

CULTURE CONTACTS AND THE MAKING OF CULTURES

Papers in Homage to
Itamar Even-Zohar



Edited by

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy and Gideon Toury

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Tel Aviv

Tel Aviv University: Unit of Culture Research

2011

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Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures: Papers in Homage to Itamar Even-Zohar / Rakefet Sela-Sheffy & Gideon Toury, editors.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-965-555-496-0 (electronic)

The publication of this book was supported by the Bernstein Chair of Translation Theory, Tel Aviv University (Gideon Toury, Incumbent)

Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures: Papers in Homage to Itamar Even-Zohar

Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet 1954- ; Toury, Gideon 1942-

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Printed in Israel

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INTRODUCTION

Rakefet Sela-Sheffy

To speak of “Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures” is in fact to speak about the fundamental processes through which cultures are formed and maintained. There is a seeming contradiction between these two agendas of inquiry: while “the making of cultures” evokes the investigation of concentrated efforts invested in the creation of discrete social entities through marked cultural boundaries, “culture contacts” calls for the search of the fluidity of such entities and the constant complex transfer and exchange between them. But of course, it is the interplay between the two forces that underlie cultural dynamics in whatever social setting,, from (what seem to be) the most rigidly closed and “uncontaminated” ones to those that seem extremely heterogeneous and unsettled.

It is the understanding of this multifaceted culture dynamics as the machinery that makes social worlds going which has been the driving force of Itamar Even-Zohar’s life-long scholarly project, to which he has been dedicating his intellectual work for over forty years, in theory as well as a long series of case studies. Encompassing knowledge of so many different cultures, their languages, histories and everyday practices, from medieval Scandinavian and Russian speaking territories, through modern national Hebrew, Italian or Iberian cultures, to recent developments in contemporary Iceland and Newfoundland, Even-Zohar has collected enormously diverse evidence, all of which underlie his wide theoretical view of such processes of socio-cultural formation, change, consolidation or disintegration.

It is in the spirit of this large-scope project on cultural dynamics, which Itamar Even-Zohar shares with so many friends and colleagues all over the world, that this present book is formed. It brings together articles by several of his colleagues, friends and disciples, most of them based on papers presented at the international workshop in honor of Itamar Even-Zohar’s forty years of scholarship, which was held at Tel Aviv University in January 2008. They all deal with aspects of cultural dynamics within and between social groups, in antiquity or the modern era, in a wide range of different national, ethnic and institutional

settings, reflecting these two major aspects in Itamar Even-Zohar's scholarly work.

Owing to his peculiar academic trajectory, Even-Zohar's interest in questions of culture contacts emerged not so much from current theories of diffusion and globalization, which proceed from political and economic perspectives on Western cultural Imperialism, but rather from a semiotic analysis of texts. This standpoint may seem rather strange because from where he stands today, his initially structural, text-oriented approach (e.g. Even-Zohar 1979) seems a remote overture to his much expanded socio-semiotic view of culture, which centers on questions of culture change, entrepreneurship, sustainability or collapse, imbued with conceptualization of culture institutions and markets (1997). However, his profound philological, historical and anthropological background – shared with the contributors to this volume – is precisely what allows him and his colleagues to seriously examine culture *repertoires*. In the scholarly environment he created, culture *repertoires* are taken not just as side-effects, or “reflections,” of political and economic processes, but as concrete forces that constrain and shape such processes, constituting the channels through which social life is actually generated and transformed.

Today, we witness a growing awareness of the culture factor in the social sciences. Scientists in major fields, from biology, economics and psychology to environment or business management, agree that they all deal with culture learning, that is, with negotiation, evaluation, transmission and adaptation of models for the organization of life. This emerging integral view of culture has thus become the vital context for Even-Zohar's conceptualization of culture *repertoires*, which serves many of us as a major analytical tool.

