

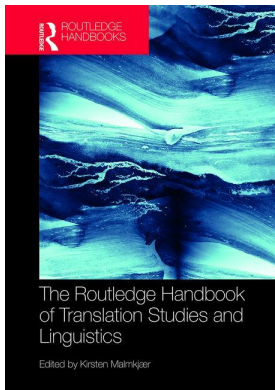
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Kirsten Malmkjær

### **Rhetoric, oratory, interpreting and translation**

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# Rhetoric, oratory, interpreting and translation

*James Luke Hadley and Siobhán McElduff*

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## Introduction and definitions

Rhetoric is traditionally understood as “the systematic study of using language to influence others” (Schiappa and Hamm 2007, 5), rather than an ability to persuade, or an understanding that good oratory has a significant public impact, something which is a clear concern in the earliest European texts. In Homer’s epic poems the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (8th century BCE), an ability to speak well in public goes hand in hand with an ability to act as necessary for a member of the elite. The important role of public speech in elite life led to the development of training in, and writing on, rhetoric in Classical Athens, the Hellenistic kingdoms that ruled the Near East and Egypt after the conquests of Alexander the Great, and in ancient Rome.

The terminologies used in English and other European traditions to discuss, describe, and dissect rhetorical practices are historically and culturally loaded. They are directly influenced by their origins in ancient Greece and Rome, and the contexts in which they were found in these same cultures as requisite factors in the education of elite males. It is important to note this cultural legacy when considering rhetoric and oratory in global terms, especially in conjunction with fundamentally intercultural activities such as translation and interpreting. The very word “rhetoric” is Greek (*rhetorike*), created by adding *-ike* to *rhetor*, a word used in Classical Athens for those who tabled motions in courts and assemblies: its first use is found in the philosopher Plato’s (c. 428–348 BCE) *Gorgias*, a philosophical dialogue which attacks the Sophist Gorgias, a Sicilian rhetorician. Partly as a result of the influence of Classical terminology, and the implications this has over classification, rhetoric was once viewed as “an entirely Western phenomenon” (Murphy 1972, 1), which had only been spread across the world by waves of European migration and colonisation. However, this narrow view tends to ignore the fact that Asian traditions of rhetorical analysis and debates on oratory have been in existence for millennia, that the important roles in formulating rhetorical models of Greek colonies and Roman cities in Asia Minor mean that no clear line can be drawn between European and non-European traditions, and that no single tradition can be identified, unifying Europe. The Chinese were formulating rhetorical terminology and schemata, especially for the codification of their complex poetical systems, by the 4th century BCE, the lifetime of Aristotle (384–322 BCE), and the Indian literary rhetorical theory tradition reaches back to

around five centuries before then (Gangal and Hosterman 1982). In what follows, the Greco-centrism that has historically coloured much global scholarship on rhetoric and oratory, together with alternative perspectives, and the implications of each for the study of translation and interpreting, will be explored.

## Historical perspectives

Unlike the Romans, who enthusiastically and openly incorporated Greek culture into their own, even pointing to the start of Latin literature as an act of translation, the Greeks resisted translation, at least openly. They referred to all non-Greek speakers as barbarians, meaning that their words were meaningless sounds – like “barbarbar”. Such languages might also be assimilated to the sounds of animals, such as the twittering of birds (e.g. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.57; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1050–1052; Aristophanes *Frogs* 680–682), and serious interest in them and their linguistic traditions, even with literate cultures, was limited. The arrival of the Romans as a Mediterranean power changed matters, of course, as their power and conquests presented the Greeks with a language whose authority had to be recognised to some degree, even if only by creating a new category to complicate the binary of Greek and barbarian: Roman. One Greek attempt to deal with the rise of Rome and Latin was to argue that Latin was a dialect of Greek, a theory called Aeolism (on which see Stevens 2006); a parallel attempt to draw the two cultures together came via mythology: one story of the origin of Rome had it founded by a son of Odysseus, Rom, rather than Romulus (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.72.2 and 5).

