

Allusion as Translation Problem:
Portuguese Versions of Second Isaiah as Test Case

by

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree,

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Abstract

An allusion in the source text poses a serious problem for a translator. A relevance-theoretic approach would define an “allusion” as the re-use of language from a prior text such that, by calling the prior text to mind, an implied reader is aided in his/her attempt to plausibly reconstruct the alluding author’s meaning. For this to happen, the reader’s “context” in the relevance-theoretic sense must include the source of the borrowed language. To explicate the connection for the reader, however, can thwart the pragmatic effects of an allusion, since these often require maintaining some “openness” in the text; hence the translator’s dilemma.

Isaiah 40-55 (Deutero-Isaiah or DtI), a richly allusive text, furnishes an ideal test case for a descriptive translation study (DTS) focused on this source-text feature. This investigation of eleven Portuguese versions will attempt to determine whether and how the translators’ decisions with regard to DtI’s allusions might be accounted for. Source-oriented approaches to translating often tend toward lexical concordance; therefore, these approaches—in theory—should tend to preserve instances of vocabulary that is shared between an alluding- and an alluded-to text. Target-oriented approaches (*e.g.* “functional equivalence”) are more interested in contextual clarity than lexical concordance; these could then be expected to produce target texts that are less allusive. Increased sophistication in translation theory should result in more sophisticated approaches to allusion in translating. Collaborative and coordinated translation projects should produce more allusive target texts than those whose procedures are more piecemeal.

The investigation reveals less correlation than expected between general source-orientedness and allusiveness in the target text. Target-oriented approaches—*e.g.*, classical functional equivalence—do tend to produce less allusive target texts. In addition, there is a correlation between a translation project’s organization and the perspicuity of allusion in the target text, but it is mostly negative. That is, projects that do their work piecemeal produce unallusive versions, but more collaborative and coordinated projects still leave many inter-textual resonances inaudible.

It appears that translations will preserve this source-text feature in a way that tends toward randomness unless the perspicuity of inter-textual allusions is articulated as a conscious value in translating. Above all, “allusion-friendly” translating will require target cultures that want more allusive Bibles. Translators, as “model readers” themselves, will need to recognize the presence and function of allusions in the source text and make the attempt to represent these in translation a priority.

Opsomming

Sinspeling in 'n bronteks kan 'n aansienlike probleem skep vir 'n vertaler. 'n Relevansie-teoretiese benadering definieer “sinspeling” as die hergebruik van taal uit 'n vroeëre teks tot so 'n mate dat 'n veronderstelde leser, deur die vroeëre teks voor die gees te roep, in sy/haar poging om die sinspelende outeur se bedoeling te rekonstrueer, gesteun word. Om dit te bewerkstellig, moet die leser se “konteks,” in die relevansie-teoretiese sin van die woord, die bron van die ontleende taaluiting insluit. Om die verband aan die leser te verklaar kan egter die pragmatiese effekte van 'n sinspeling teenwerk, aangesien sinspeling as sulks dikwels die handhawing van 'n mate van “openheid” in die teks vereis; vandaar die vertaler se dilemma.

Jesaja 40-55 (Deutero-Jesaja of DtJ), 'n teks met baie gevalle van sinspeling, bied die ideale geleentheid vir 'n beskrywende vertalingstudie (BVS) wat op hierdie brontekskenmerk fokus. Hierdie ondersoek van elf Portugese vertalings sal poog om te bepaal of en hoe die vertalers se vertaalkeuses met betrekking tot DtJ se sinspelings verklaar kan word. Bron-georiënteerde benaderings tot vertaling neig dikwels tot leksikale konkordansie; daarom behoort hierdie benaderings – in teorie – te neig om die gevalle van woordeskat wat tussen 'n sinspelende en 'n opgesinspeelde teks gedeel word, weer te gee. Teiken-georiënteerde benaderings (bv. “funksioneel-ekwivalente benaderings”) stel meer in die verstaanbaarheid van uitdrukkings in die konteks waarin dit gebruik word as in leksikale konkordansie belang; van hierdie vertalings sou dan verwag kon word om teikentekste op te lewer wat minder sinspelend is. Toenemende sofistikasie in vertalingsteorie behoort tot meer gesofistikeerde benaderings tot sinspeling in vertaling te lei. Gesamentlike en gekoördineerde vertalingsprojekte behoort meer sinspelende teikentekste voort te bring as die waarvan dit nie die geval is nie.

Die ondersoek openbaar minder korrelasie as wat verwag is tussen algemene bron-georiënteerdheid en sinspeling in die teikenteks. Teiken-georiënteerde benaderings neig wel om minder sinspelende teikentekste te produseer. Daar is boonop 'n korrelasie tussen 'n vertalingsprojek se organisasie en die duidelikheid van sinspeling in die teikenteks, maar die korrelasie is meestal negatief. Dit wil sê, projekte wat hul werk stuksgewys doen, produseer nie-sinspelende weergawes, maar meer gesamentlike en gekoördineerde projekte laat steeds baie intertekstuele resonansies nie tot hulle reg kom nie.

Dit blyk dat hierdie brontekskenmerk slegs op 'n lukrake wyse in 'n vertaling tot sy reg sal laat kom, tensy die duidelikheid van intertekstuele sinspelings as 'n bewuste waarde in die vertaling uitgespel word. Bowendien, “sinspelingsvriendelike” vertaling sal teikenkulture vereis wat meer sinspelende Bybels wil hê. Vertalers, as “modellesers” hulself, sal die teenwoordigheid en funksie van sinspelings in die bronteks moet herken en die poging om hierdie in vertaling te verteenwoordig 'n prioriteit maak.

Contents

Abstract	iii
Opsomming	iv
Abbreviations	xiii
Acknowledgments	xv
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Problem, Purpose, and Scope	1
1.1.1 Problem	1
1.1.1.1 The Source Side	1
1.1.1.2 The Target Side	2
1.1.2 Purpose	2
1.1.3 Scope	3
1.2 Assumptions, Methodology, and Hypotheses	3
1.2.1 Assumptions	3
1.2.2 Methodology	4
1.2.3 Hypotheses	6
1.3 Relevance	7
1.4 Outline	7
2. Allusion and the Translator	9
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Allusion—Approaches in Literary Criticism	10
2.2.1 Romanticism	10
2.2.2 New Criticism	11
2.2.3 Structuralism and Post-Structuralism	11
2.2.4 Allusion, Influence, and Intertextuality	14
2.3 Allusion as Communication Problem	15
2.3.1 A Code Model	15
2.3.2 A Pragmatic Model	16
2.3.3 Grice	17
2.3.4 Relevance Theory	19

2.4 Allusion as Translation Problem	22
Figure 1	24
2.4.1 Implications for Translators of Literary Approaches	25
2.4.2 Implications of Communication Approaches: A Code Model	25
2.4.3 Implications of Communication Approaches: A Pragmatic Model	26
2.4.4 Implications of Communication Approaches: A Relevance-Theoretic Model	27
2.5 Application	29
3. The Alluding Text: “Second Isaiah”	31
3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Formation of Isaiah	31
3.2.1 From Unity to Diversity	31
3.2.2 From Diversity to Unity	34
3.2.3 The Impasse	36
3.2.4 DtI as Alluding Text: Rationale.....	37
3.3 Alluded-To Texts in DtI.....	39
3.3.1 What Constitutes a “Text”?	39
3.3.2 Extra-Isaiah Allusions: Rationale.....	40
3.4 The Allusions	41
3.4.1 Previous Studies of Inner-Biblical Allusion.....	41
3.4.2 DtI’s Allusions: The Sample	45
3.4.2.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41, 43	46
3.4.2.2 Isaiah 40:6-8 and Psalm 103:15-17.....	47
3.4.2.3 Isaiah 40:26,28 and Psalm 147:4,5	48
3.4.2.4 Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4,8.....	49
3.4.2.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39	51
3.4.2.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16	52
3.4.2.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15,20	53
3.4.2.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14	54
3.4.2.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23	55
3.4.2.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1	56

4. Methodological Considerations	58
4.1 Introduction	58
4.2 A Functional Translation Analysis.....	58
4.2.1 Descriptive Translation Studies.....	58
4.2.2 <i>Skopostheorie</i> and Christiane Nord	60
4.2.3 Margret Ammann’s Model for <i>Übersetzungskritik</i>	61
4.2.3.1 Target Culture Function.....	62
4.2.3.2 Intratextual Coherence Within the Target Text	62
4.2.3.3 Source Culture Function	63
4.2.3.4 Intratextual Coherence in the Source Text.....	63
4.2.3.5 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts	64
4.2.3.6 Adaptations in the Present Study	64
4.2.4 Language Variation—Portugal and Brazil	64
5. The <i>Versão Almeida</i> and Its Offspring	67
5.1 Introduction	67
5.2 Portuguese Bible Translating in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.....	68
5.2.1 <i>Ad fontes!</i> – Source Texts and Bible Interpretation on the Iberian Peninsula.....	68
5.2.2 Target Texts—The Problem of Vernaculars	69
5.2.2 Pre-Reformation Bible Translating in Portugal.....	70
5.3 The Reformation and Its Aftermath	71
5.3.1 Reformation Bibles.....	71
5.3.2 The Bible in Counter-Reformation Roman Catholicism.....	72
5.3.3 Protestantism Reaches the Lusophone East.....	74
5.4 The <i>Versão Almeida</i>	75
5.4.1 João Ferreira de Almeida (1628-1691), Bible Translator.....	75
5.4.2 <i>Versão Almeida</i> Isaiah (1751)	76
5.4.2.1 Target Culture (TC) Function	77
5.4.2.2 Intertextual Coherence in TT	79
5.4.2.3 Intertextual Coherence Between Source Text (ST) and Target Text (TT)	81
5.4.2.3.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41,43	82

5.4.2.3.2	Isaiah 40:6-8 and Psalm 103:15-17.....	84
5.4.2.3.3	Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4,5.....	85
5.4.2.3.4	Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4,8.....	86
5.4.2.3.5	Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39.....	88
5.4.2.3.6	Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16.....	89
5.4.2.3.7	Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15,20.....	90
5.4.2.3.8	Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14.....	92
5.4.2.3.9	Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23.....	93
5.4.2.3.10	Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1.....	94
5.4.2.3.11	Conclusions.....	95
5.4.3	Introduction: <i>Versão Almeida</i> Revisions.....	96
5.4.3.1	The <i>Tradução Brasileira</i> (1917).....	97
5.4.3.1.2	Target Culture (TC) Function.....	97
5.4.3.1.3	Intertextual Coherence in TT.....	98
5.4.3.2	The <i>Versão Almeida Revista e Corregida</i> (ARC).....	100
5.4.3.2.1	Target Culture (TC) Function.....	100
5.4.3.2.2	Intertextual Coherence in TT.....	101
5.4.3.3	The <i>Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada no Brasil</i> (ARA).....	102
5.4.3.3.1	Target Culture (TC) Function.....	102
5.4.3.3.2	Target Text (TT) Coherence.....	105
5.4.3.3.3	Intertextual Coherence, <i>Versão Almeida</i> Revisions.....	107
5.4.4	Conclusions.....	117
6.	Post- <i>Almeida</i> Roman Catholic Versions in Portuguese.....	119
6.1	Introduction.....	119
6.1.1	Relay Translations.....	119
6.1.2	Target Culture: <i>Pombalismo</i> in Portugal.....	120
6.1.3	António Pereira de Figueiredo (1725-1797), Bible Translator.....	121
6.1.4	Figueiredo's <i>Bíblia Sagrada</i>	125
6.1.4.1	Target Text (TT) Coherence.....	125
6.1.4.2	Coherence Between Source and Target Texts.....	128

6.1.4.2.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2	129
6.1.4.2.2 Psalm 103 (Vg 102):15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8	129
6.1.4.2.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147 (146):4,5.....	131
6.1.4.2.4 Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4, 8	131
6.1.4.2.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39	132
6.1.4.2.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16.....	133
6.1.4.2.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78 (77):15,20.....	134
6.1.4.2.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69 (68):14.....	135
6.1.4.2.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23.....	136
6.1.4.2.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15).....	136
6.1.4.2.11 Conclusions	137
6.2 The <i>Bíblia Sagrada</i> of Matos Soares (1933).....	137
6.2.1 Matos Soares, Bible Translator	137
6.2.2 Target Culture Function.....	138
6.2.3 Target Text Coherence	141
6.2.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts	144
6.2.4.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2.....	144
6.2.4.2 Psalm 103 (Vg 102):15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8	144
6.2.4.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147 (Vg 146):4, 5	145
6.2.4.4 Isaiah 42:17, Exodus 32:4,8, and 1 Kings 12:28	145
6.2.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39	146
6.2.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16.....	147
6.2.4.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78 (77):15,20.....	147
6.2.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69 (68):14.....	148
6.2.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23	149
6.2.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)	149
6.2.4.11 Conclusions.....	150
6.3 The <i>Bíblia Ilustrada</i> (1957-1970)	151
6.3.1 Introduction	151
6.3.2 Target Culture Function— <i>Divino Afflante Espiritu</i> and <i>Dei Verbum</i>	151

6.3.3 Target Text Coherence	152
6.3.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts	154
6.3.4.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41, 43	154
6.3.4.2 Isaiah 40:6-8, Psalm 103:15-17	155
6.3.4.3 Isaiah 40:26,28 and Psalm 147:4	157
6.3.4.4 Isaiah 42:17; Exodus 32:4,8; and 1 Kings 12:28	159
6.3.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39	161
6.3.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16	162
6.3.4.7 Isaiah 48:21, Exodus 17:6, and Psalm 78:15, 20	163
6.3.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14	165
6.3.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23	167
6.3.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1	168
6.3.5 Conclusions	169
6.4 <i>The Nova Tradução dos Freis Capuchinhos</i> (1992-1998)	170
6.4.1 Target Culture Function.....	170
6.4.2 Target Text Coherence	172
6.4.3 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts	174
6.4.3.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41,43	174
6.4.3.2 Isaiah 40:6-8, Psalm 103(102):15-17.....	174
6.4.3.3 Isaiah 40:26,28 and Psalm 147(146-147):4.	176
6.4.3.4 Isaiah 42:17; Exodus 32:4,8; and 1 Kings 12:28	178
6.4.3.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39	180
6.4.3.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16	181
6.4.3.7 Isaiah 48:21, Exodus 17:6, and Psalm 78(77):15, 20	182
6.4.3.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14	184
6.4.3.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23	185
6.4.3.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1	186
6.4.4 Conclusions	187
7. Portuguese “Functional Equivalence” Versions	188
7.1 Introduction	188

7.1.1 Eugene Nida and “Functional Equivalence”	188
7.1.2 Robert G. Bratcher, Bible Translator.....	194
7.1.2.1 Bratcher and the Good News Translation (GNT).....	194
7.1.2.2 Bratcher and the BLH/NTLH	196
7.2 The BLH/NTLH Target Culture	199
7.3 Target Text Coherence	201
7.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts.....	203
7.4.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2	203
7.4.2 Psalm 103:15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8	204
7.4.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4,5.....	205
7.4.4 Isaiah 42:17, Exodus 32:4,8, and 1 Kings 12:28.....	205
7.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39.....	206
7.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16	207
7.4.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15,20.....	208
7.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:13.....	209
7.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23.....	210
7.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)	210
7.5 Conclusions	211
8. An Ecumenical Portuguese Version: The <i>Tradução Interconfessional</i>	212
8.1 Introduction	212
8.1.1 Target Culture: Movement Within Roman Catholicism	213
8.1.2 Target Culture: Movement within the Bible Societies	215
8.1.3 “Guiding Principles”.....	215
8.2 Target Culture: the <i>Bíblia para Todos: Tradução Interconfessional</i>	218
8.3 Target Text Coherence	221
8.4 Coherence between Source and Target Texts	224
8.4.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2	224
8.4.2 Psalm 103:15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8	225
8.4.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4,5.....	226
8.4.4 Isaiah 42:17, Exodus 32:4,8, and 1 Kings 12:8.....	226

8.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39.....	228
8.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16	228
8.4.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15, 20.....	229
8.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14 (13)	230
8.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23	230
8.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)	231
8.5 Conclusions	232
9. Summary and Conclusions	234
9.1 Introduction	234
9.2 Summary of the Problem.....	234
9.3 Versions Studied	235
9.4 Hypotheses	236
9.5 Limiting Factors and Directions for Further Research.....	237
9.6 Conclusions	238
9.6 What Would “Allusion-Friendly” Translating Look Like?	240
Bibliography	242

Abbreviations

ABS	American Bible Society	NIV	<i>New International Version</i>
AT	alluding text	NKJV	<i>New King James Version</i>
ATT	alluded-to text	NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i>
ARA	<i>Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada</i>	NTLH	<i>Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje</i>
ARC	<i>Versão Almeida Revista e Corregida</i>	PCPCU	Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity
ASV	<i>American Standard Version</i>	PT	Portuguese
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society	SA	source author
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>	SBB	<i>Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil</i>
BI	<i>Bíblia Ilustrada</i>	SBP	<i>Sociedade Bíblica de Portugal</i>
BLH	<i>A Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje</i>	SC	source culture
DtI	Deutero-Isaiah	SPCU	Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies	SR	source reader
ESV	<i>English Standard Version</i>	ST	source text
FE	functional equivalence	ST ¹	original (Hebrew) source text
FOLTA	<i>From One Language to Another</i>	ST ²	secondary (e.g. <i>Vulgate</i>) source text
GNT	<i>Good News Translation</i>	TAPOT	<i>Theory and Practice of Translating</i>
HCSB	<i>Holman Christian Standard Bible</i>	TASOT	<i>Toward a Science of Translating</i>
LBH	late biblical Hebrew	TC	target culture
LXX	<i>Septuagint</i>	TI	Trito-Isaiah
MT	Masoretic Text		
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>		
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>		

TR target reader

TT target text

UBS United Bible Societies

Vg *Vulgate*

VOC *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*

VP *Versión Popular*

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VDMÆ

1. Introduction

1.1 Problem, Purpose, and Scope

1.1.1 Problem

1.1.1.1 The Source Side

It is a commonplace that a great deal is always “lost in translation.”¹ In the case of the Bible, it is also recognized that the loss results from both the richness and foreignness of the source text. The richness of a literary text stems, in part, from the implicit rather than explicit nature of much of its communication; this makes the Bible, among many other things, a literary text *par excellence*.

Both the Bible’s literariness and its foreignness are factors when its inter-textual allusions are “lost in (or, deleted from) translation.” An allusion may be provisionally defined as an invitation to a reader to enhance his or her reading by mentally invoking a second text. For this to happen, the second text must be part of the reader’s “cultural horizon” (Nord 2005:106), and for readers of Bible translations (and for the translators themselves) this may or may not be true. In addition, allusions function *via* a kind of covertness; if it is not the presence of the allusion that a text declines to make explicit, it is the extent to which a reader is meant to go in pursuing it (Perri 1978:293). The willingness to leave some control of the reading in the hands of the reader, it will be argued in this study, is an essential part of an allusion’s function.

It also presents a severe problem for conscientious translators. First, they need to determine whether a source author is, in fact, inviting the source reader to invoke a second text, and if so how this is being done. Here, oft-heard cautions against “the intentional fallacy” (Wimsatt & Beardsley 1946) are in place. This study, however, will take the position that a text represents an attempt at communication; in other words, texts exist because human beings want to share meaning with other human beings, and readers of texts intuitively seek what it was that those who produced them wanted to share.

As a result, when studying allusion as a translation problem, certain source-side questions cannot be ignored. First, how do we determine that an apparent inter-textual connection was in fact intended by the author(s)? Could the text’s implied reader have activated the connection, and why

¹ That information can be *added* in translation is noted less often.

do we think so? How far was s/he to go in prosecuting the allusion—and how would s/he know this? For a reader who could not activate the allusion at all, what exactly was lost?

1.1.1.2 The Target Side

Soon, however, questions on the target side come into play. An allusion is an instance of a common translation problem, *viz.*, whether and how to transfer a piece of implicit information in a text from a foreign culture into a target text in a target culture. If the goal of translating is to place a target reader in a position relative to the target text analogous to the position of an implied source reader relative to the source text, then the goal will have been achieved if a target reader can recognize the allusion, invoke the alluded-to text, and find the connection helpful for reconstructing what the alluding author meant to say.

That is easier said than done. The complexity of the task, and the multiple values in play when translating, mean that to attempt to translate an allusion is not the only decision possible. If this will be attempted, the question is not merely how to make the existence and source of re-used language known—although this is hard enough, in view of the differences between the source and target cultures. It seems paradoxical, but it will be argued in this study that sometimes the clearer an inter-textual connection is made to a reader, the *less* his or her relationship to the target text resembles the relationship of the source reader to the source text. This is so because, if implicitness is intrinsic to an allusion's function, then that function can be undone by explicitation²—something like the way that dissection can be revealing but requires the death of the organism.

1.1.2 Purpose

Other studies (*e.g.* Leppihalme 1997) have tried to devise strategies for helping translators solve the problem posed by an allusion, but that is not the purpose here. Still less is it to excoriate translations for their neglect of this source-text feature, in yet another discussion of what translations should achieve but never do (Hermans 1999:20).

Rather, the present work understands itself as located within what is known as Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), though in some respects its approach is more functionalist than purely descriptive (See 4.2 below). If translating may be defined—again, provisionally—as the creation of a target text resembling a source text in certain, predetermined ways, DTS studies the ways in which translations that are accepted as such by their target cultures resemble their source texts.

² In the case of an allusion, “explicitation” would entail an expansion in the target text intended to prevent a reader from missing an inter-textual connection, *e.g.*, “Look! How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the one who brings good news, *as the prophet Nahum said*” (Isaiah 52:7).

Ideally, DTS does not begin with a text segment of a particular length, but with one particular text feature (Nord 2005:186)—allusion, in this case. In this study, the question will be: is a demonstrably allusive source text similarly allusive in a selection of landmark Bible versions in a major world language? What decisions were made about translating allusions by those who produced these versions? Can these decisions be accounted for?³

The investigation will be mainly descriptive, but it will not eschew all evaluation as a rigorously DTS paradigm would require, since in my opinion this would impair the utility of this study severely. Some conclusions will be attempted with regard to which kinds of target cultures and translation projects have tended to produce “allusion-friendly” translations, and which have not. This will permit some cautious suggestions as to what fostering a favorable environment for “allusion-friendly” translating might entail.

1.1.3 Scope

The scope of this study will be limited on both the source and target sides. Its corpus will be Isaiah 40-55 (referred to as Deutero-Isaiah or DtI), a text replete with allusions that demonstrably contribute toward its meaning. A sample of allusive passages for analysis will be culled according to criteria that will be established below.

On the target side, this study will limit itself to eleven Portuguese versions chosen for their historical significance (including their popularity and distribution—or, in some cases, their *lack* of these) and their translation-theoretic significance. The story of Portuguese Bible translating has been told previously, but rarely in English; and an attempt has not been made to drill down through the major versions at one particular text feature, as this study will do.

1.2 Assumptions, Methodology, and Hypotheses

1.2.1 Assumptions

Important assumptions on which the work has been based are these. First, the source text of DtI implies a reader who can process its allusions; for a reader who could not, a significant portion of its meaning would be lost (Gutt 2006:4). If the goal of Bible translating is to provide a target reader with at least potential access to “*the full, intended interpretation of the original*” [emphasis original] (Gutt 1992:77), then this includes access to the allusions in the source text. It is further

³ I am aware of Timothy Wilt’s use of the concept of “frames”—cognitive, sociocultural, organizational, communication-situation, and text—as a way of accounting for translator decisions (Wilt 2003:43-58). The view of this study is that this approach, though useful, would not have altered the conclusions significantly.

assumed that inter-textual allusions are a source-text feature to which readers of Bible translations would see access as desirable.

Second, to meet an expectation of access to the source text's "full intended interpretation" is, frankly, impossible. A translation simply cannot put all target readers on the same footing with an implied source reader or with each other (Hermans 1999:17), especially with respect to culturally-embedded or implicit information. As noted above, a reader's ability to activate an allusion depends on whether the alluded-to text forms part of his/her "cultural horizon"—or "context" in the relevance-theoretic sense. If it does not, a translator can attempt to fill in the gap by various means; often, however, some of these will demolish certain effects that authors attempt to achieve by alluding.

Third, Bible translations are products of cultural systems that differ in ways that will noticeably affect the translations' approaches to many source-text features. This study hypothesizes that differences in the cultural systems that produced these eleven versions will help to explain, at least to a degree, their different approaches to allusive passages in DtI.

Fundamentally, this study assumes that, in order to activate an allusion, a reader must notice that the alluding text includes language that has its origin elsewhere. In the Hebrew Bible, language from one text is seldom repeated verbatim in another, but lexis shared between the alluding and alluded-to texts remains a starting point for (and control on) the identification of allusions. Similarly, patterns of shared lexis in the target text will serve as a useful starting point for evaluating its allusiveness.

1.2.2 Methodology

A definition of "allusion" will be necessary for these purposes. This study will propose a new definition informed by relevance theory. A relevance-theoretic definition of allusion will permit a middle course between the exclusively author-and-influences focus of some past studies and the exclusive reader-focus of others; other advantages, it is hoped, will also become apparent.

The choice of Isaiah 40-55 or DtI as the corpus for this study necessitates a position on the boundaries of this text, its implied reader, and its rhetorical agenda; these positions will be articulated and defended in chapter 3. A sample of allusive passages from this text will be proposed according to the relevance-theoretic definition mentioned above.

The approach to analyzing the translations, detailed in chapter 4 below, will be an adaptation of Margret Ammann's (Ammann 1990 and 1993) method for *Übersetzungskritik*. This approach not

only provides a convenient organizational framework. More important: it is built on the functionalist observation that translations exist because persons in certain times and places want to do things that they need a translation in order to do. Accordingly, the starting point in Ammann's method, and in this study, is the translation's target culture—specifically, why a translation was brought into being, by whom, under what circumstances, and in order to do what with it.

Many kinds of information are useful in this regard, and I will attempt to treat the available data as comprehensively as possible. In most cases, existing versions (including some in other languages) are facts of the target culture, and possible relationships between these and the version under analysis must be considered. The purpose at the target-culture stage will be to determine what the available information allows us to predict about whether translators will recognize DtI's allusions, whether and how the target culture will expect access to them, and how translators will attempt to solve the problem that allusions pose.

A translation is not merely a "poor copy" of an original (St. André 2009:230) but a literary work in its own right. For that reason, the next object of analysis is what Ammann calls the target text's "innertextual coherence." This is her term for the degree to which the target text is internally consistent in meaning, form, and the relationships between meaning and form. In the case of this study, this will require searching for consistency not only across the text, but across the para-text (which includes such features as introductions, section headings, and cross references) and between text and para-text. The final step will be an investigation of the relationships between the source and target texts, which in Ammann's method are again framed in terms of inter-textual "coherence."

The principal modification for present purposes will be that in Ammann's method, analysis of source-culture function and source-text coherence follows analysis of target-culture function and target-text coherence; in this study, the source-text considerations will be taken up first. This is not only because all eleven Portuguese versions are translations of the same source text (which needs analysis only once), but also because the source-side question of what constitutes an "allusion" in DtI is an important component of this study. Investigation of the target-side questions, however, will use Ammann's model in the case of each version.

1.2.3 Hypotheses

This study proposes the following hypotheses with regard to the Portuguese versions under consideration.

- 1) Though this should not be done until the criteria for such a determination are stipulated, translations may be broadly classified as “source-oriented” or “target-oriented.” Lexical concordance—*i.e.*, an attempt to translate a source-text lexeme as consistently as possible—is often a value for “source-oriented” translating. Therefore, where allusions function *via* lexis that is shared between the alluding and the alluded-to text, source-oriented versions will tend to preserve inter-textual allusions in the target text.
- 2) Conversely, some translation-theoretic approaches value contextual clarity over lexical concordance (notably classical “functional equivalence” translating). Therefore, these will tend not to produce versions in which inter-textual allusions that function *via* shared lexis are perspicuous.
- 3) Explication within the translation is not necessarily inimical to the perspicuity of an allusion; it would theoretically be possible to deploy it in the same way in both the alluding and the alluded-to text. The greater problem is that explication characterizes approaches to translating that consider openness in the target text something to be avoided as much as possible. If some openness is necessary in order for an allusion fully to realize its function, explication will tend to militate against this.
- 4) A cross-reference in a para-textual note can help a reader to recognize an inter-text; its effect on those pragmatic effects that depend on allowing the reader to invoke the alluded-to text him/herself will not be positive, however. Para-textual notes will reveal which inter-texts the translators recognized and thought were important, but they will generally be better suited to purposes other than literary allusion in the target text.
- 5) Translators and target cultures that are sensitive to literary features of texts in general, especially those features stretching across large segments of text (including across a canon), will produce more allusive target texts.
- 6) The way a translation project organizes its work will also have an effect. The more fully collaborative a translation project is, the more likely it is that literary features that stretch across a canon will be recognized and preserved. If translators do their work piecemeal or in isolation, the target text will tend to be less allusive.

1.3 Relevance

Recognition that the voices heard in the Bible are aware of each other is certainly not new. Since Michael Fishbane's 1985 *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, however, there has been increased attention to what this inter-textual dialogue means for exegesis. Outstanding studies on the relationship of DtI to its predecessors include Willey 1997, Sommer 1998, and Nurmela 2006; from these and others it becomes clear that a reader who misses DtI's Exodus allusions, for example, has essentially missed much of DtI. It is hoped that this study will draw attention not only to the challenge, but also the rewards of making this inter-textual dialogue available for readers of the Bible in translation.⁴

Second, debates on which Bible translation is best still convulse many congregations and denominations. Despite repeated cautions from specialists, Bible readers often hold expectations for the relationships between source and target texts that are patently unrealistic; publishers of translations often seem more interested in inflating these expectations still further than in bringing them down to earth. It is likely that this study will provide further evidence that "faithfulness," "equivalence," or "access to the full intended interpretation of the original" are not simple matters when translating a literary text.

Finally, Translation Studies as a discipline has a history of only forty years, but in that time it has matured rapidly. An early step was to divide the field into prescriptive and descriptive branches; as mentioned, this study will be an example of the latter. Currently, interest is strong on the part of Bible societies and others in what can be learned from the historiography of translation projects. It is therefore also hoped that this study will enhance our understanding of the relationships between the conditions under which translations are produced and their handling of key source-text features.

1.4 Outline

After surveying the approaches to defining "allusion" in both literary and communication theory, the next chapter will distinguish the interests of this study from what is popularly (and somewhat inaccurately) termed "intertextuality," and will propose the relevance-theoretic definition of "allusion" mentioned above. Chapter 3 will expand on the above presentation of Ammann's method, including its roots and its utility for present purposes. The chapter will also deal with an

⁴ Despite the likelihood that DtI polemicizes against such Ancient Near Eastern (ANE) texts as *Enuma Elish* (Lessing 2011:40), these texts probably do not come within the "cultural horizon" of most target readers of the Portuguese versions under study here. Therefore the focus of this study will be limited to allusions within the biblical canon.

important preliminary consideration: the differences between various forms of Portuguese and the effect of these on this investigation. Chapter 4 will take up such source-text concerns as the history of scholarship on the formation of Isaiah. It will provide further rationale for the selection of chapters 40-55 as corpus and will justify the ten allusive passages selected for comparison across translations.

The chapters mentioned above are in a sense preliminary. Chapter 5 will begin the study of Portuguese versions with what is universally acknowledged as the most important: the *Bíblia Sagrada* of João Ferreira de Almeida. Also included in Chapter 5 are the most important *Versão Almeida* offspring: the *Tradução Brasileira* (TB), the *Versão Almeida Revista e Corregida* (ARC), and the *Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada* (ARA). Chapter 6 will turn to the most important Roman Catholic versions: the *Bíblia Sagrada* of António Pereira de Figueiredo, the version of Matos Soares, the *Bíblia Ilustrada*, and the *Bíblia dos Freis Capuchinhos*. Chapter 7 will investigate the “functional equivalence” versions *A Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje* and the *Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje*, and Chapter 8 will consider the joint Roman Catholic-Protestant effort, the *Tradução Interconfessional*. Chapter 9 will conclude by summarizing what has been learned with regard to the hypotheses stated in 1.2.3 above, and by offering some cautious suggestions for how “allusion-friendly translating” might be fostered.

2. Allusion and the Translator

2.1 Introduction

Allusion must first be defined in terms of both form and function before it can be studied as a translation problem. This chapter will begin by surveying some approaches to the concept in literary criticism, and will distinguish allusion from what has come to be known as “intertextuality” (Kristeva 1986, Barthes, 1986, *et al.*). Literary theories of allusion will be distinguished on the basis of whether they take as their point of departure the alluding author, the reader, the text as “artifact,” or the cultural system of which author, text, and reader are all a part (Pucci 2009:25). The question as to which of these factors is primary will be seen as an obstacle that literary-critical approaches have had difficulty in surmounting.

The difficulty is mitigated when allusion is approached as a communication problem rather than a literary device. The next section will consider allusion from the point of view of three models of communication: a “code,” semiotic, or source-message-receptor (SMR—Goerling 1996:49) model; a pragmatic model (Perri 1978, Coombs 1984), and a relevance-theoretic model (Gutt 1996). The advantages of a relevance-theoretic approach will be explained, and a new definition of “allusion” will be offered from the point of view of relevance theory.

The consequences of these various approaches to allusion as translation problem, and the advantages of a relevance-theoretic approach, will then be explored. A successful translation will be regarded as one that “interpretively resembles” the source text (ST) (Gutt 1992:37) in a way consistent with its target-culture function. With respect to allusion, producing such a translation would require an awareness of the following on the translator’s part:

- 1) The presence and function of an allusion in ST.
- 2) The target reader’s (TR’s) “context” in the relevance-theoretic sense, including TR’s access to the cultural system which includes the alluded-to text. This means that, in the case of a particular translation’s TR, a given allusion may simply not be translatable. Nor will the *skopos* (explicit or implicit) of a particular translation necessarily require that TR be granted access to all of ST’s allusions.
- 3) TR’s expectations with regard to implicit information in general and allusion in particular.

If this is true, then versions may be compared on the basis of their handling of a set of allusive passages. Their approaches to these passages can then be mapped onto their target cultures, and an

attempt can be made to determine whether and how the translators' decisions may be accounted for.

2.2 Allusion—Approaches in Literary Criticism

Many studies of allusion (*e.g.* Perri 1978:301, Leppihalme 1997:5f, Pucci 2009:xi) note the term's derivation from Latin *alludere*, "to jest or play," which they see as more or less significant. In English, "allusion" was initially synonymous with "illusion"; later, it began to designate word-play of several different kinds (Craigie & Onions 1933:242). By the early seventeenth century the term had taken on the current sense of an oblique or tacit reference, although (as will be discussed below) exactly how and in what way a reference must be tacit in order to qualify as an allusion remains controversial (Bloom 1975, 2003:126; Ben-Porat 1976:107). Today, Miner's (Miner 1993:40) definition of allusion as "a poet's deliberate incorporation of identifiable elements from other sources, preceding or contemporaneous, textual or extra-textual"—which Miner then distinguishes from repetition, parody, imitation, source borrowing, *topoi*, commonplaces, intertextuality, preceded language, and plagiarism—would probably meet with general acceptance. Disagreement persists about allusions' requisite form, however, and there is even more disagreement about their function.

Miner (1965:18 and 1993:4) opined that "no comprehensive study of allusion" yet exists. It is true that theoretic treatments of allusion have been relatively infrequent (Ben-Porat 1976:105), though many studies list the allusions in an individual author. These tend to proceed intuitively rather than empirically (Perri 1979:106), and often they reveal as much about the prevailing literary-critical climate of their time as they do about their object of analysis.

Classical authors certainly alluded, but the term is not used for a discrete literary phenomenon until the sixth century CE—not coincidentally, by the Christian author Cassiodorus in his *Expositio Psalmorum* (Pucci 2009:52). Greek and Roman authors on rhetoric tended to see absolute perspicuity as a speaker's or author's main objective and to look askance at anything that could put this in jeopardy (Pucci 2009:57f). Medieval Christianity's rhetorical program was thus more favorable toward the multivalence that an allusion entails than was classical antiquity's (Pucci 2009:53).

2.2.1 Romanticism

Pucci's study provides a helpful survey of literary-critical approaches to allusion in romanticism, New Criticism, structuralism, and post-structuralism, approaches which he distinguishes based on whether they apprehend the author, the reader, the text, or the sign-system as the primary factor in

an allusion's function (Pucci 2009:25). Romanticism defined poetry as "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" which "takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquility" (Wordsworth 1993:151); therefore, to come to a full appreciation of an author's experience should be an interpreter's main objective. Friedrich Schleiermacher, sometimes called "the father of modern hermeneutics," is essentially a romantic in his view that the reader's goal is to "read through the text to the personhood of the author as he wrote" (Brown 2007:58f). From this it seemed to follow that allusions are interesting mainly for what they reveal about the interplay of prior texts within the author's mind, and for what the author intended by making these connections manifest. As a result, studies of allusion have long been preoccupied with questions of influence, and this remains true of many studies today.

2.2.2 New Criticism

In opposition to the Romantics, T. S. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent," widely considered one of New Criticism's founding documents, denies that a poem's greatness consists in its ability to link a reader to a poet's heroic personality (Eliot 1998:32). According to the New Critics (Eliot, Leavis, Empson, Penn Warren), it is therefore misguided to expect a study of an author's biography or influences to yield significant insights into the meaning of a literary work. A text should be seen as a free-standing verbal icon (Wimsatt & Beardsley 1954). While a text cannot take its place within a tradition without engaging that tradition in some way (Eliot 1998:28, Perri 1979:178), the best interpretation results from a "close reading" of the text itself rather than from a study of the setting in which it originated or the author's purported influences. Second-generation New Critics rejected the "intentional fallacy," the notion that an interpreter's task is to probe the author's consciousness at the moment of writing, as well as "genetic criticism"—*i.e.*, source-hunting—since both confuse the causes of a text with its meaning (Wimsatt & Beardsley 1946). New Criticism did not, however, go nearly as far as did structuralism in banishing authors from consideration. In fact, as structuralism arose, some New Critics reacted by vigorously defending the kind of author-focus that their predecessors had rejected—a development that Pucci finds ironic (Pucci 2009:11).

2.2.3 Structuralism and Post-Structuralism

Like early New Critics, structuralists proceed synchronically rather than diachronically, but for different reasons. As essentially an application of Saussurean linguistics to literary criticism (Furlong 2007:326) structuralism posits a nearly exact analogy between a bit of discourse (or a language, or a culture) and a game. Both are rule-governed behaviors with a predetermined set of possible moves, and a particular move on an author's part has significance only in relation to other

moves that the system would have permitted but that were not chosen. The meaning of any textual feature is that and only that which is assigned to it by the “grammar” of the sign-system of which it is a part. In structuralist approaches to allusion, this tends to subordinate both author and reader to the sign-system, so that some structuralists describe allusions as if they were self-activating and auto-telic (Pucci 2009:41).

Gian Biagio Conte’s landmark 1974 study (translated and reprised in Conte 1986) did not reject all diachronic inquiries or questions of influence. According to Charles Segal, Conte is typically structuralist, however, in his view of a text as “a complex space where signifiers call out not merely to signifieds but also to a series of other signifiers and other signifying systems” (in Conte 1986:11). For Conte, “an allusion will occur as a literary act if a sympathetic vibration can be set up between the poet’s and the reader’s memories when these are directed to a source already stored in both” (Conte 1986:35). Pucci views Conte’s stress on the necessity of the reader’s collaboration as a corrective to later New Criticism’s return to a strong focus on the author; practically, however, Conte’s approach subordinates author, text, and reader to the system itself (Pucci 2009:25).

Pucci (Pucci 2009:16) also sees a structuralist paradigm underlying Ziva Ben-Porat’s highly influential 1976 study. Ben-Porat defines allusion as “a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts” *via* “the manipulation of a special signal” which “results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined” (Ben-Porat 1976:107f). Naturally the requirement that both texts be “activated” excludes those “allusions” that have been lexicalized or become clichés (*e.g.* “a drop in the bucket”) with the result that typically neither senders nor receivers are aware of any alluded-to text (Leppilhalme 1997:4).

For Ben-Porat, in order to activate an allusion to its full extent, the reader must take the following steps:

- 1) Recognize an allusion-marker (Ben-Porat 1976:110) and realize that what it marks originated elsewhere (Ben-Porat 1976:115).
- 2) Identify the text in which the marked originated (Ben-Porat 1976:110).
- 3) Modify the reader’s own initial, local interpretation of the marker (Ben-Porat 1976:110). An allusion’s function can end here if there is a “tacit agreement” between author and reader that it should go no further (Ben-Porat 1976:115).
- 4) Invoke the alluded-to text as a whole, with a search for as many of its features as will “amplify and enrich” the reading of the alluding text. It is this function that distinguishes literary allusion from allusion in general (Ben-Porat 1976:116), which proceeds no further than step 3 above.

Noteworthy for Pucci (Pucci 2009:17) is the fact that, while Ben-Porat's treatment is basically structuralist, it acknowledges an inevitable indeterminacy in an allusion that grants to the reader the decisive role in whether and how it means (Ben-Porat 1976:110). Pucci regards this as a positive development, since for him (Pucci 2009:28) it is the reader that is the main factor in an allusion's function.

Carmela Perri's (Perri 1978) study also discusses Ben-Porat's work appreciatively. In the "semantic" (*i.e.* text-oriented) portion of her work, she concurs with Ben-Porat (Ben-Porat 1976:107) and Bloom (Bloom 1975/2003:126) that "tacitness" or "covertness" is not an essential feature of an allusion (Perri 1978:289; *cp.* Pattemore 2002:50). This explains why some studies that presumably would accept Miner's definition quoted above nevertheless include references that are quite overt, including quotations. For Perri, what is necessarily tacit or covert is not the presence of an allusion, but the number of properties of the alluded-to text that are relevant to the construal of the alluding text (Perri 1978:293).