Already in the early 1970s, when cultural studies was still quite an alien perspective to the Israeli and many other academic spheres in the humanities, Itamar Even-Zohar drafted his seed hypotheses on culture heterogeneity, later to become his worldwide known theory of cultural *Polysystems*. It was in fact through his interest in literary *translation* – as a young doctor (1971) and a translator from “exotic” languages – that he started conceptualizing the role of cross-cultural transfer in the formation and transformation of local societies. Thinking of translation as a complex of intercultural activities, he introduced the idea of *cultural*

models – inspired by anthropological as well as cognitive conceptualization – as a basic concept in understanding *literary* (and later *cultural*) repertoires, their formation, transmission and change. Rather than confine himself to obvious cases of inter-personal or inter-textual “influences,” he used translation analysis to reveal the all-pervasive, often unnoticed yet inescapable mechanism of *modeling* and *remodeling* that is always at play, let alone when culture goods are transferred from one social setting to another. Through such analysis of models he laid bare in detail the tension between “domestication” (or “indigenization”) and “foreignization” tendencies in inter-culture importation, and thus laid the basis for the study of norms in translation studies (Toury 1977).

Translation analysis was thus a catalyst for Itamar Even-Zohar for studying intersystemic relations, first with reference to language and literature, before gradually moving into studying relations between cultures. In 1976 he presented his still largely quoted paper, “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem” (first published 1978) at the international conference held at the Catholic University of Leuven, then one of the pioneering centers of translation studies next to Tel Aviv; there he first formulated his view of parameters of transfer between source and target systems – which eventually led to his hypotheses on the nature and procedures of intersystemic relations (1978b; later to be rewritten and re-published a number of times, under the title of “Laws of Cultural Interference” [2005/2010]). In this early paper Even-Zohar brought to the fore the question of the status and function allocated to translated products – and *translating activities* – within a target culture. This, in his proposed view, originated in the tension between majority and minority repertoires and the hierarchical relations between groups struggling for access to and control of resources. He thus introduced to Translation Studies the conceptualization of *center-periphery relations* between target and source cultures as a major prism of dealing with translation history and practice.

Embracing the center-periphery conceptualization, however, his complex perspective allows for going beyond the recently regnant view of culture transfer as one-directional process imposed by political super-powers on pre-modern indigenous societies, through dominating mass media. Thinking in terms of polysystemic relations, Even-Zohar relates questions of culture transfer not only to contexts of conflict and

suppression or deprivation of societies, but also to *groups' survival or revitalization* (2010). His view highlights at least two important aspects in conceiving of the nexus between "contacts" and "transfer": First, it is not self-evident. There may be situations of (coercive) contacts between social groups without significant culture diffusion and borrowing between the parties; while, on the other hand, there may be cases of intensive flow of culture models from one social setting to another without an unmediated contact between them. Second, Even-Zohar points to the fact that the nature and pace of culture transfer are largely dependent on the internal social conditions *within the target culture*, which may either encourage or disallow adaptation and diffusion of imported goods and practices (a view which is increasingly accepted in researching culture diffusion; see e.g., Kaufman & Patterson 2005). Much in line with this polysystemic view, the works assembled in this book thus problematize our understanding of inter-group contacts and culture exchange between center and periphery in more than one way. Altogether they render a complex picture of such relations as resulting from creative social energies actively initiated on peripheral social settings in connection to struggles over symbolic resources that create social change.

This theoretical tool has proven to be in particular potent for studying processes of *culture making* – that is, of moments of groups' self-(re)invention and the formation of new, independent collective identities. Focusing on such historical points of momentous social change has served as a kind of a laboratory for examining procedures of "indigenization" of borrowed repertoires – a process which Even-Zohar termed, borrowing the Prague School term for interlingual relations, "interference." He has traced such "concealed" inter-cultural transfers in even what is retrospectively being naturalized and recognized as most profoundly innate "native" features of a given culture. Moreover, he showed how even what is taken to be a unique unprecedented invention within a newly constructed culture makes necessary use of traditional outdated repertoires.

