translator; like his political writings, his translations also attracted the attention of critics who were interested in his ideology and political thoughts, as well as their formation and development. They tried to identify some hints and reflections about them in his translations (Devji 2000; Noss and Renju 2007).

The two plays are also among the most popular and most commented on Shakespeare plays in Chinese. The Swahili translations and Chinese translations were both produced within and participated in vernacular movements in their literary traditions. These vernacular movements brought new formal patterns and themes, serving as an important part of literary modernisation. The themes, plots, and characters of the two plays are investigated, alongside the debates and discussions they have led to about crucial issues such as state-building and nation-building.

1.3 Context of Shakespeare in Africa and Ground of Comparison

Since a large part of the discussions in this thesis (three chapters out of six) are comparative studies of Shakespearean translations into an African indigenous language (Swahili) and Chinese and their role in nation-building efforts, it is necessary to contextualise it within studies of Shakespeare in African indigenous languages and their role in nation-building, and then to consider the specificity of the comparative approach with the Chinese translations of Shakespeare and its rationale.

The emergence of national languages has been an important factor that contributed to the production of translations. At the same time, translation also became a way of forming a national literary language, as happened in French or English in the 16th -17th century, German in the 18th – 19th century, Japanese or Chinese in the 20th century (Reynolds 2019, 8). For an indigenous language in a colony, if the Western classics like Dante, Milton or Shakespeare can be translated into it, then it proves to be a powerful literary language and is worthy of being the national language. Translations of Shakespeare into African languages often have tended to be for the purpose of nation-building in the way of validating and legitimating the national languages or using Shakespeare to express the local issues in a post-colonial context. One example is *Juliohs Siza* (1964) – the Sierra Leone Krio lingua franca translation of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. As Tcho Mbaimba Caulker suggests,

The act of translation and appropriation of *Juliohs Siza* amounts to both an assertion of a sovereign linguistic identity after having gained independence from England in 1961, as well as an appropriation of the powerful democratic message carried by the political legacy of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* for a newly independent Sierra Leone. (2009, 208)

Another example is the Dev Virahsawmy's Mauritian French Creole translations of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (*Zil Zezar*, 1987), *The Tempest* (*Toufann*, 1991), *Much Ado About Nothing* (*Ena Ta Senn Dan Vid*, 1995). In *From Creole to Standard: Shakespeare, Language, and Literature in a Post-Colonial Context* (2009), Roshni Mooneeram explains the role of the Shakespearean translations aforementioned in the process of transforming Mauritian Creole into a standard language.

In the paper ‘... tinap ober we leck giant’ African Celebrations of Shakespeare’, in their discussion of Mauritian French Creole translations of Shakespeare, Martin Banham and Eldred Durosimi Jones (1999) suggest that in translating Shakespeare into Creole, the translator was ‘linguistically, making a substantial cultural and nationalistic point,’(128) and specifically in the adaptation of *The Tempest* (Toufann,2003), the playwright is ‘bringing Shakespeare into play offer a political and social statement about the future of his country’ (132). In the discussion of Thomas Decker’s Sierra Leonean Krio translation of Shakespeare’s *As You Like It* (*Udat Di Kiap Fit*, 1964). They point out that, through making translations from the Classic of English Literature such as the authorized version of Bible and Shakespeare, Decker sought to prove that ‘Krio could be used to express almost anything that could be expressed in another language’ (Banham and Jones 1999, 131).

In the paper, ‘Shakespeare in Africa’, in the discussion of Amharic translation of *Othello* (ኦቲሎ, 1964) translated by the Ethiopian playwright Tsegaye Gebre-Medhin, Martin Banham, Roshni Mooneeram and Jane Plastow (2002) suggest that the presentation of Othello as a hero in the play questions the unequal racial perception between the Christian Ethiopians of Semitic origin in the highlands and the black Africans, often Muslims or animists, in the lowlands (288).

In her work, Framing Texts/Framing Social Spaces: Conceptualising Literary

Translation in three Centuries of Swahili Literature, by examining the Swahili translations of foreign literary texts, including Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Tempest* and *Macbeth*, Serena Talento (2021) seeks, in her own words, 'insight into the relationship between the practice of translation and the construction of linguistic, literary, and social identities drawing from the Swahili experience after the downfall of British rule in Tanganyika, later Tanzania' (187). She suggests that, in the post-colonial era in Tanzania, 'translation was part and parcel of nation-building programmes that placed put great emphasis on cultural resources as a means to build a national culture and earn the appellation of cultured nation' (297).

As with the above examples, this thesis explores the role of translation in nation-building in Tanzania with focus on Nyerere's translation of the Bible and Shakespeare. This thesis adopts a prismatic comparative approach and looks at Nyerere's Bible in the context of colonial translations, and at Nyerere's Shakespeare comparatively with Chinese translations. One might wonder why Chinese was chosen for comparison rather than, say, Hausa, Yoruba, or translations in other African languages. My Chinese background plays a part, but it is not the only reason. The more important reason is the shared African and Chinese experiences of European military, commercial and cultural imperialism, and colonialism. Colonialism in Tanganyika (later Tanzania) is of course more pervasive than the 'semi-colonialism' experienced by China in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The experiences were not identical, but the responses to European imperialism elicited similar responses that came to be manifest in language strategies

and cultural and literary movements. These can be seen as a part of ‘nation-building’ as a part of the national liberation movements that included ‘renewing’, ‘rejuvenating’, ‘reforming’ and ‘modernizing’ national language, culture, and literature. Translation is integral to this national liberation movement before and after the end of colonialism. More importantly, as will be seen, it partook in a decolonial nation-building process that sought to not only establish a cosmopolitan national literary canon but also speak truth to European cultural and literary imperialism. The overlap between African and Chinese experiences and, more significantly, the divergence, offer a keener backdrop (than comparing the like with like as one would African translation strategies) for highlighting and accentuating Nyerere’s translations.

‘Semi-colonialism’ may not be a term familiar with to the readers of this work. The definition given by the Oxford Reference to the term ‘semi-colonialism’ is as,

A term used, classically by Lenin and Mao Zedong, to describe states that in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were penetrated by imperial capital, trade, and political influence, but which preserved their juridical independence. Examples include Persia, China, Thailand, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Ethiopia⁵.

The term is used to describe China's distinctive experience of colonialism in relation to other colonial settings, most notably by Jürgen Osterhammel, Shu-mei Shih, Tani Barlow, Bryna Goodman and Anne Reinhardt.⁶ During the period, although Japan

⁵ <https://www.oxfordreference.com/display/10.1093/oi/authority.20110810105822954>;

Lenin’s using of the word in: James E. Connor, ed., *Lenin Politics and Revolution*. 1968. New York: Western Publishing Company. P.134–35; Mao Zedong’s application of the word in: Mao Zedong. 1960. *The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party*. Peking: Foreign Languages Press. p.9–20.

⁶ Jürgen Osterhammel. 1986. “Semicolonialism and Informal Empire in Twentieth Century China: Towards a

dominated Manchuria from 1931-1945 and Britain dominated Hong Kong, China by and large retained control of its own currencies and foreign affairs and was recognized as a sovereign member of the international community. But the power of imperialism, which affected colonies around the world, also affected China. The foreign establishment in China in the period had many facets, such as, 'territory, people, rights established by treaty or unilaterally asserted, armed force, diplomacy, religion, commerce, journalism, freebooting adventure, and racial attitudes' (Feuerwerker 1983, 128). Jürgen Osterhammel (1986) offers a list of 26 historical phenomena often used by theorists in discussing imperialism over China, some examples of which are:

- foreign territorial enclaves, other than colonies, beyond the jurisdiction and effective control of the Chinese government (leased territories, concessions, settlements);
- emergence of indigenous collaborating elites ('comprador bourgeoisie', puppet regimes in the 1930s and 1940s);
- disruption of the local socio-cultural fabric by the proselytizing activities of foreign missionaries: institutions of higher education funded and run by foreigners (mainly missionaries) (290-291)

These historical phenomena are like what happened in Tanganyika and their social and cultural consequences also comparable, and some will be elaborated in the chapters of this thesis. As Anne Reinhardt (2018) suggests in the Chinese context, the term 'semi-colonialism' has two connotations, 'semi' indicates the particularity of colonialism in

framework of analysis," in *Imperialism and After: Continuities and discontinuities*, edited by Wolfgang Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel. London: Allen and Unwin.p.276; Shu-mei Shih. 2001. *The Lure of the Modern*. Berkeley: University of California Press.p. 34. Tani Barlow. 1993. "Colonialism's Career in Postwar China Studies," *Positions: East Asia cultures critique* 1(1): 373-411; Bryna Goodman. 2000. "Improvisations on a Semicolonial Theme, or, How to Read a Celebration of Transnational Urban Community," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 59(4): 916; Bryna Goodman and David Goodman, eds. 2012. *Twentieth-Century Colonialism and China: Localities, the everyday, and the world*. London: Routledge; Anne Reinhardt. 2018. *Navigating Semi-Colonialism: Shipping, sovereignty, and nation-building in China, 1860-1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

China, while ‘colonialism’ denotes China’s ‘comparability with colonial contexts, and its enmeshment within the process of global ascent of European empires in the latter nineteenth century’ (4). In the discussion of the British (or European) imposition of knowledge\power or the ‘pedagogical project’ on China, James L. Hevia (2003) argues that ‘when colonialism is understood in broader, cultural terms or as a series of hegemonic projects, European and American diplomats, merchants, missionaries, and soldiers acted much like their counterparts in Africa and other parts of Asia’ (347). Using the same logic as the above scholars, this thesis argues that the basis of comparison between the Swahili and Chinese translations is that Tanganyika and China were both under the influence of British imperialism, although the former was under full domination as a colony and the latter was under partial influence as a semi-colony. Both countries have experienced nation-building efforts partly against the background of colonial (semi-colonial) experiences. Although the Swahili translations were done in the post-independence period, the cultural and linguistic legacy of colonialism was not erased immediately after political independence. The nation-building programmes was partly initiated against the backdrop of a long-term decolonial endeavour. Comparing the Swahili and Chinese translations of Shakespeare is a unique and effective way of seeing the function of translation as decolonization.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

The main body of this study is presented in five chapters. Chapter 2 provides the context of the study, including a brief history of Swahili and Chinese translations in the late

19th century and early 20th century, as well as previous studies on Nyerere's translations of the Swahili Bible and Shakespeare.

Chapter 3 discusses Nyerere's Bible translations. It was from missionaries' Bible translations that the modern Swahili language emerged. The Romanisation and standardisation of the language were also achieved via Bible translations. Bible translation paved the way for the language and cultural colonization of East African colonies by Germany and Britain, including Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya, and Uganda. Different from the previous missionaries' versions and the *Standard Swahili* version promoted by the colonial administration, Nyerere's version lies somewhere between translation and literary creation. Nyerere's Bible decolonised the colonial legacy in Swahili language and literature.

Chapter 4 is about Nyerere's Shakespearean Translations from the perspective of form and culture. It also introduces Shakespearean Translations in Chinese to take a comparative approach. At the time that Nyerere's Swahili translation was produced and the Chinese translation of his counterpart, Zhu, emerged, there was a vernacular movement in both Swahili and Chinese literature. This chapter puts the Shakespearean Translations of Nyerere and Zhu into the contexts of the vernacular movements in their languages and their literature systems to examine their reflection of and participation in the movements. The comparison between the translations in the two non-European languages reveals more features of decolonization in the translations than looking at

only one language. This chapter argues that the vernacular writing of Nyerere and Zhu was a way of modernising and developing the local literary traditions, meaning they participated in the decolonization and modernization of the Swahili and Chinese language and literature.

Chapter 5 discusses *Julius Caesar*, which was Nyerere's first translation of Shakespeare. It tells the story of the fall of the Roman Republic and the rise of the Roman Empire, symbolised by the assassination of the Roman general Julius Caesar. Shakespeare portrays the images of the politicians and the common people alongside their roles in the turmoil of the collapsing of an old state and the building of a new one. The themes and plots, as well as their metaphorical meanings, in the English play have been discussed by critics for centuries. In the 20th century, the same stories were happening in Tanzania and China, where the old political systems were falling, and new ones had to be built. When *Julius Caesar* entered Tanzania and China via Swahili and Chinese translations, it was understood and accepted in different ways to the reception in English. The critics and translators decided how Shakespeare was understood and what kind of translated texts the Swahili and Chinese readers received. This chapter discusses the adaptations and receptions of *Julius Caesar* from the Swahili and Chinese translations. It argues that through the adaptations and receptions of the themes and plots, Tanzanian and Chinese intellectuals were thinking about and imagining a functional political system, which was an endeavour in state-building in the process of decolonization.

Chapter 6 discusses *The Merchant of Venice*, which was Nyerere's second Shakespearean translation. In the play, Shakespeare portrays a city of early capitalism in Europe. When the translations emerged in Tanzania and China, both countries were in the process of building new societies. The features of the capitalist city attracted the attentions of the translators and critics in the two countries. The translators' adaptations and the intellectuals' discussions of the themes and characters in the play, which have features of capitalism, indicate the receptions of the play from the perspective of imagining a new society in the two countries. This chapter analyses how, through adaptation, the anti-Semitism in the source text could express the issue of anti-racialism in Nyerere's translation, as well as the issue of anti-imperialism in the Chinese translation. In Tanzania, the national identity of a citizen in the new country needed to be an inclusive one without any form of discrimination towards certain races or religions. Anti-racialism was a crucial discourse in nation-building. Anti-imperialism in China was also an unavoidable task in nation-building.

In Tanzania, at the time of Nyerere's translation, a socialist movement was underway. By comparing *The Merchant of Venice* with Nyerere's other political writings, this chapter looks at how the plot of the play was connected to the issues of the socialist experiment in Tanzania and Nyerere's contemplations about this. In the Chinese translations, the image of the female lawyer, Portia, in the scene of the court trial has attracted the most critical attention. This chapter looks at how, in the reception of the translation, the spirit of the law was underlined by the intellectuals and how the lawyer,

Portia, inspired the Chinese audience, especially females, to pursue female liberation, which was part of the nation-building enterprise. A female lawyer could only exist in a capitalist society rather than a traditional society, while building a capitalist society was the pursuit of Chinese intellectuals. In short, through the comparisons and textual analysis of the source and target texts and between the translations in the different languages, this chapter looks at how a new society was imagined in the translations into Swahili and Chinese.

Chapter 2: Context of the Study

2.1 A Brief History of Swahili and Chinese Translations

2.1.1 Swahili Translation

Translation played an important role in Swahili manuscript culture⁷. Before the twentieth century, it was Muslim Arabic literature that dominated the field of Swahili translation. In the 'Catalogue of Swahili Literary Texts Translated into Swahili:1663-2017' in her monograph, Serena Talento (2021) includes 24 Swahili literary translations from Arabic sources, most of which took place in Lamu and Pate and all of which are poetry. Contact with Arabic prosody influenced the development of Swahili poetry. There were three Arabic prosodic forms adapted into Swahili, including the qasida, panegyric poetry in praise of the Prophet; the takhmis, a fifteen-syllable metre with five lines to a stanza; and the *ukwafi*, a quatrain of fifteen-syllable lines and four lines to a verse, generally used for stories about the prophets (Talento 2021, 59-60). Through the translations, the Koranic stories, Islamic legends, and historical accounts became part and parcel of the Swahili literary field.

The earliest existing Swahili translation with a clear source is the *Hamziyyah*, written in Egypt in the 13th century and translated into Swahili by a Swahili poet called Aidarusi (Knappert 1979, 103). Due to the unclear handwriting on the manuscript, Knappert (1989) dated it to 1651 or 1652, while Hichens (1936, 2) dated it to 1748 or

⁷ Traditional Swahili literature before the twentieth century was written and preserved in manuscripts form.

1749. According to Hichens, *Hamziyyah* was originally an Arabic poem written in praise of the Prophet Muhammad:

Verses 1 to 100 are about the Prophet's history from birth to flight to Medina. 101-198 are about his actions and habits and the Praise of the Koran. 199-252 are about the Jews and Nazarenes and their enmity towards Islam. Verses 253-280 are about the hypocrites of Medina and unbelievers of Mecca, 281-325 are about his anxiety to visit Medina and the description of his journey thereto. Verses 326-389 are praises for the Prophet, his family, and companions and 390 to the end are about his own repentance and shortcomings and ends in prayers for Mercy for the Prophet. (Hichens 1936, 1)

According to the study of Wa Mutiso (2005), in his translation, Aidarusi applied the strategy of transcription in the Kiongozi dialect using Ajami script. The Islamic terminologies in such transcriptions were adopted in the Swahili language. In fact, the strategy of transliterating the Arabic words into Swahili was more prominent in religious texts. As a result, in the religious context, Bantu terminologies and Arabic terminologies co-existed, with examples in the following quote:

The word for God in Kiswahili (*M'ngu or Mungu*) comes from Bantu, whereas the word for angels (*malaika*) comes from Arabic. The word for heavens (*mbingu*) comes from Bantu whereas the word for earth, especially when used religiously (*ardhi*) comes from Arabic. The word for holy prophet (*mtume*) comes from Bantu, whereas the word for a devil in a religious sense (*shetani*) comes from Arabic. Curiously enough, the words for paradise and hell (*pepo and moto*) come from Bantu, whereas the word for the hereafter as a whole (*akhera or ahera*) comes from Arabic. (Mazrui and Mazrui 1995, 22)

The biggest of written translations or rather adaptations of Arabic texts from the period of eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is *utenzi\utendi* (pl.tenzi\tendi) (Vierke 2016,

228). *Utenzi* was the most prominent form of traditional Swahili verse, with its writers being the Muslims of the East African coast and the islands. With regard to the influence of Islamic culture on traditional Swahili verse, Knappert suggests this in an almost exaggerated way:

The Koran, the legends of Prophet Muhammed and the other prophets and saints of Islam, points of doctrine and theology are referred to on every page of traditional Swahili literature. (Knappert 1979, xix)

Knappert also emphasises, however, the unique character of traditional Swahili verse, claiming that ‘there is no slavish imitation except a few translations of liturgical works. Islamicization is not the same as Arabization’ (Knappert 1979, xix).

In addition to their written traditions, the Swahili people also have storytelling traditions partly influenced by foreign literary traditions. As well as their Bantu origin, Swahili tales also contain elements of Indian, Persian, and Arabian origins. Stories from the *Kalila and Dimna* and the *Thousand and One Nights* circulated in the Swahili coast and were adapted into Swahili oral literature. (Bertoncini-Zúbková et al. 2009, 17-20; Zhukov 1996, 276). Bishop Edward Steere collected 24 Swahili tales told by the local people of Zanzibar and published a collection entitled *Swahili Tales, as Told by Natives of Zanzibar* (1870). Steere pointed out that three of the stories occurred in *One Thousand and One Nights*, while one of them, ‘Mohammed the Languid’ could be seen as an abridgement of ‘Abu-Mohammed the Lazy’ in E. W. Lane’s translation of *One Thousand and One Nights*. The other two were not included in Lane’s translation

(Steere 1870a, V). Alice Werner's study (1909) on this collection shows that 'The Story of the Washerman's Donkey' is evidently of Indian origin, being identical to the Jātaka story of 'The Monkey who left his Heart in a Tree' (438). In her doctoral thesis, Ida Hadjivayanis (2011) describes how, through field research, Swahili people formed a group called *baraza*, in which people would tell foreign stories (20). Initially, those stories were not considered as Swahili ones, but gradually, they were domesticated and accepted by the local people. (ibid., 20) When Steere and other European scholars recorded them in East Africa, they were told as Swahili tales. Regarding the role of translation in the development of Swahili literature, Hadjivayanis suggests:

...although initially Swahili did not have a written tradition, local intellectuals sprouted during this period and started writing by translating. They developed translation skills as the region was in contact with the outside world which allowed penetration of foreign literature, especially oriental literatures. (Hadjivayanis 2011, 21)

Around the middle of the 19th century, Biblical materials dominated Swahili translation from European Languages. Inspired by evangelical concerns, the Christian missionaries who arrived in East Africa before the establishment of colonial administrations struggled to learn Swahili in the Ajami script and translated various sections of the Bible into the language using Roman script. The German missionaries Johann Ludwig Krapf and Johannes Rebmann were two of the earliest arrivals. They arrived in Mombasa, Kenya, in 1844 and 1846, respectively, as representatives of the Anglican CMS. Applying the Kimvita dialect of Mombasa, Krapf translated the Book of Genesis and published it in 1847, after he had completed a translation of the New Testament in 1846.

It is a pity that Krapf's translations were not published. It was the missionaries from the United Methodist Free Church at Ribe near Mombasa who worked together with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Krapf's fellow CMS missionary H. K. Binns to finish a translation of the complete Bible in 1914 (which was also not published).

The other group of missionaries who finished a Bible translation was the UMCA in Zanzibar. Led by the famous Swahili linguist Bishop Edward Steere, from 1872 when the Gospel of Luke was finished, to 1879 when the complete New Testament was made available, to 1883 when the revised version of the New Testament was published by the BFBS, the missionaries of UMCA translated and published the first New Testament in Swahili.⁸ The translations of Biblical materials dominated the publications during colonial times in East Africa. According to Jack D. Rollins:

The British and Foreign Bible Archives in London shows that thousands of copies of either books from the Bible, or the entire Bible itself had been distributed in East Africa by the turn of the century. A common yearly run was between 5–10,000 copies. This is not to mention the many editions of individual hymn books, catechisms, prayer books, lives of saints and so on that also quickly found their way into Swahili by the beginning of the 20th century. (Rollins 1983, 51)

It was the missionaries who changed the Swahili writing system from the Ajami script to Roman Script, which conveniently paved the way for the translation of European and

⁸ For more information about the history of the Swahili Bible and its translators, see Mojola, Aloo. Osotsi. 2000. 'The Swahili Bible in East Africa from 1844 to 1996: A Brief Survey with Special Reference with Tanzania'. in *The Bible in Africa: Transactions, Trajectories, and Trends*, edited by Gerald O. West and Musa W. Dube, 511-523. Leiden: Brill.

American literary works into Swahili. It was also the missionaries' translations of Biblical material that decided that the Kiunguja dialect of Zanzibar would be the foundation of *Standard Swahili*. This thesis goes into this in more detail in the following chapter. The prevailing of the Kiunguja dialect of Zanzibar means that the richness of the northern dialects, including Kimvita and Kiamu, was neglected and they lost the opportunity to be developed on the modern stage. In the words of Whiteley:

The richness of the historical and literary traditions of Mombasa and the northern coast, together with their links with Islam, seemed to offer little relevance to the rest of Kenya, which tended to look towards the Swahili of Tanganyika; but the south lacked any such traditions, and their absence from school syllabuses in both Tanganyika and Kenya certainly impoverished the Swahili Courses of several generations of students. (Whiteley 1969, 81)

Part of the literary vacuum caused by the lack of traditional literature in *Standard Swahili* was filled by European literature, either original or in translation. This meant that trends were seen in the Swahili language and literature of moving away from the Arab-Islamic language and literary traditions and drawing closer to the European languages and literary traditions.

In the period of German colonial rule, the Germans broadened the use of Swahili and raised its status by making it the official language of the low-level colonial administrations run by the local people. The British inherited this policy and went a step further by introducing Swahili into schools and encouraging it to be taught as a subject and as the medium of instruction. As mentioned above, *Standard Swahili* lacked

the literary traditions of the northern dialects, so there was an urgent need for literary translations to fill this gap in reading materials. By entering the educational system, the literary translations served as a core cultural agenda of colonialism. As Mazrui suggests:

Colonial administrators, missionaries, and educators hoped to get the Swahili-speaking peoples of East Africa to appreciate the orthographic shift by exposing them to the Latin script incrementally through Swahili translations of English-language materials irrespective of genre. In the process, of course, colonial translation was affecting the Swahili language itself, allowing functionaries to control its development in the “modernist” direction of their choice, toward what eventually became known as “Standard Swahili.” (Mazrui 2016, 41)

These translated literary works, including Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Treasure Island*, Rudyard Kipling’s *Mowgli Stories*, Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*, Rider Haggard’s *Allan Quatermain* and *King Solomon’s Mines*, and Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland*, were adopted in the reading lists of the Swahili classroom in elementary schools until the end of British colonial rule (Mazrui 2007, 25).

The literary translations produced during the colonial period were mainly of the works of Europeans. According to Jack D. Rollins (1983), ‘Between the years 1900–1950, there were approximately 359 works of prose published in Swahili; 346 of these were written by Europeans and published mainly in England and Germany’ (51). However, there was an exception: a Swahili translation of *Arabian Nights* in the Roman script appeared in 1929 under the title *Mazungumzo ya Alfu-Lela-Ulela, au Siku Eifu na Moja*. The translator was Edwin W. Bernn, who although had a European name, was believed to be an African (Geider 2007, 193).

Considering that these translations emerged in a period of intense colonial activity, it is safe to assume that the norms of the translation were determined by European missionaries and translators. Hadjivayanis (2011) argues that the translators Frederick Johnson in the colonial period and Samuel Mushi in the post-colonial period both were ‘pivotal in making omission a norm in Swahili translation’ (31)⁹ Both wanted to produce hurried translations and bring literature to the public in large amounts by applying the strategy of omission because omission was ‘the quickest and easiest option’ (30-31). Interestingly, in Nyerere’s translations, instead of adhering to the norm of omission, he retained the completeness of the texts as much as possible, only omitting material where it seemed improper for his expected readers. If Johnson’s norm of omission in translations was due to the consideration of efficiency in producing and distributing the texts among the people, then Nyerere’s endeavour to translate full works was due to the aim to produce high-quality cultural products for his readers. Nyerere’s translations reached a high status as examples of Swahili literature. In this sense, Nyerere’s decision to translate the full works was an act of decolonization. This is discussed in more detail later.

A new factor that dominated Tanzania’s literary production in the post-colonial era was the *Ujamaa* movement that happened between 1967 and 1977. *Ujamaa* was a socialist ideology with African characteristics, emphasising the equality of society, seeking to

⁹ She explained the role of Johnson and Mushi’s in making the norm in chapter four and chapter five of the monograph respectively.

revive the traditional communal living style, opposing exploitation both domestically and internationally, and avoiding the concept of class struggle. *Ujamaa* was also a nationalist ideology that broadened the scope of its attention from Tanzania to the whole of Africa, which was different from the European sense of nationalism that had a strict ethnic, cultural, and linguistic scope. Blommaert suggests that *Ujamaa* can also be categorised as a patriotic ideology:

If 'patriotism' is a more neutral term, devoid of ethnic or cultural connotations, then *Ujamaa* can certainly be called a patriotic ideology. It contained an appeal to all the citizens of the country to contribute their share to the burden of constructing a new society. Tanzania was the main target of political action, although as noted above, this in itself had a pan Africanist dimension. If Tanzanians were called upon to be patriotic, this meant that they should support the cause of independence of all Africans or indeed of all oppressed peoples. Tanzania was only one piece of a larger part of the world, and when one would say that *Ujamaa* was an inward-looking ideology, then surely the Tanzanians' horizon was certainly very broad. (Blommaert 2013, 29)

The spirits of Pan-Africanism, nationalism, and patriotism of the *Ujamaa* ideology encouraged the people to write and translate literary works that reflected them and advocated for them. After the Arusha Declaration (1967), which initiated the national programme of *Ujamaa*, Nyerere called for writers to take part in the dissemination of the major precepts of the ideology. He entreated the writers to 'tangazeni Azimio la Arusha, na tukuzeni utamaduni wa taifa letu' (promote the Arusha Declaration, and let's develop the culture of our nation) (Mwangomango 1971, 68). There was a proliferation of literary works on the themes of anti-colonialism, anti-capitalism and pro-socialism that praised the achievement of independence gained by the ruling party, TANU, and

its leader, Nyerere.

The Swahili translations that emerged at this time followed the implicit guideline of producing works with themes of nationalism and patriotism. For example, Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) was translated as *Shujaa Okonkwo* (1973), meaning 'Okonkwo the Brave', while *A Man of the People* (1966) was translated as *Mwakilishi wa Watu* (1977), meaning 'The Representative of the People'. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Micere Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1976) was translated as *Mzalendo Kimathi* (1983), meaning 'Kimathi the Patriot'. In a larger or smaller sense, these works all have the spirit of nationalism and patriotism in them, which conforms to the *Ujamaa* ideology. Since Tanzania's pro-socialist position in the Cold War was also confirmed by the *Ujamaa* ideology and its movement, literary works from countries in the socialist camp also emerged in Tanzania in that era. For example, the Soviet Union writer Maxim Gorky's *Mother* (1906) was translated into Swahili as *Mama* by Badru Said and as *Jamilla* (1988) by Abdulrahim Hamdani (Hadjivayanis 2011, 38). As the leader of the capitalist camp, the United States was not absent from the ideological battleground in East Africa. George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (1946) was translated into Swahili as *Shamba la Wanyama* (1967). Sponsored by the United States Information Service, the translation appeared in the aftermath of the socialist-oriented Zanzibar Revolution and the *Ujamaa* movement. The purpose of this translation, as Mazrui (2016) points out, was 'getting East Africa to "think capitalist," to "think liberal"' (43).

Nyerere's choice to translate the works of the greatest writer of a colonising country seems very unusual, since during the *Ujamaa* period and after the Zanzibar Revolution, an ideological turn in the production of Swahili literature took place, and a nationalist sentiment arose in the country that led to the rejection of colonial literary books (Hadjivayanis 2011, 35), and in the post-colonial period of the 60s, 70s and even 80s, most literary translations tend to reflect aspects of nationalism and freedom (ibid, 249). However, if a close reading of Nyerere's translations of Shakespeare is undertaken and the details are carefully analysed, it becomes clear that Nyerere's choice was not contradictory to the trend of cultural decolonization in his country. Rather, his translations contain his considerations of the decolonization of Tanzania, both culturally and politically. This is discussed in the following chapters.

2.1.2 Chinese Translation

The Chinese translations of Shakespeare that this study focuses on emerged during the late Qing dynasty and the time of the Republic of China in the late 19th century and early 20th century. After the 1840 Opium War with Britain, the Qing government was defeated in a series of wars with the European, Russian, American, and Japanese imperialist powers. Chinese intellectuals desperately sought a way to bring prosperity to the country and ensure its survival. It was a common belief among them that learning from the West would be a way to do so, including learning from the technologies in the beginning, then learning from the political systems, and finally learning from the ideologies and cultures. Translating literary works was a major way to learn from the

West.

During the time of the late Qing dynasty, three names must be mentioned in relation to literary translation: Liang Qiqiao (梁启超), Yan Fu (严复) and Lin Shu (林纾). Liang was a leading enlightenment thinker in China who sought to form a British type of constitutional monarchy in China. After failing in his politics, he turned his attention to academic research and the translation of foreign literary works, including Japanese novels and English poetry. His contribution was also made through his writings on translation theory, like *Lun yishu* (论译书, *On Translating Books*), in which he makes three suggestions to Chinese translators:

今日而言译书，当首立三义。一曰，择当译之书；二曰，定公译之例；三曰，养能译之才。(Fang 2005, 10)

Today, on translating books, we must first agree with three principles. The first is choosing proper source books. The second is agreeing with the norms of translation. The third is training qualified translators. (Author's translation)

Yan Fu was sent to the UK by the Qing government as a student and studied there from 1877 to 1879. His most influential work was translating British biologist T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* into Chinese as *Tianyanlun* (天演论). This translation first introduced Darwin's theory of evolution to the Chinese people. Yan suggests in his translation that the theory of evolution is applicable in all human societies, which provoked intense debate among Chinese intellectuals, many of whom later became devoted to reformist or revolutionist movements. Yan's translation stimulated the

formation of Chinese nationalism.

Lin Shu has had a bigger influence than Liang and Yan in terms of Chinese literary translation, translating 245 foreign literary works (including unpublished works) (Fang 2005, 23). Lin's genius was that he did not know any foreign languages, but with the help of assistants' oral interpretations, he wrote down the content of these foreign literary works in the style of the traditional Chinese novel with great fluency and a high aesthetical standard. His translation of Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* was among the earliest Shakespearean Translations in Chinese, which is discussed in detail later in this paper.

The number of foreign novels translated into Chinese in the late Qing dynasty is around 400, including English, French, German, Russian, American, and Polish works, among others (Fang 2005, 66). Foreign poetry was also translated into Chinese during this time. The translations of foreign poetry helped in the creation of new Chinese poetry in the vernacular. When the advocators of vernacular writing in poetry faced criticism from the conservatives on their lack of good forms to challenge traditional styles, the translations of foreign poetry stood out as providing ideal forms (Liu and Xiong 2010, 145). In the domain of drama translation, Shakespeare's works made major contributions in this period. A total of 20 of Shakespeare's plays were staged in China before 1921, including *King Lear*, *Twelfth Night*, *or What You Will*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *All's Well That Ends Well*, *As You Like It*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Cymbeline*,

The Tempest and Timon of Athens (Meng 2014, 10).

The first name that needs to be mentioned in the field of foreign literary translation in the time of the Republic of China is Lu Xun (鲁迅). He is the most influential literary giant of the 20th century in China, known as the father of modern Chinese literature. Lu's translations of foreign literature contain more than 3 million words, including six long novels, three fairy tales, 92 short novels and other examples of prose, poems, and essays (Fang 2005, 126). His translations were mainly of Japanese and Russian works, including material by Chekhov and Gogol. Lu also wrote articles discussing the theories of translation. He was the first in the history of Chinese literary translation to advocate the strategy of foreignisation. This strategy has helped to bring new sentence structures and words into the Chinese language and culture. Lu saw this as a way of using foreign cultures to reform the traditional culture, or in his own words, 'toulai tianhuo, zhu zijide rou chi'(偷来天火, 煮自己的肉吃, to steal the fire from the heavens to cook one's own flesh) (Cui 2014, 144). Lu's strategy is discussed more in Chapter 5 of this paper.

Lu's brother Zhou Zuoren (周作人, 1885-1967) and his contemporaries Mao Dun (茅盾, 1896-1981), Guo Moruo (郭沫若, 1892-1978), Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白, 1899-1935), Fu Lei (傅雷, 1908-1966), Liu Bannong (刘半农, 1891-1934), Xu Zhimo (徐志摩, 1897-1931), Lao She (老舍, 1899-1966), Qian Zhongshu (钱钟书, 1910-1998), Xiao Qian (萧乾, 1910-1999), Wang Zuoliang (王佐良, 1916-1995) and Chu Dagao (初大告, 1898-1987), to name a few, were other influential literary translators. Most of them

had studied in foreign countries (the latter six studied in the UK) and they were also mostly famous writers, except Wang and Chu.

In the field of Shakespearean Translation during this period, Zhu Shenghao (朱生豪) and Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋) were the most productive. Liang was also a very famous writer. Zhu translated 32 Shakespeare plays from 1935 to 1944. Liang translated 37 of Shakespeare's plays and three anthologies of his poetry from 1931 to 1968. Zhu's translations are discussed more in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

2.2 Previous Studies on Nyerere's Translations of the Swahili Bible and Shakespeare

Nyerere took up Bible translation in his retirement. He translated the four gospels in the New Testament into the Swahili poetic form *utenzi*. They are *Utenzi wa Enjili Kadiri ya Utungo wa Mathayo (Gospel of Matthew)*, *Utenzi wa Enjili Kadiri ya Utungo wa Marko (Gospel of Mark)*, *Utenzi wa Enjili Kadiri ya Utungo wa Luka (Gospel of Luke)* and *Utenzi wa Enjili Kadiri ya Utungo wa Yohana (Gospel of John)*. He also translated the Acts of the Apostles into Swahili as *Utenzi wa Matendo ya Mitume*. It seems that Nyerere's Biblical translations have not yet attracted much scholarly attention. One study on them is the paper by Noss and Renju (2007) entitled 'Mwalimu Nyerere Engages His People: Scripture Translation in Swahili Verse'. They suggest that as Shakespeare's works and the King James Bible were the two greatest materials in the formation of the English language, Nyerere, as a translator, may have anticipated that

in translating Shakespeare and Biblical texts, ‘these works could similarly serve him in his quest to achieve literary recognition and stature for his own beloved Kiswahili’ (Noss and Renju 2007, 42).

The above paper also analyses Nyerere’s translation strategies. He followed the rules of *utenzi* and, to ensure the translations were accurate, he made some adaptations when needed. For example, instead of adhering to four-line stanzas, he created stanzas with as few as one line and as many as 12 lines. Nyerere also used a variety of devices to adhere to prosodic constraints. Such devices included shortening and lengthening words (such as *mekuwajie* instead of *imekuwaje* for ‘how it happened’ and *mwanana* instead of *mwana* for ‘son’), clipping phrases (like *alo juu* instead of *aliye juu* for ‘he who is above’), and ellipsis (for instance, *si kila ananiambia* instead of *si kila mtu ananiambia* for ‘it is not every person who says to me’¹⁰). Noss and Renju (2007) also discuss Nyerere’s different choices for the lexicon of important figures in his translations. The words could have had Arabic origin, Bantu origin or Hebrew origin (like *Mungu* and *Allah* for God and *sinagogi* for synagogue).

To adhere to the poetic form of *utenzi*, Nyerere created extra lines in his translations. He also used some compound nouns that do not occur explicitly in the original texts. *Wananchi* (or citizen) is one of them. As a compound term, its literal meaning is ‘children of the land’. Noss and Renju (2007) suggest that ‘its role is poetic, but its

¹⁰ The ellipsis is a pattern even of everyday speech and is a feature of northern Swahili dialect. Nyerere did not merely use *Standard Swahili*.

function is to bring the translator into personal engagement with his readers by allusion to what he previously did when he was President of the nation'. Other similar social and political terms are *umma* (or the population of a country, the whole nation) and *ushirika* (or community of interests, partnership) (49). Nyerere also applied religious vocabulary and the lexicon of daily life, which would have been familiar to his audience. In conclusion, Noss and Rengu suggest that through Nyerere's translation which applies the form of *tenzi*, the message of the Bible can be recited and retained in the memory of its readers. (ibid., 50)

In his journal paper 'Shakespeare in Africa: Between English and Swahili Literature' (1996), Alamin M. Mazrui discusses the different attitudes of African scholars and politicians towards the works of Shakespeare in Africa. Due to the cultural nationalism movement, Shakespeare's works faced the possibility of being removed from the syllabus in Kenya. The second president of Kenya, Daniel arap Moi, intervened and restored Shakespeare in the English education by adding *Romeo and Juliet* as one of the set texts for the 1992 national examination (Mazrui 1996, 64). A group of scholars at the University of Nairobi advocated a more Africa-centred and world-centred focus of the syllabus in Kenyan schools. Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o was among this group. This initiative led to the 1974 Nairobi Conference on the Teaching of African Literature in Kenyan Schools, which partly resulted in the exclusion of all non-African authors except Shakespeare. Shakespeare, too, had lost his place in Kenyan schools by 1985 until his works were reintroduced by President Moi (Mazrui 1996, 66). Mazrui (1996)

points out that ‘as Shakespeare in English was being purged from the English-language literature syllabus, Shakespeare in Swahili was being embraced by Kenya’s Swahili syllabus for upper secondary schools’ (66).

Mazrui (1996) concludes that there are three main issues that need to be considered in Swahili translation. First, translation can not only help Western society understand the non-Western world but it can also make ‘the West available to a third world audience’ (70). In the case of Swahili translation, translated works may be influenced by ideological orientations. The works that were translated after the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania and those with socialist-oriented content are good examples of this. Second, translation is a way to contribute to the national literature. In this sense, Nyerere’s translations of Shakespeare, which introduced blank verse into Swahili literature, ‘heralded an era altogether, one in which Swahili poets would gradually free themselves from the “fetters” of rhyme’ (*Sunday News* [Dar es Salaam] 8 Sept. 1963, cited by Mazrui 1996, 71). Third, translation can enrich the target language. Nyerere himself was a great advocate of the Swahili language and his translations contributed to promoting Swahili in Tanzania. In the latter part of this essay, Mazrui discusses the question of whether Swahili translations of Shakespeare can be treated as a component of literature in Swahili. Mazrui’s point is that the translation of Shakespeare can be considered Swahili-language literature. The reason for this is two-fold: one is the universal appeal of Shakespeare’s works and the other is the absorptive capacity of Swahili literature.

In his book *Swahili Beyond the Boundaries: Literature, Language, and Identity* (2007), Alamin M. Mazrui compares two translators of Shakespeare's plays: Nyerere and Mushi. Mushi's translation of *Macbeth* (1968) was concerned with adapting the original text into the Swahili linguo-cultural milieu. In contrast, Nyerere's translations of Shakespeare's works were 'clearly informed by the idea that the best translation is the one that is closest to the original in form, meaning, and style' (Mazrui 2007, 127). To eliminate possible mistakes and inappropriate translation choices, Nyerere even produced a revised version of *Julius Caesar* and changed the name to *Juliasi Kaizari*, with the first version published in 1963 and the second revised version published in 1969. In his translations, Nyerere tried to retain the blank verse style of the original, which was not in the tradition of Swahili poems. One of Nyerere's motivations for translating Shakespeare's works was to demonstrate Swahili's lexical breadth and to promote the development of the Swahili language. In his words:

Nitafurahi sana ikiwa tafsiri hii itawasaidia wanafunzi wenzangu kuendelea kujifunza Kiswahili. zaidi ili waweze kukisema na kukiandika kwa ufasaha zaidi. Kiswahili ni lugh tamu na pana sana. Lakini utamu na upana wake hauna budi utumiwe zaidi ndipo utakapongezeka. (Nyerere 1963, 6)

I will be pleased if this translation could help our students to keep learning Swahili. And I will be even more pleased if they can speak and write more clearly. Swahili is a sweet and expressive language. But its sweetness and expressiveness must be used more; in this way, they can be improved. (Author's translation)

Mazrui suggests that Nyerere's translations started a new trend in the development of poetic writing. In his words:

Instead of inspiring Swahili poets to experiment with blank verse, however, Shakespeare's translation inspired them in the direction of free verse. If Nyerere's boldness dispensed with rhyme, a new generation of poets emerged that proceeded to dispense with both rhyme and meter of the traditional type. And in this innovative process, a new poetic synthesis emerged in Swahili literature that fused old and new prosodic pattern into a distinctive creative product, with Nyerere's translation of Shakespeare as an important stimulus. (Mazrui 2007, 149)

In her PhD thesis *Norms of Swahili Translations in Tanzania: An Analysis of Selected Translated Prose*, using a target-oriented descriptive approach, by analysing several examples of translated prose in Swahili, Ida Hadjivayanis (2011) tries to look at the processes and strategies used by the translators and to categorise the norms of Swahili translation. She devotes a whole chapter to discussing Nyerere's translation of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*. By analysing this work, Hadjivayanis (2011) attempts to 'understand the translator, his motivation, nationalistic tendencies that surrounded the translation and its given environment' (236). Like Mazrui, Hadjivayanis also emphasises the political motivation of Nyerere's translation. She suggests that under the ideological tenets of *Ujamaa, Mabepari wa Venisi* 'may have been the perfect place for Nyerere to inculcate his ideology through the presentation of a foreign work that his people could be made to relate to' (Hadjivayanis 2011, 245). According to her analysis, the norms that Nyerere applied to his translations were visibly influenced by the national ideology of *Ujamaa*. She also discusses the difficulties that Nyerere may have faced in his translations and analyses Nyerere's strategies from cultural and linguistic perspectives.

Of particular relevance to this study is Serena Talento's monograph, *Framing Texts/Framing Social Spaces: Conceptualising Literary Translation in Three Centuries of Swahili Literature* (2021). In her study, Talento brings the theory and methodology of sociology to translation studies. She applies Bourdieu's field theory and the theories of Casanova, Heilbron and Sapiro to the analysis of Swahili translations. Bourdieu's theory is used to explore the impact of translation on social change. Cassanova's theory is used to see the role of translation in transnational exchange. Heilbron and Sapiro's theory of a world system of translation is used to see how literary exchange is embedded in a web of power relations and how translations serve political and ideological interests. The aim of Talento's study is to 'examine the construction of a discourse on literary translation into Swahili from a comparative angle, constructing three historical periods, and from a sociological perspective' (Talento 2021, 2). As Talento suggests, her study 'offers a sociological history of literary translation that will shed light on the use of translation in cultural formation and conditioning by numerous agents, each with a specific interest in cultural reproduction in the Swahili context' (ibid., 3). (ibid., 3)

Similar to Talento's study, this study also adopts a comparative approach. Unlike Talento's diachronic analysis of Swahili literary translation in three different historical periods, i.e., the pre-twentieth century Arab-Islamic ascendancy (1663-1890), the period of missionary activity and colonial powers (1880-1960), and the early postcolonial period (1960-1982) (ibid., 43), this study synchronically introduces Chinese translation of Shakespeare in the early twentieth century to form a comparative angle with Nyerere's translation of Shakespeare.

Chapter 3: The Bible

3.1 The Colonial Context of Biblical Translations

This study looks at Nyerere's Biblical translations. Biblical translation has a long history in East Africa, and, to a certain extent, it was the starting point of the colonial encounters in terms of language and culture between the colonial powers and the colonised people. European missionaries (mainly from Germany and Britain) and their Biblical translations greatly influenced the development of the Swahili language and literature. The Romanisation and standardisation of Swahili were the result of missionaries' endeavours to translate the Bible. In the process of producing these translations, Swahili grammar was studied, and Swahili dictionaries were compiled by the missionaries. Kiunguja dialect was selected and standardised, and after that, was widely circulated as the language of primary schooling and low-level public service in the East African colonies. European literary works were translated into *Standard Swahili* and the language also developed its own literature within European genres. This chapter looks at how, by applying the traditional poetic form, Nyerere's translations challenged the prose traditions of Biblical translation. It is interesting that Nyerere's source text (the Bible) for translation is one of the central pillars of English culture, while the aesthetic standard of his translations was rooted in Arab-Islamic traditions. The seeming contradiction of his practice was linked to his endeavour to create a literary synthesis that could accommodate both European and local traditions.

This chapter first looks at the history of Christianity and its functions in the forming of Tanzania's social structures, especially regarding culture and education. It also reflects on Nyerere's relationship with Christianity. When deciding on source texts, translators are often influenced by general cultural and ideological elements, alongside their own ideological orientations. The functions of Christianity in Tanzania's society and Nyerere's identity as a believer influenced his choice. Christianity's spread across Africa and Nyerere's choice to divert from traditional beliefs in being a Christian were both the result of European colonialism. However, the forces of anti-colonialism had been forming since the first days of colonization. The Biblical texts that once served as a means of colonial intervention in the colonies' religion and language, in Nyerere's translation, became part of the enterprise of decolonization.