As a working definition for "allusion," Perri proposes the following:

a manner of signifying in which some kind of marker (simple or complex, overt or covert) not only signifies un-allusively, within the imagined possible world of the alluding text, but through echo also denotes a source text and specifies some discrete, recoverable property(ies) belonging to the intension of this source text (or specifies its own property[ies] in the case of self-echo): the property(ies) evoked modifies the alluding text, and possibly activates further, larger inter- and intra-textual patterns of properties with consequent further modification of the alluding text (Perri 1978:295).

The trouble with this definition, as with structuralism generally, is just these ever-expanding networks of systems, from which both authors and readers are conspicuous by their absence. Later in the same work, Perri moves to a pragmatic rather than a semantic approach to allusion, which we will consider below.

Post-structuralism retained structuralism's emphasis on the sign-system, but focused on its inherent weakness rather than its strength—in other words, on any system's ultimate indeterminacy (Pucci 2009:21f). In post-structuralism the reader is no longer a passive objective of manipulation by an author or an autonomous text. The text is still a sub-set of a sign-system, as in structuralism; but an assertive reader may flout or ignore the system's rules and read a text against itself. Allusions are mere conspiratorial "noddings, winks, and gestures" (Pietro Pucci, in J. M. Pucci, 2009:22) that a reader may construct, disregard, or counter-read as s/he chooses. A post-structuralist would therefore view the goals of the present study as naive and irrelevant at best

since, as an inquiry into whether and how an allusion enables an author and a reader to share meaning, it is operating with an outmoded and “positivist” notion known as “communication” (Barthes 1986:170).

2.2.4 Allusion, Influence, and Intertextuality

A large number of recent studies subsume allusion under the broader heading of “intertextuality.” This use of the term is imprecise, however.

Intertextuality in the proper sense evolved from “dialogism,” a term introduced by the Russian formalist critic Mikhail Bakhtin in his 1929 work *Problems of Dostoevsky's Art* (Holquist 1982:xxiv). With “dialogism” Bakhtin sought to release a text’s stylistic features from “the dungeon of a single context.” Instead, he imagined each feature as a “rejoinder in a given dialogue, whose style is determined by its interrelationship with other rejoinders in the same dialogue” (Bakhtin 1982:274).

Julia Kristeva arrived in France from her native Bulgaria in 1965 and introduced Bakhtin to the West. She further developed Bakhtin’s concept of “dialogism” and coined the term *intertextualité* for the result. For Kristeva, every text is a reply to every single one of its predecessors, but it is more. A text is immediately absorbed into the same world as its predecessors; every text, not only the self-consciously allusive, is therefore a virtual “mosaic of quotations” (Kristeva 1986:37). The voices to be heard in a text include the competing voices issuing from the author’s own subconscious (in the Freudian sense), and the concept of an author as a unified consciousness that thinks and speaks in linear fashion begins to unravel (Bové 1983:120). Diachrony dissolves into synchrony, and questions of prior influence become irrelevant (Kristeva 1986:36). In the view of post-structuralists such as Roland Barthes (Barthes 1986:170), Kristeva’s thought is fundamentally opposed to such disciplines as linguistics or communication theory. For this reason, it is the position of this study that post-structuralism offers little help for a conscientious translator, a fact which it demonstrates by its tendency to produce the same handful of ideologically-conditioned readings regardless of the text on which it operates (Furlong 2007:343; cf. Pattemore 2002:47). For our purposes it will be more useful to regard an allusion’s function as a communication question that is, at least to a degree, answerable.

Since Kristeva’s “intertextuality” in the proper sense refers to a cacophony of internal and external voices that can be heard in every text, then the distinction with which Benjamin D. Sommer operates in his study of allusions in Isaiah 40-66 will be useful for our purposes (Sommer 1998:7). Intertextuality is oriented towards readers and systems and proceeds synchronically. Studies of

allusion or influence permit diachronic investigations and consider the author and the text as well as reader and system. The present study, like Sommer's, will be an example of the latter.

It is also worth distinguishing the interest of studies such as Sommer's and the present one from Harold Bloom's theory of poetic influence. Kristevan intertextuality has no interest in either influence or allusion in our sense; Bloom's interest is a type of influence that has almost nothing to do with allusion (Bloom 1975/2003:19). For Bloom, poems are inevitably not about their subjects, but about other poems, with which they exist in a tense if not overtly hostile relationship (Bloom 1975/2003:18). Prior to the Enlightenment, poets tended to acknowledge their influences with gratitude. Since then, however, every poet who has aspired to genius has been locked in a death-struggle with his/her influences (Bloom 1973:27), and the struggle proves futile for all but the strongest. Bloom's interest is thus a kind of influence that is unacknowledged or even openly disavowed by the poet, who nevertheless cannot escape its thrall; and Bloom is dismissive of "the wearisome industry of source-hunting, of allusion-counting, an industry that will soon touch apocalypse anyway when it passes from scholars to computers" (Bloom 1973:31).

2.3 Allusion as Communication Problem

As we have seen, the trend in theoretical discussions of allusion in literary criticism has been toward every-increasing empowerment of the reader, to a point where finally the reader bears sole responsibility for making an allusion mean (or "un-mean," in the case of post-structuralism). This is unsatisfactory for those who view a text as an attempt at communication and who see a translator's approach to a source text's allusions as potentially decisive for the attempt's success or failure. It will therefore be advantageous for our purposes to locate a theory of communication that can both account for how an allusion functions and offer a framework for analysis of the *Übersetzungsweisen* of Portuguese versions of DtI.

2.3.1 A Code Model

Talk about communication has been dominated for millennia by what Michael J. Reddy terms the "conduit metaphor" (Blackburn 2007:31), one so intuitive and powerful that students can find it difficult to conceive of communication in any other way. In this metaphor, language is a series of packages in which meaning is wrapped for delivery from sender to receiver, which takes place *via* a communication channel. When the conduit metaphor was conflated with Saussure's "speech circuit" concept and Shannon's theory of information, the result came to be known as the semiotic model, "code model" (Blackburn 2007:27), or SMR model ("sender-message-receiver," Goerling 1996:49) of communication.

According to the code model, the nature of the medium or conduit through which delivery of meaning takes place demands encoding on the sender's part and decoding on the receiver's. Breakdowns in communication can result from faulty encoding, faulty decoding, "noise" clogging the conduit, or any combination of these. Even under ideal circumstances a sender can never be sure that the code with which s/he operates is identical to the receiver's. For many reasons, therefore, success in communication is never more than a matter of probability.

An allusion contained within a message would then be a case of a code nested within another code, a sort of set of Chinese boxes. The receiver un-wraps the first box to find the sender's non-allusive meaning. Somehow, however, the sender has managed to encode the fact of the existence of a second box, so that the receiver recognizes words that originate elsewhere. Recovery of the allusive meaning, which includes selecting the relevant properties of the alluded-to text and ignoring those that are irrelevant, involves unwrapping further and further boxes. The full allusive meaning is a sort of prize hidden in the final box to be unwrapped, a reward for a reader's erudition and persistence.

The flaw in this model is not merely its cumbersomeness, but its failure to explain why a sender would attempt to impart so much information surreptitiously. When communication is so inherently tenuous, it is unclear, within a code model, why anybody would ever put into words anything other than precisely what s/he meant (Gutt 1992:11f). Weak communication (in which precision is sacrificed deliberately—Elhaloui 2008:2) would seem to represent an irresponsible gamble on a sender's part; in many instances, however, it is precisely the weakness of the communication that achieves some purpose which is demonstrably part of the sender's objective. Given the pervasive nature of implicit information, not only in allusions, but in nearly all communication (Gutt 2006:3f), a model that deals with it inelegantly will be inadequate for present purposes, and a theory of allusion's function will have to seek its foundation elsewhere.

2.3.2 A Pragmatic Model

Pragmatics—particularly speech-act theory—allows us to circumvent some of the difficulties of both literary approaches and code-model approaches. Carmela Perri demonstrates this in the second part of her 1978 study. In speech-act theory, an utterance does not merely describe some reality external to the communication; it attempts to alter that reality (Austin 1962/1975:5). This is perhaps most evident in the case of performatives—*i.e.*, utterances whose function is clearly not simply to impart information ("Thank you;" "I now pronounce you man and wife," *etc.*). In reality, what is true of performatives is true of all communication. Every utterance by a sender is an attempt

to change something for the receiver, and success in the attempt depends on the sender's obedience to certain agreed-upon rules (Perri 1978:300).

Perri's study re-presents Searle's list of the rules that govern referring, which she modifies to apply to allusion (Searle 1970:94-96). Her Rule 6 ("The author intends that the allusion-marker's echo will identify the source text for the audience") is especially significant. Authorial intention has hereby been rehabilitated, and those associations between texts that cannot be shown to originate with the author are disqualified. Rule 8 ("Identifying the source text as the referent of the allusion-marker's echo is insufficient to make sense out of the marker"), on the other hand, grants an active role to the reader, who proceeds to invoke the alluded-to text and select which of its features s/he will activate (Ben-Porat's Step 4). The difficulty in Perri's approach is not only that its list of rules is potentially ever-expanding. As she acknowledges (Perri 1978:301), multiplying rules does not answer the main question: Given the risk to communication that an allusion poses, why would an author do it at all?

Her answer is that alluding is a species of "joking" as Freud defined it (Freud 1960:93f). Allusions function *via* the receiver's recognition of the known. This recognition is not only pleasurable but economical, in that the receiver can share the sender's meaning with "minimal expenditure of our psychic energy" (Perri 1978:302). When it is noted that to prosecute an allusion to its fullest extent often takes a great deal of "psychic energy," Perri answers as Freud did to a similar objection: the more abstruse a joke, the greater the pleasure at unraveling it (Perri 1978:302). In including the reader's pleasure as part of the purpose for an allusion, and in introducing the reader's "psychic energy," Perri anticipates certain features of a relevance-theoretic approach. Such an approach can also be viewed as an advance upon Grice's well-known conversational maxims, to which we now turn.

2.3.3 Grice

According to H. P. Grice, a fundamental rule that governs all communication is the "cooperative principle"—the assumption that each utterance is (or should be) an attempt to advance the purpose for which the conversation is taking place (Stewart & Vaillette 1998:230), *i.e.*, "a maximally-effective exchange of information" (Grice 1975:47). Grice divides the cooperative principle into subordinate maxims, which include maxims of quality (*e.g.*, Do not say what you know to be false), the maxim of quantity (Provide the receiver with neither less nor more information than will be helpful), maxims of manner (*e.g.* Don't be obscure), and the meta-maxim of relevance.

A speaker who ignores the cooperative principle has no chance at communicating successfully. S/he may succeed, however, by deliberately flouting one or more of its supporting maxims. Sarcasm is an oft-cited example. The statement “Another beautiful day!” uttered on the third consecutive day of cold, driving rain would be an obvious violation of a maxim of quality (Do not say what you know to be false). Precisely by flouting the maxim, however, the utterance could effectively achieve the illocutionary purpose of communicating the sender’s disgust with the weather and the perlocutionary purpose of communicating the sender’s view of the receiver (“I deem you capable of detecting sarcasm”). Weak communication can then be viewed as a deliberate flouting of a maxim of manner (Don’t be obscure); when a receiver assumes that the overriding cooperative maxim has still not been violated, s/he is sent in search of what the sender intended.

James Coombs’s 1984 study took a Gricean approach to allusion. In Grice’s thought, implication is a way of referring in which a sender commits him/herself to having referred either weakly or not at all (Coombs 1984:479). As a form of implication, allusion would then require a category separate from quotation, in that in an allusion a sender declines to commit him/herself fully to having referred to another text. The implication conveys meaning for the receiver when mutually-shared background knowledge is added to it (Coombs 1984:481).

Coombs is correct in his contention that an allusion is an attempt to exploit the maxim of relevance (Coombs 1984:482). Specifically, in Coombs’s view, we are in the presence of an allusion when a sender could not simultaneously have observed the cooperative principle and expected the receiver not to think of the alluded-to “entity” (Coombs 1984:480n). In other words, a sender has alluded when s/he could not reasonably have expected to say “x” without the receiver thinking also of “y.” This essentially Gricean approach to allusion (Grice 1989:30f) frames the maxim of relevance in a way that is helpful for purposes of the present study.

In order to produce a unified theory of allusion, however, Coombs finds it necessary to create yet another maxim for an allusion to flout. He terms this the maxim of repetition: “Avoid repetition (of your own or anyone’s discourse or features thereof)” (Coombs 1984:484). In an allusion, the receiver perceives that a text feature originates elsewhere, and realizes that the maxim of repetition has been flouted. The realization sends the receiver off in search of a meaning that is present implicitly rather than explicitly.

One notes, in the first place, that Coombs’s definition appears to require that an allusion-marker be tacit or at least oblique in a way that Ben-Porat’s (helpfully, in the view of the present study) does not. Second, while Coombs is clearly sensitive to the charge that he is needlessly adding

maxims to Grice's (Coombs 1984:483), one wonders whether allusion's function could not be defined positively or without recourse to a new "maxim of repetition," or whether there is really something inherently anomalous in the re-use of language which causes a reader to activate an allusion. Third, Coombs correctly perceives that, since anything that can be said *via* an allusion could presumably have been said more directly, alluding must allow a sender to accomplish something that s/he could not have accomplished *via* a direct statement; but Coombs ranks this first on the list of significant questions that his study was unable to address (Coombs 1984:485). It could be argued, however, that an explanation of allusion that is informed by pragmatics should begin with, or at least offer, an answer to the question: "Why do authors allude?"

2.3.4 Relevance Theory

Relevance theory can be seen as both an elaboration on and a corrective to several key features of Gricean pragmatics. Grice was correct in his view that success in most human communication involves the adequate expression and perception of the intentions of a sender. Furthermore, Grice's work laid the foundation for an inferential view of communication (Wilson & Sperber 2004:607), in which a sender does not so much package a message for a receiver to unwrap as s/he furnishes the receiver with clues on the basis of which the receiver designs and tests hypotheses about what the sender wanted to convey. For communication to succeed it is neither possible nor necessary that the sender's and the receiver's mental representations be identical. What is necessary is for the receiver to reconstruct the sender's intentions in a way that advances the purpose of the communication event. Grice's maxims are simply ways of defining the expectations on the part of a receiver that every communication event by its very nature creates (Sperber & Wilson 1986:37). It is on this notion that relevance theory depends.

Relevance theory begins with the principle that every act of ostensive communication, as a bid for a receiver's attention, carries with it the presumption of its own relevance—*i.e.*, its potential to alter something in the receiver's cognitive environment, strengthening it, adding to it, challenging it, or deleting it altogether. "Context" is relevance theory's term for that subset of the cognitive environment which is active during communication. The receiver's context consists of all potentially relevant knowledge that, at the moment of communication, is manifest to him/her—in other words, everything that s/he can represent mentally and regards as true (or probably true) and potentially in play (Sperber & Wilson 1986:39). Human cognition is designed to interpret an utterance as efficiently as possible. This means that a receiver in a communication event will naturally seek the first interpretation of an utterance that maximally rewards the mental effort required to process it—*i.e.*, the interpretation that alters the receiver's context as much as possible

in exchange for as little effort as possible. This is known as the “principle of relevance,” and senders ignore it at their peril.

Previously, Grice had divided the content of an utterance into what is “said” and what is “communicated” (Carston 2004:633). A receiver relies on semantics to determine the “said”—*i.e.*, the truth-evaluable proposition(s) that the utterance contains. Determining the “communicated”—*e.g.* an utterance’s perlocutionary force—is done inferentially, according to principles of pragmatics (Bertucelli Papi 1998:58). To recover the propositional form of almost any utterance, however, requires such steps as saturation (Carston 2004:637), assigning reference, disambiguation, and/or the supplying of unexpressed constituents (Unger 1996:18), and in each of these steps context in the relevance-theoretic sense plays the decisive role. One of relevance theory’s most useful insights, therefore, is its principle of linguistic underdeterminacy: in other words, much of the “said” is no more determined by an utterance’s semantics and syntax than is the “communicated” (Carston 2004:654). The “said” must be largely inferred as well, and for this reason there is no firm line between explicit and implicit information (Sperber & Wilson 1986:182; Pilkington 1991:45).

The relative quantity of implicit information that is in play can vary greatly, however, among utterances, texts, speakers, and cultures. Literary texts in particular owe much of their richness and depth to their multivalence (Wendland 2004:3, Zhonggang 2006:51), which is simply their ability to multiply implicatures (Gutt 1996:240). Relevance theory is particularly well equipped to deal with communication *via* implicature at varying degrees of strength (Pattimore 2002:45). The aspect of an utterance “which achieves most of its relevance through a wide array of weak implicatures” is termed its “poetic effect” by Sperber and Wilson (1986:222). An allusion is a text feature that functions in exactly this way.

Why do authors allude? Relevance theory would answer that an allusion demonstrates an author’s belief that in this way s/he can impact the reader’s context significantly at a reasonable cost to the reader in processing effort. As an example of this favorable cost-benefit ratio, it has long been noted that many of the New Testament’s allusions to the Old Testament do not function as proof-texts or testimonies, but by evoking whole segments of the allusion’s original setting (Dodd 1952:126). In relevance-theoretic terms, such an allusion is an economical way to offer a reader a broad array of contextual effects. Whether these effects are realized depends on a number of factors, including most crucially the reader’s context. But for an allusion to achieve relevance it is not necessary for a reader to navigate each of Ben-Porat’s four steps; nor, if a reader cannot do this, will the communication have “failed.”

Studies of allusion have long noted that an allusion may serve several purposes. The alluding author may be attempting to position his/her work in relation to an older, known work; claiming similar authority for the new work; seeking admission into the same canon; or even juxtaposing two texts precisely in order to make their differences manifest (Sommer 1998:18f). In addition to these, a relevance-theoretic approach can account for certain pragmatic objectives that an author may intend. An allusion conveys an author's appraisal of the implied reader, with whom s/he is attempting to "conspire." Authors commit themselves to having alluded more or less strongly (Coombs 1984:482). Marked quotations stand at one end of a continuum; at the other end are those allusions that have been lexicalized or become clichés (Leppihalme 1997:4) so that not even the author is aware that s/he has alluded. Except in the case of such clichés, the weaker the author's commitment to having alluded, the greater the demands placed on the reader (Pattimore 2002:46). At the same time, this increase in effort is rewarded with the sense of a heightened appraisal of the reader by the author, with the result that communication effects community (*cp.* Leppihalme 1997:49). It is this experience of rapport with an author, and not merely the pleasure of having solved a puzzle or "gotten" a joke, that makes the effort required of a reader to activate an obscure allusion worthwhile.

Similarly, an author may provide the reader with more or less evidence as to the number of features of the alluded-to text which are in play as the reader attempts to construe the new text. In this way the variation between stronger and weaker allusions is analogous to the variation between so-called closed similes ("John is as tall as a tree"), open similes ("John is like a tree"), and metaphors ("John is a tree").⁵ In each of these the author does slightly less to limit the implicatures that are conceivably derivable from the utterance, and the need for the reader to set the limit becomes progressively greater (*cf.* Pilkington 1991:55). In a similar way, an alluding author may commit him or herself more or less strongly, not only to having alluded, but to how many features of the alluded-to text that s/he wants in play.

But according to relevance theory, this emphatically does not mean that the reader is ever simply abandoned to his/her own devices. Ben-Porat had spoken of a "tacit agreement" between author and reader not to over-process an allusion (Ben-Porat 1976:115f), though without explaining how the "agreement" is arrived at. Relevance theory maintains with Grice that a normal reader is always constrained and guided by his/her goal: a plausible reconstruction of the author's intentions that

⁵This is more than an analogy, in the case of the many allusions that *contain* metaphors. At times the alluding text may suggest that the reader should select implicatures of a metaphor different from its implicatures in the alluded-to text. See, *e.g.*, Isaiah 43:13//Deuteronomy 32:39 below.

advances the purpose of the communication event. Therefore, a relevance-theoretic approach to allusion will evaluate how a source reader (SR) could reasonably be expected to have ascertained those intentions using the clues that the allusion provides (Pattimore 2002:51).

For purposes of this study, then, an allusion may be defined as follows:

A segment of a literary text may be said to contain an “allusion” when it uses language similar to language found in a prior text such that, by calling the prior text to mind, an implied reader arrives at a significantly altered understanding of the new text, a significantly altered attitude toward its author, and a plausible reconstruction of its author’s intentions, all of which advances the purpose of the communicative event.

Here it is worth mentioning that the phrase “authorial intention” does not suggest that the mental processes of those who produced a text are ultimately recoverable. It does, however, indicate that readers intuitively consider themselves receivers in a communication event; furthermore, they intuit the existence of a sender(s), the sharing of meaning with whom they see as the purpose of the event—and readers also consider it possible to fail (Gutt 1992:14). In addition, by “text” is meant a stable verbal sequence which can be accessed either visually or aurally (Carr 2005:12; *cf.* 3.3.1 below).

2.4 Allusion as Translation Problem

In Chapter 3 we will apply this definition to the question of the appropriate criteria for identifying allusions in Second Isaiah, and in Chapter 4 we will position the present work within the field of Translation Studies. Our present concern is the effect of the views of an allusion’s function surveyed above on how allusion is approached as a translation problem.

From the point of view of relevance theory, the problem could be subdivided into problems of context and problems of activation. An allusion demonstrates the original author’s belief that the alluded-to text is part of the “horizon” (Nord 2005:106) of an implied source reader (SR). This was probably not true of every actual SR, and it may not be true of the actual target reader (TR) for a given translation. Even if it is true, TR will certainly not access the alluded-to text with the same facility as SR or in exactly the same way. In structuralist terms, an alluded-to text is an artifact of a cultural system that is more or less foreign to the target reader. The “culture bump” represented by an allusion can be a more serious obstacle to communication than the semantics or syntax of the source text (Leppihalme 1997:2).

According to relevance theory, in order for a reader to activate an allusion, the alluded-to text must not only be part of his/her cognitive environment. It must also be manifest to him/her at the

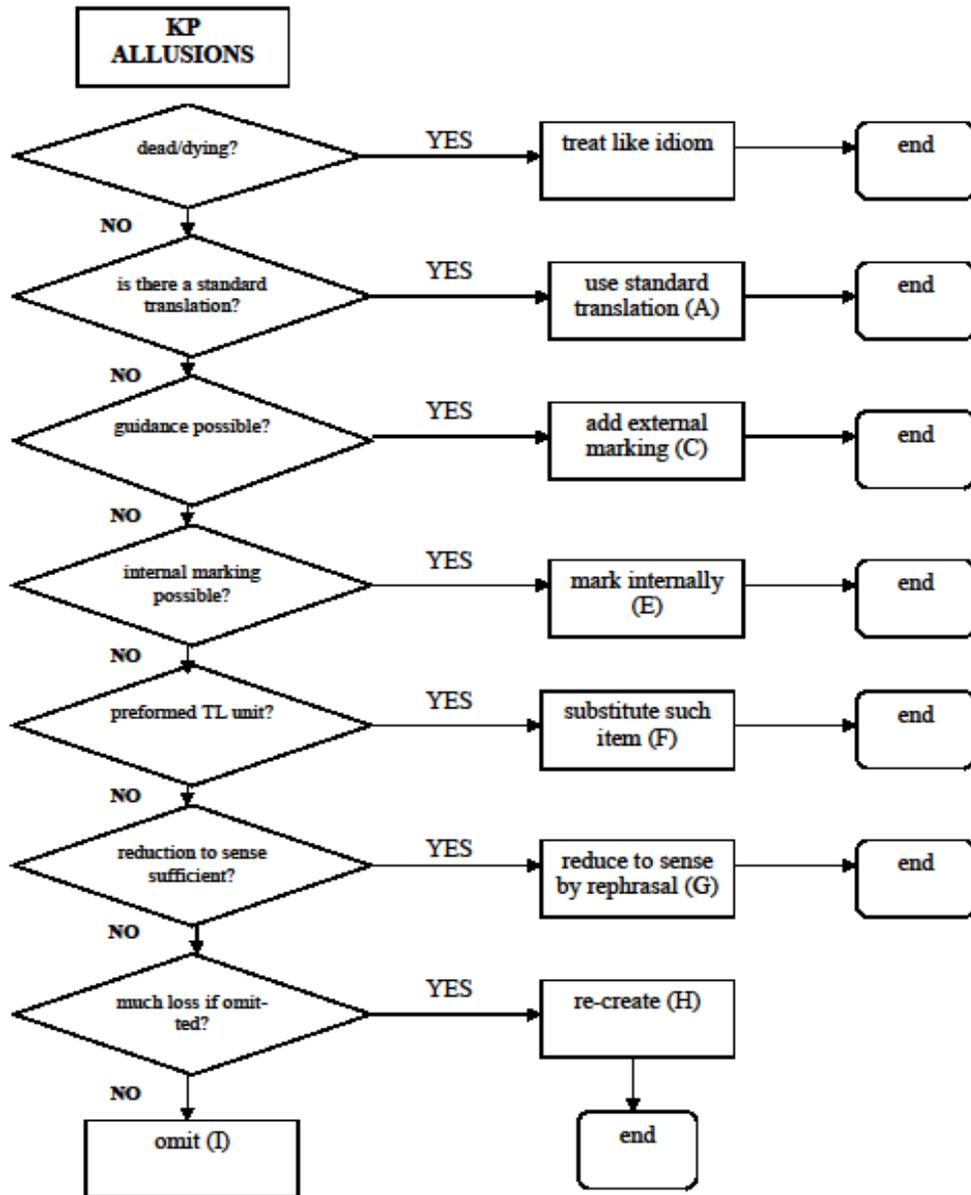
moment of reading (or hearing). Problems of activation include all considerations related to manifestness in the relevance-theoretic sense. Both problems of context and problems of activation involve the pragmatics of the allusion in the source text, since the perlocutionary force to be conveyed can include, *e.g.*, “The author assumes that I know the alluded-to text,” “The author considers me capable of making the connection,” and “The author and I are part of the same community.”

Leppihalme (1997:84) lists the following techniques in a translator’s arsenal as s/he attempts to render a “key-phrase” (KP) (as opposed to a “proper noun”) allusion:

- 1) Use a standard translation of the allusion that appears elsewhere.
- 2) Minimum change. In other words, translate literally, making no conscious effort to preserve the connotations present in the source text.
- 3) Add information to the translation by, *e.g.*, marking the allusion with bold type or italics.
- 4) Identify the allusion using footnotes, endnotes, prefaces, and other extra-textual helps.
- 5) Add, within the allusion, some semantic or syntactic feature that will set it apart from the surrounding text.
- 6) Replace the allusion with some pre-formed item that already exists in the target language.
- 7) Rephrase the allusion to preserve its sense, even if the “key-phrase” no longer exists as such.
- 8) Create an entirely new phrase that somehow implies in a similar way.
- 9) Ignore the allusion altogether.

Figure 1 below shows Leppihalme’s recommended strategy for choosing among these techniques (Leppihalme 1997:107).

Figure 1



Leppihalme's recognition of the variety of ways in which a translator can attempt to render an allusion is helpful. The difficulty is that her main criterion for choosing among these techniques appears to be the amount of effort required—for the translator, not the reader (Leppihalme 1997:108). It seems preferable for a translator to base the decision on a general theory of how an allusion functions, which in turn should be informed by a theory of the role of implicit information generally within communication.

2.4.1 Implications for Translators of Literary Approaches

As we have seen, the main question in literary approaches has been whether author, text, reader, or system is the primary factor in an allusion's function, with a steady movement away from a focus on the author (especially his/her background and influences) and toward a focus on the reader. An approach to translating that maximally empowers the reader would seem to follow. Reader-oriented theories, in their view of the reading process as a continual filling in of gaps, would seem to require that gaps be maintained in the target text (TT)—although, since a translation is itself a “reading,” the gaps need not be identical to those in ST. Most significant for our purposes is the fact that reader-oriented theories would insist that explicating everything for a reader limits his imagination in a way that is destructive of the purpose of a literary text (Iser 1974:31). In this way, these approaches anticipate, though intuitively rather than systematically, that which pragmatic approaches to translating also conclude about what is lost when implicatures are explicated.

2.4.2 Implications of Communication Approaches: A Code Model

In a code model of communication, an allusion begins with a certain verbal sequence in an alluded-to text, the existence of which is part of the cultural code with which the sender is operating. As s/he packages the message the sender somehow encodes the fact that s/he is alluding, the allusion's source, and the extent to which properties of the source are relevant to properly construing the target text (TT), all of which the receiver must decode. Improper decoding will result in an allusion being lost on, misidentified, under-read, or over-read (perhaps grotesquely) by the receiver, and in a code-model each of these represents a loss or distortion of the information content of ST and thus a failure in communication.

A translator's task is even more difficult than the original sender's. As a secondary communicator, s/he must encode the “same” message for an implied TR who differs from both the source author (SA) and the source reader (SR), not only in his or her linguistic code, but even more widely in terms of background information. The only option would seem to be to insure as much as possible that TR is provided with this information along with the translation, making what is implicit in ST

explicit in TT—in essence, packaging and sending, along with TT, all or part of the manual for breaking the code. Nida & Taber recommend precisely this approach (Nida & Taber 1974:163f), although they acknowledge that this will invariably result in a good translation being longer than its ST (*cf.* Farrell & Hoyle 1995:1f).

Signaling the existence of an allusion can be done, *e.g.*, by setting it in bold or italics (Leppihalme’s “C”). The alluded-to text can be indicated with a foot- or marginal note (“D”). Naturally, these techniques betray certain presuppositions. For instance, they assume the existence of a certain position on the criteria for identifying allusions and on a particular allusion’s source, agreement about which (certainly in the case of biblical allusions) is not universal. They may also create for TR the expectation that an allusion requires an exact verbal and syntactic parallel—when, as we shall see, a certain reworking of the verbal sequence from the alluded-to text by the alluding author is characteristic of inner-biblical allusion in general (Lyons 2007:245f) and Dtl’s allusions in particular (Sommer 1998:35).

Nonetheless, most evaluators of translations would probably consider italics and reference notes to be relatively unobtrusive. More problematic are attempts to explicate the fact of, and source for, an allusion within the body of the text—for instance, adding to an allusion in Isaiah the words “. . . as Moses said to the Israelites on the plains of Moab” or “. . . as Moses said to the Israelites in *Deuteronomy*.” Some approaches to translating imply a preference for this technique (Gutt 1991:244); and although its disadvantages can be fairly easily intuited, a code-model of communication really cannot account for them.

2.4.3 Implications of Communication Approaches: A Pragmatic Model

In a pragmatic approach, the trouble with a translator’s decision to make implicit information explicit is that this may carry a high cost in terms of the utterance’s illocutionary or perlocutionary force. If Carmela Perri is correct and an allusion is a “joke” in the Freudian sense (Perri 1978:302), then to explicate what is implicit in an allusion has the same effect as when an inept storyteller follows a joke with a protracted exegesis of the punch-line. If part of an author’s intention in alluding is to invite the reader into his/her “in-group” (Leppihalme 1997:49), this intention may be thwarted if the reader perceives that s/he is being treated condescendingly.

Recall that Coombs’s Gricean approach to allusion proposed that allusions function by flouting a maxim of repetition: “Avoid repetition (of your own or anyone’s discourse or features thereof)” (Coombs 1984:484). Naturally this would imply that a translation of an allusion should enable an implied reader to notice that the text contains language borrowed from elsewhere, with the result

that the reader realizes that a maxim has been flouted. At the same time, it should avoid the kind of heavy-handedness that nullifies the author's intentions by destroying the passage's pragmatic effects. This seems clear enough, although it probably does more to intimidate than to help a conscientious translator. What is still missing is a way of locating the decision about how to translate an allusion within a framework for understanding how translation functions as an act of communication. The present study contends that relevance theory provides such a framework in a helpful way.

2.4.4 Implications of Communication Approaches: A Relevance-Theoretic Model

According to Gutt's application of relevance theory, a translation would be "a receptor language text that interpretively resembled the original" (Gutt 1991:100f). Zhonggang refined this definition further (Zhonggang 2006:48), defining translation as "clues-based interpretive use of language across language boundaries," with the "clues" being those text features that guide the reader in his/her search for relevance.

For Gutt, an analogy to the distinction between direct and indirect quotation provides a useful framework for approaches to translating (Gutt 1992:64ff). When one quotes a previous speaker directly, s/he assumes responsibility for representing the previous utterance exactly ("What she said was, 'I'm going to the post office and then to Pick 'n Save®.'"). An indirect quotation communicates the speaker's assumption that an approximation will do ("She said she was going to the post office and the grocery store" or "She said she was going to run some errands" or "She said she was going out"). The goal of a maximally-efficient exchange of information guides the speaker in his/her decision about which and how many features of the original utterance to preserve. The same goal directs the hearer as s/he interprets the quotation and as s/he calibrates his/her evaluation of the quotation's truth claims. In the same way, "direct" translations claim (implicitly or explicitly) to represent their source texts both accurately and completely. "Indirect" translations claim to represent only as much of ST as is needed to advance the main purpose of the communication event.

Several observations about Gutt's distinction are worth noting. First, while claims to having translated directly are common in the introductions to Bible versions, often the expectations that these create are patently unrealistic (Gutt 2009:1). Second, "direct" and "indirect" do not represent discrete categories, but a continuum. Third, the ideal location for a translation along this continuum will vary with the implied reader of the translation, the goals of the translation project, and the norms that seem consistent with these goals. One usually would not fault a translation of an instruction manual if it is extremely indirect, provided that a user who refers to it can assemble

and run the machine successfully (Nord 2005:81). A reader might expect a more direct translation in the subtitles of a foreign film. His/her expectations of directness in a translation of a literary text may be higher still, and the expectations for sacred text may be highest of all.

It is understandable that a translator who approaches a text as sacred scripture would initially conceive of “faithfulness” as demanding a good-faith attempt to preserve the full array of ST’s features. One hopes, however, that soon s/he would achieve enough sophistication as an exegete to realize that this is impossible, that some ST features can be preserved only by sacrificing others (Gutt 1991:48), and that some kind of triage is inevitable. Likewise, it is understandable that a target reader who approaches a text as sacred scripture would expect that the translator’s approach was analogous to direct rather than indirect quotation; the fact that TR typically does hold such an expectation is demonstrated by the tendency of advertisers to try to inflate expectations of directness to unrealistic levels. Since TR has no access to ST, the principle of relevance makes it incumbent on the translator to ascertain exactly what this expectation of directness on TR’s part entails.

In addition to TR’s expectations, the translator must carefully ascertain TR’s cognitive environment if the translation is to communicate successfully. In the case of allusion, what TR’s cognitive environment will permit may be at odds with what s/he expects from the translation. Many if not most TR’s would probably agree that inner-biblical allusion is a source-text feature worth preserving. They regard the Bible as a text worthy of serious and repeated study, and hence are prepared to exert considerable effort to process its allusions; they may also be quite disappointed to find that TT that has rendered the allusions in ST opaque. On the other hand, an alluded-to text may be absent entirely from TR’s cognitive environment, or it may be present but not manifest at the moment of reading/hearing. It may be impossible for a translator to evoke the alluded-to text for TR without the kind of explicitation that seriously distorts the text’s information content (for an extra-biblical example, *cf.* Gutt 1996:248) and nullifies the allusion’s artistic, aesthetic (Zhonggang 2006:48), and pragmatic effects. For these reasons an allusion may be an instance of the kind of implicit information in ST that is simply not translatable for a particular TR (*cf.* Gutt 1992:32). Under these circumstances, ignoring the allusion—the final step on Leppihalme’s decision tree (Fig. 1)—may be justified.

Earlier, however, we proposed that a text may be said to contain an “allusion” when, by calling a prior text to mind due to a similarity in language, an implied reader arrives at an altered understanding of the alluding text, an altered view of his/her relationship with the author, and a plausible reconstruction of its author’s intentions, all of which advance the purpose of the

communicative event. If this is true, then there is really no need for a hierarchy of more- or less-preferable techniques for handling an allusion. The question becomes, “Given the expectations and cognitive environment of the TR for this project, is there a way of evoking the alluded-to text that will maximize the return on TR’s investment in processing effort *in terms of the particular contextual effects at which the allusion aims?*” The answer may be different, not only for each translation project, but for each single allusion in ST.

This suggests a criterion for choosing among the ways of handling an allusion that, according to Leppihalme, a translator has available. For example, “external marking” (*e.g.* a cross-reference in the margin) *may* be a translator’s first recourse if a standard translation for the allusion is unavailable, or it may not. In some cases external marking may serve no purpose at all, it may be quite adequate, or it may be unnecessarily obtrusive and therefore disadvantageous. The decision depends entirely on TR’s expectations for the translation and the accessibility of the alluded-to text in his/her cognitive environment. Similarly, a “reduction to sense” that loses all linguistic similarity between the alluding and alluded-to texts may be advisable, if the alluded-to text is not “manifest” to TR and if his/her expectations permit this kind of indirectness in translation. On the other hand, such a reduction may be an unacceptable affront to TR’s expectations. Leppihalme’s menu thus remains useful; it is only its hierarchical nature that a relevance-theoretic approach might challenge.

2.5 Application

This study, then, will assume the relevance-theoretic definition given above, which it will apply to a representative selection of allusions in the ST of Isaiah 40-55. The results of this approach will be compared with those obtained by Willey (1997), Sommer (1998), Nurmela (2006), and other commentators.

This definition of allusion will also provide the foundation for an investigation into the ways in which these passages are handled in the Portuguese versions under study. The investigation will begin with a study of the target culture into which each version was launched, in an attempt to ascertain as nearly as possible the translators’ concept of the expectations and cognitive environments of their target readers. While some of these concepts will be target culture-specific, in each case this study will assume that normally readers of Bible translations tend to expect that allusive passages in ST are also allusive in the translation. It will further assume that a translator who is him/herself conscious of an allusion will normally seek to meet this expectation, when and to the degree that this is possible. What is known or can be deduced about the target culture and

skopos of each translation will be used to formulate hypotheses about translator decisions in the case of the allusive passages under study.

These hypotheses will then be tested against actual passages in each target text. Shifts in the relationships between the allusions and the alluded-to texts will be tabulated—*e.g.*, whether overt verbal parallels in ST remain overt in TT, whether subtle alterations to an alluded-to text in ST move in the same direction in TT, whether stylistic borrowings are both discernible and adapted to the context in Isaiah when such is the case in ST, and whether the decision was made to explicate the allusion's source, extent, or function—and, if so, how this was done. Through this analysis, an attempt will be made to discern relationships between features of a version's target culture and its handling of passages that are strongly allusive in ST.

3. The Alluding Text: “Second Isaiah”

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned above (2.2.4), studies of “intertextuality” in the proper sense can proceed synchronically and sidestep diachronic considerations altogether. The goals of the present study will not permit this, since it regards allusion (or “quotation” for Schultz 1999) as a historical phenomenon, at least to a degree (Schultz 1999:227). The relevance-theoretic definition of allusion which this study advocates will enable us to set a middle course between a solely author-oriented focus, in which questions of diachronicity and influence dominate, and approaches to “intertextuality” that render diachronic considerations moot. It will be advantageous to address these diachronic considerations first, along with other issues on the source side (including the sample of source-text allusions), before proceeding with the descriptive analysis of eleven versions of DtI in Portuguese.

A study that intends to compare the function of an allusion for an implied source reader (SR) with its function for the reader of a translation must engage the question of where the implied author and implied reader stand in time. In the case of Isaiah, this question is problematic. Much of the consensus that once existed within critical scholarship has evaporated and the field can safely be described as still in the midst of a major shift (Blenkinsopp 2000:73, Adams 2006:10). After a brief survey of approaches to the formation of the book, this study will attempt to position itself within a broad consensus that does remain, especially with regard to the question of the implied author’s and implied reader’s historical setting.

3.2 Formation of Isaiah

3.2.1 From Unity to Diversity

So-called “pre-critical” scholarship on Isaiah took the superscription in 1:1 at face value and as applying self-evidently to all 66 chapters. Accordingly, the entire work was attributed to Isaiah ben Amoz, the prophet linked to the Jerusalem court who lived in the eighth century BCE. Ibn Ezra’s oft-cited comments on Isaiah 40:1 may represent a dissenting view (Ibn Ezra 1873:171), just as his comments on Deuteronomy 1:1 (Ibn Ezra 2003:1f) have been construed as suggesting doubts about Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch. A broader examination of Ibn Ezra’s Isaiah commentary, however, reveals that whatever his cryptic statements actually mean, he certainly did not hold a considered and consistent position that the book had multiple authors (Blenkinsopp 1997:155f, Smith 2009:29).

This is not to say that “pre-critical” scholarship was oblivious to the unevenness in the style and message of the book or in the historical situation that it appears to address. Luther attributed the stark difference between chapters 1-39 and 40-66 to a shift from messages with references to the contemporary historical situation to messages with an entirely future frame of reference (Luther 1972:3). Calvin proposed that the book is a collection of sermons which were delivered by the prophet at the temple, posted there in written form, and then taken down and archived (Calvin 1979:xxxii). This may be an acknowledgement of the difficulty in reading the book as a composition that was unified since its inception. Nevertheless, pre-critical scholarship in general read the book in just that way, and it understood the whole as having originated with a single, eighth-century prophet.