One paradigmatic case in point was for Even-Zohar the emergence of modern, national Hebrew culture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A native of Palestine, and a Hebrew speaker as a mother tongue already in the early 1940s, this culture was for him a

natural arena of investigation. Yet, equipped with a broad perspective based on his close acquaintance with major and minor European cultures, his view deconstructed – and broke through – the canonical mythologies that constituted the doxa of academic research of his home culture at the time. Having introduced his polysystemic perspective to the study of Hebrew literary history, he soon led the way for other scholars around the world to embark on similar studies of rising and re-organizing national literatures in the context of emerging national cultures (e.g., that of modern Turkey; see Tahir-Gürçağlar 2008).

Soon enough, however, Even-Zohar expanded his view to apply to all kinds of culture production – beyond canonized literary texts – including non-canonized production and everyday life. In his pioneering study, “The Emergence of a Native Hebrew Culture in Palestine 1882-1948” (1990 [1982]), he opened the way to investigating the formation of a native Hebrew culture through an analysis of everyday practices, such as paralinguistic behavior or eating and dressing habits. This influential and much cited study has remained until today unmatched for its theoretical insightfulness. Through this study Even-Zohar has shown for the first time the complex interplay between the various existing repertoires which were available to the Hebrew “culture builders” (cf. Frykman & Löfgren 1987) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – i.e., highbrow literary and theatrical Russian, popular Yiddish, mythological Arabic rituals, as well as the clash between Ashkenazi and Sephardi pronunciations of Hebrew – all of which, combined and intertwined, served the basis for the crystallization of a “native” Hebrew repertoire of daily practices. These cultural models are still traceable, if largely unnoticed, in Hebrew everyday culture even today. Tracing them and the relations between them helps unearth the complexity of the social forces that generated this culture under the given historical conditions, far beyond the simplified narrative of an overpowering “Zionist” culture program, as it were, which narrative dominates today views about this culture formation.

These early studies of culture-making through inter-culture transfer also allowed for revealing the *different types of contacts* between the groups involved, and the uneven, hierarchical relations between them – a theoretical perspective that was still quite uncommon in literary studies during the 1970s and 1980s. Even-Zohar showed, for instance, the

overwhelming effect of culture transfer which may persist in a peripheral target culture even without a continuous direct borrowing from what serves it as a central source culture. Along this line, through a detailed analysis of the Hebrew poetess Leah Goldberg's translation of Baudelaire during the 1940s (1975) he provided for the first time a systematic account on how the activity of a leading revolutionary elite circle (such as that of Hebrew literary Modernism) was still completely permeated with dominant – if outdated – Russian literary models, even when deliberately turning to other canonical sources. These outdated Russian models, introduced through translation, he contended, became so deeply naturalized in the local setting to the point of becoming the language of Hebrew literary production for generations onwards. (Cf. his analysis of void pragmatic connectives in Hebrew; 1982, 1982a.) This exploration of intricate, hidden contacts and culture transfer inspired many other works on different cultural settings, notably that of his student and colleague, the late Rina Drory, in her analysis of the triple “invisible contact” between Jewish, Muslim and Christian cultures in times of transition in medieval Spain (Drory 1988, 2000).

However, such “silent” culture infiltration and transmutation have attracted Even-Zohar's interest especially as part of *deliberate efforts towards culture making*. Since the 1990s, his research has gradually shifted to focusing on questions of *culture planning* with reference to newly emerging socio-political entities. Already in his abovementioned early studies on the emergence of native Hebrew culture in Palestine he addressed the interplay between these two forces, namely, the massive planning energy by the elite of Hebrew-revivalist culture entrepreneurs, who deliberately promoted borrowings of formal styles and institutional structures in the name of a well-formulated ideology, on the one hand, and the no less powerful, if much less clearly defined, spontaneous trends of culture transfer that undelay these process in reality, on the other. Much of his insights on the complexity of the Hebrew case have led him later on to studying comparable processes in other societies. Since 1993, he has been carrying out research in situ in Spanish Galicia, Catalonia, Iceland, Québec, and Newfoundland, studying models of groups' self-management, or the lack thereof, as strategies of coping with socio-economic crises, which often go hand in hand with these groups' struggles to create their own *culture resources* and wealth

(2010). The making of cultures has thus become an integral and indispensable aspect of Even-Zohar's multifaceted conceptualization of heterogeneity, intercultural contacts, translation and transfer.