3.2 Background Knowledge

3.2.1 Christianity in Tanzania

The major European and American imperial powers decided their colonial territories in Africa during the Berlin Conference (1884-1885). After the conference, with the aim of creating a German colony of East Africa, the German troops invaded Tanganyika and fought many wars with the local chiefs and resistance forces. In the final years of the 19th century, Germans controlled all of Tanganyika's main population centres and lines of communication (Iliffe 1979, 116). Prior to the European colonial empires' invasion of Africa, there were missionary enterprises on the continent. The missionaries had the aim of spreading Christian belief across the continent. By 1885, five missionary

societies had already been working in Tanganyika. The French Holy Ghost Fathers first settled in Zanzibar in 1863. The Anglicans of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa also settled in Zanzibar in 1864. Another Anglican body, the Church Missionary Society, established a station at Mpwapwa on the road to Uganda in 1876. The London Missionary Society began at King Mirambo's capital in 1878 along Lake Tanganyika. The French White Fathers reached Ujiji in 1879 (Iliffe 1979, 217).

To build efficient administrations in the areas controlled by the German colonial powers, Germans chose Swahili as the language in which to communicate. One of the advantages of Swahili was that it was widely used by the Arabs and the coastal traders before the arrival of the European colonial powers. The caravans led by the Swahili-speaking people from Zanzibar and the coastal areas had established routes to the north, west and south of Tanganyika in the early 19th century, laying the foundation of Swahili being the lingua franca along the trade routes (Topan 2008, 253). In order to take part in commercial activities, the inland chiefs had to learn Swahili or use interpreters who knew the language. Tanganyika's first governor, Julius Freiherr von Soden, opened the first government school that used Swahili as the medium of instruction in 1892 in the Tanga region (Iliffe 1979, 209).

For the Africans, what the missionaries brought was not just the Christian belief but also education. To make the Africans literate in order to read the Bible and to educate local missionaries who would go on to preach the gospels among their own people, the

missionaries opened schools. Early conversions were not solely inspired by the Christian message, also occurring because of a desire to read, a need for protection, the provision of medical care and, sometimes, the giving of gifts (Vilhanová 2006, 202). The young people tended to be less committed to the existing social order than the elders (Iliffe 1979, 223), so they more easily accepted Christianity. The number of pupils in the missionary schools increased during the years of the German colonial rule. In 1911, the Bethel mission had 2,894 pupils in its schools, while the Berlin mission had 3,573, the Moravians had 5,226 and the Leipzig mission had 6,059. Between 1910 and 1913, the number of CMS pupils increased from 3,989 to 17,202. In all, by 1912, the great rush for education had increased the number of pupils in primary schools to 101,035 in Tanganyika, perhaps a quarter of all children of school age (Iliffe 1979, 223-224). The teaching materials in the missionary primary schools were mostly from the Bible. The types of books published by the missionaries were varied. There were stories, letters and books to instruct on specific skills, such as reading, writing and calculating. During the fieldwork for this study, a visit was made to the library of the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. In the East Africa Collection, which is specifically for Swahili books and documents, many books were found that had been published by the missionary institutions.¹¹

¹¹ In his work *Swahili: The Rise of a National Language* (1969), Wilfred Whiteley (1924-1972) mentioned the collections in the University College, which was the predecessor of the University of Dar es Salaam. Two of the pioneers of Swahili studies, Dr J. Knappert and Mr J. W. T. Allen, made major contributions to building these collections. Whiteley also pointed out that most of the collections are made up of religious materials and need careful and detailed annotations (109-110). In my visit to the collections in 2020, large parts of the collections were still religious items and there was a lack of annotations.

Another motivation of the missionaries to build schools was the competition from Islam. Islam had been spreading across East Africa from as early as the 10th century, which was hundreds of years before Christianity became widely accepted. There were many believers of Islam in East Africa and the missionaries had to use the method of education to attract converts. As one historian explains, in East Africa, the awakening hunger for education that the permeation of European civilisation stimulated among the natives, the competition between Catholic missions and between Protestant missions that principally built their work on schools, and the threat of Islam (against which Christian mission schools were an effective means of evangelisation) caused schooling to take on a remarkable impetus (Richter 1924, 658-659).

The Bible is also very important for the ordinary people. In his work *Early Engagements with the Bible among the Gogo People of Tanzania: Historical and Hermeneutical Study of Ordinary "Readers" Transactions with the Bible*, Mote Paulo Magomba explains the symbolic significance of the Bible for the Tanzanian people:

Presently, in Tanzania, it has become a common practice for Christians, and even people of other faiths, to keep Bibles in their houses even though they do not read them. Scriptural verses are written or inscribed on doors and on the walls of lounge rooms. Words of the Bible are written on buses and lorries. More often than not, 'Bible men' and 'Bible women' walk with their Bibles, even if some of them are illiterate. Sometimes the Bible is placed on a sick person for healing. During the night, some people put their Bibles under their pillows. Others have been buried with their Bibles. In fact, the Bible has become the book of Tanzanians, and

Tanzanians ‘the people of the book’. (Magomba 2004, 4)

The influence of Christianity was not only in the domains of language, literature, culture and education but also politics. During the years of the independence movement of Tanganyika, at the crucial events and moments of the Zanzibar Revolution and the union of the two countries, as well as the nation-building programme of *Ujamaa*, the missionaries and the believers in Christianity played important roles. In their paper ‘Anglicanism, Uhuru and *Ujamaa*: Anglicans in Tanzania and the Movement for Independence’, Mndolwa and Denis (2016) reflect on the fact that before independence, the Anglicans in TANU who were in important positions also had good relationships with the churches and played the role of communicating and mediating between TANU and the churches. The church leaders were optimistic about independence and encouraged the British authorities and the civilians in Tanganyika to be prepared for Africans’ self-rule. The leaders of the Zanzibar Revolution were African Anglicans. During the chaos of the revolution, the Anglican bishops mediated between the revolutionists and Nyerere, leading to a union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In the mutiny against Nyerere in 1964, Bishop Sepeku offered a place for him to stay and hid with the president at Kigamboni in Dar es Salaam (Mndolwa and Denis 2016, 205). During the *Ujamaa* period, although with some ambivalence and hesitation, many church leaders expressed their support for the policy. As suggested by Mndolwa and Denis:

...that mission activities in Africa supported political development in Tanganyika

and Zanzibar, is correct here. The two countries merged to become the United Republic of Tanzania – a union which survived longer than any other union of African countries. Although there was uncertainty and ambivalence among missionaries, they provided the education which prepared leaders for the country and affirmed the value and validity of African culture. Their protégés became politically involved and played a major role in the moves towards independence and the shaping of the nation thereafter. (Mndolwa and Denis 2016, 209)

At the time of *Ujamaa*, the aim of the TANU ruling party was to build a harmonious country in which citizens of different ethnicities and religions could live together. As most of the Tanzanian people were believers either Islam or Christianity, as a secular socialist party, to secure the loyalty of the people, TANU needed the support of the churches. As suggested by Westerlund:

The churches had the personnel, the financial resources, the equipment, and the local knowledge to such an extent that their contributions were of crucial significance for the success of ‘development’ and modernization. Apart from this material aspect the churches could provide a religious legitimation for the regime in its demands for loyalty. (Westerlund 1980, 49)

Due to their strong financial dependence on Rome and Western sister churches, the churches in Tanzania were seen as foreign entities, independent from the country. Since the aim of *Ujamaa* was to make the country self-reliant, the churches had to join in with the political activities to prove their loyalty. As the leader of TANU, Nyerere often criticised the Catholic church for aligning itself with reactionary forces and urged the church leaders to support his socialist policies (Westerlund 1980, 35). Some Catholic church leaders did advocate for the church joining the implementation of *Ujamaa* in Tanzania. (ibid., 45)

I visited Tanzania from 2019 to 2020, staying in a Chinese hotel in which the workers were Tanzanians. Every Sunday, they would go to church, with some going to Catholic churches and others going to Protestant churches. The Sunday customers would ask the waiters to play church music on the radio programmes from morning to night. There are quite a few radio channels from which Tanzanian people can get Biblical messages from the churches, such as Sauti ya Injil (The Voice of Gospel), Lutheran Radio Centre, Choice FM and Salvation FM. Politicians need to have a deep understanding of the influence of religious beliefs on people's thoughts and choices. In Tanzania's 2020 general election, in every major campaign in each region, President John Magufuli and his challenger, Tundu Lissu, both invited religious leaders to participate. The Catholic bishops (*maaskofu*) and Protestant priests (*wachungaji*) were present at the rallies of whichever candidate they supported. Both candidates tried as much as they could to give the impression that they were the president chosen by God to their supporters. In dealing with difficult social and political issues, the politicians also resort to religion. For example, during the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, Tanzania stopped publishing data on the numbers of infection from the 29th of April. In a speech on the 17th of May 2020, Magufuli urged the Tanzanian people to continue to pray through the pandemic:

Nataka niendelee kuwasisitiza tuendeleo kuchuuwa tahadhari, tuzidi kumuomba. Mungu, na kwa mwendo huu ninaouona, kama wiki hii tunayoanza kesho hali ikiendelea hivi, nimepanga kufungua vyuo, nimepanga pia kuruhusu michezo iendeleo... – Magufuli (video from AzamTV's Twitter account 17th May 2020)

I want to reaffirm that we need to continue to be careful, we need to pray to God

more, and with the development of this movement, as I see it, from tomorrow, this situation will continue; I have planned to open the universities and I also plan to permit sports to continue. (Author's translation)

Several weeks later, President Magufuli told worshippers in a church in the capital, Dodoma, that 'the coronavirus has been eliminated, thanks to God' (BBC News 8 Jun 2020).

3.2.2 Nyerere and Christianity

In 1996, the Benedictions Publications Ndanda - Peramiho published Nyerere's translations of the four gospels, including *Matayo (Matthew)*, *Marko (Mark)*, *Luka (Luke)* and *Yohana (John)*, as well as the *Mtendo ya Mitume (Acts of the Apostles)*.

Nyerere himself was a devout Catholic. Born in 1922 into the family of a chief of the Zanaki people in a village called Butiama in Northern Tanzania near Lake Victoria, like the other boys in the tribe, Nyerere spent his childhood as a shepherd. As his father, Nyerere Burito, was a chief, Nyerere had the privilege of receiving an education. At the age of 12, he was sent to the Government Primary School in Musoma. In school, Nyerere devoted himself to reading books and his passion for reading separated him from the other pupils who enjoyed playing sports and other games.

Driven by boredom, Nyerere started to attend Roman Catholic instruction. Nyerere and his friend trekked fourteen miles there and back to the Nyegina Mission Centre for religious lessons. While the other pupils who attended these lessons soon gave up, Nyerere continued to attend. The missionaries were more compassionate and

reasonable than the colonial officials that Nyerere had encountered in Butiama. Nyerere's conversion to Christianity angered his father, Chief Burito, who saw this as the white man taking his son away from his traditional beliefs, which were central to the lives of the Zanaki people. Ignoring his father's order to abandon 'the white man's faith', Nyerere turned to the coloniser's God (Monoly 2014, 48-50).

It was the White Fathers who gave Nyerere a compelling Christian narrative. Founded in 1868 by the Archbishop of Algiers, Cardinal Charles Lavigerie, the society focused on evangelism and education, mostly in Africa. Nyerere finished a four-year programme in three years and went to Tabora Boys Government Secondary School. Before his studies finished at Tabora Boys, Nyerere went home and visited the Nyegina Mission, which was built in 1911 by the White Fathers. In November 1942, Nyerere took the entrance examination for Uganda's Makerere University and received a scholarship to study on a teacher training course at the university. On the 23rd of December 1943, Nyerere was baptised by Father Aloysius Junker, who was a White Father, in the chapel of the Nyegina Catholic Mission. Nyerere was the first person in Butiama to be baptised as a Roman Catholic. He was also one of the first of the Zanaki people to be baptised as a Roman Catholic (Molony 2014, 62). At Makerere, Nyerere deepened his faith by reading the works of Catholic philosophers such as Jacques Maritain and others whose writings were available in the university's library (Molony 2014, 75).

In 1949, Nyerere received a scholarship to study at the University of Edinburgh in the UK. While studying at Edinburgh, Nyerere ‘used to find peace by sitting on his own in church, and that he apparently contemplated ordination while in Britain’ (Molony 2015, 68). On his return from the UK in 1952, Nyerere served as a teacher of history, English and Kiswahili at St. Francis’ College, near Dar es Salaam. Two years later, in 1954, Nyerere started his career in politics, founding the TANU party and leading Tanganyika to independence. Nyerere was elected as the first prime minister in 1961 when Tanganyika was granted self-governance, and a year later, the first president when Tanganyika became a republic. Nyerere retired voluntarily from the position of president in 1985 and died in 1999.

As a politician, Nyerere maintained his devotion to Catholicism, as Angolowisye Isakwisa Malambugi,¹² former chairman of the Moravian Church in Tanzania, wrote:

Even as a politician, Nyerere practiced his Christian faith openly in concrete ways. First, he was a very devoted member of the Roman Catholic Church. When at home he went to early Morning Prayer every-day from 6.00 to 7.00 a.m. at St. Joseph’s congregation, Dar es Salaam. Also, instead of fancy titles, he preferred to be called ‘mwalimu’ which means ‘teacher’ in Swahili. Secondly, for the sake of religious tolerance he helped to formulate the religious articles in the constitution of the government of Tanzania and endorsed them in the 1960s. These articles, which are still used at the present time, mainly focus on the right to freedom of religion. The article on freedom of religion was re-incorporated in 1984, 1992, 1995, and 1997. Thirdly, Nyerere made many efforts to cultivate mutual relationships with religious leaders. (Malambugi 2010)

¹² Malambugi attended Nyerere’s speeches in 1960 when he was campaigning for Tanganyika’s independence and many others until his retirement, especially those in Dodoma (1989) and Zanzibar (1990), quoted from: https://www.juliusnyerere.org/resources/view/nyerere_and_the_catholic_church

Christianity was an essential part of Nyerere's political life. His political ideas, such as human equality, the central idea of his nation-building ideology, were certainly partly inspired by Christian egalitarianism. As one missionary states:

...Nyerere's *Ujamaa* philosophy acknowledged the deeply human and indeed religious aspirations it signified. *Ujamaa* looked at the traditional extended family as a symbol. It signified the hope of turning the whole nation into relatives who would care for each other...it was utopian in the sense of providing a vision of alternative social relations, especially in contrast to the increasingly capitalist relations, that had come into the country through colonialism. (Giblin 1992, 40)

In a pamphlet that was used to argue for equal racial representation under colonial government, Nyerere wrote:

We appeal to all thinking Europeans and Indians to regard themselves as ordinary citizens of Tanganyika; to preach no Divine Right of Europeans, no Divine Right of Indians, and no Divine Right of Africans either. We are all Tanganyikans and we are all East Africans. The race quarrel is a stupid quarrel, it can be a very tragic quarrel. If we all make up our minds to live like 'ordinary sort of fellows' and not to think that we were specially designed by the Creator to be masters and others specially designed to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, we will make East Africa a very happy place for everybody. (Nyerere 1967, 29)

One can see the spirit of Christianity in these sentences, which express the concept that all humankind has been equally created by the Creator. As the leader of a country of multiple religions, Nyerere always emphasised the principles of building a secular government and the freedom of religious belief. The secularism in politics did not contradict Nyerere's endeavour to call for the churches to remember their responsibility to society. Whenever invited to church functions, he always challenged the churches to

strive to fulfil their calling to play a positive role in building an equal society and ‘to be in the front of rebelling against social structures that condemned man to poverty, humiliation and degradation’ (Mesaki 2011, 97).

Influenced by his own identity as a Catholic and the influence of Christianity in Tanzania, Nyerere chose the Bible as a source material to translate. In the translation, the question of which kind of language to use to render the original texts was one that must have come first. Should it be prose in the common language or verse like the traditional poetic language? This is not only a question of aesthetics but also of the background of cultural nationalism.

Swahili language and literature have a triple heritage: Bantu, Eastern and European. The Bantu heritage is the local African traditions which primarily have their roots in the orality of the people, the Eastern heritage is the Arabic-Islamic tradition brought by the immigrants from the Middle East and the European heritage is the European colonial legacy. European traditions have influenced Swahili prose fiction and drama, with such an influence entering the Swahili literary system through the Swahili Bible and the translations of European classics. While translating the Bible, European missionaries decided to apply a southern dialect, which lacked the literary traditions of the northern dialects, with the result being that in the *Standard Swahili* based on this southern dialect, traditional literature lost its place for expression. This opened the gate for more European literature to enter the Swahili literary system, as is discussed in more

detail later in this thesis.

The Arabic-Islamic tradition influenced traditional Swahili poetics. Traditional poetry dominated the Swahili literary field before the 20th century. In his translations, Nyerere tried to apply the form of traditional poetry with Eastern influences to rewrite the central literary text of the European tradition. The competition and communication between the two cultural and literary traditions indicate the struggles in cultural identity-building, which is a central part of nation-building. To better understand Nyerere's translations in the poetic form, this thesis first needs to look at traditional Swahili poetry.

3.2.3 Traditional Swahili Poetry (*Utenzi*) and the Arabic-Islamic Tradition

Poetry plays an important role in Swahili society. Traditional Swahili poets were usually also scholars in traditional society, writing didactic poems to spread the beliefs of Islam, its morality and way of life. Writing poetry became a way for these poets to engage with maintaining the stability of society or to express their thoughts about forming a better society. As K. Inyani Simala suggests:

The poet uses history or contemporary events as his raw material. Swahili poets have been involved in debates about national questions; and others like Fumo Liyongo, Muyaka wa Hajj, Shaaban Robert, and Julius Nyerere have participated actively in the political activities of their time. Thus, the production of Swahili poetry and its criticism are an integral part of the process of state formation in East Africa. The poets articulate ideas, words and images that relate to or undercut real power in order to construct a powerful alternative Utopia or a new sense of nationality. (Simala 2004, 31)

In his translations, Nyerere applied the form of *utenzi*, which is the most prominent form of poetry in traditional Swahili society. *Utenzi* has been applied by poets in post-colonial times to write about the themes of anti-colonial struggle, nation-building and anti-neocolonialism struggle. Nyerere's translations, in a sense, were a form of creative writing that borrowed materials from Christianity. Before analysing Nyerere's translations, the form of *utenzi* should be explored.

From 8th century onwards, the coming of the Islamic and Arabic civilisation had the biggest influence on the development of Swahili culture and language in East Africa. Side by side with Islam, the character of the language of Quran came to East African coast and adapted by the Swahili people as their language (Zhukov 2004, 1). From 11th century to 15th century, a more distinctive coastal culture emerged in the coastal area in the expansion of foreign trades and concomitant trading linkages to interior locations, continuing conversion to Islam, and the growth of towns (Wynne-Jones and LaViolette 2018, 8). The earliest known Swahili poet of note is Fumo Liyongo, who is dated by various writers anywhere from 14th to the 17th century (Allen 1971, 6). The Portuguese conquered and ruled East African Coast in the 16th and 17th centuries. Omani Arabs came to the coast helped the Muslims rout out the Europeans. Thus, from 1728 when Portuguese were defeated, more Arab immigrants came and with the spreading of Islam and Islamic culture. The linkage of local religious intelligentsia with Islam centres in the Middle East was strengthened. Such linkage accounted for the spread of poetry and

other cultural pursuits in the coastal towns of Lamu, Pate and Mvita (Mombasa) (Simala 2004, 20).

The poetic form that dominated Swahili literary writing pre-20th century was the homiletic *utenzi/utendi*. The old Swahili *tendi* are specimens of written literature based on the plots of Quran, legends about Prophet about Muhammed, or stories from the medieval Arabic *maghāzī* (Zhukov 2004, 5). *Maghāzī* is a narrative of mostly rhymed prose consisting of legendary accounts of the wars of the Prophet Muhammad after Hijra. (Harries 1962, 25). The *utendi* would normally be a ‘long narrative poem which commonly dealt with the wars of faith, the lives of saints or heroes, in short the subject matter of an epic literature’ (Whitely 1969, 18). In his work *Utangulizi wa Fasihi ya Kiswahili (An Introduction of Swahili Literature)*, the renowned Tanzanian Swahilist M. M. Mulokozi (2017) gives his definition of *utenzi*:

Utenzi ni utungo wa masimulizi, mawaidha au maelezo marefu. Tenzi nyingi zina mizani nane kila mstari. Vina vyaka hubadilika kila ubeti, ila kina cha mstari wa mwisho wa kila ubeti, kiitwacho bahari, hakibadilika. (Mulokozi 2017, 194)

Utenzi is strings of narration, sermons or long explanations. Many *Tenzi* (pl.) have eight measures in each line. The rhyme of *utenzi* doesn’t change in each section, except the rhyme of the last line of the section which is called *bahari*. (Author’s translation)

Mulokozi then quoted the renowned Swahili poet Shaaban Robert’s *utenzi* as an example:

Leo Nataka binti
Ukae juu ya kiti
Ili uandikae hati
Ndogo ya wasia

Mimi kwako ni baba
Hati hii ya huba
Andika iwe akiba
Asaa itakufaa...
(Robert 1966, 7)

Today I want my daughter
You sit in a chair
To write a note
Of a small moral lesson

I am your father
This note of love
Write it and save it
Otherwise, you will forget...
(Author's translation)

In this example, the first stanza has the rhyme of 'i', the second stanza has the rhyme of 'a' and the unchanged *bahari* is 'a', which appears in both stanzas. The length of the *utenzi* is not fixed. Depending on the topic of the poem and the skill of the poet, a *utenzi* could be as short as a few stanzas or as long as thousands of stanzas. As explained above, *utenzi* was originally used to record the events of the Prophet or the Muslims in Arabia and the neighbouring countries. It had a narrative function, telling stories, describing situations and recording events. One of the longest *utenzi* was written by Shaaban Robert (1967), entitled *Utenzi wa Vita Vya Uhuru (The Poem of the Freedom War)* and having a length of 3,000 stanzas.

According to Knappert (1967, 7), during the classical period (before 1900), the content

of the *utenzi* always served religious purposes. The close relationship between Swahili and Islamic culture prompted Knappert to propose the concept of a ‘Swahili Islamic culture’. From the *tenzi* composed by the Swahili people, one can understand how Islam influenced Swahili ‘as a religion, as a system of laws, as a method of thought’ (Knappert 1967, 9). *Utezi wa Hadija*, which tells the story of Muhammad’s marriage to his first wife Hadija, is an example of the traditional *tenzi*:

Akafanya na ulili
wa Kumuweka Rasuli
kautandika kwa kweli
lulu na majoharia

She also prepared a couch
so that the Prophet could rest
she decorated it with
pearls and precious stones

Kitanda hikiyo marisi
kwa udi na abunusi
katandikwa arusi
harirati na thuriya

This strong bedstead (made of)
aloe-wood and ebony
was covered for the wedding
with shining silk

Naye Hadija Mzuri
kavaa taji kathiri
na nguo za ahadhari
kayipamba na huria

And the beautiful Hadija
donned an elaborate crown
and green clothes
and she adorned herself with jewels

Imetonwa na Johari
na lulu zilo kathiri.
kwa maua ahiyari
ya kupendeza kuoa
(Knappert 1967, 9)

(Her gown) was covered with jewels like raindrops
With numerous pearls
(arranged into) splendid flowers
a joy to see

The religious manuscripts in particular were preserved by the coastal Muslim communities as the most literate among the Swahili people were themselves students, former students or Islamic scholars who acquired their writing craft from the religious institutions (Shariff 1991, 41-42). The European Swahili scholars have collected and

edited those preserved Swahili Islamic manuscripts in the form of *tenzi* from the last quarter of the 19th century to the end of the 20th century (Topan 2001, 108). Mazrui (2016, 19) applies the term of the 'Islamicity of Swahili' to describe the impact of Islam on the Swahili language. The influence of the Arabic-Islamic language and culture on the Swahili language and culture was mainly through religion, as observed by Canon Godfrey Dale:

...the dominant ideas of the Koran found their way into the intellectual atmosphere in which the Swahili lived; and many words and phrases, especially the words and phrases constantly repeated in the Koran and in prayers, found their way into the everyday speech of the Swahili people, affecting it much as the ideas and languages of the Bible have affected the speech of Christians. (Dale 1924, 5)

The anthologies collected by European Swahili scholars, such as *Tendi* (Allen, 1971), *Swahili Poetry* (Harries, 1962), *Traditional Swahili Poetry* (Knappert, 1967) and *Swahili Islamic Poetry* (Knappert, 1971) are all examples of religious verse in *utenzi* form. The tradition of *utenzi* was inherited and developed by the Swahili poets in colonial and post-colonial times. During the time of British colonial rule, the content of *utenzi* was expanded beyond the dominant religious domain to account for the colonial situation. Works were created like *Utenzi wa Wadachi Kutamalaki Mrima (The Epic of German Rule of Mrima, 1955)* and *Utenzi wa Vita vya Maji Maji (The Epic of the Maji Maji War, 1957)*.

In the post-colonial era, the secularisation trend in *utenzi* writing had not ended. Swahili poets wrote *utenzi* to express their spirit of resistance towards the colonial powers and

their enthusiasm for building the new country. For example, *Utenzi wa Chama cha Mapinduzi* (1981) (*The Poem of the Revolution Party*) tells the history of Tanzania's ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), leading the people to gain independence from British colonial rule. Furthermore, *Utenzi wa Jamhuri ya Tanzania* (1968) (*The Poem of the Tanzania Republic*) tells the history of Tanzania and *Utenzi wa Ukombozi wa Zanzibar* (1975) (*The Poem of the Liberation of Zanzibar*) tells the history of the Zanzibar Revolution in which the local African revolutionaries overthrew the Arab sultan's rule. *Utenzi wa Kumbukumbu za Azimio la Arusha* (1979) (*The Poem of Remembering the Arusha Declaration*) explains the policies of the Arusha Declaration, while *Utenzi wa Vita vya Uhuru* (1967), written by Shaaban Robert, is an account of World War Two from a Tanzanian perspective.

By analysing selected *utenzi* verses written by modern Swahili poets (such as Abdilatif Abdalla and Said Karama), Topan (2001) reveals how the topics and stories of Quranic narratives have been reinterpreted from the different perspectives of these poets. For example, the stories of Adam and Joseph, which appeared before the propagation of Islam in the Quran, were adapted in the *utenzi* of the Swahili poets.¹³ Moreover, the metaphors in the Quran were applied in the *utenzi* writing of the poets. By adapting the plots of Quranic stories and adding new features to the protagonists, the writers enriched the characteristics of the protagonists of the stories, making them more well-rounded and more appealing to human emotions. In Topan's words:

¹³ *Utenzi wa Maisha ya Adamu na Hawaa* by Abdilatif Abdalla (1971); *Utenzi wa Nabii Yusuf* by Said Karama (1964)

Although the Qur'an is sacrosanct as a holy text, poets and storytellers have not felt inhibited from adding features to their narrative as long as these do not contradict the essentials of the Qur'anic story or compromise its teaching. A story is thus embellished with details which make it more meaningful in the local context and hence better receptive to its audience. (Topan 2001, 110)

Topan argues that by selecting stories from the Quran, arranging scenes, choosing the details of the characters and giving them appropriate dialogue, the Swahili poets wrote the *utenzi* as whole and indivisible texts. (Topan 2001, 119) 'Whole' and 'indivisible' mean that the *tenzi* written by the poets are their genuine creations, not selections and combinations of pieces of Qur'anic stories.

As indicated above, the tradition of *utenzi* writing has always held a central position in the history of Swahili literary writing. In different eras, whether in Islamic themes or secular themes, *utenzi* has always been a form that has been applied by Swahili writers. *Utenzi* has symbolic significance for the cultural identity of the coastal Swahili ethnic group. In Nyerere's Biblical translations, interestingly, instead of applying a conventional prose form, he applied the *utenzi* form, not in several paragraphs but in the full four gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The readers of Nyerere's translations, which, of course, would have been mostly Christians on the mainland, would have seen their holy text in a literary form associated with Islamic tradition, while the coastal Muslims would have seen their familiar literary form extended out of its boundaries to reach a wider national audience.

Nyerere's translations should be scrutinised under the topic of cultural nationalism. Promoting a Swahili identity through literary writing and translation was an important aspect of Tanzania's nation-building (and decolonization) after independence. The Swahili cultural identity was once an ethno-linguistic one that belonged to the coastal Muslim groups. In the post-colonial era, building a new Swahili cultural identity that belonged to the entire population of the country was the aim of Nyerere and the intelligentsia who were guided by the *Ujamaa* socialist spirit. Nyerere's Biblical translations in the traditional Swahili poetic form (*utenzi*) showed how the coastal literary heritage was adopted in the literary translations for the whole country. The literary form with an ethnolinguistic and religious Swahili cultural identity transformed into one national cultural identity.

3.3 Biblical Translation and the Development of the Swahili Language

Translating the Bible into Swahili was, due to its nature, a colonial engagement in the development of the Swahili language. The German missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf's translation of the Biblical text was the first printed text in Swahili, with its significance in the language suggested by P. J. L. Frankl:

...[the translation is] the first printed text, 'text' being a stretch of language which seems appropriately coherent in actual use. Thus, these nine printed pages represent a landmark of Swahili studies. (Frankl 1992, 13)

While working on this Biblical translation, with the help of a local interpreter, Krapf

also finished the first text on Swahili grammar, entitled *Outline of the Elements of the Kiswahili Language with Special Reference to the Kinika Dialect* (1850). In his translations and the grammar book, Krapf applied the Roman script to replace the prevalent Arabic script, which laid the foundation for future works on the language. From Krapf's perspective, replacing the Arabic script with Roman script was not only a decision of linguistics but also of religious competition. Firstly, Arabic script would facilitate 'Muhammadan proselytism among the inland tribes'. Secondly, 'the Arabic alphabet would only be an encumbrance on the Europeans in their civilising and Christianising mission'. Thirdly, the Roman script would make it easier for 'the native in studying European languages' (Krapf 1850, 22).

Another issue faced by the missionaries was selecting one dialect of the Swahili language in their Biblical translations and related lexicographic works. There were three major dialect clusters of the Swahili language, a northern, a central and a southern cluster, stretching from the Somalis in the north to Mozambique in the south. Whitely notes that:

The northern cluster comprises the dialects of communities living around Lamu and Pate on the northern coasts of Kenya (Ki-Amu, Ki-Shela, Ki-Pae, Ki-Siu), together with that of the Bajun (Ki-Tikuu), who stretch northwards into Somalia. The dialect of Brava (Chi-Mini) is best regarded as a sub-group of this cluster. The central cluster comprises the dialects of Vanga (Ki-Vumba) and Mtang'ata (Ki-Mtang'ata), located on the southern Kenya and northern Tanzanian coasts respectively. To these must be added the various dialects of Pemba, and the two major rural dialects of Zanzibar (Ki-Tumbatu and Ki-Hadimu). The southern cluster comprises the dialects of the Tanzanian coast south of Bagamoyo, including the island of Mafia, and the dialect of Zanzibar town, which was

subsequently chosen to be the 'Standard' form of the language. To these must be added the 'bridge' dialects in and around Mombasa (Ki-Mvita, Chi-Jomvu, Ki-Ngare, with Chi-Chifundi farther to the south), which share some northern and some central features. The dialects of the Comoro Islands, however, require separate groupings (Ki-Nzwani, Shi-Ngazija). (Whitely 1969, 3)

The *Standard Swahili* that is officially adopted today by the Tanzanian, Kenyan and Ugandan governments, studied by the students in these countries and foreign students and widely used by the people of East Africa, was developed on the basis of the Kiunguja dialect, which was originally spoken in Zanzibar. The need to standardise the language was first raised by the missionaries when they translated Biblical materials. The missionaries working at different East African sites adopted different dialects in their translations. The problem of needing to agree on the same orthography arose soon after some initial works were created separately by them. After consulting the works of Johann Ludwig Krapf, who was working on the Mombasa dialect, Bishop Edward Steere, who was working on the Zanzibar dialect, expressed his compliment and criticism of the works of the former:

However, although one cannot estimate too highly the diligence and linguistic ability displayed by Dr. Krapf, and the patient sagacity of Mr. Rebmann, we soon found that, owing partly to the fact of their collections having been made in the dialect of Mombasa, and still more to the confused and inexact style of spelling adopted unfortunately by both, their works were of scarcely any use to a mere beginner. (Steere 1875, V)

In response to Steere's comment about the 'confused and inexact style of spelling' of the dialect of Mombasa, Krapf envisioned a future in which a universal orthography would be achieved and adopted by all the missionary societies in East Africa. For the

quarrels between the missionaries, he made the following comments:

In like manner I protest against all Swahili translations of Scripture which claim a title to superiority, because they have been made by individuals exalted in their secular position. Why not rather allow everyone to contribute his individual mite of lexicographical, grammatical, and translational work, which will in course of time bring about in East Africa the same linguistic perfection which has been attained in other continents by continuous and persevering activity. (Krapf 1882, x)

In those words, one can see that the task of the ‘translations of Scripture’ spurred missionaries to produce lexicographical and grammatical works of the Swahili language. Krapf saw that the missionaries had the duty of bringing the ‘linguistic perfection which has been attained in other continents by continuous and persevering activity’ to Swahili in East Africa. Such a mentality of intervening in and influencing the development of the language is an example of colonialism in linguistics, and more specifically related to this study, colonialism in translation. Such a mentality among the Western linguists regarding the Swahili language has not been uncriticised, as a statement in the *Bulletin of the East African Interterritorial Language (Swahili) Committee* suggests:

We have standardized Swahili, and, in the process, Swahili seems to have become a new language. While, doubtless, all are ready to admit that Swahili, like any other language is bound to develop and grow, in form, idiom and vocabulary, as a result of the impact of the civilizations of the immigrant communities, yet surely the development must come from the Swahili mind and must not be superimposed on them from without. But that is just what we have tried, and are still trying to do, with the result that we are in the somewhat ludicrous position of teaching Swahilis their own language through the medium of books, many of which are not Swahili in form or content, and whose language has but little resemblance to the

spoken tongue. We are perhaps too apt to overlook the fact that the people themselves are not only capable of adapting their language to modern needs but are doing so with amazing rapidity.¹⁴

Returning to the translations of the missionaries, another issue faced by them in their Biblical translations was the Islamic terminologies used in the Swahili language. As Mojola states:

Working however in a Swahili Muslim environment, Krapf and Rebmann, Taylor and Binns, Steere and his colleagues, all heavily relied on Swahili Muslims for their knowledge of the language and its underlying religious and cultural life. This no doubt affected and impacted on their respective translations. It is not surprising that Islamic terminology and concepts were adopted and used extensively in the translations. (Mojola 2017, 42)

In the Biblical translations of Krapf, Taylor and Steere, Islamic terminology was heavily applied. They saw the existence of these terms as an advantage in their translations. As Krapf (1882) stated, this Arabic-Islamic component of Swahili could ‘afford to the translator the resource of being able to adopt at will an Arabic word when in difficulty for a proper expression in Kiswahili’ (xii). In 1928, the missionaries of East Africa started to consider the need to have a common Swahili Bible in *Standard Swahili* to bring together Mombasa and Zanzibar with their Kimvita and Kiunguja versions (Mojola 2000, 516). This consideration of having a common Swahili Bible was also given impetus by the language policy of standardising Swahili by the British colonial authorities in East Africa.

¹⁴ Quoted from Wilfred Whiteley. 1969. Swahili: The Rise of a National Language. p. 85.

The standardisation was discussed in the Education Conference held in Dar es Salaam from the 6th to the 9th of October 1925. This conference was the precursor of the East African Swahili Committee, which was devoted to the task of standardising the language and its orthography, preparing dictionaries and grammar books, and promoting and publishing literature and textbooks in the new standard. The committee had the imprimatur to supervise the Swahili used in the British colonies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The first meeting of the committee was held on the 1st of January 1930, in which the Kiunguja (the Swahili of Zanzibar), Kiamu (the Swahili of Lamu) and Kimvita (the Swahili of Mombasa) dialects were the three major competitors to become standardised as *Standard Swahili*. At this meeting, the missionaries of the CMS, which had its headquarters in Mombasa, naturally voted for Kimvita, while the missionaries of the UMCA from Zanzibar voted for Kiunguja (Mojola 2017, 34). Due to its already wide spread from Zanzibar to the inland areas through trading routes and the missionaries' goal of translating the Bible into a dialect that could be understood by as many people as possible, the Kiunguja dialect finally prevailed in this competition.

Seeing the Arabisation and Islamisation of the Swahili Bible translations as an impediment to the mission of spreading the messages of Christianity, the German Lutheran missionary Dr Karl Roehl determined to translate his version of the Swahili Bible by minimising the Arabic words and replacing them with Bantu words. Roehl's version of the New Testament was published in 1930 and the complete Bible was

published in 1937 (Mojola 2000, 517). The spread of Roehl's version was short-lived because the fall of the Germans in Tanganyika and the arrival and establishment of the British hegemony resulted in the British Anglican missions having more influence in East Africa, and these missions supported the Swahili Union Version (1953), which was co-translated by the missionaries of the CMS and UMCA. The creators of the Swahili Union Version believed that the existence of Arabic words in Swahili was a phenomenon that had a long history and it was impossible to produce meaningful sacred texts while avoiding using those words. The Swahili Union Version has been criticised by other translators not only in that it applied too many Arabic loanwords but also in its usage of the words and its syntactical structures. For example, in H. Van't Veld's words:

There are too many words in it which are foreign and unknown to the inland readers. The Swahili Union Version apparently aims at the higher sociological level among the Swahili speakers and readers. The syntactical structure of the sentences in the original Hebrew and especially the Greek text has been retained too much and is in clear contrast with tendencies in modern Swahili. (Veld 1996, 75)

Proposing the production of a new version, and in the hope of overcoming the limitations of the previous Swahili Union Version, Veld advises that certain preparatory works should be undertaken by the translators before the translation. In his words:

We recommend a survey of current Swahili, especially to investigate which lexical and grammatical features of Coastal Swahili are not in use, e.g., with the Primary School leavers. In the third place, there should be investigations as to what developments are taking place in modern Swahili, based on an analysis of local newspapers like *Taifa leo*, *Baraza Pamoja*, and *Lengo*. Those developments form an essential part of the language, even though they are 'rejected' by advocates of

Classical Swahili. (Veld 1996, 78)

Veld's advice shows how, in the mind of translators, Swahili Biblical translations should align with the changing of the language. publication and wide spread of the Swahili Bible contribute to the establishment of the status of the language among the citizens of the country. Veld's expectations of a new version of the Swahili Bible were achieved with the new *Biblia Habari Njema*.

The new *Biblia Habari Njema* (1995), which was sponsored by the BSK and the BST at the request of the Protestant and Latin Catholic churches in both countries, was the first major Swahili translation for which East Africans fully participated and were wholly responsible. The participation of the indigenous people partly changed the norms of the Biblical translations undertaken by the European missionaries from more of a word-for-word rendering to more of a meaning-for-meaning rendering. In the words of Mojola:

The *Biblia Habari Njema* is a meaning-based translation or a dynamic translation of the functional equivalence variety. Translations of this type, such as the English *Good News Bible* or *Contemporary English Version*, as a matter of policy set out to give greater priority to meaning and how this is to be faithfully captured in the receptor text (the language of translation) as accurately, clearly, and naturally as is possible. These types of translations place priority on the sense of the original text. In contrast, translations such as the *Swahili Union Version* are of the formal correspondence variety. They place more emphasis on the words and forms of the original text rather than on the contextual meaning of the original text. (Mojola 2000, 522)

It can be assumed that without the mission of translating the Bible into Swahili, the

missionaries would likely not have endeavoured to learn the dialects of Swahili, write the grammar and lexicographical works, and work with the colonial institutions to standardise the Swahili language.

The two groups of missionary translators, either those advocating the application of the Islamic terminologies familiar to the Africans, or those insisting on the strategy of Bantuisation, which meant replacing the Islamic terminologies with Bantu words, both had the aim of transferring the word of God more efficiently and more accurately. Except for the well-known translators like Krapf and Steere, most of the Biblical translators did not leave their names on their works.¹⁵ The only task of the Bible translator was to convey the message of God to the indigenous people, so they were invisible. Unlike his predecessors who left no names, Nyerere's name is on the cover of his translations of the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Although not in the conventional form of prose, Nyerere's translations in poetry also received the recognition of the archbishop of Tanzania. In the preface, Archbishop Polycarp Pengo writes:

Na kwako Msomaji Mpendwa wa tenzi hizi, Mungu ajalie ulipende zaidi na zaidi Neno lake unapozisoma au kuziimba TENZI HIZI. (Pengo, cited in Nyerere 1996, 3)

For the dear readers of those *tenzi*, may God empower you to love his word more and more when you read or sing those TENZI. (Author's translation)

¹⁵ The authorship of the Swahili gospel pamphlets in the University of Dar es Salaam library is almost exclusively attributed to the BFBS. There are no names of the translator(s) on them.

In the words of the archbishop, Nyerere's translation can clearly convey the word of God. Readers have also given positive reviews of the translations. To collect readers' responses to Nyerere's translations, several students on the MA literature programme in the Institute of Swahili Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam were interviewed for this study. They were all Catholics; all were in the habit of going to church on the weekend and they were all familiar with the Bible (especially the New Testament). Before the interviews, they were sent photocopies of several sections of Nyerere's translation (*Injili ya Luka*). During the interviews, with their permission and in compliance with research ethics, the conversations were recorded, including the questions and their responses. A common response among them after reading and comparing Nyerere's version with the *Biblia Habari Njema* version was that Nyerere's version has a higher aesthetic standard and is more recitable and easily memorable. One of them emphasised the importance of poetry in the Swahili language as, once a text becomes poetry and is recitable or singable, then it can be disseminated widely. Nyerere's translation proves that this is the case as it has become a bestseller in church bookstores in Tanzania.

3.4 Utenzi in the Bible

To make the Bible more acceptable to Swahili-speaking people, translators have also applied the form of *utenzi* in their translations. One example is in the chapter *Wimbo Ulio Bora* (*The Song of Solomon*) in *Biblia Habari Njema* (in Swahili):

¹ Wimbo wa Solomoni ulio bora kuliko nyimbo zote

Shairi la Kwanza

² Heir midomo yako inibusu
Maana pendo lako ni bora kuliko
divai
³ Manukato yako yanukia vizuri,
na jina lako ni kama marashi
yaliyomiminwa
Kwa hiyo wanawake hukupenda!

The following is the Revised Standard Version (in English):

¹ The Song of Songs, which is Solomon's
² O That you would kiss me with the kisses of your mount
For your love is better than wine
³ Your anointing oils are fragrant,
Your name is Oil poured out;
therefore the maidens love you.

In the Utangulizi (the introduction) before the chapter, the translator wrote:

Huu mkusanyo wa tenzi ambao kwa jumla zazungumzia urafiki au upendo kati ya mume na. mke unasemekana kwamba Solomoni ndiye mwanadishi wake. Lakini kusema kweli mkusanyo huu ni wa nyakati za baadaye sana ya Solomoni

...

Katika nyakati za kwazakwanza za jumuiya ya Wakristo tenzi hizi zilifafanuliwa pia. kumaanisha upendo kati ya Kristo na Kanisa lake.

This volume of poems was generally talking about the friendship or the love between men and women, and it is said that Solomon was the writer of them. But the truth is that the time at which this volume was composed was much later than that of Solomon.

...

In early times, for the Christian community, these poems also signified the love between a Christian and his church. (Author's translation)

The translator used the word '*tenzi*' to describe the content of this chapter, although the

exact translation should be '*shairi*', which has the general meaning of 'poetry' in Swahili. However, as mentioned above, in traditional Swahili culture, *utenzi* has a special significance; its narrative nature and functional purpose are to document historical or religious events. *Utenzi* was an important traditional form of poetry for the Swahili Muslim people, giving them religious instructions through the stories in *utenzi*, as indicated by Knappert:

As such legendary stories¹⁶ are of the greatest importance to members of the traditional Swahili society: they provide the individual with a sure guide to life in this world. The perfect example of the Prophet and his followers is the model of life that must be imitated by everyone who desires to attain Paradise. These legends are not entertainment, they are *elimu*¹⁷, knowledge required for all who want to lead a righteous life. (Knappert 1967, 11)

The tradition of *utenzi* being used in religious (specifically Islamic) themes meant that this form of poetry was readily applied by the Christian missionaries in their translations of the Bible. Nyerere inherited this tradition of using *utenzi* in his translations of the gospels and he took the further step of making all the gospels in *utenzi* form, from beginning to end.

3.5 Rewriting the Biblical Tradition in Tanzania

Instead of following the tradition of the missionaries' translations, which was to use the language of daily life, Nyerere applied the traditional poetic form. Some Swahili

¹⁶ Given in the *utenzi*.

¹⁷ Meaning 'knowledge'.

scholars and readers do not recognise Nyerere's works as translations.¹⁸ However, translation does have a certain flexibility. From word-to-word to meaning-to-meaning, different translators make different choices. Some translations are rewritings of the original text, as André Lefevere suggests:

Translation is the most obviously recognizable type of rewriting, and...it is potentially the most influential because it is able to project the image of an author and/or those works beyond the boundaries of their cultural origin. (Lefevere 1992, 9)

Lefevere also claims that the factors that influence these rewritings can be ideological (conforming to or rebelling against the dominant ideology) and poetological (conforming to or rebelling against the dominant or preferred poetics). This chapter argues that Nyerere's choices about his Biblical translations were made under a specific cultural, political and language background. He used the *utenzi* poetic form to rewrite the previous translations and to engage with the then-current trend of cultural nationalism.

In their paper 'Mwalimu Nyerere Engages His People: Scripture Translation in Swahili Verse', Phil Noss and Peter Renju (2007) take a linguistic approach to analyse Nyerere's Biblical translations. They argue that 'through the creative use of poetry, the poet-teacher-translator sought to engage his readers and listeners and impress upon

¹⁸ In personal discussions with scholars and students in the Institute of Swahili Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam, some of them were of the opinion that Nyerere's writing on the gospels should be recognised as, to some extent, his own creation in the form of *utenzi* according to the gospels.

them the relevance of the message of Good News for their lives today' (2007, 41). One of the examples they give is:

Acts 7:1–2a
Mwisho wa usemi huu,
Yule Khani mkuu
Akauza kwa ukali:
Maneno haya ni kweli?

Naye Stefani mwema
Akajibu akasema:
Wananchi, ndugu zangu,
Wazee wa nchi yangu....

At the end of the speech this,
That High Priest
He asked with anger:
Are these words true?