For some critical scholars, the explicit naming of Cyrus II of Persia (590-529 BCE) in chapter 45 is the major obstacle to such a reading. Some declare it impossible ever since the Enlightenment to believe that a “clairvoyant” eighth-century prophet (Childs 2001:3f) was the source of this remarkable insight, in which case the charge by traditionalist commentators that the rejection of a single author by critical scholars stems from a prior commitment to an anti-supernaturalistic worldview is not entirely unjustified. Other scholars (Williamson 1994:2, Blenkinsopp 2000:82), however, demonstrate that this is not necessarily the case. They point to a more fundamental difficulty with the view that the entire book originated in the eighth century, a difficulty that is also acknowledged by the better traditionalist commentators (Pieper 1979:38ff, Oswalt 1998:270ff, Smith 2009:41ff) and that could be stated as follows:

For a reader who operates with the pre-critical concept of what constituted “authorship” in antiquity, the question is not whether an eighth-century prophet could have authored, *e.g.*, chapters 40-48; the question is why he would have. Put another way: if texts originate within a source culture (SC) to which their message should be intelligible, at least on some level (Driver 1956:237, Seitz 1996:221, Childs 1979:316, Smith 2009:31), then why would an eighth-century prophet devote a major portion of his work to a message for survivors of a national disaster that still lay a century and a half in the future? Furthermore, why, in this eighth-century prophet’s work, is the aftermath of this national disaster not so much predicted as it is assumed?

It must be said that, while traditionalist scholarship tends to ignore or minimize this difficulty, critical scholarship tends to exaggerate it. In most of chapters 40-66 there is less data than would be required for a thorough and convincing reconstruction of a historical setting for the material (Kaufmann 1970:68, Wilson 1988:61, Sweeney 1993:143, Smith 2009:41f). Several different locales for the writing of these chapters have been cogently argued (Duhm 1902:xiii, Haran

1963:149, Pieper 1979:36, Kaufmann 1972:55ff, Carroll 1978:124, Tiemeyer 2007, Smith 2009:42ff), suggesting that this remains conjectural. It is by no means clear that the devastation to which these chapters repeatedly refer is always or only that which followed 586 BCE (Smith 2009:44f). Furthermore, not merely the author's name but also all other information about him disappears after chapter 39, and there are also no concrete references to the writing process such as occur in 8:1 and 30:8. Nevertheless, in view of the "Cyrus oracle" at 44:24-45:13 and the command to "Leave Babylon!" at 48:20, it remains difficult to place the implied reader of chapters 40-48—hence, presumably, their implied author—in the eighth century.

It was especially the abrupt shift in language and tone at 40:1 that led first Doederlein, then Koppe and Eichhorn to posit different authors, working in different centuries, for 1-39 and 40-66 (Clifford 1992:490). It remained for Bernard Duhm to separate 56-66 from 40-55 and to attribute it to so-called Trito-Isaiah (TI) (Duhm 1902:xviii). Duhm also posited several sources underlying Isaiah 1-39 (Duhm 1902:viiiiff); and within what he termed Deutero-Isaiah (hereinafter DtI) he claimed (anticipated here by Rosenmueller—Clifford 1992:490) an entirely separate history for the so-called Servant Songs (42:1-9, 49:1-6, 50:4-10, and 52:13-53:12). These, he theorized, were inserted into the material much later (Duhm 1902:xiii) and with little regard for context. Duhm's theory of a "First, Second, and Third Isaiah" came to dominate critical scholarship in a way analogous to the Documentary Hypothesis's dominance of scholarship on the Pentateuch, and Isaiah came to be read as two or three separate books with relatively little in common (Clements 1982:118). The tendency—observable to this day—of commentary series to treat 1-39, 40-55, and 56-66 in separate volumes is attributable to Duhm's influence.

Debate did continue about such sub-questions as the role and place of chapters 34 and 35, which bear a pronounced linguistic and thematic resemblance to chapters 40-66. Graetz (1891) was an early advocate for attributing 35 to the author of DtI (Pope 1952:235). He believed that 34 had been influenced by Jeremiah, and that it had been dislodged from an original setting between 51:3 and 51:4 (Pope 1952:235). C.C. Torrey (1928-Pope 1952:235) explained chapters 34 & 35 as a prologue to a corpus of Deutero-Isaianic material, but even for interpreters who agreed with him this did not disturb Duhm's basic schema. The matter of chapters 34 and 35 will resurface below, since it affects the question of the boundaries of "Second Isaiah" for purposes of this study.

Further debate involved chapters 56-66 (so-called Trito-Isaiah or TI). It is frequently held that these chapters assume a Palestinian rather than a Babylonian setting (Schramm 1995:185f) and that they differ significantly from DtI in point of view, themes, and style (Hanson 1995:185f). A standard view is that these chapters are essentially a re-interpretation of 40-55 made necessary by

the fact that the rather pedestrian reality of the Return did not seem to match DtI's glorious predictions (Carroll 1978:129f). Hanson's sociological-critical proposal is that TI is the product of a school of DtI disciples linked to the Levitical priesthood who regarded the Zadokite priesthood and restored temple as corrupt and defiled; this accounts for, among other things, the pronounced cultic interest in the material (Hanson 1995).

There has never been the same level of agreement on the division at chapter 56 as on that at chapter 40, however. One reason is that nothing in the vocabulary or style of the final 26 chapters is inconsistent with what a single author might have produced (Holladay 1997:195). Another stems from challenges to the view that 56-66 requires a different geographic setting from that of 40-55 (Kaufmann 1970:68). In general, what distinctions can be drawn between DtI and TI seem more thematic than historical (Holladay 1997:195), and the main theme of 56-66 can be understood quite naturally as a development from that of 40-55 (Beuken 1990). The reason for treating 56-66 separately in studies like the present one will be given below, and is based on structural rather than linguistic or historical considerations.

3.2.2 From Diversity to Unity

It is perhaps unfair to fault Duhm *et al.* for failing to account for the stubborn fact of one book with one superscription, since this was simply not the problem they were working on at the time. That they failed to do so is undeniable, however. Early critical scholarship suggested that a scribe had simply appended an anonymous work to a scroll of Isaiah I (Eichhorn, cited in Gesenius 1821:17); or that authors living in different periods happened to have the same name, so that later an unwitting copyist inadvertently joined two separate works into one (Doederlein, cited in Gesenius 1821:17); or that pseudepigrapha whose superscriptions have gone missing were joined to an original and authentic prophetic work (Gesenius 1821:17f). H. J. Kraus (cited in Baltzer 2001:1) is appropriately dismissive of approaches that regard the unity of the book as a "book-binding problem," and Blenkinsopp aptly characterizes the expedient of two or more prophets named Isaiah as "desperate" (Blenkinsopp 2000:87).

The main obstacle to these and similar solutions is the many literary features that serve to unite the book in its present form. There are links between chapter 1 and chapters 65 & 66, between chapters 12 and 40 (and between 6 and 40), between chapters 13/14 and chapter 47, *etc.* There is Isaiah's distinctive title for God, "the holy one of Israel" (13 times), which is distributed roughly evenly throughout the entire work. Motifs carried out throughout the book include the focus on Zion/Jerusalem (Seitz 1988:115f, Baltzer 2001:1), its reduction to ruins and subsequent rebuilding (Melugin 1997:41), Yahweh as king (Baltzer 2001:34), light/darkness, blindness/sight

(Blenkinsopp 2000:80), hardening (McLaughlin 1994), and Israel's election. Additionally, chapters 36-39 are not merely a narrative epilogue to 1-35 serving a purpose analogous to Jeremiah 52. When one reads from chapter 34 to chapter 40 a plan emerges quite readily. Chapters 34 and 35, as noted above, serve as a programmatic introduction to 40-55. Chapters 36-39 not only look back to chapter 7, in order to contrast the actions of two Jerusalem kings in the face of impending national disaster; these chapters also look forward to the Babylonian Captivity and set the stage for the message of deliverance to follow (Clements 1982:121).

One early attempt to account for the unifying features in the book was the Scandinavian theory of a prophetic school acting as the custodians of a growing Isaianic tradition and continually reshaping and applying it to new realities (Eaton 1959:144f, Rendtorff 1984:295). There have been two main criticisms of the "prophetic school" theory. One is the absence of evidence that it existed, other than what can be pieced together through a motivated reading of the book itself—resulting in a circular argument (Clements 1982:119). The other is that the verbal and thematic links between First Isaiah and DtI are not as numerous or sustained as one would expect from a group of disciples working to keep alive the memory and teachings of their founder (Blenkinsopp 2000:87). It is largely these difficulties that have moved scholarship away from the hypothesis of a prophetic school, and toward a theory of a series of redactions aimed at binding together a corpus that was originally more or less diverse.

One such redaction-critical approach was Clements' (1982), which posited an eighth-century foundation that underwent significant expansions in the Josianic, exilic, and post-exilic periods. Those responsible for each layer then also reshaped earlier material so as to lend coherence to the resulting whole. While Clements' proposal essentially begins in the eighth century and works forward, Rendtorff's (1984, 1993) begins with the present composition and works back. Rendtorff finds in DtI the core of the book, to which both 1-39 and 56-66 point and in whose light they were shaped (Rendtorff 1984:318, 1993:167f). He doubts whether 1-39 could have existed as an independent collection (Rendtorff 1993:168f), and an independent existence for 56-66 he finds impossible (Rendtorff 1984:320). Recurring themes in the book are developed in a way that is best accounted for by a theologically-motivated process of redaction/composition (Rendtorff 1984:317). For example, righteousness (הַקְּדוּשָׁה/קְדוּשָׁה) usually refers to human behavior in First Isaiah, divine behavior in DtI, and then to both in TI, with 56:1 as the turning point (Rendtorff 1993:163f)—suggesting that from its inception TI was an attempt to bind Isaiah and DtI together (Rendtorff 1993:168f).

Despite his criticisms of Rendtorff, Williamson's theory is similar in that he sees DtI as the core, 1-39 as a collection that now serves as a lengthy introduction, and 56-66 as an application of its message (Williamson 2009:29). In *The Book Called Isaiah* Williamson, momentarily leaving aside the problem of TI, proposed that the author of DtI had access to an early form of the First Isaiah collection by which he was influenced profoundly (Williamson 1994:94). This author shaped this collection toward its present form, with his hand particularly visible at the closes of major sections (Williamson 1994:238). Furthermore, the author understood the earlier prophet as having accurately predicted the collapse of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition, and he believed that these written predictions had been witnessed and "sealed" to guarantee their authenticity (Williamson 1994:96f). He then took it upon himself to "unseal" the sealed book and reapply its message to his own time, using Isaiah ben Amoz's fulfilled predictions in an attempt to convince readers to trust his own message of deliverance from Babylon. For this reason, he included an edition of the earlier work together with his own (Williamson 1994:240f). Critics of Williamson's theory argue that it requires more cohesion in the First Isaiah material (at an earlier date) than appears to have existed, that First Isaiah and DtI differ more markedly than they should if this theory is correct, and, perhaps most tellingly, that there are no references to "unsealing" in chapters 40-55 (Blenkinsopp 2000:88).

3.2.3 The Impasse

This particular discussion is emblematic of the impasse to which the methods of redaction criticism lead. Scholars who posit an author/redactor shaping large portions of material toward unity are criticized for failing to account for the diversity that remains. Scholars whose focus is the original diversity of the material are criticized for failing to account for its unifying features. Williamson's characterization of the impasse is apt:

Without some such rationale, the historical-critical method, which has brought us to our present understanding of the major divisions of the book and which cries out for an advance towards a historical explanation of the many elements which also serve to unite it, would seem to fail us. . . Most scholars, however, would probably rather cling to the hope that literary unity in historical diversity has some rational explanation, even if we cannot always discover it (Williamson 1994:243).

It is the position of this study, however, that the degree to which a particular method "fails" is generally proportional to its tendency to overstate the diversity within the material. That such diversity exists is undeniable. As Seitz notes, however, traditional historical criticism rested on three assumptions: 1) the final shape of the book is either an accident or the result of a series of identifiable accretions; 2) as we move from First Isaiah to DtI to TI the setting shifts from Judah

to Babylon back to Judah; and 3) the work implies at least three authors: a late-monarchy prophet, a Babylonian-era prophet, and a Persian-era prophet (Seitz 1988:107). In view of the fact of one book with one superscription, with only one convincing commissioning narrative (Seitz 1996:225, Blenkinsopp 2000:89), with no discernible authorial *personae* for DtI (Sweeney 1993:153, Seitz 1996:228) or for TI (Rendtorff 1993:185, Smith 2009:69), and with literary boundaries that function rather uncooperatively (*e.g.*, the gulf between chapter 12 and chapter 13 is much wider than that between 55 and 56—Seitz 1988:109), it now seems wise to hold these assumptions lightly if at all (Seitz 1988:109). Rendtorff describes the preferred approach as one which works with “the text as it stands, but in view of its possibly complex prehistory” (Rendtorff 1993:171). This would aptly characterize the approach to diachronic questions taken by the present study.

3.2.4 DtI as Alluding Text: Rationale

The focus of the present study will be Isaiah chapter 40-55 or “Second Isaiah,” for which Duhm’s term “Deutero-Isaiah” (DtI) will be used. This is not merely because Rendtorff has shown the advantages of an approach to the book that begins here. Earlier this study defined “allusion” from a relevance-theoretic perspective as a case of the re-use of language from a prior text “such that, by calling the prior text to mind, an implied reader arrives at a significantly altered understanding of the new text, a significantly altered attitude toward its author, and a plausible reconstruction of its author’s intentions, all of which advances the purpose of the communicative event” (2.3.4). It will therefore be helpful to limit ourselves to 1) a block of relatively unified material, 2) which is highly allusive, 3) for which an “implied [source] reader” is readily identifiable, 4) in which an “implied author” as the term is conventionally understood is most plausible, and 5) in which recognition of the author’s allusions can be shown to result in a plausible reconstruction of his intentions.

DtI meets these criteria. While there are dissenters, a consensus remains that this is the most unified block of material within the collection (Clements 1982:121f and 1985:96, Rendtorff 1993:184, Hanson 1995:viii, Blenkinsopp 2000:87, Baltzer 2001:25). In addition, DtI’s boundaries are clear. The change from 39 to 40 is stark. A convincing endpoint may be set at chapter 55 on structural grounds: chapters 56-66 are chiastically arranged, with a focus on the gathering of the new people of God (and the inclusion of foreigners) at the beginning and the end and on a message of eschatological hope (chapters 60-62) at the center (Oswalt 1998:462,465; Goldingay 2014:2). One need not delve deeply into the book’s “possibly complex prehistory,” therefore, in order to justify treating 56-66 separately.

The arrangement of DtI is not chiasmic, but develops in linear (or “spiral”) fashion (Adams 2006:15, *pace* Laato 1990:212f), and a certain progression in its message can be traced. While the structure of 40-48 is still vigorously debated, the message of these chapters can be summarized quite easily: Yahweh is about to demonstrate his absolute dependability and superiority over the gods of the nations by doing something heretofore unheard-of, namely, restoring a captive people to their homeland (Oswalt 1998:96). The tone of these chapters is almost uniformly one of imminent, exuberant expectancy (Haran 1963:141, Carroll 1978:120). Such historical references as exist in chapters 40-66 are concentrated within 40-48, as are the references to “the former things” and “the latter things” that form a crucial part of DtI’s argument.

This exuberant tone is then modulated somewhat in 49-55 (Blenkinsopp 2000:86), and imminent expectancy mellows into a hope for a still bright, but somewhat more distant future. The identifiable historical references of 40-48—notably those to Babylon and Cyrus—drop from view. The “servant of Yahweh” can most often be identified as Jacob/Israel in 40-48, but in 49-55 a collective identification becomes progressively more difficult and finally impossible. As Balzer suggests, however, these shifts represents progression from, not tension with, the first half of DtI (Balzer 2001:4).

DtI is also a richly allusive text. Sommer’s study of chapters 35 and 40-66 found common allusive techniques distributed fairly evenly throughout; the allusions themselves, however, are clustered toward the beginning of the work (Sommer 1998:179). Using slightly different criteria, Nurmela finds 56-66 relatively more allusive than 40-55 (Nurmela 2006:139; *cf.* also Williamson 1994:183), but it should be noted that fourteen of the 53 allusions that Nurmela finds in 56-66 are to chapters 40-55 (Nurmela 2006:133). The fact that Nurmela finds 73 allusions in chapters 40-55 suggests that there is more than ample material here for present purposes.

DtI will also be a useful section because its implied reader may be identified with relative confidence. A strong consensus continues to locate the implied reader of chapters 40-55 in the late Babylonian exile—in other words, just before the defeat of the Babylonian Empire by Cyrus II, at a time when this defeat still lay in the future and when the claim that Cyrus was Yahweh’s anointed who would do Yahweh’s work still needed defending (Wilson 1988:62). One may therefore posit a late sixth-century implied reader whose context in the relevance-theoretic sense is altered significantly, and who is aided in his attempt to reconstruct an implied author’s intentions, by mentally linking segments of Isaiah 40-55 with prior texts. Since chapter 35 demonstrates, not only close verbal and thematic parallels to 40-55, but similar intentions, allusions that appear within it would be eligible for consideration as well.

Use of DtI as corpus, however, requires a further word on what is meant by an alluding or alluded-to “text,” a discussion of the prior texts available to DtI, and a discussion of its allusive techniques and the pragmatic effects of these allusions for the implied reader proposed in this study.

3.3 Alluded-To Texts in DtI

3.3.1 What Constitutes a “Text”?

A study that compares alluding and alluded-to “texts” from antiquity must clarify what is meant by “text,” particularly because the statement “Here *x* is alluding to *y*” might seem to demand that the author of *x* had *y* in front of him as a written text in its current form. It might further seem to demand that the alluded-to text, accessed visually, had to be part of the implied reader’s “context” in the relevance-theoretic sense in order for him/her to activate the allusion.

These implications are expressly disavowed in the present study, as they reflect a “print bias” which is anachronistic (Maxey 2009:109). Members of print cultures tend to assume universal literacy, universal access to written texts, and a watertight distinction between orature and literature (Gitay 1980:191). Other frequent assumptions have been the existence of a strict dichotomy between oral and literate culture (Maxey’s “Great Divide”—Maxey 2009:78); that oral and textual transmission are discrete phases in a text’s history; and that oral transmission is characterized by free or loose re-production, while textual transmission is verbatim and precise.

These assumptions are questionable, to say the least. During the period of interest to the present study, Israelite culture and education was neither exclusively oral nor written, but oral-written (Carr 2005:128,145, *et passim*). In other words, it was characterized by a “manifold *continuum* between purely spoken verbal art forms and written ones, *i.e.*, orature and literature” (Wendland 2010:2). Although it appears that literacy in Israelite society received a boost in the late pre-exilic period (Carr 2005:134ff), Deuteronomy’s implied goal of universal literacy (Deuteronomy 6:9) does not seem to have been achieved. Instead, the Bible suggests that in this period there was a scribal elite to which the rest of society had recourse when writing or reading was needed (See *e.g.* Jeremiah 36). The rest of society functioned with a lower level of literacy or none at all.

Texts produced by and for this scribal elite demonstrate “various degrees of stylistic ‘mixing’ of features as one moves from one medium to the other and from one communication setting to another” (Wendland 2010:2). Prophetic texts were composed in order to be experienced orally and not, at least in the first instance, visually (Gitay 1980:192); those who produced them were not only capable of reading and writing, but also of publicly performing large blocks of “text” committed to memory (Carr 2005:160). Stylistic mixing is evident in the fact that the texts as we

have them today are replete with devices that could have served, in addition to other functions, as memory aids for oral performance (acrostics, chiasmic structures, recursion, parallelism, *etc.*). In fact, it has been plausibly argued that much of the Bible was written and copied, not under the assumption that it would normally be encountered for the first time in this form, but as a memory aid for those who performed it orally.⁶

What this means for present purposes is that, while for convenience's sake I will speak of a source "text" and an alluding "text," by "text" is meant a verbal sequence that had become stable and recognizable, regardless of whether it was normally accessed in oral or written form (Carr 2005:12). By "reader," likewise, I mean the receiver in the original communication event; hearers are not excluded. In addition, to identify a text as one alluded to by DtI does not demand a particular position on the form of that text at the time of the allusion (Nurmela 2006:xi), but it does require a view of the text as a consistent and recognizable verbal sequence.⁷

3.3.2 Extra-Isaiah Allusions: Rationale

Previous studies have identified alluded-to texts in DtI (or in chapters 40-66) including, not necessarily in order of number or prominence, the Pentateuch, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Psalms, Job, the Song of Songs, and Lamentations. As noted above, however, the book of Isaiah is held together by a significant number of verbal correspondences across its sixty-six chapters. This might prompt the question, "Why not include verbal links between DtI and other identifiable sections of Isaiah (*e.g.*, between chapters 47 and 13/14)?"⁸

There are three reasons I have not done so. One is that when such internal questions have been the focus, as they have in many previous studies, usually the interest has been a diachronic theory of textual formation. Such a theory lies outside the primary interest of the present study, which is an allusion's literary function in both the source text and in translations. It should also be noted that to use allusions to settle diachronic questions assumes the ability to settle questions of the direction of dependence—in other words, to determine which text is alluding and which is being alluded to. Generally speaking, the criteria proposed for making such determinations have not been up to the task, even when applied in combination (Schultz 1999:230).

⁶ According to Klaus Baltzer, Isaiah 40-55 is a drama composed for public performance, and the written text that we have is essentially the memory aids and stage directions with which performers were provided (Baltzer 2001, 2010).

⁷ How an allusion functions differently in a verbal sequence that is stable and recognizable, but not in written form could be a worthy subject for future research.

⁸ On the rationale for omitting allusions to other ANE texts see note 4. above.

A second reason is that, as mentioned above, this is primarily a study of the “text as it stands *in view of* its possibly complex prehistory” (Rendtorff 1993:171, emphasis mine). As it stands, “the text” of DtI is a cohesive block within a single book of sixty-six chapters that has one superscription. The canonical-critical (or “scriptural-critical,” Carr 2005:290f) considerations that this entails must therefore come into play. For instance, an allusion to, *e.g.*, Isaiah 13/14 found in Isaiah 47 would probably have functioned for DtI’s implied reader in a way very different from an allusion to, *e.g.* Deuteronomy (Schultz 1999:252), and it certainly functions differently for a reader of DtI in translation. The target-culture focus of this study of landmark Portuguese versions of the Bible is, therefore, a third reason for selecting DtI’s allusions to texts outside the book of Isaiah, and it is the most important.

3.4 The Allusions

3.4.1 Previous Studies of Inner-Biblical Allusion

The literature on verbal parallels within the Hebrew Bible is vast and growing, and three salient characteristics are noted by Schultz (1999) in his helpful review. First, studies of verbal parallels have been “more like a mine in which each generation has searched independently for gems than a torch which was passed on from one generation to the next” (Schultz 1999:56). Second, the methodologies of these studies have suffered at times from an unconscionable lack of rigor. Third, the interest of these studies has overwhelmingly not been verbal parallels *per se*, but a particular theory of origin and dating; unfortunately, these theories are then allowed to guide both the investigations of textual allusions and their conclusions. In general, the studies of Fishbane (1985), Willey (1997), Sommer (1998), Schultz (1999), and Nurmela (2006) have avoided these tendencies. It is with these that the present study primarily intends to interact.

Though allusion *per se* is not its primary focus, much of the current interest in inner-textual connections within the Hebrew Bible dates from Michael Fishbane’s *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Fishbane 1985). Fishbane’s goal is to show that Jewish exegetical methods have their origins within the Bible itself. Accordingly, his interest is especially in pairs of texts that demonstrate “multiple and sustained lexical linkages” where the first is reused by the second “in a lexically reorganized and topically rethematized way” (Fishbane 1985:285). The value of Fishbane’s study for those that followed is not limited to the wide range of available allusive techniques that it proposes. Fishbane also forces the issues of the author’s purpose in alluding and in the allusion’s function within the later text, consideration of which was not a feature of many previous studies (Schultz 1999:210).

Patricia Tull Willey's 1997 study, like the present one, finds in DtI a density of instances of language shared with other biblical texts that is best explainable by conscious allusion (Willey 1997:3). Willey's method is similar to that of Richard Hays' work on the New Testament's use of Deuteronomy 30:11-14 (Hays 1989). Hays' seven tests for the probability of an allusion are:

- 1) Availability to the author of the proposed alluded-to-text;
- 2) Volume, *i.e.*, the quantity of explicit lexical or syntactic repetition;
- 3) Recurrence, *i.e.*, the frequency with which the alluded-to text is used in the alluding text;
- 4) Thematic coherence between the two contexts;
- 5) The historical plausibility of the alluding author's intended meaning within his own setting;
- 6) Precedence within the history of interpretation for seeing the passage as allusive; and
- 7) "Satisfaction"—*i.e.*, the interpreter's admittedly subjective judgment on whether a proposed allusion "makes sense" (Willey 1997:81ff).

Willey regards Hays' problem as both easier and more difficult than her own—easier, because in Hays' study the diachronic relationship is obvious; more difficult, because too many centuries of commentary have intervened for Hays to calibrate the meanings of the alluding and alluded-to texts against one another (Willey 1997:83f).

With regard to "availability," Willey admirably seeks to avoid two extremes: allowing uncertainty about the dating of texts to prevent any claims that they are related, and using a proposed relationship between alluded-to and alluding texts to settle questions of dating (Willey 1997:57). She limits herself to texts that can be dated before DtI on other grounds, notably the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Nahum, the Psalms, and Lamentations; the Pentateuch may pose a problem for some scholars, but few proposals date the latest layer in the Pentateuch any later than the end of the exile and a large body of scholarship dates it earlier (Willey 1997:101). In any event, consensus exists on those intertexts with Pentateuchal material that she includes (Hays' Test #6); usually the question in these instances is not whether an allusion is present, but which of several recollections of the underlying tradition represents the alluded-to text (Willey 1997:101). Like Willey's, the present study also finds the inclusion of Pentateuchal material justified, particularly in view of its definition of "text" as a verbal sequence that was stable and recognizable, though perhaps not universally accessed in its present written form.

As for "volume," however, Willey has drawn criticism (Nurmela 2006:viii) for failing to establish criteria for distinguishing conscious allusions from instances of common vocabulary in texts with

strong thematic resemblances (*cf.* Willey 1997:155ff). The present study will also attempt to focus more attention than did Willey on the level of contextual awareness demonstrated by the alluding text (Nurmela 2006:viii; *cf.* Schultz 1999 below).

The present study owes a particular debt to Richard L. Schultz's *The Search for Quotation: Verbal Parallels in the Prophets* (Schultz 1999) for its critical and insightful interaction with the secondary literature, its frank acknowledgment of an unavoidable subjectivity in studies like these, and its methodological rigor (*cf.* Lyons 2009:58). Schultz's classifies allusions using a set of decreasing concentric circles: 1) verbal parallel, or any verbal correspondence between two texts (which may be accounted for in several ways); 2) verbal dependence, or any pair of texts in which a relationship can be demonstrated, but no conclusion is necessarily drawn about the source of the borrowed words or the direction of borrowing (Schultz 1999:217); and 3) "examples in which an exegetical purpose in reusing earlier material can be demonstrated or where an understanding of the earlier text and context is helpful, if not essential, for a proper interpretation of the new text" (Schultz 1999:221).

Previous studies often assumed that the closer two texts were in terms of lexis and syntax, the stronger the case for an allusion. Schultz, however, correctly observes that while shared lexis and syntax are helpful in excluding parallels that are due simply to shared themes, motifs, or images, often those pairs of texts that are most similar linguistically are clearly *not* allusions (or, for Schultz, "quotations") but simply reoccurrences of formulaic language (Schultz 1999:224). The more decisive criterion, therefore, is "contextual awareness"—those cases in which "if a quotation's source is not recognized, there is an unfortunate semantic loss, even if the passage in itself is comprehensible" (Schultz 1999:225). This approximates the approach of the present study.

The influence of Benjamin Sommer's *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40-66* on the present study has already become apparent, *e.g.* with respect to Sommer's distinction between influence/allusion and "intertextuality" in the proper sense (Sommer 1998:6ff). Sommer provides a helpful taxonomy of verbal parallels (allusion, influence, echo and exegesis), but especially useful is his recognition of the variety of functions that an allusion can serve and of the relationship between these functions and an allusion's level of perspicuity (Sommer 1998:81ff). Sommer's work represents a certain methodological "tightening" over Willey's that Schultz also notes with appreciation (Schultz 1999:40). Some of Hays' seven "tests" (used by Willey)—notably #4, 5, and 7—are, according to Sommer, capable of producing a "deadening effect" unless employed sensitively. Sommer also adds an eighth criterion: the reasonable certainty that the verbal similarity

does not simply stem from the common use of an Israelite or ancient Near Eastern literary “topos” (Sommer 1998:219f).

A difficulty in Sommer’s approach, however, lies in the excessive subjectivity introduced by some of his criteria (Schultz 1999:40f). For example, he finds an allusion to Jeremiah 31:16 in Isaiah 40:10:

יֵשׁ שְׂכָר לְפַעֲלָתְךָ (Jer 31:16)

There is a reward for your labor.⁹

הִנֵּה שְׂכָרוֹ אִתּוֹ וּפְעֻלָּתוֹ לְפָנָיו (Is 40:10)

See, his reward is with him; and his compensation [goes] before him.

For Sommer this is as an example of the “split-up” pattern—the insertion into a phrase from the alluded-to text of a new word, several new words, or even a new block of material (Sommer 1998:68f). The difficulties here are apparent. While there is lexical similarity between these texts, in the alluded-to text the noun פְּעֻלָּה denotes the “service” for which the “reward” is exchanged, whereas in the alluding text it is parallel to the “reward” itself (שְׂכָר). There is no syntactic resemblance at all between these texts; and while in the alluded-to text the phrase is a single poetic colon, in the alluding text it is distributed across a bicolon. It is possible to attribute these changes to “adaptation” to the new context or to speculate on what the author intended by them; but one wonders whether other explanations for the similarities might not be more likely. This is a frequent problem with Sommer’s method. More than once he is able to find allusions on the basis of shared lexical features even when these represent fairly common vocabulary, and are distributed across both texts in such a way that syntactic similarity is limited or nonexistent.

Nurmela (2006:vii) is accordingly “doubtful” of Sommer’s approach. Nurmela’s own method begins with establishing lexical links and then proceeds to the direction-of-dependence question. This question should be settled, he says, by ascertaining the level of integration of each text into its context, on the theory that an expression’s native setting is the context into which it fits more smoothly. Schultz issues a useful caution about this: it is possible “for a passage which is ‘peripheral’ to its original context to be placed, when quoted, into a context that is specifically structured to integrally accommodate it” (Schultz 1999:67). Indeed, both Schultz and the present

⁹ Translations are my own.

author remain more skeptical than is Nurmela that direction-of-dependence questions can be conclusively settled on internal, literary grounds.

For Nurmela, questions of the direction of dependence (and therefore, diachronicity) are overriding concerns, and he pays little attention to the pragmatic effects of an allusion and their function in the context of the alluding text. In this respect his goals differ markedly from those of the present study. At the same time, Nurmela's more stringent criteria for identifying an allusion avoid much of the subjectivity of Sommer's approach, and his work has been helpful in this regard.

3.4.2 DtI's Allusions: The Sample

This study will need a sample of fairly secure allusions in DtI; the sample and the criteria that have been used to identify them will be explained here. The matter, of course, requires an interpretive judgment. Citation formulae that name the source of borrowed language are extremely rare in the Hebrew Bible; in any event, as I have been arguing, were such identifying to occur it could nullify the pragmatic effects intended by the author (*cf.* 2.3.4 above), making the "allusion" less than useful for purposes of this study. Therefore, what controls will ensure that a study of allusion confines itself to examples that are both convincing and useful?

Previous approaches to allusion tended to assume that the closer the lexical and syntactic parallel between two texts, the more certain it is that there is a conscious relationship. As noted above, this is not necessarily the case. In the Hebrew Bible, exact, sustained verbal parallels are rare, and those that do occur (*e.g.* Isaiah 2 and Micah 4) are probably not "allusions" in the present sense. Furthermore, although shared lexis and/or syntax is obviously important, it may also be attributable to mere coincidence, commonplace vocabulary, limited alternatives, similarity in images, motifs, and themes (Schultz 1990:223), or the unconscious recollection of a prior text; if Carr is correct, then a large number of prior texts would have populated the "context" of a sixth-century Israelite author (Carr 2009:159f), and identical wording from such texts could easily surface in a new composition. For this reason, an identical verbal sequence in two different texts is insufficient in itself to determine the presence of the kind of allusion that will be useful for present purposes (Schultz 1990:112). Lexical and syntactic correspondences are baseline criteria, but other important considerations are also important.

Recall, again, the relevance-theoretic definition of "allusion" as the reuse of "language found in a prior text such that, by calling the prior text to mind, an implied reader arrives at a significantly altered understanding of the new text, a significantly altered attitude toward its author, and a plausible reconstruction of its author's intentions, all of which advances the purpose of the

communicative event” (2.3.4). This makes plausible intentionality on DtI’s part the most important criterion for identifying an allusion. Such intentionality can be inferred from, *e.g.*, DtI’s interpretation of the earlier material or its adaptation to the new context, both of which have been an emphasis of previous studies. Also helpful will be the presence of an “allusion marker”—*i.e.*, a deictic particle, a pronoun shift, the inversion of a formulaic sequence as an attention-getting device, *etc.* (Beentjes 1996:49). But the main consideration will be whether it can be shown that DtI’s meaning is impaired for a reader who cannot activate it (*cp.* Schultz 1999:225)—whether, *i.e.*, there is some kind of “gap” in the alluding text that requires the alluded-to text to fill.

Schultz notes that in studies of verbal parallels it is best to assess a small number of good examples as objectively as possible (Schultz 1999:61), which the selection below intends to represent. Each is a pair of texts that exhibits lexical and syntactic similarity not attributable to commonplace vocabulary. In each case there is scholarly consensus on the plausible availability of the alluded-to text to DtI. Most important, however: in each case there is a “bonus meaning” available for Pucci’s “full-knowing reader,” or put negatively, some impairment of meaning for a reader who is something less than full-knowing.¹⁰

3.4.2.1 *Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41, 43*

נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ (Isaiah 40:2)

Her iniquity has been atoned for.

יִרְצוּ אֶת-עֲוֹנָם (Leviticus 26:41)

They will atone for their iniquity.

יִרְצוּ אֶת-עֲוֹנָם (v 43)

They will atone for their iniquity.

In this example (noted by Nurmela 2006:1) the lexical parallel is exact (if not extensive); the restructuring is a neat inversion from an active to a passive construction. As Nurmela also notes, the verb should be analyzed as from רצה II, “to pay for, make (vicarious) atonement for sin” (Clines 2009:429, Koehler-Baumgartner 2001:1282) which is most likely a homonym of “to be pleased (with), accept favorably” (Clines 2009:429, Koehler-Baumgartner 2001:1281). If this is the case, then the three verses above represent the only occurrences in the Hebrew Bible of the verb with עוֹן as patient. As for diachronic considerations, there is no difficulty in proposing the

¹⁰ Hebrew Bible citations are from the electronic Stuttgart Electronic Study Bible version 2.0 (German Bible Society: 2003).

availability of Leviticus 26 in the late Exile (Willey 1997:101, *cf.* Lyons 2009:46) even apart from Nurmela’s argument about the direction of dependence (Nurmela 2006:1f).

What is decisive in this case, however, is the likelihood of contextual awareness on DtI’s part. Leviticus 26 promises exile in the land of her enemies as a consequence of Israel’s refusal to obey Yahweh’s decrees and laws (v 44). Exile is necessary in order for Israel to atone for her sins and for the land to enjoy the Sabbaths of which Israel’s disobedience deprived it (vv 33-35, 43; *cf.* Leviticus 25:1-7). Once this has occurred, however, Yahweh will remember both his covenant with the patriarchs (Leviticus 26:42) and the events of the Exodus (v 45). Leviticus 26 is therefore suggestive of the latter as a picture of the Return, further development of which is one of DtI’s most important motifs.

Therefore, readers/hearers for whom Isaiah 40:2 evokes Leviticus 26 will find their “context” enriched significantly. Minimally they will see themselves and the author as members together of a community that reads Leviticus 26 as the Word of God. They will conclude that Leviticus’ dire predictions have been fulfilled and that therefore not only has national guilt been atoned for more than adequately; the land has enjoyed its necessary Sabbaths, so that all moral and spiritual impediments to a Return have been decisively removed. Those capable of noting the reversal of an active to a passive construction could deduce an intention on DtI’s part to communicate that “atonement” has taken place without their active or conscious participation. Some could also call the broader context of the patriarchal and Exodus narratives to mind in a way that prepares for the further use of these motifs in DtI.

3.4.2.2 *Isaiah 40:6-8 and Psalm 103:15-17*

כָּל־הַבֶּשֶׂר חֲצִיר וְכָל־חֶסֶדוֹ כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה:
 יבֹשׂ חֲצִיר גַּבַּל צִיץ כִּי רִיחַ יְהוָה גִּשְׁבָּה בּוֹ...
 יבֹשׂ חֲצִיר גַּבַּל צִיץ וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם:

All flesh is grass, and all its mercy (LXX, NT “glory”) like the flowers of the field.

Grass dries up and flowers shrivel, when the breath of Yahweh blows on them. . .

Grass dries up and flowers shrivel, but the word of our God will stand forever (Isaiah 40:6-8).

אָנוֹשׁ כְּחֲצִיר יָמָיו כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה כִּן יִצְיָן:
 כִּי רִיחַ עֲבָרָה־בּוֹ וְאֵיגָנוּ וְלֹא־יִכְרַנּוּ עוֹד מְקוֹמוֹ:
 וְחֶסֶד יְהוָה | מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד־עוֹלָם עַל־יִרְאָיו...

Mankind is like grass; his days are like the flowers of the field—so he blooms.

When the wind passes over him, he is no more; and his place regards him no longer.
But the mercy of Yahweh is forever and ever upon those who fear him . . . (Psalm 103:15-17).

Here lexical parallels are very extensive (Nurmela 2006:5f, Paul 2012:132f), including the phrase “flowers of the field” (which occurs only in these verses) and “grass” as its parallel. “The breath/spirit/wind of Yahweh blows on it” closely resembles “the wind passes over it,” as “the mercy of Yahweh is forever and ever” does “the word of Yahweh will stand forever.” Thematic similarity is also obvious. As North notes, the frailty and transitory nature of vegetation is a common theme in literature generally, but “nowhere except in the Bible and in literature inspired by the Bible is reflection upon the impermanence of creaturely existence followed by the triumphant assurance of God’s permanence and constant love” (North 1964:78). Nurmela’s suggestion that the command to “Cry out!” with which the Isaiah passage begins could be construed as a command to “read” (perhaps “quote”) Scripture is, to say the least, intriguing (Nurmela 2006:5).

Most important, reader/hearers who perceive the allusion will find their understanding of the alluding passage altered significantly. Although the Isaiah passage is intelligible without an awareness of Psalm 103, it is not immediately apparent what the fact that all flesh is transitory has to do with the message that Israel’s guilt has been atoned for (vv 1-2) or that Yahweh is about to cross the desert and reveal his glory (vv 4-5). Nor is it apparent exactly which “word” from Yahweh will “stand forever”—is it a word of judgment or of comfort?

Ambiguities are removed and the transition is smoother for a reader who knows Psalm 103, with its strong affirmations of Yahweh’s forgiveness of both individual (Psalm 103:3) and collective guilt (Psalm 103:10-12). In Psalm 103, Yahweh as creator is well aware of human frailty; it is this very frailty that moves him to forgive (v 13). Psalm 103:15-17 thus closes a gap in the alluding text for those who are aware of it. Additionally, the psalm itself contains an Exodus allusion (v 7) and a “covenant catalogue” (v 8 *cf.* Exodus 34:6), which DtI could plausibly have wanted to activate for its reader/hearer at the beginning of the discourse.

3.4.2.3 *Isaiah 40:26,28 and Psalm 147:4,5*

שְׂאוּ-מְרוֹם עֵינֵיכֶם וּרְאוּ מִי-בָרָא אֱלֹהֵי הַמּוֹצֵיָא בְּמִסְפָּר צְבָאָם לְכֹלֵם בְּשֵׁם יְקֹרָא מְרַב אֲוִינִים וְאַמִּיץ פֶּחַ
אִישׁ לֹא נִעְדָּר:

...

הֲלוֹא יִרְעֶת אִם-לֹא שִׁמְעֶת אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם| יְהוָה בּוֹרֵא קִצּוֹת הָאָרֶץ לֹא יִיעָף וְלֹא יִיגַע אִין חֲקֵר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ:

Raise your eyes on high and see. Who created these?

The one who brings their host out by number,
 Who calls them all by name—
 Because of [his] abundant strength and the power of his might
 Not a one is missing.
 ...
 Don't you know? Haven't you heard?
 Yahweh is the eternal God, the Creator of the ends of the earth.
 He doesn't grow tired and he doesn't grow weary;
 There is no searching-out his understanding . . . (Isaiah 40:26,28)

מוֹנֵה מִסְפָּר לְפוֹכְבֵּיִם לְכֹלֵם שְׁמֹת יִקְרָא:
 גָּדוֹל אֲדוֹגְיָנוּ וְרַב־כֹּחַ לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר:

The one who counts the number of the stars--
 He calls them all by names.
 Great is our Lord and abundant in strength;
 There is no counting-up his understanding (Psalm 147:4,5).

Here is a plausible example of Sommer's "split-up" pattern, as phrases from adjacent verses in Psalm 147 ("calls them all by name/names," "there is no searching out/counting-up of his understanding") are distributed across 3 verses in the alluding text. This suggests that the alluded-to text is being consciously re-used. The vocabulary is not unusual, and yet its occurrence in two such syntactically similar clauses in such close proximity makes a coincidence highly unlikely (Nurmela 2006:6, Paul 2012:151f). Furthermore, the identity of "these" in Isaiah 40:26 is initially unspecified (Nurmela 2006:7). "These" could be mountains, clouds, or birds, until "these" is disambiguated by "host" (אֲבִירָא, normally "troops"—Israelite, celestial, or as the entourage of Yahweh, Koehler-Baumgartner 2001:995). In the psalm, however, there is no doubt that "stars" are meant, and this would have been immediately apparent for a reader/hearer who was able to call the alluded-to text to mind.