It is in the framework of this rich theoretical view that each and every one of the contributors to this volume has been inspired by Itamar Even-Zohar's work and thoughts; and it is in the spirit of these delightful and fruitful academic and personal encounters with Itamar that we all cherish and wish to pay tribute to him and his work. Naturally, many other aspects of his wide scope of work are beyond the focus of this book and are not discussed here, as many of his colleagues worldwide are not participating in this volume. It would have been necessary to create a whole library, if one wanted to encompass in full the various and different fields to which Itamar Even-Zohar has contributed. However, we believe that the topic of the present volume might be the most representative of his major influential work.

Cutting across extremely distant social and geographical arenas, from antiquity to modern times, the studies assembled in this volume are divided into two thematic sections. In the first section, **Identities in Contacts: Conflicts and Negotiations of Collective Entities**, Manfred Bietak, Robert Paine, Rakefet Sela-Sheffy, Wadda Rios-Font, Israel Gershoni, Gisèle Sapiro, Nitsa Ben-Ari, and Jón-Karl Helgason discuss different strategies of identity making and capitalizing on culture resources in situations of intergroup conflicts that often create accelerated processes of group distinction. For all the historical differences, these studies show how such processes oscillate between exclusive and inclusive tendencies – either at the level of everyday social creativity (Davis 1994) or as well-planned political agendas. Moreover, they reveal that these processes – even in cases where social *distinction* tendencies prevail – are inevitably shaped by intercultural contacts, competition and exchange, in the context of which a separatist (ethnic or national) identity is either claimed and sanctioned as a scarce resource (Harrison 1999), or being rejected and obscured.

Manfred Bietak has long propounded the view of ancient Egypt which challenges its classical image as socially and culturally homogeneous and intact, revealing the profoundly unstable and fluid nature of

the socio-cultural scene in Egypt, in particular that of the Delta area, throughout ancient times. In his present contribution, Bietak raises the hardly ever asked intriguing question: What had happened to the Hyksos people and culture after their military defeat in 1530 BCE. Using and reinterpreting ample and subtle archeological evidence, Bietak contends that although the Hyksos' capital, Avaris, was deserted, the Hyksos people and their everyday culture overwhelmingly remained and integrated in Egypt, so as to create an important part of its socio-cultural fabric.

Robert Paine† (1926-2010), a world authority on Saami society of Northern Scandinavia, offers a new perspective, based on his more than sixty years of anthropological research, on the Saami multiple and changing sense of identity as an ethnic minority – or a *nation* – in modern Norway. In his present contribution, Paine analyzes the current phase of Saami complex identity negotiation. He describes the ambivalence between rejecting and re-claiming components of Saami indigenous cultural baggage by people of clear and unclear Saami descent, who cope with their double national and ethnic identity as both Saamis and Norwegians, in the face of changing cultural policies in Norway today.

Similar questions relating to the situation-dependent symbolic value of “ethnic options” (Waters 1990) are discussed by **Rakefet Sela-Sheffy** in her study of culture retention tendencies by immigrants, in the context of the formation of Hebrew modern society in British-ruled Palestine (1918-1948). Sela-Sheffy examines the alleged estrangement of the German Jewish immigrants by that emerging society, arguing that it was to great extent an empowering (rather than forced) distinction on the part of this marginal-yet-high-status group of newcomers. It was, in her view, the competition between two elite immigration groups – a veteran (East-European) and a newly arrived (German) – that induced the latter to claim monopoly on a European-like bourgeois repertoire, which was recognized as an identity resource by both parties. Her analysis focuses on the German immigrants' capitalizing on the ethos of professionalism that was functional in forming local elites, in particular in the legal field.