And Stephen the good one
He replied and he said:
Citizens, my brethren,
Elders of my country....
(Revised Standard Version)

In the third line of the second stanza, Nyerere used the sentence '*wananchi, ndugu zangu*', even though this is not present in the original text. The word '*wananchi*' means 'children of the land'; Nyerere used this frequently to address the nation when he was president. Noss and Renju give an explanation of Nyerere's choice:

Its role is poetic, but its function is to bring the translator into personal engagement with his readers by allusion to what he previously did when he was President of the nation. (Noss and Renju 2007, 49)

To understand Nyerere's strategy and the differences between his translation and those of the official versions, like *Biblia Habari Njema* that was translated by the BST and the BSK, some comparative studies are needed. One of the most well-known scenes in the Bible, Jesus's death on the cross, can be quoted from the Revised Standard Version and the two different Swahili versions to help with this:

The Revised Standard Version (English):

Luka 23

⁴⁴ It was now about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the land until the ninth hour, ⁴⁵ while the sun's light failed; and the curtain of the temple was torn in two. ⁴⁶ Then Jesus, crying with a loud voice, said, 'Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit!' And having said this he breathed his last. ⁴⁷ Now when the centurion saw what had taken place, he praised God, and said, 'certainly this man was innocent!' ⁴⁸ And all the multitudes who assembled to see the sight, when they saw what had taken place, returned home beating their breasts. ⁴⁹ And all his acquaintances and the women who had followed him from Galilee stood at a distance and saw these things.

The Biblia Habari Njema Version¹⁹ (BHN Swahili):

Luka 23-24

Yesu anakufa msalabani

(Mat 27: 45-56; Marko 15:33 – 41; Yoh 19: 28-30)

⁴⁴ Ilikuwa yapata saa sita Mchana; Jua likaacha kuangaza, giza likaifunika nchi. yote mpaka saa sita, ⁴⁵ na pazia lililokuwa limetundukiwa hekaluni likapasuka vipande viwili. ⁴⁶ Yesu akilia kwa sauti kubwa: 'Baba, mikononi mwako naiweka roho yangu.' Alipokwisha sema hayo, akakata roho.

⁴⁷ hapo, yule jemadari alipoona yaliyotukia akamsifu Mungu akisema: 'Hakika.

¹⁹ *Biblia*. 2001. Dodoma: The Bible Society of Tanzania and Nairobi: The Bible Society of Kenya.

huyu alikuwa mtu mwema.’

48 Watu wale wote waliokuwa wamekusanyika hapo kwa ajili ya tukio hilo, walipoona hayo yaliyotukia, walirudi mwakao wakijipiga vifua kwa huzuni.

49 Marafiki zake wote pamoja na wale wanawake walioandamana naye kutoka Galilaya, walisimama kwa mbali kutazama tukio hilo.

Nyerere’s Version²⁰ (Swahili):

Yesu anakufa msalabani
(23, 44-49)

(44) Ilipata saa sita
Giza kuu likatika
Nchi nzima likatnda
Ikatimu saa kenda.

(45) Jua likawa gizani
Pazia la hekaluni
Likachanika Halani
Tangu juu hadi chini

(46) Kwa Sauti kubwa sana
Ndipo Yesu Maulana
Akalia Akasema:
Ee, Baba yangu mwema,
Mikononi Mwako Mungu,
Naiweka roho yangu.
Kwisha hayo kutamaka,
Roho yake ikatoka.

(47) Kiongozi wa jeshia
Alipoyashudia
Mambo yaliyotukia
Akamsifu Manani
Na kusema kwa Imani:
Mtu huyu naamini
Hakuwa na kosa sini

(48) Basi umati mzima

²⁰ Nyerere, Julius. 1996. *Utenzi wa Enjili: Kadiri ya Utungo wa Luka*. Peramiho: Benedictine Publications Ndanda.

Ulokuja kutazama
Atayotendewa Bwana
Walipokwisha yaona
Wakarudi majumbani
Kijipiga vifuani.

(49) Wote walomfahamu
Na wanawake kaumu
Walomwandama Masiya
Kuanzia Galilaya
Walisimama kwa mbali
Kutazama jambo hili

The *Biblia Habari Njema* version uses the common language used by the people in their daily lives. The Swahili translators, as their English-speaking counterparts did, also made efforts to use simple language to convey the word of God. As the committee emphasised in the *Dibaji* (preface) of this version:

Mungu huongea na watu akitumia lugha yao wenyewe na msamiati uelule. wanaotumia wakati huo katika mawasiliano yao...
... tafsiri iliyo muundo wa matumizi ya kila siku ya lugha ya Kiswahili naykati hizi zetu. (BST and BSK 2001, V)

God talks with people by using the language they use and the vocabulary that they use at the time when communication happens...
...This translation is in the model of the Swahili language that is used every day of our time. (Author's translation)

To ensure that as many people as possible had access to the Bible, for centuries, Bible translators tried to make the language of their translations as simple and as clear as possible. In the English Bible tradition, the most influential publication is the King James Version (KJV). The main source of the KJV was the translation of William Tyndale. As a leading figure of the Protestant Reformation, Tyndale's motivation was

to offer a version of the Bible in the language that could be read and understood by the common people in England. In this way, he could break the hegemony of the Catholic Church. The KJV is highly valued as one of the most important books in English culture and a driving force behind the shaping of the English-speaking world. (See i.e., Shannon 1912, 470; Campbell 2010, 1; Bragg 2011, 1) In the preface of the Revised Standard Version (RSV), the editors identify the KJV's contribution to the English language:

Its revisers in 1881 expressed admirations for 'its simplicity, its dignity, its power its happy turns of expression ... the music of its cadences, and the felicities of its rhythm.' It entered, as no other book has, into making the personal character and the public institutions of the English-speaking people. We owe it an incalculable debt. (RSV Preface iii)

Following the tradition of the KJV in English, *Biblia Habari Njema* in Swahili also applied the common language. Luka 23: 46 can be taken as an example:

⁴⁶ Yesu akilia kwa sauti kubwa: 'Baba, mikononi mwako naiweka roho yangu.' Alipokwisha sema hayo, akakata roho. (BHN Swahili)

Mtoto akisema kwa sauti kubwa: 'Baba, mezani mwako naiweka ufunguo wangu.' Alipokwisha sema hayo, akaenda shuleni. (An example given by the author)

The child is saying in a big voice: 'father, I put my key on your table'. Having said this, he goes to school. (Author's translation)

It can be seen that this sentence (example) has the same structure as that of Luka 23: 46 (BHN Swahili), with only a few words replaced. The new sentence has become one that could be used in a conversation between a father and his school-aged child in any house

in Tanzania today.

In Nyerere's translation, Luka 23-44 can serve as an example to demonstrate the rhyme and the combination of the syllables:

(45) Jua likawa gizani
Pazia la hekaluni
Likachanika Halani
Tangu juu hadi chini

This stanza is made up of four lines, each line having eight syllables. *Ju, a, li, ka, wa, gi, za* and *ni* are the eight syllables in the first line. The following three lines follow the same rule. In this stanza, each line has the same rhyme, *ni*, at the end. In the standard *utenzi* form, the first three lines of each stanza have a final rhyme that can vary from one stanza to the next, but the last line of each stanza maintains the same rhyme throughout the whole poem (such as aaab, cccb and dddb). A single poem could consist of a thousand or more stanzas. However, in his translations of the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, Nyerere gave himself the freedom to create stanzas with as few as two lines and as many as twelve lines. He also did not strictly follow the rule of rhyme. For example, in the scene in which Jesus's body disappears from the tomb:

RSV (English):

Luke24

But on the first day of the week, at the early dawn, they went to the tomb, taking the spices which they had prepared. ² And they found the stone rolled away from the tomb, ³ but when they went in they did not find the body.

Nyerere's version:

Ufufuko wa Yesu (24, 1-12) (Jesus's Resurrection)

(1) Siku ya Kwanza ya juma,
Asubuhi na mapema
Wakaenda kaburini
Wakitwaa vichupani
Manukato na uturi
Waloandaa tayari

(2) Wakalikuta Jabali
Limevingirishwa mbali

(3) Wakengia kaburini,
Mwili wa Bwana lakini
Hawakuukuta ndani

These three stanzas do not follow the rule of rhyme in *utenzi* (aaab, cccb, dddb). The length also does not follow the rule; if it did, there would be four lines in each stanza. The meaning of the original English version was also not translated word for word. '*Wakitwaa vichupani*' means 'they put in the bottles'. In English, the word 'bottles' is not present. '*Manukato*' and '*uturi*' both mean 'perfume', while in English, the word is 'spices'. Nyerere introduced repetition into his translation. The length of the second and third stanzas is not enough to be translated into a standard stanza with four sentences, so Nyerere changed the translation to result in two and three sentences in each stanza. To make the translation easy to repeat and remember, the length of each sentence and the rhyme of the sentences must be carefully arranged. To do so, Nyerere used many

devices in his translation, including phonology, morphology, grammar, syntax and lexicon (Noss and Renju 2007, 44). In the example above, a syncope can be identified (*Wakengia*<*Wakaingia*, ‘they came in’).

Other devices in his translation of the gospels include not only lengthening words (*maskini*<*masikini*, ‘poor persons’; also *juu*<*aliye juu*, ‘he who is above’) but also adding synonyms to make a rhyme. One example is the names for God. *Jalali*, *Jalia*, *Karima*, *Latifa/Latifu*, *Manani*, *Maulana*, *Mola*, *Rabuka*, *Rahimu*, *Rahamani*, *Sayidi/Seyidi*, *Wadudu* and *Yarabi* all appear in different stanzas. For example, Mary’s answer to Elizabeth in Judah when she is pregnant is shown in the following:

Luka 1 (46)

Wimbo wa Maria (The Song of Maria)

(46) Mwanamwali Mariamu:

Akamsifu Rahimu
Moyo wagu wamsifu
Maulana mtukufu

(47) Na roho yafurahia

Mwokozi wangu, Jalia

RSV (English):

(46) And Mary Said:

‘My soul magnifies the Lord

(47) and my spirit rejoices in God my
Saviour.’

In Nyerere's translation above, the words '*Rahimu*' and '*Maulana*' both refer to God, while the most common word used to refer to God in Swahili is '*Mungu*'. In the above stanza, '*Rehimu*' contains the 'u' syllable to make a rhyme. '*Maulana*' has four syllables, ma/u/la/na, and with the following syllables, m/tu/ku/fu, this sentence has eight syllables, which obeys the rules of *utenzi* in this translation. The name '*Maria*' is also lengthened as '*Mariamamu*' so that it has the 'u' rhyme.

In the Debaji (Preface) of the gospels translated by Nyerere, the Archbishop of Dar es Salaam, Polycarp Pengo, indicated the reasons behind Nyerere's choice of *utenzi* as the form of his translation:

Kwa kawaida, ujumbe uliowekwa katika mtindo wa tenzi au mashairi hutolewa kwa njia ya kuimba au kwa njia ya maigizo yajulikanayo kama ngojera. Kwa maana hiyo, huo ujumbe hukaririwa kwa urahisi, pia hupendeka na kukumbukwa kwa wepesi, hasa kwa vijana. (Nyerere 1996, 'Dibaji')

Usually, the messages in the form of *tenzi* or *mashairi* were given by the way of singing or drama within it, for example, *ngojera*. For this reason, those messages are easy to repeat, as well as to be liked and remembered quickly, especially for teenagers. (Author's translation)

Archbishop Pengo informed the readers that Nyerere's gospels are in the form of recitable *tenzi*, which is different from the ones in prose that are majorly for reading. Traditionally, *tenzi* were intended for public performance. They 'were meant to amuse and elevate the uneducated mass who liked to see their religious, social, and political ideals realized in the history of former times', and 'occasionally it is still possible to find a *utenzi* being intoned in public on the veranda of a house. Public recital ensured

that at least the gist of the story would reach the ears of the ordinary man' (Harries 1962, 27, 24). Orality is an essential character of Swahili poetry, as Clarissa Vierke suggests:

It seems reasonable to assume that Swahili poetry fundamentally relied on oral performance, as it also does nowadays to a large extent: most of the poems were not read silently by individuals, but rather performed out loud; some of them are never actually committed to writing (or only fortuitously). (Vierke 2021, 87)

Reciting *tenzi* publicly is very popular among the Swahili community and serves as an important part of the religious and cultural lives of its members. In recent times, with the aid of technologies such as audio cassettes, CDs and the internet, *tenzi* are more easily and widely circulated among the people, as Annachiara Raia observes in her study of the recitation of poetry on the Swahili Muslim coast:

A poet like Mahmoud Mau, who is also an imam on Lamu island, imbues his verses with religious and moral teachings that he wishes to impart to the community, and he acknowledges the power of media through which his own compositions may reach a wider audience more quickly. Along the same lines old *tendi* of the past, used for expressing admonishments, as in the case of *Mwana Kupona*, are considered to be guidelines as well as talismans to keep in one's own heart and mind, and this is the reason why talented poets, gifted with awe-inspiring voices, like Abdallah el-Shatry from Mombasa or Bi Ridhai Sufiani from Pate, continue reciting aloud both classic as well as popular Swahili compositions by heart. (Raia 2019, 146)

Nyerere's translation changed the convention of translating gospels into prose, rendering them in *utenzi* verse, which brought foreign texts into the local literary tradition. Nyerere expected that his translations would be recited like traditional *tenzi*, which were recited by the poets who wrote them and are recited by performers and

readers in current times. In his translations, the traditional form of *tenzi*, which is associated with Islamic religious and moral teachings, can also convey Christian religious and moral teachings.

Before Nyerere's version, there were many versions of Swahili gospels that had been published. For example, the 1892 version of the Gospel of Luke by BFBS translates Jesus's death on the cross as:

Ikapata sasa kama saa ya sita, pakawa giza juu ya 44
nchi yote hatta saa ya tisia, likipunguka jua: ika- 45
pasuka pazia ya hekalu katikati. Akalia Isa kwa 46
sauti kuu, akasema, Baba, mkononi mwako naiweka
roho yangu: na aliposema haya akatoa roho. Alipoona 47
akida lililokuwa, akamutukuza Mungu, akisema, kwa
kweli mtu huyu alikuwa mwenyi haki. Na makutano 48
wote waliokusanyika kwa kutazamia haya, walipotazama
yaliyofanika, wakarudi wakijipiga vifua. 49
Wale simama kwa mbali marafiki wake wote, na waanawake
waliofuatana naye toka Galilaya, wakiangalia haya.

The 1918 version (BFBS) is:

44 Na wakati huo ulikuwa kama wa kuingia saa ya sita, kukafunga kazi nti yote mpaka saa ya tisia, 45 huku jua ilipungua nuru zakwe: pazia ya hekalu ikapasuka kati. 46. Nae Jesu akapiga ukulele kwa sauti kuu, akanena, Ewe, Babaangu, roho yangu naitia mikononi mwako. Kusema kwakwe haya akatokwa ni roho. 47 Na yule mkubwa wa askari mia alipoona yaliyokuwa, alimutukuza Mwenyiezi Mungu, akinena, Hapana shaka, mtu huyu alikuwa mwenyi haki! 48 Na yale makundi ya watu waliokutanikia kuona mambo yale, walipoona yaliyotendeka, wakarudi pia wote huku wajipiga – piga vifua vyao. 49 Na watu wote waliojuana nae, na wanawake nao waliokuwa wakifuatana nae tokea huku Galili, walikuwa wamesimama kwa mbali, watazama mambo haya.

The 1930 version (BFBS) is:

44 Na iko karibu na saa sita, na kiza kukawa juu nchi yote hata saa ya tisa. 45 Na jua ilikuwa na nuru. Na pazia ya hekalu likapasuka katikati. 46 Na Yesu halafu Ye akilia na sauti nguvu, alisema, Baba, Mie natia roho Yangu kwa mikono Yako. Na halafu Ye alisema ili Ye alikufa. 47 Alakini wakati kapitani aliona nini alifanyika, Ye alisifa Mungu, kusema, Kweli. Mutu ili iko alimaa. 48 Na baktano yote ili alikwisa tutazama maona ili, kutazama nini alifanyika, alirudia, kupiga mhafu yabu. 49 Na watu yote aliyua Ye, alisimama mbali, na bamanamke vilevile ili alifuata Ye kutoka na Galili, kutazama baktitu ili.

The 1934 version (BFBS) is:

44 Hapo ilikuwa yapata saa sita, kukawa giza juu
45 ya nchi yote hata saa tisa, jua imepungua nuru
46 yake: pazia ya hekalu likapasuka katikati. Yesu akalia kwa sauti kuu, akasema, Ee, Baba, mikononi mwako naiweka roho yangu. Alipokwisha kusema
47 haya alikata roho. Yule akida alipoona yaliyotukia, alimutukuza Mungu, akinena, Hakika yake,
48 mtu huyu alikuwa mwenye haki. Na makutano yote ya watu waliokuwa. wamekutanika kutazama mambo haya, walipoona yaliyotendeka, wakaenda
49 zao kwao, wakajipigapiga vifua. Na wote waliojuana naye, na wale wanawake. walioandamana naye toka Galilaya, walisimama kwa mbali, wakitazama mambo haya.

The versions before that of Nyerere all followed the convention of using the language of daily life to make the word of God as simple and as clear as possible to the people. All of these versions were published by the BFBS in London. If the versions are compared, one will see the missionaries' influence on the language, with the language changing in the translations at different times. In the 1892 version, the title of the book is '*Anjili ya Bwana na Mwokozi Wetu Isa Masiya Kwa Luka*'. '*Anjili*' is an early translation of 'Gospel', which was changed to 'injili' or 'enjili' in *Standard Swahili*.

This word came from the Arabic (إنجيل) Romanised: Injīl). The name of Christ, ‘Isa’, also came from the Arabic (عيسى ابنُ مَرْيَمَ) Romanised: ‘Isā ibn Maryam, lit. ‘Isa, son of Maryam’). ‘Masiya’ came from the Arabic (مسيح) Romanised: masīḥ, lit. ‘the anointed one’). This title indicates that in the early colonial times, due to the long Islamic tradition in Swahili society, in the 1892 translation, the missionaries chose to apply Arabic-Islamic terminologies to increase the people’s acceptance of the texts.

On the front page of the 1918 version, there is a sentence printed: ‘St. Luke’s gospel in Swahili (Mombasa Dialect)’. On the front page of the 1930 version, there is a sentence printed: ‘the gospel of St. Luke in Swahili Ituri’.²¹ This shows that the Biblical texts in different dialects were produced and widely circulated to the extent that a special note on the translation was required. In the 1934 version, the corresponding sentence is ‘the gospel according to St. Luke in Standardized Swahili’. As mentioned above, the standardisation of Swahili started at the end of the 1920s. This version shows that the aim of creating a standardised Swahili had been achieved.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that by translating the Bible into Swahili, the European missionaries had an enormous influence on the development of the language. In the colonial period, Swahili was the research subject of missionary linguists, and it was standardised, finally becoming a tool for spreading Christianity. Missionaries’

²¹ Ituri Swahili is a dialect spoken in and around the city of Bunia in Ituri Province, Democratic Republic of the Congo.

translations are direct renderings in prose and in various dialects. After standardisation, the translations were produced in the *Standard Swahili*. The Swahili Bible is both a religious and a literary text and, in a sense, is a source of modern Swahili language and literature. However, one must remember that Swahili literature has an Arabic-Islamic poetic tradition. Nyerere's Biblical translation is also a literary creation, but not a completely free one. In the content, he applied a religious text brought to Tanzania by the British colonial powers; in the form, he applied a poetic form from the local tradition. Nyerere's translation challenged the norms of Biblical translation in the colonial era, and he tried to develop the local poetic tradition by expanding its domain of content. In this sense, his translation is an example of cultural nationalism in language and literature, so is part of the decolonization endeavour.

Chapter 4: Vernacularisation and New Cultural

Themes

4.1 Introduction

This chapter applies the method of prismatic comparison as outlined in the introduction.

Whether in Swahili or in Chinese, a translation of Shakespeare is only one of many actual and possible versions. This is the multiplicity of translations, as Matthew Reynolds suggests,

In trans-lingual conversation, any proffered interpretation is open to correction or rephrasing. In written translation, any chosen form of words is plucked from a cloud of alternatives. Any given translation, in any form, is just one among many actual and possible versions. (Reynolds 2019, 1)

Languages are always changing over time, and translation is always taking place, not just into a language, but into a moment of that language (Reynolds 2019, 6). Both the written languages of Swahili and Chinese changed from classical patterns to vernaculars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The question to be asked is: why did the translators choose one linguistic pattern over another in the Swahili and Chinese versions under discussion? Why are certain phrases or words in the Swahili and Chinese languages chosen to render the phrases or words in English? Is there a similar tendency or motivation behind the use of language patterns and the rendering of words and phrases? Translation brings new cultural themes into the target linguistic-cultural system. The questions are: in what ways do the translations convey the new cultural

themes, and how do these introduced new cultural themes relate to the enterprise of cultural decolonization, i.e. nation-building?

Using *The Merchant of Venice* as a case study, this chapter attempts to answer the above questions. A prismatic comparison between a European language (English) and two non-European languages (Swahili and Chinese) which are spoken in the two colonial and semi-colonial countries reveals the role of translation played in the vernacularisation movement and in the introduction of new culture in the two countries. Bringing Chinese into the discussion is more revealing than just looking at English and Swahili, because the prismatic comparison reveals the commonality and particularity of translation as decolonization, whereas the single-pair comparison only reveals the particularity.

When directly comparing the Swahili and Chinese translations of Shakespeare, the first focus of this chapter is on the poetic forms, which are related to their language. The *Standard Swahili* of Nyerere's translations is an alphabetic language, while the Chinese *biahua* (白话) of Zhu's translations is an ideographic language. It seems that the two languages as a whole are incomparable, let alone their poetic forms. However, scrutinising the trends in the transformations of the languages that they applied in their translations from the perspective of the changing of poetic forms is revealing. The same trends of vernacularisation in the two languages and the influence of vernacularisation in their translations can both be noted. In addition to the languages, this thesis is also

interested in the cultural themes in their translations. There are certain cultural and religious taboos in the traditional literary system in both Swahili and Chinese, while translated literature could bring about developments, such as the cultural themes in Shakespearean Translations bringing values of modernity to Chinese and Swahili audiences. However, the decision to keep them or omit them is on the translators. The translators' different strategies reveal their various approaches to receiving English-language modernity, which is related to the practice of decolonization.

Both Swahili and Chinese have two language and literary traditions, which are the classic and the vernacular. Classic Swahili uses Arabic script. There is archaeological evidence of Swahili Arabic writings on coins and stone inscriptions dating back to the 12th and 13th centuries (Hichens 1939, 119). The largest body of texts using Swahili Arabic script is poetry. For example, some earliest literary works are *Hamziyyah* (1652) and *Utendi wa Tambuka* (1728). The manuscript of *Utendi wa Katirifu* and the acrostic poem *Wanjiwanji* are reported to have been written in the middle of the 18th century (Vierke 2014, 320). Most of the old Swahili manuscripts in Arabic script come from the city-states of Lamu and Pate on the northern Swahili coast. As mentioned in the previous chapter, after 1849 when the German missionary Johann Ludwig Krapf published his translation of three chapters of the Bible in the Roman script, the Swahili language experienced a process of romanisation and standardisation until the middle of the 20th century. After the independence of Tanganyika in 1961 and the formation of Tanganyika and Zanzibar as the country known today as Tanzania in 1964, *Standard*

Swahili was adopted as the national language, promoted in the publication industry, advocated in the education system, and played a role in the nation-building agenda as it was spread across the whole country.

From the perspective of Benedict Anderson's theory of the formation of the modern nation-state, the role that *Standard Swahili* played in the process of Tanzania's nation-building was just like the role of European languages (vernaculars like English and French that are contrary to Latin) in the formation of European nation-states. Hence, this thesis argues that the *Standard Swahili* that Nyerere applied in his translation is a vernacular especially seen in relation to Swahili Arabic script. Nyerere's translation of Swahili in the post-independence period was, among other literary works of *Standard Swahili* by writers and translators, part of the Swahili vernacular movement in the nation-building enterprise. Following Nyerere, since the 1970s, other Tanzanian Swahili poets have initiated a free verse movement in the writing of poetry, giving up the metre and rhyme of traditional poetry, instead writing in the vernacular.

In Chinese literary history, roughly during the period of 1895 to 1925, there was also a vernacular movement in which the classic Chinese (*wenyan* 文言) declined and the vernacular Chinese (*baihua* 白话) was favoured. Vernacular writing in Chinese literature was carried out by Chinese intellectuals as part of the nation-building and modernising enterprise. Translating foreign literature in the vernacular and writing original Chinese literature in the vernacular were both part of this movement. Zhu's

translations of Shakespeare in the vernacular were a part of the movement.

In this chapter, the Shakespearean Translations of Nyerere and Zhu are placed in the contexts of the vernacular movements in their language and literature systems to determine their reflection of and participation in them. The traditional poetic form was challenged as a new one was forming. In literary translation, facing the old prosodic language that is the repository of traditional values and the vernacular that carries the values of modernity, translators must make a choice. This choice is both aesthetical and cultural-political.

This thesis investigates how Nyerere and Zhu chose more conservative or more liberal strategies as part of the general trend of vernacularisation in the field of Swahili and Chinese language and literature. It argues that Nyerere's translation tried to bring the English literary form of blank verse into Swahili literature, while Zhu's translation, on the one hand, followed the trend of New Literature (新文学), which had the aim of bringing a revolution to classic Chinese and literature through elevating vernacular writing and introducing Western cultures and values, and on the other hand, tried to meet the aesthetic traditions of classic Chinese. Shakespeare's plays contain new cultural themes that were not present in traditional Swahili and Chinese literature. However, it was those cultural themes as an indication of British modernity that were the aim of pursuing the vernacular movement. The approaches to keeping or omitting these themes reveal the different understandings of the translators regarding

modernisation and decolonization. These approaches are discussed in this chapter.

4.2 *Mabepari wa Venisi* and 《威尼斯商人》

This chapter takes *Mabepari wa Venisi* and 《威尼斯商人》 as case studies. This is because, in Tanzania, this play was among the earliest available in Swahili and there is a translation of Lamb's version and Nyerere's translation in order to conduct a comparison; in China, 《威尼斯商人》 was one of the most popular Shakespeare plays and it has been reported that it was staged the most times among foreign dramas in the first half of the 20th century (Wang 2013, 94). Nyerere's *Mabepari wa Venisi* and Zhu's 《威尼斯商人》 were published in the 1960s and 1940s, respectively, but they were not the earliest Shakespearean plays in the two languages. As early as the middle of the 19th century, Shakespeare was introduced into Swahili and Chinese. In East Africa, Bishop Edward Steere of Zanzibar translated and published a slim volume of Charles and Mary Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807) as *Hadithi za Kiingereza* ('*English Tales*') in 1867. Steere's translation of the four stories was used in schoolbooks and was printed in regular editions, including at least eight editions between 1940 and 1972 (Wilson-Lee 2016, 38). Although almost none of the Shakespearean translations and adaptations before Nyerere are in circulation, one copy of the adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* was found in the library of the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, during the fieldwork for this thesis. This adaptation was entitled *Mfanyi Biashara wa Venice (Venisi)* and was published in 1939. (The Sheldon Press, 1939)

In China, during the period between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Shakespeare's name repeatedly appeared in the works of the missionaries who introduced the culture and literature of the Western world. As in East Africa, Shakespeare's works entered China in the form of stories that were also translated from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*. Like the Universities' Mission to Central Africa in Zanzibar, which first introduced Shakespeare to East African people, it was also a British missionary who first translated Shakespeare's name into Chinese as '舌克斯毕' (Shé Kè Sī Bì) in an introductory book about Britain in 1856 in China (Lai 2017, 3). Since then, Shakespeare's name has appeared many times in the books published by European and American missionaries in China. Based on Lamb's text, Shanghai Dawen Publisher (上海达文书社) published *Xiewai qitan* (海外奇谭 *Foreign Stories*) in 1903, which included ten stories in classical Chinese (文言文). Furthermore, based on the same original text by Lamb, the Commercial Press (商务印书馆) published *Yingguo shiren yinbian yanyu* (英国诗人吟边燕语 *An English Poet Reciting from Afar*) in 1904, which was co-translated by Lin Shu (林纾) and Wei Yi (魏易).

It was not until the 20th century that Chinese audiences started to see Shakespeare's plays in full translations. Zhu Shenghao translated *The Merchant of Venice* as 《威尼斯商人》 and published it in 1947. Before Zhu, another famous translator named Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋) also translated *The Merchant of Venice* in 1936. Among many other

versions, their translations are the most widely read in mainland China and Taiwan, respectively. Interestingly, the first Shakespeare play staged in English in China was *The Merchant of Venice*, which was performed during the summer term graduation ceremony of Saint John's College, Shanghai, on the 7th of July 1896. The first Shakespearean Translation staged in Chinese was also *The Merchant of Venice*, only it was an adaptation named *Nǚlǚshī* (女律师, *A Female Lawyer*), which was performed by a group of students in 1911 (Lai 2017, 63).

4.3 The Similar Educational Habitus of the Translators

This discussion starts with the cultural and educational backgrounds of the two translators. As Munday (2016) suggests, since the turn of the millennium, the study of translators and the social nature of translation have become central in translation research, with many studies drawing on the works of the French ethnographer and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and his concepts of 'field', 'habitus', 'capital' (including economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital) and 'illusion' (236-237). In this section, the concept of 'translational habitus' is applied, which is suggested by Daniel Simeoni in his influential article 'The pivotal status of the translator's habitus' (1998):

It is not so much the activity of translating, nor the translator himself, nor objective norms as such, but the internalized position of the translator in his field of practice which may turn out to be the single most determining factor. (12)

In this study of Swahili and Chinese translations, it is not necessary to follow him in such a strong claim of the ‘internalized position of the translator’ being ‘the single most determining factor’. Firstly, neither Nyerere nor Zhu were trained translators. Nyerere was originally a teacher, later entering politics and finally becoming the first president of Tanzania. Zhu was an English editor in a publishing house in Shanghai before receiving the job of translating complete works of Shakespeare. Secondly, a study focusing on two versions of the same source text in one language would be more appropriate for such a discussion. Nevertheless, the idea of looking at the habitus of the translators is helpful in this study. Simeoni (1998) suggests that a habitus-account of a translation study can ‘emphasize the extent to which translators themselves play a role in the maintenance or perhaps the creation of norms’ (26). In this chapter, before entering into textual analysis, an inspection and comparison of the educational and cultural habitus of Nyerere and Zhu will provide a deeper understanding of their translations.

Nyerere and Zhu were both educated in schools with a colonial background, the difference being that Nyerere was a product of colonial education, while Zhu received both a traditional and colonial education. As the son of a local chief, Nyerere had the privilege of receiving an education. When he turned 12 in 1934, Nyerere was sent to Mwisenge Authority School in Musoma. From this primary school in Musoma to the secondary school named Tabora Boys in Tabora to Makerere University in Uganda to the University of Edinburgh in the UK, it was in these colonial educational institutions

in Africa and in a university in a metropolitan city that Nyerere finished his education. English and Swahili were both important courses in the syllabuses of colonial boarding schools. Swahili was taught to prepare for roles as low-ranking officials in various administrations, while English was a necessity for entering higher education. Although Swahili and English were Nyerere's second and third languages, respectively, he mastered them early.

The translations of European literary works were an important part of the syllabuses of Swahili courses. *The Merchant of Venice* was adapted as *Mfanyi Biashara wa Venice (Venisi)* as early as 1939.²² The language of this adaptation was approved by the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee, which means it was material used in the standardisation of Swahili. This adaptation was also a teaching resource used by schools, given the fact that it was divided into sections followed by questions to help the students understand the content. In 1939, Nyerere was a student at the Tabora Boys secondary school in Tabora. Although it is not known whether Nyerere read *Mfanyi Bishara wa Venice (Venisi)* or other adaptations when he was in this school, the importance of Shakespeare in Swahili education in colonial schools was certain. In the English education of the British colonies, Shakespeare also held a central position. Shakespeare and Milton were on the curriculum at Makerere University. *Julius Caesar* was also part of the English portion of the entrance examination for the University of Edinburgh that Nyerere took (Molony 2014, 111).

²² *Mfanyi Bishara wa Venice (Venisi)*. 1939. London: The Sheldon Press. from the Margaret Bryan Collection of the Library of University of Dar es Saalam.

Zhu Shenghao was born in the February of 1912 in Jiaxing County, Zhejiang Province, China. Just months before Zhu's birth, the 1911 Revolution broke out, putting an end to more than 2,000 years of China's society of emperorship. Zhu entered primary school when he was 5, and after 5 years of study, he first encountered English. He learnt English from a textbook named *Yingyujindai* (英语津逮 *The Way to Learn English*) (Wu and Zhu 1989, 10). This book was typically used in secondary schools, indicating the high teaching standard of Zhu's school. Zhu entered Xiuzhou Secondary School (秀州中学) in Jiaxing. This school was founded by the Southern Presbyterian Church of America, who entered China in 1867. Their missions were scattered across eastern China, including Zhejiang Province, Jiangsu Province and Shandong Province. One of the most famous missionaries among them was the US ambassador to China, John Leighton Stuart, who also served as the president of Yenching University.

The mission-founded background of Xiuzhou Secondary School guaranteed that the students received a high-quality English-language education. Zhu's English teacher was the principal of the school, Dr George Davis Lowry²³, who held a doctorate degree in theology from the University of Virginia. During his leisure time, Zhu liked to go to the library, which held more than 10,000 books. The works of Shakespeare and one of the founding fathers of classic Chinese literature, Qu Yuan (屈原), were Zhu's favourite

²³ Lowry spoke Chinese fluently and was popular among the students, in Wu Minjie, and Hunda Zhu, eds. 1989. *Zhu Shenghao Zhuan* [朱生豪传, A Biography of Zhu Shenghao]. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press.p.24.

choices. Zhu's brother recalled that he recited them repeatedly (Wu and Zhu 1989, 25). Shakespeare was an important subject in the English education of Zhu's secondary school. Zhu read excerpts from *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth* and *Tales from Shakespeare* in this school (ibid., 31). Zhu entered Hangchow University (之江大学) when he was 17 in 1929. The university was founded by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA), Zhu majored in Chinese Classics and minored in English at the university (ibid., 37).

From the perspective of the educational experiences of Nyerere and Zhu, one can see how the educational habitus may have influenced their translations. Shakespeare appeared in their early education and maintained an important position throughout their higher education. The decision to choose Shakespeare as their source text was both personal and social-cultural. Shakespeare was vital for the British Empire's cultural colonization, so was also the most important English-language writer in the education of Nyerere and Zhu.

4.4 Shakespeare and His Influence in East Africa and China

Shakespeare's dissemination across the world accompanied the rising of the British Empire in the 18th century as he was regarded as the best vehicle for the promulgation of Englishness throughout the colonies of the empire. Shakespeare was taught in the colonial schools of the British colonies across the world. The most studied case of

Shakespeare's reception is that of India, with part of the reason for this being that the formal teaching of Shakespeare in schools began not in Britain but in India. Based on the research of other scholars' documentations, Leah Marcus generalises the goal of teaching Shakespeare in India:

The civilizing power of Shakespeare was one of the tools by which Indians were to be made quasi-Englishmen, introduced to superior culture imbued with its values... Since Shakespeare was the quintessential English author, imbued with the highest values of the nation, study of his plays in the schools of India would help to achieve England's civilizing mission. (Marcus 2017, 131)

In African colonies, such as South Africa, Shakespeare also played the role of a tool for the British civilising mission. The first theatre in South Africa was built by a British administrator, Governor Yonge, in 1801 in Cape Town. The September 1801 inaugural production was *Henry IV, Part One*. Adele Seeff suggests the significance of the theatre, which staged Shakespearean plays, in the British colonists' intentions to introduce Englishness in the colony:

The theater constituted a symbolic link and an association with an image of social cohesion tied to hegemonic monolingualism: the English language and the desire to introduce the English language to 'all our conquests'... This Anglicizing strategy brought with it the early struggle between English and Afrikaner nationalisms and the effort to institutionalize European values in an African setting among a majority indigenous population. (Seeff 2018, 40-41)

The earliest Shakespeare plays that appeared in East Africa were carried by the explorers to the continent in the 19th century. The most famous one of them was the British explorer, writer and scholar, Richard Francis Burton, who carried several

volumes of Shakespeare's works during his exploration of the Great Lakes region of East Africa. He quoted Shakespeare extensively in his expeditionary account and recorded how his companions and himself read Shakespeare again and again during the expedition (Burton 1872, 388-389). The legendary Welsh American explorer Henry Morton Stanley, who was known for his search for the sources of the Congo and Nile rivers, also carried a volume of Shakespeare during his expeditions, as he recorded:

I had a small volume of Shakespeare, Chandos' edition. It had been read and reread a dozen times, it had crossed Africa, it had been my solace many a tedious hour, but it must be sacrificed. It was delivered, exposed to the view of the savage warriors. 'Is it this you want?' 'Yes.' 'Is this the medicine that you are afraid of?' 'Yes, burn it, burn it. It is bad, very bad; burn it. (Stanley 1994, 385-386)

The expeditions of Burton and Stanley were very dangerous. They were short of food supplies, lacking in medical care, and enduring raids from local tribes, the hot weather, tropical infectious diseases, and dangerous animals, all of which could be fatal. Shakespeare's works comforted the explorers and gave them courage in the sense that Shakespeare represented the 'civilisation' that they came from.

Shakespeare was unknown to the East African people until Edward Steere translated Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* as *Hadithi za Kiingereza*, which was published in 1867. The collection of stories includes *The Taming of the Shrew* (*Mwanamke Aliyefunzwa*), *The Merchant of Venice* (*Kuwia na Kuwiwa*), *King Lear* (*Baba na Binti*) and *Timon of Athens* (*Kula Maji*) (Wilson-Lee 2016, 37). As an English Anglican colonial bishop, Edward Steere worked for several years in Zanzibar, placing the

foundation stone at Christ Church in Stone Town, Zanzibar. Steere was a considerable linguist who worked in several African languages, but he was especially known for his works in Swahili. He published the *Handbook of Swahili* in 1870 and translated or revised the translation into Swahili of a large part of the Bible.²⁴

In most of British colonial Africa, Shakespeare was introduced in the early 20th century along with government education systems. Chinua Achebe of Nigeria recalled his life in the 1940s when he attended one of the government boarding schools in which African students were educated as a cadre who would be thoroughly inculcated with imperial values and culture. Students were taught an entirely British curriculum to a very high level. Activities such as ballroom dancing and Shakespearean performances were part of school life. The same experiences were also described by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o of Kenya and the Ethiopian leading playwright Tsegaye Gabre-Medhin (Plastow 2020, 171-172).

On the Swahili coast and the isles of East Africa, *Hadithi za Kingereza* was applied as one of the schoolbooks distributed in East Africa (Wilson-Lee 2016, 38). According to Wilson-Lee's research, a drama about the story of *The Merchant of Venice* was played in Zanzibar and it attracted Africans, Arabs, Indians, and Europeans (ibid., 3). The detail of a student reciting Brutus's speech from *Julius Caesar* appears in the Zanzibarian Nobel Laureate Abdulrazak Gurnah's novel *By the Sea* (2001, 77-78). In his quasi-

²⁴ Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 54, Steere, Edward by Charles Alexander Harris. https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography_1885-1900/Steere,_Edward

autobiographical novel *Desertion* (2005), Shakespeare's name appears in the plot and dialogue at least six times. All these factors indicate Shakespeare's influence in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

In China, Shakespeare was on the English-language syllabuses of missionary colleges and middle schools at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In English classes, the missionaries used *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *The Merchant of Venice* and Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare* as teaching materials. During the period of 1921 to 1936, the oldest publisher in China, The Commercial Press (商务印书馆), published seven Shakespeare plays for university students to read. In drama universities, the works of Shakespeare were used as important textbooks of modern drama. Renowned universities such as Tsinghua University (清华大学), Wuhan University (武汉大学), Sun Yat-Sen University (中山大学) and National Central University (国立中央大学) all provided courses on Shakespeare.

Many prominent Chinese dramatists learnt Shakespeare's works at school and some have translated his works. For example, Cao Yu (曹禺), who is one of the founders of modern Chinese drama, translated *Romeo and Juliet* in 1942 and *Twelfth Night* in 1944, while Li Jianwu (李健吾) adapted *Macbeth* into a drama with a Chinese style and a Chinese name, *Wang Deming* (王德明), in 1944. As a scholar of Shakespearean studies in China has suggested, Shakespeare has held a special position in the education of modern Chinese drama and has had a profound influence on Chinese dramatists (Meng

2014, 238-239).

Shakespeare was also involved in the enlightenment movement in the early 20th century. When Yuan Shikai (袁世凯) revived the emperorship and self-claimed the title of emperor of China in 1916, the people of China, especially the intelligentsia, felt betrayed by him as he was the one who had forced the Qing emperor to abdicate four years before. In that year, Shakespeare's play *Macbeth* was adapted into Chinese by a Chinese dramatist Zheng Zhengqiu (郑正秋) with the title *Qieguozei* (窃国, *A Usurper of the Nation*). The play was a satire of Yuan's betrayal of democracy and his reactionary deed of self-claiming himself as emperor. The play was staged and was very popular among audiences. An actor named Gu Wuwei (顾无为) fulminated against Yuan after the play had received a great round of applause. Gu was arrested after the play due to Yuan's fury and was only released after Yuan's death months later. This was the famous 'Gu Case' ('顾案') in the history of Chinese drama. (Meng 2014, 9)

The second-most popular Shakespeare play in China in the early 20th century was *Romeo and Juliet*. This play was also staged in Shanghai in 1930. He Jiahui (何家槐), who was a left-wing writer, commented on the play in the newspaper *Shun Pao* (申报) in terms of the source of the tragedy of the young lovers in the play:

如果没有这两家的世仇，没有贵族社会的野蛮和封建家庭的黑暗，没有顽固的专横和吃人的礼教，那末这一大悲剧也许根本不会发生，即使发生也不是这种情景。

至于演这个戏，在我们今日当然是很有意义的，因为第一：我们中国现在还在不断发生着这种悲剧，还牢固地存在着发生这种悲剧的社会根源；第二，我们的戏剧届——甚至整个的艺术，都得学习莎士比亚的伟大的写实主义。(Shun Pao, 4 Jun, 1930)

If there was not a feud between the two families, not the ruthlessness of the aristocratic society, not the darkness of the feudal family, not the arbitrary and man-eating feudal ethics, then perhaps such a tragedy would not happen, and should it happen, it would not be in this kind of situation.

As for this play, it is very meaningful for today's situation because, firstly, tragedies alike happen in China constantly. The social root of such a tragedy firmly exists. Secondly, for our fellow dramatists – even all artists need to learn from the great Shakespeare's realism. (Author's translation)

From the previous two examples, it can be seen that what concerned the Chinese critics was the theme of modernity that they could draw from the play, which will be discussed more later in this study.

Shakespeare was also involved in the Literature Debate (文学论争) that happened in the 1930s. This debate was centred on some general questions about literature. Does literature have a class attribute? Must literature engage with social revolution? Does pure literature exist? Taking Shakespeare as an example, Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋), the famous writer and one of the earliest Shakespearean scholars in China, argued that literature should be all about aesthetics and nothing to do with class. In Liang's words:

《依里亚德》天尚有人读，莎士比亚的戏剧，到现在还有人演，因为普遍的人性是一切伟大作品之基础。(Liang 1926, 53)

The *Iliad* is still read today, and Shakespeare's dramas are still performed because common humanity is the foundation of all great works. (Author's translation)

In response to Liang's argument, Liang's major opponent, Lu Xun (鲁迅), who is known as one of the founding fathers of modern Chinese literature, wrote in an article:

上海的教授对人讲文学，以为文学当描写永远不变的人性，否则便不久长。例如英国，莎士比亚和别的一两个人所写的是永久不变的人性，所以至今流传，其余的不这样，就都消灭了云...
...英国有许多先前的文章不流传，我想，这是总会有的，但竟没有想到它们的消灭，乃因为不写永久不变的人性。现在既然知道了这一层，却更不解它们既已消灭，现在的教授何从看见，却居然断定它们所写的都不是永久不变的人性了。(Lu 2005a, 581)

A professor from Shanghai lectured about literature, holding the position that literature should write about unchanging humanity otherwise it should not last long. For example, in Britain, Shakespeare and one or two other writers wrote about unchanging humanity, so their works still last today, while the rest did not, so their works have vanished...

...I believe there are many literary works in Britain that have been lost, but I have not realised that their disappearance was because of not writing about unchanging humanity. Now I understand that, but what still confuses me is that since those works were lost, how the professor could know that they were not about unchanging humanity. (Author's translation)

From Liang's and Lu's different understandings of Shakespeare's plays, we can see that Shakespeare provided a ground in which general literary issues were discussed and debated.

From the above review, it can be concluded that in both East Africa and China, Shakespeare was an important literary figure. His works were windows through which the intellectuals in the colonies and semi-colonies could glimpse modern British culture and values. His works were also mirrors in front of which traditional literary language and culture could be viewed by intellectuals and re-scrutinised against the reflections in them. This discussion is further extended in the following sections.

4.5 Traditional or Modern? – The Vernacularisation of Swahili and Chinese Literature

Swahili and Chinese, the two languages studied in this discussion of Shakespearean Translations, also have long literary histories and relatively stable literary traditions. Although Swahili's hundreds of years of literary history are not directly comparable with the thousands of years of Chinese literary history, it is one of the longest among the African languages. In translations, translators must consider how to render Shakespeare's English prose and verse in their own languages. Whether to render them in the classic style or in the vernacular style is not only a question of aesthetics but also of politics.

Classic Swahili literature has an Arabic-Islamic tradition and is an emblem of Swahili coastal Muslims' identities. The main genre of classic Swahili literature is poetry, and its themes are predominantly Islamic, with a few exceptions, such as Muyaka's secular poems, as well as the poetry of Fumo Liyongo and Mwana Kupona. Classic Swahili poetry has rigid rules of rhyme and metre. The majority of the writers of this classic poetry were Muslims. The new Swahili literary forms that emerged in the 20th century were prose fiction, drama, and free verse, which were deeply influenced by European literary traditions. Unlike the classic literature that was written in the northern dialects of Lamu and Mombasa, the new Swahili literature was written in *Standard Swahili*.

It is not possible to disentangle postcoloniality from coloniality, nationalism from imperialism, or modernization from colonialization in Tanzania. Modern Swahili literature emerged in the context of the colonial standardization of the Swahili language, but it was promoted and developed further in the independent, post-colonial state of Tanzania. The writings of Shabaan Robert,²⁵ Mathias Mnyampala²⁶ and Amri Abedi²⁷ in *Standard Swahili* are the coming together of colonialism, cultural imperialism, and local responses to these. After gaining independence, Tanzanian intellectuals, including Nyerere, endeavoured to make Swahili an emblem of national identity. Forming a national language and its literature is part of the nation-building enterprise.