The allusion, however, does not merely clarify אֲבִירָא. The allusion is split in Dtl by an expression of the exile community's despondency (v 27) and a gentle chiding for this by the speaker (v 28a). This suggests the "bonus meaning": "Despondency is curable, for a community can activate such texts as Psalm 147."

3.4.2.4 *Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4,8*

נָסְגוּ אַחֲוֹר יִבְשׂוּ בְשֵׁת הַבְּטָחִים בַּפֶּסֶל הָאֲמָרִים לְמִסְכָּה אֲתֶם אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

They will retreat backward and be utterly ashamed who trust in a carved image,
Who say to a cast image, “You are our gods.” (Isaiah 42:17)

וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ עֵגֶל מִסְכָּה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵיהֶּם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֹךְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: ...

עָשׂוּ לָהֶם עֵגֶל מִסְכָּה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ-לוֹ וַיִּזְבְּחוּ-לוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵיהֶּם יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֹךְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

And he made it into a cast image of a young bull, and they said, “These are your gods, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.” ... “They have made themselves a cast image of a young bull and bowed down to it and sacrificed to it, and they have said, ‘These are your gods, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.’” (Exodus 32:4,8)

At 25 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, *מִסְכָּה* hardly constitutes rare vocabulary, but when it is also noted that the thought of calling a cast image “god” occurs only here and in Nehemiah 9:18, which is an obvious echo of Exodus 32 (Nurmela 2006:20), the case for an allusion here is strong. It has often been observed that the plural “these” seems incongruous in Exodus 32 but is quite at home in the “calf-apostasy” incident in 1 Kings 12:28. In this respect Isaiah 42 is similar to Exodus 32. The *Septuagint* (LXX) and Syriac read the plural “cast images” in Isaiah, probably to mitigate the problem of agreement with plural אֱלֹהֵינוּ. If, however, Isaiah is alluding to the Golden Calf incident, then the Masoretic Text (MT) has preserved both the correct reading and a higher degree of perspicuity for the allusion than either of these ancient versions. Moreover, the syntactic incongruity is precisely the kind that could have marked an allusion for Pucci’s “full-knowing reader” (Schultz 1999:251).

Isaiah 42:17 is located in the midst of descriptions of Yahweh’s servant, Israel, who is blind (42:16,19) and pitiful (42:20,22). His blindness consists in his having suffered national disgrace without any thought to why this should be so, or drawing the obvious conclusion that it was Yahweh’s punishment for the nation’s disobedience. Naturally this message is quite intelligible on its own, but it becomes especially poignant for those readers for whom the Golden Calf incident or Jeroboam’s institution of a rival cult (or both) comes to mind. Recalling the original Golden Calf incident would suggest that Israel’s “blindness” was of long standing and perhaps endemic; recalling Jeroboam’s idols would suggest the destruction of the North as evidence that the claims of Isaiah 42:17 were true. Both would also make the promise of Yahweh’s imminent deliverance and the reconstitution of the nation (chapter 43) all the more remarkable, and would reinforce Isaiah’s theme that these will be unilateral actions on Yahweh’s part, Israel being too spiritually inept to contribute.

3.4.2.5 *Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39*

גַּם-מִיּוֹם אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל אֶפְעַל וְגַם יִשְׁיבְנָה:

Henceforth, also, I am he,

And there is no one who can snatch out of my hand.

I act; who can reverse it? (Isaiah 43:13)

רְאוּ עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדַי אֲנִי אֲמִית וְאֶחָדָה מִתְצַתִּי וְאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל:

See now, that I, yes, I am he, and there is no god besides me.

I kill and I bring to life again; I wound, and I heal;

And there is none who can snatch out of my hand (Deuteronomy 32:39).

Although *אֵין מִצִּיל* is not uncommon, the precise entire phrase “And there is no one who can snatch out of my hand” occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible, meaning that some kind of relationship between these two passages is likely. The case is strengthened by “I am he” since, although both lexemes are extremely common, the phrase occurs only in this pair of passages and in Isaiah 46:4. *מִיּוֹם* is an odd expression that has been rendered “from the beginning” (LXX, Oswalt 1998:13), “from ancient days” (NIV, cf. Targum Jonathan), or “ever [the same]” (North 1964:41). “Henceforth” (ESV, HCSB, NET, NRSV, Paul 2012:213), however, is not only supported by Ezekiel 48:35; it plausibly accounts for the function of *מִיּוֹם* in this context. If Isaiah 43:13 is indeed an allusion to Deuteronomy 32:39, then *מִיּוֹם* indicates that Yahweh’s claim in the Song of Moses is being reapplied to present and future circumstances (Nurmela 2006:31f).

There will be additional contextual effects for the reader of Isaiah 43:13 who thinks of the Song of Moses, and this is a good example of how alluding and alluded-to texts become joined in a relationship of mutual interaction (Schultz 1999:198). Deuteronomy 32:36-42 consists mainly of graphic depictions of the vengeance that Yahweh will take on his enemies; though the song closes on a note of salvation for Yahweh’s people, its dominant tone is dark, especially in this section. The reverse is true of Isaiah 43, which is dominated entirely by the joyful news of Yahweh’s deliverance. A “full-knowing reader” may find even more comfort in the realization that it is precisely the judgments with which Yahweh once threatened Israel, and that this reader has perhaps witnessed, that are now about to be unleashed on Israel’s enemies.

Different implicatures of the metaphor *אֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל* are in play in the alluding and alluded-to texts; the fact that it is impossible to be snatched from Yahweh’s hand when he is unwilling to let go is a terrifying truth in Deuteronomy 32, but a comforting one in Isaiah. *נִצַּל מִיָּד* therefore serves

as the verbal “pivot” that allows the phrase to convey either terror or comfort. The phrase simply means to wrest an object from someone who does not want to give it up (Paul 2012:213). A neutral translation (“remove,” “snatch away”) will permit the pivot to function as intended; a rendering with either negative (“rob,” “steal”) or positive (“deliver”) connotations will not.

3.4.2.6 *Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16*

דִּלְתוֹת נְחוֹשֶׁה אֶשְׁבֵּר וּבְרִיחַי בְּרֹזֶל אֶגְדַּע:

Doors of bronze, I will smash;

And bars of iron I will chop into pieces (Isaiah 45:2).

כִּי־שָׁבַר דִּלְתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרִיחַי בְּרֹזֶל גָּדַע:

For doors of bronze he smashed,

And bars of iron he chopped into pieces (Psalm 107:16).

Commentators note many similarities between Psalm 107 and DtI (Brug 2004:260, Paul 2012:254), probably owing to the fact that DtI alludes to Psalm 107 at least two more times (Isaiah 41:18//Psalm 107:35 and Isaiah 42:7,10//Psalm 107:10, 23; cf. Nurmela 2006:40). In this instance the direction-of-dependence question is acute. Some (Sommer 1998:261n) view the psalm as post-exilic and therefore incapable of having been alluded to by DtI. Sommer cites linguistic features of the psalm which are indicative of late biblical Hebrew (LBH) by Hurvitz (1972, Hebrew) and Qimron (1978, Hebrew). In fact, however, Hurvitz and Qimron classify Psalm 107 as “Perhaps Late”—in other words, a text exhibiting some LBH features (Rezetko 2010:10), which is not necessarily the same thing as a LBH text. Dong-Hyuk Kim argues convincingly that, while the identification of certain linguistic features as typical of “early” or “late” biblical Hebrew is highly plausible, it does not follow from this that texts may be confidently dated on the basis of these features (Kim 2013).

The two texts cited above differ in 1) verb person, 2) verb tense, 3) a slight shift in word order (Isaiah loses the chiasm), and 4) an altered spelling of “bronze,” but none of these differences is helpful in settling the direction-of-dependence question (Nurmela 2006:39). If Isaiah 45:2 is a reference to the gates of Babylon mentioned in Herodotus I.191, this could have diachronic implications; but this is not necessarily the case (Oswalt 1998:201, Blenkinsopp 2000:249). In this case it is helpful (if not absolutely decisive) to compare the way that each passage is situated into its context. Psalm 107:16 is integrated quite well; it provides a satisfying conclusion to the “refrain” that follows the “second crisis” in the series of four that are the structure of the psalm

seems to have been borrowed language from the embodiment of that tradition in the Psalms rather than from the Pentateuch.

In Isaiah 48, the wording abruptly follows an exhortation to leave Babylon and to announce that Yahweh has redeemed his people (48:20). The verse is then followed abruptly in turn by “There is no peace for the wicked,” which is often said to have placed at the end of a major block of material (40-48) for redactional purposes. The abruptness of 48:21 is the type of incongruity that could have sent a reader/hearer searching for the source of the borrowed language, setting up for a capable reader the “hermeneutical dynamic” in which alluding and alluded-to texts interpret one another (Schultz 1999:198).

DtI makes strong use of the Exodus motif, depicting the Return as a second Exodus which will be so spectacular that the first will be, and should be, forgotten (*e.g.* 43:18-19, *cf.* Bosman 2009:79). The allusion to Psalm 78 may simply be due to this text’s availability; however, it is particularly evocative for a reader who recalls it here. Like the Pentateuch itself, the psalm repeats a cycle of Israel’s rebellion, judgment from God, and mercy from God. An allusion to the psalm at the end of Isaiah 48 could easily have suggested the point on this cycle that the Return represents. In addition, the psalm ends with the building of the sanctuary and the enthronement of David in Zion; a “full-knowing reader” whose context in the relevance-theoretic sense included this information could have found it activated by DtI’s allusion.

3.4.2.8 *Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14*

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בְּעֵת רְצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ וּבְיָוֵם יְשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיךָ:

This is what Yahweh says:

In the acceptable time I answered you;

And in the day of salvation, I helped you (Isaiah 49:8).

וְאַגִּי תִפְלֹתֵי־לִי! יְהוָה עֵת רְצוֹן אֱלֹהִים בְּרַב־חַסְדֶּךָ עֲנֵנִי בְּאַמֶּת יְשׁוּעָה:

As for me, my prayer comes to you, Yahweh, [in? for?] the acceptable time;

Answer me, God, in your abundant mercy,

In your reliable salvation (Psalm 69:14).

עֵת רְצוֹן occurs only in these passages in the Hebrew Bible, though יוֹם־רְצוֹן (“day of favor”) occurs at Isaiah 58:5 and שְׁנַת־רְצוֹן (“year of favor”) at 61:2. The verbal parallel with the psalm is strong, as the passages are also linked by the thought of an answer (עֲנָה) from Yahweh—desired in the psalm and granted in DtI. The first line has been reworked so that Yahweh is spoken to in the

alluding text but speaks in the alluded-to text. Furthermore, in the alluded-to text, especially as accented by the Masoretes (which my translation does not follow), the content of the prayer could be a request for a “season of favor,” whereas in the alluding text *בְּעֵת רְצוֹן* unambiguously indicates the time of Yahweh’s answer.

As Nurmela points out, there is no mention of a prayer in Isaiah 49:8, but it is explicit in the parallel (Nurmela 2006:53), making this another example of a gap in the alluding text that the context of the alluded-to text fills in for a SR who can activate it.

3.4.2.9 *Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23*

הַקְצוֹר קִצְרָה יְדֵי מַפְדּוֹת וְאִם־אֵין־בִּי כֹחַ לְהַצִּיל...
 Is my arm indeed too short for redeeming?

Or with me is there no strength to deliver? (Isaiah 50:2)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הֲיֵד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר עֲתָה תִרְאֶה תִרְאֶה הֲיִקְרָךְ דְּבַרִּי אִם־לֹא:
 And Yahweh said to Moses, “Is the arm of Yahweh too short? Now you will see whether or not
 my word comes to pass (Numbers 11:23).

Isaiah 50:2 alludes to the plague on the Nile river (Exodus 7:17-25), the Red Sea incident (Exodus 14), or most likely both; and immediately after these verses there is a probable allusion to the reflection on these narratives in Psalm 107:33 (Nurmela 2006:58f). The facts that this is a highly allusive context, that the alluding/alluded-to text parallel is not verbatim, and that in both texts it is Yahweh who speaks all combine to suggest that the rhetorical question about the shortness of his arm is not simply a repetition of formulaic language, but a conscious allusion to Numbers 11.

There the question precedes the miracle of the quail which, significantly, is sandwiched between accounts of the people’s complaining and rebellion (Numbers 11:1-3 and Numbers 12). It is Yahweh’s response to a rhetorical question from Moses about whether all the fish in the sea, in addition to entire flocks and herds, would be sufficient to feed the Israelites. The desperate situation addressed in Isaiah 50:2, however, is not the prospect of starvation, but the fact that Yahweh appears to have broken with his people as finally and irrevocably as a man who divorces his wife (50:1, *cf.* Deuteronomy 24:1-4). The break had in fact been real, and the people’s transgressions provided abundant justification for Yahweh’s withdrawal (50:1). But Yahweh’s ability to perform miracles—demonstrated in the Exodus—means that the situation is not as irredeemable as it appeared; nor is the people’s sin an obstacle to Yahweh’s ability to act and save. Israel should have recalled their communal experience and come to this conclusion themselves, so

that Yahweh’s salvation would not have taken them by surprise. The note of chiding in Isaiah 50 is thus deepened for a fully-aware reader, making this an example in which the broader context of the allusion is perhaps more important than the shared vocabulary itself (Schultz 1999:206).

3.4.2.10 *Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1*

מֵה־נָּאוּ וְעַל־הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב מִשְׁמִיעַ יְשׁוּעָה אֵמַר לְצִיּוֹן מִלֵּךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ:

How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger,

The one who lets us hear of peace;

The messenger of good things,

The one who lets us hear of salvation,

The one who says to Zion, “Your God reigns!” (Isaiah 52:7)

הִנֵּה עַל־הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם

Look, on the mountains—the feet of the messenger,

The one who lets us hear of peace! (Nahum 2:1)

The precise verbal similarity here is noted by most commentators (North 1964:221, Pieper 1979:426, Willey 1997:117f, Oswalt 1998:368, Sommer 1998:92, Baltzer 2001:378, Nurmela 2006:71, Smith 2009:422n, Paul 2012:382). Discussion has mainly concerned whether one passage depends on the other and, naturally, in which direction. Baltzer and Oswalt believe that this is simply a case of parallel usages of formulaic language; Smith and Pieper are noncommittal; North believes that Nahum is alluding to DtI; and Willey, Sommer, Nurmela, and Paul believe that DtI is alluding to Nahum.

As Nurmela (2006:71) points out, to use the degree and manner of integration of each text into its context to settle the direction-of-dependence question is probably impossible. It seems significant, however, that the Isaiah passage occurs in a section of DtI that Willey (1997:171) finds “most frankly repetitive of other texts,” and in the nearer context Nurmela (2006:71) counts seven verbal similarities to other texts within seven verses. Unless it can be shown that Nahum is a similarly allusive author, this suggests that Willey’s, Sommer’s, Nurmela’s, and Paul’s view is correct.

Sommer (1998:92) cites this use of Nahum by DtI as a case of “historical recontextualization,” as Nahum’s prophecy of a welcome messenger announcing Assyria’s downfall and a return by Judah

to normal cultic life is reapplied to the coming deliverance from Babylon.¹¹ Willey's characterization of the "bonus meaning" available to a reader who knew Nahum is worth quoting at length.

. . . Nahum's reminder of the vulnerability of even the most powerful enemy, the one that had destroyed Israel, Syria, and the majority of Judah, may well have supplied hope for the exiles' future. . . . By invoking a familiar articulation of Nineveh's defeat, Second Isaiah confers historic significance on new events. In addition, by drawing this explicit analogy, the poet renders Nahum's surrounding rhetoric available as a key for interpreting Babylon's fate: Babylon, like Nineveh, will soon cease to be a world-crushing power (Willey 1997:120).

This completes the sample of allusions that satisfy the definition and criteria named above. The following chapter, which explains the method of translation analysis that will be applied to several Portuguese renderings of these passages, begins the "target-focused" portion of this study.

¹¹ Shalom Paul points out that Nahum's language is moral/ethical; application is made to the cult in the context in DtI (Paul 2012:383).

4. Methodological Considerations

4.1 Introduction

In preparation for a study of allusion as a problem for translators, the previous chapters attempted to define “allusion,” select an allusive biblical text, and choose a sample of that text’s allusions. Each of these considerations had the source text primarily in view and was therefore, in a sense, preliminary. Beginning with this chapter, the focus of this study will shift to target texts, and to the matter of the relationship between a translation’s target culture and *skopos* and its handling of the source text’s allusions.

The method of analysis to be used has been adapted from the functional method of Margret Ammann. Ammann’s method will therefore be explained and a few modifications necessary for present purposes will be noted. Following this, an important preliminary consideration with regard to the target culture of all the Portuguese versions under study—*viz.*, differences between various forms of the language—will be acknowledged. With these considerations in hand, the analysis of these versions may proceed (chapters 5-8).

4.2 A Functional Translation Analysis

4.2.1 Descriptive Translation Studies

The birth of translation studies as a discipline may be dated to James S. Holmes paper “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies” delivered to the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen in 1972 (Toury 1995:7f). Holmes’s “map” of the emerging discipline divided it into “pure” and “applied” branches, with the “pure” branch subdivided into “theoretical” and “descriptive;” a descriptive branch was considered essential since a “pure” science ought to attempt to classify and account for observable phenomena (Brownlie 1998:77). In a 1985 essay Gideon Toury advocated an approach to the “descriptive” branch whose main interests were literature as a “system of systems,” the values involved in both translating and the reception of translations, and comparisons between translating and other ways in which texts can be processed (Snell-Hornby 2006:49). A movement of sorts coalesced around these interests and received the unfortunate name “The Manipulation School,” because Toury’s essay had appeared in Hermans, ed., *The Manipulation of Literature* (Hermans 1985). The later and more customary designation “Descriptive Translation Studies” (DTS) stems from Toury’s 1995 monograph *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Pym 2010:65).

In the approach of Toury *et al.*, “descriptive” entailed a rejection of all prescriptivism (Hermans 1999:36), or at least its relegation to the applied branch of the discipline (Toury 1995:85). Toury went so far as to define a “translation” as:

...any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded—within that culture—as necessary and/or sufficient (Toury 1995:35).

Descriptive translation studies may be performed even on pseudo-translations (like Arno Holz and Johannes Schlaf’s “Papa Hamlet”)—*i.e.*, works for which the existence of a source text (ST) is a hoax perpetrated by the “translators” (Toury 1995:47ff). This illustrates, not merely how completely DTS jettisons ST as the starting point for analysis, but also how DTS renders all value judgments essentially moot (Snell-Hornby 2006:162). If a “translation” can be any text that a target culture is willing (even wrongly) to accept as such, then questions about the ideal relationship between source text and target text are irrelevant.

This study has benefited from the DTS insight that translations are artifacts of the target culture in the first instance, and it is therefore useful to begin by ascertaining the target-culture position that a translation means to occupy. It also incorporates Toury’s point that a suitable unit for analysis is not a text-segment of a particular length, but a particular text feature (Nord 2005:186)—allusion, in this case. Furthermore, Toury’s concept of “norms” as cultural constraints—deducible from translator behavior, and occupying a sort of middle ground between rules and mere idiosyncrasies (Toury 1995:53ff)—is likely to be his most enduring contribution to the field (Brownlie 2009:77). It would clearly be a useful way to frame the goal of a study like this one.

At the same time, exclusively target-focused approaches tend to oversimplify the kind of issues that are of interest to the present study (Brownlie 2009:78). For example, there is certainly merit in DTS’s insistence that literariness does not inhere in texts but is attributed to them by the target culture (Toury 1995:170); one wonders, however, whether these alternatives are as rigidly antithetical as Toury supposes. In particular, it would be unhelpful to pay minimal attention to the source text when analyzing translations that are meant to be received by the target culture as cohering in some way with sacred originals.

In addition, when DTS shifted the field’s focus away from what a translation “should” achieve but never does (Hermans 1999:20), this was long overdue. Still, this study, though primarily descriptive, will not reject all evaluations *a priori*, as a strict DTS paradigm would require (Snell-Hornby 2006:162). For example, although these would be out-of-bounds in a purely descriptive

approach, certain ethical questions come into play if (as may happen) a target text deliberately betrays a source author's intention, or if the target text promises its reader one thing and delivers another. Christiane Nord's functional approach does in fact permit such questions (Snell-Hornby 2006:78), giving it a decided advantage for purposes like the present ones.

4.2.2 *Skopostheorie* and Christiane Nord

Skopostheorie's founding document was Katharina Reiss and Hans Vermeer's *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (Reiss & Vermeer 1984), making the origin of this approach roughly contemporaneous with DTS. Vermeer also saw *Skopostheorie* as a radical "dethroning" of the source text as the grounding for all translator decisions; instead, translator behavior is a product of whole systems of factors and agents interacting in complex ways (Pym 2010:54). Like DTS, *Skopostheorie's* focus is the translation as an artifact of the target culture (Hermans 1999:37, Snell-Hornby 2006:162). In a sense, it is even more rigorously "functional" than DTS, in that it strongly emphasizes translating as a programmatic, goal-oriented endeavor. This is evident in its placing at the center of inquiry the *skopos*—the target-culture function that a given translation intends to carry out (Pym 2010:46).

Skopostheorie was given a helpful turn in the work of Christiane Nord, who defines "translation" as "the production of a functional target text maintaining a relationship with a given source text that is specified according to the intended or demanded function of the target text (translation *skopos*)" (Nord 2005:32). Here an additional difference from DTS can be observed. Nord does not divorce the source and target texts in such a way that even a pseudo-translation could be an object for analysis (as in DTS). For her, a translation with no purposeful relationship to an original would not be a translation at all (Nord 2005:31). She grants that the functions of the source and target texts within their respective cultures may differ appreciably; in fact, this is the situation more often than not (Nord 2005:79). But if there are no points of contact at all between the intended functions of the two texts, then "translation" as such becomes impossible (Nord 2005:32), since the source author's intentions will inevitably be falsified. To illustrate, historical interests might call for a translation of *Mein Kampf* that would accurately document the rhetoric of Adolf Hitler's racism (known as "documentary translating"). A target text that was intended as a racist apologetic in its own right would be an example of an "instrumental translating." A translation that attempted to recast *Mein Kampf* as an appeal for racial harmony and tolerance, however, would be a gross falsification of the source text's intention, and this is precisely what a client who asked for such a translation would need to be told.

At this point another advantage (from the point of view of the present study) becomes apparent: Nord's concept of "loyalty." For Nord (Nord 2005:26), the older notion of "equivalence" (*cf.* 7.1.1 below) was problematic mainly because it did not take the target text's intended function in its own culture adequately into account (although it can be argued that "equivalence" was not really as inimical to their interests as the functionalists thought—Pym 2010:49). Nord's contribution—which has not been uncontroversial (Toury 1995:25)—is her point that ethical considerations are as relevant when translating texts as they are in any other interaction between human beings (Nord 2005:32). Every translator is under an ethical obligation that extends in two directions: toward the intention of the source author, and toward the expectations of the target reader.

"Loyalty" is Nord's term for this bilateral obligation. Loyalty demands that the translator neither conceal his/her own identity or agenda (Nord 2003:111), nor falsify the source author's intentions, nor deliver something other than what the reader has been promised. The objection has been raised that "loyalty" is simply the old and inadequate notion of "faithfulness" *redivivus*. "Loyalty" differs, however, in its recognition of the client, the translator, and the target reader alike as participants in the "systems" in which translations are produced; thus it has as much to do with relationships between persons as relationships between texts (Nord 2003:94).

4.2.3 Margret Ammann's Model for *Übersetzungskritik*

Skopostheorie has been successfully applied to translation analysis in the work of Margret Ammann (1990, 1993). Ammann's model likewise begins with the target text as an artifact of the target culture in its own right (Ammann 1990:215, 1993:439), and Ammann's goals (like Nord's) lie beyond mere descriptivism. From Vermeer, Ammann accepts the goal of an evaluation of the translation in terms of a system of relationships between source culture, source text, translator, target culture, and target text—while recognizing that translation critics themselves occupy a *niche* in a particular culture and should therefore restrain themselves from exaggerated claims of objectivity (Ammann 1990:213). Ammann does not object to rating translations as "close" or "distant"—*i.e.* source- or target-oriented—but she insists that this be done only after the criteria for such a determination have been stipulated clearly (Ammann 1990:214).

Ammann uses Umberto Eco's (1985) concept of the "model reader" (Ammann 1990:220ff), defined as one capable of a particular reading of a text through the filling-in of its gaps and the activating of its allusions (Snell-Hornby 2006:107). In fact, for Ammann (as for Eco) the translator is an actual reader attempting to assume the position of a model reader (Ammann 1990:224), an attempt in which translators succeed to varying degrees.

Ammann also makes use of Fillmore's (1982) "scenes-and-frames" semantics, which has proven highly productive for translation studies (Snell-Hornby 2006:110). In this approach, linguistic structures are "frames" whose capacity for meaning is due to their ability to evoke experiences ("scenes") that are shared by participants in a common culture (Fillmore 2006:373). A source text, then, is a set of frames chosen by an author in an attempt to evoke a set of scenes for the source reader that overlap with the author's own. A translator, as both "model reader" and second author, creates a new set of frames using both his/her knowledge of the source culture and, inevitably, frames chosen from the translator's own culture. The translator is constantly negotiating between source- and target cultures, and success requires proficiency in both (Snell-Hornby 2006:110).

Ammann's model has evident utility for a study like this one, and will therefore be further explained below.

4.2.3.1 Target Culture Function

Like both Vermeer and Nord, Ammann is aware that the functions of the source and target texts within their respective cultures may differ widely, and her starting point is the intended function of the target text within the target culture (Ammann 1990:212). This *Translatfunktion* may be deduced in several ways. Explicit statements of the translation brief (e.g. in a translators' preface) will naturally be helpful. Such para-textual features as study notes, publisher announcements, and even the cover design and binding material (Snell-Hornby 2006:112) may also be telling. Additionally, an analyst may call upon historical and sociological information about the target culture; information about the translators and their clients (including, in the present study, their theological orientation); material used in translator training or instructions to translators (provided that it is understood that "the more frequent and emphatic the statements telling translators what they should be doing, the more likely it is they are not doing it"—Hermans 1999:90); archival material generated by a translation project; reception documents, including reviews and appraisals (Hermans 1999:85), etc.. Especially important are those points in the target text itself at which the translation reveals its "self-understanding" (Ammann 1990:212). These will be noteworthy in any scenario, but especially if they are demonstrably at variance with what the reader has been promised in the translation brief.

4.2.3.2 Intratextual Coherence Within the Target Text

For Ammann, texts may cohere in three ways: in meaning, in form, and between meaning and form (Ammann 1990:212). The first two types are fairly straightforward. As a helpful example of the third, Snell-Hornby adduces an analysis by Tzu-Ann Chen of a German translation of an Amy Tan novel. In the original, a character is recalling past conversations with her mother, and

attributing the difficulty that the two of them had in communicating to her mother's stilted and ungrammatical English. "Coherence between meaning and form" would therefore call for stilted and ungrammatical German in those passages in the translation where the mother speaks. In fact, Chen found these passages cast in a very standard, grammatical German, with the result that in the translation it is not clear why the daughter should not have understood her mother perfectly well (Snell-Hornby 2006:112f). A similar example in biblical studies might be a translation of Isaiah 5:1-7 that began, "I will sing a song. . .," but what follows was cast in pedestrian prose; or an inner-biblical citation that is clearly marked as such in the translation ("As is written in. . ."), but in which the alluded-to text appears in a form that renders it incoherent with the alluding text.

4.2.3.3 Source Culture Function

In Ammann's method, the function of the source text in its native setting is determined in a way similar to the function of the target text. Explicit, para-textual statements of authorial intention are helpful, but so is virtually everything—both inside and outside the text—that impinges on the question of the identity of the implied "model reader" of the text and how s/he is meant to process it (*cf.* Snell-Hornby 2006:113). Naturally, within biblical studies these questions are complex, and a comprehensive treatment of the book of Isaiah from this angle would take the present study far afield. As mentioned above (3.2.4), the present study has confined itself to DtI because of the scholarly consensus that this represents the most unified block of material in the Isaianic corpus, and because this material implies a late sixth-century, Judean "model reader" who is able to resonate with its tone of imminent, joyful expectation.

4.2.3.4 Intratextual Coherence in the Source Text

As it does with the target text, Ammann's model analyzes the source text in terms of coherence in meaning, coherence in form, and coherence between meaning and form (Ammann 1990:212). Although (as mentioned above) the precise nature of the structure of DtI is still a matter of some debate, the text coheres strongly in both meaning and form.

Coherence *between* meaning and form would be another useful way to frame the discussion of the text's allusions. Recall that an allusion may represent an attempt by an author to realize any number of objectives, including the admission of the alluding text into a canon, a dialogue with the alluded-to text, an affirmation of the implied reader's competence, and an affirmation of author's and reader's joint participation in the same reading community. If the presence of an allusion may be termed an aspect of "form," these functions may be regarded as aspects of the "meaning" of these passages, and they are represented among the passages selected in 3.4 above.

4.2.3.5 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

Though the main research question of the present study has been formulated differently, it could easily have been put in terms of Ammann's model as follows: "For each pair of alluding and alluded-to passages in the source text whose relationship could be productively activated by its reader, is a similar relationship observable in target text 'x' such that it could have been accepted by the target reader as 'cohering' with the original on this criterion?" It is especially in this final phase that Ammann's model moves beyond descriptivism, particularly when the results of this query are compared with what the target reader has been promised in terms of the source text-target text relationship. In a similar way, the present study will not withhold all judgment on the bearings of its findings on, *e.g.*, the success of the translators as "model readers," their adherence to a translation brief (if one exists), or their "loyalty" to both source text and target reader in Nord's sense.

4.2.3.6 Adaptations in the Present Study

The primary modification in Ammann's method necessary for present purposes has simply been the order of presentation. With respect to DtI, Ammann's research questions regarding source culture and source text have essentially been addressed in Chapter 3 above.

In the following chapters, translations will be considered in the following order: 1) the *Versão Almeida* and related versions (Chapter 5); 2) post-Almeida Roman Catholic versions (Chapter 6); 3) "functional equivalence" versions (Chapter 7), and 4) an inter-confessional version (Chapter 8). The first task will be to attempt to ascertain the intended function of each of the Portuguese translations under consideration within its target culture. To this end, information on the historical contexts of various Bibles in Portuguese will be provided first, including information on their translator(s), clients, and target-culture situations. Where applicable, developments in translation theory contemporaneous with the translations in each group will also be discussed. An analysis of each translation's intra-textual coherence and its coherence with the source text will then follow.

4.2.4 Language Variation—Portugal and Brazil

An additional preliminary consideration that should be addressed, one relevant to all versions under study, is the precise nature of the target language. If comparisons are to be meaningful, language variation over time must be taken into account and the assumption of a single "target language" must be modified (Toury 1995:73). The present study must contend with an additional factor, which is the significant language variation across the Lusophone world. If the initial question involves the locus of a Portuguese translation in its target culture, an important sub-question is, "Whose Portuguese?"

In addition to Portugal and Brazil, Portuguese is spoken in Angola, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, India, Macau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe. For present purposes, a distinction between European and Brazilian forms of the language will suffice, since the dialects of the language fall into these two broad categories (Transportuguês 2010). In formerly Lusophone parts of Asia the language is barely surviving, and the form of the language spoken in Africa resembles European Portuguese in most respects (Medeiros 2006). European Portuguese is the medium of instruction in schools in Lusophone Africa (Azevedo 2005:199), and the *Tradução Interconfessional*, produced in Portugal, has met with “enormous” (*enorme*) acceptance in Mozambique (SBB 2009). A functional study of Portuguese versions, oriented toward speakers of a specifically African or Asian form of the language, might merit a separate investigation.

It is well known, however, that Brazilian Portuguese differs markedly from the language of Portugal. While the most readily apparent differences concern pronunciation—for instance, the tendency toward stable vowels in Brazil as opposed to stable consonants in Portugal—lexical differences are also obvious and of long standing (Scholz 2010:123). Some morpho-syntactic differences, roughly in decreasing order of the frequency with which they occur in written language, include Brazilian *estar* + gerund for Portuguese *estar a* + infinitive; the Brazilian substitution of *ter* for *haver*; the Brazilian preference for third-person forms, with a corresponding reduction in the second person; and the Brazilian use of technically “incorrect” forms and placement of object pronouns (as in *Eu vi ela ontem*, which a Portugal-biased Anglophone might represent as, “I her saw yesterday”—Scholz 2010:123ff).

Another consideration is language variation within Brazil. Not only are regional differences within Brazilian Portuguese acute; so are the differences between every spoken form of the language and the “ideal” form that is taught in schools—by teachers who themselves use a non-standard form as the medium of instruction and yet bemoan the fact that none of their students can speak “real” Portuguese (Scholz 2010:133). This makes questions of language register in Portuguese versions both interesting in their own right and potentially revealing of a version’s intended target-culture function.

It should be pointed out that inter-continental language variation will *not* account for one notable feature of the history of the Bible in Brazil—namely, an odd tendency to publish translations that originate almost anywhere except Portugal (Alves 2010:235, Cavaco 2011). Nor is linguistic difference between Brazil and Portugal reason not to include translations from both in the same study, provided that the starting point is each translation’s intended *niche* in its target culture. Linguistic differences will have important implications, however, for certain questions of *skopos*.

For example, with regard to the *Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada*, which was intended as a *Almeida* revision for use in Brazil, one would have reason to question how “Brazilian” it truly is (Scholz 2010:135) if it demonstrated a preference for Portuguese rather than Brazilian lexemes, forms, or constructions.

These considerations will be born in mind as a modified form of Margret Ammann’s method is applied to a selection of important Portuguese versions in the chapters that follow. The next chapter will begin with unarguably the most important version of all: the *Bíblia Sagrada* of João Ferreira de Almeida and its daughter versions.

5. The *Versão Almeida* and Its Offspring

5.1 Introduction

The *Bíblia Sagrada* of João Ferreira de Almeida is not only the most important Portuguese Bible; it is the most widely disseminated text of any kind in the Portuguese language. It therefore merits prime consideration in this study. Analysis will begin with the *Versão Almeida*'s target culture; this will require, first, an overview of previous efforts at Bible translating into Portuguese, with some attention to biblical interpretation on the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages and Renaissance and to the impact of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. The *Versão Almeida* appeared against a backdrop of Portuguese colonialism and Calvinist mission expansion. These too will be explained briefly, as will the career of translator João Ferreira de Almeida.

In view of present purposes, however, it must be asked in particular whether there is reason to believe that coherence between alluding and alluded-to texts were among the translators' or the target culture's expectations of a Bible translation. There are no explicit statements in the paratexts of the *Versão Almeida* or its daughter versions that suggest that perspicuity of allusions within the Old Testament was a value for the translators.¹² Therefore, a hypothesis regarding these versions' "allusion friendliness" must be formulated from what can be inferred about their *skopoi*, and then tested with regard to a selection of allusive passages in the target text.

For the *Versão Almeida* and its daughters, such a hypothesis could be formulated in the following way. As noted above (4.2.3), Ammann cautions against labeling a translation "source-oriented" or "target-oriented" before one's criteria have been stipulated, since a translation can be "oriented" toward its source text in different ways (Ammann 1990:214). It can be shown, however, that the *Versão Almeida* tradition is strongly source-oriented on the level of lexical choice. Such an approach would seem to entail a tendency toward lexical concordance—*i.e.*, consistent renderings of the same Hebrew lexeme in different contexts where this is possible. To the extent that the perspicuity of an allusion depends on vocabulary shared between the alluding and alluded-to texts, lexically concordant translating should result (even if only fortuitously) in allusions being made accessible to the target reader. One could therefore expect that the set of allusions under study here would, in the *Versão Almeida*, fare relatively well.

The allusive passages in DtI identified in Chapter Three above will accordingly be examined in *Versão Almeida*. Along the way, brief attention will be given to an interesting side-question, *viz.*,

¹² The situation is different with regard to intertextual connections between the Old and New Testaments.

the relationship between the *Versão Almeida* and other versions on which it is sometimes alleged to be dependent. A similar procedure will then be followed with regard to three other versions in the Almeida tradition: the *Tradução Brasileira* of 1917, the *Almeida Revista e Atualizada* (ARA), and the *Almeida Revista e Corrigida* (ARC). Conclusions will be offered on whether the source-orientedness of these versions has, in fact, resulted in perspicuous sets of allusions in these four target texts.

5.2 Portuguese Bible Translating in the Middle Ages and Renaissance

5.2.1 *Ad fontes!* – Source Texts and Bible Interpretation on the Iberian Peninsula

When the story of Portuguese Bible translating begins in the Middle Ages, biblical interpretation is generally characterized by the proliferation of allegorizing and moralizing annotations on the *Vulgate*, with little or no critical attention to the text being commented upon (Tejero & Marcos 2008:235). Renaissance Humanism's new historical perspective called for a return to primary sources, but this did not immediately lead to the study of the Hebrew Bible by Christians; the first priority was reforming the “barbarous” Latin of the Middle Ages—a major reason why the “Dark Ages” were so called—and returning to Ciceronian Latin as the ideal (Sæbø 2008:28). Despite the fact that nearly all Iberian Christian scholars would have had ready access to Jewish communities, it has been suggested that from 500-1500 CE no more than a few dozen Christians in Europe knew any Hebrew at all, and even fewer could use it profitably (Vanderjagt 2008:156). Notable exceptions in Spain were Mosés Arragel de Guadalajara, whose *Bíblia de Alba* (1422-1433?) was a translation from Hebrew into Castillian, and the commentators Pablo de Burgos (1355-1435), Alfonso Fernández de Madrigal (1410-1455), and Jaime Pérez de Valencia (1408-1490). All of these made extensive use of Jewish scholarship (Tejero & Marcos 2008:232).

A corner was turned in the sixteenth century with the founding of the universities of St. Idelfonso in 1512 and the establishing of chairs of biblical studies at the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca in 1532. In Spain there was a further turn away from the allegorical method and toward exegesis of the literal sense of the text, an increased use of such medieval Jewish commentators as Rashi, Qimchi, and Ibn Ezra, and a growing willingness to critique both the *Vulgate* and the *Septuagint* (LXX) on the basis of such Hebrew texts as Felix Pratensis' and Jacob ben Hayyim's. This led to such well-known projects as the *Complutensian Polyglot*¹³ and to such lesser-known ones as the translation of Sanctes Pagninus (Santi Pagnini, 1487-1536), which was an extremely literal

¹³ The *Complutensian Polyglot* was published at Alcalá in 1520. It included critical editions of the Hebrew, *Vulgate*, and *Septuagint* texts, *Targum Onkelos* in the Torah, and a number of lexical and didactic tools (Schenker 2008:286ff).

rendering of the Hebrew into Latin that made extensive use of Jewish commentaries. Pagninus' version is notable both for being the first translation to divide the text into verses, and for being the only Latin version respected by Jews at the time (Vanderjagt 2008:286).

Polemics continued between advocates of the Hebrew source texts, such as the Salamanca Hebraists, and church authorities who considered the study of Hebrew unnecessary and even dangerous (Tejero & Marcos 2008:236). In this period it is argued—at times, forcefully—that Bible commentators and translators, and certainly theologians, need to know nothing more than the *Vulgate* and the fathers of the church (Vanderjagt 2008:182). The argument will resurface in the work of António Perreira de Figueirido (1725-1797), whose translation will be examined in Chapter 6 below.

5.2.2 Target Texts—The Problem of Vernaculars

One occasionally meets with the observation that Bible translating into Portuguese began late in comparison with translating into other European vernaculars (Nascimento 2010:33). While this is true, any conclusions to be drawn must take the history of the language itself into account (Nascimento 2010:12). The Brazilian poet Olavo Bilac (1865-1918) famously referred to the Portuguese language as “Latium’s last flower” (Bilac 1964:262); in fact, the first written document in a uniquely Portuguese language does not appear until about 1215 (Azevedo 2005:12). For many centuries there is no direct evidence for the relationship of the written form of the language to Latin. When we realize that written and spoken forms of Latin had already diverged dramatically by the late Roman Empire (Azevedo 2005:8), it may well be that the evolution of Portuguese from “barbarous” Latin represented a much smaller change than is generally supposed (Schleiermacher 2000:57; Scholz 2010b:121n). This makes it difficult to date the emergence of a target culture for which a written Portuguese translation would have provided access to the Bible that the *Vulgate* did not; as Nascimento puts it, “. . . the articulation of the sacred text is left to the *lingua sacra*; the closer to this the common language is thought to be, the less that translating is assumed to be necessary” (Nascimento 2010:34, my translation).

Nascimento here points to an additional obstacle which translations into vernacular languages faced once these had begun to assert themselves. It was not universally assumed, to say the least, that biblical texts ought to be put at the disposal of laypeople (Vanderjagt 2008:158) or that vernaculars were suitable vehicles for sacred truth (De Vries 2007:273). The dominant paradigm suggested a hierarchy of languages, with the “divine” languages Hebrew and Greek at the top, “authorized” Latin half a step below, and vernaculars lower still (Pym 2007:207). Scruples about the worthiness of the vernaculars often surface in discussions of approaches to Bible translating

into the 16th Century (De Vries 2007:268), and often vernacular translating has to be hidden within commentaries and scholarly works (Tejero & Marcos 2008:239). In other words, in the medieval period and well beyond, translating the Bible into Portuguese could have been seen as a morally dubious as well as unnecessary enterprise.