Focusing on intellectual discourses, **Wadda Rios-Font** deals with identity construction from the perspective of center--periphery rela-

tions, in the context of formerly Spanish colonies in Latin America. In her present contribution she addresses the ostensibly puzzling situation in nineteenth century Puerto-Rico where a rising nationalist sentiment was channeled through *assimilationism* rather than revolutionary independent movement. Rios-Font analyzes the background and motivation of the *non-separatist* cultural agenda of the Puerto Rican intellectual leader and politician, Ramón Power y Giralt, given the status of Puerto Rico as an “unimportant” periphery from the viewpoint of the Spanish metropolis. She describes the peculiar cultural circumstances underlying his endorsement of assimilation in the Spanish Intellegent-sia’s liberal project. This cultural dynamics is compared here with today’s Puerto-Rican nationalism in the context of its relations with its current United States metropolis.

A different view on the role of intellectuals in constructing national identities is offered by **Israel Gershoni**, who introduces a piece of his encompassing historical project on the socio-cultural formation of modern Egypt, based on his systemic reconceptualization of the intellectuals’ *revolutionary* role in this process. In light of Even-Zohar’s ideas about change and initiatives in culture, Gershoni proposes interpretation and alternative conceptualization for the opposition between “spontaneous” and “planned” change, with reference to the impact of the movement initiated by Hasan al-Banna in Egypt (1906-1949). Focusing on this intellectual’s early writings and activities, he analyzes al-Banna’s role as both an idea-maker (“planner”) and a pragmatic “doer”, responsible for a multifaceted repertoire of a counter-culture. In Gershoni’s view, rather than a spontaneous, unstructured process, the diffusion of al-Banna’s counter-culture during these formative years resulted from deliberate acts led by a sophisticated and charismatic political activist, who considered organization, administration, and mobilization as no less important factors of cultural change than *ideology*.

Gisèle Sapiro presents her research into identity (re)formation in a crucial, yet still under-studied moment in the history of French national identity in the wake of World War II – a study based on her innovative M.A. thesis, written under the supervision of Itamar Even-Zohar (“L’«image de soi» de la France à la Libération”, 1990). Elaborating on Even-Zohar’s theory of repertoire and his hypotheses of culture plan-

ning, Sapiro discusses the dynamics of a collective memory and its functionality in forming social-representations in times of drastic reshuffling of a political space – that of France right after the termination of the German occupation and the Vichy regime, which had destroyed existing social structures. Using as sources political-cultural weeklies published in the first year after the liberation, she investigates the complex intellectual struggles over (re)constructing the French collective self-image. She thus traces the diverse efforts to reconstitute “the French soul”, first and foremost through evoking canonical categories like “the passion for freedom” and “the enlightening role of France in the world”.

A glance at identity formation processes from the perspective of the history of the Hebrew literary field is offered by **Nitsa Ben-Ari**. Remapping the Hebrew publishing industry between 1940 and 1970, Ben-Ari decodes the identity of many of the agents of popular literature, with a view to reveal the role of the two distinct production systems of mainstream and popular literature in the intricate fight for hegemony in Israeli society during these years. Her analysis suggests that while these polarities of taste may have augured “normalization”, they also point to a growing disintegration of the “Zionist” envisioned New Hebrew Culture.

A view on the creation and preservation of cultural *legacies* – rather than cultural change – is introduced by **Jón Karl Helgason**, who analyses canonizing procedures as part of institutional efforts of creating national cultures in modern Europe. Helgason traces the ways cultural nationalism have challenged the royal dynasty and the church by employing procedures of beatification borrowed from the religious sphere in the making of modern national “cultural heroes.” Embracing Even-Zohar’s systemic perspective he examines such procedures as renaming and dedication, iconization, pilgrimage and creating liturgies, through which modern “cultural saints” are produced both as relics (“good”) and rituals (“tools”).