Compared to the traditional poetic writing in the classical language, the new genres of prose fiction, drama and free verse can be categorised as trends of vernacularised writing. The writers of free verse and the critics who supported such new genres were reformists. Free verse writing as a direct challenge to traditional poetic writing received the most criticism from traditionalists who believed that metre and rhyme were essential to Swahili literature and should not be changed. The tension between the reformists and the traditionalists represented, in some way, the tension between classicism and vernacularism in the language and literature. The same tension also existed in the

²⁵Shabaan Robert died in 1962 before Tanganyika's independence, which means that although published posthumously, all his works were written during the colonial era, e.g. *Maisha Yangu: na baada ya Miaka Hamsini* (1966), London: Nelson; *Kusadikika* (1966), London: Nelson.

²⁶ *Utenzi wa Enjili Takatifu* [The Poem of the Holy Gospels] (1962), Ndanda: Ndanda Mission Press; *Diwani ya Mnyampala* [Collection of Poems of Manyampala] (Vol. 5) (1963). Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

²⁷ *Sheria za Kutunga Mashairi na Diwani ya Amri* [The Law of Composing Poetry and Collection of Poems of Amri] (1954) Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau;

Chinese language and literature in the early 20th century.

There was a vernacular movement among Chinese intellectuals in the early 20th century. The aim of the movement was to create a new written language and its literature that would be different from the classical language and literature. Like traditional Swahili literature, traditional Chinese literature values poetry over all other genres. The metre and rhyme patterns of traditional Chinese poetry are also very rigid. For a work to be considered a good prose writing, the proper use of allusions, couplets and parallelisms is essential. The themes of traditional Chinese literature are wider than those of traditional Swahili literature. However, like Islam confined traditional Swahili literature, Confucianism confined traditional Chinese literature. The creation of modern Chinese literature was part of modernisation and the nation-building enterprise.

In his widely acclaimed book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1991), Benedict Anderson discusses the emergence of the 'vernacular' languages around the world and the ideological and political functions these languages have in the formation of the modern nation-state. According to Anderson, the last wave of nationalism across the world occurred mostly in the colonised territories of Asia and Africa. The model of the emergence of a nation-state and the contribution of a vernacular within it is a phenomenon that exists around the world. In the case of the translations of Nyerere and Zhu, they were produced against a background of a vernacular movement in the translators' language and literature. Such

a movement was partly initiated by the interaction between the local literary traditions and European literary traditions, of which the translation is the most direct form. Traditional Swahili and Chinese literature were both produced by a small group of intellectual elites²⁸ and functioned to preserve the traditional social-linguistic and ideal way of life. Modern Swahili literature emerged under the colonial rule, yet, it was promoted and developed in the independent, post-colonial state of Tanzania. Modern Chinese literature also emerged in the late Qing dynasty when China was a semi-Colony, and it was developed after the end of Qing dynasty and in the process of the nation-building of Republic of China. The translations of Nyerere and Zhu emerged from such a linguistic and literary background. By comparing their translations, this thesis can show that they were both influenced by the vernacular movement. First, this thesis presents the details of the debate between classic and vernacular literature in the two Languages.

In Swahili

After the independence of Tanzania, Swahili writers applied literary writing as a way of rebuilding their cultural identities and participating in the nation-building programme. Since the late 1960s, many university students, represented by Euphrase Kezilahabi and Ebrahim Hussein, were no longer satisfied with writing prosodic poetry that had conventional themes, metrical patterns and rhymes. They wrote a new form of poetry that was free of metre and rhyme. They were categorised as reformists or

²⁸ The traditional Swahili elites were the Swahili-speaking and Ajami-writing Muslims, while the traditional Chinese elites were the Confucianist intellectuals who wrote in Classical Chinese.

liberalists. The writers and critics who were categorised as traditionalists or conservatives were defenders of traditional prosodic writing that emphasised metre and rhyme. The two groups of writers and critics both claimed that their writings were authentic Swahili poetry and that the opponents' writings were foreign to the local traditions and culture and were products of either Oriental and Arabic or Western cultural dominance. The dispute between the two groups has lasted until recently. The participants include influential writers such as Euphrase Kezilahabi, Ebrahim Hussein, M. M. Mulokozi, Farouk Topan and Saadani A. Kandoro, and critics such as Alamin Mazrui, Mikhail Gromov and Kimani Njogu.

From the viewpoint of the reformist poets, traditional Swahili poetry is too much affected by Arabic literature, representing the cultural invasion and domination of Arabic-Islamic culture over the local Bantu culture. For example, in the words of M. M. Mulokozi:

It seems to us that writing *tenzi*; based on old Arabic and Persian epics, e.g. *Seyidina Hussein bin AU*, *Vita vya Uhud* or *Hamziyyah* is, for an African with his own history, ancestral heroes and cultural values, the height of absurdity. It reflects the extent to which that person has been 'assimilated' by the colonizer. (Mulokozi 1974, 133)

To the reformists, the development of new Swahili poetry should be directed towards applying the vernacular. In his poetic anthology *Kichomi (Stabbing Pain)* (1974), Kezilahabi explains the intentions of his writing:

Jambo ninalotaka kuleta katika ushairi wa Kiswahili ni utumiaji wa lugha ya kawaida, lugha itumiwayo na watu katika mazungumzo yao ya kila siku.... Mapinduzi haya ya kutotumia vina na kutumia lugha ya kawaida ya watu yanatokea katika ushairi wa nchi mbalimbali. Nami nimefanya hivyo, siyo kuwaiga, lakini kwa kuwa naamini kwamba mapinduzi ya aina hii ni hatua moja kubwa mbele katika ushairi wa Kiswahili. (xiii-xiv)

What I would like to introduce to Swahili poetry is the use of the vernacular, which is used by people in their daily conversations... This revolution of avoiding the metres and using the vernacular appears in the poetry of many nations. I have done this not to imitate them but because I believe this is a big step forward in Swahili poetry. (Author's translation)

Like many other Swahili writers after independence, Kezilahabi was also influenced by the socialist ideology in the country. Alike yet earlier than his Kenyan counterpart Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (*Decolonizing the Mind*, 1986), Kezilahabi considered the politics of African writers' literary writing. He raised the following questions in an article:

1. For whom am I writing?
2. How is the novel going to make the masses be aware of their situation, reasons for their fate, and what initiative they can take to liberate themselves?
3. What am I going to say to the upper class and what can they do to solve the conflict portrayed in the novel?
4. What am I going to say to the government? – the dynamic power that can bring about a collective decision and practical action. (Kezilahabi 1980, 76)

From Kezilahabi's perspective, the target audience of his creative writings is the masses. Compared to traditional prosodic poetry, which contains difficult Arabic loan words, free verse, which is in the vernacular, is certainly more accessible for the masses. The problem of the 'difficult words' in prosodic poetry has been criticised by Senkoro who suggested that the application of difficult words in poetic writing is a phenomenon among artists in capitalist countries (Senkoro 1988, 6).

The reformists were criticised by the traditionalists from the coastal areas who believed that rhyme and metre are the central features of Swahili poetry. Without them, Swahili poetry would not exist. For example, Mazrui was criticised for his free verse writing, as he mentions in an article:

In June 1989 a Kenyan scholar of Swahili literature, commenting on my newly released collection of Swahili poems in free verse, declared that this kind of composition falls outside the realm of Swahili poetry and that it is at best a foreign poetry composed in Swahili language. (1992, 67)

In criticism of Kezilahabi's free verse writing, the firm traditionalist poet Saadani Abdu Kandoro wrote:

si mashairi ya Kiswahili bali ni maneno yaliyoandikwa kwa lugha ya Kiswahili kwa madhumuni ya kuwasilisha mawazo kwa wajua kusoma Kiswahili (1978, 6)

[They are] not Swahili poems but words written in the Swahili language for the purpose of conveying ideas to those who understand the language. (Author's translation)

The traditionalists criticised that the free verse writers were too much influenced by Western poetry. Seen from the viewpoint of the changing of themes, one must admit that the Western culture and values did influence the poetic writings of university students. Farouk Topan observes that a shared theme of these poems is the conflict between the individual and society. In his words:

Unlike traditional poets, who seem to have accepted the dictates of their cultures quite happily and without any conflicts (at least overtly), these young poets cannot be termed ‘mouthpieces of their communities’. They speak for themselves and about themselves as individuals living, working, and thinking in a framework that transcends a local or tribal community, and the way that larger unit (be it society or nation) affects their lives, feelings, and thoughts. (Topan 1974, 186)

Contrary to Topan’s point, in a recent article, Roberto Gaudioso doubts the assumption that the genre of Swahili free verse is imported from the West. He asks:

Who can really say that free verse belongs to the Western world? Who composed the first poem or line without prosody (and maybe chanted it)? We have no reason to believe that past Swahili poems were radically different from other Bantu poems. (2020, 6)

Challenging the previous arguments that have placed too much emphasis on the issue of the identity of Swahili prosody, Gaudioso argues that attention should also be paid to the literary texts themselves and their aesthetics and that critics should ‘analyze literature literally’ (Gaudioso 2020, 8). To categorise free verse and traditional poems as ‘inland’ versus ‘coastal’ or ‘Swahili’ versus ‘non-Swahili’ would be reductive. The free verse writers were not only writing in opposition to conventional rhyme and metre but also to express themselves using their own unique patterns and inner logic. In Gaudioso’s words:

Any poem in free verse is regulated by the composition itself. Every poem presents its own pattern of rules that finds coherence in the poem. This means that the poet who writes in free verse is not automatically influenced by Western literature. We cannot say that a poet who wants to change or reject traditional poetry in his writings must have been affected by something else; wanting to change or to refuse something is natural to all human beings and is not necessarily brought by

foreigners. This does not mean that Swahili poetry has not been affected by foreign literatures, but we need to overcome this position to comprehend the complexity and richness of Swahili poetry and its way of appropriating foreign elements, in all its manifestations, written or oral, prosodic, or free, singable or dramatic, lyric song or drama in verse. (2020, 21)

To combine the arguments of Topan and Gaudioso, it seems that the emergence of new poetics in the post-colonial era in the Swahili language was a result partly stimulated by the interaction with European literary traditions and partly a natural development of the domestic literature itself. There appear to be similarities in the poetry of countries that have experienced decolonization in terms of introducing new poetic patterns by bringing traditional poetics into dialogue with European modern cultural themes.

The essence of the literary values and aesthetics discussed in the free verse debate demonstrates the different views on the formation of Tanzania's cultural identity. As mentioned by Blommaert (2013), the traditionalists believed that 'since the new Tanzanians all spoke Swahili, they should also adopt the original Swahili culture exemplified by the traditional verse forms', while in the eyes of the modernists, 'politically correct Swahili poetry should be reflecting the new social and cultural transformation. Swahili, for the modernists, was no longer associated with coastal culture; it had begun a second life when TANU adopted it as the language of anticolonial struggle' (81). The background of this debate on poetics showed the two directions of cultural identity building: Bantu and contemporary versus Arab-Islam and traditional. The reformists believed that free verse writing was an attempt at cultural decolonization against Arabic cultural imperialism and a return to the Bantu (vernacular)

tradition, while the conservatives believed that traditional poetics represented the Swahili literary identity and needed to be protected when faced with European cultural imperialism.

In his translations, Nyerere applied a poetic form between Arabic prosodic tradition and Bantu oral tradition. He did not fully neglect the conventions of metre and rhyme, while freeing himself to have flexibility and creativity when using them in his translations of Biblical texts and other literary texts. This strategy of inheriting long-established traditions alongside exploring the new forms indicates Nyerere's consideration of cultural identity building. It is certain that the formation of the Tanzanian people's cultural identity would not be possible without the participation of Swahili literary writing and literary translation, but Swahili literary identity certainly should move beyond the Swahili identity alone to incorporate the whole population of the country. Although modern Swahili literature in the vernacular first emerged during colonial rule, by introducing features of traditional literature into the translations of Shakespeare, Nyerere challenged both the colonial legacy of the pure vernacular as the literary language and the Arab-Islamic legacy of the poetic language as the literary language. Nyerere's creation of the literary synthesis in the translation of Shakespeare was part of the enterprise of creating a language that transcended the colonial legacy and the ethnic boundaries for the citizen of the new-born country. According to Anderson's theory (1991), the tendency to write poems for the masses rather than a few intellectuals (Both Muslims and the colonizers in the case of Swahili) reflects the trend of the

vernacularisation of language and literature, which is a crucial stage in the emerging of a nation-state.

In Chinese

What happened with traditional Swahili literature also happened with traditional Chinese literature, with writers abandoning the classic language of rhyme and metre and adopting the vernacular, breaking through the limitations of traditional themes to explore modern ones. Between 1895 and 1925, there was a dramatic upheaval in the Chinese literary field that included the rise of vernacular (*baihua* 白话) and the fall of classic Chinese (*wenyan* 文言) in written literature. This change is known as the Vernacular Movement (白话文运动), which involves searching for an ideal language by transforming the vernacular. This movement was spearheaded by leading Chinese intellectuals as part of their modernity and nation-building enterprise. In 1917, in his monumental article *Weixue gailiang chuyi* (文学改良刍议, *A Preliminary Discussion of Literary Reform*), the leader of the movement, Hu Shi (胡适, 1891-1962), who was one of the most influential writers and intellectuals, gave his suggestions on reforming the classic Chinese language and writing:

I believe that literary reform at the present time must begin with these eight items: (1) Write with substance. (2) Do not imitate the ancients. (3) Emphasize grammar. (4) Reject melancholy. (5) Eliminate old clichés. (6) Do not use allusions. (7) Do not use couplets and parallelisms. And (8) Do not avoid popular expressions or popular forms of characters. (Hu 2000, 357)

Following Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu (陈独秀, 1879-1942) also wrote an article ‘On the

Literature Revolution' to *New Youth* (新青年) advocating vernacular writing in Chinese literature. Hu and Chen's followers were like Xuantong (钱玄同, 1887-1939), Liu Bannong (刘半农, 1891-1934), Li Dazhao (李大钊, 1889-1927) Lu Xun (鲁迅, 1881-1936) and Zhou Zuoren (周作人, 1885-1967) wrote journal articles and literary works advocating vernacular writing, opposing traditional classic writing and its literature.²⁹ Between 1917 and 1918, Qian Xuantong wrote a series of letters to Chen Duxiu and Hu Shi, expressing a radical indictment of the classic Chinese language. In a letter dated the 14th of March 1918, Qian wrote:

You, sir, have exerted yourself in the cause of overthrowing Confucianism, of reforming Ethics. You believe that, if the problem of ethics is not dealt with in a fundamental way, this country of ours doesn't have much hope at all...I personally have this to add: If you want to get rid of Confucianism, you cannot but get rid of the Chinese language. If you want to get rid of the naïve, crude, rigid mentality of ordinary people, you cannot but first get rid of the Chinese language.³⁰

As shown in Qian Xuantong's words, the May Fourth intellectuals³¹ shared the common belief that to bring Western modernity into Chinese society, the classical Chinese language, which is the repository of Confucianism, needed to be annihilated. The vernacular was seen as an ideal language to introduce Western science and democracy into China as it was far more easily understood by ordinary people. In the domain of literary writing, the vernacular quickly prevailed. Lu Xun's *Kuangren riji*

²⁹ For more information about the Chinese Vernacular Movement, see Chow, Tse-Tsung. 1960. *The May Fourth Movement*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. p.271-279; Zhou, Gang. 2011. *Placing Modern Chinese Vernacular in Transnational Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.p.32-44.

³⁰ Qian Xuantong, "Zhongguo jinhou zhi wenzi wenti." In *Zhongguo xinwenxue daxi* (Compendium of Modern Chinese Literature), ed. Zhao Jiabi (Shanghai: liangyou tushu gongsi, 1935) vol. 1, 141, quoted from Zhou, Gang. 2011. *Placing Modern Chinese Vernacular in Transnational Literature*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. P. 35.

³¹ Progressive intellectuals who participated in the May Fourth Movement and had a sense of responsibility to liberate the country from feudalism and imperialism.

(狂人日记, *Diary of a Madman*), which was published in the journal of *Xin qingnian* (新青年, *New Youth*) in 1918, marked the birth of the vernacular in the modern Chinese novel. Following Lu Xun, many novels, dramas, and modern poems in the vernacular were created by Chinese writers.

The May Fourth Movement accelerated the spread of vernacular writing. On the 4th of May 1919, students in Beijing rallied in Tiananmen Square in protest of what was seen as the Chinese government's humiliating policy towards Japan. As one of the victorious nations of World War One, China intended to reclaim authority over Shandong Province, which was under the control of Germany before the war. However, as part of the compromise between the imperialist powers, the Treaty of Versailles ceded Shandong to Japan. The enraged students took to the streets demanding that the government fight for the sovereignty of the country and punish corrupt officials. Following this event in Beijing, a series of strikes took place in major cities such as Shanghai, Guangzhou, Nanjing, and Wuhan. Progressive intellectuals, city workers, citizens and petty dealers joined the students in protest. The movement decisively expanded the vernacular movement beyond the major university campuses in Beijing. To champion the May Fourth Movement, numerous vernacular magazines and newspapers were published and circulated. In 1920, the Ministry of Education ordered that classical Chinese be replaced by the vernacular in primary schools for all grades. Later, the adoption of the vernacular also spread to the middle and high schools. By 1921, the vernacular was on its way to being both officially and popularly recognised as the 'national language'

(Zhou 2011, 44).

Although the vernacular prevailed, like there were conservatives among the Swahili writers, there were also conservatives among the Chinese writers in the era of vernacularisation. In 1919, Lin Shu (林纾), a leading translator, wrote a letter to Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培), the chancellor of Beijing University at the time, urging him not to encourage his professors to denounce the classic writings and promote vernacular writings (*Gongyan Bao*, March 18, 1919). In 1922, a group of US-educated professors in Nanjing, mainly including Mei Guangdi (梅光迪), Wu Mi (吴宓) and Hu Xiansu (胡先骕), founded a journal named *Xueheng* (学衡, *Critical Review*). Using this journal as a platform, those professors published an article criticising the New Cultural Movement and vernacular writing. As Zhou Gang suggests:

...the Critical Review group voiced an alternative way of thinking about China versus the West, and tradition versus modernity. Instead of the idols of the New Culturalists such as Rousseau, Ibsen, Tolstoy, and Bernard Shaw, they honored ancient Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions, which they considered as the true essence of the West. Challenging the evolutionist paradigm endorsed by the New Culturalists, they promoted a transnational humanistic model that blended the essential Greek tradition of the West with the essential Confucian background of the East. Based on this paradigm, they designated classical Chinese as the ‘one language of truth’ that should be preserved. In this sense, the battle between the Critical Review group and the New Culturalists was one of competing narratives to define what should be the ‘one language of truth’ for modern China. (2011, 112)

The Critical Review group believed that classical Chinese had developed for thousands of years and was a very comprehensive language. They advocated for the writing of traditional poetry and deemed it as representative of the essence of traditional culture.

As for vernacular writing and its poetry, they saw it as a threat that would damage the aesthetics of the Chinese language. In 1925, when the vernacular had firmly been established as the national language, Zhang Shizhao (章士钊), then Minister of Education and one of Lu Xun's most famous literary opponents, founded the *Jiayin zhoubao* (甲寅周报, *Tiger Weekly*), which only published in classic Chinese. *Xueheng* and *Jiayin zhoubao* were two major journals in which traditionalists advocated for classic Chinese writing.

From the above arguments, it can be seen that both in Swahili and Chinese language and literature, there was a vernacular movement. Once highly valued, and to a certain extent, an emblem of their cultural identities, classical literature faced a serious challenge. To contribute to the nation-building enterprise, intellectuals in the new era desperately wanted to create a new language and its new literature that would form a new cultural identity. Literary translation was a field that was influenced by such a vernacular movement. A translator can decide on the style of the translation in the target language, choosing either the classic or vernacular style. In the following section, starting with the phonological features of the languages, this thesis explores the poetic and cultural details of the Swahili and Chinese translations of Nyerere and Zhu.

4.6 Poetic Forms of the Translations

4.6.1 Phonological Features of the Languages and Poetic Forms

In English and Swahili

Shakespeare used prose and verse in his plays. The application of both prose and verse served dramatic purposes, such as ‘to fashion psychologically interesting characters, chart relationships, support plot developments, and even explore attitudes and ideas’ (Ballard 2016). In Shakespeare’s time, a mix of these two compositional forms in literature was unusual, but it is very common in Shakespeare’s plays. Before Shakespeare’s time, English dramatists were accustomed to writing in rhyming verse. Verse was regarded as the chief literary form, while prose was used in storytelling and travellers’ tales. It was at the end of the 16th century when prose and verse were combined in the dramas (ibid.). Interestingly, in traditional Swahili and Chinese literature, verse is also regarded as the chief literary form. This makes a comparison between the three languages revealing and meaningful.

The verse form that Shakespeare adopted in most of his plays is iambic pentameter, which combines unstressed and stressed syllables. One unstressed syllable and one stressed syllable form an iambic foot, with five iambic feet forming an iambic pentameter. The speeches of aristocrats are often given in iambic pentameter blank verse. For example, the speech of Antonio, the protagonist, who is a young Venetian aristocrat in the beginning of *The Merchant of Venice*, is as follows:

Antonio:

In sooth I know not why I am so sad.

x / x / x / x / x /

It wearies me, you say it wearies you;
But how I caught it, found it, or came by it,
What stuff 'tis made of, whereof it is born,
I am to learn;
And such a want-wit sadness of me
That I have much ado to know myself.

(I, 1, 1-8)

The symbols (x for stressed syllables; / for unstressed syllables) under the first line mark the beats of the line. The following lines, except for the fourth line, can be marked by the same pattern. In contrast to the aristocrats, the characters of low status, such as the comic roles in the comedies and the plebeians in the tragedies, often deliver their speeches in prose form. For example, when Launcelot Gobbo, the comic fool in *The Merchant of Venice*, deserts Shylock to become Bassanio's servant, the prose form is used in his speech:

Launcelot: Well, well; but for mine own part, as I
have set up my rest to run away, so I will not rest till
I have run some ground. My master's a very Jew.
Give him a present? Give him a halter! I am
famished in his service; you may tell every finger I have
with my ribs. Father, I am glad you are come.
Give me your present to one Master Bassanio, who
indeed gives rare new liveries. If I serve not him,
I will run as far as God has any ground. O rare fortune,
here comes the man! To him, father, for I am
a Jew if I serve the Jew any longer. (II, 2, 98-108)

It is easy to distinguish the prose from the verse in Shakespeare's plays. The verse is

neatly aligned on the left and begins with capital letters, forming a slightly ragged right-hand edge, while the prose runs continuously from margin to margin, as shown in the example of Launcelot's speech.

It is interesting to look at the translations of the verse and prose of Shakespeare's plays in other languages. According to the descriptive approach to translation studies, cultural and social factors constrain and influence the process of translation. The conventions of the language and literature in the target language affect the choices of the translator. Examples of this can be seen in the speeches of Antonio and Launcelot in Swahili, translated by Nyerere:

Antonio: Kusema kweli sijui kisa cha huzuni yangu,
Inanitabisha sana; wasema yakutabisha;
Bali nilivyoipata au kuiambukizwa,
Au imejengekaje, imezawa jinsi gani,
Ningali sijafahamu.
Na huzuni yanifanya kuwa kama punguani,
Kunifanya nisiweze kujifahamu mwenyewe. (I, 1, 1-7)

In the *utangulizi* (introduction) of the first version³² of *Julius Caesar*, Nyerere explains that he has applied the poetic type referred to as *mashairi guni* (Nyerere 1963, 4). *Mashairi guni*, as a type of Swahili poetry, has two features. First, it is a verse, and it is the number of syllables that make it a verse. In the above example of Antonio's speech, each line except for the fifth line has 16 syllables. In Nyerere's translation of the Shakespeare plays, most of the lines have 16 syllables, while in rare cases, they could

³² The second and revised was published in 1969 as *Juiasi Kaizari* by Oxford University Press.

have 14, 15 or another number of syllables. The 16 syllables are used in the *mashairi* type of poetry in Swahili. Different from *mashairi*, which has a rigid rhythm in the middle and end of the lines, *mashairi guni* has no rhythm, which is its second feature. In Shakespeare's original text, the length of the speeches of the characters is not very long. The unrhymed iambic pentameter in English utilises 10 English syllables, which is convenient to translate into around 16 Swahili syllables. The first line of Antonio's speech in the play can be taken as an example:

In sooth I know not why I am so sad. (10 syllables)

Ku- se -ma- kwe- li- si-ju-i ki-sa- cha- hu-zu-ni yan-gu. (16 syllables)

Each language has its own phonological features. The pattern of the units of stressed and unstressed syllables is different between languages. Germanic languages, for example, place the stresses of the words on the first syllable. These languages have a tendency to be trochaic. Meanwhile, English is believed to be a natural iambic language. For example, there are many iambic words in English (alone, submit, greet, adjust); the combining of 'a'/'the' and propositions with monosyllabic words is iambic; the combining of pronouns with monosyllabic words (I know, I cry, I do, I see) is iambic (Wright 1988, 1-2). Shakespeare wrote his plays to be performed on the stage. The actors recite the lines and perform the dialogue with each other. Therefore, the language of the dialogue must be close to the language used in daily life in Shakespeare's time. The pentameter of the English verse is regarded as the most speechlike English line length, especially when it appears without rhyme. The other line lengths tend to be

divided into two parts in the sentences, whether they have a 6-foot, 7-foot or 9-foot line length. In a 5-foot pentameter, it is impossible for the poet, speaker, or actor to divide it into two parts while maintaining the metrical balance because it would always be two stressed syllables on one side and three unstressed syllables on the other. As Wright puts it:

Pentameter, then, is the most speechlike of English line-lengths, especially when it appears without rhyme. Long enough to accommodate a good mouthful of English words, long enough too to require most of its lines to break their phrasing somewhere, it also resists the tendency to divide in half. In fact, it cannot do so. (ibid., 5)

Four-foot iambic lines lack the amplitude of five-foot lines, which partly limits their ability to seem convincingly speechlike (Wright 1988, 5). Thus, the unrhymed iambic pentameter, or blank verse, was the most suitable type of verse used by Shakespeare in the dialogue of the aristocrats in his plays.

There are many difficulties faced by the translators of Shakespeare, as Delabastita has indicated:

The range of technical problems that the translator of Shakespeare may be faced with is quite formidable, including as they do the many textual cruxes, the obscure cultural allusions, Shakespeare's archaisms and daring neologisms, his contrastive use of words of Anglo-Saxon and Romance origin, his use of homely images, of mixed metaphors and of iterative imagery, the repetitions of thematic key words, the personifications (which in some languages may lead to contradictions between natural sex and grammatical gender), Shakespeare's puns, ambiguities and malapropisms, his play with y- and th-forms of address, his elliptical grammar and general compactness of expression, his flexible iambic patterns (not easily

reproducible in certain other prosodic systems), the musicality of his verse, the presence of performance-oriented theatrical signs inscribed in the text, and so forth. (1999, 18)

Before analysing Nyerere's translation, this thesis should look at the phonological features of the Swahili language. There are two features worth mentioning. First, Swahili words are all stressed on the second to last syllables. Second, all Swahili words end with one of the five vowels: *a, e, i, o, u*. These two phonological features make Swahili a natural language of rhyme and metre. This can be seen in the first line of Antonio's opening speech in Act 1 Scene 1:

Antonio: Kusema kweli sijui kisa cha huzuni yangu

The stressed syllables are *se, kwe, ju, ki, cha, zu, yan*. *Cha* is a one-syllable word, so the single syllable is stressed. The ending vowels of the words in the line are *a, i, i, a, a, i, u*.

Through translation, the iambic pentameter of Shakespeare becomes a 16-syllable *mashairi* type of blank verse. The English beats of the original text and the Swahili beats of the translated text are different because of the differences in their phonological structures. In his translation, Nyerere not only introduces a type of blank verse. In certain cases, his translation is creative in the sense of creating rhymes and metres where there are none in the original texts. For example:

Shylock: This kindness will I show:
 Go with me to a notary; seal me there
 Your single bond, and — in a merry sport —
 If you repay me not on such a day,
 In such a place, such sum or sums as are
 Expressed in the condition, let the forfeit
 Be nominated for an equal pound
 Of your fair flesh, to be cut off and taken
 In what part of your body pleaseth me. (I, 3, 141-150)

Shailoki: Nitaonya wema huu: tufuatane kwa mwandishi
 Tuwekeane **shahada**; na kwa jinsi ya furaha,
 Ukishindwa kunilipa kwa siku **kadha** wa **kadha**,
 Pahala **kadha** wa **kadha**, kiasi **kadha** wa **kadha**,
 Kilotajwa na **shahada**, malipo **yake** na **yawe**,
 Ratili iliyo sawa ya mwili wako mzuri
 Ikatwe po pote pale mimi nitapochagua (I, 3, 471-478)

In this translation, three pairs of arrangements of rhyme structures can easily be observed. The first is the *kadha* pair:

English:	Swahili:
Such a day	siku kadha wa kadha
Such a place	pahala kadha wa kadha
Such sum or sums	kiasi kadha wa kadha

In reading the lines, the six *kadha* in Swahili combine special rhymes. In *Standard Swahili*, *kadha* means ‘several’ or ‘various’. A literal translation of the original text would be ‘siku flani’, ‘pahala fulani’ and ‘kiasi fulani’. If such a translation was used, the syllables would not number 16 in the lines and the special rhymes would be lost.

The second pair is:

English:	Swahili:
<i>Seal me there your single bond</i>	<i>Kwekeane shahada</i>
<i>Expressed in the condition</i>	<i>kilotajwa na shahada</i>

The ‘bond’ and ‘condition’ are both translated as *shahada*, while in *Standard Swahili*, ‘condition’ has a more accurate equivalence, which is ‘kanuni’. By putting two examples of *shahada* in lines 1 and 5 of the speech, a certain kind of rhyme is formed.

The third pair is:

English:	Swahili:
<i>Let the forfeit be</i>	<i>malipo yake na yawe</i>

In the translation, there is the word *yake*. *Yake* is a nominal possessive pronoun in Swahili meaning ‘your’, but there is no such word in Shakespeare’s original English sentence. The literal meaning of the Swahili sentence is ‘your compensation shall be’. Nevertheless, in the sense of organising a good rhyme of Swahili verse, it is a proper choice of word. The only difference between the two words *yake and yawe* is the middle letters *k* and *w*. The same ‘*ya-*’ in the front is the stressed syllable of the two words, while the same *e* at the end makes a rhyme. The other arrangement is the middle word *na*, which means ‘and’ in Swahili. From the perspective of grammar, the conjunction *na* is not needed in this Swahili sentence. ‘*Malipo yake yawe*’ is the correct structure. However, the previous lines have included *ya, wa, wa and wa* in the same position in each line. Putting *ya* between *yake* and *yawe* is also related to the poetic forms of the lines. The structure is as follows:

Jinsi ya furaha
Kadha wa kadha
Kadha wa kadha
Yake na yawe

To make the sentences fit in the form of a blank verse, in certain cases, Nyerere needed to sacrifice the accuracy of his translation. To localise Shakespeare's source text into a Swahili text that, to some extent, is close to the aesthetic standards of traditional Swahili literature, Nyerere applied the metre and rhyme standards of traditional Swahili literature.

Before Nyerere's version, there was a missionary's translation of Lamb's adaptation. Nyerere's language can be compared with the language of the missionary's version, *Mfanyi Bishara*. The example is Shylock's accusation to Antonio regarding his discrimination against him:

Shylock: Signor Antonio, many a time in and oft
In the Rialto you have rated me
About my moneys and my usances
Still have I borne it with a patient shrug,
For suff'rance is the badge of all our tribe.
You call me misbeliever, cut-throat, dog,
And spit on my Jewish gaberdine,
And all for use of that which is mine own.
Well then, it now appears you need my help.
Go to, then. You come to me and you say,
'Shylock, we would have moneys': you say so –
You, that did viod your rehum upon my beard
And foot me as you spurn a stanger cur
Over your threshold, moneys is your suit.

What should I say to you? Should I not say
'Hath a dog money? Is it possible
A cur can lend three thousand ducats?' (I, 3, 103-119)

The following is Lamb's adaptation:

Signor Antonio, on the Rialto many a time in and often you have rated me about my monies and my usuries, and I have borne it with a patient shrug, for sufferance is the badge of all our tribe; and then you called me unbeliever, cut-throat dog, and spat on my Jewish garment, and spurned at me with your foot, as is I was a cur. Well then, it now appears you need my help; and then you come to me and you say, 'Shylock, we would have monies' Hath a dog money? Is it possible a cur should lend three thousand ducats?' (Lamb 2007, 83)

The following is *Mfanyi Biashara*:

Myahudi alijibu hivi: 'Bwana Antonio, wewe kule Rialto mara nyingi umenisuta kwa sababu ya namna ninavyokopesha fedha, nami nimestahimili maneno yako kwa subira. Tena, umeniita mimi kafiri, hata pengini umenipiga mateke kwa mguu wako kama kwamba mimi ni mbwa. Vema, imetukia sasa ya kwamba unahitaji msaada wangu. Umekuja kwangu na kusema, "Shylock nikopeshe fedha." Je Mbwa ana fedha? Yawezekana mbwa akopeshe wewe shilingi elfu ishirini na saba?' (The Sheldon Press 1939, 9)

The following is *Mabepari wa Venisi* (Nyerere's translation):

Shailoki: Bwana Antonio, mara kwa mara na mara nyingi.
Kuli kwenye Rialito kanikemeakemea
Sababu ya fedha zangu na faida nipatayo:
Bali nimevumilia and kupuza kwa subira,
Kwani uvumilivi ni ada ya kabila letu:
Unaniita kafiri, jibwa bazazi, katili,
Na waitemea mata kazu yangu ya Yahudi,
Na kwa matumizi yote ya kile kilicho changu:
Na sasa yaelekea wanitaka muawana:
Ebo, potelea mbali! Mwaja kwangu na kusema,
Shaliko, twahitaji fedha zako: hivyo hivyo;
Nyie mlonitemea mate kwenye ndevu zangu

Na kunipiga mateke mpigavyo jibwa geni
Livukapo Kizingiti: mnachotaka ni fedha.
Niwaambie nini? Nisingelisema kwenu,
'Mbwa naye ana pesa? Kweli inawezekana
Mbwa naye akopeshe dukati elfu tatu?' (I, 3, 430-447)

The translation in *Mfanyi Biashara* is in the form of *Standard Swahili* prose. The narrative style is simple and clear, as is the grammar of the sentences. *Mfanyi Biashara* is a textbook for students to learn the standardised language. This translation of Lamb's adaptation is divided into sections and features questions (*Maswali*) at the end of each section. For example, at the end of the first section, the *Maswali* are:

1. 'Kadiri iliyo kubwa ya faida,' maana yake nini?
 2. Antonio alikuwa mkopeshaji fedha wa namna gani?
 3. *Rialto* palikuwa mahali pa namna gani katika Venice?
 4. Kwa nini Antonio alipendwa sana na wenziwe? (The Sheldon Press 1939, 6)
-
1. What is the meaning of 'payment with great interest'?
 2. What kind of money-lender is Antonio?
 3. What kind of place is the *Rialto* in Venice?
 4. Why is Antonio much loved by his fellow citizens? (Author's translation)

This is a very typical design for a textbook. On the front page of the book is printed the sentence, 'The Swahili in which this book is written has been approved by the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee for the East African Dependencies'. This also confirms that this book was a product of the standardisation programme. In his translation of the full version, with an ambition to use the Swahili language and literature to challenge the principles of the English language and literary traditions, Nyerere applied the techniques of traditional Swahili poetry. In Tanzania, Shakespeare

was in the schoolbooks in both English and Swahili. The translation of Lamb's adaptation of Shakespeare was in the programme of language standardisation that was initiated by the colonial officials. (See e.g., The Sheldon Press, 1939) The standardisation of the language was a colonial agenda, with Shakespeare's work an important part of this. Compared with the previous version, which was a text in the standardisation programme, Nyerere's translation is more Swahilised, with more features of traditional Swahili poetic forms.

Metre and rhyme are the two central features of traditional Swahili poetry and, indeed, of traditional Swahili literature. As discussed above, whether to retain these two features is the core debate between traditionalist and reformist poets. Retaining them means taking a position of cultural regionalism, while abandoning them means choosing vernacularisation as a way of building a cultural identity for the nation. In Nyerere's practice, the source text of his translation is a classic English work, while the aesthetic standard is closer to the local traditions. This is also evident in his translations of biblical texts, in which he combined the English tradition with the local Swahili tradition. The starting point for the vernacularisation of Swahili language and literature was the standardisation of the language by the missionaries. In this sense, Nyerere's translation countered the colonial intervention in Swahili language and literature.

In Chinese

This chapter first looks at an example from Lin Shu and Wei Yi's³³ translation of Lamb's adaptation in *Yingguo shiren yinbian yanyu* (英国诗人吟边燕语 *An English Poet Reciting from Afar*) and Zhu Shenghao's translation of Shakespeare's original text:

Shylock: This kindness will I show:
Go with me to a notary; seal me there
Your single bond, and — in a merry sport —
If you repay me not on such a day,
In such a place, such sum or sums as are
Expressed in the condition, let the forfeit
Be nominated for an equal pound
Of your fair flesh, to be cut off and taken
In what part of your body pleaseth me. (I, 3, 141-150)

The following is Lamb's adaptation:

Shylock still pretending kindness, and that all he did was to gain Antonio's love, again said he would lend him three thousand *docats*, and take no interest for his money; only Antonio should go with him to a lawyer, and there sign in merry sport a bond, that if he did not repay the money by a certain day, he would forfeit a pound of flesh, to be cut off from any part of his body that Shylock pleased. (Lamb 2007, 34)

The following is the adaptation of Lin Shu and Wei Yi (translation of Lamb):

歇洛克笑曰：吾必假金，然必同赴律师约定，果如期而金不还者为约爽，请剜先生肉一磅为偿。此戏约也，先生其哂笑而从我耶。(Lin and Wei 1981, 4)

The following is Zhu Shenghao's translation of the same lines:

⁷ Lin and Wei's translation was published in 1904 by the Commercial Press (商务印书馆) and was among the earliest and most influential of the Shakespearean Translations in Chinese.

夏洛克：我要叫你们看看我到底是不是一片好心。跟我去找一个公正人，就在哪儿签好了约；我们不妨开个玩笑，在约里载明要是不能按照约中所规定的条件，在什么日子、什么地点、还给我一笔什么数目的钱，就得随我的意思，在您身上的任何部分割下整整一磅白肉，作为处罚。(Zhu 1994, 20)

The translation of Lin Shu and Wei Yi of Lamb's source text is in classic Chinese, while Zhu's translation of Shakespeare is in the vernacular. The language style of Lin and Wei's translation is traditional storytelling, while that of Zhu is modern drama. All their texts are in the prose form, while Zhu's translation is the spoken language. During the translation, Zhu also considered the staging effects of the language:

每译一段竟，必先自拟为读者，察阅译文中有无暧昧不明之处。又必自拟为舞台上之演员，审辨语调之是否顺口，音节之是否调和，一字一句之未惬，往往苦思累日 (Zhu 1989, 264)

After finishing translating one paragraph, I always consider myself as a reader and read it to see if there are any unclear points. I also imagine myself as an actor on the stage, judging the smoothness of the language and the harmony of the pronunciations of the words. If there is one word or one sentence that I am not satisfied with, I will think about it for days. (Author's translation)

It can be seen that Lin and Wei's translation is in classic Chinese, which has the principle of using fewer words to express more meanings, while Zhu's translation is in vernacular Chinese. Shakespeare's source text is in blank verse, while the translations of Lin and Wei, as well as Zhu, are both in prose. Recently, a new version of *The Merchant of Venice* was translated by a professor of English, Gu Zhengkun (辜正坤), who has tried to translate Shakespeare's blank verse in the play into the verse form of

Chinese. Gu's translation of the same original text of Shylock's proposal of the bond is:

夏洛克:

是不是好心我来给您铁证
走，我们去找一个公证人
当场就签下您的单人借据
我们开个玩笑，假如您不能
在某时某地，按照借据规定
归还给我一比某某数目的钱
那就得随我的意思在您全身
任何部分割下整整一磅肉来
作为您违约的罚金。(Gu 2016, 26)

Shylock:

Let me give you the proof of my kindness
Come, let us find a notary
Seal your single bond there
Let's make a joke, if you can not
On a certain day and certain place, according to the condition
Repay me this sum of money,
Then you must let me do my will, on your body
Cut off a whole pound of flesh
As your forfeit
(author's translation)

In his translation, Gu added rhyme to the words ending the lines. The four words ‘证’ (Zhèng), ‘人’ (Rén), ‘能’ (Néng) and ‘身’ (Shēng) make up a rhyme from ‘eng’ and ‘en’.

In Gu's version, all the blank verses in English are translated into this type of rhyming verse. From Lin and Wei's classic Chinese (*wenyan* 文言) in 1904 to Zhu's vernacular (*baihua* 白话) in the 1940s to Gu's Chinese verse (*yunwen* 韵文) in 2016, the language style applied by the translators indicates how the vernacular movement influenced Chinese literature (certainly including literary translation) from the early 20th century to the 21st century. In Lin and Wei's time, the vernacular movement had not yet

occurred, so the literary translation into Chinese needed to comply with classic traditions. In Zhu's time, the vernacular prevailed in the Chinese language and literature, so his translation is in the vernacular, which has an origin of blank verse. By Gu's time, classic Chinese has become an old tradition and a national cultural treasure that needs to be preserved, so he has tried to create traditional rhyming forms in his translation, with the origin being blank verse.

4.6.2 Rhymed Verse and its Translations in Swahili and Chinese

In Swahili

Rhyming iambic pentameters appear in the play in several places. One that gives the audience one of the first dramatic impressions is the scrolls in the caskets. The Prince of Morocco fails in winning Portia's hand when he sees that within the lead casket is a skull, rather than Portia's portrait. The words on the scroll in the eye of the skull give the explanation for his failure:

1. All that glitters is not gold
2. Often have you heard that told
3. Many a man his life hath sold
4. But my outside to behold
5. Gilded tombs do worms infold
6. Had you been as wise as Bold
7. Young in limbs, in judgment old
8. Your answer had not been inscrolled
9. Fare you well, your suit is cold. (II, 7, 65-73)

Swahili:

1. Kila kitu king'acho usidhani ni dhahabu
2. Umekisikia hicho ni kiambo cha mababu
3. Kuniona kwa nje tu, wengi wameuza utu
4. Makaburi ya dhahabu yana mafunza ya ajabu
5. Ungekuwa na werevu ulivyo na ushupavu
6. Kijina kiwiliwili na mzee kwa akili
7. Usingelistahili kulipewa jibu hili:
8. Basi buriani dawa; posa umefarikiwa (II, 7, 531-538)

The rhyme of the English verse is '-old', with each line following this rhyme. In the Swahili translation, Nyerere used '-u' in lines 1 to 4 and '-i' in lines 5 and 6 to create a rhythm. Except for the fifth line, all the lines have 16 syllables, which makes it a *mashairi* type of verse. It is certainly not a word-for-word translation. Nyerere needed to make certain adjustments to translate an English verse into Swahili. While translating 'All that glitters is not gold', the translator transformed it into an imperative sentence in Swahili, 'Kila kitu king'acho usidhani ni dhahabu', meaning 'All that glitters, don't you think it is gold' in English. Hadjivayanis (2010) explains that Nyerere applied the strategy of explication³⁴ in this sentence so that he could 'talk to his audience directly, to warn them' (256). There is an equivalence of this saying in Swahili, *viny'aavyo vyote si dhahabu*, but Nyerere did not use this even though it has become part of Swahili society and has appeared in songs (ibid., 257).

The primary factor that determines the structure of a Swahili verse in translation seems to be that it must be 16 or so syllables. A word-for-word translation would be '*Vyote viny'aavyo si dhahabu*', which has 10 syllables, violating the *mashairi* rhythm. The

³⁴ Explication is a technique of making explicit what is implicit.

rhyme of the first line, ‘u’, is from the Swahili word ‘dhahabu’. The rhyme of the second line was determined when the first line was translated. The word ‘mababu’ has an ‘u’ as the final vowel.

The literal meaning of the second line of Swahili translation is ‘what you have heard is the wisdom of the old men’, while the original sentence is ‘often have you heard that told’. The meaning of the third line is ‘to see only my appearance, many have sold their humanity’, while its English original source is ‘many a man his life hath sold. But my outside to behold’. The meaning of the fourth line is ‘tombs of gold have strange worms’, while the original is ‘Gilded tombs do worms infold’. The meaning of the fifth line is ‘if you have cleverness and confidence’, while the original is ‘Had you been as wise as bold’. The literal meaning of the sixth line is ‘youth the body and old the wit’, while the original is ‘young in limbs, in judgement old’. The meaning of the seventh line is ‘you were not deserved to be given this answer’, while the original is ‘your answer had not been inscrolled’. The meaning of the eighth line is ‘Then farewell, the proposal is failed’, while the original is ‘fare you well, your suit is cold’. The original English words and phrases, as well as the words that Nyerere adapted in Swahili, can be given in pairs as follows:

English	Nyerere’s translation (meaning in English) Swahili	
1. told	wisdom of the old men	kiambo cha mababu
2. life	humanity	utu
3. old	old men	mababu
4. worms	strange worms	mafunza ajabu

5. cold you have been secluded umefarikiwa

To adapt the original English verse to the Swahili poetic form, Nyerere needed to sacrifice faithfulness to the original, to some extent. Nevertheless, sacrificing faithfulness to the original words and phrases does not mean losing the literariness of the original text. On the contrary, it demonstrates the creativity of the Swahili language.

In Shakespeare's original first line, it is unknown who is the one who has 'told', while in Swahili, applying the strategy of explication, Nyerere added 'wisdom of the old men' (kiambo cha mababu). 'Kiambo' means 'household' and is a metaphor referring to wisdom. 'Mababu' means old men (singular: babu). In Swahili culture, elderly people are regarded as intelligent. There are famous proverbs like 'asiyesikia la mkuu huvungika guu' (he who does not listen to the elder's advice breaks his leg), 'asiyesikia la mkuu huona makuu' (one who does not listen to the elder's advice will see bad things) and 'penye wazee haliharibiki neno' (among a group of elders, nothing goes wrong). All the proverbs mentioned above are an indication of the respect for elders' wisdom in traditional Swahili culture.

Like in blank verse, in rhymed iambic pentameter, by adding metre and rhyme subtly in the sentences, Nyerere made sure his translation, which is in the vernacular, is aligned with classical Swahili literature. In other cases, traditional cultural themes are also applied. In such ways, the texts once only used in textbooks during colonial periods have become works with deep links to Swahili literature and culture. This was Nyerere's

attempt to revive Swahili literary tradition by translating Shakespeare.