5.2.2 Pre-Reformation Bible Translating in Portugal

The most formidable obstacle, however, to the emergence of Portuguese Bibles was the periodic bans on vernacular translating by the Roman Catholic Church. It should be noted that inferences drawn from these prohibitions sometimes stem from historical anachronisms. First, prior to the Counter-Reformation, the bans were generally local rather than universal. Both the 1229 prohibition at Toulouse and that of 1234 at Tarragona, for instance, were binding only in the areas subject to the jurisdiction of these two synods (Maas 1912). Second, such prohibitions generally came in response to specific crises facing the Church. For example, Innocent III's 1199 ban was aimed at such groups as the Albigensians or the Waldensians who claimed the right to preach on vernacular texts without benefit of ordination (Van Engen 1996:1030). Most important: it should not be assumed that these prohibitions meant to keep vernacular Bibles out of the hands of a literate populace that could have afforded them and used them. Vernacular Bibles were in fact allowed for private, devotional use (Van Engen 1996:1030) by those relatively few people who could read. But for the most part, such biblical "literacy" as existed in medieval Europe was inculcated through preaching, singing, drama, and the visual arts (Nascimento 2010:19, Stine 2004:25).

Nevertheless, efforts to render at least portions of the Bible into written Portuguese began as early as the 13th century (Bittencourt 1984:205). Initially, the dominance of the *Vulgate* limited vernacular translating to commentaries and reader aids (De Vries 2007:273). When larger portions of the Bible began to appear in the national language, this resulted from two factors: the literary interests of certain Portuguese kings, notably D. Dinis (1261-1325) and D. João I (1385-1433—Bittencourt 1984:205), and inter-faith dialogue with Jews in which Christians could not use the *Vulgate* (Nascimento 2010:15).

Relatively little is known about these early Portuguese translations (Scharbert 1983:165f), and to date there have been no analyses of their translation techniques or interrelationships (Nascimento 2010:32). The first known translation of the Bible (broadly construed) into Portuguese was a rendition of the *General História* of Alfonso X (1221-1284), which happened to include the first 20 chapters of Genesis, during the reign of D. Dinis; frequently (and erroneously—*e.g.* by Bittencourt 1984:205), D. Dinis himself is credited with the translation (Cavaco 2014). Other early efforts included a translation of the Acts of the Apostles and an Old Testament summary, produced

at the Cistercian monastery at Alcobaça in 1320; an early 15th century version of the Gospels and Pauline epistles, of uncertain provenance; and D. Filipa's (1435-1497) translation of the same books from the French (Bittencourt 1984:205f).

By the late 15th and early centuries, when the kingdom had a growing body of literature in a well-defined vernacular, more biblical texts began to appear, including Valentim Fernandes's 1495 Gospel harmony, a 1497 translation by Rodrigo Álvares of the Gospels and Epistles that used Gonçalo Garcia de Santa Maria's 1495 Spanish version (Cavaco 2014), and a 1505 printing of a translation of Acts and James-Jude done earlier by Bernardo de Brivega (or "Brihuega"—Bittencourt 1984:206, Ellingworth 2007:121). Naturally the number of "translations" increases if we include the extensive biblical citations in the vernacular found in such devotional works as the *Leal Conselheiro* in 1437-8 or *Vita Christi* in 1495 (Cavaco 2014).

Suddenly, in the 16th century, Roman Catholic Bible translating into Portuguese all but stops, and it does not resume until after the decree of Benedict XIV in 1757. With the exception of Damião de Góis's version of Qoheleth (on which see 5.3.2 below), the abrupt halt actually antedates the inauguration of the Inquisition in Portugal in 1536 under D. João III. Bittencourt attributes the caesura to the kingdom's position at the vanguard of the Age of Discovery; Portuguese society, including the Church, had become dominated by acquisitive rather than scholarly or spiritual interests (Bittencourt 1984:207; *cp.* Alves 2006:230). In reality, however, the Catholic Counter-Reformation (on which see 5.3.2 below) was the prime factor.

5.3 The Reformation and Its Aftermath

5.3.1 Reformation Bibles

As is often noted, Renaissance Humanism in Western Europe prepared the ground for the Reformation by reviving the study of the classical languages and by producing such tools as Erasmus's 1516 Greek New Testament. Ellingworth names five "pressures" on Bible translating during the 16th century: Renaissance humanism, the maturity of the vernaculars, political struggles between France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire (with prominent roles also played by the papacy and the English crown); the Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and the invention of the printing press (Ellingworth 2007:106).

The result of this "pressure system" is a complex story, but the upshot was a sudden profusion of vernacular Bibles in 16th-century Western Europe. Martin Luther's translation (New Testament in 1524; the complete Bible in 1534, with continual revisions until Luther's death in 1546), was not the first German Bible. It was, however, the first to be made from the original languages rather

than from Latin, and its German was much more idiomatic than previous efforts. Not only did it come to dominate German translating down to the present; it directly influenced vernacular translations in Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, and the Netherlands; indirectly, its impact reached into the English *King James Version* via William Tyndale (Lewis 1992:819).

Other significant, early vernacular translations on the Continent included Lefèvre's 1523 French Bible, printed at Antwerp; the 1553 French version of Olivétan (revised by John Calvin); Châteillon's 1551 version, also in French; Brucioli's Italian version of 1532, the Dutch version of van Liesveldt (1536), and the Spanish version of Cassiodoro de Reyna of 1559. The last, following a 1602 revision by Cipriano Valera (printed first in London, then Amsterdam), has remained the standard Protestant Bible in Spanish for centuries (Ellingworth 2007:121), with revisions as late as 1995 (by the United Bible Societies) and 2009 (by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints).¹⁴ The *Reina-Valera* Spanish version, as it is known, will also figure in the story of the Portuguese *Versão Almeida*.

5.3.2 The Bible in Counter-Reformation Roman Catholicism

For the most part, however, vernacular translating fared poorly in Roman Catholic countries in the Reformation and post-Reformation eras. In the Netherlands, the Counter-Reformation did lead to numerous reprints of the Louvain Bible, translated from the *Vulgate*, as a rival to Protestant versions (Ellingworth 2007:119). But the situation in countries that spoke Romance languages was far different. The desire to read the Bible in one's native language was viewed as a sign of closet Protestantism (Reventlow 1996:1037, Alves 2006:232). French versions had to be published outside France after the 1551 Edict of Châteaubriant, which banned the translating and distribution of vernacular Bibles and Bible-related literature (Ellingworth 2007:113). In Spain, the Inquisition placed on its 1551 list of prohibited books a number of Bibles suspected of being circulated in the country, along with any biblical texts "in Castilian *romance* or in any other common language." This Index was revised in 1559; citizens were now expected to turn over to the authorities, not only all vernacular Bibles or portions thereof, but also "any and all sermons, letters, tractates, prayers, and any other texts written by hand, which speak of or treat Holy Scripture, the sacraments of Holy Mother Church, or the Christian religion" (Barrera & Sanchez 1990:564f, my translation).

¹⁴ The *King James Version* is the official Bible in English of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS). In 2009, the LDS Church published a revision of the 1909 *Reina-Valera* for its Spanish-speaking members (Whittle 2009).

As the scene in Portugal fades to complete darkness, a single point of light appears in 1538. Damião de Góis (1502-1574) was Portugal's foremost "Renaissance man" and international apologist during the Age of Discovery. He studied at Louvain, and while on various diplomatic and scholarly missions came into contact with Luther, Bugenhagen, Melancthon, Bucer, Paul Speratus, William Farel, Albrecht Dürer, and Erasmus, with whom he maintained a close friendship. In 1538 he published a Portuguese translation of Qoheleth based on the *Vulgate* (Góis does not seem to have had a reading knowledge of Hebrew—de Matos 2003:817) and annotated with references to both Christian and Jewish commentators. Although Góis's regard for Jerome resulted in a generally source-oriented approach to translating, at times his version is said to demonstrate an admirable respect for the genius of the vernacular (Nascimento 2003:260ff).

In 1570 Góis was condemned by the Inquisition on suspicion of Lutheranism, but his Bible translating was never mentioned at his trial. This has led historians today to suspect that the work was either hidden (Nascimento 2003:235) or, more likely, forgotten even by the translator himself (Nascimento 2010:43)—perhaps relegated to obscurity by Góis's even more controversial endeavors. No notice appears to have been taken of the work until 2001, when it was rediscovered by Oxford University lusophile T. F. Earle.

The Inquisition was introduced in Portugal formally in 1531 and effectively in 1547 (Braga 2003:200). Once it had taken hold, proscribed books included not only the Bible itself "in *linguagem* (vernacular)," but such works as the translation of Alfonso X's 13th-century *General História* mentioned above. Even the inquisitor Manuel de Vasconcelos Pereira himself needed official permission to keep a copy of the *Old Testament According to the Master of Sentences*. In 1539, the year following Góis's translation, a verdict pronounced upon a citizen brought before the Inquisition makes reference to "the books and the Scripture that the accused may have made in his home" (in this case, the books were later discovered to be "catholic"). In 1552, a certain Gil Vaz Bugalho, accused of translating some biblical texts into the vernacular, was executed by burning (Nascimento 2010:44).

Therefore it represented no real change in Church policy when, in 1564, Council of Trent forbade the reading, sale, or possession of a Bible in the vernacular without the permission of a bishop or inquisitor (Alves 2006:234). Inquisition records show that this policy was enforced. In 1564, an António Pereira Marramaque, who opined in public that Trent was wrong to decree "that Sacred Scripture shouldn't be translated into our vernacular" (my translation), was accused of rebellion. A Mem Bugalho was denounced for owning a vernacular Bible. The landlady of an António Luís reported to the Inquisition that for about two years she had suspected him of translating some

unspecified Greek and Latin texts into Portuguese (Nascimento 2010:44f). In 1567, a certain Inês Viegas of Tavira was imprisoned for having affirmed, among other heretical opinions, her view that the Church ought to use the Bible in the vernacular; she later recanted (Braga 2003:203).

Portuguese literary culture is still replete with biblical citations in the vernacular during this period (Nascimento 2010:45), suggesting that literate Portuguese speakers remained familiar with the sacred text. Nevertheless, in a climate like this, it becomes understandable why the first complete Portuguese Bible was translated outside Portugal by a Protestant; and it was not published in that country until more than a century after its publication in the East Indies (Alves 2006:252).

5.3.3 Protestantism Reaches the Lusophone East

The Age of Discovery began around 1415, and only a century later, Portuguese naval and commercial power stretched from the interior of Brazil in the west to Japan in the east, with Hormuz, Goa, and Malacca as the three eastern “pillars” of Portuguese strength (Alves 2006:178). Franciscan, Augustinian, and Dominican missionaries accompanied Portuguese military and commercial voyages, but the Jesuits quickly came to dominate mission work in Asia. Jesuit mission policy (which today would probably be called “inculturation”) involved learning the local language and adapting to local customs as much as possible. For Protestants, this would have created a demand for vernacular Bibles. Roman Catholic translating, however, was still limited to biblical citations in liturgical, devotional, or catechetical materials (see *e.g.* Ellingworth 2007:134n), with the exception of some work by Jesuits in China and Japan that has not survived (Soesilo 2007:163).

Dutch incursion into territories controlled by Portugal began in 1580, the same year that the Iberian Union (between Portugal and Spain) began. These adventures proved even more lucrative than they were dangerous, and the race for commercial control of the East was on. The Dutch East India Company (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or VOC) was formed *via* a merger of various mercantile companies in 1602 and was granted a monopoly by the States General on Asian trade, with the VOC’s immense powers including the right to wage war and establish colonies.

Just as Dutch power was growing, the Portuguese empire in the East was falling apart, due largely to various consequences of the Iberian Union (Alves 2006:201ff). In many places the transfer of empire took place quickly. The Portuguese managed to retain a presence in Goa, East Timor, and Macau, but they were dislodged from such outposts as Kollam and Costa da Pescaria in India in 1658 and from Ceylon in 1656 and Malaya in 1641. Most of the significant sites of translator João Ferreira de Almeida’s career are places from which the Portuguese had been recently driven by

the Dutch (Alves 2006:220ff, Scholz 2008:8), with the notable exception of present-day Jakarta (named “Batavia,” after a Latin word for the Low Countries), which had not been an important Portuguese outpost but became the center of Dutch power in the East.

It is highly significant that the *Versão Almeida* arose in a context in which one empire—Lusophone, Roman Catholic, and with no tradition of vernacular Bibles—had very recently given way to another that was Dutch-speaking and Calvinist, and that saw vernacular Bibles as indispensable (Alves 2006:212). As both a native Portuguese speaker and a Calvinist committed to bringing the Reformation to the East Indies, Almeida represents something of a bridge figure. To his remarkable career we now turn.

5.4 The *Versão Almeida*

5.4.1 João Ferreira de Almeida (1628-1691), Bible Translator

João Ferreira de Almeida was born to Roman Catholic parents in the small and poor village of Torre de Tavares (not in Lisbon, as some sources claim—Alves 2006:80f). Following the death of his parents, he lived in Lisbon with an uncle, a Roman Catholic priest, where he received his initial education. In 1641—the same year in which Malacca was taken from the Portuguese by the Dutch—Almeida left for Holland, and from there for the East Indies. The reasons are in dispute (Bittencourt 1984:207); according to Alves, his travels were consistent with the spirit of the times and Almeida’s evident love of adventure (Alves 2006:89). Also in dispute is the year of Almeida’s conversion to Calvinism (Scholz 2008:7; Almeida himself gives the year as 1642—Bittencourt 1984:208; Alves is skeptical—Alves 2006:90), as well as its cause. It is variously attributed to a Calvinist or at least Protestant influence from his youth in Portugal, an alleged marriage to the daughter of a Calvinist pastor, or to the influence of the anti-Catholic tract *Diferença d’a Cristandade* (originally in Spanish; Almeida himself translated it into Portuguese in 1644). What is indisputable is that Almeida’s conversion was total, and he remained a staunch Calvinist for the rest of his life (Alves 2006:89).

After arriving in Batavia, Almeida moved on immediately to Malacca. Almeida’s postings in the East included Malacca, two stays in Batavia, and periods in both Ceylon and southern India. In 1648 he was made a *kranckenbesaeker* (visitor of the sick), the lowest position on the Dutch Reformed hierarchy, where his duties included work as a catechist and as a chaplain to military personnel (Alves 2006:92). Elevation to deacon followed in 1649. After his theological studies (1651-1655) a petition for Almeida’s ordination was filed, but for various reasons it was not

granted until October of 1656. At that time he became—as far as is known—the first ordained Reformed minister to preach in Portuguese (Bittencourt 1984:208).

Throughout his life, Almeida had a turbulent relationship with civil and ecclesiastical authorities in both Holland and the colonies. Reasons include Dutch antipathy toward the Portuguese in general (Alves 2006:99) and their language in particular (Alves 2006:107n); Almeida’s advocacy on behalf of the Portuguese-speaking community to whom he ministered (Swellengrebel 1973:160); his tendency toward harsh polemics against “papistic superstitions” (Alves 2006:106); his imperfect command of Dutch (Alves 2006:113); and his generally stubborn and obsessive temperament (Hallock & Swellengrebel 2000:115f, Alves 2006:318). As will be noted below, a frequent cause of tension between Almeida and the authorities were the constant revisions by the latter to his translation. These began already during his lifetime (Swellengrebel 1973:165) and have not ceased to date.

5.4.2 *Versão Almeida* Isaiah (1751)

For that reason, “Which *Versão Almeida*?” is the first question that a target-oriented analysis must answer. If we take as a starting point Almeida’s 1644 renderings of the New Testament from Latin (with help from the Spanish version of Valera, as well as versions in French and Italian), the *Versão Almeida* was over one hundred years in the making, and it presents a highly complex redaction history (Ramos 1991:169). The New Testament from the original Greek was finished in 1676 (Hallock & Swellengrebel 2000:184), but at the time of Almeida’s death his Old Testament had progressed only as far as Ezekiel 40:21 (Alves 2006:128n) or 48:21 (Swellengrebel 1973:162, Alves 2006:126). The Old Testament (naturally, minus the deuterocanonicals¹⁵) was not finished until 1694 (three years after Almeida’s death) by Jakobus op den Akker and possibly C. Th. Walther (Alves 2006:128). But it was not published in Batavia until over 50 years later, in 1748 and 1753 (in two volumes); in fact, Alves wonders whether Batavia would have published the Old Testament at all without the good-natured competition provided by the Lutheran mission in Tranquebar, India (Alves 2006:308).¹⁶

¹⁵ See 8.1.3 below. The books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Baruch*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus* (or *Sirach*, or *Ben Sira*), *Baruch*, and *1 & 2 Maccabees* are called “deuterocanonical” by Roman Catholics and “apocrypha” by Protestants.

¹⁶The Tranquebar mission was founded in 1706 by the German missionaries Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, who were called and sent by the Danish court. Ziegenbalg learned both Portuguese and Tamil (Singh 1999:65f). His Tamil NT was translated from the Greek, but he made regular use of Almeida’s NT. Finished in 1711, Ziegenbalg’s NT is the first known Bible translation into an Indian language (Singh 1999:75). Tranquebar received a printing press in 1712 (Singh 1999:31) and the mission began a robust publishing program in that year.

In Tranquebar, the *Versão Almeida* had long been in use and there was a desire for the complete version in print. While the translation of Isaiah in the Batavia edition was primarily the work of Akker, soon afterward Tranquebar published a version of the “Four Major Prophets” in 1751 “translated by the Reverend Father Joam Ferreira A. d’Almeida . . . all having been revised and compared with the original texts by the missionary fathers of Trangambar” (my translation). The revisers of Almeida’s translation of these prophetic books were the Tranquebar Lutherans Nicolau Dal, Theodózio C. Walther, Martin Bosse, and Chr. Fr. Pressier (Alves 2006:342f).

A copy of this 1751 translation, bound together with the rest of the Bible and published in 1757, was donated to the Biblioteca do Exército in Lisbon by Pr. Ernesto Augusto Pereira de Sales, captain of the Company of Military Chaplains and assistant at the Library from 1911-1938. It exists in remarkably good condition and served as the basis for the analysis below.

5.4.2.1 Target Culture (TC) Function

The initial interest of this analysis is the target culture for which Almeida translated, and to a degree this may be deduced from the culture within which he ministered (Bittencourt 1984:208f). As noted above, most of Almeida’s postings were places that had come under Dutch control relatively recently. While the size of the Portuguese-speaking Protestant communities in these places varied from several thousand in Batavia to a mere two hundred in Tranquebar, Portuguese was the *lingua franca* of Europeans in 17th-century Asia, especially for traders and military personnel (Scholz 2008:8). Part of the *Versão Almeida*’s target community was also those persons of mixed blood who occupied the bottom of the socioeconomic scale (*e.g.*, slaves at Dutch forts)—the so-called *portugueses negros* (Alves 2006:146).

In addition to pastoral work in these communities, Almeida was tasked with training “natives” for work as catechists, deacons, and elders (He also taught Portuguese to Dutch church pastors who wanted to learn). The first language of much of this population was probably a local one, *e.g.* Malay in Malacca, and their level of literacy is doubtful. Work with them in Dutch was out of the question. Almeida gave his life to working with them in Portuguese, but he was known to complain about the “corrupt” quality of the language as it was spoken in the East Indies (Swellengrebel 1973:163, Alves 2006:315), suggesting that for Almeida successful communication with this population was far from guaranteed. In fact, Swellengrebel doubts how well Almeida’s more “elevated” form of spoken Portuguese, and indeed the Portuguese of his Bible, was actually understood by his target community (Swellengrebel 1973:163). Others see Almeida’s work as a representative of this community’s non-standard Portuguese, a form of the language that no longer exists (Ramos 1991:169).

Significant features of the *Versão Almeida*'s intended target-culture function may also be inferred from Almeida's ecclesiastical context. Above all, Almeida was a 17th-century Calvinist committed to *sola scriptura* and with a taste for anti-Roman Catholic polemics, which required a Bible that was readily citable. In addition, the *Versão Almeida*'s target culture demanded conformity to a previous version. In 1676, church authorities in Holland insisted that the *Versão Almeida* follow the model of the Dutch *Statenvertaling* before they would agree to publish it. This meant that every chapter needed a descriptive title and a summary of its contents at its head. "Added" words (words not corresponding to single morphemes or lexemes in the source text) would be placed within parentheses—again, just like the *Statenvertaling*.

Editors authorized by the Dutch *Classis* in Amsterdam carried out these revisions to the New Testament, which was published there in 1681. Indications are that a printing press did exist in Batavia, suggesting that the Bible may have been printed in Amsterdam under supervision of the *Classis* in order to dilute Almeida's influence (Scholz 2008:10). After the work was published, Almeida accused the editors of having introduced "crude and conflicting translations that obscure the Spirit-intended sense, and even clash with Him" (my translation). The editors were also accused of having introduced constructions that were foreign to the Portuguese of the East (Bittencourt 1984:211). Almeida's complaints were justified. Both the editors' non-native command of Portuguese (Alves 2006:317) and their attempts to adapt Almeida's translation to the model of the *Statenvertaling* (Alves 2006:268) resulted in the introduction of more than 1000 obvious errors. As a consequence, the *Versão Almeida* began life as a Bible in need of a thorough revision (Scholz 2008:10).

A revision of the NT appeared in 1693. This work is the first to exhibit an odd feature for which early *Almeida* Bibles are noted: the tendency to place the verb at the end of the sentence, which is unnatural in Portuguese and obviously not a feature of the source texts. The feature is sometimes attributed to Almeida himself (Bittencourt 1984:214), though it is doubtful how much influence Almeida (who died in 1691 and whose health had begun to fail long before) actually had on the 1693 NT revision. The feature may also be a consequence of the editors' attempts to conform the translation to the *Statenvertaling*. Bittencourt calls it "a ridiculous Latinism" (Bittencourt 1984:213), suggesting that it may have been an attempt to gain acceptance for the translation in Portugal, where the target culture was familiar with the *Vulgate* (Bittencourt 1984:213f). In any case, the feature no longer appears after the Batavia edition of 1773 (Alves 2006:295).

5.4.2.2 *Intertextual Coherence in TT*

As noted above, the 1751 translation of the Major Prophet presently under analysis was bound together with the rest of the OT and released (in two volumes) in 1757. The “Prologue” to the volume containing Isaiah, addressed to the “Christian Reader” and dated May 10, 1757, presents a number of significant features. First, it catalogues the Tranquebar mission’s previous efforts at Old Testament translating, beginning with the Five Books of Moses completed by the missionaries in 1719. It claims that the Tranquebar missionaries had not been aware of Almeida’s earlier work which, once they had discovered it, they resolved to carry forward from the “last chapters of Ezekiel” to completion. This was done in stages, and by the time the translation of the Old Testament was complete, the mission had run out of copies of the 1719 Five Books of Moses and it was time for another printing of the Old Testament.

With this new printing, the Tranquebar missionaries intended to homogenize their Old Testament in the direction of Almeida, which they considered superior to their own work, owing to the large number of Portuguese errors that the Tranquebar missionaries (as non-native speakers) had introduced. The 1757 “Prologue” also announces the editors’ intentions:

- 1) to continue the previous practice of indicating *atnah* with a colon or, where this is inappropriate, with a capital letter in the next word;
- 2) to retain the summaries of each biblical book and chapter which Almeida had “faithfully” translated from the *Statenvertaling* and included in his Bible;
- 3) to mark with a **T** those textual notes that were retained from Almeida’s version.

A “Brief Notice” follows the “Prologue” and also reveals the translation’s self-understanding. Readers are first warned to examine their motives for taking up the Bible. The only right motive is to seek faith in Christ and eternal salvation—not to put God under obligation, to entertain oneself with Bible stories, to puff oneself up with knowledge (“as so many scholars do these days”), or to probe the secrets of the universe. Luther’s famous description of spiritual growth as demanding *oratio*, *meditatio*, and *tentatio* forms the outline for what follows. Prayer (*oratio*) should precede, accompany, and follow one’s Bible reading; an example from Genesis 1 is given in order to show how much material for prayer can be mined out of a single verse. Next, meditation (*meditatio*) is necessary, not because the biblical text is in any way obscure (a nod to Luther’s doctrine of the clarity of Scripture), but to impress the truths that one reads on the heart. Another warning against superficial reading, which is unprofitable even if the entire Bible is read from beginning to end, appears at this point. Finally, God will make sure that each faithful Bible reader receives a cross

of suffering (*tentatio*) to carry. This will identify the Christian with Christ and, paradoxically, serve as proof of God's love.

The translation of the book of Isaiah is preceded by a prologue on the writing prophets in general and Isaiah in particular. Here the role of prophets in Israel is briefly explained. The prophets are extolled for the Spirit-wrought wisdom and courage with which they fought for the "preservation of the true religion and extirpation of the false" (my translation) and with which they reproved the nation's sin, in particular its idolatry, "with no fear of either kings or tyrants" (my translation). The prophets' writings are commended to the reader in view of their ratification by the New Testament and their Christological and ecclesiological significance. Isaiah in particular is noted for the clarity of his messianic prophecies, which amazingly give the impression of having been composed as accounts of past events rather than predictions of the future.

All of this para-textual material suggests a translation of Isaiah intended to be read by Christians; savored verse-by-verse for purposes of personal, spiritual growth; valued for its Christological and ecclesiological import; aligned with the New Testament whenever possible; and stored in the memory for ready use in the cause of the "extirpation of false religion." One might hypothesize that structural and literary features extending over larger discourse units will be of lesser interest, and the most noteworthy inter-textual resonances will be those between the Old Testament and the New.

That is precisely what one finds in the 1751 *Versão D'Almeida* Isaiah. The formatting makes no effort to indicate literary units other than chapters and verses, with the beginning and end of each verse indented. The headings of those chapters relevant to this study are replete with indications of the Christological and ecclesiological significance of their contents:

- 1) Chapter 40: "the coming of the Messiah and the preaching of the Holy Gospel;" "[the preaching] by John the Baptist and by the Apostles."
- 2) Chapter 42: "what [the Messiah's] office would be like;" and "the help God would give him."
- 3) Chapter 43: "that he would also increase his Church among the gentiles."
- 4) Chapter 45: "the call of the nations and their conversion to Christ."
- 5) Chapter 49: "Christ declares his vocation to all the gentiles." He will "deliver [the 'Jews'] from their corporeal, as well as their spiritual enemies."
- 6) Chapter 50: "[The Messiah] will administer his office faithfully," and he "threatens unbelievers with punishments in hell" (Chapter 50).

- 7) Chapter 52: “The people’s liberation from captivity in Babylon, a figure of the spiritual liberation of the Church wrought by Christ our Lord.”

Textual notes provide some cross-references within the Old Testament, but it is especially New Testament references that abound. Most notes on these inter-texts are placed immediately after the verse in question rather than in a margin or center column, suggesting that consideration of these notes is not optional and should be taken up before the reader moves on. Resonances with New Testament themes for purposes of instruction in doctrine, and not allusion in the sense of the present study, are the dominant interest of the para-text.

5.4.2.3 Intertextual Coherence Between Source Text (ST) and Target Text (TT)

One difficulty in comparing the source and target texts in *Versão Almeida* Isaiah is to identify ST precisely. What it was is never directly stated and inferring the answer is problematic. If the first “layer” of the translation was the work of Almeida himself, a related question would naturally be what (if any) competence Almeida had in Hebrew.

Practically nothing is known about Almeida’s theological training (Scholz 2008:8). If we may assume that it was received *in situ* in the East Indies, there is no particular reason to believe that Almeida learned Hebrew. In any event, he had never waited to master a biblical language before launching into translating; he readily used whatever versions he had at hand not only as helps, but as source texts (Alves 2006:259). A preface to a 1748 edition of the Old Testament asserts that Almeida was a Hebraist, and some biographers agree (*e.g.* Bittencourt 1984:210). Confirmation from contemporary sources is lacking, however (Swellengrebel 1973:163), and Almeida’s early revisers appear not to have reposed a great deal of confidence in his Hebrew abilities (Hallock & Swellengrebel 2000:93).

The subsequent *Versão Almeida* “layer” that is the basis for this study—the 1751 edition— is probably the result of work with the Hebrew (Scharbert 1983:167) by translator/revisers Akker, Dal, Walther, Pressier, and Bosse. This study will therefore regard the Masoretic Text (MT) as the *Versão Almeida*’s source text. Accordingly, the translations from the 1751 *Versão Almeida* that appear below have been compared not only with *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (4th edition) but also with the “Bomberg” or “Second Rabbinic” Bible prepared by Jacob ben Hayyim and published at Venice by Daniel Bomberg in 1524-1525, since it is likely that the latter or a close relative represents the Hebrew Bible available to Almeida and the Tranquebar Lutherans. No discrepancies between BHS⁴ and Bomberg have been found in these verses, and no divergences in the translations below are attributable to text-critical questions. Occasionally the *Vulgate*, Luther,

the Spanish *Reina-Valera* (Alves 2006:118), and the Dutch *Staatenvertaling* (Swellengrebel 1973:163) are mentioned as additional influences on the *Versão Almeida*. Some attention to this question will be given below.

As for Almeida's *Übersetzungsweise*, naturally it would be anachronistic to expect 17th- and 18th-century translators to engage in translation-theoretic discussion or to formulate a comprehensive translation brief. Dutch Calvinist translators of the time, however, typically saw their doctrine of the divine inspiration of Scripture as entailing what today would be termed strongly "source-oriented" translating and a rejection of Luther's "target-oriented" approach (De Vries 2007:274). It is then no surprise that the *Versão Almeida* has been characterized as a strongly source-oriented version (Ramos 1991:169 and 2010:106), one that remained such throughout its various revisions (See *e.g.* Stine 2004:37; Ciampa 2010:91). Several features of the *Versão Almeida* are often given as evidence. Portuguese words that (arguably) do not directly represent source-text lexemes are italicized. Hebraisms and hellenisms are said to have been retained to the extent that the Portuguese language could accommodate them (Hallock & Swellengrebel 2000:103); where it cannot, these are preserved in footnotes (Swellengrebel 1973:163, Alves 2006:264).

The importance of this source-orientedness for the present study was noted above (5.1). As mentioned, the *Versão Almeida*'s nature as a source-oriented translation, which is consistent with its intended target-culture function, could be seen as implying an attempt at a high degree of lexical concordance. In this way, a certain amount of preservation of the source text's allusive features would seem likely where these depend on shared vocabulary. As we consider the level of coherence between the target and source texts below, along with the 1751 *Versão Almeida*'s general characteristics and its possible relationships to its alleged influences, this hypothesis will be tested.

5.4.2.3.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41,43

As noted above (2.3.4), for purposes of this study, we are justified in regarding a pair of texts as an allusion above all if making a connection will enrich the reader's "context" in the relevance-theoretic sense. Such recognition can be triggered by an "allusion marker" (Ben-Porat 1976:110), often vocabulary shared between two texts that is uncommon generally or that strikes a reader as somehow incongruous in the alluding text. In the case of Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41,43 (3.4.2.1), activating the allusion requires a reader to recognize that lexemes וְיִן and רִצָּה appear in a relatively uncommon combination. The chart below compares the handling of these lexemes in *Almeida* and its alleged influences.

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
עֹן Lv 26:41	impietatus	die Strafe ihrer Missethat	pecado	straf hunner ongerechtigheid	o castigo de sua iniquidade
עֹן Lv 26:43	peccatis	die Strafe ihrer Missethat	el castigo de sus iniquidades	straf hunner ongerechtigheid	o castigo de sua iniquidade
רצה Lv 26:41	orabunt	gefallen lassen	reconocerán	welgevallen hebben	tomar por bem
רצה Lv 26:43	rogabunt	gefallen lassen	se someterán	welgevallen hebben	tomar por bem
עֹן Is 40:2	iniquitas	Missethat	pecado	ongerechtigheid	iniquidade
רצה Is 40:2	dimissa est	vergeben ist	es perdonado	verzoend is	está expiada

As noted above (5.4.2.3), an interesting side-question is the relationship between Almeida and its alleged influences. On the criterion of shared lexis in this pair of texts, Almeida here is closest to the *Statenvertaling* and furthest from the *Vulgate* or *Reina-Valera*; Portuguese *tomar por bem* is quite similar to Dutch *welgevallen hebben* (cf. Luther's *gefallen lassen*). This might suggest that here the translation of Leviticus comes from Almeida's own hand (or his Amsterdam revisers) rather than those of his Tranquebar Lutheran revisers. Note also that Luther, the *Statenvertaling*, and Almeida maintain the shared vocabulary within the alluded-to text, while the *Vulgate* and *Reina-Valera* do not.

Most important: on the grounds of shared vocabulary, the perspicuity of the allusion fares better in Luther, the *Statenvertaling*, and Almeida than in either the *Vulgate* (no lexemes at all are shared between the two texts) or *Reina-Valera* (one very common lexeme, *pecado*, is shared). In these three versions the perspicuity of the allusion is still unremarkable, however. While Almeida does retain *iniquidade* in both texts, Almeida's use of *iniquidade* and *expiar* in combination in Isaiah 40:2 is more likely to send a "full-knowing reader" to Isaiah 27:9, Leviticus 10:17, 1 Samuel 3:14, or Daniel 9:24 than to Leviticus 26—and in all of these possible alluded-to texts, *expiar* or *expição* translates forms from the root כפר, not רצה. While *expiar* does evoke a sacrificial context, and therefore may evoke Leviticus in general for some readers, the full "bonus meaning"

available to a reader of Isaiah requires him/her activating Lv 26:41-43, and the connection is not especially obvious in any of these versions.

5.4.2.3.2 Isaiah 40:6-8 and Psalm 103:15-17

In the versions under consideration, shared vocabulary appears as follows:

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
Ps 103:15-16					
קָצִיר	fœnum	Gras	hierba	gras	erva
כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	sicut flos agri	wie eine Blume auf dem Felde	como la flor del campo	gelijk een bloem des velds	como a flor do campo
רוּחַ	spiritus	Wind	viento	wind	vento
וְחַסְדֵּי יְהוָה מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם	misericordia autem Domini ab aeterno et usque in aeternum	Die Gnade aber des HERRn wahret von Ewigkeit zu Ewigkeit	Mas la misericordia de Jehová desde el siglo y hasta el siglo	Maar de goedertierenheid des HEEREN is van eeuwigheid en tot eeuwigheid	Porem * a benignidade do SENHOR está de eternidade em eternidade
Is 40:6-8					
קָצִיר	fœnum	Heu	hierba	gras	erva
כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	quasi flos agri	wie eine Blume auf dem Felde	como flor del campo	als een bloem des velds	como as flores do campo
רוּחַ יְהוָה	spiritus Domini	des HERRn Geist	el viento de Jehová	de Geest des HEEREN	o Espirito do SENHOR
וְדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם	verbum autem Dei nostri stabit in aeternum	Aber das Wort unsers Gottes bleibt ewiglich	mas la palabra del Dios nuestro permanece para siempre	het Woord onzes Gods bestaat in der eeuwigheid	a palavra de nosso Deus T subsistirá eternamente <hr/> v. 8 T ou, permanece para sempre.

As noted above (3.4.2), precise and sustained verbal similarity is extremely rare in the Hebrew Bible, and in general when it occurs (*e.g.* Isaiah 2:2-5 and Micah 4:1-5) we are not dealing with “allusion” in the present sense. Nevertheless, the definition of “allusion” used in this study assumes that its activation by a reader normally depends on at least some degree of verbal similarity. Oddly, in all of these translations, very slight touches obscure the verbal similarities between the alluding- and alluded-to texts in ST (Vulgate *sicut* to *quasi*; Luther *Gras* to *Heu*; Reina-Valera *como flor* to *como la flor*; the Statenvertaling’s *gelijk een bloem* to *als een bloem*; Almeida *como a flor* to *como as flores*). This would be difficult to explain if perspicuity of this particular allusion were a conscious value for these translators.

Interlinear notes in Almeida have been omitted from the table above simply to avoid clutter. These include:

- 1) notes on Psalm 103:15 directing the reader to Psalm 90: 5-6, Job 14:1-2, and James 1:10-11;
- 2) notes on Psalm 103:17 directing the reader to Psalm 117:2 and Luke 1:50;
- 3) notes on Isaiah 40:6 directing the reader to Job 14:2; Psalm 90:5-6, 102:13, and 103:15; James 1:10; and 1 Peter 1:25;
- 4) a note on Isaiah 40:8 directing the reader to 1 Peter 1:25.

The fact that five of twelve of these notes are New Testament references is consistent with the *skopos* of *Versão Almeida* (5.4.2.2). It is also interesting that, while a note refers the reader of Isaiah 40 to Psalm 103, the reverse is not true. More significantly, this note raises the question: Why was external marking (2.4) resorted to, when the form of “internal marking” that is original with the source text—shared vocabulary—seems to have been countermanded somewhat arbitrarily? Minimally, it seems that the pragmatic effects that are possible when a reader is allowed to activate an allusion for him/herself were not priority for the translators.

5.4.2.3.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4, 5

Here, verbal similarities between these texts are reflected in the following ways:

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
<u>Ps 147:4,5</u> לְכוֹכְבִּים	stellarum	Sterne	estrellas	sterren	estrellas ¹⁷
לְכֹלֵם שְׁמוֹת יְקָרָא	omnibus eis nomina vocat.	nennet sie alle mit Namen	a todas ellas llama por sus nombres	noemt ze allen bij namen	a todas chama nome por nome
לְתַבְּנִיתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר	sapientiae ejus non est numerus	ist unbegreiflich, wie er regieret	de su entendimiento no hay número	Zijns verstands is geen getal	de seu entendimento não ha numero
<u>Isa 40:26-28</u> צְבָאָם	militiam	Heer	ejército	heir	exército

¹⁷ The *Versão Almeida*'s non-standard and inconsistent Portuguese orthography has been retained throughout.

לְכֹלֵם בְּשֵׁם יְקָרָא	omnes ex nomine vocat	alle mit Namen rufet	á todas llama por sus nombre	ze alle bij name roept	a todas por seus nomes as chama
אִין חִקָּר לְתַבְּוּנָתוֹ	nec est investigatio sapientiæ ejus	sein Vermögen... ist so gross, dass nicht an Einem fehlen kann	su entendimiento no hay quien lo alcance	Er is geen doorgronding van Zijn verstand	Naõ ha esquadrinhaçaõ de seu entendimento.

Interesting features of *Versão Almeida*'s alleged influences include both the *Vulgate*'s change from *prudencia* to *sapientia*, and the fact that Luther's handlings of תְּבִינָה in both the alluding and alluded-to texts are quite free and very different. Once again, however, direct influence from any of these on *Versão Almeida* would be difficult to demonstrate. Influence from Luther seems particularly unlikely here.

Versão Almeida and the *Statenvertaling* are the most concordant of the five in this case, though not with respect to precisely the same lexemes (For instance, the *Statenvertaling*'s rendering of יְקָרָא switches from *noemt* to *roept*; *Versão Almeida* interestingly translates the plural שְׁמוֹת with a distributive *nome por nome* in Psalm 147, and the singular שֵׁם in Isaiah 40 with plural *nomes*). There is certainly enough verbal similarity in the Dutch or Portuguese version for a “full-knowing reader” to activate the allusion on that basis. A note immediately following the verse directs readers who are less than “full-knowing” to the alluded-to text.

5.4.2.3.4 Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4, 8

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
Exodus 32:4 מִסֶּכֶה	vitulum conflatilem	gegossen	de fundición	gegoten	de fundiçaõ
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	dixeruntque	sie sprachen	dijeron	zeiden zij	disséraõ
אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ	hii sunt dii tui	Das sind deine Götter	estos son tus dioses	Dit zijn uw goden	Estes saõ teus deuses
Exodus 32:8 מִסֶּכֶה	vitulum	gegossen	de fundición	gegoten	de fundiçaõ
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	dixerunt	haben gesagt	han dicho	(hebben) gezegd	disséraõ

אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵיךָ	isti sunt dii tui	Das sind deine Götter	estos son tus dioses	Dit zijn uw goden	Estes são teus deuses
1 Kings 12:28 הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ	ecce dii tui	Da sind deine Götter	he aquí tus dioses	zie uw goden	vés aqui teus deuses
Isaiah 42:17 הַאֲמָרִים	dicunt	die...sprechen	dicen	zegge	dizem
מַטְכָּה	conflatili	gegossenen	las estatuas de fundición	gegoten beelden	as imagens de fundição
אַתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ	vos dii nostri	Ihr seid unserer Götter	Vosotros sois nuestros dioses	Gij zijt onze goden	Vós sois nossos deuses.

There is remarkable consistency among *Versão Almeida* and its alleged influences with regard to their handling of the shared vocabulary between Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12. As is widely known, to translate אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵיךָ as a true plural results in an incongruity in the Golden Calf story (There is only one calf). Simply to illustrate: a quick survey of English Bibles shows the otherwise self-consciously source-oriented *Holman Christian Standard Bible* (HCSB), *New American Standard Bible* (NASB), and *New King James Version* (NKJV) all eliminating the difficulty by translating with “This is your God (or ‘god’), Israel!” which conforms the citation to Nehemiah 9:18 (where the pronoun is singular).

In all of the versions under consideration above, however, the incongruity of the plural is allowed to stand in Exodus 32. Consequently, the verbal parallel to 1 Kings 12:28 remains plain. Beyond this, there is direct evidence within both Luther and *Versão Almeida* that the resonance between 1 Kings 12:28 and the Golden Calf story was recognized, in the form of notes on both texts.

There is no such evidence for recognition of the allusion in Isaiah 42:17 in any of the versions under consideration. Not only are there no notes that make it explicit; all these versions forego an opportunity to imply it. All render מַטְכָּה in Isaiah 42:17 with plurals, a tradition stretching back through the *Vulgate* to the *Septuagint* and Syriac (A BHS textual note proposes a plural *Vorlage*, but this is highly unlikely). A simple rendering in Isaiah 42:17 like, “...who say to a cast image, ‘You are our gods!’” (cf. Baltzer 2001:143, Lessing 2011:267f) would serve as an ideal allusion “marker” (Ben-Porat 1976:108), but no such rendering occurs. This pair of texts reflects the clearest case so far of a source-text allusion that a certain reader, due to fortuitous preservation of

some common vocabulary, might be able to activate, but that 16th- and 17th-century translators—who presumably meant to occupy the position of “ideal readers” (Ammann 1990:224)—probably did not.