The rise of rhetoric as a field of study in Athens is often connected with the arrival of the Sicilian Sophist and rhetor Gorgias there in 427 BCE (Sophists were teachers of rhetoric and other arts who were paid directly for their teaching). The precise study of rhetoric before then is highly controversial: the traditional view has been that rhetoric began in 5th-century Sicily with the mysterious (and possibly legendary) figures of Corax and Tisias. That said, our evidence for the rise of rhetoric is heavily Athenian, and connected to the rise of direct democracy there, after the reforms of the legislator Ephialtes in 461/462 BCE. Rhetoric was embraced by those who made use of the courts or needed to sway popular opinion – and by philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle (384–322 BCE). Despite his clear dislike for Gorgias and Sophists in general, Plato’s writings show the early conjunction of rhetoric and philosophy in Athens, but translation and translation theory were not part of Greek rhetorical theory and training (see Robinson 1992, 13–5 for a discussion of its absence). Despite the enormous expansion of Greek culture and peoples under the conquests of Alexander the Great and the successor Hellenistic kingdoms of the Near East and Egypt, Greek rhetoric remained – with some rare exceptions – curiously uninterested in issues of foreign language and translation.

Latin rhetoric is entirely different. It has its roots in Greek rhetoric and in the Roman conquest of the Italian peninsula (which contained many Greek cities) and the Mediterranean from the 4th century BCE to the defeat of Cleopatra and Antony in 31 BCE. In this period the rewards of empire flooded into Rome: this included cultural spoils in the forms of statues, art, literature, and educated Greek slaves who were employed enthusiastically by an increasingly wealthy and Hellenised Roman elite. Much of what we know about earlier Latin rhetoric comes from *On the Orator* (54 BCE), *Orator* (46 BCE), and *Brutus* (46 BCE) by Cicero (106–43 BCE), the most famous Latin orator and the best-known Roman orator to talk about translation. His most famous work on translation, *On the Best Type of Orator* – a preface to a translation of two Greek speeches of 4th-century Athens – was also written in 46 BCE, in the dying days of the Roman Republic. However, despite its significance for the history of translation, it is

likely that *On the Best Type of Orator* is an abandoned draft, never widely circulated, and it is also important to realise that it is a *rhetorical* treatise that must be read in conjunction with Cicero's other rhetorical and philosophical works.

Even before Cicero, the first extant Latin speeches we have – from the 2nd century BCE – show the influence of Greek oratory and rhetorical systemisation. Earlier traces of a native tradition can be found, but are hard to track and are irrelevant for this chapter. However, while Roman rhetoric borrowed heavily from Greek rhetoric, especially in “the formal system of classification and organization that Greek rhetoric applies to language” (Connolly 2007, 140), it constantly kept a distance between Latin and Greek rhetoric (*ibid.*; see also Stroup 2006). One of our two earliest Latin rhetorical treatises, the anonymous *Rhetoric for Herennius* (80s BCE; the other is Cicero's youthful *On Invention*, which went on to be extremely influential in the Middle Ages) opens by taking stabs at self-aggrandising Greeks who talk about irrelevant matters when compared with the straight-speaking Latin author.

The arrival of Greek oratory in Rome was not without controversy: in 161 BCE the Senate ordered the praetor M. Pomponius to expel all the Greek rhetoricians and philosophers from the city of Rome, and Cato the Elder (243–149 BCE) bitterly attacked the influence of Greek culture on Rome – all while keeping a Greek tutor at home for his son (Plutarch, *Cato the Elder* 20.3). Despite hiccups like these, training in Greek as well as Latin became part of the process of elite male training for Roman public life. So ingrained did it become that the Censors once issued an edict seeking to have Latin schools of rhetoric closed in 89 BCE, due to anxieties about radical policies they might be teaching – Greek schools of rhetoric were apparently safer places to acculturate and train elite Roman youth (see Kaster 1997, 272–4; Gruen 1990). In the Late Republic some Romans travelled widely for training in Greek: Cicero studied in Athens (at the New Academy) and in Rhodes; the poet Horace also studied in Athens. But it was not necessary to leave Rome, as it was filled with Greek teachers of rhetoric; Cicero's *On the Orator* 1.14 tells us that the earliest teachers of rhetoric in Rome were Greek speakers, while Quintilian (35–90s CE), the first imperially appointed professor of rhetoric, praised Greek rhetoricians who attracted Roman politicians as their students (3.1.16–18)). Romans might learn Greek and through Greek from these, but training in translation from Greek was critical in Latin oratorical training. Thus, translation theory in Rome and for much of the Middle Ages is conjoined with and is a subset of rhetorical training and theory, rather than poetics. This is not to say that one cannot find traces of discussion in Roman poets, such as the comic authors Plautus (fl. 205–184 BCE) and Terence (fl. 160s BCE), but even in Horace's (65–8 BCE) famous discussion of translation in his *Art of Poetry* we see the traces of rhetorical theory and practice: in Rome rhetoric “supplies a hermeneutic model for translations” (Copeland 1991, 37).