In the second section of the book, “**Repertoire Formation: Inventions and Change**,” Orly Goldwasser, Gabriel M. Rosenbaum, Gideon Toury, Panchanan Mohanty, Thomas Harrington, Nam-Fung Chang, Yaacov Shavit, and Saliha Paker discuss cases of repertoire formation, focusing mainly on historical moments of *change* where cultural inno-

vations often seem to be most visible and effective (Swidler 1986). Ranging across varied social settings and field of cultural production relating mainly (but not exclusively) to language uses, these studies bring new, sometimes groundbreaking, evidence as to how marginal options emerge and are socially diffused and naturalized – sometimes unnoticed – so as to gradually become widely recognized hegemonic cultural practices.

Egyptologist **Orly Goldwasser** addresses the most intricate controversy over the invention of the alphabet, proposing her pioneering hypothesis that it was invented on a remote periphery of ancient Middle Eastern world by mining workers, centuries before its adoption in Phoenicia and Canaan as their official script. An earlier version of this groundbreaking article has won the “Best of BAR” award for 2009–2010. Evidence from the inscriptions found in the mining place of what is today Serabit el-Khadem region in Sinai are reexamined and reinterpreted here in light of systemic thinking. This approach, according to Goldwasser, allows us to move away from the rigid view that only people of the highly educated ruling classes could have made such a revolutionary invention. Drawing on comparisons with hieroglyphic as well as early alphabetic scripts, Goldwasser elaborates on questions of the fate of inventions from the fringes and on processes of domestication in established cultures.

Gabriel M. Rosenbaum analyzes the changing status of a vernacular language in the socio-cultural setting of contemporary Egypt. Based on his years-long on-site observation of the usages of Egyptian Arabic, Rosenbaum analyzes the recently accelerating change of the traditional diglossic relationship between this local lowbrow language (*'ammiyya*) and the standard, official pan-Arabic highbrow language (*fuṣḥā*) – a revolutionary, so far unprecedented development in the entire Arabic-speaking world. With the most up-to-date evidence from the Egyptian cultural scene he describes the process through which this basically spoken dialect of a centuries-long inferior status rises, spreads and changes functions, so as to become the written language of a growing number of practices and groups in Egypt today, including in the realm of literary writing – thereby challenging the ruling status of the *fuṣḥā*.

A case of cultural *translation* and naturalization in the construction of modern Hebrew culture during late nineteenth century is introduced

by **Gideon Toury**, who examines here the invention of the four seasons in the modern Hebrew calendar, which until that time consisted traditionally of only two (winter and summer). The invention of the four seasons – borrowed from the European system – promoted by competing social agents, has long become an accomplished fact in modern Hebrew culture and nowadays Israeli life. This is in spite of its incompatibility with the natural climate conditions, where only two clearly polar seasons (dry and hot vs. wet and cold) are actually effective. The precedence of privileged (modern European) culture repertoires over natural realities is clearly demonstrated here, as well as the role of transfer of culture models in the making of new cultures.

Drawing on the complex linguistic scene of the Indian subcontinent, **Panchanan Mohanty** analyzes another case of “unnoticed” historical cultural contacts in the formation of an indigenous repertoire. He discusses the subtle relations between various Indian cultures through a detailed analysis of the maternal uncle terms. While a distinctive phrase for the maternal uncle exists in all languages belonging to India’s four language-families (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, and Tibeto-Burman), the most puzzling case is that of the Indo-Aryan group, in view of the patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal culture of the Indo-European people. Examining their cultural-linguistic peculiarity, Mohanty concludes that the Indo-Aryans have converged with the non-Aryan Dravidians, demonstrating once again how what is regarded as a most fundamental cultural trait is historically generated through cultural interference.