5.4.2.3.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
<u>Dt 32:39</u>					
אֲנִי הוּא	ego sim solus	ichs allein bin	yo, yo soy	dat Ik, Ik DIE ben	Eu, Eu O sou
וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל	et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere	und ist niemand, der aus meiner Hand errette	Y no hay quien pueda librar de mi mano	en er is niemand, die uit Mijn hand redt	e ninguem ha, que ** faça escapar de minha mão
<u>Isaiah 43:13</u>					
מִיּוֹם	ab initio	ehe den nie kein Tag war	Aun antes que hubiera día	Ook eer de dag was	Ainda antes que ouvesse dia
אֲנִי הוּא	ego ipse	bin ich	yo era	ben Ik	eu sou
וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל	et non est qui de manu mea eruat.	und ist niemand, der aus meiner Hand erretten kann	y no hay quien de mi mano libre	en er is niemand, die uit Mijn hand redden kan	e ninguem ha que possa fazer escapar de minhas mãos

There again appears to be no coherent pattern to the correspondences between these versions such that one could plausibly argue relationships of direct influence or dependence. In the instances of shared vocabulary *Versão Almeida* resembles the *Statenvertaling* in its retaining the pronoun in Dt 32:39; and Luther, in his use of *kann* in Isaiah but not in Deuteronomy (the *Vulgate* and *Reina-Valera* do the reverse). It follows none of the others in its use of a plural *mãos* (“hands”) in Isaiah.

As noted above (3.4.2.5), in the source text the allusion is marked not only by the shared expressions אֲנִי הוּא and וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל, but also *via* מִיּוֹם (“henceforth”), which signals that the promise in the alluded-to text is being reapplied to the present and future (Nurmela 2006:31f). None of the versions above understand מִיּוֹם in this way, but rather as a general statement on Yahweh’s eternity.

It was also suggested above that an ideally “allusion-friendly” translation of the obvious allusion marker וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל would employ a neutral rendering for the verb נָצַל (“snatch”), allowing the reader to understand that a word of judgment in Deuteronomy has been reversed and made a word of comfort in Isaiah. As mentioned above, נָצַל מִיָּד simply means to take something by force from

the hand of someone who does not want to let it go (Paul 2012:213). In cognitive terms, the “landmark” (van Wolde 2009:171f) of נצל is a situation of imminent danger frequently, but not necessarily (See *e.g.* Genesis 31:9). The landmark of Portuguese *escapar* is a dangerous situation almost inevitably, however (de Holanda Ferreira 1986:684). This makes the verbal “pivot” less flexible in the target text than it was in the source text, with a probable negative impact on the target reader’s ability to activate the allusion in a way that would affect his/her reading of both passages.

In *Versão Almeida* there is one note on Isaiah 43:13 and four on Deuteronomy 32:39. None suggests any inter-textual relationship.

5.4.2.3.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
Psalm 107:16 דלתות נחשת	portas aereas	ehernen Thüren	las puertas de bronce	de koperen deuren	as portas de bronce
שבר	contrivit	zerbricht	quebrantó	heeft gebroken	quebrou
ובריחי ברזל	vectes ferreos	eiserne Riegel	los cerrojos de hierro	de ijzeren grendelen	T as trancas de ferro. <hr/> T ou, os ferrolhos
גדע	confregit	zerschlägt	desmenuzó	in stukken gehouden	despedaçou
Isaiah 45:2 דלתות נחשה	portas aereas	ehernen Thüren	puertas de bronce	de koperen deuren	as portas de bronce
אשבר	conteram	ich will zerschlagen	quebrantaré	zal Ik verbreken	quebrarei
ובריחי ברזל	vectes ferreos	die eisernen Riegel	cerrojos de hierro	de ijzeren grendelen	os ferrolhos de ferro
אגדע	confringam	[ich will] zerbrechen	haré pedazos	zal Ik in stukken slaan	despedaçarei

For the first time, among *Versão Almeida*’s alleged influences, arguably the shared vocabulary has been preserved most closely in the *Vulgate* (Jerome’s choice of *contero*, “crush,” for שבר seems odd, but he is at least consistent). Luther inexplicably inverts *zerbrichen* and *zerschlagen* in Isaiah, using each to translate the verb for which he had used the other in the psalm; in this he is followed by none of the others. The *Statenvertaling* and *Reina-Valera* both change their renderings of גדע between the two texts; *Versão Almeida* does not.

Additionally, there is the matter of the chiasm in source-text Psalm 107 that is lacking in source-text Isaiah 45. This appears the same way in the *Vulgate* and *Statenvertaling*. It is inverted in *Reina-Valera*, so that Isaiah is chiasitic and the psalm is not; and neither text is chiasitic in Luther or *Versão Almeida*. Once again there is no recognizable pattern to the similarities between these versions such that one could demonstrate a relationship of direct influence.

In Psalm 107, Almeida renders בָּרַחֲרֵי with *tranca* and *ferrolho* is suggested in a footnote (The “T” mark designates a note original with Almeida). The difference in meaning is minimal, and the reason for the note is not apparent. In Isaiah, however, *ferrolho* is the translation in the body of the text, there is no note, and *tranca* does not appear. This strongly suggests that verbal consistency between the two texts was not a priority for the translator, if in fact this source-text feature was recognized at all.

There is further reason to suspect that it was not. The chapter introduction to Isaiah 45 characterizes verse 1 and following as a “Prophecy of how King Cyrus would take the city of Babylon, and would deliver the Jews from their captivity” (my translation); the author evidently viewed the “doors of bronze” as the doors to Babylon mentioned in Herodotus (*Histories* I.191). According to the introduction to the Psalm, however:

The Psalmist exhorts all whom God delivers from the hands of their enemies, all who wander as pilgrims, all prisoners and the infirm, all sailors, as well as the rest of men, to praise and glorify God, because of the great transformation that, by the providence of God, is seen in every land and in each person, joining together in praise with all those who do so (my translation).

The strong emphasis on the universality of the Psalm’s message, as opposed to the particularity of Isaiah’s, suggests that commonalities between the texts were not in view for the translators.

5.4.2.3.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15, 20

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
Psalm 78:15 יִבְקַע	interrupit	riss	Hendió	kliefde	Fendeo
Psalm 78:20 צוּר	petram	Felsen	la peña	rotssteen	a penha
וַיִּזְוָבוּ	fluxerunt	flossen	corrieron	uitvloeiden	corréraõ

מַיִם	aquae	Wasser	aguas	wateren	agoas
Exodus 17:6					
וְהִכִּיתָ	percutiesque	sollst schlagen	herirás	zult slaan	ferirás
בְּצוּר	petram	Fels	la peña	rotssteen	a penha
וַיֵּצֵאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ	exibit ex ea	wird heraus laufen	saldrán de ella	zal uitgaan	sahiráõ della
מַיִם	aqua	Wasser	aguas	water	agoas
Isaiah 48:21					
וַיִּקְרַע	scidit	riss	cortó	kiefde	fendendo
צוּר	petram	Fels	la peña	rotssteen	as rochas
וַיִּזְבּוּ	fluxerunt	heraus rann	corrieron	vloeiden daarhenen	manávaõ
מַיִם	aquae	Wasser	aguas	wateren	agoas

The similarity is remarkably close between *Reina-Valera* and *Versão Almeida* in Psalm 78 and Exodus 17; in fact, they are as close to identical as possible in view of the structural differences between Spanish and Portuguese. The similarity disappears, however, in Isaiah. This suggests the intriguing possibility that *Reina-Valera* was a stronger influence on the translator of *Versão Almeida* Pentateuch and Psalms than on the translator of Isaiah—and if the former was to a large extent the work of Almeida himself, and the latter owed more to Okker or the Tranquebar Lutherans, this is exactly what we would expect. Further evidence of different hands at work exists in the completely different styles of the chapter headings for Psalm 78 (which is one long, complex, and stylistically archaic sentence) and Isaiah 48 (which consists of terse and fragmentary comments separated by verse numbers). “Allusion-friendly” translating naturally becomes less likely when the alluding- and alluded-to texts are the work of different hands (on which see chapter 8 below).

As noted above (3.4.2.7), the allusion in the source text is closer to the psalm than to Exodus. Exodus is much the more familiar text, however, and it was included in the chart above to test for the possibility that translators would choose to align Isaiah 48:21 with it rather than with the psalm. *Versão Almeida* (like Luther) adds a textual note sending the reader to Exodus 17:6. None of the above translations, however, appears to have adjusted the language in Isaiah 48 toward that of Exodus 17.

Earlier it was also proposed that in the source text, the allusion is marked both by shared vocabulary and by the abruptness of its appearance in its context in Isaiah (as opposed to its smooth fit into the context of the psalm). While *Versão Almeida*, as one would expect from a strongly source-oriented version, makes no attempt to mitigate this abruptness, the shared vocabulary is disturbed considerably. Psalm 78's *a penha* becomes *as rochas* in the alluding text, and *corrêraõ* becomes *manávaõ*. There is no ready explanation, other than the likelihood that reflecting the shared language was not a translator value—if in fact the shared language was recognized.

5.4.2.3.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
Psalm 69:14 עַתָּת רְצוֹן	tempus beneplaciti	zur angenehmen Zeit	al tiempo de tu buena voluntad	er is een tijd des welbehagens	no * * tempo T T do agrado <hr/> T T ou, da boa vontade: q.d. sendo minha offerta aceita a ti
עֲנֵנִי	exaudi me	erhöre mich	óyeme	verhoor mij	ouve-me
יְשׁוּעָה	salutis tuae	deine Hülfe	tu salud	Uws heils	T T T fieldade de tua salvação <hr/> T T T ou, verdade : Gen. 32:10. q. d. Segundo tens prometido de livrar-me. 2 Sam. 3:18.
Isaiah 49:8 בְּעַתָּת רְצוֹן	in tempore placito	zur gnädigen Zeit	en hora de contentamiento	in dien tijd des welbehagens	Em tempo do T agrado <hr/> v. 8. T ou, contentamente.
עֲנִיתִיךָ	exaudivi te	Ich habe dich erhöret	te oí	heb Ik U verhoord	te ouvi
יְשׁוּעָה	salutis	des Heils	de salud	des heils	da salvação

A difficulty in Psalm 69:14—*i.e.*, the syntax of עַתָּת רְצוֹן—is handled in a roughly similar way by the *Vulgate* and *Statenvertaling*, identically by Luther and *Reina-Valera*, and in a slightly different way in *Versão Almeida*. The *Vulgate's* switch from *beneplaciti* to *placito*, Luther's switches from *angenehmen Zeit* to *gnädigen Zeit* and from *Hülfe* to *Heils* (where in the source text the root is the

same, but the parallel is not precise), and *Reina-Valera's* switch from *buena voluntad* to *contentamiento* all obscure the shared vocabulary in various ways. Shared vocabulary fares best in *Statenvertaling* and *Versão Almeida* (at least in the body of the text), but this can easily be accounted for apart from a relationship of dependence, which once again would be difficult to substantiate.

Above (3.4.2.8) it was mentioned that in the source text the allusion is marked (Ben-Porat's Step #1) *via* three nearly precise verbal parallels. To fully activate it, a reader must recognize the conscious reworking that is signaled both by a change in speaker (from the psalmist to Yahweh), and the fact that a prayer is explicit in the psalm but gapped in Isaiah. In Almeida, the marker is clear in the body of the text, but is then obscured in the notes, which are marked (“T”) as Almeida's own. The notes contain alternate translations for *tempo do agrado* in the Psalm and in Isaiah that are extremely free and that have nothing at all in common.

Versão Almeida Psalm 69:14 has a note that sends the reader to Isaiah 49:8; the reverse, however, does not occur. A note on Isaiah 49:8 does send the reader to 2 Corinthians 6:2, as is consistent with Almeida's *skopos*. The *skopos* will also account for the fact that the chapter introductions in both texts declare that the speaker is Christ; hence for the translator there was certainly a theological connection, although the verbal connection remained unexploited.

5.4.2.3.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
<u>Nu 11:23</u> הַיָּד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר	numquid manus Domini invalida est	Ist denn die Hand des HERRn verkürzt?	¿Hase acertado la mano de Jehová?	Zou dan des HEEREN hand verkort zijn?	seria logo encurtada a maõ do SENHOR
<u>Isaiah 50:2</u> הַקְּצוּר קְצָרָה יָדִי	numquid abbreviata et parvula facta est manus mea	Ist meine Hand nun so kurz worden	¿Ha llegado á acortarse mi mano	Is Mijn hand dus gans kort geworden,	porventura tanto * T se encolheo minha maõ

In the source text, the chance that קְצָר יָד is simply a case of formulaic language is slight, because its re-use in the alluding text is not verbatim. The inversion of word order represents a likely

example of what is known as Seidel's Law;¹⁸ but among the versions noted here, only the *Vulgate* preserves it. The source-text shift from *yiqtol* to *qatal* + infinitive absolute is handled by these versions in diverse but predictable ways, with the possible exception of the *Vulgate's* "double translation."

Versão Almeida however, inexplicably chooses a different lexeme for קצר, rendering it with *encolher* ("shrink") rather than "become short" (*encurtar*) in Isaiah. The note (marked as original with Almeida) following verse 2 refers to Numbers 11:23, and so clearly the connection was recognized. The fact that Isaiah 50 is tightly packed with allusions to the Exodus traditions would have made it unlikely that the allusion would be missed by a translator, but setting up a sympathetic linguistic vibration that would allow the reader to activate it himself was evidently not a conscious translator value.

5.4.2.3.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1

ST	Vulgate	Luther	Reina-Valera	Statenvertaling	Almeida
<u>Nahum 2:1</u> הִנֵּה עַל־ הַהַרִים	ecce super montes	Siehe, auf den Bergen kommen	He aquí sobre los montes	Ziet op de bergen	Eis que sobre os montes ja
רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	pedes evangelizantis	Füße eines guten Boten	los pies del que trae buenas nuevas	de voeten die het goede boodschapt	os pés do que * traz as boas novas
מְשַׁמְעֵי שְׁלוֹם	adnuntiantis pacem	der da Frieden predigt	del que pregona la paz	die vrede doet horen	do que apregôa * * a paz
<u>Isaiah 52:7</u> מַה־נְּאוּן עַל־ הַהַרִים	quam pulchri super montes	Wie lieblich sind auf den Bergen	Cuán hermosos son sobre los montes	Hoe liefelijk zijn op de bergen	*Quam suaves saõ sobre os montes
רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	pedes adnuntiantis	Die Füße der Boten	los pies del que trae alegres nuevas	de voeten desgenen, die het goede boodschapt,	os pés do que evangeliza o bem
מְשַׁמְעֵי שְׁלוֹם	et prædicantis pacem	die da Friede verkündigen	del que publica la paz	die den vrede doet horen	e que faz ouvir a paz

¹⁸ According Seidel's Law, reworked syntax or word order is the mark of a conscious allusion in the Hebrew Bible (Lyons 2007:245).

Here the verbal similarity is most perspicuous in *Statenvertaling*; otherwise, it varies among *Versão Almeida*'s alleged influences in such a way that direct dependence seems unlikely. *Versão Almeida* seems to have had less regard for verbal similarity than usual. מְבַשֵּׂר is first *o que traz as boas novas*, then *o que evangeliza o bem*; מְשַׁמְּעַ is first *o que aprehoa*, then *o que faz ouvir*.

A likely explanation is that the translation of Nahum was not Almeida's work, which ended with the "last chapters" of Ezekiel (either 40:21 or 48:21, *vid.* 5.4.2 above). The frontispiece to the 1732 version of the 12 Minor Prophets, from which the above translation of Nahum is taken, says that they were translated "with all diligence into the Portuguese language by the missionary fathers of Trangambar" (my translation)—*i.e.*, the Tranquebar Lutherans. This would account as well for a slight difference in the notes on the verses. A note on Isaiah 52:7 sends the reader to Nahum 2:1 and, as one would expect, to Romans 10:15. Notes on Nahum 2:1 send the reader to these two verses and, in addition, to 2 Corinthians 5:20.

It may be that no thematic connection to Isaiah 52 was drawn by the 1732 translators of Nahum. The introduction to *Versão Almeida* Isaiah 52 says that verse 7 concerns "the sweetness of the preaching of the Gospel" (my translation). The introduction to Nahum 2 does not comply with the insistence of the *Classis* that the para-text conform to the model of the *Statenvertaling*. It is extremely brief, saying only that the chapter is about "the destruction of Nineveh." This would also help explain why the messenger "brings good news" in Nahum, but "evangelizes" only in Isaiah.

5.4.2.3.11 Conclusions

The analysis above appears to suggest a few conclusions. First, the *Versão Almeida* exhibits no tendency in any of these passages to place the verb at the end of the sentence (5.4.2.1). Even if it had, conformity to the *Vulgate* would not have accounted for it, since the *Vulgate* itself does not do this. Indeed, no attempt on the part of *Versão Almeida* to conform to the *Vulgate* seems demonstrable in these passages, particularly with regard to the preservation or non-preservation of shared vocabulary.

Nor does a target-oriented analysis of these passages show a pattern of dependence on any of *Versão Almeida*'s other purported influences. Similarities to the *Statenvertaling* (except in Isaiah 52:7//Nahum 2:1) can be observed at times; the possibility that *Reina-Valera* was a stronger influence on the translator of *Versão Almeida* Pentateuch and Psalms than on the translator of Isaiah has also been mentioned. A thorough investigation into the relationships between *Versão Almeida* and the three, roughly contemporary translations surveyed above would require a much

larger sample, rigorous criteria for determining influence, and a complete map of *Versão Almeida*'s highly complex history. All of this would take the present study far afield.

More important for present purposes is this. Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) insists that there is no reason to assume that any ST feature will be recognized by translators and retained in translation (Toury 1995:88). Clearly this is true even of a feature as prominent as allusiveness in DtI. Para-textual evidence in *Versão Almeida* demonstrates that some of Isaiah's allusions were recognized; others probably were not. Internal evidence indicates that, even where an allusion clearly was recognized, preservation of the "bonus meaning" for the target reader—if this is understood to include the pragmatic effects that are possible when s/he is allowed to activate an allusion for him/herself—was not a translational norm.

It has been hypothesized that a source-oriented version, such as *Versão Almeida* is understood (and understands itself) to be, will tend toward lexical concordance, with the result that allusion markers will tend to be preserved irrespective of translational norms. At this point it may be proposed that, while lexical concordance in *Versão Almeida* does occur in the passages above, departures from it are frequent and random enough to show that consistent lexical concordance did not constitute a "norm" in the DTS sense for the 1757 Old Testament. The result is that, while shared vocabulary between alluding- and alluded-to texts is preserved in many cases (*e.g.* Isaiah 40:26-28//Psalm 147:4, 5), in other cases it is not preserved or preserved only to a limited degree (*e.g.* Isaiah 50:2//Numbers 11:23; Isaiah 52:7//Nahum 2:1). This suggests that indications of source-orientation in a translation *skopos* do not automatically result in the maintenance of allusion markers, and thus perspicuous allusions, in a Bible translation.

5.4.3 Introduction: *Versão Almeida* Revisions

As noted, revisions to the *Versão Almeida* began well before the complete Bible was finished and have still not ceased. The translation has gone through 896 editions and reprints involving the entire Bible, and 130 of the Old Testament or portions thereof (Alves 2006:675). In large part, the story of revisions to the *Versão Almeida* in the 19th and 20th centuries takes place in Brazil. At certain points the story is difficult to reconstruct due to the paucity and fragmentary nature of the documents—and because several translations published during this period used Almeida's text without so indicating (Alves 2006:359).

While not an *Almeida* revision in the strictest sense, the 1917 *Tradução Brasileira* (or *Versão Brasileira*, or *Edição Brasileira*, or *Versão Fiel*) was directly influenced by both the *Versão Almeida* and the version of António Pereira de Figueiredo (on which see below) (Alves 2006:375).

The *Tradução Brasileira* (TB) is also significant in its own right, both as the first translation done entirely in Brazil and because of the involvement in the project of several well-known Brazilian literary personalities. It is considered here, however, both because of its place within the *Versão Almeida* tradition and because of its impact on especially the *Versão Revista e Atualizada* (ARA); according to the “Introduction” to the most recent TB edition, in many instances the ARA took over TB renderings without change. Following the TB, this study will focus the *Versão Revista e Corregida* (ARC) and the ARA, two significant *Versão Almeida* revisions that are still in wide use.

5.4.3.1 *The Tradução Brasileira* (1917)

5.4.3.1.2 Target Culture (TC) Function

The effort that produced the *Tradução Brasileira* began in 1902, when the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) and the American Bible Society (ABS) convened a commission of three expatriates and three nationals to produce a new version, intended as a direct translation from the source texts that would also consult both the *Versão Almeida* and Figueiredo (Bittencourt 1984:233, Alves 2006:375).¹⁹ The committee supervised a larger group of translators and revisers, with F. Uttley representing the BFBS and Hugh Clarence Tucker the ABS (Alves 2006:375); the “Introduction” to the 2010 re-issue credits Tucker with leadership of the project. Interestingly, the TB is said to have enlisted as target-language consultants the Brazilian literary figures Rui Barbosa, José Veríssimo, and Heráclito Graça (SBB 2014). This might suggest the possibility of, if not a target-oriented version, at least one in which target-language excellence would be a norm.

The presence of Uttley and Tucker on the TB committee created an expatriate majority, however, and reportedly the committee came to be dominated by the North Americans. As a result, renderings advocated by the expatriates as more “faithful” tended to be approved over the objections of the Brazilians, who disagreed with them strongly as examples of clumsy Portuguese (Alves 2006:378). Alves finds the expatriates relying on the “American Standard Revised Version” (sic)—probably the 1901 *American Standard Version* (Alves 2006:376). This was an American and very slight revision of the British *Revised Version*, which in turn was a late 19th-century *King*

¹⁹ The committee included W. C. Brown (Episcopalian), assisted with the Portuguese by Mário Ortigão; J. M. Kyle (northern Presbyterian), assisted with the Portuguese by Alberto Meyer; J. R. Smith (southern Presbyterian), assisted with the Portuguese by Ersamo Braga; and Antônio de Trajano (Presbyterian, Rio de Janeiro). Nationals who were also involved included Virgílio Várzea, Eduardo Carlos Pereira, and the Methodist, ex-Roman Catholic priest Hipólito de Oliveira Campos.

James Version revision noted for its extreme literalness. If Alves is correct, this would help to explain the character of the TB as described below.

The TB New Testament was finished in 1908 and the Old Testament in 1914; World War I delayed publication until 1917. This study makes use of a slight revision to the 1917 version that was re-issued by the *Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil* (SBB) in 2010 and whose updates involve matters of orthography, capitalization, and very slight grammatical retouches. Although the SBB claims that the TB was widely used up until 1950 (SBB 2014), in fact the translation was harshly criticized upon its release and never achieved real popularity, for a number of reasons. The most important was the dominance of the *Versão Almeida* “brand” within Brazilian Protestantism (Alves 2006:378). In addition, Nestle served as the textual basis in the TB New Testament (Bittencourt 1984:233), and this move was criticized by textual-criticism conservatives. Finally, the TB contained a large number of simple errors (Bittencourt 1984:233), and the project had no mechanism for correcting them (*e.g.*, a standing revision committee).

Contemporary evaluations disagree widely about the TB’s language, and what would have been its *niche* within the speech community of Brazilian Protestantism is difficult to say. Exactly what (if any) effect Rui Barbosa, José Veríssimo, and Heráclito Graça were allowed to have on the Portuguese of the target text is also an intriguing question; the 2010 “Introduction” mentions “syntax” but says nothing about style. While its language register is agreed to be high, some consider its phrasings “classic” (SBB 2014, *cf.* Bittencourt 1984:233); others, “intolerable” (Moreira, quoted in Alves 2006:378). There is a consensus, however, that TB is not target-oriented in any sense; it has come to be known as the *Tira-Teima* (“freeze frame”) for what is considered its literalness (SBB 2014). This may be another reason for its limited popularity.

As mentioned, the primary reason for including the TB in this study is not only its historical significance, but its influence on the most widely-used *Versão Almeida* revision, the *Almeida Revista e Atualizada* (ARA). This will be tested below when the branches of the *Versão Almeida* “family tree” are compared with one another.

5.4.3.1.3 Intertextual Coherence in TT

One approach to the matter of TB’s intertextual coherence would be to ask which of its characteristics justify its reputation as a highly source-oriented version (*i.e.*, a “*Tira-Teima*”) and which do not. Several features, arguably, would not. For instance, in the 2010 reissue there is division into paragraphs (unlike ARC and ARA, which follow *Versão Almeida* in breaking after each verse); the paragraphs, however, do not consistently follow either the Masoretic divisions or

such internal considerations as shifts in speaker or topic. TB also does not follow the practice of *Versão Almeida* and ARC in italicizing words that are arguably not traceable to single source-text morphemes or lexemes, which can be a measure of conscious source-orientedness.

More significantly, several TB renderings in DtI depart from the source text in a way that appears attributable to target-language considerations. An example is *Ah! Estou me aquecendo, sinto o calor!* (“Ah! I’m warming myself; I feel warmth”—44:16); compare *Ora, já me aquetei, já vi o fogo* (“Look, I’ve already warmed myself; I’ve already seen the fire”—ARC). Similarly, *as santas e firmes coisas prometidas a Davi* (“the holy and firm things *promised* to David”—55:3) makes a bit of an attempt to unpack *הַנְּאֻדָּוֹת הַקְּדוֹת* for a reader. *Para habitar na casa* (“to dwell in the house”—44:13) avoids the potential confusion of ARC’s *para ficar em casa* (which usually means “to stay home”). *Que tinha experiência de enfermidades* (“who had experience with illnesses”—53:3) is perhaps not a “functional equivalence” rendering, but it is clearly an attempt to communicate in a way that *experimentado nos trabalhos* (“experienced in the works”—ARC; so also Figueiredo) is not. Similarly, *Essas imagens que costumáveis levar já estão postos sobre animais que se cansam do peso deles* (“These images that you are used to carrying are already placed on animals that are tired of their weight”—46:1) and *Bel e Nebo abaixam-se, juntamente se encurvam* (“Bel and Nebo lower themselves, they bend down together”—46:2) contain more explicitation than *as cargas dos vossos fardos são canseira para as bestas já cansadas* (“the burdens of your packages are a weariness to beasts already tired”) or *Juntamente se encurvam e se abateram* (“together they bend down and lower themselves;” the second “Bel and Nebo” is omitted—ARC). Interestingly, ARA’s translation of this section is a conflation of *Versão Almeida*’s and TB’s.

Furthermore, certain distinctive TB features cannot be attributed to conscious source-orientation. For instance, TB shows an odd tendency to use the same Portuguese word to render two Hebrew near-synonyms even when these appear in close proximity. In 40:24, *נטע* and *זרע* come out *semeados* and *mesmo semeados* (“sown” and “really sown”). In 44:27, *secar* (“to dry or become dry”) is used for both *הרבב* and *יבש*. In addition, in at least one passage in this section TB undoes the Hebrew parallelism, linking subjects and predicates across a bi-colon; 49:7 is reworked so that the kings and princes are standing up and worshiping, rather than the kings standing up and the princes prostrating themselves, as in the source text.

Some TB characteristics could, however, be aptly characterized as reflecting conscious source-orientation—either on the part of the translators themselves, or on the part of the English ASV by which the North Americans appear to have been influenced (Alves 2006:376). For instance, often

proper names are transliterated in TB (*Jeová; Jesurum*, 44:2; *Raabe*, 51:9—*cp.* ASV “Jehovah,” “Jeshurun,” and “Rahab”) that are translated in ARA (*SENHOR, amado, Egito*). Originally TB’s transliterations did not respect Portuguese phonetics, but attempted to approximate the Hebrew as much as possible. This has been changed in the 2010 reissue.

Most interesting for present purposes: there is evidence in TB of an attempt at a certain level of lexical concordance. For instance, it is widely known that a disproportionate number of occurrences of יהוה in the Hebrew Bible are found in Isaiah, particularly in DtI. Of the seven occurrences of יהוה, all but two are rendered *caos* (“chaos”) in TB; the other two are rendered with *em vão* (45:19) and the lexically related *vãmente* (49:4). This differs considerably from both ARC and ARA, each of which employs six different translations for יהוה; the translations of יהוה in these contexts are not the same between the two versions, and within each version the translations of יהוה cohere at different points. This attempt at concordance might lead us to expect some preservation of the source text’s allusions where these depend on shared vocabulary; this hypothesis will be tested in the comparison across versions below.

5.4.3.2 *The Versão Almeida Revista e Corregida (ARC)*

5.4.3.2.1 Target Culture (TC) Function

An early and significant *Versão Almeida* revision was sponsored by the Trinitarian Bible Society (TBS) and carried out by the Cambridge Hebraist Thomas Boys (1792-1880). A gifted philologist, Boys probably learned Portuguese during his service as an officer under Wellington in the Peninsular War (Alves 2006:364). His assignment as translator was twofold: to correct the *Versão Almeida* according to the source texts and to update and improve the Portuguese; in the latter effort he enlisted two native speakers as collaborators, whose literary sensitivity in Portuguese, as it turned out, left much to be desired (Alves 2006:365). Boys’s Bible, known as the *Almeida Revista e Reformada segundo o original* (or *RevRef*), was released in 1847.

The TBS published a subsequent edition in 1869. A committee of Brazilian translators then undertook to adapt the Portuguese of this edition to the language of Brazil, and the first *Versão Almeida Revista e Corrigida* (ARC)—*i.e.*, Almeida “revised” by Boys and “corrected” for Brazil (Alves 2006:379)—was published in 1898. The involvement of the London-based TBS led to its being known as the “London rescension.” An updated version was re-issued in 1969, with a second edition by the *Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil* (SBB) in 1995. The *Sociedade Bíblica Portuguesa* (SBP) continues to make the ARC available in Europe as well.

The ARC had no intention of departing from the translational philosophy of the *Versão Almeida* (Alves 2006:379), which suggests that it would remain a strongly source-oriented version. Also worth noting is that the ARC, as mentioned above, is in large part the result of an initiative by the Trinitarian Bible Society; in fact, it was the first translation project that the TBS attempted (TBS 2014). Founded in 1831 “for the circulation of Protestant or uncorrupted versions of the Word of God” (TBS 2014), to this day the TBS takes an extremely conservative stand on, *e.g.*, the textual basis for New Testament translating. One would expect, therefore, that the ARC’s target culture would be wary of deviations from earlier *Versão Almeida* editions also in respects other than its textual basis, and that differences between ARC and *Versão Almeida* would be relatively minor in the texts under consideration.

The basis for the analysis of the ARC below is a printed 1969 edition, which will be checked against the 1995 version to determine whether modifications have taken place that affect the perspicuity of allusion in translation.

5.4.3.2.2 Intertextual Coherence in TT

The SBB attributes the difference between the ARC and ARA primarily to their textual bases, especially in the New Testament (SBB 2014). This is both easy to verify (for instance, the ARC includes without comment the so-called *Comma Iohanneum* [1 John 5:7]) and outside the parameters of the present study, since none of the differences between ARC and ARA in the verses below are attributable to a different textual basis. There are points of significant divergence in two renderings within DtI that are attributable to different translator text-critical decisions (49:5), or perhaps simple error (51:4).

ARC continues the practice of italicizing lexemes that are not directly traceable to source-text morphemes or lexemes, a practice which was dropped in the ARA. Other features that would justify characterizing ARC as a conservative revision of *Versão Almeida*, and thus one that will be source-oriented in similar ways, are these:

- 1) As in *Versão Almeida* and the Dutch *Statenvertaling*, ARC’s headings occur at the beginning of chapters (except at 52:1; disagreement with the chapter break at 53:1, of course, is widespread and long-standing). In ARA headings occur at any point in the chapter at which the topic shifts and are therefore much more frequent.
- 2) ARC maintains, where possible, the practice of representing Hebrew *atnah* with a colon (40:11, 13; 43:13; 45:16, 49:3, etc.).

- 3) Attempts are made to represent Hebrew *qatal* and *yiqtol* forms with Portuguese perfects and futures (occasionally presents), even where the result in the target language is awkward; e.g., 43:14 (*enviei, farei descer*), 53:12 (*intercede*), 54:5 (*será chamado*).
- 4) Proper names are simply transliterated (*Jesurum*, 44:2; *Raabe*, 51:9) that are translated in ARA (*amado, Egito*), which could be a TB (or ASV) influence or the translators' own decision. The 1969 ARC did regularly translate the divine name with "Senhor" (40:3, 5, etc.), using (generally) JEOVÁ in the case of the combination יהוה יהוה. The 1995 ARC returned to *Versão Almeida*'s practice of rendering it in all capitals ("JEOVÁ, Senhor" at 50:10 did become "SENHOR, SENHOR" in the 1995 ARC revision).
- 5) Some hyper-literal renderings that result in absurdities in contemporary Portuguese persist (*para ficar em casa* at 44:13;²⁰ *eu soltarei os lombos dos reis*—"I will let go the loins of kings," 45:1; *experimentado nos trabalhos*, "experienced in the works"—53:3). The 1995 revision left these unchanged.
- 6) Renderings also persist that, while less strange than those above, seem to show little regard for what the reader will understand by them: *teu primeiro pai pecou, e os teus intérpretes prevaricaram* ("your first father sinned, and your interpreters failed," 43:27—so also Figueiredo); *as cargas dos vossos fardos são canseira para as bestas já cansadas* ("the burdens of your packages are a weariness to beasts that are tired already," 46:1); *E ponho as minhas palavras na tua boca, e te cubro com a sombra da minha mão; para plantar os céus, para fundar a terra* ("And I put my words in your mouth and cover you with the shade of my hand; to plant the heavens, to establish the earth," 51:16; cp. Figueiredo).
- 7) Arcane and archaic vocabulary remains, especially in the 1969 edition: e.g., *deveras*, 45:14; *entranhas*, 49:1; *aquehoutros* for *aqueles outros*, 49:12; *mosto*, 49:26; *libelo de divórcio*, 50:1. The 1995 ARC made a few retouches: for instance, *aquehoutros* did become *aqueles outros*, and *libelo* did become *carta*.

5.4.3.3 *The Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada no Brasil (ARA)*

5.4.3.3.1 Target Culture (TC) Function

Of the two *Versão Almeida* revisions ARA is much the more widely known and used; it is, for instance, the most popular choice for study Bibles in Brazil (Ciampa 2010:91). Its story is fairly

²⁰ To *ficar em casa* is to "stay home" as opposed to going somewhere.

accessible in contemporary sources and has been ably told in Bittencourt 1984, Scholz 2005, and Alves 2006.

In 1934, the *Editorial Report* of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) carried an anonymous recommendation that the time had come for a new Portuguese version (Alves 2006:380n). On April 14, 1943, the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society (ABS) convened a group of 21 parties in Rio de Janeiro (The *Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil* [SBB] came into existence only in 1948). The Rio de Janeiro committee published a list of reasons why, in their view, a new version was necessary. Three main versions were in circulation in Brazil at the time: the *Versão Almeida* (“London Rescension”), Figueiredo (on which see below), and the *Tradução Brasileira*. The BFBS-ABS committee criticized the *Tradução Brasileira* particularly for its stylistic unevenness; Figueiredo was judged unsatisfactory for being a Roman Catholic version and a relay translation besides²¹ (Scholz 2005:19n), and Almeida was considered still inadequate despite its multiple revisions (Alves 2006:380)—in the view of some, precisely because of them (Scholz 2005:17). Other courses of action would certainly have been open to the Bible societies, but in view of the iconic status of the Almeida name in Brazilian evangelicalism, producing yet another Almeida revision seemed like the best option (Bittencourt 1984:237, Scholz 2005:19).

A Revision Committee of twenty initial members was formed.²² Oddly not a single Portuguese was invited, despite the Bible societies’ hopes of producing a Bible that would be acceptable throughout the Lusophone world (Alves 2006:381). The Revision Committee’s brief was to not produce a new translation, but to preserve Almeida’s language as much as possible (Bittencourt 1984:237). Explicit norms were “translation and not interpretation; clarity, correctness, and elegance of diction; an appropriately spiritual language register; with recourse to other versions and to the original languages” (Alves 2006:380). Three objectives were paramount: to retain

²¹ “Relay translation” will be the preferred term in this study for a translation of a translation (6.1.1).

²² Eventually participants came to include the following: Antônio de Campos Gonçalves, Matatias Gomes dos Santos, Almir Gonçalves, Ari Boncristiani Ferreira, Egmont Machado Krischke, Jalmar Bowden, Jorge Bertolaso Stella, Geroge Upton Kirschke (replaced upon his death by Rodolfo Garcia Nogueira), Sinésio Pereira Lira, William B. Forsyth, Paul W. Schelp, William Carey Taylor, Asa Routh Crabtree, João Pedro Ramos Júnior, Antônio Almeida, Martin Begrich, Robert G. Bratcher (on whom see below), Antônio Neves de Mequita, César Dacorso Filho, Derli de A. Chaves, Flamínio Fávero, Galdino Moreira, João Batista B. da Cunha, José del Nero, José B. dos Santos Júnior, Josué Cardoso d’Afonseca, Manoel Pôrto Filho, Natanael Cortês, Nemésio de Almeida, Paul Eugene Buyers, Sátilas do Amaral Camargo, Paul Davidson, Walter Kunstmann, and Karl Rupp (Scholz 2008:25).

Almeida, to update the language and adapt it for Brazil, and to realign the translation with the source texts.

As Scholz observes, however, these objectives were often incompatible; in particular, retaining Almeida's style while improving the translation often proved impossible (Scholz 2010:23). Where this happened, the tension was usually resolved by keeping Almeida, and an estimated 60% of Almeida's language remains in ARA (Scholz 2010a:30). Alves' view is that exaggerated respect for Almeida on the part of some Commission members was the main impediment to a better translation (Alves 2006:381). A foreword to the ARA written in 1975 (which appears in the 1993 Second Edition) grants, "It is probable that, here or there, the translated text could have been brought more up to date, if the basic idea had not been a revision of the old Almeida, which the Commission was supposed to follow as much as possible" (my translation).

Versions other than Almeida (and, naturally, the source texts) also played significant roles in the revision. The group had a very large number of versions in several languages at its disposal, including the *Versão Almeida* "London rescension" mentioned above, the *Tradução Brasileira*, Matos Soares' translation (on which see below), the *Reina-Valera*, the *King James Version*, the *Revised Standard Version*, and others (Scholz 2008:21). Initially the procedure was as follows:

The office of the Commission on Revision prepared the material: loose-leaf notebooks full of heavy paper, in which were placed pages of the original text, Figueiredo, the *Versão Brasileira*, and the *Versão Almeida* (London Rescension). A wide margin was left blank for the revisers' notes. After the revisers had made their observations, glosses, modifications or new suggestions of their own, the entire conglomeration was read by the editorial sub-commission, which tried to give shape to the sentences. It then copied the pages out in triple-space, and these were then sent on their way to the approximately 20 consultants who, in their offices, wrote notes and corrections between the lines. These annotated pages then went back to the Commission on Revision in plenary session, with all members present, and following another examination the text was finally approved for printing (Scholz 2008:21, my translation).

Commission members themselves viewed progress as slow (Scholz 2008:24), which is not surprising in view of the unwieldiness of this procedure. In fact, no fewer than five committee members died before the project was concluded (Bittencourt 1984:235).

In 1950, the committee received a visit from Eugene Nida (on whom see below). Obviously Nida would not have agreed with the *Übersetzungsweise* of either Almeida or the Committee; Philip Stine believes that Nida lent his services to this project largely in hopes that the SBB would be amenable to other types of translations later on (Stine 2004:37). As it turned out, while Nida

probably had little impact on the ARA's method of translating, he was a great help to the project. Membership on the committee represented considerable ecclesial diversity. This was perhaps necessary as a political move, but it soon became clear that the committee's diversity was impeding progress. Nida helped the committee to reconceptualize its task in scientific rather than theological terms, and this served to break several impasses and move the project along (Scholz 2010a:21).

In 1953, seven years since the project had first begun, it was decided that two Commission on Revision members—Paul W. Schelp and Antônio de Campos Gonçalves—should work full-time on the Old Testament in order to finish it as quickly as possible (Scholz 2008:25). By this time, the procedure appears to have been streamlined considerably.

Finally, in May of 1959, the ARA was in print. A Standing Commission on Consulting and Revision has made minor adjustments since then; enough of these had accumulated by 1993 that the version published in that year was termed a “second edition” (Scholz 2010a:22). According to the “Preface to the Biblical Text” of the 1993 edition, the revision by this time had gone “deeper,” and adjustments included “punctuation, corrections of mistakes in previous revisions, errors of [grammatical] agreement, inaccurate biblical references, and harmonization in subtitles” (my translation). The “Preface” also mentions changes due to shifts in word meanings over time and, “in a few cases, translation errors.”

5.4.3.3.2 Target Text (TT) Coherence

Some general observations about ARA's differences from ARC are revealing with regard to its target-text coherence. When compared to the ARC:

- 1) In ARA, topic headings occur wherever a topic appears to shift and are therefore much more frequent.
- 2) There are not only far fewer explanatory notes; there are far fewer indications of intertextual references. This was seen as consistent with the BFBS policy of distributing the Bible “without note or comment” (Bittencourt 1984:255). It represents a considerable change, however, from the ARC, and certainly from the 1751 *Versão Almeida*.
- 3) The practice of representing Hebrew *atnaḥ* with a colon is retained in certain places (40:11; 43:13, 45:16) but this becomes a semi-colon or is otherwise altered where unnatural in the target language (40:13, 49:3, etc.).