It is in Cicero's *On the Orator* where we see our first clear and explicit discussion of translation practices and purposes in Rome, and it is articulated as a part of rhetorical training, a part that enables the Roman orator to escape the influence of *Latin* texts by turning to Greek ones. This dialogue features as one of its speakers, Lucius Licinius Crassus (140–91 BCE), one of the great orators of the generation before Cicero, and briefly his teacher. In Book I, he tells his internal audience that he began translating from Greek at a young age because he realised that working with Latin orators (*and* poets) meant he was too affected by their voices and word choices to write in an independent style. In turning to translation he aimed to increase both the vocabulary and resources of Latin for himself and others (1.154–155) and become a better and more successful orator with his own, mature voice. The rhetorical tradition produced translators who explicitly turned to translation from Greek not out of a desire to replicate the Greek original, but out of a desire to improve their own speech and to create

new, blended works that would bring the translator praise for their originality and improve Latin (sometimes at the expense of Greek texts: see e.g. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 2.5–6). Thus, when Cicero claimed to draw on Greek Stoic sources not as an interpreter, but according to his own desires – that is without consideration for the intent of the original source (*On Moral Duties* 1.6; 45 BCE) – he was articulating what seems to have been a common attitude for Roman translators. Translation might be called in part an imperial art in Rome and it is significant that discussions of translation in practice elide the role of Greek instructors and helpers.

One constant debate in Rome on translation revolves around where it lies as a subject of education, that is, where it sits on the line between grammarians and rhetoricians and in the stages of an elite education, and whether it is something that should be taught at the middle or final stages of that education (see further Copeland 1991, 11–21). As we move forward in time we also, of course, hit the increasing presence of Christianity and religious writings on translation that privilege the source text and the new issue of Hebrew and translations from the Hebrew Bible. Such perspectives place additional burdens on rhetoric and require it to reshape its approach to translation, but do not spin it into the area of poetics.

Under the empire, rhetoric remained integral to the shaping of the elite Roman male, and command over Latin and Greek was essential for those who wanted to wield power and authority. As such, translation remained linked to rhetorical teaching and theory, and most of our extant discussion of translation reflects that. Quintilian's *Institutes of Oratory* (mid 90s CE) places translation within the early stages of rhetorical training (1.9.2–30); other sources show its continuing role among elite adults. Pliny the Younger (61–112 CE) discusses it at some length in a well-known letter (7.9) to a fellow senator, Fuscus, advising it as a way for him to improve his style by competing with his source texts. Pliny ends by telling Fuscus to bring his translation work back to his peers in Rome for their approval. As Pliny's letters were all written for publication and are generally read as attempts to represent and model ideal elite modes of behaviour, his advice was meant to reach far more people than Fuscus. We see shifts in the Roman conception of translation in Aulus Gellius (2nd century CE), where the source text becomes of more significance. This shift is unconnected to the rise of Christianity and the Christian absorption of Roman and Greek rhetorical practices, but suggests that even before Christian authors like Saint Jerome (c.347–420 CE) articulated their concepts of translation, the rhetorical tradition was shifting to a new conception of the authority of the source text. Although Jerome borrows much Ciceronian language for translation (he was a committed Ciceronianist, once dreaming that he was accused of being that rather than a Christian), he does not share Cicero's assumptions about translation as displacement and he “and other patristic translators removed translation from the realm of rhetorical performance, and urged instead an unchanging, immanent signified that would be immune from the accidents of actual linguistic difference” (Stanton 1997, 141). If translation was to reflect the word of God it must reflect the power of the original, and it must not constantly shift with each generation. In other words, a religious text could not have multiple translations by a range of authors and it would not be acceptable to carve chunks of it off to form part of a new text with one's own name attached as author. Such thought was not necessarily new, even if it was new to the Roman tradition. In the *Letter of Aristaeus* (2nd century BCE), the translation of the *Septuagint*, the Greek version of the Torah, the translation is described as divinely inspired, with 72 selected translators producing their translations in 72 days. The Greek pseudo-translations of Egyptian magical texts, such as the *Hermetic Corpus*, struggle in some similar ways with the difficulty of translating what is supposedly divine speech, and moving from a non-Classical language into Greek – such concerns also bedevilled those translating Hebrew texts into Latin and Greek.