In Chinese

Zhu's strategy in the translation of this verse was very different from that of Nyerere. The phonetical distance between English and Swahili is very different from the distance between English and Chinese. The English poetic form and Swahili poetic form have a certain kind of closeness as the two languages are both in alphabetic writing constructed by a limited number of letters. The number of syllables and the pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables define the iambic pentameter in English and the unrhymed *mashairi* blank verse in Swahili. For Nyerere, it was a reasonable and applicable choice to use Swahili verse to express English verse. The Chinese language, different from Swahili and English, is constructed by ideograms.

Zhu's translation is as follows:

1. 发闪光的不全是黄金
2. 古人说的话没有骗人
3. 多少世人出卖了一生
4. 不过看到了我的外形
5. 蛆虫占据着镀金的坟
6. 你要是大胆又聪明
7. 手脚健壮，见识却老成
8. 就不会得到这样的回音
9. 再见，劝你冷却这片心。(Zhu 1994a, 40-41)

1. All that glitters is not gold
2. The words of the ancient people were not lying,
3. So many people have sold their lives

4. To see only my appearance
 5. Worms occupy gold-plated tombs
 6. If you are bold and clever
 7. Strong in limbs, old in judgement
 8. You shall not hear such a response
 9. Farewell, you better give up.
- (author's translation)

In traditional Chinese poetic form, factors such as the number of characters in each line, the tones of the characters, the rhyme at the end of each line and the matching of the meaning of the words-pairs or phrases-pairs between lines all need to be considered. In his translation of this English verse, Zhu tried as much as he could to create the rhymes in the last characters of each line. ‘经’, ‘行’, ‘明’, ‘音’ and ‘心’ are pronounced as ‘jīng’, ‘xīng’, ‘mīng’, ‘yīn’ and ‘xīn’, which all share the ending syllables ‘-īng’ and ‘-īn’. They can be recognised as one rhyme. ‘人’, ‘生’, ‘坟’ and ‘城’ are pronounced as ‘rén’, ‘shēng’, ‘fén’ and ‘chéng’, which all share the ending syllables ‘-en’ and ‘-eng’, which can also be recognised as one rhyme. The arrangement of the number of characters and the rhymes at the end of each line make Zhu’s translation a verse, although not of any strict traditional type.

From the perspective of content, there were only a few changes made in Zhu’s translation. In the second line, ‘古人的话没有骗人’ means ‘The words of the ancient people were not lying’. Zhu also used the strategy of explication, with the connotative meaning of ‘often told’ being explicated. In traditional Chinese culture, the ancient people are often regarded as wise. For thousands of years, the Chinese intelligentsia included only a few books on their central reading list. Intellectuals had the chance to

be chosen as central and regional officials through the *Keju* (科举, Imperial Examination). This was the main way for common people to enter the ruling class. The scope of the examination was within *Sishu wujing* (四书五经, *The Four Books and the Five Classics*). Generation after generation, these nine books were read, discussed, annotated and recited by ancient Chinese intellectuals to prepare for the examination. The writers of those books and the writers of a limited number of other classics were considered as having the highest wisdom. This fact deeply influenced how the Chinese people thought about the source of wisdom.

In Nyerere's translation, the rhythm and measure result in the audience recalling the traditional *mashairi* verse. Zhu applied other strategies. One such strategy was that he used idioms and allusions in the dialogue to align the text with the traditional style. One prominent example is from Bassanio's speech when he is undertaking the test set by Portia's father. He must judge which one of three caskets contains Portia's portrait.

Shakespeare

Bassanio:

...

In Law, what plea so tainted and corrupt,
But being seasoned with a gracious voice,
Obscure the show of evil? In religion,
What damned error but some sober brow
Will bless it and approve with a text,
Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?
There is no vice so simple but assumes
Some marks of virtue on his outward parts. (III, 2, 75-82)

...

Nyerere

Basanio:

...

Sheriani, Ombi gani lingazidi kwa ubaya,
Likipata mtetezi mwenye sauti nyororo,
Halitaficha ubaya? Hata katika dini,
Kuna dhambi gani mbaya isipate muadhamu
Atakayeibariki na kuikosha kwa aya,
Hivyo afiche maovu kwa mapambo malidadi?
Hakuna ovu lolote zebezebe kwa kiasi
Liwe halina cho chote kizuri kwa nje yake. (III, 2, 212-219)

.....

Zhu Shenghao

巴萨尼奥:

...

在法律上，哪一件卑鄙邪恶的陈述不可以用娓娓动听的言辞掩饰它的罪状？
在宗教上，哪一桩罪大恶极的过失不可以引经据典，文过饰非，证明它的确上合天心？任何昭明彰著的罪恶，都可以在外表上装出一副道貌岸然的样子。(Zhu 1994a, 54-55)

In Nyerere's translation, the number of syllables in each line is subtly controlled. 'So tainted and corrupted' is translated as 'lingazidi kwa ubaya' (is with too much badness). 'Seasoned with a gracious voice' is translated as '-pata mtetezi mwenye sauti nyororo' (get the defender with a tender voice). The following line is also not a word-for-word translation. To make the lines around 16 syllables, certain adaptations needed to be made, which meant that in certain cases, the rendering of the meanings of the original text in the translation needed to be compromised. Different from Nyerere's strategy, in Zhu's translation, idioms were applied. The iambic pentameter pattern in the English text was not considered. The idioms and allusions in the Chinese translation are as follows:

Zhu**Shakespeare**

娓娓动听	gracious voice
罪大恶极	evil
引经据典	approve with a text
文过饰非	hiding the grossness with fair ornament
昭明彰著	so simple
道貌岸然	virtue on his outward part

The idioms and allusions in the Chinese text come from classic works, which can be literature classics (such as *Sida mingzhu* 四大名著 *The Four Great Classical Novels*), philosophical classics (like the works of Confucius) and historical classics (for instance, *Ershisishi* 二十四史 *The Twenty-Four Histories*). The idioms and allusions in the Chinese translation are not easy to translate. The connotative meanings usually exceed the meanings of the original English text. For example, ‘罪大恶极’ means ‘big crime and deep evil’, while the source text is simply ‘evil’; ‘引经据典’ means ‘quote the scriptures and cite the classics’, while the source text is ‘approve with a text’. With the support of the idioms and allusions, Chinese readers can easily understand the sense of archaism when reading Zhu’s translation.

Another of Zhu’s strategies was to translate the spoken English sentences into written Chinese sentences. An example of this is the letter that Portia gives to the duke to prove her identity as a Doctor of Law in court:

Shakespeare

Clerk [reads] “Your Grace shall understand that at the receipt of your letter I am very sick; but in the instant that your messenger came, in loving visitation was with me a young doctor of Rome. His name is Balthasar. I acquainted him with the cause in controversy between the Jew and Antonio the merchant. We turned o’er many books together. He is furnished with my opinion which, bettered with his own learning, the greatness whereof I cannot enough commend, comes with him at my importunity to fill up your Grace’s request in my stead. I beseech you let his lack of years be no impediment to let him lack a reverend estimation, for I never knew so young a body with so old a head. I leave him to your gracious acceptance, whose trial shall better publish his commendation. (IV, 1, 149-163)

Nyerere

Karani: (anasoma) Muadhamu ufahamu, kwamba nilipopokea barua yako nilikuwa mgonjwa sana: lakini wakati ule ule nilipoipata barua yako ikawa ninaye mgeni mpenzi, kijana mtaalam kutoka Roma; jina lake Baltazari. Nilimweleza kisa cha mashtaka baina ya Yahudi na mfanya biashara Antonio: tulifanuafanua vitabu vingi pamoja: na nimemweleza maoni yangu; ambayo, kwa kusaidiwa na utaalum wake mwenyewe, ambao ni mkubwa kiasi nisichoweza kusifa vya kutosha, nimemwomba aje nayo, ili atimize maombi yako, mwadhamu, badala yangu. Nakusihi sana, ujana wake usifanye apunguziwe heshima; kwani sijapata kuona mwili kijana wenye kichwa kilichopevuka kama cha kijana huyu. Namkabidhi mikononi mwa utukufu wako, ambamo mashtaka hayo yataeneza sifa zake. (IV, 1, 156-170)

Zhu Shenghao

书记（读）：“尊翰到时，鄙人抱疾方剧；适有一青年博士鲍尔萨泽君自罗马来此，致其慰问，因与详讨犹太人与安东尼奥一案，徧稽群籍，折衷是非，遂恳其为鄙人庖代，以应殿下之召。凡鄙人对此案所具意见，此君已深悉无遗；其学问才识，虽穷极赞辞，亦不足道其万一，务希勿以其年少而忽之，盖如此少年老成之士，实鄙人生平所仅见也。尚蒙延纳，必能不辱使命。敬祈钧裁。” (Zhu 1994a, 75)

The language of the English letter is archaic, which means that the modern reader or audience will realise it is the English used by people in Elizabethan times rather than themselves. No one would write a letter in such a style in modern times. In Nyerere’s

translation, the Swahili is *Standard Swahili*, which is a language selected from various dialects and standardised by colonial linguists, implemented through the governmental and educational domains from the 1890s to the independence of Tanzania. *Standard Swahili* is still used by Tanzanian people today. For Swahili people, the language of the letter translated by Nyerere into Swahili is the language of daily life. The Chinese language in the letter translated by Zhu is very formal and archaic. The letter is in classic Chinese, which was the language used by the ancient Chinese intelligentsia until the 1917 literary revolution.

To summarise, in the Swahili vernacular movement since the colonial period, the strategies applied by European translators (predominantly German and British) in the translations of European literary works were to discard the traditional prosodical language and to apply the vernacular. After all, it is the meaning of vernacularisation to abandon the classic language and its traditions (such as the Arabic Swahili script and its literary traditions) and to adopt the vernacular (*Standard Swahili* and its literature). While Nyerere's translation is in the vernacular, he tried to apply elements of traditional poetry as much as possible, in a sense developing it.

Nyerere introduced Shakespeare's blank verse into Swahili poetry as what he called '*mashairi guni*', or the unrhymed *mashairi* verse. Traditionally, *mashairi* is the most popular verse in Swahili literature. In the colonial era, people would seek to publish their works in newspapers. One of the most influential newspapers, *Mambo Leo* (*Daily*

News), has published many *mashairi* verses. The verses published in *Mambo Leo* mainly include two types: *mashairi* and *tenzi*.³⁵ For example, a three-volume anthology, *Mashairi ya Mambo Leo* was published by the Inter-Territorial Committee. (Inter-Territorial Language Committee, 1955) The themes of the *mashairi* in the anthology range from religion and philosophy to daily life and some acknowledgements of the newspaper. After independence, especially during the *Ujamaa* period (1967-1985), many Swahili poets wrote *mashairi* verses to express their understanding of certain policies, as well as to engage in the political discussions of the nation. The main platform for the publication of poets' works was also the newspapers.

After the Arusha Declaration (1967), which was an announcement of the initiation of *Ujamaa* policies, poems concerning the declaration appeared in many Swahili newspapers. Grant Kamenju and Farouk Topan selected poems from two newspapers, *Uhuru* and *Ngurumo*, and made them into an anthology entitled *Mashairi ya Azizimo la Arusha* (1971). The passion, excitement and expectations of the poets about their country and its people are expressed in their *mashairi* and *tenzi*. The *mashairi*-like blank verse in Nyerere's translation gives the reader a sense of familiarity as it is not only a traditional type of verse but is also a very common and popular form of literature in the fields of religion, politics and daily life.

At the time of Zhu's translation, Chinese language and literature were experiencing a

³⁵ *Mashairi* has two meanings in Swahili, with one being specific and referring to the verse type 'mashairi' and the other referring to the general 'poems'.

vernacular movement. Chinese writers who had been educated in Europe or had accepted European ideologies, values and cultures were advocating the vernacular writing in which many literary works, newspapers and magazines had been published. These works were usually against traditional values and the feudal moralities represented by Confucian philosophy, instead advocating the European values of democracy and science.

The vernacular movement in Chinese language and literature was part of literary modernisation. There were also detractors of the vernacular movement who claimed that it would destroy traditional culture. In Zhu's case, he needed to strike a balance; to bring Shakespeare into China, the language needed to be modern Chinese, but wherever possible and suitable, the traditional prosody was applied in his translations. This might be the reason that his translations have remained popular.

4.7 New Cultural Themes

In countries of pre-colony or pre-semi-colony like Tanzania and China in the early 20th century, the vernacularisation of language and literature was undertaken due to the need for modernisation. Translating English literature was also for the purpose of modernisation. In the case of this study, Shakespeare is the source material. There are some cultural themes in Shakespeare's original text that are contradictory to Swahili and Chinese local traditions. The various strategies in dealing with these differences,

either translating them directly or omitting them, indicate the translators' understandings of British modernity. The previous sections have discussed poetic form, while this section discusses the cultural themes in the translations. Erotic description, which is a sensitive topic in traditional Chinese and Swahili societies, is taken as an example to investigate how it is rendered in the translations.

Traditional Swahili literature is centred around Islamic themes and values, so there are no erotic themes. In traditional Chinese literature, there are pornographic works of fiction (such as *Jinpingmei* 金瓶梅, *The Plum in the Golden Vase*), but they have always been forbidden by the government. Erotic themes are also not openly accepted. After the May Fourth Movement, humanistic values were highly advocated and erotic themes were seen as containing the spirit of modernisation, so they were freely applied in literary works (such as the novel *Chenglun* 沉沦, *Sink into Depravity*). The aim of Nyerere's translations was to develop the Swahili language and literature. To ensure the translations reached more readers, he needed to consider cultural taboos.

Erotic descriptions in Shakespeare's plays are not unusual and *The Merchant of Venice* is no exception to this.

English:

Gratiano: Thank I'faith; for silence is only commendable
In a neat's tongue dried and a maid not vendible. (I, 1, 111-112)

Swahili:

Gratiano: Asante sana; maana ukuimya unafaa tu

Kwenye ulimi wa ng'mbe uliokwisha kukaushwa (I, 1, 122-123)

Chinese:

葛莱西安诺 那就再好没有了；只有干牛舌和没人要的老处女，才是应该沉默的。(Zhu 1994a, 9)

The English phrase 'a maid not vendible' is omitted in Nyerere's translation, while in Zhu's translations, it was translated as '没人要的老处女'. This Chinese phrase is not a word-for-word translation, and its meaning is 'an unwanted old virgin'. The word 'maid' usually refers to a virgin in Shakespeare's plays and it appears many times (Williams 2006, 199). In traditional Chinese society, a maid is supposed to be silent. It is a virtue for a maid or even women in general to have a reserved character. A young Chinese female aristocrat was supposed to stay at home all the time and avoid meeting any strangers, especially men. In the English text, silence is certainly not a virtue of a maid but a pity for she is 'not vendible'. In the Chinese translation, Zhu used the word '老', which means 'old', to mean unmarried at an old age, which could be regarded as a shame for women in ancient society.

Like in traditional Chinese society, in traditional Swahili society, where most people have Islamic beliefs, a maid is also supposed to be silent. Interestingly, Nyerere did not translate 'a maid not vendible'. If Nyerere did translate this phrase, then the image of 'a silent young maid who is not vendible' would be confusing for the Swahili audience as an unmarried maid is supposed to be silent. However, that is not the only reason that Nyerere omitted the original text. The other reason was that Nyerere's anticipated audience was students, with some of them being Muslim girls. As a teacher, Nyerere

may have thought that language containing pornographic humour would not be proper for them.

Another example of an omission is Shylock's metaphor about interest. Shylock tells the story of Jacob, who struck a deal that all striped and spotted lambs would belong to him. He put spotted and striped branches before the ewes when they were breeding with the rams so that the lambs of these ewes would be born spotted and striped, thus belonging to Jacob. Shylock sees Jacob's deed as righteous for 'thrift is blessing if men steal it not' (I, 3, 89):

In the end of autumn turned to the rams
And when the work of generation was
Between these woolly breeders in the act,
The skillful shepherd peeled me certain wands,
And in the doing of the deed of kind
He stuck them up before the fulsome ewes,
Who then conceiving, did in eaning time
Fall parti-colored lambs, and those were Jacob's. (I, 3, 78-85)

Nyerere omitted the details of Jacob's plan and only gave the result:

Kwamba wana wa kondoo wote wataozaliwa
Na mila na madoa watakuwa wa Yakobo. (I, 3, 409-410)

That the lambs which they breed
Are striped and dappled will be Jacob's.
(author's translation)

Zhu Shenghao's translation is:

到晚秋的时候，那些母羊因为淫情发动，跟公羊交合，这个狡狴的牧人就趁着这些毛畜正在进行传种工作的当儿，削好了几根木棒，插在淫浪的母羊面前，他们这样怀下了孕，一到生产的时候，生下的小羊都是有斑纹的，所以都归雅各所有。(Zhu 1994a, 18-19)

In the late autumn, those ewes, because of their lust, had intercourse with the rams, and this cunning shepherd took advantage of the time when these woolly animals were engaged in the work of mating, and sharpened a few sticks, and inserted them in front of the lascivious ewes, and they became pregnant in this way, and when it came to the time of giving birth, the little lambs that were born were all mottled, and so they all came into the possession of Jacob. (author's translation)

There are two phrases in Zhu's translation that form a sharp contrast to Nyerere's Swahili translation. One is '淫情发动' and the other is '淫浪的'. The former phrase means 'lust', describing the ewes when they are preparing to mate, while the latter means 'lascivious', describing the ewes when they are mating. These two words are not in the English text. Zhu may have used them in the Chinese translation to improve the dramatic sense of the play.

Another example of omission is from Portia's comments on the Neapolitan prince.

Shakespeare

Portia: Ay, that's a colt indeed, for he doth nothing but talk of his horse, and he makes it a great appropriation to his own good parts that he can shoe him himself. I am much afeard my lady his mother played false with a smith. (I, 2, 39-43)

Nyerere

Portia: Naam, yeye hasa ni mwana farasi wake; na hufanya maongezi mengi. ila juu a farasi wake; na hufanya kuwa ni nyongeza ya sifa zake kwamba yeye mwenyewe anaweza kumvisha chuma miguuni. (I, 2, 234-237)

Zhu Shenghao

鲍西娅：嗯，她真是一匹小马，他不讲话则已，讲起话来，老是说他的马怎么怎么；他因为能够亲自替自己的马装上蹄铁，算是一件天大的本领。我很担心他的令堂太太是跟铁匠有过勾搭的。(Zhu 1994a, 12-13)

Nyerere and Zhu used different strategies for one sentence in the original text, which is ‘I am much afeard my lady his mother played false with a smith’. Nyerere omitted it while Zhu translated it directly.

Another example is Launcelot, the joker of the play who bluffs his good fortunes to his father, Old Gobbo:

Shakespeare

Launcelot: Father, in. I cannot get a service; no! I have ne'er a tongue in my head; well! [Looks at his palm.] If any man in Italy have a fairer table which doth offer to swear upon a book— I shall have good fortune! Go to, here's a simple line of life. Here's a small trifle of wives! Alas, fifteen wives is nothing; eleven widows and nine maids is a simple coming-in for one man. And then to scape drowning thrice, and to be in peril of my life with the edge of a feather-bed! Here are simple scapes. Well, if Fortune be a woman, she's a good wench for this gear. Father, come. I'll take my leave of the Jew in the twinkling. (II, 2, 150-161)

Nyerere

Lauseloti: Baba, Ndani. Siwezi kupata kazi, la; sina ulimi kichwani mwangu. Vema (atazama mkono wake) Kama mtu ye yote katika Itali ana mkono mzuri zaidi, ambaye atakuwa tayari kupata kwenye kitabu, basi nitapata Habari nzuri! Tazama, huu mstari mzuri wa maisha! Huu mkorogo wa wanawake! Ole wangu, wake kumi na mmoja na wanamwali tisa ni pato dogo kwa mtu mmoja; na halafu ili kuepuka kufa maji mara tatu na kuonya maisha yangu kwa chuluchupu haya makimbilio hafifu! Wema, kama Bahati ni mwanamke, angalau safari hii kawa mwanamke mwema.- Baba, njoo; kufumba na kufumbua nitamuaga Yahudi. (II, 2, 209-220)

Zhu Shenghao

朗斯洛特：爸爸，进去吧。我不能得到一个好差事吗？我生了嘴不会说话吗？好（视手掌）在意大利要是有人生得一手比我还好的掌纹，我一定会交好运的。好，这是一条笔直的寿命线；这儿有不多几个老婆；唉！15个老婆算得什么，十一个寡妇再加上九个黄花闺女，对于一个男人也不算太多啊。还要三次溺水不死，有一次几乎在一张天鹅绒的床边送了性命，好险好险！好，要是命运之神是个女的，这一回她倒是一个很好的娘儿。爸爸，来，我要用一霎眼的功夫向那犹太人告别。(Zhu 1994a, 29)

In the Swahili translation, Nyerere performed omissions in two places. One is ‘Alas, fifteen wives is nothing’, while the other is ‘and to be in peril of my life with the edge of a feather-bed’. Nyerere also changed an original English word in one place:

Shakespeare: eleven widows and nine maids is a simple coming-in for one man.
Nyerere: wake kumi na mmoja na wanamwali tisa ni pato dogo kwa mtu mmoja.
(eleven wives and nine maids are a small achievement for one man.)

Nyerere replaced the word ‘widows’ with the word ‘wives’ (*wake*) in Swahili. In Zhu’s Chinese translation, none of these sentences were omitted and the words were translated directly. In the play, Launcelot is a joker and one can easily imagine how the audience would laugh when he blows his own trumpet about his good fortune. In Launcelot’s view, having many wives is certainly a good fortune. Having affairs with the widows makes his speech humorous and laughable for the audience. That is the purpose of his role. In Islamic society, having more than one wife is acceptable, but having an affair with a widow is considered adultery, a severe crime. That is possibly the reason for Nyerere’s changing of the word.

Through comparison, it can be seen that in his translation, Nyerere omitted all the erotic

writings in Shakespeare's source text, while Zhu kept them in his translation. Although Nyerere translated the works of the English literary giant to develop the Swahili language and literature as a way of pursuing modernisation and decolonization, he did not violate the norms of Islamic tradition in classic Swahili literature. Unlike Nyerere, Zhu accepted all the cultural themes that were not in mainstream classic Chinese literature. Like in accepting poetic forms, in accepting new cultural expressions of modernity, Nyerere was more conservative, while Zhu was more liberal.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, by comparing the Shakespearean Translations of Nyerere and Zhu between themselves and against their predecessors, it can be seen that their translations were both part of the vernacular movement in their language and literature. From the perspective of poetic forms, Nyerere and Zhu applied different strategies, with one being close to tradition and the other trying to reform tradition. In Tanzania, *Standard Swahili* is, in some ways, a colonial legacy, with Shakespeare being introduced into East Africa, whether in English or in Swahili, as a means of creating and maintaining cultural hegemony. Shakespeare's works have been a part of the standardisation of Swahili and the education of the first generation of African intellectuals. Before Nyerere's translation, Shakespeare was written in prose in *Standard Swahili*. In Nyerere's translation of Shakespeare in the Swahili vernacular, by applying traditional prosody, he tried to create a literary synthesis between both English and Swahili

traditions. The translation was a rewriting of the colonial legacy of previous translations in prose in pure *Standard Swahili* without any elements of classic prosody and a modernising and development of the local literary traditions in *Standard Swahili* yet with traditional prosodical elements. Nyerere was certainly not the first to experiment with 'traditional verse'. Shabaan Robert, Mnyampala and Amri Abeidi had done it before him, but he was the first to do it in translations of Shakespeare, who was the most influential and dominant English literary figure in the British colonies in the 20th century. His identity as president and leader of the country's intellectuals also makes his experiment symbolic and influential.

In China, Shakespeare was a resource of British culture and values, with the ability to bring cultural and literary revolution. Although Zhu also complied with the norms of classical literature in specific cases to meet the aesthetical standard, Zhu's translation is predominantly vernacular, which was applied and advocated by the May Fourth intellectuals to create a New Literature. The New Literature had the mission of reforming the traditional language, culture, and values, introducing Western cultures and values. As the language of the New Literature, the vernacular could be understood by all people. Developing a vernacular as the carrier of modern values was an important step in pursuing modernity. Vernacularisation means modernisation, which was the aim of decolonization. In this sense, like Nyerere's translation, Zhu's translation was also an act of decolonization, although in a different way.

From the perspective of culture, as one of the leading humanist writers in the English literary tradition, Shakespeare's plays contain modern values in terms of the plots and dialogues of the characters. This chapter has discussed how Nyerere and Zhu rendered the erotic descriptions in their translations using different strategies, either translating them directly or omitting them. Erotic themes are not in traditional Swahili literature as they contradict Islamic values; although they are part of Chinese literary tradition, they hold a marginal position. In Nyerere's translation, as a devout Catholic, teacher and politician who emphasised the importance of the morality of the citizens, as well as considering the expected audience of students, he omitted them. In Zhu's translation, although contradicting traditional Confucian morality, he maintained the erotic themes as they represented the spirit of modernity in the form of sexual liberation. Nyerere tried to bring Shakespeare into the Swahili literary system to enrich it, while Zhu also tried to bring Shakespeare into the Chinese literary system at the same time to reform it. Both of their translations were concerned with the enterprise of cultural decolonization.

Nyerere's omission of specific cultural expressions in Shakespeare reveals his attitude towards British culture and modernity; he accepted it critically. This attitude also aligned with his viewpoint and that of some other Tanzanian intellectuals regarding the content of the plays. Through the content, they saw the British cultural and political system in a way that was not thoroughly admiring but was critically observing and receiving it. This is discussed further in the following chapters.

Chapter 5: *Julius Caesar* and the Imagination of a New State

5.1 Introduction

The multiplicity of translations comes from different interpretations of the source texts, as Matthew Reynolds has put it,

In fact, the work of translation brings into being, not only those features of the translation-text that are offered as equivalent to the source, but also those features of the source that they are offered as equivalent to. (2019, 7)

Different interpretations of the source texts result in different reception. Translators could also deliberately give different meanings to the translation and thus influence its reception. Also, in the worlds of Reynolds, ‘the work of translation is best described as co-creating meaning in both source-text and translation-text’ (2019, 10). This chapter will first look at the reception and commentary of *Julius Caesar* in Swahili and Chinese, and then at the different images of Caesar, the aristocrats and the plebeians in the Swahili and Chinese translations. Through a prismatic comparison, this chapter attempts to look at how the play has become a political fable of state-building through the interpretations of the translators, albeit in different languages.

Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar* was written towards the end of the 16th century, around 1599. It stands at the midpoint of Shakespeare’s dramatic career, linking his historical plays with the tragedies beginning with *Hamlet* and ending with *Antony and Cleopatra*

and *Coriolanus* (Bloom 2008, 221). During the time of Shakespeare's writing, England had bidden farewell to the Middle Ages and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church was being seriously challenged. From the translation of the Bible into English to the Protestant Reformation, the Early Modern era was punctuated by events that have had a great influence on modern religious beliefs. Politics and religion were closely related in Shakespeare's England. The monarchs who ruled in Shakespeare's time had to deal with both religious and political dissenters. There were roughly two social classes: the aristocrats and everyone else. The scenes of contact between the nobility and the common people in Shakespeare's plays would have been familiar in his life, as well as in the audience's lives.

Julius Caesar is one of Shakespeare's historical plays and reflects themes of civil war and popular unrest, issues that would have been pertinent to Shakespeare. Such problems are also shown in *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. *Julius Caesar* enjoyed popularity during Shakespeare's time, with some believing that it reflected the politics of England at the time, as indicated in Bloom's critique of Shakespeare:

The play's popularity could perhaps be attributed to the similarities between its dramatic situation and the state of the English in the seventeenth century. The English had experienced years of peace and prosperity under the rule of Elizabeth I, yet by 1599 Elizabeth was aged and without heirs. People feared that a civil war might ensue as a means of determining the new ruler. Already there had been turmoil. No matter how control ultimately would be gained, the English people were anxious about whether the new ruler would be able to maintain a prosperous and peaceful land. (Bloom 2008, 37)

Wayne A. Rebhorn also suggests:

If the play presents the characters and values of Brutus, Cassius, and the others to create an image of ancient Roman civilization, it simultaneously holds 'the mirror up to nature' in Shakespeare's own world, showing 'the very age and body of the time his form and pressure'. Just as Hamlet feels a play about a murder in Vienna has application to the world of Denmark, so Elizabethans in general read literature and history with an eye to their topical interest, their application to the present. (Rebhorn 1990, 80)

The assassination of Caesar is seen as a changing point in the history of Rome. Although severely damaged, the political system of Rome was still a republic before the death of Caesar. The military successes of Caesar and his predecessors allowed them to appropriate trophies from faraway lands, which made Rome progressively richer. The citizens of Rome enjoyed the wealth brought home by the military generals. The republican system of Rome was continually weakened by Caesar. However, to be a king, Caesar still needed the support of the commoners. To secure their own political power and maintain domestic peace, the republic conspirators also needed the support of the commoners after they assassinated Caesar. Shakespeare portrayed the images of the aristocrats and the commoners in the pivotal historical juncture of the change from republicanism to Caesarism. Their attitudes towards each other and the roles they have played in crucial historical moments and events have reappeared again and again throughout history. One of the ironies of the play is that to achieve their political goals, the aristocrats who despise the commoners must submit to the powers of the latter. The themes of the conflict between republicanism and Caesarism, as well as the dynamic relationship between the aristocrats and the commoners portrayed in the play, were

attractive to critics in Tanzania and China.

When the translations of *Julius Caesar* first appeared in Swahili and Chinese in the early 20th century, there were also political, cultural, and literary changes in the two countries. In the 1950s and the early 1960s, Tanganyika and the African people were experiencing big changes. Tanganyika was colonised by Germany from the late 1880s to 1918 as German East Africa, at which point the colony was transferred to Britain, whose colonial rule lasted until 1946. From 1946 to 1961, Tanganyika was administered by the UK as a United Nations trust territory. The nationalist movement spread throughout the former colony after the end of World War Two led by Nyerere and his Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). After years of negotiations with the British authorities, Tanganyika finally gained independence on the 9th of December 1961.

The success of Tanzania's independence and TANU's winning of the election would have been impossible without the support of the commoners, mainly the African farmers and city workers, as well as a few citizens of Asian descent (Arabs and Indians). Nyerere was the leader of a grassroots party, with many of his colleagues and himself being educational elites. This relationship was just like that between the Roman aristocrats and the plebeians. The masses represent a powerful strength in a society that can be applied by politicians to achieve their own personal goals. In socialist theory, the masses are seen as the main factor in social development. As the leader of a new country and

the designer of a socialist experiment in Africa, Nyerere had to think about how to deal with the relationship between the elites and the masses. What should the political system of Tanganyika be? What role should the political leaders play in the development of the country? These questions were concerns of Nyerere. His worries and considerations are reflected in his translations.

In the early 20th century, the politics, culture, and literature of China were also experiencing unseen changes. The society of an emperorship was put to an end by the 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen and his nationalist party. After the revolution, China was controlled by many warlords who had Western forces behind them. The traditional Chinese culture, dominated by Confucian and Mencian philosophies, was under fierce criticism. In the traditional clan society, the roles of the landlords and the farmers had been the same for thousands of years, with the former ruling the latter. Chinese intellectuals were living in a time of change in which the political system had been broken. The old culture was being challenged and was desperately seeking a way to evolve or it would have ended. European, American, and Japanese cultures, philosophies and ideologies flooded into China before and after the 1911 Revolution. Chinese literature was facing changes thematically, formally, stylistically, and aesthetically. Many European, American, and Japanese works were translated into Chinese.

Chinese writers initiated a New Literature Movement with the aim of ending the

dominance of classic Chinese literature, which was only reserved for a few intelligentsias in society, and creating a new literature that would represent the interests of the common people. Developing a new type of literature required the intellectuals to form a new relationship with the commoners. This new relationship challenged the old moral system. The intellectuals, who also included writers and translators who were commoners, became co-operators and followers of the latter. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a group of left-wing writers advocated the development of a Revolutionary Literature, emphasising the class connotations of literature and aiming to write about the masses in order to serve their interests. The opponents of these left-wing writers were against such an instrumentalised and weaponised literature, arguing for an aesthetic standard of ‘humanity and its permanent value’ (Lu 2002, 29). Such an argument influenced the reception of *Julius Caesar* in China. It is very revealing to compare the differences in the images of the masses in the Chinese and Swahili translations by the subtle word choices of the translators.

Nyerere translated *Julius Caesar* in 1961 right after the independence of Tanganyika. As the founding father of the nation, he faced the task of building a state at the crucial time of that state being newly born. State-building is an important step of decolonization. Commonly, in comments on the translation of *Julius Caesar*, critics like to relate it to the political background of Tanzania, and even the whole of the African continent. In this chapter, through a comparative study, this thesis explores Nyerere’s political considerations in his translations. The discussion starts with the uniqueness of

the original text, including the specific topics and characters of the text. This study investigates the characteristics of the politics in *Julius Caesar* and how they could be applied by the translators to represent the local conditions of Tanzania and China. In analysing the original English text, the Swahili and Chinese translations, and commentaries on them, this thesis argues that in the reception of the translations, both the Tanzanian and Chinese translators (Nyerere and Zhu, respectively) and critics of them imagined a new state. Two crucial issues of state-building are considered regarding the reception of the translations of the play, which are the relationships between the political elites and the common people, as well as the good leadership of politicians.

5.2 The Synopsis of the Play

Act I opens with two tribunes of Rome, Marullus and Flavius, scolding a group of citizens gathered in the streets in celebration of Caesar's triumphant return from war. The celebration is marked by public games in which Antony takes part. A stranger warns Caesar 'Beware the Ides (15th) of March' (I. 2. 17). Brutus and Cassius, who are two senators, are suspicious of Caesar's growing popularity among the people and his seemingly increasing ambition. They fear that he might become an emperor. Casca comes to them and describes to them the three times that Caesar has refused to accept a crown from the crowd.

In Act II, the conspirators, including Cassius and Casca, among others, create a false letter to convince Brutus to join them in their plan of removing Caesar. During the night, Brutus sees the letter and falls into conflicted thought about whether to turn against Caesar. The conspirators visit Brutus in his home to try to persuade him. Brutus agrees and they conspire to assassinate Caesar. Brutus's wife is troubled by his unusual mindset, but Brutus refuses to tell her their plan. On the 15th of March, Caesar's wife, Calpurnia, begs Caesar not to go to the Senate as she has had a dream about Caesar being killed. However, Caesar is persuaded by Decius and decides to go to the Capitol.

In Act III, Caesar enters the Capitol and is stabbed by the conspirators in turn. Brutus's last strike is the one that finally kills Caesar. Antony is allowed by Brutus to give a speech at Caesar's funeral to the Roman public. Using his remarkable oratory, he defends Caesar against the conspirators' accusations of him being ambitious and suggests that the conspirators are murderers. He incites the rage of the citizens against the conspirators. A riot takes place, and the conspirators are driven out of the city.

In Act IV, Brutus and Cassius gather an army and prepare to fight the army led by Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, collectively known as the Second Triumvirate. Before the final combat at Philippi, Brutus and Cassius quarrel and have a misunderstanding about the issue of collecting the soldiers' salaries. Brutus receives the news of his wife Portia's suicide, and he accepts it stoically. He also sees Caesar's ghost appear in his tent at night, who foretells that he will meet him in Philippi.

In Act V, after a series of errors in command and out of Brutus's arrogance and lack of experience, the republican army loses the battle. To preserve their honour as free Romans, Cassius, and Brutus both commit suicide. Antony praises Brutus as 'the noblest Roman of them all' (V. 5. 68).

5.3 The Reception of and Commentaries on the Play

Whether in Tanzania or China, in terms of the reception of *Julius Caesar*, the critics from both countries have related it to the local political conditions and have had discussions about it. The story of political turmoil and civil war in ancient Rome reminded critics of the political plights they faced in the two countries and stimulated their considerations of the future of their own countries. In Tanzania, this was about the formation of the personality of the leader, the betrayal of old friends and the connection between the coups that have happened throughout world history. In China, what drew critics' attention was the image of the commoners because, in literature, this was an issue related to the debate between the left-wing revolutionary literature group and its opponent, which was the 'Art for Art's Sake' group. In China, literary writing and politics were inseparable as the writers were deeply affected by politics.

In Nyerere's translation, the critics saw the political metaphors in it. Nyerere's identity as the president profoundly influenced the reception of and commentaries on his

translation by the Swahili audience and scholars. The famous Kenyan-born American scholar and political writer Ali A. Mazrui wrote several articles commenting on and analysing Nyerere's translation. In his paper 'Shakespeare in African Political Thought', Mazrui (1967) discusses the political significance of English literature within its colonies in Africa. At the time of the formation of African nationalism, Shakespeare had an important role in the education system. His plays stimulated the nationalist ideas of the African intelligentsia. Mazrui suggests that the cultural nationalism in Africa underwent three main phases: 1. to prove that the African people were perfectly capable of mastering Western culture; 2. to repudiate Western culture and to strengthen Africa's own cultural heritage; 3. to take pride in some aspects of African culture without feeling an urge to renounce Western culture at the same time. In the first phase, to be able to quote Shakespeare is a symbol of mastering English, which indicates one's good education. In the second phase, although other European writers have been rejected as non-African, interestingly, Shakespeare has never been rejected. In the third phase, African intellectuals began to take on the attitude of cultural internationalism. In Mazrui's words,

He [the African intellectual] is beginning to accept the proposition that there is such a thing as a global pool of mankind's cultural achievements from different lands. And such an attitude is not neatly nationalistic. It is perhaps internationalism at the aesthetic level. (Mazrui 1967, 108)

With regard to the role that Shakespeare played in stimulating the political thoughts of African leaders, Mazrui (1967) argues that they were 'mentally provoked by mighty

lines or by imaginative examples and analogies of recurrent human situations' in Shakespeare's works (119). He offers the example of Nyerere; at the time of the struggle for independence, Nyerere quoted Shakespeare (*Julius Caesar*) in his political pamphlet *Barriers to Democracy*:

There is a tide in the affairs of men.
Which, taken at the floods leads on to fortune.
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shadows and miseries.
On such a full sea we are now afloat;
And we must take the current when it serves.
Or lose our ventures. (IV. 3. 218-223)

At the end of the pamphlet, Nyerere quoted one more line: 'Men at some time are masters of their fate' (I. 2. 140). The other African leaders who claimed that Shakespeare had an influence on them or who have been identified by Mazrui as quoting Shakespeare directly in their speeches and writings include Nkrumah of Ghana, Chief Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria and Ndabaningi Sithole of Rhodesia. In another paper in the anthology 'The African Symbolism of *Julius Caesar*', Mazrui draws a line of imaginative responsiveness towards assassinations, from the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in 1914 to the assassination of President Sylvanus Olympio of Togo. The former assassination resulted in the partition of German Togoland to Togo and Ghana, which incited conflicts at the frontier of the two countries, resulting in the murder of Olympio. Ferdinand's assassination caused World War One, which ended the German rule of Tanganyika, resulting in Nyerere translating Shakespeare from English rather than, say, Goethe from German. In

Mazrui's words:

There is, then, a causal connection of at least an imaginative kind, between the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand in 1914 and our play in Swahili about the assassination of Julius Caesar published half a century later. (Mazrui 1967, 129)

A chapter in the book *Julius K. Nyerere, Africa's Titan on a Global Stage: Perspectives from Arusha to Obama*, which was edited by Mazrui and Mhando (2013), discusses the influences of John Milton and Shakespeare on the personal histories of Nyerere and Milton Obote (who led Uganda to independence from British colonial rule in 1962). In the early days of his political career, Nyerere was characterised as favouring moderation and gradualism, while he later came to bear the stamp of the simple revolutionary imperative style, which can be described as 'it is now or never'. Mazrui and Mhando suggest that Nyerere's style of leadership is indicated by the Shakespearean rhetoric he invoked, and 'the play from which he quoted came to haunt him in later life, urging him to use his skill in translating it' (2013, 203). They state that:

The style of 'taking the current when it serves,' of doing it now or never, was more convincingly demonstrated in the later revolutionary day of the mid- 1960s than in the studied moderation and gradualism of the previous decades. (Mazrui and Mhando 2013, 204)

When *Julius Caesar* was staged in England, the problem of the competition between Roman aristocrats was also mirrored among Elizabethan aristocrats. The English political thinkers recognised the danger of competition between aristocrats developing into factionalism. They wrote articles that often used the example of ancient Rome and

the events that happened between Pompey, Caesar, Antony and Brutus to warn the English people (Rebhorn 1990, 99). Similarly, Wilson-Lee (2016) suggests that Nyerere's choices for the translation may have been influenced by the theme of 'friendship and its fragility in the turbulent crucible of power from which a new state emerges' (153). Some of Nyerere's friends during the days of anti-colonial struggle became his political rivals when independence was about to be achieved. Wilson-Lee quotes Nyerere's famous description of the dangers of factionalism faced by Tanzanians:

When hunting there is no problem... Problems start when the animal has died, that when fighting start, because this one wants this piece and another cuts another piece, and that's when people start to get their fingers cut.³⁶

Being friends means having shared values and the idea of friendship was introduced, in many ways, by the Renaissance humanists, while before this, it was blood bonds, kinship, or economic and institutional relations that connected people. Nyerere was a strong opponent of any racial discrimination policy in Tanzania. However, such a view was not shared by all his friends that he worked with in the struggle for independence. Racial discrimination means to value blood-bonded people over others, which will inevitably lead to ethnic conflicts. In contrast, friendship, supported by the same ideas and values, will avoid conflict. To defend the rights of the White and Asian citizens of the country, in his insistence on not implementing a racial discrimination policy, Nyerere threatened to resign (Meek 2011, 171). Nyerere's insistence was not without risk because, in January 1964, the army in Dar es Salaam mutinied. Nyerere had to flee

³⁶ "Sitaki Kutishwa Kwa Migomo", Ngurumo, 20 November 1961, p. 1.

from his house and hide in a church. Frustrated by the presence of British officers after two years of independence, the mutineers locked up both the British and African officers, demanding better pay and the immediate Africanisation of the officer corps. Only with the help of British military intervention did Tanganyika restore order and Nyerere maintain authority.

Influenced by the desire to learn from Europe, the early Chinese recipients of *Julius Caesar* tried to understand the English culture and national spirit from it. Zhu's translation of Julius Caesar should be read in such a context. Different interpretations of *Julius Caesar* triggered a debate among several influential writers. The debate was also rooted in the arguments of revolutionary literature. Different attitudes towards the image of the masses in the play indicated the political spectrum of the writers and critics. This situation in the Chinese context can be compared to that of the Swahili context. In the Swahili context, the translator, Nyerere, was a cultural elite (aristocrat) as well as a political leader, so his image of the masses was an indicator of his political thought. In the Chinese context, the translator, Zhu, was a cultural elite, so his attitude towards the image of the masses was also an indicator of his position on the political spectrum.

Shi Zhang's, Du Heng's and Lu Xun's articles on *Julius Caesar* will be discussed in the following section. It is clear from Shi Zhang's and Du Heng's articles that they both read the original text and made partial translations, writing with the intention of introducing the play to their readers. Lu Xun did not say in his article whether he had

read the original text or not, but he certainly did not read Zhu Shenghao's translation. All three reviews were published in 1934, while Zhu Shenghao's translation did not appear until 1947. Zhu's translation should be read in the context of the reception and various interpretations of critics on the image of Caesar and the common people in relation to China's social and political background at the time.

In the Chinese context, two topics in *Julius Caesar* have attracted critiques and debates: one is the Roman spirit, while the other is the image of the common people. Shi Zhang (施章) wrote an article 'A Introduction to Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*' (Shashibiya mingju kaisa zhi jieshao, 莎士比亚名剧《凯撒》之介绍) to the famous Journal *Literary Monthly* to comment on the play and to introduce it to the Chinese audiences. Shi sees the great value of the play as it reflects the Roman spirit that was inherited by the British people and displayed by Shakespeare. In his words:

一个民族的精神，是无疑地由他的本国第一流的文学中很明显地表现了出来，英帝国的安格罗-萨克森民族的特性，也不能例外。他是完全表现于他的民族诗人莎士比亚的三十八种戏剧中。而在《凯撒》一剧中所表现的罗马民族精神，就是英国民族的理想典型。英国人的擅长民治，保存秩序，服从法律，这就是英国人直接接受罗马精神的影响。(Shi 1934, 64)

The spirit of a nation is undoubtedly described in the works of the first-class writers of the nation. The spirit of the Anglo-Saxon people of the British Empire is not an exception. It has been described by the 38 plays of its national poet Shakespeare. The Roman spirit in *Julius Caesar* is regarded as the ideal character of the British people. The Britons are good at democracy, maintaining order, obeying the law; that is the direct influence of the Roman spirit on the British people. (Author's translation)

The critic emphasised the spirit of *minzhi* (民治, democracy), *zhixu* (秩序, order) and

falü (法律, law) of the Roman and British people demonstrated in the play. Those were very typical terms used by Chinese intellectuals when referring to European civilisation in the early 20th century. This shows how the desire to learn from Europe influenced the reception of the play among intellectuals. In introducing the synopsis of the story, Shi (1934) points out that in the tragicalness of the play is ‘the failure of republicanism and the victory of Caesar’s spirit’ (66). The conflict between republicanism/democracy and Caesarism/monarchy is a common point of discussion in the criticism of European and American scholars. (See e.g., Phillips 1940, 172-188; Blits 1981; Hadfield 2005, 154-183) What is uniquely explored by Shi is the topic of educational values, which are seen in the Roman spirit he generalised from the text. One value is putting public affairs before personal issues:

Caesar: What touches us ourselves shall be last severed. (III, 1, 7)³⁷

Shi commented that:

这种先国家之急，而后自己之事情的精神，所以能团结民族精神，能征服世界。(Shi 1934, 68)

This spirit of putting national duty before personal affairs is the key factor in uniting the nation and conquering the world. (Author’s translation)

The following excerpt shows the spirit of law:

³⁷ In Shi Zhang’s article, he translates this sentence into Chinese. For the sake of discussion, Shakespeare’s original text is used here.