Thomas Harrington addresses the question of the role of colonial elites in the formation and maintenance of local, proto-national cultural systems, in the context of his ongoing research on the relationships between Iberian and emerging Latin American national cultures. Harrington draws on Even-Zohar’s conceptualization of polysystemic cultural dynamics to problematize the stereotypic view of a dominating Spanish colonialism. First, the complexity of the intra-Iberian cultural systems is brought up here by focusing on the impact of marginalized *Catalan* (rather than hegemonic Castilian) culture in the construction of a number of Latin American cultures ever since the eighteenth century. Harrington shows how small cadres of Catalans, who occupied the position of a high status immigrant group of professionals, have contrib-

uted to the making of culture repertoires in nineteenth century modern Uruguay, with special emphasis on their contribution to its architectural development. However, despite their role as powerful elite – and in fact precisely for this reason – their obvious contribution to the construction of local cultural systems remained invisible to both Uruguayan hegemonic national narrative as well as scholarly scrutiny.

A view of a westernization process in the academic world is proposed by **Nam-Fung Chang** in his study on the rise of translation studies into a separate academic discipline in China as a result of transfer of Western translation theories. Chang focuses on the active role of Chinese academia in this process, puzzled by the fact that China makes such an exception in the “Far East”, in being receptive to Western cultural theories of translation, in spite of local active resistance. He proposes that China’s receptiveness developed as a result of its strong sense of “self-insufficiency” since the late 1970s, which is reflected in China’s urge to modernize by learning from the West. In his critical view, “The Westernization of translation studies in China can be seen as a classic case in which a polysystem borrows repertoires from others ..., saving the effort of inventing them entirely by itself”.

Focusing on canonical literary texts, **Yaacov Shavit** describes the process through which Greek mythology was introduced into and accepted by Hebrew high culture production, with reference to two moments of such cultural interference in two historical points: in the world of antiquity, and in the nineteenth century. The existence of Greek mythological layers in Jewish literature raises questions related to when and how (and why) they underwent judaization in the different relevant cultural settings. Shavit shows in detail how modern Hebrew literature in the nineteenth century absorbed and domesticated these elements of Hellenism.

A discussion of the role of inter-cultural translation from a polysystemic perspective is offered by **Saliha Paker**, based on her decades-long study of the ‘hybridity’ of Ottoman literary tradition that comprises different linguistic and cultural origins. Paker reviews some of the fundamental, “interculture-bound” concepts embraced by modern Turkish critical discourse for studying Ottoman literary translation history and historiography. Within the broad scope of her ongoing research, she re-examines major critical notions as referring to central

procedures of poetical production, taken usually to waver between repetition practices (*terceme*) and inventions generated by cultural translation (*telif*). Revisiting the prevailing literary critical discourse, Paker proposes a view of over five hundred years of pre-Ottoman and Ottoman literary dynamics as having evolved by the sixteenth century into what might be described as a hybridized intercultural systemic entity within a complex cultural polysystem. She claims that a polysystemic view, with translation-related activity dominating the intercultural system conceptualized at the center, allows for taking into account interaction among the diversity of literary translators and their production.

All the articles assembled here are reports of works in progress of the contributors. We hope this volume reflects at least in part the depth and complexity of questions and problems in which we have gained so much from our ongoing encounters with Itamar Even-Zohar, each of us in his or her own way. Through this collection we wish to honor and celebrate his imaginative mind and unmatched intellectual creativity that has inspired us all. The work never ends, we look forward to the next forty years to come!

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Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet 2011. "Introduction." In *Culture Contacts and the Making of Cultures: Papers in Homage to Itamar Even-Zohar*. Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet & Gideon Toury eds. Tel-Aviv: Tel Aviv University, Unit of Culture Research, pp. 1-16.

[ISBN 978-965-555-496-0] [e-book available from: http://www.tau.ac.il/tarbut/Publications/Even-Zohar_Homage_Book.pdf]

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