It would be impossible to discuss in any real sense the rhetorical traditions and authors of the Middle Ages, either in the Greek Eastern Roman Empire or in the various kingdoms that arose out of the collapse of the Western Empire. But it can be said that in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages translation straddles rhetoric, and grammar is not seen as an offshoot of the poetic, but the grammatical, arts (Copeland 1991). That much remains. The more complex discussions of translation in Cicero, such as in *On the Orator* or *On the Best Type of Orator* fade, as does the influence of those texts, which are eclipsed by his *On Invention*. In the West direct access to the Greek tradition vanishes as language skills in Greek dissipate and texts gradually faded from circulation. One can posit a more decisive break, though, in terms of the Roman and Late Antique articulation of rhetoric and translation with the rise of vernacular translation traditions, the reappearance of Greek scholarship in Western Europe after the fall of Constantinople, and the rise of post-Classical ideas about the importance of originality.

In the above we have not touched much on interpreting and interpreters. Linguistic interpreters were not of much interest to Greeks or Romans, except under exceptional circumstances. A good example of this is the case of the Aetolians in 191 BCE, where someone, most likely an interpreter, mistranslated the Latin word *fides* with Greek *pistis*, resulting in the Aetolians accidentally agreeing to *total* surrender to the Romans (Livy 36.28; Polybius 20.9–10). The words are very similar in meaning, both connoting roughly “trust” or “faith”. However, surrendering into the *fides* of the Roman people meant unconditional surrender, something which the Aetolians apparently did not realise. When they complained about the situation, the Roman commander told them to stop acting so Greek about the situation or he’d throw them in chains.

When discussing the orator as translator, Cicero will sometimes contrast him (the ideal Roman orator was always a man) to an interpreter, but it is important to realise that the interpreter for Cicero is a straw man, a convenient polar opposite to the orator (McElduff 2013, 115–120) rather than a representation of an individual or historical group. We see this in *On the Laws* where Cicero claims that it would be easy to “translate as an interpreter” (*interpretari*), that is, literally translate, Plato, but that he translates as he does as out of a desire to speak as himself (2.17). His most famous articulation of the split between the orator as translator and the interpreter as translator appears in *On the Best Type of Orator* where he writes that he translated,

not as an interpreter, but as an orator, with the same ideas, forms and, as it were, shape, and with language fitted to our usage. In this I did not think that I should render word for word, but instead preserved every category and the force [*vis*] of the words.

(14; see e.g. *On Moral Ends* 3.15 for an almost identical formulation)

In this text Cicero aimed to use translation to defend himself and his oratory from attacks by other Roman elites, who were embracing a so-called Attic (Athenian) style, and claiming that he was an Asianist orator: he responded by translating (or planning to translate) two famous *Athenian*, that is Attic, speeches and to use that translation to prove his attackers wrong, and terrible orators to boot (McElduff 2013, 106–114). In a highly charged and politically important debate over what style of Greek rhetoric to imitate in Latin and how to imitate it, interpreters are mainly used by Cicero as a way to mark his competitors’ style of speech as inadequate and mistranslations of the force [*vis*] of their Greek originals (Cicero is concerned about the *vis*, not the lexical content of translations here).

These figures of the Classical world have traditionally coloured scholarship focused on oratory and rhetoric, influencing the ways the phenomena are perceived and defined.