- 4) Hebrew verb forms are translated with greater attention to contextual and target language factors. There is less of an attempt made to duplicate the Hebrew verb system in Portuguese (e.g. 43:14, 53:12, 54:5).
- 5) Proper names are translated rather than being simply transliterated as in ARC (o SENHOR, *amado*, and *Egito* for ARC's JEOVÁ, *passim*; *Jesurum*, 44:2; and *Raabe*, 51:9).
- 6) There is much greater sensitivity toward what the reader will understand by a rendering and a movement to realign this with the source text. *Para ficar em casa* ("in order to stay home"), 44:13, becomes *que possa morar em uma casa* ("one that can live in a house"). *Soltarei os lombos dos reis* ("I will let go the loins of kings"), 45:1; becomes *descingir os lombos dos reis* ("to un-cinch the loins of kings"). *Experimentado nos trabalhos* ("experienced in the works," 53:3) becomes *que sabe o que é padecer* ("who knows what it is to suffer").
- 7) Archaic vocabulary is updated in a very large number of cases (e.g., *deveras* becomes *verdadeiramente*, 45:14; *entranhas* becomes *ventre*, 49:1; *aqueloutros* is *aqueles outros*, 49:12; *mosto* becomes *vinho novo*, 49:26; *libelo de divórcio*, 50:1, becomes *carta de divórcio*).

In general, ARA's objective of a linguistic updating was attained, but only if viewed narrowly as the removal of archaic or esoteric terms (Alves 2006:382). Even here, many archaisms remained, and some pre-"London Rescension" archaisms were actually re-introduced (Scholz 2010b:24); in general the style changed little (Scholz 2010a:23). As for language difficulty, ARA employs a vocabulary of roughly 8400 words (proper names excluded), more words than most Brazilians command (Scholz 2010a:24). In fact, one wonders how accessible most Brazilians find the ARA's language when, according to one estimate, half the population of Brazil in 1999 had such a low level of literacy that writing a simple note was beyond them (Kaschel 1999:112—cf. 7.2 below). Despite its elevated language, however—or perhaps because of it—the ARA is a Bible that "sounds the way the Bible should sound" for its target culture, particularly when read aloud in a liturgical setting (Scholz 2010a:30). In general the ARA seems to have satisfied its target culture's very strong "brand loyalty."

In connection with its aural effect, a peculiarity of ARA is its approach to *cacófatos*, a sensitivity toward which is a unique feature of Portuguese in general and Brazilian Portuguese in particular (Bittencourt 1984:239ff, Scholz 2010a:26). A *cacófato* is a disagreeable or even obscene auditory effect resulting from two adjacent words. For example, no native speaker of Brazilian Portuguese

will use the phrase *vez passada* (“last time”), despite the fact that it is perfectly grammatical, only because the combination “vez + pa-“ sounds like *vespa* (“wasp”). Similarly, Brazilians do not use the perfectly grammatical phrase *por cada* to mean “for each,” for no reason other than that aurally it results in *porcada* (“herd of pigs”). Antônio de Campos Gonçalves, one of two revisers who worked full-time on the ARA Old Testament, counted more than 2000 *cacófatos* in the *Versão Almeida* and resolved to eliminate as many as possible (Bittencourt 1984:241). Examples include Isaiah 44:8 and 45:21 *desde então* (*dentão*, “big tooth”), which became *desde aquele tempo* in ARA; 49:13 *alegra-te tu, terra* became *alegra-te, ó terra* (the sound sequence *te-tu-té* was considered unpleasant—Bittencourt 1984:241); and Isaiah 62:8 *por comer* (*por + co=porco*, “pig”) which became *por sustento*.

While this effort indicates an admirable sensitivity to the aural impact of a translation, it was taken to an extreme. For instance, although this is not a *cacófato* at all, the natural Portuguese combination “*ali se*” (“there” + clitic pronoun) was expunged simply because it sounds like the woman’s name *Alice* (Bittencourt 1984:240). Occasionally the ARA norm of eliminating *cacófatos* trumped the norm of updating and adapting the language for Brazil, and the solution to a *cacófato* made the text more difficult to understand. For example, in Isaiah 34:15, the sentence was reworked to *Aninhar-se-á* (“She will nest”), a construction known as “mesoclisism” that in Brazil occurs only in the upper registers of written language.²³ In a similar way, in prepositional phrases with “you” headed by the preposition *a* or another preposition ending in *-a* (*a vós, para vós, contra vós*), ARA reintroduced *vós outros*, not (as it might appear) because of influence from Spanish but probably in order to avoid *avós* (“grandparents”) (Scholz 2010a:28). This was done despite the fact that in contemporary Portuguese *vós outros* represents a jarring archaism of which not even ARC is guilty.

5.4.3.3 Intertextual Coherence Between ST and Target Texts (TT), *Versão Almeida* Revisions

Below, renderings of the passages under consideration from the 1751 *Versão Almeida*, TB, ARC, and ARA will be viewed side by side and significant discrepancies noted. Comments will be made on what (if any) impact these revisions have had on the perspicuity of the allusions in these passages.

²³ In Portuguese, “mesoclisism” is the in-fixing of one or more clitic elements within a compound verb form. In the case of *aninhar-se-á*, the clitic pronoun *se* appears between the infinitive (*aninhar*) and the ending *á*, which is actually a form of the auxiliary verb *haver*.

5.4.3.3.3.1 *Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41, 43*

ST	Versão Almeida	TB	ARC	ARA
עֶוֹן Lv 26:41	o castigo de sua iniquidade			
עֶוֹן Lv 26:43	o castigo de sua iniquidade	o castigo de sua iniquidade	o castigo da sua iniquidade	o castigo de sua iniquidade
רָצָה Lv 26:41	tomar por bem	aceitar	tomar por bem	tomar por bem
רָצָה Lv 26:43	tomar por bem	aceitar	tomar por bem	tomar por bem
עֶוֹן Is 40:2	iniquidade	iniquidade	iniquidade	iniquidade
רָצָה Is 40:2	está expiada	está perdoada	está expiada	está perdoada

The only change in these verses is ARA's *está perdoada*, a move in the direction of a word in more common use than *expiada* and which was very likely taken over from TB. The effect of the move on the perspicuity of an allusion to Leviticus, if any, may be slightly deleterious (see 5.4.2.3.1).

5.4.3.3.3.2 *Isaiah 40:6-8 and Psalm 103:15-17*

ST	Versão Almeida	TB	ARC	ARA
Ps 103:15-16 חֲצִיר	erva	relva	erva	relva
כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	como a flor do campo	qual a flor do campo	como a flor do campo	como a flor do campo
רוּחַ	vento	vento	vento	vento
וְחַסְדֵּי יְהוָה	Porem * a benignidade do SENHOR	Mas a benignidade de Jeová	Mas a misericórdia do Senhor	Mas a misericórdia do SENHOR
מֵעוֹלָם וָעַד עוֹלָם	está de eternidade em eternidade	é desde a eternidade até a eternidade	é de eternidade a eternidade	é de eternidade a eternidade
Is 40:6-8 חֲצִיר	erva	erva	erva	erva

חֶסֶדוֹ	sua benignidade	sua glória	sua beleza	sua glória
כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֵה	como as flores do campo	como a flor do campo	como as flores do campo	como flor da erva
רוּחַ יְהוָה	o Espírito do SENHOR	o halito de Jeová	halito do Senhor	halito do SENHOR
וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִקּוּם לְעוֹלָם	a palavra de nosso Deus T subsistirá eternamente v. 8 T ou, permanece para sempre.	a palavra do nosso Deus subsistirá para sempre	a palavra de nosso Deus subsiste eternamente	a palavra de nosso Deus permanece eternamente

While the allusion is not particularly transparent in any of these, it fares best in *Versão Almeida*, less well in ARC, and worst in TB and ARA. TB, ARC, and ARA all lose what limited shared vocabulary there was in *Versão Almeida* by altering, in different directions, their translations of חֶסֶדוֹ between the alluding and the alluded-to text. TB and ARA's *glória* may have been motivated by a desire to preserve the perspicuity of the relationship to 1 Peter 1:24.

The ARA's change in Psalm 103:15 from *como a erva* to the more specific (and rarer) *como a relva* might be explained, not only as another borrowing from TB, but also on grounds of the euphony that was such a high translator priority (to avoid the *cacófato* “moer”—“grind”?); in Isaiah 40:6, this is not a consideration, and *erva* remains. The effect of the change on the perspicuity of the allusion is deleterious, however. So is the change in ARA from *as flores do campo* to *flor da erva*, for which it is difficult to envision any possible motive other than euphony.

5.4.3.3.3.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4,5

ST	<i>Versão Almeida</i>	TB	ARC	ARA
Psalm 147:4,5				
לְכוֹכְבִּים	estrellas	estrelas	estrelas	estrelas
לְכֹלֵם שְׁמוֹת יְקָרָא	a todas chama nome por nome	a todas elas dá nome	chamando-as a todas pelos seus nomes	chamando-as todas todas pelos seus nomes (1993 pelo seu nome)
לְתַבְּנִיתוֹ אֵין מִסָּפֵר	de seu entendimento não ha numero	o seu entendimento é infinito	o seu entendimento é infinito	o seu entendimento não se pode medir
Isaiah 40:26-28				
צְבָאָם	exército	exército	exército	exército de estrelas

לְכֹלֵם בְּשֵׁם יְקָרָא	a todas por seus nomes as chama	os chama a todos pelos seus nomes	a todas chama pelos seus nomes (1995 pelo seu nome)	todas bem contadas, as quais ele chama pelos seus nomes (1993 pelo seu nome)
אִין חֶקֶר לְתַבִּינָתוֹ	naõ ha esquadrinhação de seu entendimento.	não se pode esquadrinhar o seu entendimento.	não há esquadrinhação do seu entendimento.	não se pode esquadrinhar o seu entendimento.

The situation here is interesting. TB translates the plural *שְׁמוֹת* in the psalm with a singular and Isaiah’s singular with a plural, largely because it understands a different idiom in each verse (in the TB psalm Yahweh assigns names to the stars; in Isaiah, he uses their names to summon them). ARC became more source-oriented in 1995 in its rendering *שְׁמוֹת* with a plural in Psalm 147 and *שֵׁם* with a singular in Isaiah 40. ARA, which lies in the middle, became less source-oriented in the psalm, but more so in Isaiah, rendering a plural with a singular and a singular with a singular. It is not impossible that perspicuity of the allusions in the text was a factor; in fact, this seems likely, in view of two of ARA’s expansions: its translation of *זָכָר* to include the “stars” that are present in the alluded-to text, but not as a separate lexeme in the alluding text; and the addition of “all of them well-counted” which, though it also does not represent ST lexemes, opens a path back to Genesis 15:5. In the ARA’s changes one might find evidence that strict source-orientation does not necessarily entail perspicuity in the source text’s allusions, nor does a departure from it necessarily leave an allusion more obscure.

Also to be noted is ARA’s translation *não se pode esquadrinhar o seu entendimento*, which appears to have been taken over *in toto* from TB. TB’s change from a noun (*esquadrinhação*) to a verb (*se pode esquadrinhar*) might be an attempt at greater vividness and thus a slight (and uncharacteristic) instance of greater target orientation. It may be that the ARA viewed the change as an update consistent with its own *skopos* and opted to retain it.

5.4.3.3.4 Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4,8

ST	Verão Almeida	TB	ARC	ARA
Exodus 32:4 מִסִּכָּה	de fundição	fundido	de fundição	fundido
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	disséram	disseram	disseram	disseram
אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ	Estes são teus deuses	Estes são, ó Israel, os teus deuses	Estes são teus deuses	São estes, ó Israel, os teus deuses

Exodus 32:8 מִטְּכָה	de fundição	fundido	de fundição	fundido
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	disséraõ	disseram	disseram	dizem (1993 diz)
אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	Estes saõ teus deuses	Estes são, ó Israel, os deuses	Estes são teus deuses	São estes, ó Israel, os teus deuses
1 Kings 12:28 הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	vés aqui teus deuses	eis os teus deuses	vés aqui teus deuses	vés aqui teus deuses
Isaiah 42:17 הַאֲמָרִים	dizem	dizem	dizem	dizem
מִטְּכָה	as imagens de fundição	imagens esculpidas	as imagens de fundição	as imagens de fundição
אַתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ	Vós sois nossos deuses.	Vós sois os nossos deuses.	Vós sois nossos deuses.	Vós sois nossos deuses

Note that ARC’s policy of italicizing words not representing single source-text lexemes is not followed consistently. *São* is seen as such a word in Exodus 32:4, but not verse 8 (where the situation is identical).

Like *Versão Almeida*, ARC is at least consistent in its rendering of מִטְּכָה; TB and ARA are not. The allusion might have been slightly more apparent in ARA when *dizem* (“they are saying”) appeared in both the alluding and alluded-to texts; this was obliterated however, when *dizem* became singular *diz* in Exodus 32:8. This is likely one of the “errors of [grammatical] agreement” mentioned in ARA’s “Preface to the Biblical Text” (The subject, *povo*, is singular). The impact on the allusion might be slight, but it is certainly not positive. Indeed, there is no textual or paratextual evidence in any of these versions that either the TB or ARA translators heard an allusion in Isaiah 42 to the Golden Calf incident.

5.4.3.3.5 *Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39*

ST	<i>Versão Almeida</i>	TB	ARC	ARA
<u>Dt 32:39</u> אֲנִי אֶנִּי הוּא	Eu, Eu O sou	Eu, sim Eu, sou Ele	eu, eu o sou	Eu sou, Eu sómente (1993 somente)
וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל	e ninguém ha, que ** faça escapar de minha mão	não há quem possa livrar da minha mão	e ninguém há que escape da minha mão.	e não há quem possa livrar alguém da minha mão
<u>Isaiah 43:13</u> מִיּוֹם	Ainda antes que ouvesse dia	Sim, de hoje em diante	Ainda antes que houvesse dia	Ainda antes que houvesse dia
אֲנִי הוּא	eu sou	eu sou	eu sou	Eu era
וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל	e ninquem ha que possa fazer escapar de minhas mãos	não há quem possa livrar da minha mão	e ninguém há que possa fazer escapar de minhas mãos	e nenhum há que possa livrar alguém das minhas mãos

Obstacles in *Versão Almeida* to a reader activating the allusion were the slight inconsistencies in translating מִצִּיל (*faça escapar* vs. *possa fazer escapar*), the missed opportunity with the allusion-marker מִיּוֹם (“henceforth”) and an inexplicable change from “hand” in the alluded-to text to “hands.” TB is alone in rendering מִיּוֹם (“Yes, from today forward”) in such a way that it can serve as an allusion-marker.

Indeed, the allusion generally fares best in TB. Both ARC and ARA retain the obstacles present in *Versão Almeida* to a reader’s activating the allusion and add others of their own. ARC widens the inconsistency by using *fazer escapar* in the alluded-to text. ARA’s changes result in “I am” in the alluded-to text vs. “I was” in the alluding text, and “there is nobody who can” in the former vs. “not one exists who can” in the latter. What was gained by the changes is not clear; the loss, however, seems evident.

5.4.3.3.6 *Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16*

ST	<i>Versão Almeida</i>	TB	ARC	ARA
<u>Psalm 107:16</u> דִּלְתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת	as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze

שָׁבַר	quebrou	arrombou	quebrou	arrombou
וּבְרִיחֵי בַרְזֶל	<u>T</u> as trancas de ferro. T ou, os ferrolhos	as trancas de ferro	os ferrolhos de ferro	as trancas de ferro
גָּדַעַ	despedaçou	cortou	despedaçou	quebrou
Isaiah 45:2 דִּלְתוֹת נְחוּשָׁה	as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze
אֶשְׁבֵּר	quebrarei	quebrarei	quebrarei	quebrarei
וּבְרִיחֵי בַרְזֶל	os ferrolhos de ferro	as trancas de ferro	os ferrolhos de ferro	as trancas de ferro
אֶגְדַּעַ	despedaçarei	despedaçarei	despedaçarei	despedaçarei

In ARC there is a slight increase over *Versão Almeida* in the likelihood that the allusion will be recognized, in that *ferrolhos de ferro* now appears in the body of the both texts. There is similar consistency with *trancas de ferro*, which is TB's and ARA's translation. The likelihood of direct borrowing from TB by ARA seems strong.

Both TB and ARA again introduce a new obstacle, however, in the verbs. In both TB and ARA שָׁבַר is *arrombar* in the Psalm and *quebrar* in Isaiah. In TB גָּדַעַ is *cortar* in the Psalm and *despedaçar* in Isaiah; in ARA, it is *quebrar*, then *despedaçar*. If, therefore, ARA is explainable by positing a change in the direction of TB, one wonders why TB was not followed more consistently. If, however, euphony or an arguable *cacófato* were the reason, one could propose that the reason for the change from *quebrou as* to *arrombou as* might have been to avoid *broas* (“corn muffins;” *slang* “plump women”). In any event, the impact on shared vocabulary in ARA is clearly negative.

5.4.3.3.3.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15, 20

ST	<i>Versão Almeida</i>	TB	ARC	ARA
Psalm 78:15 יִבְקַעַ	fendeo	fendeu	fendeu	fendeu

<u>Psalm 78:20</u>				
צור	a penha	a rocha	a penha	a rocha
וַיִּזְבּוּ	corrêraõ	brotaram	correram	manaram
מַיִם	agoas	águas	águas	águas
<u>Exodus 17:6</u>				
וַהֲכִיֵּת	ferirás	ferirás	ferirás	ferirás
בַּצּוֹר	a penha	a rocha	a rocha	a rocha
וַיִּצְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ	sahiráõ della	dela sairá	dela sairãõ	dela sairá
מַיִם	agoas	água	águas	água
<u>Isaiah 48:21</u>				
וַיִּבְקַע	fendendo	fendeu	fendendo	fendeu
צוֹר	as rochas	a pedra	as rochas	a pedra
וַיִּזְבּוּ	manávaõ	correram	manavam	correram
מַיִם	agoas	as águas	as águas	as águas

Noteworthy are oscillations in the translation of צור (*Versão Almeida* *penha, penha, rochas*; TB *rocha, rocha, pedra*; ARC *penha, rocha, rochas*; ARA *rocha, rocha, pedra*) which seem entirely arbitrary; only for ARA's move away from *penha* is a rationale apparent, *viz.*, both a move toward TB and the avoidance of a less common word. זבּ is handled consistently in *Versão Almeida*, but in TB it is *brotar*, then *correr*; ARC it is *correr*, then *manar*; ARA does exactly the reverse—*manar*, then *correr*. When in TB and ARA מַיִם is translated with a plural, then a singular, then a plural, the inter-textual relationship encompassing all three texts is obscured still further.

5.4.3.3.8 *Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14 (Pt 13)*

ST	Versão Almeida	TB	ARC	ARA
Psalm 69:14 עת רצון	no * * tempo T T do agrado <u>T T</u> ou, da boa vontade: <i>q.d.</i> sendo minha offerta aceita a ti	em tempo aceitável	<i>num</i> tempo aceitável	em tempo favorável
עֲנֵנִי	ouve-me	responde-me	ouve-me	responde-me
בְּאֵמֶת יִשְׁעֶךָ	<u>T T T</u> fiidade de tua salvação <u>T T T</u> ou, verdade : <i>Gen.</i> <i>32:10. q. d.</i> Segundo tens prometido de livrar- me. 2 <i>Sam.</i> 3:18.	na verdade da tua salvação	verdade da tua salvação	pela tua fidelidade em socorrer.
Isaiah 49:8 בְּעֵת רְצוֹן	Em tempo do T agrado <u>v. 8. T</u> ou, contentamente.	no tempo aceitável	no tempo favorável	no tempo aceitável
עֲנִיתִיךָ	te ouvi	te respondi	te ouvi	te ouvi
יְשׁוּעָה	da salvação	da salvação	da salvação	da salvação

Versão Almeida and TB left עַת רְצוֹן visible in both texts by translating identically. There is another odd shift in both ARA and ARC. In ARC the time is *aceitável* in the psalm and *favorável* in Isaiah; in ARA the situation is exactly the reverse.

Versão Almeida, TB, and ARC were all consistent in their renderings of עֲנֵנִי. ARA reduces shared vocabulary still further by using *responder* in the psalm and *ouvir* in Isaiah. *Responder* might have been felt to more naturally accompany a prayer (mentioned in the psalm and gapped in Isaiah). The difficulty is that the allusion would have provided opportunity for a “full-knowing reader” filling in the gap in DtI on his/her own, which has now become less likely. Furthermore, *salvação* in the psalm has been altered in ARA to *em socorrer*, resulting in a smooth contextual rendering, but a rough one across the inter-text.

5.4.3.3.9 *Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23*

ST	<i>Versão Almeida</i>	TB	ARC	ARA
<u>Nu 11:23</u> הֲיֵד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר	seria logo encurtada a mão do SENHOR	é curta a mão de Jeová?	Seria pois encurtada a mão do Senhor? (1995 SENHOR)	Ter-se-ia encurtado a mão do SENHOR?
<u>Isaiah 50:2</u> הֲקִצֹר קְצָרָה יָדִי	porventura tanto * T se encolheo minha mão	tanto se encolheu a minha mão	tanto se encolheu a minha mão	acaso se encolheu tanto a minha mão

Noteworthy here is the mesoclisism in ARA, an example of the higher language register resulting from some ARA changes. In all four versions there is a similar shift from a form of *curta/encurtar* in the alluded-to text to *encolheo/u* in the alluding text. The shift results in a decrease in shared lexis and a less perspicuous allusion to the same degree in Almeida and its three daughters.

5.4.3.3.10 *Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (Pt 1:15)*

ST	<i>Versão Almeida</i>	TB	ARC	ARA
<u>Nahum 2:1</u> הִנֵּה עַל־הַהָרִים	Eis que sobre os montes ja	Eis sobre os montes	Eis sobre os montes	Eis sobre os montes
רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	os pés do que * traz as boas novas	os pés do que traz boas-novas	os pés do que traz boas novas (1995 boas-novas)	os pés do que anuncia boas-novas
מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם	do que apregôa * * a paz	que anuncia paz	do que anuncia a paz	do que anuncia a paz
<u>Isaiah 52:7</u> מִהֲנָאוּ עַל־הַהָרִים	*Quam suaves são sobre os montes	Quão formosos são sobre os montes	Quão suaves são sobre os montes	Que formosos são sobre os montes
רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	os pés do que evangeliza o bem	os pés do que anuncia coisas boas	os pés do que anuncia as boas novas (1995 boas-novas)	os pés do que anuncia as boas novas (1993 boas-novas)
מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם	e que faz ouvir a paz	do que prega a paz	que faz ouvir a paz	que faz ouvir a paz

This is a unique case of an allusion that was fairly obscure in *Versão Almeida* and TB becoming slightly clearer in ARC and slightly more so in ARA. The translations of מְבַשֵּׂר diverged rather

widely in *Versão Almeida* and TB. In ARC, “good news” appears in both renderings, though like TB the news is “brought” in Nahum and “announced” in DtI. In ARA the news is “announced” in both instances. The remaining obstacle to shared vocabulary is the translation of מְשֻׁמָּע which in TB comes out as “announces”//“preaches,” and as “announces//makes heard” in ARC and ARA. A desire to avoid redundancy might account for this in the alluding text, but in the alluded-to text it would not have been a consideration.

5.4.4 Conclusions

It might first be noted that evidence in these passages suggests that some of ARA’s changes over *Versão Almeida* were, in fact, moves in the direction of TB. Second, an odd phenomenon has appeared in the examination of this and other *Versão Almeida* daughter versions that might merit further investigation. In the case of translation projects that are aware of each other and whose goal is a linguistic “update” of an antecedent version, is it possible for a translator to opt for a translation for no reason other than that it was dispreferred in another project? As noted above, in Psalm 78:20//Isaiah 48:21, ARA reverses ARC’s *correr//manar* to *manar//correr* for reasons that are anybody’s guess. In the Psalm 69:14//Isaiah 49:8 pair, the ARA reverses ARC’s *aceitável//favorável* to *favorável//aceitável*. Is it possible that a translator’s concept of what constitutes an “archaism” is occasionally influenced more by what another version did than by objective criteria? Although it seems almost perverse, do previous (even roughly contemporary) versions and revisions play a role in determining, not just how the Bible “should sound,” but how it should *not* sound in the ear of a translator?

For purposes of the present study, however, the most important observation is this one. From the examination of the *Versão Almeida* it was concluded (5.4.2.3.11) that indications of source-orientation in a translation *skopos* do not necessarily result in the retention of vocabulary that is shared between the alluding and the alluded-to text, and thus perspicuous allusions, in TT. This appears to have been confirmed by the examination of TB, ARC, and ARA. That “source-orientation” implies a tendency toward lexical concordance, which in turn implies the retention of shared vocabulary, intuitively seems like a valid assumption, but it seems clear that even self-conscious “source-orientedness” does not necessarily mean that lexical concordance will be approached scientifically or consistently. Accordingly, in the absence of a conscious norm of allusion-friendly translating, a general “source-orientation” will still result in a preservation of ST allusions that tends toward randomness. Conversely, target-orientation, at least to the limited degree that this is visible in these versions, does not automatically imply a loss of source-text allusions in the target text—as is evident in ARA Nahum 2:1//Isaiah 52:7. This will be born in

mind when such self-consciously “target-oriented” versions as the *Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje* or the *Tradução Interconfessional* are examined in subsequent chapters.

6. Post-*Almeida* Roman Catholic Versions in Portuguese

6.1 Introduction

Until the mid-twentieth century, virtually all Roman Catholic Bibles were translations of a translation. This chapter will first acknowledge the issues raised by the inclusion of relay translations in this study. It will then outline historical developments that had an impact on the target culture (in the broadest sense, the Lusophone Roman Catholic world) before proceeding with an analysis of four significant Roman Catholic versions: the Bibles of António Pereira de Figueiredo and Matos Soares, the *Bíblia Ilustrada*, and the *Nova Bíblia dos Freis Capuchinhos*. Analysis will proceed according to Margret Ammann's method as in Chapter 5 above. The goal will be to ascertain the effects of these target culture shifts on a translation's implied target reader, its translational norms, and above all its coherence with the source text with respect to inter-textual allusions in Dtl.

Since the last two versions under consideration in this chapter were the work of committees, they will also permit some testing of the effect this has on literary features across biblical books. These will prepare for the discussion of the *Tradução Interconfessional* (chapter 8 below)—which, while a committee translation, followed a different procedure from the versions considered here.

6.1.1 Relay Translations

Since the term “secondary translation” implies a value judgment, and “indirect translation” is used by relevance theory in a very different sense, this study will prefer the term “relay translation” for a target text produced from a source text that is itself a translation. An omission of relay translations would leave this study seriously impaired. The Roman Catholic Church, which held a virtual religious monopoly within the Lusophone world until recently, declared the *Vulgate* the “authentic” translation of the Bible at the Council of Trent in 1546. Translating directly from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek source texts was not permitted until *Divino Afflante Spiritu* in 1943. This means that for four centuries, all Roman Catholic versions in Portuguese were relay translations, based normally on the Clementine *Vulgate* of 1592 (prepared by order of Sixtus V and published under Clement VIII) or one of its subsequent, corrected editions.

Another reason for their inclusion is that relay translations are an under-examined phenomenon in Translation Studies, possibly because of an assumption that every step away from the primary source text reduces a target text's suitability as an object of analysis: “If translation is a poor copy, then why discuss poor copies of poor copies?” (St. André 2009:230). In a descriptive study that is at least initially target text-oriented, however, the point becomes moot; in fact, the study of the

function of a relay translation in its target culture can yield insights that are uniquely intriguing (Toury 1995:128ff). In the present case, the culture into which the Roman Catholic versions considered below were launched would have not have accepted any version that was not a relay translation and that announced itself as such. The effect of this constraint on a version's target culture function will be one of the questions that interest us in what follows.

The first and most important Roman Catholic Bible in Portuguese, naturally based on the *Vulgate*, is António Pereira de Figueiredo's *Bíblia Sagrada*. This version is no longer in wide use, but it is almost universally held in high regard and its impact on subsequent versions was significant. The story of Figueiredo's Bible is therefore worth recounting in some detail.

6.1.2 Target Culture: *Pombalismo* in Portugal

On 1 November 1755, a massive earthquake devastated two-thirds of the city of Lisbon and killed tens of thousands of its citizens, many of whom died when the churches in which they were attending mass for All Saints' Day collapsed. The event shocked Europe and, for many, led to a crisis in faith. But its aftermath not only turned Lisbon into one of the most architecturally distinctive capitals in the world; it also catapulted into power perhaps the most titanic and controversial figure in Portuguese history: D. José I's minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, known to history as the Marquis de Pombal (1699-1782). Pombal directed the rebuilding of Lisbon with remarkable efficiency. He then turned his administrative genius toward a program of political, economic, and cultural reform, becoming virtual dictator over the kingdom and remaining so until the death of his patron D. José in 1777.

Pombal is lauded by some as a model "enlightened despot" and reviled by others for his ruthless and autocratic style (Blanshard 1962:199). Roman Catholic historians tend to be especially unsympathetic (*e.g.* Prestage 1911; *cf.* dos Santos 1982:202f), for obvious reasons. Pombal had served the Portuguese crown as minister in London from 1740-1744 and in Vienna until 1749. His time in England exposed him to the Anglican model for church-state relations, which he admired (Saraiva 1997:78). While in Austria, Pombal imbibed the political philosophy sometimes known as "Josephism," which was named for the Emperor Joseph II (1765-1790) but actually originated under his mother Maria Theresa (1740-1780). Josephism envisioned an autonomous state church in communion with the Holy See, but firmly under control of the crown (dos Santos 1982:169).

Once back in Portugal and firmly in power, Pombal sought an end to the power of the Inquisition and the beginnings of a national church independent from Rome and subordinate to the state (hence the term *regalismo* [royalism]). He saw to the translation and distribution in Portugal of a work

by Nicolaus von Hontheim (1701-1790), written under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius, which argued that the Pope was subordinate to the church at large and the church could curtail papal prerogatives when it saw fit (dos Santos 1982:169). In 1760 Pombal actually severed diplomatic relations with the Vatican (though these were later resumed), a move that Bible translator Figueiredo applauded (dos Santos 1982:177). Under Pombal the Jesuits were expelled from the kingdom, and he joined with European allies in pressing Pope Clement XIV to abolish the Society altogether.

Portuguese *regalismo* was part of the wave of political absolutism sweeping over Europe during the 18th century Enlightenment; therefore, Figueiredo's *Bíblia Sagrada* owes its existence to the Enlightenment in the way that the *Versão Almeida* is unimaginable without the Reformation. Figueiredo, however, was not simply caught up in the current of the times; he was one of *regalismo*'s chief architects. It was he who provided the Pombal regime with *regalismo*'s theoretical foundation (dos Santos 1982:172), and the *Bíblia Sagrada* was a feature of Figueiredo's broader vision for ecclesial and social reform.

6.1.3 António Pereira de Figueiredo (1725-1797), Bible Translator

António Pereira de Figueiredo was born in the small town of Mação in 1725 to working-class parents. At age 11, he entered the ducal school of Vila Viçosa, control of which had been turned over in the same year to the Jesuits; here his abilities in music and Latin quickly became apparent. Six years later, he returned briefly to Mação, entering in 1743 the novitiate at the monastery of the Holy Cross in Coimbra. He learned, however, that he would not be permitted to begin formal studies here until six more years had passed, a condition he found unacceptable. In 1744, he entered the House of the Holy Spirit in the Congregation of the Oratorians in Lisbon, where he began studies in philosophy and theology.

Figueiredo's studies in Latin and poetics continued, and an early written work demonstrates certain sensitivities that are relevant to the present study. In a 1746 tract entitled *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar* ("True Method of Study"), the theologian Luís António Verney had argued against the rhetorical use of purposeful ambiguities and, along the way, characterized these as a recent innovation. The title of Figueiredo's reply tells the whole story: "Letter from one friend to another, in which purposeful ambiguities are defended against the imprudent judgment made about them by the critical modern author of *True Method of Study*."²⁴ Figueiredo argues that the literature of

²⁴ *Carta de um amigo a outro amigo, na qual se defendem os Equívocos contra o indiscreto juízo que deles faz o moderno crítico autor da obra intitulada Verdadeiro Método de Ensinar.*

antiquity is replete with puns, ambiguities, allusions, and other word-play. He includes Isaiah 14:15, Daniel 13, and citations from Paul's epistles as examples, along with many others from classical authors (dos Santos 2005:26). This would suggest a future Bible translator open to the possibility of allusion in a source text, and perhaps with a desire to preserve it in the target text if possible.

During this era the Oratorians were held in high regard for their pedagogical expertise (dos Santos 2005:27), and they clashed frequently with the Jesuits over divergent philosophies of education and over control of institutions (dos Santos 2005:23). Figueiredo entered the fray with the 1752 publication in Lisbon of his "New Method of Latin Grammar for use in the Schools of the Oratorian Congregations in the Royal House of Our Lady of Necessities."²⁵ Figueiredo's text challenged many features of Jesuit pedagogy, arguing, for instance, against what today would be called a "four-skills" approach²⁶ to teaching Latin and advocating instead the use of the vernacular in the classroom (dos Santos 2005:29).

Reaction from the Jesuits was swift and sharp, and it touched off a polemical exchange over foreign language instruction. Figueiredo's values as scholar and pedagogue emerge clearly from his contributions to the exchange. He rejects the prevailing emphasis on lists of rules and their exceptions (dos Santos 2005:30), insisting that a teacher should focus on one simple objective: to enable students to read Latin authors and translate them into Portuguese in the shortest possible amount of time (dos Santos 2005:36). Figueiredo sought to remove every obstacle to his students' enjoyment of the creative use of language by classical authors, a goal to which everything else was subordinate.

How a method for teaching Latin could become this controversial may be hard to appreciate today, but Figueiredo's grammar was actually an initial shot fired in a battle with the Jesuits that led to their expulsion from the kingdom in 1759. It also exemplified the movement that has come to be known as *iluminismo católico* ("Catholic Enlightenment"). The term appears to have been coined by Merkle in the early 20th century (dos Santos 1982:197), who meant to distinguish the movement from the French Enlightenment with its deist and anti-clericalist tendencies; these the Catholic

²⁵ *Novo Methodo da Gramatica Latina, para o uso das Escolas da Congregação do Oratorio na Real Casa de N. Senhora das Necessidades.*

²⁶ Competence in a language is sometimes said to consist of four skills: listening, speaking, reading, and writing; "Four skills" pedagogical approaches treat these skills as interdependent and, therefore, all necessary. Figueiredo especially objected to the use of Latin as the medium of instruction.

Enlightenment rejected. Its program was in many ways orthodox and traditionalist, but also “politically royalist, morally Jansenist,²⁷ anti-Aristotelian, anti-Scholastic, and anti-Jesuit” (dos Santos 2005:173). The Catholic Enlightenment emphasized the critical study of church history, liturgical renewal, and the cultivation of vernacular languages (dos Santos 2005:169). Dos Santos sees both Figueiredo’s translation of the catechism of Bento XIII from Italian and his translation of the Bible as demonstrating a Catholic Enlightenment commitment to reform in the direction of enlightened and effective spiritual formation (dos Santos 2005:172).

The rift between the crown and the Vatican under Pombal had practical consequences, and these occasioned Figueiredo’s 1766 work “Theological Treatise, In Which It Will Be Shown that, when recourse to the Apostolic See is impeded, the ability to dispense with public impediments to marriage, and to make spiritual provision in all other cases reserved to the Pope, devolves to the Lord Bishops, at any time that the public and urgent necessity of the subjects may call for it.”²⁸ The significance of the *Tentativa*, as it was known, goes well beyond these immediate concerns, in that it provided exactly the theoretical foundation for *regalismo* that Pombal needed. Figueiredo argues that bishops receive their office, not from the Pope, but directly from Christ (Pereira de Figueiredo 1766:6). Consequently, any prerogatives that the Pope has, the bishops within their own jurisdictions have to exactly the same degree (Pereira de Figueiredo 1766:8). If relations between the Pope and the crown are broken off, it makes no difference which side is at fault; in either case, the bishops’ prerogatives remain intact and their sacral actions, legitimate (Pereira de Figueiredo 1766:241). When “Febronius” argued the same points in the work disseminated by Pombal (mentioned above), Figueiredo complained that “Febronius” had actually plagiarized the *Tentativa*. Cândido dos Santos (dos Santos 2005:93f) shows that this had in fact been the case.

Figueiredo’s work as Bible translator first became possible when Bento XIV relaxed the 4th Rule of the Index of Prohibited Books in the bull *Dominici Gregis* in 1757. The change permitted the reading of vernacular Bibles, provided that they were approved by the Apostolic See or annotated with citations from the Church Fathers or Church-approved theologians (dos Santos 2005:189).

²⁷ Jansenism was a movement within the Roman Catholic Church. In the seventeenth century, Jansenists defended a theological position summarized in five propositions which had a somewhat Calvinistic slant. Four of these were condemned by the Church as heretical. By the mid-eighteenth century the Jansenist movement had become less overtly theological (or, in J. Forget’s unsympathetic opinion, less transparently theological). It continued to promote an agenda of improvement in Roman Catholic morals (Forget 1910).

²⁸ *Tentativa Teológica, Em Que Se Pretende Mostrar, que impedido o Recurso à Sé Apostolica, Se Devolve Aos Senhores Bispos A Faculdade de Dispensar nos impedimentos Publicos do Matrimonio, e de prover espiritualmente em todos os mais Cazos Reservados ao Papa, Todas As Vezes Que Assim O Pedir a publica e urgente necessidade dos Subditos.*

This stipulation would later create a difficulty for inter-confessional Bible translation projects, since Protestant Bible society charters required their Bibles to be published “without note or comment” and the Roman Catholic Church would not approve any translation without them (*cf.* 8.1.3 below). In the 18th century, however, Bento XIV’s action opened the door to a project that Figueiredo saw as long overdue (dos Santos 2005:189) and as a natural fit with his vision for reform.

By the time Figueiredo’s Old Testament translating took place (after 1777), the political tide had turned. D. José had been replaced on the throne by Dona Maria I, Pombal had been thrust aside, and a repudiation of *regalismo* and the return of Ultramontanism²⁹ were real possibilities (dos Santos 2005:181ff). Figueiredo was, in fact, greatly marginalized during the reign of Dona Maria I. His views remained unchanged, however, and his literary output continued unabated. Figueiredo’s concerns had always been theological and philosophical rather than political (dos Santos 2005:267), and he had always seen royalism as an agent for ecclesial reform rather than the other way around (de Castro 1987:410). Therefore, although *pombalismo* was arguably *passé* by the time he was at work on his Bible translation, it would not be surprising to find *pombalist* and royalist ideas surfacing in its copious footnotes—as in fact they do (Scharbert 1983:167).

Figueiredo’s New Testament was complete in 1772, but for reasons that are not clear it was not actually printed until 1778. The interval found the translator already defending himself from the charge that his lack of knowledge of Hebrew or Greek meant he was unqualified as a Bible translator; presumably, it was felt that even a relay translator ought to have recourse to the original source texts. Figueiredo strongly rejected the argument, since in his mind it subordinated theology to the study of the biblical languages. He insisted that anyone who has studied the Church Fathers and church tradition has the correct foundation for his theology (dos Santos 2005:190), and in Figueiredo’s mind, Bible translating was a theological enterprise. This suggests that his version would attempt to position itself within the stream of Roman Catholic tradition, which is precisely what the *Bíblia Sagrada* does—for instance, in the copious quotations from Roman Catholic theologians that are found in the footnotes.

These notes became controversial, however, although the first criticisms in print do not actually appear until 1859. By Roman Catholics, Figueiredo was accused of Jansenism (with good reason—dos Santos 2005:199f), of “liberalism” (Bittencourt 1984:218), and of a deficient “spirit of piety”

²⁹ Ultramontanism is the doctrine that Roman Catholics’ first allegiance is to the Holy See in Rome (“beyond the mountains” from a Western European perspective).

in comparison with other biblical commentators (Scharbert 1983:167). Allegations of royalist tendencies in the translation and especially its notes have already been mentioned; in the nineteenth century, some notes were even condemned by the Vatican (dos Santos 2005:199).

Controversy also attended Figueiredo's reception among Protestants. In 1828, the British and Foreign Bible Society departed from policy regarding relay translations, and published an edition of Figueiredo's version *sans* notes; an updated version followed in 1858. This contributed to the decline in use of Figueiredo's version among Roman Catholics, who looked askance at the Bible societies and their products (Alves 2010:209; *cf.* 8.1.1 below).

Use of Figueiredo among Protestants fared little better. In 1864 an anonymous tract by one "Philalethes" ("Friend of Truth") appeared in London. It excoriated Figueiredo's version for the support it gave to doctrines and practices of the "corrupt Roman Church," including purgatory, transubstantiation, indulgences, the Immaculate Conception of Mary, the sacrament of penance, and a Romish understanding of justification. "Philalethes" urged either a more thorough revision of Figueiredo or its replacement with a more faithful version like Almeida's (dos Santos 2005:205). The latter, of course, is what happened

It is an exaggeration to claim (as does the preface to the *Biblia Illustrada*, p. 32, on which see below) that subsequent Catholic versions were nothing but adaptations of Figueiredo and that even Protestants abandoned Almeida in its favor. The historical importance of Figueiredo's Bible is undeniable, however, and today its positive qualities are widely acknowledged (dos Santos 2005:196). The version is regarded as a Portuguese literary classic, although largely in the sense of Mark Twain's definition of a "classic" as "a book which people praise and don't read."

6.1.4 Figueiredo's *Biblia Sagrada*

6.1.4.1 Target Text (TT) Coherence

Figueiredo's *Biblia Sagrada* was originally a work of 23 volumes, with the last released in 1790. The translation of the prophet Isaiah was concluded on July 6, 1787; volume 13, which contained it, was published in 1788. This study is based on a first edition housed at the National Library in Lisbon. Compared with the *Versão Almeida* edition (printed only 35 years earlier) that was examined above (5.4.2), the superior quality of the printing and binding of the *Biblia Sagrada* is immediately striking.