Caesar: I must prevent thee, Cimber.
These couchings, and these lowly courtesies
Might fire the blood of ordinary men
And turn preordinance and first decree
Into the lane of children. Be not fond
To think that Caesar bears such rebel blood
That will be thawed from the true quality
With that which melteth fools — I mean sweet words,
Low-crooked curtsies, and base spaniel fawning.
Thy brother by decree is banished.
If thou dost bend and pray and fawn for him,
I spurn thee like a cur out of my way.
Know, Caesar doth not wrong, nor without cause
Will he be satisfied. (III, 1, 35-48)

Commenting on these sentences, Shi wrote:

这种精神真不愧是大政治家的典型义范。有了这种精神，罗马国家虽然可以灭亡，而此中法律精神永为世界的荣光。要想政治上轨道，社会得着平等，和平的保障，全要赖凯撒的这种守法的精神，不为人情转移的精神，方能维系。这种深湛的精神，莎士比亚完全把它显示出来了。近代英国人执法的严谨，这未尝不是莎士比亚《凯撒》一剧所启示。(Shi 1934, 68)

Such a spirit is indeed the model of a great statesman. With such a spirit, Rome could be destroyed, but the spirit of law will remain the eternal glory of the world. If politics is to work, if there is to be equality in a society, if there is to be security, then the spirit of Caesar, of obeying the law regardless of personal preference, is required. Shakespeare fully demonstrated such a spirit. It will not be an exaggeration to say that the spirit of strict law enforcement of the modern British people is partly inspired by Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. (Author's translation)

From the lines in the source text, one can recognise Caesar's dictator-like character, so certain of his own judgement that he does not listen to others. Only a few lines later, Caesar states the famous line, 'I am constant as the Northern Star' (III, 1, 60). This dialogue from Caesar aimed at the conspirators in the Senate partly supports Brutus's fears about Caesar becoming a dictator. However, from Shi's perspective, the focal

point of these words from Caesar is the spirit of obeying the law. If the context is considered in which the reception of *Julius Caesar* occurred in China, such a different perspective is understandable. In the early 20th century, China was a divided country, ruled by warlords who were backed by Western powers. China was facing the danger of being carved up by the empires of Europe, America, Japan, and Russia, among which Britain was the most powerful empire and among the earliest engaging with China. In this context, the mindset of learning from Europe (the British Empire in this case) influenced the text's reception by Shi Zhang. He saw the spirit of obeying the law in *Julius Caesar* and took it as a key factor in building a functional political system, an equal society, and a peaceful environment, which, at that time, China was lacking and desperately pursuing.

Shi's praise for the Roman politicians and citizens continues in the article. After providing his translation of the speeches of Brutus and Antony on the pulpit to the Roman citizens, Shi's comments on the speeches of the two politicians and the reactions of the citizens are also complimentary. He admired their virtues. He considered both politicians to be honourable for they were both firmly standing up for their beliefs and were willing to die for them. He used the traditional Chinese phrase 'die for one's belief' (以身殉道, *yishenxundao*), which comes from one of the greatest Chinese sages, Mencius, to praise their virtue. In short, what Shi wanted to emphasise in his introduction to and comment on the play was the virtues of the Romans (upright, heroic, and selfless), which were inherited by the British people and helped them to build a

good political system, leading to their global hegemony. Shi tried to identify the codes of the source of the strength of a powerful nation (Britain), which was China's biggest rival and threat, from the work of its greatest writer. Again, the mindset of learning from Europe influenced the reception of the literary translation.

Different understandings of Shakespeare's portrayal of the masses in *Julius Caesar* incited debates between Du Heng (杜衡) and his adversaries, including the famous modern Chinese writer Lu Xun (鲁迅). In his introductory, as well as the critical article of the play, 'The Image of the Masses in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*' (Shaju *kaisazhuan* li suo biao xian de qunzhong, 莎剧《凯撒传》里所表现的群众), Du Heng (1934a, 4-11) translated several segments of *Julius Caesar* and analysed the image of the masses in the play, which, as he supposed, is opposite to the then popular opinion among Chinese intellectuals about the masses. A left-wing writer or critic would see the masses positively, while a right-wing one would see them negatively. This thesis explores how the literary debate permeated into the reception of literary translation.

Du Heng's understanding of *Julius Caesar* went a step further than that of Shi Zhang.

He saw the important role of the masses in the play:

很明显的，安东尼的胜利是凭借了群众的力量。当凯撒已死，暴徒们的气焰正不可一世的时候，安东尼在敌党的监视下用他的巧妙的辞令来改变了群众的情感，反过来在凭借着他们的暴力把叛徒们逼到了非里比边境上去...甚至说，群众是这部剧无形的主脑也不嫌太过。(Du 1934a, 6)

It is clear that Antony's victory was based on the strength of the masses. When Caesar is dead and the power of the conspirators is unparalleled, Antony, under the scrutiny of his enemies, uses his subtle oratory to change the emotions of the masses and drive the conspirators to the border of Philippi. It is no exaggeration to say that the masses are the invisible central factor in the play.
(Author's translation)

After suggesting that the masses are the central factor of the play, Du Heng turned to the central argument of his article that the image of the mass in *Julius Caesar* is contrary to the then-prevalent perspective among writers and critics (1934, 7). After the 1911 Revolution, the New Cultural Movement and the spread of Marxism, the image of the masses was elevated to a much higher position in literary writings. The humanist spirit and Marxist ideology both influenced writers to turn their attention to the masses. Traditional Chinese literature (especially written literature) was created and consumed by intellectuals. The protagonists of this literature were mostly powerful and noble people, generalised as kings, dukes, generals, ministers, gifted scholars and lovely ladies (王侯将相, 才子佳人). The new Chinese writers, especially left-wing writers, changed the object of their writing to the masses, such as peasants, workers, street peddlers, poor students, and prostitutes. The writers were sympathetic towards them, and they were seen as the power behind social change (revolution).

In Du's article (1934a), he suggests another image of the masses that was described by Shakespeare: undisciplined, irrational, and easily manipulated. In the scenes of the speeches of Brutus and Antony on the pulpit, he saw those plebeians as *yanbujiyi* (言

不及义, not a word touching what is right) (7).³⁸ This phrase is from the Chinese classic *Analects of Confucius* (论语) and it was used by Confucius to refer to people who he saw as ineducable. Confucius was the greatest teacher in the minds of Chinese intellectuals, and being ineducable was a very serious criticism he would give. The negative image of the masses in *Julius Caesar* that Du Heng wanted to highlight to his readers was explicitly expressed by quoting this phrase. Like some of his other contemporary writers, who applied European literature to represent domestic problems, he linked his comments on the plot of *Julius Caesar* to China's social background. For example:

保民官对群众的教训使作者想起了最近历次政变中群众的变现。‘鸡来迎鸡，狗来迎狗’式的庆祝会，提灯会，市民拖儿带女地赶着热闹，游行，喊口号的那些可痛心的情形。(Du 1934a, 7)

The tribunes' scolding of the commoners reminds the author of the reactions of the commoners regarding recent regime changes. There were heart-wrenching scenes in the celebrations of 'Welcome the newcomers, whether they are chickens or dogs', in which the citizens brought their sons and daughters to join the crowds, to parade, to shout slogans. (Author's translation)

The reactions of the ancient Roman commoners to Caesar's triumphant return after defeating the last of his enemies, the sons of Pompey, reminded Du of the reactions of the Chinese commoners in similar situations, such as the changing of power and authority in society. He pessimistically asked the question of 'whether we are still in the same stage of Roman civilisation twenty centuries ago?' (Du 1934a, 7). Du

³⁸ 子曰：“群居终日，言不及义，好行小慧，难矣哉。”(The Master said, Groups gathered together all day, not a word touching what is right, happy in carrying out their petty schemes—don't look for much from them! Quoted from Burton Watson. 2007. *The Analects of Confucius*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 108.)

suggested to his readers that Shakespeare wanted to display the power of the commoners. However, if such power is just aimless violence, the commoners lack reason and are easily controlled and manipulated by a few instigators. He concluded that while reading the play, readers will always have the feeling that the masses are being helplessly deceived (Du 1934a 10-11).

Du Heng's reading and analysis of *Julius Caesar* met with immediate strong disagreement. As the leader of the left-wing writers, in the article "'Shakespeare' Again" (Youshi shashibiy, 又是莎士比亚, 2005d), Lu Xun challenges and questions Du on the image of the senseless commoners shown in *Julius Caesar*, emphasised by Du in his article through phrases such as 'Welcome the newcomers, whether they are chickens or dogs'. (Jilai yingji goulai yinggou, 鸡来迎鸡, 狗来迎狗). Lu argued that although the title of Du's article is 'The Image of the Masses in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*', Du inserted his own ideas in the name of Shakespeare. Lu further suggested another possibility:

我就疑心罗马恐怕也曾有过有理性，有明确的利害观念，感情并不被几个煽动家所控制，所操纵的群众，但是被驱散，被压制，被杀戮了。莎士比亚似乎没有调查，或者没有想到，但也许是故意抹杀的，他是古时候的人，有这一手并不算什么玩把戏。(Lu 2005d, 601)

I am doubting that, in ancient Rome, there might have been masses who had rational thoughts, had the concept of interest, whose emotions could not be controlled and manipulated by a few instigators. They were dispersed, oppressed, and killed. It seems that Shakespeare did not investigate them, or did not think of them, or maybe wrote them off intentionally. As an ancient person, it would not have been impossible for him to do such a thing. (Author's translation)

In another article entitled 'An Eye for An Eye' (Yiyanhuangyan, 以眼还眼) (2005e, 124), under the pen name Sun (隼), Lu Xun offered another reading of the play based on the Russian philosopher Lev Shestov. In this reading, the masses in *Julius Caesar* seem to follow Pompey, Caesar, Brutus, and Antony blindly, but they have no sustained loyalty to any one of them. They follow whoever has the power and is capable of offering food and entertainment to them. Lu translated and quoted Shestov's view in the phrase 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth' (yiyan huanyan, yiya huanya, 以眼还眼, 以牙还牙) which is originally from the Hebrew Bible and has become a Chinese idiom, to describe the deeds of the masses. Lu's central argument was that there is the possibility that the Roman politicians fooled and used the masses, while the masses also fooled and used the politicians. They could have experienced mutual utilisation.

In his article, Du expressed his worries that the image of the masses that he saw in *Julius Caesar* and shown to his readers would draw criticisms from left-wing writers and critics who had a different view about this. Lu regarded this claim as rhetoric to attack left-wing writers and critics for their radicalism, lack of tolerance and tendency to be incited. Lu defended the inclusiveness of the left-wing camp by giving the examples that Shakespeare's plays were staged in the Soviet Union (which was the centre of the Socialist Movement) and that Shakespeare was quoted by Marx in his classic work *Capital* (ibid., 126).

Du Heng's self-defence against Lu's remarks was given very soon after in his article published in the journal *Modern Times* (Du 1934b). Du acknowledged Marx's inclusive aesthetic perspective in that he would not disregard the value of Shakespeare just because the content of his plays was contradictory to his (socialist) ideas. For the plays staged in the Soviet Union, Du pointed out that they were adapted and that the reason for the adaptation was, as he supposed, that some of the content may have offended the masses, just as his first article may have offended the left-wing camp in China.

From the above review, one can see that the Tanzanian and Chinese critics tended to relate this play of ancient Roman politics to their countries' current political realities. Nyerere's critics saw the connection between the play and the forming of his political ideology, relating the plot of the play to the political events of African countries. Chinese critics were more interested in the portrayal of the image of the masses in the play, relating it to their debate about the image of the masses in literature. In *Julius Caesar*, a central theme is the conflict between aristocrats and the common people. Although the war was between the republicans and the followers of Caesar, the winning side was the one that had support from the common people. In the same sense, in post-colonial state-building and nation-building enterprise, how to deal with the relationship with the common people is also a pivotal concern of independent leaders.

5.4 The Relationship between Intellectuals and the Commoners in Times of Change

Julius Caesar is arguably a play describing the roles of the nobles and the commoners at the crossroads of Rome's history, a pivotal changing point of republicanism and Caesarism. The political trends in Rome were largely dictated by the support of the citizens. The politicians were used to giving public speeches to win the support of the commoners. However, in their minds, they also despised the commoners. For example, the tribunes in the opening scene reprimand the commoners as 'idle creatures', 'hard hearts' and 'cruel men of Rome' (I.1.36). Casca, one of the conspirators, when describing the event of Antony offering a crown to Caesar, uses sentences such as 'the rabblement hooted and clapped their chapped hands' (I, 2, 244) and 'I dust not laugh for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air' (I, 2, 249-250). In Casca's words, one can see that, in his eyes, the image of the commoners is that they are senseless in mind and careless about their personal hygiene. To gain the support of the commoners, Antony announces the money Caesar has left for them. After that, in a closed-door discussion with Octavius and Lepidus, he betrays the commoners, suggesting reducing some of the money Caesar left; he makes the commoners look like fools to be fooled.

One of the elements that leads to Brutus's downfall is also his contempt for the masses. On the one hand, he holds the view that the Romans must be free and never yield to tyranny, while on the other hand, he despises the masses, who are the most important force in sustaining the republican system of Rome. When his army is in financial

difficulty and he has the option to collect money from the peasants, he says, 'I had rather coin my heart and drop my blood for drachmas than to wring from the hard hand of peasants their vile trash' (IV, 3, 73-75). Brutus's firm ally Cassius has the same attitude towards the Roman citizens:

Cassius: And why should Caesar be a tyrant then?
Poor man! I know he would not be a wolf
But that he sees the Romans are but sheep;
He were no lion, were not Romans hinds.
Those that with haste will make a mighty fire
Behind it with weak straws. What trash is Rome,
What rubbish and what offal, when it serves
For the base matter to illuminate
So vile a thing as Caesar! (I, 3, 103-111)

Cassius sees the Romans as 'sheep', 'trash' and 'rubbish', with no strength to stop Caesar. The true spirit of Romans was their sense of honour, valour, and heroism, while under the rule of the great Caesar, Romans lost their spirit. As Cassius suggests to Brutus,

Cassius: Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus, and we petty men
Walk under his huge legs and peep about
To find ourselves dishonourable graves. (I, 2, 135-138)

As reviewed earlier in this paper, the relationship between the intellectuals (aristocrats) and the commoners (plebeians) attracted the attention of critics in Tanganyika and China. The reason for this is that times of political change are also times when the values change in a society. Nevertheless, the two main forces in a society are always

the intellectuals and the commoners. In Shakespeare's play, in ancient Rome, the aristocrats despise the plebeians, while the aristocrats (intellectuals and politicians) in Tanzania and China in the 20th century needed to develop another attitude and relationship with the common people in their countries.

The Swahili translation of the play was published in 1963, which was very close to the year of independence. What most concerned Nyerere at that time was maintaining the domestic peace of the newly independent country. As previously mentioned, when watching the play, the Elizabethan audience could easily relate it to their concerns of domestic instability. Looking at the political tensions of Tanganyika around the years of independence and comparing this with the situation of Rome in the play helps one to understand the Swahili translation.

A similar relationship between the aristocrats (intellectuals) and the plebeians (working-class people in the cities and peasants in the villages) in the play also existed in Tanganyika. The intellectuals of the 20th century were people who had first interacted with British culture and literature. They were educated in the educational system introduced by European missionaries and colonial administrations. The translator-president Nyerere was a leading intellectual who was luckier than Brutus and his followers as he developed a new ideology to replace the old values in society. The new ideology was *Ujamaa*, a pre-socialism ideology. Compared to orthodox socialism, some key principles related to class and class struggle, including a 'hard' economic bias,

are removed. Nyerere emphasised his ideology using the three key terms of equality, freedom, and unity:

There must be equality, because only on that basis will men work co-operatively. There must be freedom, because the individual is not served by society unless it is his. And there must be unity, because only when the society is united can its members live and work in peace, security, and well-being. (Nyerere 1967, 8)

Ujamaa was more of an ideology that adjusted the relationships between people in society, which included interracial and inter-social group relationships. For the intellectuals, *Ujamaa* required them to unite with the working class and the peasants.

TANU was a grassroots party of Marxist and Leninist leanings, and it was the support from farmers and city workers that helped its members win seats in parliament and that made Nyerere prime minister. TANU was not the only party that struggled with the right of governance in the period just before independence. There was the United Tanganyika Party, which had strong financial backing from the White community, as well as the All-Muslim National Union of Tanganyika, representing coastal Muslim interests and working closely with the long-standing East African Muslim Welfare Society (Bjerk 2015, 42-44). Nyerere needed to not only consolidate the support of the people by introducing and implementing *Ujamaa* ideology, but he also needed to hear the people and speak directly with them. He realised that staying in his office in Dar es Salaam was not a good way to hear the real thoughts of the people and that the bureaucratic system was a hindrance to the flow of information. Soon after

Tanganyika's independence, Nyerere announced his resignation, and he spent a year travelling across the country. Nyerere stressed that his purpose of leaving his office to travel was to build a strong political organisation that was active at the village level, guaranteeing that the policies of the government could travel to the people and that the 'ideas, desires and misunderstandings of the people can travel direct to the government' (Bjerk 2015, 78).

Nyerere was a typical educational elite in a colony who had received teachings about European culture and values in school. In a time of change from a colonial to a post-colonial society, he reached the status of an aristocrat in society and was surrounded by people like him. Unlike the aristocrats in *Julius Caesar*, who have no respect for the plebeians, Nyerere knew the resource of his power and that of TANU and he intentionally wanted to be close to the plebeians to show respect to them. His consciousness is reflected in his translation, which is discussed later in the specific translated texts in this chapter.

In the Chinese context, the struggle faced by the intellectuals was a bit different from that in Tanzania. China had to contend with pre-modern social, political, and economic structures at the heart of social injustice, European interest in its resources and cultural imperialism, and internal divisions, while Tanzania had to deal with similar issues on top of direct colonialism. Both China and Tanzania were not only looking for independence, sovereignty, and solvency but also internal unity. And this search

continued beyond formal independence, for the colonial legacy, whether in the form of cold war politics or world bank measures, remained potent as the continuity of European imperialism felt in both China and Tanzania. The differences in the material conditions of living in the two countries understandably informed creative cultural expressions, but not necessarily in similarly explicit fashion of translations

Facing feudalism, Chinese intellectuals played the role of enlighteners, and they took a high moral position. They could confidently preach to the people about modern, European values such as democracy and science (referred as Mr, De and Mr, Sai: 德先生, 赛先生). In the works of the pioneer writers, the masses were criticised for their lack of understanding of modern values and adherence to feudalist values. Nonetheless, the writers also admired the high morality of the masses, which included the farmers and city workers. After all, they were dependent on the foods and services offered by the masses.

As the socialist ideology spread rapidly and broadly after the May Fourth Movement (五四运动), class consciousness was more recognised and internalised by the intellectuals. The main force in this time of change in China was regarded to be the proletariats, especially in the areas where the Communist Party ruled. In the works of the writers who sympathised with the communists, the protagonists, who were usually educated elites, tended to give up their capitalist humanistic ideas and convert to the socialist revolutionary ideology. Zhang Fugui (1988) observes the struggle and the

changing of the self-awareness of the class identity of Chinese intellectuals in the *geming xiaoshuo* (革命小说, Revolutionary Novels) in the 1930s, as well as how politics influenced such a change. Zhang suggests:

当毛泽东们把是否于工农群众向结合作为青年是不是革命的唯一标准时，对于劳动民众的认同也就成了革命知识分子人生道路的唯一选择。(Zhang 1988, 209)

When Mao Zedong and his colleagues defined whether young people were revolutionary by their willingness to integrate with the workers and peasants, the recognition of the working people became the only way of life for revolutionary intellectuals. (Author's translation)

It must be noted that in times of change, the choices of the intellectuals are multifaceted and often contradictory. The image of the intellectuals (politicians in the case of Tanzania) and their prospective role in a post-colonial society were major concerns in the process of state-building. The images of the working people in literary works could be different, as could the comments on them in translated literary works. As discussed above, the role of the plebeians in *Julius Caesar* received opposing comments among the leading Chinese intellectuals. Socialist ideological trends were prevailing in China in the 1930s and 1940s and in Tanzania in the 1960s when the translations of *Julius Caesar* in the two languages emerged in the two countries. What approaches did the translators apply in their translations and how were the images of the aristocrats and plebeians expressed in their rendering? How did the social and cultural contexts influence their strategies? These questions are addressed in the following sections in a comparative manner.

5.5 The Image of Caesar

5.5.1 Mortal Caesar and Immortal Caesarism

Although the name of the play is *Julius Caesar*, the physical body of Caesar exits the stage very early. After uttering the famous line ‘Et tu, Brute?’, he dies in Act 3 Scene 1. Caesar’s body exiting the stage does not mean that his spirit does so. His spirit keeps appearing in the following scenes. When Brutus speaks to the citizens of Rome in the public pulpit, some people in the crowd are moved by his assertion of the virtuous motivation behind the assassination, shouting ‘let him be Caesar’ (III, 2, 53). This is the first time that Caesar’s spirit appears after his death. The ghost of Caesar enters Brutus’s tent when he is of a weak mind. Brutus has just received the message of the suicide of his wife, Portia, and has had a fierce quarrel with Cassius. Caesar’s ghost appears in Brutus’s tent and claims, ‘...thou shalt see me at Philippi’ (IV, 3, 283). At the moment of their suicides, both Brutus and Cassius refer to Caesar, with Cassius saying, ‘Caesar, thou art revenged, even with the sword that killed thee’ (V, 3, 45), while Brutus says, ‘Caesar, now be still. I killed not thee with half so good a will’ (V, 5, 51).

Another example of Caesar’s reappearance is Brutus, who killed Caesar, becoming more and more like Caesar. His self-confidence becomes so strong that he is blind to the truth. From allowing Antony to speak in the pulpit, to refusing the advice of Cassius, who is a more experienced commander, on military strategy before the war and during

the war, to speaking to Octavius in Caesar's tongue, shown in the line 'Oh, if thou wert the noblest of thy strain, young man, thou couldst not die more honourable' (V, 1, 60-61), Brutus finally becomes the man he killed.

Jan H. Blits has argued that Caesar was essentially 'an outgrowth of the regime' and that Caesar's death was 'necessarily the end, not the salvation, of republican Rome' (Blits 1981, 40). The decline of the republican system of Rome is shown in the very beginning of the play, represented by civil disorder. In this sense, the reappearing of Caesar's name and spirit is a metaphor for the ending of republicanism and the emerging of Caesarism. Reborn (1990) suggests that *Julius Caesar* reveals the competition between the emulous Roman aristocrats, their deeds of seeking personal glory and the discarding of the old values of serving the interests of the common people. For the characterisation of the protagonists in the play, he goes further to argue that Shakespeare saw them all as the same:

He [Shakespeare] knew where the Roman state was heading; he revealed directly how the senators, in killing Caesar because of his emulous ambition, were really striking at the defining principle of their class. To put it most directly: Brutus, Cassius and other conspirators *are* Caesar. (Reborn 1990, 91-92)

At the beginning of the play, Caesar is just the name of a powerful Roman military commander; by the end of the play, Caesar's spirit will last for eternity as Caesarism. From Brutus's viewpoint, they are up against the spirit of Caesar and bloodshed is something that needs to be done:

We all stand up against the spirit of Caesar,
And in the spirit of men there is no blood.
O that we then could come by Caesar's spirit
And not dismember Caesar! But, alas,
Caesar must bleed for it! (II, 1, 166-171)

The irony is that the conspirators eliminate Caesar's body but accelerate the sanctification of Caesar's spirit. Brutus becomes like Caesar in his pursuit of power, and he is defeated by Antony and another Caesar (Octavius). Caesar's unfinished road is finished by Octavius, who becomes the first emperor of the Roman Empire. Caesar's spirit becomes Caesarism, which has inspired generations of politicians to form authoritarian regimes. The monarchs of Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia were referred to as *Tsar* and the German emperor was referred to as *Kaisar*, both of which originate from Caesar.

Where there is a dictator, there are assassins. As mentioned in the literature review, Mazrui has identified the metaphor of the circles of assassination and the imaginative connections between the events of Europe and Africa, and between these events and Shakespeare's plays. As the founding father of Tanzania, Nyerere had the chance to pursue a lifetime of rule, as many of the dictators in Africa did, but he chose to withdraw from the centre of power voluntarily. He realised the danger of being a dictator and had faced an unsuccessful coup. He was deeply shocked by the civil unrest in neighbouring countries, such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In Nyerere's biographies, the memoirs of people close to him, commemorative articles published in journals and

newspapers after his death and documentary films, Nyerere's image is always that of a low-profile man. Caesarists do not respect the commoners, and they believe that history can be changed by themselves. Nyerere, who stood in a similar position to Caesar in Rome in his own country, did not have the same mentality.

After independence, there was a tendency among some African independence movement leaders to pursue a lifetime in power. Nyerere later came to recognise such monarchical tendencies in some of his nationalistic colleagues in Africa. He was against any extravagance and bureaucracy. In a speech at the ceremony for TANU's inauguration day in 1963, he warned of the TANU officials' tendencies for pomposity and sent an open letter to the ministers on the same topic after the meeting (Nyerere 1967, 223-226). He resisted an ostentatious self-image among the people of the country. He criticised the police's traffic control to ensure his security and highlighted the inconvenience to the people of the capital:

Yet, as a result of this growing insistence on pomposity and on ostentation, the President of Tanganyika is fast becoming the worst public nuisance the city of Dar es Salaam has ever had to put up with! Whenever he decides to go out, whether to a dinner, a dance, or even to visit some friends, the normal flow of the traffic has now to be interfered with. If he has not had the time to warn the police well in advance, then other road-users on the route to his destination will suddenly find themselves being cleared out of the way (like so much unsightly rubbish) to leave the road clear for the president's car. (Nyerere 1967, 225)

Nyerere complained about the uncomfortable situation of being isolated in the State House, not being able to connect with the people:

There have been several occasions when I have wanted passers-by to be allowed into the grounds to enjoy a *ngoma* that was going on there. But it was impossible for me or anybody else to get the Gate opened. (Nyerere 1967, 226)

While Caesar in Shakespeare's play sees himself as a constant Northern Star and the Roman aristocrats despise the masses, choked by their smell and always separating themselves from the masses both spiritually and physically, Nyerere desperately wanted to be close to the masses both physically and mentally. The plot and characters of the play might have encouraged his contemplation of the issues in his country. The influence of such a mentality on his translation is discussed in the details of the text in the following section.

5.5.2 Caesar, the One Who Loves Status (*Mpenda Cheo*) in Swahili

As Tanganyika's first president and founding father of the nation, Nyerere's position was in many ways like that of Caesar in Rome. As the leader of the independence movement, Nyerere had a very high position among the people of Tanganyika. His influence on the people was like Caesar's influence on the Roman people. In later days, Nyerere became a political symbol of the nation. Just as the name of Caesar transformed into Caesarism and his spirit was immortalised by his assassination, Nyerere's spirit has also been remembered by Tanzanian citizens. His figure has become a symbol of a set of moral principles remembered by the Tanzanian people and constantly referred to by Tanzanian politicians even today (see Fouéré, Marie-Aude 2014; Uhuru, Monday, 14th

December 2019³⁹). Caesarism inherited Caesar's name, becoming the name to refer to German and Russian emperors. Nyerere's spirit is remembered as he became 'Mwalimu Nyerere' (Teacher Nyerere), which means the teacher of the nation.

In Nyerere's translation, from the picking of words, his judgement about the reason for Caesar's assassination and his ideas regarding the important virtues for political leaders can be seen. In his speech to the plebeians, Brutus explains the reason for the assassination of Caesar:

As Caesar loved me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoice
at it; as he was valiant, I honour him; but
as he was ambitious, I slew him. (III, 2, 25-28)

Brutus's explanation is that Caesar is 'ambitious', with an ambitious Caesar seen as a big threat to the republic of Rome. The fulfilment of Caesar's ambitions would have meant the enslavement of other Romans. The crowning of Caesar as a king would have been considered a nightmare by Brutus and his fellow conspirators. From Brutus's perspective, Caesar's ambition threatened the Roman way of life:

Had you rather Caesar
were living, and die all slaves, than that Caesar
were dead, to live all freemen? (III, 2, 22-24)

³⁹ The newspaper published an entire long issue (49 pages) discussing how the then-president John Pembe Magufuli had completed the political visions of Nyerere. This is an example of a Tanzanian politician trying to gain support from the people by referring to Nyerere.

In his speech after Brutus's speech, using his great oratorical skills, Antony refuted Brutus's accusation of Caesar's 'ambition':

Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me;
But Brutus says he was **ambitious**,
...

He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill.
Did this in Caesar seem **ambitious**?
...

When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.
Yet Brutus says he was **ambitious**;

You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse. Was this **ambition**?
Yet Brutus says he was **ambitious**; (III, 2, 86-100)

Antony gives four reasons to rebut Brutus's accusation. The first reason is Caesar's personal morals of faithfulness and justice. These morals were felt by Antony in their daily contact, while the plebeians who had no personal interactions with Caesar may not have known this. Antony then gives the second reason that Caesar brought many captives and their ransoms back to Rome to fill the general coffers. This reminds the plebeians of the good that Caesar did for Rome and for their lives. For the third reason, Antony describes the moment that Caesar cried for the poor, proving his sympathy; a soft-hearted, sympathetic man cannot be ambitious. The fourth reason is the recent event in which Antony offered Caesar a crown three times, which was rejected by

Caesar three times. This event was witnessed by the plebeians, so it is the most convincing one.

Whether Caesar is ambitious is very important in the play. The assassination of Caesar is a bloody and evil deed, and the reason that Brutus can portray it as a necessary deed is that Caesar's ambition threatened the freedom of Romans. Killing Caesar is an act of defending the freedom of Rome. In Nyerere's translation, a different image of Caesar can be seen. Nyerere's Swahili translation of Brutus's accusation of Caesar and Antony's refutation is as follows:

As Caesar loved me, I weep for him; as he was fortunate, I rejoice at it; as he was valiant, I honour him; but as he was **ambitious**, I slew him. There is tears for his love; joy for his fortune; honour for his valour; and death for his ambition. (III, 2, 25-29)

Kwa sababu Kaizari alinipenda, ninamlilia; kwa sababu alikuwa na sudi, nashangilia; kwa sababu alikuwa shujaa namkutuza; likini kwa sababu alikuwa **mpenda cheo**, nimemwua. Pana machozi kwa ajili ya mapenzi yake, shangwe kwa ajili ya sudi; utukufu kwa ajili ya ushujaa; na kifo kwa kupenda cheo kwake. (III, 2, 372-377)

In the Swahili translation, the word 'ambitious' is translated as 'mpenda cheo', which means 'one who loves status'. The meaning of the sentence is 'but because he was a man who loved status, I have killed him'. In the sentences of Antony's defence of Caesar, Nyerere used the same word to translate 'ambitious' and 'ambition':

He was my friend, faithful and just to me;
But Brutus says he was **ambitious**, (III, 2, 89)

Alikuwa mwenzi wangu, mwaminifu mwenye haki;
Ila Buruto alisema alikuwa **mpenda cheo** (III, 2, 443-444)

He hath brought many captives home to Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill.
Did this in Caesar seem **ambitious**? (III, 2, 92)

Kaletu mateka wengi katika mji wa Roma
Ambao fidia zao ziliyajaza maghala
Je, Caesar kufanya hivyo kuwe ni **kupenda cheo**? (III, 2, 446-448)

When that the poor have cried, Caesar hath wept;
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff.
Yet Brutus says he was **ambitious** (III, 2, 94-96)

Fukara waliplia Caesar alilia nao,
Kupenda cheo kwataka moyo mgumu zaidi.
Ila Brutus alisema alikuwa **mpenda cheo** (III, 2, 449-451)

You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse. Was this **ambition**? (III, 2, 97-99)

Wote mlishuhudia siku ya Luperkalia
Mara tatu nilimpa taji tukufu la enzi,
Naye Caesar mara tatu taji akalikataa.
Huko ni **kupenda cheo**? (III, 2, 454-457)

In the translation, ‘kupenda cheo’, which means ‘to love status’, is the deadly crime.

The more literal translation of ‘ambitious’ in Swahili would be ‘pasi’, and ‘an ambitious person’ in Swahili is ‘mpasi’. Here, Nyerere uses ‘kupenda cheo’ and ‘mpenda cheo’ instead of ‘pasi’ and ‘mpasi’ for a reason. In the play, Brutus has no hard evidence that Caesar would have made himself a king. In the soliloquy in Act 2 Scene 1, using the metaphor of an unhatched serpent’s egg to describe Caesar, Brutus reasons why Caesar

must be killed:

And therefore think him as a serpent's egg,
Which, hatched, would as his kind grow mischievous
And kill him in the shell. (II, 1, 32-34)

The danger that Caesar could bring to Rome is something that has not yet happened. What Brutus presumes is what Caesar could become after he is crowned and the consequences that he, as a king, might bring to Rome. No one can really see into others' minds, which is why judging whether a man is ambitious is very subjective. Due to the subjective nature of Brutus's claims that Caesar was ambitious, Antony can easily make contrary arguments to defend Caesar.

In Nyerere's translation, once 'ambitious' is replaced by 'one who loves status', the logic is changed. Whether Caesar is ambitious or not cannot be easily determined from his actions and language in the play. What the audience can see is that Caesar is a man of high status and that he enjoys such a status. The citizens of Rome worship Caesar as a god and Caesar acts God-like. Caesar always sees himself as different from everyone else in Rome. The most prominent example of Caesar's sense of his superiority is in his reply to those who beg for the enfranchisement of Publius Cimber:

But I am constant as the Northern Star,
Of whose true-fixed and resting quality
There is no fellow in the firmament.
...
That unassailable holds on his rank,

Unshakeable of Motion; and I am he, (III,1, 61-71)

Caesar sees himself as the unchanging Northern Star in the sky, arrogantly refusing the appeals of other members of the Senate. His way of using the name 'Caesar' or the third-person singular 'he' to refer to himself most of the time when talking to others gives the audience the impression of his God-like self-consciousness. Each time Caesar appears in the play, he is the man with the highest status. From the beginning, when the plebeians assemble on the streets to see Caesar's triumphant return, before Caesar appears, his influence on the people of Rome is already filling the stage. When he appears, everyone is ready to listen to him and everyone is obedient to his will:

Casca: Peace ho! Caesar speaks

...

Antony: I shall remember.

When Caesar says 'Do this' it is performed. (I, 2, 2-10)

When at his home, out of the public eye, Caesar still does not remove the mask of a demigod. The language he uses when talking with his wife Calpurnia is no different from the language he uses with others in public:

Caesar: What can be avoided

Whose end is purposed by the mighty gods?

Yet Caesar shall go forth; for these predictions

Are to the world in general as to Caesar. (II, 2, 26-29)

Two times Caesar refers to himself using the name 'Caesar' in this excerpt, like in many other instances, as the name 'Caesar' is something higher than his own physical being.

In Nyerere's Swahili translation, when the audience hears or the readers read Brutus claiming that Caesar is '*mpenda cheo*' (one who loves status), they would surely agree with him.

Caesar constantly refuses to listen to others' warnings, including those of the soothsayer, Calpurnia and Artemidorus, arrogantly believing only his own judgements. The exception is when Decius explains Calpurnia's dream to Caesar. Decius interprets Calpurnia's bad dream as a good one that signifies Caesar's greatness and his incomparable contribution to Rome:

Decius: This dream is all amiss interpreted;
It was a vision fair and fortunate.
Your statue spouting blood in many pipes,
In which so many smiling Romans bathed,
Signifies that from you great Rome shall suck
Reviving blood, and that great men shall press
For tinctures, stains, relics, and cognizance.
This by Calpurnia's dream is signified. (II, 2, 83-90)

These words of flattery describe Caesar as a god to Romans. After listening to this, Caesar changes his mind and goes to the Senate House where he is assassinated. In Nyerere's translation, Caesar is a man who loves status (*mpenda cheo*) and his obsession with status leads him to his fate of being assassinated.

For Nyerere, to be the king of Rome is not unacceptable, but it is unacceptable to be a man who sees himself above all other members of society. This may be the message he

wanted to convey to the audience and readers through his translation. Nyerere was an egalitarian. In the political domain, he pursued a society in which every member is equal, which is the core of the *Ujamaa* spirit.

5.5.3 Caesar the Ambitious Man (野心家) in Chinese

From the above analysis, it can be seen that in the Swahili text, by changing the key word used to accuse Caesar, his characterisation is changed from an ambitious general who dares to seek the position of a king to a political leader who sees himself above all others in the country. In Zhu Shenghao's translation, 'ambitious' is translated as 有野心 (*youyixin*), while 'ambition' is translated as 野心 (*yexin*).

Brutus: - as he was **ambitious**, I slew him. There is tears for his love; joy for his fortune; honour for his valour; and death for his **ambition**. (III. 2. 26-28)

勃鲁托斯: 因为他**有野心**, 所以我杀死他。我用眼泪报答他的友谊, 用喜悦庆祝他的幸运, 用尊敬崇扬他的勇敢, 用死亡惩戒他的**野心**..... (Zhu 1994b, 146)

In Antony's defence of Caesar, 'ambitious' was translated as '有野心的' (*you yexin de*) and 'ambition' as '野心者的行径' (*yexingzhe de xingjing*). In Chinese, 'ambition' has several equivalent words: '野心' (*yexin*), '雄心' (*xiongxin*), '抱负' (*baofu*) and '志向' (*zhixiang*). Among them, '野心' has negative connotations, meaning having the mind of a rebel or being unsatisfied with one's current position. This word is the correct one to use when describing Caesar from the perspective of Brutus and the other conspirators,

who suspect that he wants to be crowned as a king, rebelling against the Roman republic system and showing dissatisfaction with his current position as a general of the republic.

Zhu's translation is closer to the source text.

5.6 The Images of Aristocrats and Plebeians

5.6.1 The Hypocritical Aristocrats in Swahili

In the play, there are conflicts between the aristocrats and the plebeians, as well as between the aristocrats on different sides. The plebeians of Rome are a determinative force that the ambitious politicians want to appeal to. A politician, even one as powerful as Caesar, also needs to please the plebeians. It is described vividly by Casca how Antony offers a crown three times to Caesar and Caesar rejects it three times to show he has no intention to be a king for the Romans are freedom-loving republicans and Caesar must please them:

Casca: I can as well be hanged as tell the manner of it. It was mere **foolery**; I did not mark it. I saw Mark Antony offer him a crown – yet't was not a crown neither' it was one of these coronets – and as I told you, he put it by once; but for all that, to my thinking, he would fain have had it. Then he offered it to him again; then he put it by again; but to my thinking he was very loath to lay his fingers off it. And then he offered it the third time. He put it the third time by, and still as he refused it the rabblement hooted and clapped their chapped hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath because Caesar refused the crown that it had almost choked Caesar, for he swooned and fell down at it. And for mine own part I durst not laugh for fear of opening my lips and receiving the bad air. (I, 2, 235-250)

In this description, it is the plebeians of Rome who can really decide whether to give Caesar a crown. Considering the close relationship between Antony and Caesar, this event was highly likely arranged by them for, from the reactions of the plebeians, Caesar would have seen their attitudes. The scene is described by Casca, and from this description, one can know his attitude towards Caesar and the plebeians. With regard to Caesar, he is doubtful. Although Caesar rejects the crown three times, Casca's comment following the first two rejections means that he doubts the rejection, feeling that Caesar eagerly wants the crown. For Caesar's third rejection and fall, Casca sees this as Caesar choked by his eagerness. For the plebeians, Casca despises them. He even refuses to breath for fear of receiving the 'bad air' coming from the crowd.

Nyerere's Swahili translation of Casca's description is:

Kasika: Naweza je kuwaambieni ilivyokuwa? Ulikuwa **unafiki** mtupu; sikuujali. Nilimwona Mariko Antoni akimpa taji – wala halikuwa taji, ulikuwa ni mfano wa kitaji tu; na kama nilivyosema, alikata mara ya kwaza; lakini kwa kweli nilivyo fikiri angependa alichukue. Halafu akampa tena, naye alikataa tena; ninavyofikiri hakupenda kidogo kuliachia. Halafu akampa mara ya tatu; akaliweka chini tena mara ya tatu: na kila alipolikataa akina yahe walipiga kilele na kupiga makofi na kuzitupa hewani kofia zao zilizokuwa zimelowa kwa majasho na kutoa harufu mbaya sana, ati kwa sababu Kaizari alikuwa amkataa taji, hata ilikuwa karibu kumsonga roho Kaizari mwenyewe; alizimia na kuanguka: na nafasi yangu sikithubutu kucheka kwa nilihofu kupanua kinywa changu na kupokea harafu chafu. (I, 2, 325-342)

In Shakespeare's original text, Casca uses the word 'foolery' to describe the scene of Antony offering a crown to Caesar. In Nyerere's Swahili translation, he translated 'foolery' as '*unafiki*', which means 'hypocrisy' in Swahili. For Shakespeare, 'foolery'

was clearly pointing to the reactions of the plebeians, not to Caesar and Antony. Caesar can be described by many words, but not 'foolery'. The characters of the play use various words to refer to Caesar, for example:

'God'

Cassius: How he did shake, Tis true, this god did shake. (I, 2, 121)

'immortal'

Cassius: Where many of the best respect in Rome,
Excepting the immortal. Caesar, Speaking of Brutus (I, 2, 59-60)

'a tyrant' and 'a wolf'

Cassius: And why should Caesar be a tyrant then?
Poor man, I know he would not be a wolf
But that he sees the Romans are but sheep. (I, 3, 103-105)

'the adder' and 'a serpent's egg'

Brutus: It is the bright day that brings forth the adder
...
And therefore think him as a serpent's egg. (II, 1, 15 and 31)

'unassailable'

Caesar: Yet in the number I do know but one
That unassailable holds on his rank
Unshaked of motion, And that I am he, (III, 1, 69-71)

'noblest'

Antony: Thou art the ruins of the noblest man. (III, 1, 258)

'valiant' and 'ambitious'

Brutus: As he was valiant, I honour him; but, as he was ambitious, I slew him.
(III, 2, 26)

Through the words of the characters, Shakespeare used many words to describe Caesar. Caesar has two faces: one is the immortal god-like figure, the greatest man in Rome, the unshakable Northern Star in the sky, while the other one is the mortal old man, sick

with deafness and fainting, who is arrogant and superstitious. If 'foolery' cannot be found in the description of Caesar, can it be found for Antony? The answer to this question is also no. In the earlier scenes, when he appears, Antony gives the audience the impression of being an energetic man, passionate about sports and celebrations. Caesar compares Cassius with him:

He is a great observer, and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men. He loves no plays,
As thou dost, Antony; He hears no music. (I, 2, 202-204)

In the eyes of Caesar, the great observer, Cassius and Antony have contrasting personalities, with Cassius being melancholic and deep in thought, and Antony being a music lover and a party animal. Caesar believes that Cassius is dangerous and that his judgement is right. In the latter part of the play, the audience knows that Antony is also a great orator and a mature politician who can see the truth and can make decisions according to what is best rather than his personal feelings. After the death of Caesar, Brutus and Cassius are both swayed by their personal feelings several times and are bound by their ethical standards, while Antony is always a cold-blooded politician. Antony cannot be described by 'foolery'. The word can only be found in Casca's description of the plebeians who watch the scene of Antony offering Caesar the crown.

Nyerere translated 'foolery' as '*unafiki*', which means 'hypocrisy'. A more precise equivalent of 'foolery' in Swahili is '*ujinga*'. The plebeians who watch Caesar and Antony's show can be described as foolery ('*ujinga*' in Swahili) but not hypocrisy

(‘*unafiki*’ in Swahili). It is obvious that in Nyerere’s eyes, Antony and Caesar are hypocritical in the show of offering and rejecting the crown in front of the Roman citizens. In terms of the first version of the translation in 1963, Nyerere did not intend to publish it. One could argue that the word ‘*unafiki*’ may have been an unconscious choice. However, in the revised version of the translation, *Juliasi Kaizari*, which was published in 1969, there is no change of the words in this paragraph, showing that it was Nyerere’s intentional choice. The following translation of the sentences in this paragraph also suggests that Nyerere’s focus was on Antony and Caesar’s hypocrisy, especially that of Caesar:

Casca:

...as I told you, he put it by once; but to all that, to my thinking, he would fain have had it. (I, 2, 238-240)

...na kama nilivyosema, alikataa mara ya kwaza; lakini **kwa kweli** ninavyofikiri alisebusebu. (I, 2, 328-330)

There is no equivalent of ‘*kwa kweli*’ in the original text. ‘*Kwa kweli*’ means ‘in truth’ or ‘in reality’ in English. Comparing this with the mere description in the English text, this added Swahili phrase emphasises the hypocrisy of Caesar.

Casca:

...Then he offered him again; then he put it by again; but to my thinking he was very loath to lay his fingers off it. (I, 2, 240-242)

...Halafu akampa tena, naye akalikataa tena; **lakini ninavyofikiri hakupenda hata kidogo kuliachia**. (I, 2, 330-332)

'Lakini ninanyofikiri hakupenda hata kidogo kuliachia' means 'but I think he didn't like to give it up at all'. Again, the description in the English text has become judgement in the Swahili translation.

In Nyerere's translation, Caesar is a leader who loves status and is hypocritical. Being a status-loving man (*mpenda cheo*) is the reason for his assassination by the conspirators. His hypocrisy is revealed when he is refusing the crown. These two negative characterisations of Caesar show Nyerere's judgement of him and, to an extent, of Caesarism.

5.6.2 The Dirty Plebeians in Chinese

In the English text, it is not known whether Caesar faints because he is choked by the 'stinking breath' and 'sweaty night-caps' or he is choked when he sees that the plebeians do not want him to be a king, or for both reasons. In Nyerere's translation, he provided his own explanation with *'ati kwa sababu Caesar alikataa taji, hata ilikuwa karibu kumsonga roho Caesar mwenyewe'*, which means 'say because Caesar refused the crown, it nearly choked him'. It is Caesar's frustrated ambition that chokes him, not the bad smell of the commoners. The choking of Caesar is the consequence of his hypocrisy at the beginning of this scene. If the Swahili translation is compared with the Chinese translation, the different understandings of Nyerere and Zhu on this scene can be observed.

According to Zhu Shenghao:

于是安东尼又第三次把它献上去，他第三次把它拒绝了，那些乌合之众便高声欢呼，拍着他们粗糙的手掌，抛掷他们汗臭的睡帽，把他们令人作呕的气息散漫在空气之中，因为凯撒拒绝了王冠，结果几乎把凯撒都熏死了。(Zhu 1994b, 107)

‘因为凯撒拒绝了王冠，结果几乎把凯撒都熏死了’ means ‘because Caesar refused the crown, he was almost choked to death by the bad smell’. In Zhu’s understanding, it is the smell of the sweaty night-caps and the breath of the commoners that choke Caesar, not his deflated ambition.

From their translations quoted above, the different attitudes of Nyerere and Zhu towards the plebeians can be seen. In Nyerere’s translation, there is only the objective description of the sweat coming from the night-caps of the plebeians and its bad smell: ‘*kuzitupa hewani kofia zao zilizokuwa zimelowa kwa majashao na kutoa harufu mbaya sana*’ means ‘to throw their hat which has been damped by the sweat into the air and produce very bad smells’. In Zhu’s translation, from the words he chose, one can sense the contempt for the plebeians:

Casca:

the rabblement hooted and clapped their chapped hands, and threw up their sweaty night-caps, and uttered such a deal of stinking breath (I, 2, 244-246)

那些乌合之众便高声欢呼，拍着他们粗糙的手掌，抛掷他们汗臭的睡帽，

把他们令人作呕的气息散漫在空气之中 (Zhu 1994b, 107)

Shakespeare Zhu Shenghao Meaning

Sweaty night-caps 汗臭的睡帽 night-caps with a stinky, sweaty smell
Stinking breath 令人作呕的气息 the disgusting smell

From the comparison above, one can see that the negative image of the plebeians is enhanced in Zhu's translation. The bad smell of their night-caps and the uncomfortable feeling of the people caused by their stinking breath are emphasised. The phrase 'their chapped hands' is omitted in Nyerere's translation, while in Zhu's translation, it is translated as '他们粗糙的手掌', which means 'their rough palms'.