This colouring for many years led to the view that rhetoric and oratory in contexts such as Asia and Africa are introduced notions with no native or antecedent analogues. In these contexts, therefore, oratory and rhetoric become subjects of translation, and national rhetorical systems are seen as developing both in response to their importation, and also as a means of making the translation of these ideas possible. Several examples in East Asia illustrate this point well. Ancient and Classical China exert a legacy over the modern Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese cultures that is comparable to the legacy held by the Classical Mediterranean world over modern Europe and much of the Americas. Japan, as the most enthusiastically outward-looking nation in the region in the latter half of the 19th century, acted as the main vehicle through which many facets of European society, including rhetorical traditions, entered and spread throughout East Asia. In an effort to ward off the spectre of European colonisation that had already overwhelmed many of the country's neighbours, the Japanese authorities during the Meiji era (1868–1912) overturned the inward-looking, agriculture-based, feudal societal structure that had historically characterised the country, and created one of the most technologically advanced, and wealthiest nation states in the world.

Much of this reworking of the Japanese nation was driven by direct importation of technology, artefacts, notions, and even expertise in the form of the *O-yatoi Gaikokujin* [foreign experts], who were invited to the country in huge numbers (Gooday and Low 1998). With this focus on the theme of importation, the introduction of the foreign concepts of rhetoric and oratory is traditionally ascribed to Fukuzawa Yukichi. Traditionally, official communication between the authorities and the people had been one-way, top-down, and predominantly written, with little or no place for discussion. Fukuzawa compared this situation with those of the modern nation states of Europe and North America, and concluded that dialogue should be added to Japanese politics and academia (Okabe 1973, 189). This position was controversial at the time, since spoken Japanese was widely held by leading scholars such as Mori Arinori to be a language unsuited for technical discourse because of its large numbers of homophones (Okabe 1973, 194). For similar reasons, Mori famously argued for the abandonment of the Japanese language for the purposes of education, in favour of either English or French. Fukuzawa set out to prove this position wrong by presenting a talk in Japanese to the Meirokusha, Japan's first academic society, and then ascertaining whether the audience had understood and been compelled by it (Okabe 1973, 194). In this way, he convinced some of the Meiji era's most influential characters of the power of the foreign arts of oratory and rhetoric. From this moment on, the two notions were spread throughout Japan and East Asia.

### Core issues and topics

As is also the case in countless other aspects of intercultural communication in recent scholarship, the narrow definition of rhetoric and oratory as essentially homogenous inventions of Classical Antiquity has been attacked to varying degrees, and compared to Edward Said's notions of Orientalism (Lu 1998, 14–15). Said argues that perceptions of cultures outside Europe and North America are distorted by the lens of academia, which tends to perceive these cultures as peripheral and subordinate. Partly in reaction to this theorem, much recent scholarship, especially that focusing on Asian contexts, has turned away from the assumption that practices and modes of thought such as rhetoric and oratory were wholly absent in these contexts prior to their introduction from outside.

It is somewhat ironic, perhaps, then, that this very issue has also been one of contention in the study of Greek and Roman rhetoric. Led by Italian scholars such as Nevio Zorzetti (1990, 1991),

more has been written recently on the pre-Hellenistic traditions of Rome and their possible continuance in later, Hellenised Roman culture (see e.g. Zorzetti 1990; McElduff and Sciarrino 2011; Habinek 2005) and on how the Romans struggled to shape Latin as a language that could rival Greek as a literary and oratorical language. In the Late Republic such concerns were particularly to the fore, but out of all that was written in the period, including Julius Caesar's *On Analogy* (dedicated to Cicero), little survives. We have sections (6 of its 25 books) of the polymath Varro's (116–27 BCE) *On the Latin Language*, also dedicated to Cicero, which gives us a window on the concerns of the Late Republic as it tried to create *Latinitas*, correct Latinity, and forge Latin into a language capable of competing with Greek on the world stage. Varro's work is hard to describe: it resembles an encyclopaedia more than a collection of etymologies, as it is sometimes read (see Spencer forthcoming), but its overall aim might be described as an attempt “to examine the matter of what unites Latin speakers” (*ibid.*) and the forces that threaten that unity. This is a text about Romanness – Cicero once said that Varro taught Romans who and where they were (*Academica* 1.9): while it does acknowledge (often inaccurately) the influence of Greek on the vocabulary of Latin for some common words (e.g. 6.88), Varro consistently privileges Latin over Greek origins for even obscure Latin words.

Just as the study of Latin oratory has shifted from seeing it uncomplicatedly as an imitation of Greek oratory with, as Horace described it, “captive Greece capturing its savage conqueror” (*Epistles* 2.1.156–157), and Rome's native traditions and concerns swept away before the power of Hellenistic influence, scholarship on Asian rhetorical research has reconstructed native Asian rhetorical traditions that were largely eclipsed by the European tradition that had previously been equated with modernity. As part of this reconstructive effort, scholars have rejected the use of Greek and Latin terminology for the description of phenomena that are native to Asia, arguing that, for example, only a Classical Chinese purview is apt for the description of Classical Chinese rhetorical phenomena (Lu 1998, 23). While this sentiment is undeniably idealistic, imagining that contemporary observers are able to perceive the perspective of prior generations in anything other than retrospect, it has prompted scholars to adopt culture-specific terminology, rather than reinterpreting established European terms. From the East Asian perspective, perhaps the most important of these terms is *bian* (辯) [eloquence], which is compounded with characters such as 士 (*shi*) and 者 (*zhe*) to describe practitioners of rhetoric in Classical China and the cultures over which it exerted a strong influence. However, in defining the nuances of these notionally culture-specific terms, scholars advocating their use most frequently fall back on equating them with their better-known counterparts in the Greek tradition, *rhetor* and *sophist* respectively (Lu 1998, 26).

Similarly, when categorising and analysing the nature of Classical Chinese rhetoric, much scholarship (e.g. Garrett 1983; Jensen 1987) has tended to add definition to the tradition as self-contained by using the Greek tradition as a counterpoint for comparison. Almost inevitably, this approach has produced a number of generalisations characterising Chinese rhetoric, normally based on comparisons with fundamental aspects of the Greek tradition. These generalisations include an emphasis on “harmony” or a lack of logic in Chinese rhetoric when compared to Greek. In turn, these generalisations have, in recent years, been systematically challenged or heavily nuanced with detailed textual analysis of Chinese classics, and scholarship has tended away from considering traditions such as the Classical Chinese as isolates, and more as parts of the long tradition of intercultural communication that, through translation and interpreting, has transported religions, philosophies, and stories across Eurasia for millennia.



## Main research methods

Classics has a very long disciplinary history stretching back hundreds of years. As such it is not that receptive to change, and maintains a style of referring to and citing scholarship that is very different from Translation Studies and related, younger disciplines. In particular, Classics' love of footnotes and narrating the genealogy of knowledge (see Nimis 1984) can strike outsiders to the discipline as bizarre and overwrought, but still that love is best taken seriously. Scholarship that only cites one *European* language is often not considered acceptable, which can be frustrating for those working on comparative studies from a range of traditions, as they may find those traditions are afforded different amounts of respect. Close, philologically intensive reading is also a feature of Classics. Latin has a very small vocabulary for such a successful language, meaning that understanding the locus-specific meaning of words is very important. This issue is especially acute for rhetorical and translation terms, as Latin does not have a single, or even predominant term for translation, and all terms for translation have a wide diversity of meanings. Classical Chinese too, with its extreme economy with words, can create challenges in interpretation, especially in texts written in the variations of Classical Chinese that remained standard for academic discourse in Japan, for example, until the late 19th century, but vary significantly from the written language as codified at the end of the Han dynasty (206–220 CE).