Through the comparison, it can be seen that in Nyerere's translation, the negative image of the commoners is lighter than in Shakespeare's source text. In the Chinese translation, the image of the masses is closer to the source text. This thesis has discussed the debate on revolutionary literature that happened at the end of the 1920s and the early 1930s in China and how the debate penetrated the reception of *Julius Caesar*, as well as how the image and the role of the masses were understood. Zhu was a professional translator of Shakespeare and had collected many materials related to the plays, which means he was highly likely to know about the various interpretations of the play. Zhu saw his dedication to translating Shakespeare as an act of patriotism, especially since China was under Japanese invasion at the time. He wanted to fill the void left by the lack of Shakespearean Translations in Chinese culture, which some Japanese derided as evidence of Chinese cultural backwardness. (Wu and Zhu 1989, 107-108) He criticised

some of the earlier translations for being inaccurate or lacking Shakespeare's elegance. (ibid., 263). Nyerere was a translator but also the most central political leader in his country. For such a political play, his considerations of politics were brought into his translation. Nyerere was the leader of a grassroots party and an advocator of African socialism. Hence, in his translation, the negative image of the masses is not emphasized while possible.

5.7 Conclusion

Nyerere's translation of *Julius Caesar* was finished in the early days of Tanzanian independence, and it was his first translation of Shakespeare, which received many comments and criticisms. These critics could see the roots of Nyerere's political thoughts. The themes of the play, such as political assassination and the betrayal of old friends, were all destabilising factors in the process of state-building. In the Chinese context, the main topic of the play was the image of the masses, which was directly involved in the debate surrounding revolutionary literature. Through the above analysis, one can see that in the Swahili translation, ambitious Caesar becomes Caesar who loves status, with Antony and Caesar becoming hypocritical politicians. In Nyerere's translation, the negative image of the masses is not emphasized, while in Zhu's translation, the negative image of the masses is freely rendered.

Tanzania and China experienced historical changes in the 20th century. Tanganyika saw

the end of its colonial history and it became an independent country. The independence movement was supported by African commoners, who made major contributions to the movement and who were led by the intellectuals represented by Nyerere. China experienced a series of civil wars and anti-invasion wars, with the Communist Party finally emerging victorious and building a socialist regime in mainland China on the 1st of October 1949. Both Tanzania and mainland China embarked on socialist experiments, with the intellectuals (aristocrats) of the two countries having to consider how to deal with their relationship with the commoners (plebeians) and think about the qualities of a good political leader. In Nyerere's translation, Caesar is assassinated not because of his ambition but because of his love of status (*mpenda cheo*). As a translator-president, Nyerere held the highest position in the country. His goal was to build a society in which people had equality. The Roman Julius (Caesar) who saw himself as the Northern Star and the Tanzanian Julius (Nyerere) who pursued a low profile were sharp opposites of each other.

Julius Caesar describes the fall of ancient Roman republicanism, the rise of Caesarism, and the roles played by the Roman aristocrats and plebeians, as well as their fates in a time of change. In Tanzania and most of the Sub-Saharan African states, the expected historical trend was to obtain and secure the prevailing republicanism and prevent the rise of Caesarism (tragically, the opposite became the reality). In mainland China, the historical trend was moving from Caesarism (the ruling of the emperor) to republicanism (the Republic of China) to communism (the People's Republic of China).

After comparing the adaptations and receptions of the play in Swahili and Chinese, one can see that the elites of both countries saw the dynamic interactions between the people and the nobles in the play. As educational elites who had received an education that included English literature, they appropriated the play to describe, explain and predict the social and political facts of their own nations. To put this simply, when the translations of *Julius Caesar* entered Tanzania and China, whether in the details of the translators dealing with the images of the characters or in the criticisms and comments of the critics, one can see that the play was related to the political realities of the two countries. It offered a space for the intellectuals to think about the issues of state-building. A new state was imagined in the receptions of and comments on the translations.

Chapter 6: *The Merchant of Venice* and the Imagination of a New Society

6.1 Introduction

Applying the same way of a prismatic comparison of the previous chapter, this chapter looks at the translations of *The Merchant of Venice* into Swahili and Chinese. The previous chapter looked at the formation of a political fable of state-building in the translations, while this chapter seeks to reveal the formation of a political fable of nation-building in the translations. The discussion in this chapter starts with the translations of the play's title and the names of the characters and tries to look at the cultural and political connotations in them as given by the translators. This chapter then looks at how the theme of anti-Semitism in the source text echoes the theme of anti-racism in the Swahili political context and anti-imperialism in the Chinese political context. Finally, it looks at how the early capitalist society of Venice described in the play was criticized in the Swahili translation and reception in the process of seeking a socialist society and rejecting a capitalist one, while it was praised in the Chinese translation and reception in the process of seeking a capitalist society and rejecting a feudal one. This chapter looks at how the imagining of new societies in the Swahili and Chinese translations took place in the context of imperialism, colonialism, and nationalism in both countries.

Nyerere's *Mabepari wa Venice* was published in 1969, five years after the founding of Tanzania, while Zhu's 威尼斯商人 was published in 1947, two years after the defeat of the Japanese and two years before the founding of the People's Republic of China, with the government of the Republic of China retreating to the island of Taiwan. Although translated more than 70 years ago,⁴⁰ Zhu's translation is considered the finest of all Shakespearean Translations in Chinese. China was never a colony like Tanzania, but the anti-colonial movement in the cultural and political domains was the same. The nationalistic tendencies surrounding the translations into the two languages and their given environments are similar. If *Mabapari wa Venice* can be discussed under post-colonial discourse, so can 威尼斯商人.

When looking at various versions of the adaptations and translations of the play, the differences in their titles provide the first impression. A change in the title usually means adaptation of the content. The application of different strategies in translating the name also indicates the translator's position on the cultural-political spectrum. This chapter looks at the politics of the titles and the characters' names in the translations. In Nyerere's translation, by changing the title, he related the text to the local political context. In the translations of Zhu and other Chinese translators, the changing of the title and the different strategies of domestication or foreignization for translating the

⁴⁰ Zhu Shenghao's translation of *The Merchant of Venice* (威尼斯商人) has been republished many times and enjoyed a great deal of popularity. There are dozens of editions of Zhu's 《威尼斯商人》 available today. The WorldCat database shows that there are 67 books titled Zhu as the author. <https://search.worldcat.org/zh-cn/search?q=%E6%9C%B1%E7%94%9F%E8%B1%AA&itemSubType=book-digital%2Cbook-printbook&author=Zhu%2C+Shenghao&itemType=book>

names indicate the place on the political spectrum of the translators, whether conservatives, who supported the old cultural-political system, or progressives, who supported the revolution.

Shakespeare portrayed a new type of society with features of early capitalism in the play. At the time he worked on the translation, Nyerere was leading Tanzania in a *Ujamaa* socialist movement. In many of his speeches and articles, he expressed his thoughts on capitalism and socialism. By reading the features of Venice portrayed by Shakespeare and Nyerere's political writings on nation-building, the metaphorical significance of the translation can be seen for Nyerere in his consideration of building a new society.

This chapter looks at how by changing the title of the play, a metaphorical message was delivered to the citizens by the translator-president Nyerere that the country would follow a socialist path. The characters of *The Merchant of Venice* are very rounded, full of the potential to be interpreted in different ways. The character that has attracted the most critique since Shakespeare's time is Shylock. By analysing the adaptation and comments on the translation, this thesis argues that an important ideological reflection regarding the image of Shylock in Nyerere's translation is building a peaceful nation on the condition of a non-racial society. In addition to Shylock, this chapter also discusses Portia in terms of how her image as a female lawyer has encouraged the female audience in pursuing their liberation in China. The scene of the court trial in

which Portia acts as a lawyer inspired Chinese intellectuals to introduce the spirit of the law to the country. Although Shylock and Portia and the ideas surrounding them have triggered different discussions in Tanzania and China, they both indicate the expectations and struggles of building a new society, a socialist one in Tanzania and a capitalist one in China, as the final goal of decolonization for these two countries.

6.2 The Synopsis of the Play

The play opens in Venice as a merchant named Antonio is talking about himself being melancholic, but he is unsure why. His close friend Bassanio comes to him asking for his help. Bassanio needs some money to prepare himself to pursue a rich woman in Belmont named Portia. Portia's money would help Bassanio settle his debts that he had accumulated from a life of extravagance. Antonio is willing to do anything for Bassanio because of his deep affection for him. All of Antonio's money is tied up in his ships that are scattered across the oceans at that time, so he must try to borrow money from Shylock, the Jewish moneylender of the city. Unfortunately, there is huge enmity between Antonio and Shylock for Antonio has insulted Shylock many times for charging interest on the money he lends to others. Half-jokingly and half-conspiratorially, Shylock agrees to lend 3,000 *ducats* (the currency of Venice) to Bassanio on the condition that Antonio signs an agreement with him that should he fail to repay the money on time, Shylock will cut a pound of flesh from Antonio's body as forfeiture.

In Belmont, Portia, the rich woman, has met several suitors. To win Portia's hand, the suitors must pass the test of choosing the right casket among three. One of the caskets, which are gold, silver, or lead, respectively, contains Portia's picture. The Prince of Morocco, who is a North African Moor, chooses the golden casket and fails. He is pompous and deceived by attractive appearances. Between the scenes of the plot with the Prince of Morocco is inserted the plot of Jessica, Shylock's daughter, and Lorenzo, Jessica's Christian lover. Jessica steals a certain amount of Shylock's money and elopes with Lorenzo. The elopement of Jessica fiercely angers Shylock, and he blames Antonio for helping Jessica and Lorenzo elope. This leads to the scene of Shylock seeking revenge against Antonio in the court scene.

Bassanio chooses the lead casket as he makes a judgement based not on appearance but on inner virtue. Portia's portrait is contained in the lead casket. According to the law of Venice, when Bassanio marries Portia, the inheritance of her father also belongs to him, and he becomes the lord of the family. Portia gives Bassanio a ring and bids him to keep it forever as a symbol of his loyalty and love for her. Gratiano woos Portia's maid, Nerissa, while Bassanio is pursuing Portia. Nerissa also gives Gratiano a ring to symbolise his love and loyalty to her. Antonio's messengers bring bad news to Portia's house when the two suitors and their future wives are experiencing a happy moment. Antonio's argosies have all been lost at sea. As a result, the bond that was signed between him and Shylock expires, and Antonio faces the danger of a pound of his flesh

being cut by the furious Shylock.

To help his dearest friend, Bassanio departs immediately to return to Venice, while Portia conspires to pretend to be a lawyer to deliver Antonio from the revenge of Shylock in court. Portia entrusts her house and the servants to Lorenzo, ordering a servant to seek help from her cousin, Bellario, who is a lawyer. Portia and Nerissa, dressed as young men, hope to arrive in Venice before their husbands.

The court scene is the climax of the play. Shylock stubbornly refuses all the attempts of the others to persuade him to give up his revenge and have mercy on Antonio. He wants nothing but a pound of flesh from Antonio in accordance with the agreement they have signed. Portia tries to persuade Shylock to show some mercy and give up this revenge. Shylock insists on having the justice of the law. It seems that there is no escape for Antonio, and he must face the horrible consequences. His saviour arrives in the form of Portia quoting the agreement and using the decree of Venice against Shylock. Shylock can lawfully cut a pound of flesh from Antonio but cannot shed his blood, otherwise half of his estate will go to the city of Venice and half will go to Antonio because he has tried to seek the life of a Christian. Shylock is defeated at the end of the scene. A new tension arises when Portia and Nerissa, disguised as young men, ask for the rings that they gave to Bassanio and Gratiano, successfully receiving those two symbols of love that their husbands vowed to keep.

In scene 5, Bassanio, Antonio, Gratiano and the others return to Belmont where the two husbands are scolded for giving away the rings. Seeing they have surpassed their husbands, Portia reveals their arrangements, and finally, the husbands are given the rings again and are forgiven.

6.3 The Politics of the Play's Title and Names

6.3.1 In Swahili

The title of a literary translation reveals a lot about the content. In some cases, it indicates the understanding of the translator of the original work, while in other cases, it contains the message that the translator wants to convey to the readers or audiences. In the Swahili adaptations and translations, *The Merchant of Venice* is given at least three different titles. In Edward Steere's *Hadithi za Kiingereza* (1867), the story is titled *Kuwia na Kuwiwa*, which means 'To Lend and to be Owed', indicating usury as the central plot of the play. Usury is a practice forbidden under Islamic law. Given the fact that most of the population in Zanzibar were Muslims during Steere's time, using such a title that highlighted the content of the play, an evil Jewish usurer being punished for his unmerciful deeds, would have made the story more acceptable for the people of Zanzibar.

In a later edition of the adaptation, the name of the story was changed to *Mfanyi Biashara wa Venice (Venisi)*. This edition was published by Sheldon Press in London

in 1939 and was used as a schoolbook in the East African Dependencies (Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar). On the fly page of the book is printed the following declaration: 'The Swahili in which this book is written has been approved by the Inter-Territorial Language (Swahili) Committee for the East African Dependencies' (Sheldon Press 1939). The dialectical and orthographic variations in Swahili would have been a concern to educational officials as a common orthography and dialectal form was essential if the language was to be used in the educational system. Whether it was a re-translation or, more likely, a revised version of Steere's *Kuwia na Kuwiwa*, the new edition was scrutinised by the committee, which was mainly composed of renowned linguists. The correctness of the language was more of a concern in this edition. The Swahili title was a word-for-word translation of the English source text. It is worth mentioning that none of the names of the characters and places were translated. The name 'Venice' was kept in the title, with the Swahilised transliteration '*Venisi*' appearing in parentheses.

Word-for-word translations and maintaining the original names of the characters and places is a strategy of foreignization, bringing the audience out of their familiar culture and language and into a foreign one. The changing of the title from one that suggested the content (*Kuwia na Kuwiwa*) to a word-for-word translation (*Mfanyi Biashara wa Venice*) and the decision to keep the English spelling of the names of the characters and places reflected the Western engagement in the development of Swahili progressing from one missionary's individual level to a colonial authority's institutional level.

Nyerere's translation was published in 1969, which was eight years after Tanganyika's independence and five years after the founding of Tanzania. The title of his translation is *Mabepari wa Venisi*. The merchant in the English title could refer to either of the two protagonists, Antonio and Bassanio. They are both merchants in the city of Venice and are both owners of argosies that travel across the seas carrying goods from country to country. The merchants buy low and sell high, making a profit from the gap in the prices of goods. In the play, Shakespeare describes a new type of society that is different from the societies in his other plays, such as Greek, Athenian, Roman and English, which usually have one religion, one value system, and very clear and unequivocal moral standards. In Venice, people of different religions and races are living together. The core of the city is commerce. As W. H. Auden pointed out:

The Merchant of Venice is about a certain kind of society, a society that is related to and can't do without someone whom it can't accept. The Gentile Venetian society is a new-born bourgeois capitalist society, no longer feudal, not yet industrial... [The society of Venice is] unlike a feudal society, which is based on land, the basis of this society is money coming from speculative trade, not from production, as in an industrial society. It is possible to become suddenly rich or suddenly poor, and money has commodity as well as exchange value. (Auden 2000, 75-78)

The Swahili equivalent of 'merchant' is *mfanya biashara*. Nyerere rendered 'merchant' as '*mabepari*' (capitalists), which changed the meaning and made a singular English word a plural Swahili one. Nyerere's changing of the title in his translation has been noted and discussed by various scholars. Mazrui (2016) suggests that the use of '*bepari*'

(capitalist) in the title was Nyerere's way of evoking the figure of the East African Indian as an equivalent to the European Jew in Shakespeare's play (87). Ida Hadjivayanis (2011) observes that in the political context of Tanzania's socialist movement in the 1960s and 1970s, the titles of translations in many cases were ideologically loaded. As she suggests:

We find that most translations that were undertaken in the immediate post-colonial period of the 60s, 70s and even the 80s have a tendency to reflect aspects of nationalism and freedom through concepts of bravery, unity, strength or African oriented ideologies of the time. For example, Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) has been translated by Clement Ndulute into *Shujaa Okonkwo* (1973), meaning 'Okonkwo the Brave'. Okonkwo is the main character in the novel and he fights colonialism and rejects the ideals of the West until the end; in this respect, Okonkwo was a brave African man. Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Micere Mugo's *The Trial of Dedan Kimathi* (1976) which depicts the circumstances surrounding the trial of one of the leaders of the Mau Mau revolution, Dedan Kimathi, has been translated as *Mzalendo Kimathi* (1983) meaning 'Kimathi the Patriot'. *A Man of the People* (1966) has been translated as *Mwakilishi wa Watu* (1977) which means 'the representative of the people'. (Hadjivayanis 2011, 249)

In his article 'Subject to translation: Shakespeare, Swahili, Socialism', Faisal Fatehali Devji makes the following suggestions:

Mabepari ... was used in the language of Nyerere's socialism to refer insultingly to the Indian commercial bourgeoisie which this socialism sought to destroy. Indeed, the image of Shylock, both in the comedy and in the drawing that prefaced its Kiswahili translation, evoked the Indian in East Africa, depicting as it did a leering, hook-nosed character with a knife in one hand and a pair of scales in the other. Nyerere's use of the word 'mabepari', of course, also displaces the identity of the play's merchant from Antonio, a well-meaning member of the majority, to Shylock, the representative of a usurious minority. The East African Indian, then, is evoked through a series of displacements, both within the play and without it, by the figure of a European Jew, and this in a way that ends up problematizing East Africa itself as a context for his subjectivity. (Devji 2000,182)

Serena Talento (2021), in agreement with Ebrahim Hussein (1973, 104), also suggests that the change of title from 'The Merchant of Venice' to 'Capitalists of Venice' emphasises that the real tension and reason for the human clash that the play illustrates is not about individuals but about a system, because,

from Nyerere's point of view, private enterprises and capital were systems to be demonised because they could corrupt an economic system based on communal work, interpersonal relationships, and group solidarity: the foundation on which the Ujamaa system was based. (218)

The picture of a commercial city that is full of merchants who travel overseas and who come from all over the world would have reminded the East African audiences and readers of Zanzibar. It would also have been easy for the Swahili readers to relate the Jewish people in 17th-century England to people of Indian origin in Zanzibar. Zanzibar was a world-renowned centre to produce cloves and other spices. In Zanzibar, according to the registers of the Clove Bonus Scheme of 1920s, the large clove owners (owning 1000 clove trees) were mostly Arabs (Sheriff 2001, 303-306). The wealthy Indian community of Zanzibar loaned money heavily to the Arab clove plantation owners, while many of the latter ended up with losing their lands to the former (Lofchie 1965, 104-26). People of Indian and Arab origin controlled the economy of Zanzibar and were the ruling class, the word 'bepari' originally referring to the Arabs who sponsored the

caravans to the interlands, while the people of African origin, many of whom were the descendants of slaves and immigrants from the mainland, were ruled by them. In colonial times, the Tanganyika mainland and Zanzibar were both included as part of the British Empire, with the products produced by the local people exported to the metropolitan centres.

Before independence, Eastern African city-states were involved in the circle of global capitalism, among which Zanzibar had a unique position because of its location as a trading centre for the Indian Ocean. The slaves and goods from the continent were transported into Zanzibar by the Arab caravans and exported into Asia, Europe, and the Americas. In the words of Croucher:

Having come under the control of Oman by the early nineteenth century, Zanzibar became rich from the profits of the caravan trade in ivory and slaves. Here lies the origin of the proverb, "When you play the flute in Zanzibar, all Africa... dances." Caravan routes running west from the coast and connecting large areas of Eastern and East Central Africa were connected through the port of Zanzibar. (Croucher 2015, 1)

Zanzibar's location in Africa was very like that of Venice in Europe as both were commercial centres. The racial tensions between the Africans and the Asian and Arabic descendants on the island were also a result of slavery, to which the latter (bepari) contributed greatly by financing the slave and caravan trade. The mainland of Tanganyika, which was under German and British rule for more than half a century, was also deeply involved in the capitalism of the global economy. After independence,

facing the mission of state-building and nation-building in the context of the competition between capitalism and socialism, Nyerere and his colleagues had to think about forging a path for this new country. This political background offers hints when reading Nyerere's translation of the play. Shakespeare's original text portrays a society of early capitalism, while in Nyerere's translation, the changing of the title offers the metaphorical implication of the advantages and disadvantages of the political ideologies that Nyerere wanted to convey to the people of the country. The problems of racialism and inequality in the society portrayed in Shakespeare's play were also problems that needed to be solved in socialist Tanzania.

During the time of the publication of *Mabepari wa Venice*, Tanzania was experiencing a socialist movement. Inspired by the traditional extended family structure and its way of distributing wealth equally among its members, Nyerere named his socialist programme after the Swahili word '*Ujamaa*':

'Ujamaa', then, or 'Familyhood', describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man. (Nyerere 1968, 12)

Ujamaa was initiated by the Arusha Declaration in 1967, which had plans for the nationalisation of the farming industry and its redistribution among the newly fashioned communal farms (villagisation). The programme was to define Tanzania's way of development, aiming to eliminate the unequal wealth distribution in the country to

prevent the exploitation of humans by their fellow humans within Tanzania. Under such a principle, the path of capitalism was rejected in the country and the capitalists were regarded as reactionary. Nyerere saw capitalism as a system of millionaires exploiting other people. In his words:

Defenders of capitalism claim that the millionaire's wealth is the just reward for his ability or enterprise. But this claim is not borne out by the facts. The wealth of the millionaire depends as little on the enterprise or abilities of the millionaire himself as the power of a feudal monarch depended on his own efforts, enterprise, or brain. Both are users, exploiters, of the abilities and enterprise of other people. (Nyerere 1968, 2)

Capitalism and capitalists were negative concepts in the discourse of the *Ujamaa* policies and the people of Tanzania were familiar with them. There were wide applications of those words in the poetic Swahili writings. The following examples of the word *bepari* (pl. *mabepari*) and *ubepari* (capitalism) applied in Swahili poems are quoted from the anthology *Mashairi ya Azizimo la Arusha* (Poems of the Arusha Declaration), edited by Grant Kamenju and Farouk Topan (1971). The poems in the anthology were selected from the Swahili magazines *Uhuru* (*Freedom*) and *Ngurumo* (*Roaring*), which were published within six months after the Arusha Declaration. The poets of these poems were workers and peasants across the country:

9. Makabaila Mwaemajie?
Nimesikia kelele, mayoye mengi ya watu,
Wakimtaja Nyerere, Mwalimu Rais wetu,
Lele lele lele, Karudisha mali zetu,
Makabaila na Bepari, waungwana mwasemaje. (19)

9. Feudalist, what do you say?

I have heard cheers, many shouts of the people,
They call the name of Nyerere, the teacher and president of us,
Lele lele lele, return our properties, Feudalist and capitalist,
gentlemen, what do you say? (Author's translation)

48. Mirija Yote Kateni

Edita hebu potea, shairi la shukurani
Hongera namtolea, Raisi wetu nchini
Ujamaa kutuletea, mabepari ondokeni
Siasa ya Ujamaa, mirija yote kateni (75)

48. Cut all the straws

Editor, please receive, poem of gratitude,
Congratulations for we chose our president of this country,
To bring the *Ujamaa*, to remove the capitalists
Policy of *Ujamaa*, cut all the straws⁴¹ (Author's translation)

66. Ni Siasa Mashuhuri

Amesema Mbashiri, Mambo yaliyo mazuri
Kwamba kila utajiri, uwe kwa jamii huri
Tukomeshe ufakiri, Kusudio la Bepari
Ni siasa mashuhuri, siasa ya Ujamaa. (104)

66. It is an Important Policy

The Prophet has said, there are good things
That every rich man, is also a free man
We terminate poverty, intention of being capitalist
It is important policy, the policy of *Ujamaa*. (Author's translation)

The above three stanzas have been selected from three poems in the anthology, which contains 77 poems. The word *bepari* (pl: *mabepari*) appears in each stanza above. The word was clearly a politically loaded term during the time of *Ujamaa*. There is a need to note that with the introduction of *Ujamaa* politics, the Swahili language also saw a fast development itself. Swahili was deeply involved in the discourses of the policies

⁴¹ 'Straw' is a metaphor for the means used by the capitalists to suck the wealth out of the workers and peasantry of Tanzania.

of the country, the forming of the national identity and the development of the cultural nationalism in the country. In Jan Blommaert's words:

Swahili became absorbed into the nation building drive caused by *Ujamaa*, and its emblematic role as the language that incorporated and articulated independence and, later, the socialist revolution, pushed Swahili into the most remote parts of the country and made it – to varying degrees of skill and fluency – part of almost every Tanzanian's repertoire. (Blommaert 2013, 2)

Nyerere's translation *Mabapari wa Venice* was certainly part of the political and literary movement of *Ujamaa*. The choice of '*bepari*' instead of '*mtajiri*' or '*mfanyi biashara*' was subtle and intertextually linked to the previous versions. Through his translations, connotatively, Nyerere was talking to his audiences and delivering messages to them. Nyerere's messages and considerations are discussed in the following section.

In Nyerere's translation, the names of the characters and places have been Swahilised.

Those that do not follow the orthography of Swahili have been changed as follows:

Salarino (Salerio)
Shailoki (Shylock)
Tubali (Tubal)
Launseloti Gobbo (Launcelot Gobbo)
Leonado (Leonardo)
Baltazari (Balthazar)
Stefano (Stephano)
Porshia (Portia)
Jessika (Jessica)
Venisi (Venice)
Belimonti (Belmont)

Nyerere explained the reason for domesticating the names of the characters in the second version of his translation of *Julius Caesar*, *Juliasi Kaizari*:

Katika toleo la kwanza nilisema kuwa taabu moja katika kuhesabu mizani ni kujua kama 'Brutus' ni 'Burutusi' au 'Brutusi'. Ili kuondoa shida hiyo nimejitahidi kuyabadili majina yote ili matamshi yake yafanane na matamshi ya Kibantu. Kwa hiyo tangu sasa mchezo huu si 'Julius Caezar', bali ni 'Juliasi Kaizari'! (Nyerere 1969, vi)

In the first version, I have said that one of the difficulties in counting the measures is to know whether 'Brutus' is 'Burutusi' or 'Brutusi'. To overcome this difficulty, I have tried hard to change all the names so that all the pronunciations sound like the pronunciations of a Bantu language. For this reason, from now on, this play is not 'Julius Caezar', but 'Juliasi Kaizari'! (Author's translation)

Nyerere's first consideration was aesthetic. Applying the transliteration approach, he had the flexibility to adjust the number of syllables in each stanza (measure) to ensure that his translation complied with the traditional poetic forms. The second consideration, indicated by the word '*Kibantu*', means a Bantu language. In the time of *Ujamaa*, Swahili had become a symbol of the national identity of the Tanzanian people. The method of using domestication for the names of the characters in the play is a Swahilisation or a Bantuisation. The Swahili readers and actors of the play would pronounce them easily. Nyerere's domestication approach was also linked to his *kujitegemea* ('self-reliance') policy, which basically meant that Tanzania had to develop on the basis of its own economic, political and cultural resources. (TANU 1967, 28). A key aim of Nyerere's *Elimu ya Kujitegemea* education policy was to "counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities are non-academic" (Nyerere 1968a: 54). Nyerere's efforts to translate

Shakespeare's plays and domesticate them as far as possible in Swahili gave citizens who could not read English access to these cultural products, helping to break down the cultural privilege of the well-educated few. Since the Swahili language participated in the nation-building process, domesticating the names of the characters was a method that aligned with the mission of cultural nationalism in Nyerere's time.

To conclude, different from the version supervised by the Inter-Territorial Language Committee, Nyerere took more of a domestication approach in his translation. The title is more ideologically loaded and related to the domestic political context, which is discussed more in the following section of this chapter. The names of the characters would have been easier for the people of Tanzania to pronounce, and they were more familiar and sounded right for the Swahili audience. Like in the Swahili translation, the changing of the title, the names of the characters and the names of the places also exist in the Chinese translation.

6.3.2 In Chinese

Based on Lamb's adaptation, Shanghai Dawen Publisher (上海达文书社) published its translation *Xiewai qitan* (海外奇谭), which included ten stories from Shakespeare in classical Chinese (文言文), in 1903. Based on the same original text by Lamb, the Commercial Press (商务印书馆) published *Yingguo shiren yinbian yanyu* (英国诗人吟边燕语) in 1904, which was co-translated by Lin Shu (林纾) and Wei Yi (魏易). In

Xiewai qitan, the title of *The Merchant of Venice* is translated as *Yandunli jiezhai yue gerou* (燕敦里借债约割肉), meaning ‘Antonio Borrows Money and Offers Flesh as a Bond’. In *Yinguo shiren yinbian yanyu*, it is translated as *Rouquan* (肉券), meaning ‘The Bond of Flesh’. In the same collection of translations, *Macbeth* is translated as *Guzheng* (蛊征), meaning ‘Witchcraft and Wars’, *Romeo and Juliet* is translated as *Zhuqing* (铸情), meaning ‘The Forging of Love’, and *Hamlet* is translated as *Guizhao* (鬼诏), meaning ‘The Ghost’s Edict’.

In the introduction, Lin criticises the then-current trend of intellectuals belittling traditional Chinese literature due to its ‘liking to tell stories of gods and ghosts’ (好言神怪), which, according to them, was outdated and improvident (Lin and Wei 1981, 1). The domestication of the titles would have informed Chinese readers that stories of gods and ghosts also exist in the works of the greatest English writer. This showed the efforts of Lin and Wei to adapt Shakespeare to traditional Chinese literature. The names of the characters in Lin and Wei’s translation were also Sinicized as follows:

安东尼 (Antonio)
巴散奴 (Bassanio)
歇洛克 (Shylock)
鲍梯霞 (Portia)
聂里莎 (Nerissa)

All the names were translated into three words, which is a common number in Chinese names. All the family names except ‘歇’ (xie) are found among Chinese family names. ‘安’, ‘鲍’ and ‘聂’ are particularly common and present in *The Book of Family Names*

(百家姓). The Chinese audience would also have easily been able to tell the genders of the characters through the translations.

The title and the names of the characters in Zhu's translation were also changed. '威尼斯商人' is a word-for-word translation of *The Merchant of Venice*. The names were translated as follows:

安东尼奥 (Antonio)
巴萨尼奥 (Bassanio)
罗兰佐 (Lorenzo)
夏洛克 (Shylock)
杜伯尔 (Tubal)
里奥那多 (Leonardo)
鲍西亚 (Portia)
尼莉莎 (Nerissa)
杰西卡 (Jessica)

Lin and Wei's translation is an example of domestication, while Zhu's translation involves foreignization. The pronunciation of the names in Zhu's translation is closer to English and less close to Chinese naming rules. The strategy of domestication was often applied by the Chinese translators of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. When they encountered European, American, Japanese, and Russian literature, the traditions of Chinese classic literature were still dominating the aesthetical standards both among translators and writers. The domesticated names of the titles and the characters in the translations would have been more familiar to the Chinese readers. During the development of the New Literature Movement (新文学运动), more foreign literature entered China. Chinese translators debated about the most proper strategies for

translation. In his article, Lu Xun (鲁迅) criticised the strategy of domestication, especially for foreign names:

翻外国人的姓名用音译，原是一件极正当，极平常的事，倘不是毫无常识的人们，似乎决不至于还会说费话。然而在上海报（我记不清楚什么报了，总之不是《新申报》便是《时报》）上，却又有伏在暗地里掷石子的人来嘲笑了。他说，做新文学家的秘诀，其一是要用些“屠介纳夫”“郭歌里”之类使人不懂的字样的。

凡有旧来音译的名目：靴，狮子，葡萄，萝卜，佛，伊犁等……都毫不为奇的使用，而独独对于几个新译字来作怪；若是明知的，便可笑；倘不，更可怜。

其实是，现在的许多翻译者，比起往古的翻译家来，已经含有加倍的顽固性的了。例如南北朝人译印度的人名：阿难陀，实叉难陀，鸠摩罗什婆……决不肯附会成中国的人名模样，所以我们到了现在，还可以依了他们的译例推出原音来。不料直到光绪末年，在留学生的书报上，说是外国出了一个“柯伯坚”，倘使粗粗一看，大约总不免要疑心他是柯府上的老爷柯仲软的令兄的罢，但幸而还有照相在，可知道并不如此，其实是俄国的 Kropotkin。那书上又有一个“陶斯道”，我已经记不清是 Dostoiévski 呢，还是 Tolstoi 了。

这“屠介纳夫”和“郭歌里”，虽然古雅赶不上“柯伯坚”，但于外国人的氏姓上定要加一个《百家姓》里所有的字，却几乎成了现在译界的常习，比起六朝和尚来，已可谓很“安本分”的了。（Lu 2005a, 417-418）

Transliterating the names of foreigners is a very legitimate and common thing; if one has common sense, one should not argue about that. However, in a Shanghai newspaper (I can't remember which it was, either *New Shenbao* or *Times*), there were people who ‘threw stones in the dark’⁴² and laughed. He said that one of the secrets of being a progressive writer is using words that are incomprehensible, such as ‘Tu Jie Na Fu’ and ‘Guo Geli’.

All the names that have been transliterated from ancient times: boots, lions, grapes, radishes, Buddha, Yili,⁴³ etc... are used without question, but when it comes to those new words, transliteration becomes ridiculous in their eyes. If you know it, it will be ridiculous; if not, even more pitiful.

In fact, many translators today are more stubborn than those of the past. For example, people in the Southern and Northern dynasties translated the names of Indians: Anantuo (Ananda), Shichanantuo (Siksananda), Jiumoluoshipo (Kumarajiva)... They never domesticated them as Chinese names, so we can still deduce the original pronunciation according to their transliterations. Unexpectedly, at the end of Emperor Guangxu's reign, in the books and newspapers of foreign

⁴² Lu Xun used this phrase to refer to those anonymous critics of transliterating names in translation.

⁴³ Yili is the name of a city in Xinjiang.

students, it was said that there was a ‘Ke Bojian’ from a foreign country. Fortunately, there was a photo, otherwise people would have doubted that he is the brother of ‘Ke Zhongruan’⁴⁴ who is the lord of Ke’s. It is Kropotkin of Russia. There is also a ‘Tao Sidao’ in the book. I can’t remember whether it is Dostoievski or Tolstoi.

The names of ‘Tu Jie Nafu’ and ‘Guo Geli’, although are not elegant like ‘Ke Bojian’, must have the surnames selected from the book of ‘Hundred Family Surnames’. That has almost become a norm in the field of translation nowadays. Compared with the monks of the Six Dynasties, they have almost become ‘very obedient’. (Author’s translation)

The reason that Lu’s article is quoted at such length is that it reveals not only the early norms of the Chinese translation of foreign names but also the political and cultural concerns behind them. Lu was an advocate of the foreignization approach in translation, believing that good translations are those that can maintain the exotic style of the foreign texts as those translations can not only incite empathy but can also promote intelligence (Lu 2005e, 364). Lu also saw translation as an important method for creating the modern Chinese language because translation brings new words, and the foreignization approach forces translators to introduce new grammar into Chinese (Lu 2005c, 380). This article presented an argument for the legitimacy of using transliteration in translating foreign names. For those who ridiculed translators and writers who applied transliteration (foreignization) in foreign names as a symbol of the identity of a progressive writer, Lu gave the example of how domesticated foreign names could cause misunderstandings among readers and how the approach of foreignization was also applied by ancient Chinese translators.

⁴⁴ ‘Bojian’ (伯坚) and ‘Zhongruan’ (仲软) are pair names for brothers that follow the traditional Chinese naming rule. Lu Xun gave this example to show how the domestication of foreign names could confuse readers, who might mistake Kropotkin for a Chinese.

Lu's opponents were conservatives, both in politics and in culture. They did not see the value of translating foreign works. Many of them were experts in classic Chinese studies and Confucians, devoting themselves to the classic works, both literary and philosophical. Facing pressure from European, American, Japanese, and Russian military, cultural and economic invasion, the conservatives saw the traditional culture as a resource to enrich the spirit of rejuvenation, while the revolutionists saw that the traditional culture needed a revolution, with Western cultures and values being the source of their prosperity that China should not hesitate to learn from. Behind the two different approaches to translation were two different attitudes towards foreign literature and culture.

Returning to Lin and Wei, as well as Zhu's adaptation and translation, compared with Lin and Wei's domestication of the names, the foreignization approach was applied in Zhu's translation. Lin and Wei's adaptation was produced in the late years of the Qing dynasty. Lin was a sympathiser of the reformists, who had the aim of building a British form of constitutional monarchy in China in which the emperor would remain. After the 1911 Revolution, the emperor was removed and Lin saw himself as a *'yilao'* (遗老 old loyal conservative) of the overthrown Qing dynasty. He was a firm opponent of the revolution. He was also against the vernacular movement. In a letter *'Da daxuetang xiaozhang caiheqing taishi shu'* (答大学堂校长蔡鹤卿太史书, A Letter to the Principle of the Imperial University of Peking: Cai Yuanpei) to the then-principal of

Peking University, Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培), who was a famous scholar and an influential leader of the vernacular movement, Lin expressed his discontent with the movement:

若尽废古书，行用土语记为文字，则都下引车卖浆之徒所操之语，按之皆有文法……据此则凡京律之稗贩，均可用为教授矣。(Gongyan Bao, March 18, 1919)

If all the classical works were abandoned and the vernacular used in writing, then the language of the carters and peddlers of the streets would have literature and grammar... in this way the peddlers of barn grass in the capital would become professors. (Author's translation)

Lin warned of the irreversible damage that replacing the classic Chinese with the vernacular in the written language could do to traditional literature and culture. His attitude was reflected in his application of the domestication approach in translation. In Lin and Wei's version, the titles, names, and texts of Lamb's English adaptation of Shakespeare are all domesticated as stories in the classic Chinese style. Zhu's translation was produced almost four decades later, after the New Literature Movement, when many works of Western literature had been translated into Chinese and the new literature prevailed in terms of the vernacular. Zhu's foreignization of the names was easier to accept.

In summary, the titles of the play and the names of the characters and places in the translations by Nyerere and Zhu have all changed from their respective previous versions. Compared to the previous version, the title of Nyerere's version is more ideologically loaded and the names are more Swahilised, which means they are more

domesticated. In contrast to Nyerere's case, compared to the previous version, the title of Zhu's translation is more foreignized. In the political dimension, the appropriation and domestication of the title and names in Nyerere's translation of the play demonstrate his political metaphor of his expectation for a new society. Zhu's translation contained the same expectation of a new society, yet his strategy of foreignizing the names suggests a different kind of new society form Nyerere's.

6.4 A New Society

Shakespeare's Venice is a new society that is not seen in any of his other plays. Venice is unique among the cities in Europe. In the words of Allan Bloom:

Venice is a beautiful city; it is full of colour and variety. To this day it represents the exotic and the exciting to the minds of those who know it - a port with all the freedom that the proximity to the sea seems to encourage, and with the presence of different kinds of men from diverse nations, races, and religions brought by the hope of adventure or gain to its shores. (Bloom 1963, 1)

If one replaces the word 'Venice' with 'Zanzibar', then the description in the quoted sentences would remain the same. The diverse population, the multi-cultural and multi-religious society, and the merchants from the east and west are also characteristics of Zanzibar. The multi-racial and multi-religious situation is also found in the mainland of Tanzania. There are more than 100 ethnic groups living in Tanzania. On a larger scale, the Tanzanian citizens can be divided into Africans, Asians, and Europeans. The Africans include the mainlanders and the islanders, the Asians include the Arabs and

the Indians, and the Europeans are mainly the British settlers, some who worked in the government in the early years after independence. There are Christians, Muslims, Hindus, and other representatives of traditional African religions in the country.

Tanzania was in the process of nation-building during the time of Nyerere's translation of the play. The foremost challenge that Nyerere and his colleagues faced was how to maintain domestic peace in a multi-racial, previously indirectly ruled, post-colonial society. Unfortunately, the examples of the neighbouring countries only gave negative expectations to Tanzania. They were not at peace. The 1960s saw a wave of independence among African countries, many of which were former British, French, and Belgian colonies. In the southern African countries, such as Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, the white settlers still controlled the government and suppressed the anti-colonial movements within the territories. In East Africa, Tanzania has several neighbouring territories, which are Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda. The former two were British colonies, while the latter two were Belgian colonies. The dangers of racial conflicts in these new countries were very real.

In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta led the country to independence. The Kikuyu people behind Kenyatta were the main participants in the anti-colonial Mau Mau Rebellion, which gave them a central position in the independent government. The unequal power-sharing and different racial identities made the tensions between the ethnicities in Kenya very high. The situation of Ruanda-Urundi of the Belgian trusteeship was like it

was in Kenya as the struggle for independence brought with it political violence between the educated Tutsi elite and the rural Hutu peasantry. In newly independent Rwanda, the Hutu-dominated government persecuted Tutsi citizens. In Burundi, Prince Louis Rwagasore, who had campaigned for ethnic harmony, was assassinated, which allowed the military that was controlled by Michel Micombero to ensure Tutsi control of the post-colonial state. Thousands of refugees fled to the neighbouring countries. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the independence leader and the first prime minister, Lumumba, was overthrown by a military coup and was later executed by his rivals who were backed by the Americans.

In pre-colonial times, the identities of the African people in Tanganyika were multifaceted. One could belong to different social groups: the nuclear family and the extended family, alongside lineage and chiefdom, and perhaps clan and tribe. Circumstances led to some people emphasising one identity over another. (Iliffe 1979, 318). It was the policy of indirect rule that created some tribes that were previously non-existent and that emphasised the tribal identities among the Africans. The purpose of indirect rule was using the chiefs to collect taxes and organise labour workers for the colonial government in Dar es Salaam. At the time of independence, more powers were transferred to the chiefs and the organisers of the different tribes. The result was tribalism, which became a threat to the unity of the nation.

The racial problems of Tanganyika and Zanzibar were always a central concern in

Nyerere's mind. As the president and the founding father of the nation (Baba wa Taifa⁴⁵), one of the privileges that he enjoyed was that his articles and speeches, which contained his political ideologies and considerations, were published, and widely read. As an African philosophical leader, Nyerere's abundant writings have been collected in several anthologies, among which are *Freedom and Unity* (1967), *Freedom and Socialism* (1968b), *Freedom and Development* (1973), and *Freedom and Liberation* (2011). If the themes and characters of *The Merchant of Venice* are examined closely and related to Nyerere's concerns in the process of nation-building according to his writings and speeches, one can see how close they are in the sense that the translation can be seen as a metaphor adopted by Nyerere and containing his considerations.

In the Chinese translations of *The Merchant of Venice*, the character of Shylock has attracted the attention of Chinese intellectuals, who have seen him as a representative of the oppressed people in the world, expressed sympathy towards him and tried to highlight the spirit of anti-imperialism in him. The image of the main character Portia as a female lawyer, which was a career never practised by women in traditional Chinese society, was familiar to the audience due to the adaptation entitled *Nü lüshi* (女律师, *A Female Lawyer*). There were many comments and criticisms in magazines and newspapers during the time when the play was staged in China in the early 20th century. A review and analysis of these comments and criticisms reveal the reception of the play in China at that time.

⁴⁵ 'Baba wa Taifa' means 'The Father of the Nation' and is widely applied by Tanzanians to refer to Nyerere.

This chapter mainly looks at two characters in the play: Shylock, who is a usurer and a sufferer of racial discrimination because of his identity as a Jew and of religious discrimination because of his belief in Judaism, and Portia, who is a female disguised as a male to practise as a lawyer, which was a career reserved only for males. This chapter explores how they were seen by the target audiences and critics in different ways in the two languages according to their specific respective contexts, as well as how the adaptations and receptions indicate the different imaginations of building a new type of society in the two countries.

6.5 From Anti-Semitism to Anti-Racialism in Swahili

Whether the theme of anti-Semitism is included in *The Merchant of Venice* or Shakespeare was simply describing the existence of anti-Semitism in his time is a question that has been debated by many scholars (Auden, 1962; Bloom, 1963; Smith, 1964; Cohen, 1980; Bloom, 2010). One of the reasons for this is that Shylock is a very complicated character in the play. Some scholars have noted that his conversion to Christianity is very inconsistent. For example, W. H. Auden (1962) suggested:

After Portia has trapped Shylock through his own insistence upon the letter of the Law of Contract, she produces another law by which any alien who conspires against the life of a Venetian citizen forfeits his goods and places his life at the Doge's mercy. Even in the rush of a stage performance, the audience cannot help reflecting that a man as interested in legal subtleties as Shylock, would surely, have been aware of the existence of this law and that, if by any chance he had overlooked it, the Doge surely would very soon have drawn his attention to it.

Shakespeare, it seems to me, was willing to introduce what is an absurd implausibility for the sake of an effect which he could not secure without it. (Auden 1962, 228-229)

Auden's argument is that the plot of Shylock mercilessly insisting on a pound of flesh from Antonio as forfeit for the overdue bond, his sudden defeat in court and the collapsing of his spirit caused by Portia's wile are just dramatic effects designed by Shakespeare. Under this logic, Shakespeare was not an anti-Semite. Harold Bloom (2010) argues that, in the play, Shylock is a comic villain who is different from those of Machiavellian company like Edmund from *King Lear* and Iago from *Othello*. For Shylock to be comical, it is inevitable that the consistency of the character has to be broken, shown through one who hates Christianity so much finally having to convert to it. Shylock has no choice but to convert as his death would cast a shadow over the ecstasy of Belmont in the final act. If an audience member wants to be comfortable with the plot of Shylock's conversion, they must be an anti-Semite. In Harold Bloom's (2010) view, there is anti-Semitism in the play and Shylock is not meant to be sympathised with, and this role 'contaminates' the drama and the audiences of the play (8). Through a subtle close reading, Cohen (1980) suggests that the image of Shylock in the play is not just as a common individual villain but as a villain who represents his own Jewish community. Cohen suggests:

It is as though *The Merchant of Venice* is an anti-Semitic play written by an author who is not an anti-Semite – but an author who has been willing to use the cruel stereotypes of that ideology for mercenary and artistic purposes. (Cohen 1980, 63)

Others have a different view. For example, Warren D. Smith (1964) argues that through Shylock, Shakespeare is not satirising Jews because, in the play, Shylock ‘hypocritically conceals his evil designs behind the mask of a religion he himself does not believe in’ (193). Smith points out that there is no solid evidence that anti-Semitism was prevalent in England in Shakespeare’s time. Although there were a certain number of literary works in which the image of Jews was not positive, they were described as ‘an undesirable neighbour but never a slayer of Jesus Christ’ (1964, 194). Allan Bloom goes further, arguing that Shylock is not a comic character but a tragic hero. In the scene of the trial, from beginning to end, Shylock insists on only one thing: the law. In Allan Bloom’s words:

It is not by cowardice that Shylock is reduced but by respect for the law. He was proud and resolute because of his conviction of his righteousness; when he no longer has the law on his side, he collapses. He has accepted Balthasar as a second Daniel and what-ever she reveals the law to be, is law for him. “Is that the law?” he questions (IV. i. 329). Shakespeare has maintained the unity of the character- as the law was Shylock’s heart and soul it is the cause of his destruction, and in this he attains to the dignity of tragedy. He is a dupe of the law. (Bloom 1963, 20)

From the above review of just a few critics’ observations on the character of Shylock, one can see how controversial the image of the character is, from a comic villain to a tragic hero. The question in this study is what is the image of Shylock in Nyerere’s translation, or what was Nyerere’s idea about his image and the ideological concerns behind it? What Nyerere first saw must have been the element of anti-Semitism in the play, which, in the context of Tanzania, resonated with racialism.