## Current debates

Translation as an area of study in Classics was traditionally approached from a comparative and philological focus, with an interest in searching for lost Greek originals via Latin adaptations or translations. It was also not a topic that had any Greek antecedent, and thus was considered, somewhat ironically, inferior to others that did. The study of translation was also traditionally seen as a subset of intertextuality, the study of the traces of Greek texts in Roman ones, and how those traces affect their meaning. This view has shifted with a wider focus on translations and translators as culturally situated, with more than literary pressures affecting their work (see Dupont, Valette-Cagnac and Auvray-Assayas 2005; Bortolussi *et al.* 2007). The range of translating cultures addressed has also risen, with intense discussion over the ways in which Herodotus and other Greek authors accessed information about the Near East, for example (McElduff and Sciarrino 2011). In terms of translation, only recently have we had significant interest in Cicero as a creative translator, especially his translation of philosophy, and in how much his translation practice and theory is influenced by external circumstances such the collapse of the Roman Republic (Baraz 2012). Another author of the Late Republic who is currently generating intense interest is Varro; much current work approaches *On the Latin Language* as a complex text that reveals much about the cultural and political concerns of his period in the subjects it covers and its shape. In addition, as the range of translating cultures (even those that resisted translation like the Egyptians and the Greeks) in the ancient Mediterranean being studied has increased, the idea of a single Western ideal of translation that reaches back to the Classical past is increasingly being challenged (McElduff and Sciarrino 2011).

Thus, the study of ancient Greek and Roman rhetorical traditions, which were once narrowly focused on their geographical centres, are in the process of broadening significantly to consider interactions, and comparisons with a broader range of contemporaneous cultures. At precisely the same time, translation scholars have become increasingly aware of the Euro-centrism that has historically characterised much translation theorisation, and scholars

working on historical Asian traditions of rhetoric and translation have increasingly come to focus more on inter-Asian interactions than the Euro-Asian interactions. In this way, the study of rhetoric, oratory, translation, and interpreting are all becoming less about the focused study of the phenomena per se, and more about the roles and impacts each has had in and across a range of contexts.

The transmission from the 3rd century BCE of Buddhism across the Indian subcontinent, westwards towards the Hellenistic kingdoms, eastward to Burma and Thailand, and northward to East Asia via China is a key example of this historical phenomenon of a pan-Eurasian movement of ideas, and a multitude of cultural contexts in which a highly variable range of impacts remain tangible (see Neelis 2011; Mizuno 1982). Buddhism arrived in China in around the 1st century CE, having already spread across much of Asia. Over the course of half a millennium between the death of the historical Buddha (~400 BCE) and the transmission of Buddhism along the silk roads to Han dynasty China, it had developed a sophisticated rhetoric for the formulation of its hundreds of sutras and commentaries (Mizuno 1982). These sutras are customarily attributed to the historical Buddha, and the commentaries to towering figures such as Nagarjuna whose work has impelled them to obtain semi-divine status in their own right. The so-called Mahayana Buddhism that established itself in China in particular, developed a distinct rhetorical style in which *dhāraṇī* [memory] and *pratibhāna* [eloquence] are held up as ideals, though linguistic snobbery and sophism are strongly discouraged (Braarvig 2012, 97). This rhetorical style is based on Indian logic, especially the *catuṣkoṭī* or *tetralemma* [fourfold negation], and was translated and incorporated into the traditions of East Asia along with the Buddhist doctrines. Somewhat paradoxically, the same tradition argues that ultimate truths cannot be reached through logic and rhetoric, but only through realisation of the apparent *tathātā* [suchness] of reality, an ideal that is highly reminiscent of Plato. In the Buddhist tradition, it is perhaps most strongly exemplified in the 拈華微笑 (Jp. *nengemishō*) foundation story of the 禪 [Chan] school, known as *Thiền* in Vietnamese, *Seon* in Korean, and *Zen* in Japanese, in which the Buddha is depicted giving a wordless sermon by simply holding up a white flower, emphasising the efficacy of direct experience over language-based, intellectual analysis.

The translation of this highly advanced logical and rhetorical tradition into Classical Chinese, through which it proliferated across East Asia, took place over many centuries. However, possibly because of the vast spans of time in question and the multitude of languages involved, current research linking Buddhist logic as a sub-stratum of Indian logic, together with rhetoric, oratory, and translation, and their effects on East Asian target cultures remains extremely scarce and preliminary.