The issue of racial separation and its destructive consequences had been in Nyerere's mind since even before he developed a political career. The first article selected in Nyerere's first anthology *Freedom and Unity* is 'The Race Problem in East Africa'. The article was written when Nyerere was a student at the University of Edinburgh from 1949 to 1952. Nyerere wrote down his observations about the racial tensions in East Africa:

The European official and the European settler rule and maintain their prestige mainly by hypocrisy, their inner motives would hardly stand examination; the Indian trader makes his living by downright dishonesty or at the best by sheer cunning which is hypocrisy; the African clerk or labourer often disregards fulfilling his part of a contract and even a very educated African will pretend to love the European whereas his heart is nearly bursting with envy and hatred... In official and unofficial quarters in Tanganyika there is a tendency to regard racial animosity as a disease of our neighbours in Kenya, a disease of which we Tanganyika are happily free. But this is hypocrisy. (Nyerere 1967, 23)

In this early article, Nyerere was not only showing himself to be a nationalist accusing the European officials and settlers and the Indian traders of leading to the economic deprivation and discrimination of the African people but was also criticising the African labourers and clerks of disregarding their work. He criticised the hypocrisy of the colonisers, as well as the envy and hatred of the colonised. In the years of pre-independence struggle, as the leader of TANU, in his speeches and writing, Nyerere endeavoured to convey his perspective and expectations about building a nation in which more than 120 different racial groups could live peacefully. As he wrote, one of the principles of TANU was:

...to think exclusively in national terms without emphasis on tribal problems... to eschew tribalism and religious allegiances and to build a real national consciousness. (Nyerere 1967, 2)

Nyerere emphasised that there was also the danger that:

The country is divided in religion, and it would have been very easy for TANU to have fallen into the trap of religious hostility. (Nyerere 1967, 2)

Before Tanganyika's independence, Nyerere emphasised the inferior position of the African people both economically and politically. He lobbied the United Nations for the independence of Tanganyika and called for the African people to regain their right to self-rule from the British authorities. TANU membership was exclusively for Africans during that time. Once independence was achieved, Nyerere realised the importance of ensuring that the rights of non-African citizens were also protected. He asked the African members of the party to acknowledge the rights of non-African people:

Until the end of the nineteen-fifties, it could be said that TANU was complaining about equality from motives of expedient self-interest. As that decade drew to a close, however, the test came. Were those who claimed equality for themselves willing to accept the other side of the coin – the equality of the others? (Nyerere 1967, 3-4)

The word 'themselves' refers to the Africans who had gained political power after independence, while the 'other side of the coin' refers to the non-African citizens of the country. In the early years of independence, there was a discriminatory policy that gave

Africans priority in terms of recruitment and promotion within governmental posts. In 1964, Nyerere decided to change this policy, making Tanganyikan citizenship the only requirement in recruitment, training and promotion. An article explaining the policy 'Tanganyika Citizenship' was circulated to all ministries and public bodies in Tanganyika (Nyerere 1967, 259). In the time of *Ujamaa*, many firms were nationalised, and the owners of these firms were Europeans and Indians. The opinions of the Africans regarding those 'capitalists' (*mabepari*) were not positive. Foreseeing possible racialism against the Europeans and Indians and taking the tragedy of the Jewish people in Nazi Germany as an example, in his article 'Socialism is not Racialism', Nyerere warned his fellow Tanganyikans that racialism and fascism can go hand in hand:

Fascism is the highest and most ruthless form of the exploitation of man by man, it is made possible by deliberate efforts to divide mankind and set one group of men against another group. In Nazi Germany the majority were incited to join in hostile actions against the Jews who were a minority religious and ethnic group living among them. 'I hate Jews' became the basis of life for supporters of the Nazi government. But the man or woman who hates 'Jews', or 'Asians', or 'Europeans', or even 'West Europeans and Americans' is not a socialist. He is trying to divide mankind into groups and is judging men according to the skin color and shape they were given by God. Or he is dividing men according to national boundaries. In either case he is denying the equality and brotherhood of man. (Nyerere 1968, 39)

In those sentences, Nyerere was trying to tell his TANU colleagues and the Africans in Tanzania about the horrific consequences of racialism. Nyerere emphasised that mankind should not be divided by 'the skin colour and the shape they were given by God'. In the context of Venice in the play, what differentiates the Jews from the other groups is certainly not their skin colour but their clothes. In Tanganyika, it was skin

colour that differentiated the Europeans, Indians and Africans. There is one black character in *The Merchant of Venice*, the Prince of Morocco. Hadjivayanis (2011) observes Nyerere's subtle word choice with the word 'fair', which is related to the skin colour of the character:

English:

Yourself, renowned prince, then stood as fair
as any comer I have look'd on yet
For my affection. (II, 1, 20-22)

Nyerere:

*Wewe, mtukufu Mwana wa Mfalme, ungekuwa
Na **uwezo ule ule** wa kupata pendo langu
Kama mgeni ye yote niliyekwisha kumwona.* (II, 1, 22-24)

Your Majesty the Prince, you would have the **same capability** of getting my love
As would any visitor that I have met. (Author's translation)

In the English text, 'fair' refers to the light colour of the character's skin. Portia tells the Prince of Morocco that his skin colour is not important and that he is considered the same as her other suitors. Nyerere chose the word '*uwezo*', meaning 'capability', in his translation, which avoided referring to skin colour. In the English text, it can be known that Portia is hypocritical as when the Prince of Morocco fails and leaves the house, Portia says:

English:

A gentle riddance. Draw the curtains: go.
Let all of his complexion choose me so'. (II, 7, 78-79)

Nyerere:

Ni kuvuja kwa pakacha. Vuta pazia. Nendeni.

Wote wamfananao, wachague vivyo hivyo. (II, 7, 544-545)

(It is the leaking of the palm leaf basket. Draw the curtains. You all go.

Let all who resemble him make the same choice. (Author's translation)

Once again, Nyerere did not refer to skin colour in his translation. The word 'complexion' was avoided. 'Let all of his complexion' becomes 'let all who resemble him' (*wote wamfananao*). Although he could not always avoid referring to skin colour in his translation of the original text, when possible, he emphasised the 'capability' of the character. In 'Tanganyika Citizenship', Nyerere addressed his attitude towards anti-discrimination between the citizens of the country. He emphasised people's 'character' and 'ability to do specific tasks':

It is natural that we should distinguish between those who are, and those who are not, citizens of our country. But it would be quite wrong for us to discriminate between Tanganyikan citizens on any grounds other than those of **character**, and **ability to do specific tasks**. We cannot allow the growth of first- and second-class citizenship. Each Tanganyika citizen must accept all the duties, and receive all the rights, which our citizenship implies. All must be governed by the same laws, must receive the same respect from his fellows, and have the same opportunities to earn a living and to serve the nation of which he is a member. Anything other than this would mean intolerable hypocrisy. (Nyerere 1967, 259)

As mentioned above, Nyerere not only fought for the rights of Africans. After independence, he also defended the rights of the minority non-African citizens. Nyerere's attitude towards anti-racialism can also be seen in his translation. An example of this is in Shylock's famous accusation of the Christians regarding their discrimination shown towards the Jews in Venice:

English:

I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? — fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? (III, 1, 58-65)

Nyerere:

Kwa kuwa mimi ni Yahudi. Yahudi **hana** macho? Yahudi **hana** mikono, **hana** viungo, **hana** vimo, **hana** akini, **hana** upendo au shauku? Hali chakula **kile kile**, hajeruhivi na silaha **zile zile**, haugui magunjwa **yale yale**, hatibiwi kwa njia **zile zile**, hapati joto au baridi kwa majira **yale yale** kama Mkristo? Mkituchoma, hatutoki damu? Na mkitutekenya hatucheki? Mkitulisha sumu, hatufi? (III, 1, 51-63)

These are some of the most emotional words from Shylock in the play. In most of the scenes that include him, he is described as a cold-blooded villain who knows no mercy and values money above everything. Especially in the scene of the trial, Shylock is characterised as a bloodthirsty, merciless devil. However, one must remember that his deeds are not without roots. Antonio spits in his face and curses him as a cur in the Rialto; his daughter elopes with a Christian, taking a large amount of his money; he is teased by the whole city. He believes that Antonio is involved in the elopement of his daughter. In front of Solanio and Salarino, who are teasing him about his losses, he vows revenge on their friend, Antonio, who is his enemy.

It is hard for the audience not to sympathise with Shylock when they hear those words, especially after the Holocaust of the Jewish people in Nazi Germany during World War Two. As mentioned above, Nyerere was familiar with this history. In his translation, Shylock's rhetorical tone is strengthened. The sense of Shylock's accusation of Antonio

and other Christians who have discriminated against him in the city for his Jewish identity is also enhanced. Nyerere used the phrase '*hana*' (meaning 'he does not have') seven times in the translation, which is not in the original text. When the rhetorical phrase '*hana*' is repeated, the subtext of 'a Jew does have (*ana*) the same hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions' is underlined. The word 'same' in the original text was translated into different forms, including '*kile kile*', '*zile zile*' and '*yale yale*'. Although these three forms could have been replaced by a simpler one, '*sawa*', Nyerere chose the different forms and created rhymes in the Swahili text. As a result, the sameness of Shylock the Jew himself and the other Christians is emphasised.

Hadjivayanis (2011) points out that Nyerere chose a more acceptable and polite Swahili word '*Myahudi*' to translate the word 'Jew' in places where the conversation is particularly degrading towards Shylock as he 'did not wish to add insult to injury' (282).

The examples given by Hadjivayanis are as follows:

English:

Solanio: The villain ***Jew*** with outcries rais'd the duke. (II, 8, 4)

Nyerere:

Solanio: Kisirani ***Myahudi*** 'limwamsha Sultani'. (II, 8, 550)

English:

Solanio: As the ***dog Jew*** did utter in the streets. 'my daughter! O my ducats! O my daughter!' (II, 8, 14)

Nyerere:

Solanio: Huyu *mbwa Myahudi*⁴⁶ kalia barabarani.
Binti yangu! O dukati zangu! O binti yangu! (II, 8, 561)

Nyerere's attitude of anti-racialism and his advocacy for universal respect and the guarantee of human equality and dignity are both shown in his translations, as well as repeatedly appearing in his writings and speeches. His speeches and articles that have anti-racialism content include but are not limited to 'Introduction,' 'The Race Problem in East Africa: 1952,' 'Why I Resigned: 16 December 1957,' 'Individual Human Rights: September 1959,' 'Tanganyika Citizenship: 7 January 1964.' in *Freedom and Unity* (1967); 'Socialism is not Racialism: 14 February 1967,' in *Freedom and Socialism* (1968); 'South Africa and the Commonwealth: January 1971,' 'All Men Are Equal: 21 August 1972.' in *Freedom and Development* (1973); 'Nationalism in Southern Africa: 10th May 1976,' 'South Africa and the Commonwealth 28th November 1983,' 'The Indivisibility of The Humanity of All Mankind.' 'Apartheid Must Go: 14th June 1993.' in *Freedom and Liberation* (2011).

6.6 From Anti-Semitism to Anti-Imperialism in Chinese

In the Chinese context, when the adaptations of the play were first staged in the 1920s, Shylock was seen as a negative role, greedy and cruel, seeking to cut a piece of Antonio's flesh. His role had more of an educational function, exhorting the audience members to be good people. For example, in a journal report about the adaptation

⁴⁶ In Swahili, a more common word for 'a Jew' is 'yahudi', but it is derogative. Here, 'myahudi' is a more polite translation.

Rouquan (肉券 *Money Bond*), performed in Shi Chang Middle School (世昌中学), there is a sentence in the caption under a picture from a certain scene, commenting on the role of Shylock:

尤其磨刀霍霍神情尤妙肖逼真，世之只知肥己，罔顾人情者阅之滋愧矣。
(Ya 1925, 3)

Especially when he is sharpening his knife, his expression is so real that it shames those spectators who only know how to seize interests and deny humanity.
(Author's translation)

The image of Shylock started to change in the Chinese translations and adaptations after Japanese imperialism started to threaten the existence of the Chinese nation in the 1930s. Chinese intellectuals thought more about the fate of the nation, which influenced the reception of the play. Shylock's image became not only one of a villain but also a victim as a member of a disadvantaged nation, shown in the following comment:

如果从作为弱小民族的中国人来看，对这部作平又可以做出新的解释。如果站在被侮辱的犹太人夏洛克的立场来看，这部作品就是一部悲剧。
(Xinjing ribao Jun 16, 1937)

From the perspective of the Chinese, members of a disadvantaged nation, this play has a different meaning. From the standpoint of Shylock, the humiliated Jew, this play is a tragedy. (Author's translation)

Shylock's story was taken as a lesson and a warning to the Chinese people, who were under the threat of Japanese imperialism:

用夏洛克极端仇视敌人，时刻图报的心念来启发被压迫的人们。用夏洛克

的凄惨的结局,作为被压迫者的警惕: 这样上演莎翁名剧才算有意义了。(Qing 1937, 11)

Using Shylock's extreme hatred of his enemies and his spirit of seeking revenge to inspire oppressed people. Using Shylock's tragic ending to warn oppressed people: that is the meaning of staging this famous Shakespeare play. (Author's translation)

Yu Ren (育人) went further:

与其说是一幕团圆的喜剧, 不如以近代的立场和眼光说是一幕亡了国的氓民备受压迫的悲剧来得干脆。(Yu 1937, 12)

From the standpoint and perspective of modern times, this play is more a tragedy about oppressed people who have not their own country than a comedy with a happy ending. (Author's translation)

Given the fact that in 1937, when the play was staged by students of the National Drama Academy (国立戏剧专科学校), China had been experiencing Japanese invasion for six years since 1931 when Japan invaded and occupied three provinces in Northeast China, this comment was related to the then-social reality. Li Weiming (2009) suggests that from the middle of the 19th century, both Jewish people and Chinese people had experienced various sufferings, resulting in Chinese people feeling empathy towards the Jewish people. There was not a history of anti-Semitism in China, so the Chinese audience's sympathy towards Shylock was understandable (Li 2009, 94). In the Chinese context, the image of Shylock transformed from an evil Jew to a representative of the people of an oppressed nation. Shylock inspired the Chinese audience's spirit of fighting against Japanese invasion:

夏洛克的悲剧性与中国人民被奴役的悲惨命运关联起来，夏洛克的反抗与中华民族艰苦卓绝的抵御外辱结合起来，使之针砭时弊，引发民众的爱国心和战斗力，发挥社会作用。(Wei 2021, 187)

Shylock's tragedy is related to the fate of the enslavement of the Chinese people and Shylock's resistance is related to the Chinese nation's endeavours to fight against foreign invasion, which make the play point out the maladies of the time and inspire people's patriotism and enhance their ability to fight for their country. (Author's translation)

One can see that the elements of anti-Semitism in Shakespeare's original text were appropriated to address the issue of anti-imperialism in the Chinese context. The shared experience and memory of the Second Sino-Japanese War was an important part of the forming of Chinese people's national consciousness and identity. Hence, the audience's reception of Shylock participated in the forming of Chinese national identity.

6.7 From Capitalism to Socialism in Swahili

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare describes a vivid model of a city influenced by early capitalism. People of different races and religions live together, eating different food, dressing in different clothes, speaking in the same languages but having different meanings,⁴⁷ and going to different religious sites to pray. People come together for only one purpose: commercial interest. The dialogue between Bassanio and Shylock can be seen as an example of this:

Bassanio: If it please you to dine with us.

⁴⁷ Shylock and Bassanio have different understandings of the sentence 'Antonio is a good man'. Shylock understands this as Antonio possessing goods in his ships that trade overseas, while Bassanio understands it as Antonio's virtue as a good man. (I, 3, 12-21)

Shylock: Yes, to smell pork, to eat of the habitation which your prophet the Nazarite conjured the devil into! I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following; but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you. (I, 3, 32-35)

When Bassanio invites Shylock to dine with them, Shylock's answer suggests that they cannot do anything that is normal for people from the same community to share: eating together, drinking together, and praying together. Shylock has no interest in spending time with them other than when doing business. Even the place they meet each other is the *rialto*, which is the market, the only place that Antonio and the others would meet Shylock other than court. Culturally, Shylock is incompatible with the spirit of the city. Venice is a carnival city, while Shylock is one of the most famous misers in European literature. Shylock hates the Christian prodigals:

Shylock:
Hear you me, Jessica: Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum
And the vile squealing of the wry-necked fife,
Clamber not you up to the casements then,
Nor thrust your head into the public street
To gaze on Christian fools with varnished faces;
But stop my house's ears—I mean my casements;
Let not the sound of shallow fopp'ry enter
My sober house. (II, 5, 28-36)

Shylock hates music and he will not allow the music of the carnival parade on the street to enter his house. For Shylock, Venice is a city of hatred. Antonio and the others treat him with disdain, spit on his beard, curse him as a dog, laugh at his losses and make fun of his pains (I, 3, 105-128; III, 1, 54-58). His daughter betrays him. At the end of the trial, he is deprived of his money and forced to give up his beliefs and convert to

Christianity. He is spiritually ruined and physically collapsed (IV, 1, 395: 'I am not well').

Shylock lives in Venice, but he is not accepted by the community of the city. However, he is indispensable. For a commercial city with features of early capitalism like Venice to function well, it is necessary for people to borrow and lend money. According to the authority of Aristotle, the Bible and the Church, usury was condemned in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance as both unnatural and irreligious. The Inquisition declared it to be heresy (Smith 1964, 194-195). Since Christianity forbids gaining interest through usury, the Jewish people, who were free from such obstacles, took the jobs and became moneylenders. Shylock has provoked the antipathy of the audiences not only because he is a Jew, but more crucially, because he is a usurer. On the one hand, Shylock's motivation to seek Antonio's death comes from Antonio's insults to him and his desire for revenge, while on the other hand, more importantly, it comes from his consideration of his own interests. Antonio's tendency to lend money to others without charging interest damages Shylock's profits, as he complains:

He lends out money gratis and brings down
The rate of usance here with us in Venice. (I, 3, 43-47)

Venice is a money-centred city. Shakespeare makes it clear in the play that he recognises that 'the trade and profit [of Venice] / Consisteth of all nations' (III, iii, 30-31). The play establishes a strong connection between Venice and trade: Act I opens with a discussion

between Antonio and his friends Salarino and Solanio about the trading profession. Antonio's friends imagine that his vocation brings him both wealth and status; they describe his ships as 'signors and rich burghers on the flood' who overpeer the petty traffickers that curtsy to them, do them reverence' (I, 1, 12-13). As a leading European port city, Venice's cosmopolitanism was a well-known fact, with Shylock being an important participant in the commercial activities of it. As a scholar suggests, 'Shylock is a product of forces in Venice and as a mirror image of that city' (Levin 2010, 29). As a Jew, he is not allowed to own land, which was the basis of wealth in the Middle Ages. However, his profession of usury is very important for the prosperity of the city.

Not only Shylock, but all the other main characters in the play live a life of pursuing and spending money. Bassanio lives a prodigal life, spending all his money, owing his friend an amount that he cannot repay and pursuing a marriage to a rich lady. Bassanio's proposal to Portia is not an honest one as he wants her wealth to pay his debt (I, 1, 124-135; 162: 'In Belmont is a lady richly left'). Antonio is a rich merchant, but he is not happy (I, 1, 1-7). Bassanio is the character who Antonio cares about the most and he is even willing to die for him. Nonetheless, he loses him to Portia in the end. Antonio does not have a happy ending in the play as other characters of his kind usually do in Shakespearean comedies. His wealth brings him no happiness.

Considerations of money also influence Lorenzo's love of Jessica (II, 4, 32: 'What gold and jewels she is furnish'd with'). Jessica, although married to the Christian Lorenzo

whom she loves, is not happy after leaving her father (V, 1, 69: 'I am never merry when I hear sweet music'). Jessica steals money from Shylock and elopes with Lorenzo. The couple become big spenders. Jessica even trades a ring belonging to Shylock, which was given to him by his wife, for a monkey. This hurts Shylock very much (III, 1, 118-123). In many ways, Jessica betrays her father. Unlike the fairy-tale city of Belmont, Venice is a city of money, commerce, early capitalism, and discrimination against outsiders (Jewish people); it is not a city of happiness.

In the play, Shakespeare portrays a society that has features of early capitalism, which is different from the feudalist societies of Europe. In the 18th and 19th centuries, England was a leader among nations in terms of capitalist enterprises. Capitalism was progressing apace, superseding the older feudal economy. When Nyerere was undertaking his translation in the late 1960s, he was also leading Tanzania to build a new society, as he wrote:

The traditional order is dying; the question which has yet to be answered is what will be built on our past, and in consequence, what kind of society will eventually replace the traditional one. Choices which involve clashes of principle must therefore be answered in the light of the kind of society we want to create, for our priorities now will affect the attitudes and institutions of the future. (Nyerere 1967, 6-7)

The choice that Nyerere and his colleagues made was socialism with African local characteristics, also known as *Ujamaa*. In one of *Ujamaa*'s key documents, *Education for Self-Reliance* ('Elimu ya Kujitegemea'), Nyerere emphasises his expectation of

nation-building:

We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none. (1968c, 50)

Looking at Nyerere's thoughts about the theory and practice of African socialism helps one to understand his translations. Different from the orthodox socialist theory that originated in Europe and that believed that a society is composed of different classes and is driven by class struggle, Nyerere believed that African socialism should be rooted in the traditional society, which was classless and egalitarian. Nyerere saw the traditional African society in a nostalgic way. He suggested three vital factors that make up a traditional African family, which is the basic unit of society:

1. There was an attitude of mutual respect and obligation which bound the members together – an attitude which might be described as love, provided it is understood that this word does not imply romance, or even necessarily close personal affection.
2. The property, which is important to the family, and thus to the individual members of it, is held in common.
3. And every member of the family accepts an obligation to work. (Nyerere 1967, 9)

One can see that these three vital factors are the opposite of the foundations of the city of Venice, which was a symbol of early capitalism. 1. Love binds the members of the family in Nyerere's traditional African society, while in Shakespeare's Venice, love in the family is not seen between Jessica and Shylock. As mentioned above, even the romantic love is affected by considerations of money. 2. The property of a family is certainly not held in common in Venice. Jessica feels compelled to steal money from

her father and, according to the law, the wealth of Portia will be transferred to Bassanio after their marriage. 3. Nyerere's traditional African society was classless, while in Venice, the line of social class is very clear. Antonio, Bassanio, Portia, Shylock and Tubal are masters, while Launcelot Gobbo, Leonardo, Gratiano, and Nerissa are servants.

Nyerere saw the capitalist economic system introduced by the European colonial powers as a threat that could destroy the traditional African society. As he wrote:

It is for this reason that the impact of an individualistic money economy can be catastrophic as regards the African family social unit. The principles of the traditional African family all the time encourage men to think themselves as members of a society. In contrast, the capitalist and money economy, as introduced into Africa by the trading and colonial powers, operates on the basis of individualism; it encourages individual acquisitiveness and economic competition. (Nyerere 1967, 10-11)

Nyerere believed that the capitalist economy would create a wage-earning class in Africa. They would become the 'haves', while the others who did not have wages would become the 'have-nots'. The conflict between these two classes could be destructive to African traditional society. In his words:

By introducing the possibility of hoarding wealth through money, by encouraging the acquisitive instinct in man, and by boasting social status on material wealth, the very basis of traditional social life is undermined. (Nyerere 1967, 11)

To summarise, as discussed above, Shakespeare's Venice is a money-centred city in

which almost all human relations have been affected by considerations of money. As Alexander Leggatt claims, money functions sadly as an inadequate vehicle for the expression of love in the play. Wealth is the root of enmity between people. Informing commercial and business transactions, the pursuit of wealth also frames all romantic relations (Leggatt 2005, 122). From Nyerere's perspective, the bond of traditional African society is love between the members of the family, who share equal responsibilities as well as equal rights within the family. Nyerere held an attitude of criticism of capitalism. He founded the ideology of *Ujamaa* based on criticising the values of capitalism and affirming the values of the traditional African way of life. Shakespeare's Venice was a site of contemplation for Nyerere about the destructive effects of colonial-introduced capitalism on the traditional African way of life within which the spirit of African socialism (*Ujamaa*) was rooted.

Edward Wilson-Lee (2016) suggests that the Swahili adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice* (*Kiwia na Kuwiwa*) before Nyerere's translation was chosen by Bishop Edward Steere as a parable for everyday life, aiming to correct the evils that arose in society from usury, a practice forbidden by Islamic law (38). In his translation, Nyerere rendered 'merchant' as 'capitalists' (*mabepari*), indicating that he saw Shakespeare's work not only as a parable of everyday life but also beyond the morality of a single person in the play to represent the structure of society itself. At the time of his translation, the competition between capitalism and socialism was fierce. The world was divided into capitalist countries led by the United States and socialist countries led

by the Soviet Union. As the leader of a new country, Nyerere was also thinking about the path that his country should take. The translation of *The Merchant of Venice* for him was a parable for everyday life, as well as a consideration of nation-building, which was being framed by decolonization at the time.

6.8 From Feudalism to Capitalism in Chinese

In the early 20th century, when *The Merchant of Venice* entered China, Chinese society was in the process of transforming from a feudalist one to a capitalist one. Chinese intellectuals were desperately seeking a way for the country to survive the invasion and domination of the European, American, Russian, and Japanese imperialist powers. Except for a few feudalists who firmly supported the rule of the emperor of the Qing dynasty and others who were socialists or anarchists, most Chinese intellectuals held the common belief that traditional Chinese feudalist society should be replaced by a capitalist society. Two features of the city of Venice that Shakespeare describes in the play have attracted the interest of audiences and critics. One was the plot of the court trial, which informed the audience of the importance of law, while the other was the character of Portia, who represents the spirit of female liberation. In the reception of the play, these two features influenced the intellectuals' imagination of building a capitalist society in China. Both features are discussed in this section.

When *The Merchant of Venice* entered China, the supremacy of the law in a commercial

society portrayed in the play was new and enlightening to Chinese audiences. In the military and economic domains, the powers of the British Empire shocked the Chinese people, while in the play, Shakespeare gave them another lesson about the spirit of law, which was crucial for the prosperity of the country. As Wei Cece suggests:

《威》剧中张扬的“法律至上”与中国当时社会秩序的巨大反差，让国人认识到商业规范及法治社会对经济的保障和对社会不公的遏制，这些是民富国强的根本保障。英国能够成为当时的头号强国，正是因为其商业冒险家的崛起、海上航运的开拓性与侵略性。19世纪末20世纪初的中国，因为经济的落后和社会观念、社会建设的滞后等沦为被殖民国家，所以重商重法自然会成为中国人学习关注的关键点。(Wei 2021, 181)

The principle of ‘the supremacy of law’ portrayed in *The Merchant of Venice*, which was in contrast with the principle of social order in China at the time, made people realise the importance of business regulations and the law of society in securing the economy and curbing inequality in society. These are the fundamental guarantees of the wealth of the people and the strength of the country. The reason that Britain became the number one power was the rising of its commercial adventures and its people’s spirit of exploring and venturing across the sea via trading routes. At the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, because of its lagging economy, lagging social ideas and lagging social construction, China became a colonised country, so commercialism and legalism were key concepts that interested Chinese people. (Author’s translation)

The scene of the court trial in the play attracted the most attention from Chinese adaptors and translators in their adaptations and translations in the 1920s and 1930s. For example, in Li Jiabin (李家斌) and Fang Ji’s (方纪) adaptation, 《威尼斯商人》, the play is adapted into six scenes, among which the trial is the climax. At the beginning of the trial, Li and Fang explain the rule of law in Venice to the Chinese audience with a tone of admiration:

威尼斯之法律，公直而严正，绝不能因任何人而稍变更其法则也。故公爵只得遵从犹太人之请求，而开庭审判矣。(Li and Fang 1926, 58)

The law of Venice is just and rigid, unchangeable for anyone. So, the duke must defer to the request of the Jew and open the court of trial. (Author's translation)

When Portia enters the court in disguise as a lawyer, in Li and Fang's words, Shylock's reaction is as follows:

沙罗克则不为少动，彼固深知虽有学问之律师及公爵，皆不能更威尼斯之法典也。彼实有所恃，而无少恐。(Li and Fang 1926, 58)

Shylock remains calm and still for he knows that even the learned lawyer and the duke cannot change the law of Venice. He is sure about the situation, hence worries not. (Author's translation)

These sentences reveal to the Chinese audience the supremacy of law in Venice. In the children's introduction to the play, Yu Duojuan (余多艰) and Xia Sha (夏莎) emphasise the importance of law:

法律上成立了的，就不能更改。(Yu and Xia 1943a, 16)

Once stated in the law, then it shall not be changed. (Author's translation)

违背合约上的条件，要受法律制裁。(Yu and Xia 1943b, 20)

If one violates the conditions in the contract, then he must be punished by the law. (Author's translation)

In these sentences, Yu and Xia are trying to convey the spirit of law to Chinese children as an important lesson to learn from the play.

The Merchant of Venice was the first Shakespearean play staged in China in 1896. The actors were students at Saint John's College in Shanghai (上海圣约翰学院) and the play was performed in English. Since then, performing Shakespeare in English at the summer graduation ceremony has become a tradition at the college (Lai 2017, 63). The first Shakespearean play staged in Chinese in China was *Nü lǚshī* (女律师, *A Female Lawyer*), which was an adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*, performed by the students of a girls' school in Shanghai in around 1913 (Meng 2014, 374). The adaptation was written by a famous translator and writer, Bao Tianxiao (包天笑), and was published in the school's journal, *Female Student* in 1911 (Yang 2015, 84). While the visual and textual citations of the play perceived in the performances were considered to be authoritative classical (Huang 2017, 925), the plots of the play were adapted in response to the local social and political context. At the beginning of the script, Portia laments:

近来世界上，有件极不平等的事，诸位知道是什么事？便是我们女子没有参政权。我想 20 世纪中，这参政权也不能让男子独占。所以我急急想办个女子政法学堂。只是要办学堂，第一要经济，没有钱如何办得。不免和我哥哥商量去者。⁴⁸

Recently, in the world, there is a very unjust thing. Do you know what it is? It is that we the women cannot participate in politics. I think that in the 20th century, the right to join in politics should not be exclusively for men. So, I eagerly want to build a women's college of politics and law. The problem is that to build a college, one must first have the funds. It would not be possible without money. I must discuss this with my brother. (Author's translation)

As indicated by the title *A Female Lawyer* (*Nü lǚshī*, 女律师), in this adaptation, Portia

⁴⁸ The journal *Female Student* is in the Shanghai Library. This paragraph is quoted from Lai (2017, 64).

is the central character. She and Bassanio are sister and brother. The theme of a young prodigal (Bassanio) pursuing love is replaced by the theme of a young lady trying to build her own career. This changing of the plot reveals the reason for staging the play: to encourage women to pursue a career and to advocate the principle of gender equality. The actors and the audience were mostly female students and female intellectuals. In 1930, a theatre group staged *The Merchant of Venice* in Shanghai, with the script being a full Chinese translation of the play. From the comments in the newspapers about the play, one can see how Shakespeare was engaged in China's female liberation movement at the time of the May Fourth Movement. For example, one comment in *Shun Pao* (申报) read:

她是现代中国一部分女子的典型，中国的女子，像她这样受到顽固的家庭和无理的礼教的两重压迫的，正不知有多少。(Shun Pao, June 24, 1930)

She can be an example of a modern Chinese woman. Many of them, like her, are pressed by their hidebound families and ruthless feudal ethics. (Author's translation)

In 1937, the students of the graduating class of Nanjing National Drama School (南京国立戏剧学校) staged *The Merchant of Venice*. The famous writer Liang Shiqiu (梁实秋) was the translator of the script. This performance was very popular among the audience and was highly praised by critics (Meng 2014, 133). The actors in the play were seen as examples of progressive youth. The actor who played Portia, named Ye Zhongyin (叶仲寅), promoted ideas of female liberation and encouraged women not to be dependent on men. In her words:

女子先决问题便是要将自身铸成一块有用的材料，这不是为了某个人，而是为了社会，那怕是你一点极微薄的能力，也把它供献出来吧，但是要勇敢，自信，刚强果断，这样才能相信自己的力量，供献出自己的能力。(Ye 1943, 14)

Women should first forge themselves to be useful, not for the individual but for the whole of society. Even if you just have modest abilities, please offer them. You should be brave, self-confident, strong, and decisive, then you will believe in your own power and contribute it to society. (Author's translation)

The Merchant of Venice was also adapted as a film with the title *Female Lawyer* (Nülüshi 女律师), and shown on the 29th of May 1927 in Shanghai. Portia was played by the most popular female film star of the time, Hu Die (胡蝶). The film was shown four times in one day and the theatre was packed with people (*Shen Bao*, May 29, 1927). The image of the smart and brave female lawyer Portia became gradually familiar to Chinese readers and audiences.

In traditional Chinese society, women did not typically go to work. Women's obligations to the family were seen as the foundation for maintaining the harmony of the family, which was crucial for the stability of the feudalist society. The high moral standards of women in a feudalist society were associated with 'The Three Rules of Obedience and The Four Virtues' (*Sancong side. sancong*, 三从: to obey her father when she is a maiden, to obey her husband when she is married and to obey her son after her husband dies; *side*, 四德: good morality, good language, good personal grooming and good needlework). Women were highly dependent on their husbands and extended family.

As scholars point out, in the various Chinese adaptations and translations of *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia echoes the expectations of the ‘New Woman’ (新女性) in society during and after the enlightenment movement in the early 20th century in China (Qiu 2014, 82; Wei 2021, 184). The story of Portia and the example set by the actress who played her encouraged Chinese women to go out of the family, to pursue a career and to fight for their political rights. It is worth noting that Portia and the actress who played her were very popular in the early 20th century in Shanghai and Nanking, which were the economic centre and the capital of China at the time, respectively. These two cities were among the most developed capitalist economies in China. The reception of *The Merchant of Venice* happened during the process of China’s society changing from feudalist to capitalist, especially in the big cities like Shanghai and Nanking.

From the above examples, it can be seen that in the eyes of the Chinese intellectuals, Venice, as a society of early capitalism portrayed by Shakespeare, was advanced compared to the Chinese feudalist society. They saw the spirit of law in the scene of the court trial and saw the spirit of female liberation in the character of Portia. The new society that the Chinese intellectuals pursued was one ruled by the law and including liberated new women like Portia.

6.9 Conclusion

The discussion of this chapter starts with the title of the translations. A title sometimes contains the translator's understanding or the connotative meaning they want to convey to their readers. By including the politically connotative word *mapebari* (capitalists) in the title, Nyerere gave the text a kind of metaphorical significance that echoed the domestic political environment. The same adaptation of the title can also be seen in the Chinese translation. Furthermore, the names of the characters in Nyerere's translation are more domesticated, while in the Chinese translation, they are more foreignized. The appropriation and domestication of the title and names in the translations of Nyerere and Zhu of the play contained their political metaphors for expectations of a new society.

Following the indication of Nyerere's changing of the title in his translation, one notices that at the time the translation was produced, Tanzania was experiencing a socialist movement. The city of Venice, which is in the early stages of capitalism, was a reference to Tanzania, which was experiencing a socialist experiment in a world marked by the competition between capitalism and socialism. In Venice, money is the root of people's relationships, while in Tanzania, Nyerere wanted to build a society based on people's love for each other. In Venice, because of his different racial identity and religion, Shylock is discriminated against by the Christians of the city, while in Tanzania, Nyerere wanted to build a society in which people of different races and religions could live peacefully. It was one of the aims of nation-building to form a non-discriminatory national identity. In comparison, in the Chinese translation, the theme of anti-Semitism

in the original text is appropriated to express the spirit of anti-imperialism. In the Chinese translation, the scene of Portia, the female lawyer, appearing in court was the most attractive to the Chinese audiences and intellectuals. Chinese intellectuals saw the spirit of law and the spirit of female liberation in the play. Building a new nation required the spirit of law and the participation of newly liberated women.

In summary, in the translations of this most popular Shakespeare play, a new society is imagined and contemplated, with such imaginations and contemplations reflecting the political practices of the two countries. When translation bears the considerations of the intellectuals involved in the nation-building enterprise, in a sense, it participates in decolonization endeavours.

Concluding Remarks

In the colonial epoch, translation and colonialism went hand in hand. In the expansion of the British Empire, the Bible and Shakespeare's works served as the two central materials of British cultural colonization over its colonies. These two texts, either in the original English form or in their translations, entered the local language and literary systems and significantly influenced their development. In the post-colonial epoch, decolonization has been a central practice for the nations of the former colonies. Different from previous studies that have looked at English writing or indigenous-language writing in post-colonial countries as a means of decolonization, this study focuses on decolonization in literary translation from English to the local language (s.) The research subject of this study is the Biblical and Shakespearean translations of Nyerere, which both offer unique case studies due to the identity of the translator, Nyerere, as the founding father of Tanzania, an African post-colonial state, and the texts having a central position in British cultural colonization and the practices of the cultural decolonization of the colonies.

This study argues that decolonization is present in literary translation from two perspectives: of the colonial legacy in language and literature, and of the local literary traditions, practices, and ideologies. From the first perspective, this study looks at how Nyerere's Bible translations were a practice of the decolonization of the colonial legacy in Swahili language and literature. From the second perspective, this study investigates

how Nyerere's Shakespearean translations were an act of decolonization in the sense of modernising the Swahili language and literary traditions, and through their adaptations and receptions, accommodating the imaginings of a new state and a new society.

In the discussion of Shakespeare, this study introduces Chinese translations to take a comparative approach to analysing literature alongside the Swahili translations. Chinese language and literature experienced a form of British colonization and local decolonization from the middle of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century that was parallel with, but not identical to, the situation of Swahili language and literature. As the works of an English literary giant, whether in Tanzania or China, during colonial times, Shakespeare's plays were introduced to the local people by the missionaries as central texts in their civilising missions. For the local intellectuals, Shakespeare was seen as an emblem of British modernity in its literature and culture.

As a decolonising practice, his works have been adapted, translated, and discussed by the local intellectuals in the hope of bringing English modernity into their language and literature. The practice of adopting Shakespeare into the local languages occurred parallel to the modernisation and vernacularisation of the local languages by the intellectuals, during which process new cultural themes of British modernity were also introduced. With regard to the content of Shakespeare's plays, the local intellectuals saw themes of modernisation as well as decolonization in the formation of a modern state and modern society. Comparing the adaptations of Nyerere in his translations and

the receptions of the Swahili critics regarding the content and themes of the translations with the situation in China reveals the unique decolonial features of Nyerere's Swahili translations and the common features of decolonization in both the Chinese and Swahili translations. Such a comparison shows how translation can be an act of decolonization in specific Swahili cases and in similar situations in other non-European languages.

By translating the Bible, the European missionaries exerted an enormous influence on the development of the Swahili language and literature. The Romanisation and standardisation of Swahili resulted from the missionaries' endeavours to translate the Bible. In the process of translation, Swahili grammar was studied, and Swahili dictionaries were compiled by the missionaries. *Standard Swahili* was created in this process, paving the way for European, mostly English, literary translations to enter Swahili, which influenced the direction of the development of the Swahili language and literature. In the missionaries' versions of Bible translations, a general principle was to use the language of daily life to convey the word of God. Hence, those versions applying prose in *Standard Swahili* have been widely spread across East Africa. In his version, Nyerere applied the traditional Swahili poetic form of *utenzi*. Nyerere's translation is also a creation in the sense that he created a literary synthesis between the content of Biblical tradition and the form of local literary tradition. The form of *utenzi* was applied in the missionaries' versions, but only in part. Producing the translations of the complete versions of the gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in *utenzi* was Nyerere's way of demonstrating cultural decolonization in the form of decolonising the

colonial legacies in the Swahili language and literature.

In the Shakespearean Translations, both Nyerere and his Chinese counterparts had to consider the form of their languages. During the time of the translations, a vernacular movement was occurring in both the Swahili and Chinese languages. The translations of Nyerere and Zhu both participated in this movement. Creating a vernacular was a common practice in the process of the nation-building of the modern states and was also an aim of cultural decolonization in the former colonies. In his Swahili vernacular translation of Shakespeare, Nyerere created a literary synthesis with both the English and Swahili traditions. It was a rewriting of the colonial legacy (associated with previous translations in prose in pure *Standard Swahili* without any elements of classic prosody) and an act of modernising and developing the local literary tradition (by using *Standard Swahili* with traditional prosodical elements). In Zhu's Chinese vernacular translations, he followed the trends of the New Cultural Movement, trying to create modern Chinese literature, although wherever suitable, he also tried to comply with the aesthetical standards of traditional literature.

Vernacular literature in modern languages brought modern cultural themes. In both the Swahili and Chinese Shakespearean Translations, the translators had to decide whether to keep these themes at the risk of violating the cultural and religious traditions or to omit them. Nyerere chose to omit them while Zhu chose to keep them. The different strategies indicate that Nyerere tried to bring Shakespeare into the Swahili literary

system to enrich it, while Zhu also tried to bring Shakespeare into the Chinese literary system at the same time to reform it. Both of their translations show the practice of decolonization.

Regarding the content and themes of the Swahili and Chinese translations of *Julius Caesar* and *The Merchant of Venice*, this study argues that a new state and a new society were imagined in the two countries in their adaptations by the translators and their receptions by the critics. The comparison between the countries reveals that the imagination of the intellectuals about the crucial elements in the process of state-building and nation-building was not identical in Tanzania and China. *Julius Caesar* tells the story of Caesar's assassination, the tragic failure of the republican conspirators, and the triumph of Caesar and Caesarism's successors. In the play, Shakespeare portrays the images of the Roman political elites (the aristocrats) and the common people (the plebians) and their roles at the historical moment of the falling of an old political system and the forming of a new one. In the reception of the Swahili translations, Tanzanian intellectuals paid attention to the themes of assassination and old friends' betrayal, while Chinese intellectuals paid attention to the theme of the role of the masses in political change.

In the practice of state-building in the 20th century, Tanzanian intellectuals were more concerned about the stability of the political system. The unstable factors, such as assassination and political struggle between politicians, portrayed in the play were more

of a concern for them. In China, different comments on the image of the masses in *Julius Caesar* stimulated arguments among critics. The attitude of the intellectuals towards the function of the masses in state-building was an indicator of their place on the political spectrum, either as reformists admiring and representing them or as conservatives criticising and suspecting them. In Nyerere's translation, the ambitious Caesar becomes a status-loving and hypocritical Caesar. Such changes indicate Nyerere's attitude towards Caesarism. In Zhu's translation, unlike Nyerere's objective rendering of Shakespeare's original portrayal of the masses, the negative image of the masses is enhanced. The translations of the plays in Swahili and Chinese offered a space for the intellectuals of the two countries to think about the issues of state-building. The comparison between them reveals that the crucial factors of state-building in the imagination of the intellectuals, both in the adaptations and receptions of the play in the two countries, were different. Nyerere and the Tanzanian intellectuals were more concerned about building a stable political system and expecting good leadership, while Zhu and the Chinese intellectuals were more concerned about whether to apply the strength of the masses in the practice of state-building. In both cases, a new state was imagined in the translations.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, Shakespeare portrays the emergence of a city of early capitalism in Europe. When the Swahili and Chinese translations emerged in the 20th century in Tanzania and China, the two countries were also in the process of building new societies. The features of a capitalist society attracted the attention of Tanzanian

and Chinese intellectuals. The spirit of commercialism in Venice results in people of different religions living together. However, discrimination against these different religions, specifically the Jew Shylock, firmly exists in the city. In the Swahili translation, the theme of Anti-Semitism in the English play was appropriated to express the spirit of anti-racialism, which was a central ideology for the nation-building of Tanzania. In the Chinese translation, the theme of Anti-Semitism was appropriated to express the spirit of anti-imperialism, which was a central ideology for the nation-building of China.

Venice is a money-centred city in which people's relationships are bonded by money. While translating the play, Nyerere was leading his country on the way to building a socialist society in which people would be bonded by love. In capitalist Venice, wealth is the root of enmity between people, while in the socialist egalitarian Tanzania in the imagination of Nyerere, people would show no discrimination against others. For him, the translation of *The Merchant of Venice* was a parable for the considerations of nation-building. In the reception of the Chinese translation, the features of the capitalist society, such as the rule of law and a female lawyer, who represents female liberation, attracted the most attention from critics. Building a new society requires the spirit of law and the participation of newly liberated women. The comparison of the Swahili and Chinese translations reveals that in the receptions of the play, Nyerere and other Tanzanian intellectuals were more critical of the capitalist society of Venice, while Zhu and other Chinese intellectuals were more admiring of Venice. In the translations of this popular

Shakespeare play, a new society is imagined and contemplated, with such imaginings and contemplation occurring parallel to the practices of nation-building within the two countries. When translation bears the considerations of the intellectuals in terms of the nation-building enterprise, in a sense, it participates in the endeavour of decolonization.

Literary translation in the post-colonial context happened in two general directions: from the languages of the former colonies to the languages of the European colonial centres and vice versa. The distortive power of Eurocentrism on literary translations from local languages into English has been discussed in previous studies. The role of literary translation from English to local languages in the process of nation-building also has been discussed by the previous scholars (e.g., Talento's monograph is relevant and precedes to this thesis). Drawing on the recent theory of prismatic translation studies, and using texts in English, Swahili and Chinese, this thesis offers a case study of the creativity of literary translations from English into local languages, arguing that such translations demonstrate practices of decolonization as well as modernisation. Decolonization can be demonstrated not only in English writings and local-language writings but also in literary translations. This study hopes to attract further academic attention to translations from European to non-European languages and to keep pushing the boundaries of post-colonial translation studies to break out of the Eurocentric viewpoint.

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