### Future directions

As Translation Studies and studies of rhetoric and oratory continue to broaden in their focus to include more research on the intersections of these phenomena in non-European, and especially Asian, contexts, it appears highly likely that all three fields will see a dramatic increase in available data. To date, research on the interplay of rhetoric and oratory in, for example, the Japanese context remains somewhat impeded by the traditional view that rhetoric and oratory are fundamentally European constructs that were introduced to Japan. Similarly, in Chinese contexts, a recent trend in research has examined uses of rhetoric during and since the Cultural Revolution (Lu 2004; Leese 2011). While these are extremely valuable and important research topics, they maintain the focus on rhetorical models that are perceived as European inventions that were reworked in East Asia, as opposed to the ancient or indigenous forms of rhetorical practice that shaped East Asia and its translations for centuries.

The religious aspect, in particular, is one that has received relatively little focus in English-language scholarship. It is common knowledge that figures such as Xuanzang and Kumarajiva each translated large numbers of Buddhist texts from Indian languages to Classical Chinese in radically different ways; the first relying to a greater extent on mapping new concepts to terminology already extant in the Chinese language, while the latter relied more on calquing and coining terminology (see Sharma, Huijiao and Lokesh 2011; Tanahashi 2014). However, very little has been written about the rhetorical effects of each of these strategies, and their ultimate cultural, literary, and linguistic impacts on large swathes of East Asia, where these translations have circulated for well over a millennium. Given that the Chinese Buddhist canon was shared between the nations of East Asia for much of their history, and consists of such a huge amount of material (the *Taishō Tripitakai* (大正新脩大藏經) is 85 volumes in length), it appears that research on the rhetorical mechanics of the Chinese Buddhist translation project constitutes a very substantial source of research data that is currently under-researched or un-researched, especially in scholarship in European languages.

In Classics, concentration will likely be increasingly focused on the multilingual nature of the ancient Mediterranean, on the diverse linguistic and cultural traditions that interacted and affected each other. Scholarship is also concentrating on translation as a particularly Roman practice and Roman translation theory as formulated to fit particular historical and cultural circumstances rather than as general pronouncements that fit all later European traditions. Cicero as a translator – and as a theorist on translation – is receiving renewed attention, especially in the area of his philosophical dialogues. Some Ciceronian contemporaries, such as Catullus and Lucretius, are also being re-evaluated as translators or through the lens of Translation Studies.

### Implications for practice

Rhetoric and oratory are frequently overlooked in current research on translator and interpreter practice, in favour of the closely related stylistics, possibly as a result of the common roots of stylistics and contemporary Translation Studies in the work of such figures as Saussure and Jakobson (1959/2004). Even following the downfall of equivalence as the defining paradigm of Translation Studies, the use by translators of rhetorical devices not directly inherited from the source text appears to raise ethical concerns with many. There remains a sense that the structure of a translated text is, or ought to be, fundamentally defined by the source author. Thus, stylistics may be used to cater to such concerns as “naturalness of expression” or “domestication”, but adding or altering the existing rhetorical structure of a text may appear to be going too far. Nonetheless, a solid understanding of rhetorical practices and devices allows for the identification of strategies when they occur, and the attempted recreation of these in their target texts, should this be translators’ perceived intention. For the European tradition, an understanding of the origin of translation theory, especially Roman translation theory, in the field of rhetoric is vital for understanding many Classical and Medieval discussions of translation; it is also critical for understanding debates over how one should translate (as an interpreter or an orator).

### Further reading

Baraz, Y. 2012. *A Written Republic: Cicero’s Philosophical Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

This book provides a clear introduction to Cicero’s philosophical translation and its connections to the collapse of the Roman Republic.

Copeland, R. 1991. *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Essential reading for anyone interested in translation and rhetoric from the Romans through the Middle Ages.

Lipson, C. and Binkley, R. A. 2009. *Ancient Non-Greek Rhetorics*. West Lafayette, IN: Parlor Press. Essential reading for those interested in the topic of rhetoric beyond the Greek tradition.

McElduff, S. N. 2013. *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source*. London: Routledge. This book discusses Roman translation theory from the 3rd century BCE through the 2nd century CE.

Tomasi, M. 2004. *Rhetoric in Modern Japan: Western Influences on the Development of Narrative and Oratorical Style*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Should be consulted by those interested in the replacement of Asian rhetorical traditions in Japan with the adoption of European counterparts.

## Related topics

Text linguistics, translation and interpreting; Stylistics and translation.

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