The first volume of the Old Testament, published in 1783, is prefaced with a treatise on divine inspiration, which is said to be just as available to the Church when it defines doctrine as it was to

the authors who wrote the Scriptures. Inspiration moved the biblical authors to write, made them aware of things that they could not have otherwise known, and guided and directed them in all that they wrote; in the case of Church tradition, however, inspiration functions on a somewhat lower level. While in both cases divine inspiration preserves from the possibility of error, the preface draws a sharp distinction with regard to the level of authority that results in each instance.

Individual biblical books receive prefaces as well. Figueiredo's preface to Isaiah affirms his belief that especially when reading this prophet it must be remembered that nothing in Scripture can be either superfluous or improper. Accordingly, Figueiredo claims that in this book he tried to remain even more scrupulously close to Jerome's Latin than usual. He warns the reader that, occasionally, this might have resulted in less delicacy of expression than French versions (a reference to those of de Saci, Huré, Le Gros, and de Messengui, which Figueiredo used extensively—dos Santos 2005:193); he would rather be accused of offensive language, however, than unfaithfulness.

“Offensive,” however, is not a term used to describe Figueiredo's language. Although contemporary Lusophones generally do not find his diction accessible, the *Bíblia Sagrada* is considered a literary masterpiece (Scharbert 1983:168), vastly superior to the *Versão Almeida* on target-language grounds. The development of the Portuguese language in the century or more between Almeida and Figueiredo has been suggested as a reason for this (Bittencourt 1984:218), but undoubtedly the main reason was Figueiredo himself. While João Ferreira de Almeida's aptitude for languages is as impressive as his energy and discipline, for the most part he was an autodidact who struggled to eke out a *niche* within the cultures in which he moved. Figueiredo, on the other hand, was a famous Latinist and career scholar with an excellent education, one who was at home in the highest ranks of Portuguese society.

This explains the level at which Figueiredo's Bible is “pitched.” Unlike the *Versão Almeida*, the *Bíblia Sagrada* is not a Bible for catechizing the masses or for fireside reading by the common man. This is evident, for example, from its being published in 23 volumes (subsequent editions, while less expansive, tended also to be luxury items—Konigs 2003:216). Its footnotes cite freely from classical authors and Church Fathers, with no perceived need for introductions or explanations. At times, they offer several competing interpretations of the same passage from among which a reader may choose, or enter into fairly technical questions of textual criticism (see on Isaiah 40:7 below)—which also strongly implies a sophisticated target reader. The register of

Figueiredo's language is high, as evidenced by, *e.g.*, its occasional archaisms and its very frequent recourse to mesoclisism.³⁰

As he translated, Figueiredo made liberal use of other versions and commentaries; and as mentioned he found several recent French versions especially useful. These versions had used variations in typeface to indicate "additional" words, as had Almeida (dos Santos 2005:193). Figueiredo, however, rejects this practice. In his own comments on translating, he explicitly reserves to the translator the right to "add" or "subtract" whatever is necessary to accommodate differences between the source and target languages (dos Santos 2005:191). This predicts a higher level of "target orientation" than one finds in Almeida, and Figueiredo's Bible could aptly be characterized in just this way.

At times, in fact, Figueiredo shows sensitivity to what a reader is likely to understand by a particular rendering that rivals Luther at his most "free." For example, *Vulgate* Isaiah 42:9:

Quæ prima fuerunt, ecce venerunt; nova quoque ego annuntio : antequam orientur, audita vobis faciam ("Things that were at first, look, they have come; also, new things I announce : before they arise, I make them heard for you")

becomes:

Aquellas predicções que forão as primeiras que vos fiz, vede como ellas já se cumprirão; tambem eu agora anuncio outras de novo: far-vo-las-hei ouvir, antes que succedão ("Those predictions that were the first I made to you—see how already now they come to pass; in addition, now I once again announce others; I shall make you hear them before they come to be").

Similarly, in 44:16, *Bom, aqueitei-me, já vi aceso o fogão* ("Well! I've become warm; I've seen the stove alight") is phrasing which, while perhaps elevated, one can imagine a native speaker actually using. 54:9 has *Eu tenho por tão firme este pacto como o que fiz nos dias de Noé* ("I take this alliance to be just as firm as the one which I made in the days of Noah"), which expands the *Vulgate's* *Sicut in diebus Noë istud mihi est* ("For me, this is just as it was in the days of Noah") and reads smoothly. Likewise, in 55:3, Jerome's *pactum sempiternum misericordias David fideles* ("an eternal covenant, the faithful mercies of David") is expanded to *um pacto sempiterno, que consiste nas fiéis misericordias que eu prometi a David* ("an eternal covenant, which consists in

³⁰ On mesoclisism see 5.4.3.3.2 above.

the faithful mercies *that I promised to David,*” emphasis mine); again, the expansions result in greater readability.

Finally, there are times when, in the opinion of this writer—who admittedly is not a native Portuguese speaker—Figueiredo’s language soars. An example:

Elle não desfalecerá, nem se fatigará; nem ha investigação que alcance a sua sabedoria.
(He shall not fail, nor shall he grow weary; nor is there any searching-out that may plumb his wisdom [40:28]).

In other words, one finds a certain dislocation between what might be called Figueiredo’s “translation brief” and what one actually finds in his version of Isaiah. Figueiredo claims to have adhered as closely to the *Vulgate* as he could and apologizes for any resulting indelicacy of language. In fact, his translation demonstrates a great deal of autonomy and linguistic elegance—features viewed positively by some and negatively by others (Bittencourt 1984:220; Konigs 2003:233n).

In the preceding chapter, the hypothesis was tested that a source-oriented version like the *Versão Almeida*, by virtue of its tendency toward lexical concordance, will at times preserve vocabulary shared between alluding text (AT) and alluded-to text (ATT) such that the reader of the translation will be able to activate the allusion. What was found, in fact, was less correlation between a source-oriented *skopos* and perspicuity in allusion than might have been predicted.

The analysis below could be seen as testing the reverse of this hypothesis. While the term really should be applied only after the criteria for “target-orientedness” have been defined, it is not inaccurate to label Figueiredo’s *Bíblia Sagrada* a generally target-oriented version. On the one hand, it might be assumed that a highly literate translator whose specialty is classical poetics would be sensitive to source-text features spanning large units of discourse, allusion among them. On the other hand, this translator is not averse to departing from his source text for the sake of good Portuguese; one therefore would expect only those “allusion-markers” to surface of which the translator appears overtly conscious. These assumptions will be tested in the examination of the allusive passages which follows.

6.1.4.2 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

Note that in what follows the non-standard (and at times inconsistent) orthography of the 1788 *Bíblia Sagrada* has been allowed to stand, as was done with the *Versão Almeida* in chapter 4 above.

6.1.4.2.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Lv v 41</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Lv v 41</u>	<u>ST¹ Isalah</u>	<u>ST¹ Lv v 41</u>
iniquidade	impiedades	iniquitas	impietatibus	עֲוֹן	עֲוֹן
está lhe perdoado	oraráõ	dimissa est	orabunt	רצה	רצה
	<u>Fig. Lv v 43</u>		<u>ST² Lv v 43</u>		<u>ST¹ Lv v 43</u>
	peccados		peccatis		עֲוֹן
	rogaráõ		rogabunt		רצה

As noted above, DtI's allusion is marked in ST¹ by the lexemes רצה and עֲוֹן which it shares with Leviticus. The *Vulgate*'s translation of these lexemes is not consistent within the alluded-to text. רצה is rendered with *orare* in v 41 and with *rogare* in v 43; עֲוֹן is first *impietas*, then *peccatum*. The *Vulgate*'s idiosyncratic understanding that Leviticus is speaking of the exiles "praying" for forgiveness presents a serious obstacle to reader recognition of the allusion in DtI. Figueiredo's understanding of the passage is the same.

The notes on Isaiah 40:2 contain: (a) an explanation of the idiom "speak to the heart" that is attributed to Jerome, (b) an explanation of the Clementine *Vulgate*'s use of *malitia* (which translates מַלְיָה) that compares the interpretations of Jean-Baptiste Duhamel (1624-1706) and "French sources,"³¹ and (c) a note on possible interpretations of the "double penalty" which cites Origen, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyril of Jerusalem, and the 18th-century French translation of Louis de Carrières. Jerome believes that the "first" penalty refers to the conquest by the Babylonians; the "second," the subjugation of Judah by the Romans which was complete by the time of Christ. Figueiredo provides no note on the alluded-to text, however, and there is no sign in the notes on the Isaiah passage that any connection was recognized.

6.1.4.2.2 Psalm 103 (Vg 102):15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
erva	herva	fœnum	fœnum	הַצִּיר	הַצִּיר
a flor do campo	a flor do campo	flos agri	flos agri	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה

³¹ The note tries to harmonize the translation *malitia* of the Clementine *Vulgate* with the Hebrew. Figueiredo acknowledges the view of "critics" that this would be more properly *militia* in Latin.

o Senhor a ferio com o seu assopro.	Assopra o vento	spiritus Domini	spiritus	רוּחַ יְהוָה	רוּחַ
mas a palavra de nosso Senhor fica eternamente .	a misericórdia do Senhor he des da eternidade; e ella durará eternamente	verbum autem Domini nostri manet in æternum.	Misericordia autem Domini ab æterno, et usque in æternum	וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִקְוֶה לְעוֹלָם	וְחֻסֵּד יְהוָה יִמְעוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם

The extensive vocabulary shared between these two texts was noted above (3.4.2.2; *cf.* Sommer 1998:261), and the pair is identified as an allusion by Nurmela 2006:5f, Paul 2012:132f, *etc.* The allusion fares roughly the same in Figueiredo as it had in the *Vulgate*, which Figueiredo follows closely. For instance, like the *Vulgate* (and differently from Masoretic *ta^{amim}*) Figueiredo construes “and toward eternity” with the second colon in Psalm 103:17. The need to supply a verb in the alluded-to text, however, leads to a lost opportunity for shared vocabulary. There are two verbs in the psalm, *he* (was) and *durará* (will endure); the verb יִקְוֶה in Isaiah is rendered *fica* (remains).

Much of the shared vocabulary has been preserved (The variation in [*h*]erva is purely orthographic). Exceptions include *spiritus* in the *Vulgate*, which becomes *vento* in the psalm and *assopro* in Isaiah (with an interpretive addition: *o Senhor a ferio com o seu assopro*—“the Lord wounded it with his breath”). The verb *assoprar* in the psalm actually introduces additional shared lexis, in a sense compensating for what was lost *via* the inconsistent rendering of *spiritus*.

The notes on the two passages are both substantial and revealing. After sending the reader to 1 Peter 1:25, the note on the Psalm adds a discussion on the words missing from LXX 40:7 that mentions their presence in MT and Theodotion; the implications of this for determining the source texts used in Origen’s *Hexapla*; Jerome’s attribution of the lacuna to parablepsis; and the observation by the French biblicist Jean Martianay that the same kind of copyist error must have led to the deletion of the *comma Iohanneum* from 1 John 5:7. The one thing the note does not mention is any connection to Psalm 103.

The note on the psalm provides alternate translations by Saci (Louis-Isaac Lemaistre de Sacy, 1613-1684) and the “French breviary,” and a translation shared by de Carrières and the commentator Antoine Agustin Calmet (1672-1757). It points to no inter-textual connections, however.

6.1.4.2.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147 (146):4,5

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
o exercito das estrelas	das estrelas	militiam	stellarum	צְבָאָם	לְכוֹכְבִּים
as chama a todas pelos seus nomes	as conhece a todas pelo seu nome	omnes ex nomine vocat	omnibus eis nomina vocat	לְכֹלֵם בְּשֵׁם יִקְרָא	לְכֹלֵם שְׁמוֹת יִקְרָא
cuja sabedoria he impenetravel?	a sua sabedoria não tem termo	nec est investigatio sapientiae ejus.	sapientiae ejus non est numerus	אֵין חִקָּר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ	לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר

In terms of vocabulary shared between these two texts, here Figueiredo takes one step further away from ST¹ than did ST². The *Vulgate* is consistent in its rendering of יִקְרָא; Figueiredo is not. The *Vulgate* preserves the singular חִקָּר in DtI and the plural שְׁמוֹת in the psalm; in Figueiredo, these are inexplicably reversed. In *Vulgate* (as in Hebrew) the question ends with the first bi-colon of Isaiah 40:28. Figueiredo carries the question through to the end of the verse; and it is probably in the interest of this that he paraphrases the *Vulgate's* translation *nec est investigatio sapientiae ejus* (“nor is there investigation of his wisdom,” which is very literal) as *cuja sabedoria he impenetrável* (“whose wisdom is impenetrable”). The latter is excellent Portuguese, but it leaves any inter-textual resonance impaired.

As noted above (3.4.2.3), this allusion functions in part by helping a “full-knowing reader” of ST¹ to disambiguate “these” and “their host” in the alluding text. An awareness of the alluded-to text makes it clear that stars are meant. Figueiredo spoils any covertness by explicating with *os Ceos* (“the skies”) and *das estrelas* (i.e., the host “of the stars”) in Isaiah 40:26. This may aid in recognition of the allusion for some target readers while detracting from its pragmatic effects for others.

6.1.4.2.4 Isaiah 42:17 and Exodus 32:4, 8

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Ex. v 4</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Ex. v 4</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Ex. v 4</u>
imagens fundidas	bezerro	conflatili	conflatilem	מִסֻּכָּה	מִסֻּכָּה
dizem	disseráo	dicunt	dixeruntque	הָאֵמְרִים	וַיֹּאמְרוּ
Vós sois os nossos Deoses	Eis-aqui...os teus Deoses	Vos dii nostri	Hi sunt dii tui	אַתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ	אֱלֹהֵ אֱלֹהֵיךָ

	Fig. Ex v 8 bezerro fundido		ST² v 8 conflatilem		ST¹ v 8 מִטְּכָה
	disserão		dixerunt		וַיֹּאמְרוּ
	Estes são...os teus Deoses		Isti sunt dii tui		אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵיךָ
	Fig. 1 Kgs Eis-aqui...os teus Deoses		ecce dii tui		ST¹ 1 Kgs 12:28 הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ

Suffice it to say that the perspicuity of Isaiah’s allusion to the Golden Calf incident fares slightly worse in Figueiredo than it had in the *Vulgate*. In both versions the incongruity of the plural “gods” with a singular calf is allowed to stand in Exodus, but in Isaiah the incongruity of the plurals with singular מִטְּכָה is obliterated (in the *Vulgate* this may be due to influence from LXX). The *Vulgate* had kept *conflatilem* in Exodus 32:4 & 8 and in Isaiah 42:17. In Figueiredo מִטְּכָה is lost from Exodus 32:4.

There is no note on Isaiah 42:17. Figueiredo’s notes on Exodus and 1 Kings explain that the Israelites intended the calf as a representation of the Egyptian god Apis; there is no reference to Isaiah, but the notes do refer to Herodotus, Eusebius, St. Augustine, and Duhamel.

6.1.4.2.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

Fig. Isaiah	Fig. Dt	ST² Isaiah	ST² Dt	ST¹ Isaiah	ST¹ Dt
des do principio		ab initio		מִיּוֹם	
Eu mesmo	eu sou o unico Deos	ego ipse	ego sim solus	אֲנִי הוּא	אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא
não ha quem me possa arrancar o que eu tenho entre as minhas mãos	não ha quem possa sutrahir cousa alguma á minha soberana mão	et non est qui de manu mea eruat.	et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere.	וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצִּיל	וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצִּיל

As noted above (3.4.2.5) מִיּוֹם has been variously understood. This study’s position is that it does not mean “from Day (One)” or “from eternity,” but “from (this) day (forward)” (ESV, HCSB, NET, NRSV, Nurmela 2006:31f, Paul 2012:213). As such, it marks the allusion for a “full-knowing reader” and indicates that Yahweh’s assertion in the alluded-to text is being re-applied to the present and future. Both the *Vulgate* and Figueiredo understand it as “from the beginning,” however, and the marker is lost. Furthermore, the *Vulgate* understands אֲנִי הוּא as an affirmation

of God’s uniqueness in Deuteronomy and an emphatic grammatical subject in Isaiah. Figueiredo follows this exactly.

In terms of the shared vocabulary, the *Vulgate* is only slightly inconsistent in adding “can” (*posse*) to its rendering of the participle לִּמְצוֹל in Deuteronomy, but not in Isaiah. Figueiredo has the equivalent of *posse* in both texts, but that is virtually the end of the similarities between the alluding and alluded-to texts. The phrase that is identical in both texts in ST¹, and nearly so in ST², is rendered “There is no one who can take away anything whatsoever from my sovereign hand” in Deuteronomy and “There is no one who can snatch away on me what I’ve got between my hands” in DtI. It is probably pointless to speculate whether the translator’s royalism led to more enthusiastic expressions for God’s possessiveness in the target text than either source text warrants. What is clear is that here Figueiredo’s claim to have hewn as closely as possible to the *Vulgate* will not stand.

6.1.4.2.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze	portas aereas	portas aereas	דִּלְתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת	דִּלְתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת
arrombarei	arrombou	conteram	contrivit	אֲשַׁבֵּר	שַׁבַּר
trancas de ferro	ferrolhos de ferro	vectes ferreos	vectes ferreos	וּבְרִיחֵי בְרֹזָל	וּבְרִיחֵי בְרֹזָל
quebrarei	quebrou	confringam	confregit	אֲגַדֵּעַ	גִּדַּעַ

Apart from the inexplicable change from *ferrolhos* in the alluded-to text to *trancas* in Isaiah, the shared vocabulary between the two texts survives intact in both the *Vulgate* and Figueiredo. As noted above, the phrase is arranged chiastically in ST¹ Psalm 107, but not in ST¹ DtI. The same is true in the *Vulgate*; it is not the case in Figueiredo, however, where neither text is chiastic. While this makes the allusion in the target text a less conspicuous example of Seidel’s Law,³² its effect on the perspicuity of the allusion for a target reader is likely to be positive rather than negative.

In the heading to the Psalm, Figueiredo classifies it as a song of thanksgiving:

God is praised for freeing men from all kinds of calamities, of which the four main ones are described: getting lost, captivity, illness, and the stormy seas. This fits well with the

³² According Seidel’s Law, reworked syntax or word order is the mark of a conscious allusion in the Hebrew Bible (Lyons 2007:245). See 5.4.2.3.9 above.

Jewish people, as they came back from the Babylonian Captivity *via* deserts and seas, where the travails and discomforts that they endured were many (my translation).

A note on “the great ones of the earth” in Isaiah identifies them as “Croesus of Lydia and Balthazar of Babylonia, conquered by Cyrus.” A note on the “gates of bronze” in Isaiah says that Herodotus (*Histories* I.179) “confirms that Babylonia had 100 gates of bronze, which looked like an unconquerable defense.”

In sum, Figueiredo clearly saw both texts as invoking the same historical referent. It is also possible that he saw some kind of literary relationship between the two texts, although the seemingly arbitrary change from *trancas* to *ferrolhos* makes this less certain. A note on either text sending the reader to the other would settle the question; but as we have seen, the purpose of Figueiredo’s notes is usually to justify his translation, to locate it within the stream of Roman Catholic tradition, to suggest alternate interpretations, and to point to general thematic correspondences with other biblical texts. It is not primarily to indicate verbal connections to other verses of Scripture or to show that the same doctrinal content can be found elsewhere, as is the case with the notes of the *Versão Almeida*. Most of all, if an ideal “allusion-friendly” translation would be one that 1) preserved shared vocabulary and syntax as much as possible, 2) reflected as directly as the target language permits the ways in which the alluded-to text has been manipulated by the alluding text, and 3) refrained from the kind of explicitation that inhibits the allusion’s pragmatic effects, then Figueiredo’s rendering of this pair does not qualify.

6.1.4.2.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78 (77):15,20

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Ps 78:15</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Ps 78:15</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Ps 78:15</u>
rasgou	fendeo	scidit	Interruptit	וַיִּבְקַע	וַיִּבְקַע
a pedra	<u>Fig. Ps 78:20</u> a pedra	petram	<u>ST² Ps 78:20</u> petram	צוּר	<u>ST¹ Ps 78:20</u> צוּר
corrêrão	corrêrão	fluxerunt	fluxerunt	וַיִּזְבּוּ	וַיִּזְבּוּ
aguas em abundancia	as aguas	aquæ	aquæ	מַיִם	מַיִם

Had there been a conscious attempt to make the inter-textual relationship clear in the *Vulgate*, one wonders why the translator would have foregone the opportunity for lexical concordance in the translation of the root **בִּקַּע**. Figueiredo follows the *Vulgate* in rendering the verb differently.

Figueiredo’s addition of *em abundancia* (“in abundance”) to Isaiah is difficult to explain. The thought that waters came from the rock in profusion is not found in DtI (or in Exodus 17:6) in either ST¹ or ST²; it does; however, occur in the Psalm, especially in 15 (פְּתַחַהֲמוֹת). *Em abundancia* could simply have been added by Figueiredo for the sake of rhythm or euphony. It is also possible that the Psalm text was active for him, perhaps even below the level of conscious awareness.

6.1.4.2.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69 (68):14

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
no tempo favoravel	o tempo de tu mostrares a tua bondade	In tempore placito	tempus beneplaciti	בְּעֵת רְצוֹן	עֵת רְצוֹן
eu te ouvi	ouve-me	exaudivi te	exaudi me	עֲנִי תִיָּהּ	עֲנִי
salvação	tua salvação	salutis	salutis tuae	יְשׁוּעָה	יְשׁוּעָה

Here, the *Vulgate* had preserved not only the vocabulary shared between the two texts, but also the unusual syntax of עֵת רְצוֹן in the Psalm (which is made less unusual by DtI); this feature is lost in Figueiredo, since preserving the unusual syntax in the target language would have resulted in awkward Portuguese and contradicted this version’s implicit *skopos*. Once again, Figueiredo’s expansive translation of the expression in the Psalm (“the time for your showing your goodness”) communicates clearly, but its impact on the perspicuity of the relationship between the two texts is negative.

The Psalm heading in *Bíblia Sagrada* refers it to “the passion of Christ, prefigured either in David as he was rejected by all, or in the people who were captive in Babylonia” as “the Apostles attest in their writings” (my translation). A lengthy note on the Isaiah text adduces Jerome’s interpretation: the “day of salvation” refers to Christ’s suffering, death, and resurrection, when his cry “My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?” was heard by his Father. On that “day” Christ was rescued and he became the “reconciler” to God of those among the Jewish people who believed in him, according to Jerome. Once again, this clearly shows that Figueiredo saw thematic coherence between the two texts. There is, however, insufficient evidence to show conscious reuse of one in the other.

6.1.4.2.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

<u>Fig. Is</u>	<u>Fig. Nu</u>	<u>ST² Is</u>	<u>ST² Nu</u>	<u>ST¹ Is</u>	<u>ST¹ Nu</u>
Mas acazo encolheo-se a minha mão? ou veio ella a ficar mais pequena?	A mão do Senhor não he de forças limitadas	Numquid abbreviata et parvula facta est manus mea	Numquid manus Domini invalida est ?	הַקְצוֹר קְצָרָה יָדִי	הַיָּד הַזֹּאת תִּקְצָר

The *Vulgate* here preserved the rhetorical question in both texts and most, if not all, of the shared lexis. Its most interesting feature is that it misconstrues the infinitive absolute in DtI as a second finite verb requiring a synonymous target-language expression. The result is that between the alluding- and alluded-to texts, קְצָר is rendered three different ways (*invalida est, abbreviata facta est, parvula facta est*).

Figueiredo follows the *Vulgate* in this exactly. Further, he expands and interprets the “short hand” metaphor in Numbers as “of limited powers”—probably sounding the death knell for the allusion-marker יָד קְצָר which, as noted above, occurs only in these two verses and in Isaiah 59:1 within the Hebrew Bible.

Figueiredo’s note on the Isaiah text concerns the Lord’s complaint that he called, but found “no man.” According to Figueiredo, this may refer to the fact that God encountered no one who would receive him. On the other hand, he says, Jerome’s interpretation may be correct: it was not a *man* whom God found, but persons who had abandoned human form and changed into forms of beasts—the intelligent into foxes, the libidinous into horses, the shameless into dogs, *etc.* There is no hint in the note that a connection with the text in Numbers was recognized.

6.1.4.2.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)

<u>Fig. Isaiah</u>	<u>Fig. Nahum</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Nahum</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Nahum</u>
Que fermozos são... sobre os montes	Eis vejo eu... eu os vejo aparecer sobre os montes.	Quam pulchri super montes	Ecce super montes	מֵהֶ-נֶּאֱוָו עַל- הַהָרִים	הִנֵּה עַל- הַהָרִים
os pés daquelle que anuncia	os pés do que traz a boa nova	pedes annuntiantis	pedes evangelizantis	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר
que préga a paz	anuncia a paz	prædicantis pacem	annuntiantis pacem	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם

Here, most of what shared lexis there is in the *Vulgate* is retained in Figueiredo, but it must contend with disturbed syntax in order to function as an allusion marker. In both texts *sobre os montes* (“on the mountains”) is moved to the end of the sentence. In Nahum, Figueiredo then has to add *eu os vejo aparecer* (“I see them appearing”) for the sake of clarity. There are no such additions to DtI, but here in Figueiredo the mountains become the place where peace is preached rather than the place where the feet become visible. A note on the Isaiah passage points a reader to Paul’s use of the verse in Romans 10:15, but it does not seem that a connection to Nahum was recognized, or that access to it by the reader was a translator goal.

6.1.4.2.11 Conclusions

A question raised earlier was whether such a highly literate translator as Figueiredo, author of a tract on (among other things) the widespread use of allusion in antiquity (6.1.3), might be sensitive to this feature of the source text in DtI. As we have seen, while he was clearly aware of thematic or historical correspondences between DtI and other biblical texts, there is little to suggest that Figueiredo was aware of allusion or its functions in the sense of the present study. It would also appear that his obvious willingness to depart from his source for the sake of excellence in the target language (which he achieves, despite his disavowal in the translation brief) often led him to abandon lexical concordance. The result was a loss of shared vocabulary that otherwise might have been fortuitously preserved.

6.2 The *Bíblia Sagrada* of Matos Soares (1933)

6.2.1 Matos Soares, Bible Translator

Centuries after Figueiredo, another, very different version appeared: the *Bíblia Sagrada* of Matos Soares. Little is currently known about the translator and no studies of the man or his translation are known to exist (Alves 2010:212). According to records held at the Episcopal Archives at the Diocese of Porto,³³ Manoel de Matos e Silva Soares de Almeida was born April 18, 1890 to Joaquim Augusto de Matos e Silva, of Fermelã in the municipality of Estarreja (south of Porto). He entered the preparatory department of the seminary on October 5, 1906, and was ordained a priest on November 3, 1912. Ten years later, the *Report of Religious Movement in the Diocese of Porto* lists Matos Soares as both a prefect (a supervisor entrusted with discipline) and a professor in the preparatory department at the *Seminário de Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, the diocesan

³³Thanks to Sérgio Pinto of the Catholic University of Portugal in Lisbon, who located these records and generously shared them with me.

seminary. The *Report* also mentions Pe. Matos Soares preparing youths for their first communion in Pinheiro da Bemposta, not far from his home town of Fermelã.

Following his service to the seminary, in 1936 Matos Soares became priest of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* parish, also in Porto, where he appears to have served actively until his death on August 31, 1957. Apart from his Bible, his literary output includes an annotated edition of the works of Virgil (1918), the translation of a biography of the Italian mystic and saint Gemma Galgani (1922), an adaptation of the *Manual of Sacred Eloquence* (1925; presumably the work by that name of José Ignácio Roquette), a translation of a book of devotions from the French, and a 1933 book of devotions bound together with “the Gospel” and Acts (Alves 2010:212n). Soares’ entire literary *oeuvre* therefore appears to date from the time of his seminary service.

Pe. Soares is said to have begun his work of translating in 1927 (Alves 2010:211). In an April 7, 1928 article, the official journal of the diocese of Porto (*A Voz do Pastor*) says that bishop António Barbosa Leão of Porto had given Pe. Soares the assignment of producing “a popular edition of the Holy Bible, so that all the faithful, at a reasonable price and with complete confidence, can read, examine, and meditate on this precious Letter that the Lord of heaven and earth sends to man in order to instruct him in those things pertaining to his salvation (. . .).” Pe. Soares, the diocesan journal article further reports, “has just made available for purchase the first volume of his edition of the Holy Bible,” a 400-page edition of the five Books of Moses revised by Dr. Luiz Gonzaga da Fonseca of the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome (quoted in Alves 2010:211; my translation); Fonseca’s influence is sometimes said to have moved Matos Soares’ translation slightly toward the original source texts and away from complete dependence on the *Vulgate* (Alves 2010:211f). An entry dated 12 June 1928 in the diocesan records mentions that Pe. Soares was granted permission to hear confessions and preach “while he is in the service of the Bible,” a likely—and the only—reference in the records to his work as Bible translator.

The version is said to have been complete in 1930 (Alves 2010:211). It received papal approval on September 23, 1932 and its *imprimatur* on June 2, 1933. This means that the first five biblical books were translated in less than a year and a half, and the entire Bible took no more than five or six years from start to finish; in other words, this version was produced with extraordinary speed.

6.2.2 Target Culture Function

Initially, Matos Soares’ version was usually released in separate volumes; after it received a *re-imprimatur* in São Paulo in 1955, it was published in Brazil in a single volume beginning in 1956 (Alves 2010:214). The importance of this translation is due to its being practically the only Roman

Catholic version available during the middle third of the 20th Century (Alves 2010:211). It has been called “seriously deficient, by virtue of its being the work of a single man produced in a short amount of time” (António de Patrocínio Gonçalves, quoted in Alves 2010:213); nevertheless, as late as 1984 it was said to be “among the most popular among Roman Catholics (Bittencourt 1984:228). Today, exemplars are not easy to find. This study is based on a 1960 edition called the “12th” printed in São Paulo by *Edições Paulinas*.

The “Prologue” to the *Bíblia Sagrada* reads, “For a long time, Protestants have been accusing the Catholic Church of prohibiting to the faithful the reading of the Bible in their own language.” The accusation is obviously false, however, “in view of the innumerable versions of the Bible that have been produced in all Catholic countries in every century and that have received the Church’s hearty approval.” The article in *A Voz do Pastor* cited above begins with a similar reference to “one of the most frivolous accusations that Protestants make against Catholics,” viz., that they do not read their Bibles (quoted in Alves 2010:213). It is reasonable to conclude that Pe. Soares, and in fact the diocese of Porto, were stung by the Protestants’ accusation and that this Bible version was intended to countermand it. It is also clear from the Prologue that the version was a response to Protestant translations produced by the Bible societies, which Soares condemns as having “mutilated” and “falsified” the sense of Scripture.

Most para-textual material in this version is also in dialogue with Protestantism. For instance, a list of five rules for the profitable reading of Sacred Scripture follows the Prologue; three of these differ little from those found in the *Versão Almeida*. Readers should begin with prayer and proceed with the deep conviction that they are reading the words of God himself. They should not read quickly, but meditate deeply on what is read and seek help from learned and pious persons when necessary. They should read with Jesus Christ before their eyes at all times. They should keep the twin goals of Bible reading in mind—love for God and love for one’s neighbor—and reject any interpretation that is contrary to love. One rule is particularly noteworthy: readers should read with complete and humble submission to the Roman Catholic Church, since it is uniquely and infallibly qualified to furnish the correct interpretation, as the Council of Trent teaches.

An introduction follows containing articles on the Old and New Testaments, the canon (in which Trent’s canon is defended and the Protestant view of the “deutero-canonicals” slightly misrepresented), and the doctrine of inspiration. Soares explains inspiration as God having endowed the sacred authors with 1) mental illumination, resulting in a perfect grasp of the truth free from any errors; 2) the impulse of the will, such that they desired to record faithfully what God wanted them to record; and 3) assistance in the writing process, so that those truths—and only

those truths—that God wanted them to write were given exactly the form of expression that God intended.

The relationship between the divine and human elements of Scripture then occupies Soares at length. At the end of the section on inspiration, he says that the sacred writers were truly God's instruments, but they remained free and intelligent beings whose natural capacities were augmented supernaturally. The result is that the line of thought, subject matter, and ideas of the Bible are God's; the order of presentation, the literary genres, the style, and the language are those of human beings. Soares returns to Scripture's "dual nature" at the close to the introduction and adds that the divine element of Scripture consists both in its being inspired by God and in its being entrusted to the Roman Catholic Church to be preserved and "authentically" explained. For this reason, interpretations that contradict the unanimous testimony of the Church, or that suggest an error or contradiction in the Bible, must be vigorously rejected.

This applies also to interpretations that appear to contradict the findings of science. It is impossible, Soares says, for Scripture when interpreted correctly and genuine science to contradict one another. In the section on "inerrancy," Soares mentions that everything in the Bible is necessarily true, but "not everything *contains the same truth*" (emphasis original). He goes on to explain that the claim of veracity applies differently to the different literary genres found in the Bible. In addition, the Bible at times speaks in ways that are culturally and historically conditioned, making statements that according to scientific criteria would have to be declared incorrect.

In these respects, Soares' introduction is essentially a popularly written summary of the 1893 papal encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, Leo XIII's response to the challenges to the Church arising both from natural science and from "historical criticism." *Providentissimus Deus* recommends that Catholic theologians familiarize themselves with historical criticism as much as possible, but primarily for purposes of refuting it. With regard to natural science, the encyclical's position is, "There can never, indeed, be any real discrepancy between the theologian and the physicist, as long as each confines himself within his own lines." When a biblical statement is irreconcilable with scientific fact, *Providentissimus Deus* recommends accepting both. Readers should understand the biblical statement as conveying spiritual truth in the language of its day and refrain from judging it according to the canons of modern science.

For Soares, Scripture's "dual nature" has additional implications. The Bible has both a literal or historical sense (which may be either natural or metaphorical) and a typological or spiritual sense. In the latter, characters, institutions, and events are used by God to represent higher, spiritual

realities, often pertaining to Christ and his Church. This permits the “spiritualizing” of difficult statements in the Bible. More importantly, it allows us to predict an overtly Christological reading of DtI, which is exactly what one finds in Soares’ version.

Providentissimus Deus is also mirrored in Soares’ discussion of various versions of the Bible. He mentions the *Septuagint*, but singles out the *Vulgate* for glowing praise (exactly as does the papal encyclical). Readers are reminded that the Council of Trent declared the *Vulgate* “authentic,” *i.e.*, “in the sense that it may be called a true source of revelation, such that not only is it impossible to derive from it some false doctrine of the faith or some incorrect moral rule, but positively, in the sense that it expresses faithfully everything that belongs to the essence of the written Word of God.” Soares’ own version, he says, has been translated from the Clementine *Vulgate*—unsurprising both in view of Soares’ intended target-culture function and in view of the fact that *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, which encouraged translating from the source languages, will not appear for another ten years. Soares’ high regard for the *Vulgate* has been said not to have prevented the translator from demonstrating a certain “linguistic autonomy” that is comparable to Figueiredo’s (Konigs 2003:233n). This claim will be tested under “Target-Text Coherence” below.

As mentioned earlier, the *Bíblia Sagrada*’s intended target-culture function was to respond to distribution programs of the Protestant Bible Societies (Bittencourt 1984:228). In nearly every respect, therefore, Matos Soares’ target-culture function differs significantly from that of Figueiredo’s text. Figueiredo had launched his version into a culture that was, for the most part, still monolithically Roman Catholic. His Jansenist tendencies represented a dissenting voice, but one still located within Church tradition. Matos Soares’ version implies a target culture in which voices from outside that tradition—Protestant, scientific, and historical-critical—are growing insistent and require a response. Figueiredo’s Bible was a work of literary erudition aimed at scholars and marketed as a luxury item. Matos Soares’ Bible was intended for in-home reading by faithful Roman Catholics who on occasion find themselves polemically engaged with “rationalists” and Protestants.

6.2.3 Target Text Coherence

Soares’ version contains separate introductions to the prophetic books and to Isaiah. The former explains the institution of prophecy in Israel and accounts for the disjointed and enigmatic nature of prophetic messages. Prophets received their messages in various ways, did not necessarily record their messages themselves, and had an odd way of abruptly jumping from the present to the future and back again, speaking at times of future events as if they had already taken place. In addition, prophets treat esoteric mysteries in high poetic style; it takes effort to understand them,

but the effort is always rewarded. There is a certain thematic sequence common to all prophetic literature: Israel's sin, then Israel's punishment, then Israel's conversion, the punishment of Israel's enemies, and the messianic kingdom. For Soares, Christ is therefore the inevitable goal of prophetic proclamation.

In the preface to Isaiah, Soares says that what follows is the first of the prophetic books, not just in order, but in terms of its sublime content and style. According to Soares, Isaiah was born in Jerusalem into a family probably linked to the royal house. He began prophesying at 20-30 years of age and ended his life when he was sawn in half by King Manasseh, according to a Jewish tradition also accepted by many church fathers. Tradition also has Isaiah buried in Paneas in northern Palestine, and his remains removed to Constantinople in 442 AD.

Soares' view is that chapters 40-66 were written after the prophet had left political life and they were never actually preached publically. Despite his awareness of some kind of shift in the book at chapter 40, Soares' outline places the major break between chapters 37 and 38. He explains:

This second part describes the Babylonian Exile and successive liberation in so much detail that the rationalists raise the possibility of the existence of another Isaiah living among the exiles. For him who admits that the prophets are the mouth of God, there is no need for recourse to this petty artifice, which contradicts not only Hebrew and Christian tradition, but even history itself, inasmuch as the prophecies of Isaiah were shown to Cyrus, who recognized in them a prediction of his own exploits and for this reason was induced to liberate the Jewish people³⁴ (my translation).

This is a good example of the polemics against “rationalists” that are a regular feature of this version.

The text of Isaiah in Soares' version is not arranged in stichometry of any kind, nor does it use a colon to represent *atnah* as in Figueiredo. Headings are found where topics shift as well as where chapters begin. The most obvious feature of Matos Soares' text, however, is the parenthetical notes set in italics and found in the body of the text. Some of these are comparable to the *Versão Almeida's* in that they simply indicate target-language expressions that are not traceable to specific source-text lexemes—as, e.g., 40:6 “(Ouvi) uma voz” (“[I heard] a voice”). Some aim at disambiguation, e.g., 41:28 “(O Senhor) será o primero a dizer” (“[The Lord] will be the first to say”). Some solve problems of speaker or addressee identification, one of the more frequent difficulties in DtI—e.g., “Porventura (respondeu o Senhor) pode uma mulher . . . ?” (“By chance

³⁴ Cf. Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* II.1.2.

[answered the Lord] can a woman . . . ?” (49:15), or “Vinde [*ó deuses falsos*] defender a vossa causa” (“*[Oh false gods]*, come defend your cause”), 41:21. Some provide an alternate translation to what immediately precedes—*e.g.*, “Mas a salvação (*ou o Salvador*)” (“But salvation [*for the Savior*]”).

Most of these parenthetical notes are interpretive, however—and Soares’ interpretations could mildly be called “tendentious.” Examples:

42:20 Tu que vês tantas coisas (*que foram reveladas para tua santificação*)
 (“You who see so many things [*that were revealed for your sanctification*]”)

46:2 levanta os vestidos para passar os rios (*a fim de ires para o cativo*)” (“hoist your skirts to pass through the rivers [*in order to go into captivity*]”)

49:4 Em vão tenho trabalhado (*pregando ao povo*)
 (“In vain have I labored [*in preaching to the people*]”)

53:9 E (*o Senhor*) lhe dará os ímpios (*convertidos*) em recompensa na sua sepultura
 (“And [*the Lord*] will give him the impious ones [*who convert*] as a reward in his burial”).

These insertions are remarkable, not only for the idiosyncratic (and theologically motivated, Bittencourt 1984:229f) interpretations that they exhibit, but for their heavy-handed attempts to control the reading—which is also consistent with the version’s target-culture function. This aspect of the insertions bears directly on the purpose of the present study. If part of the intended effect of an allusion in the source text can be thwarted by translator explicitation, one might expect explicitation in those allusions in DtI that Matos Soares recognized and a corresponding deleterious impact on the allusion’s pragmatic effects.

In general, the Portuguese of Matos Soares’ Bible is considerably more accessible than Figueiredo’s, even after one takes the centuries that separate them into account. Mesoclisism is present (*e.g.*, *por-nos-emos* in 41:22), but as noted above this is not as indicative of an upper language register in Portugal as it would be in Brazil. One does not, however, find the praise for Soares’ Portuguese in the literature that one finds for Figueiredo’s (*e.g.* Bittencourt 1984:228). The two translations are similar in their evident concern for what readers will understand—what could be considered “target-orientation” in general terms—but Soares’ version is not a literary classic in any sense.

6.2.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

6.2.4.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Lv v 41</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Lv v 41</u>	<u>ST¹ Isalah</u>	<u>ST¹ Lv v 41</u>
iniquidade	impiedades	iniquitas	impietatibus	עֲוֹן	עֲוֹן
está perdoada	pedirão perdão	dimissa est	orabunt	רצה	רצה
	<u>Fig. Lv v 43</u> pecados		<u>ST² Lv v 43</u> peccatis		<u>ST¹ Lv v 43</u> עֲוֹן
	pedirão perdão		rogabunt		רצה

In Soares, the use of *perdoar* in both texts offers a very slight enhancement to their shared vocabulary over the *Vulgate*. In other respects, Soares differs little from the *Vulgate*; notably, both interpret Leviticus as meaning that the exiles' sins will be set right through prayer. As noted, this is a serious obstacle to a reader's activating the allusion in DtI. Nothing in Soares' text or para-text suggests that an allusion was recognized.

6.2.4.2 Psalm 103 (Vg 102):15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
feno	feno	fœnum	fœnum	הַצִּיר	הַצִּיר
a flor do campo	a flor do campo	flos agri	flos agri	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה
o sôpro do Senhor	vento	spiritus Domini	spiritus	רוּחַ יְהוָה	רוּחַ
mas a palavra de nosso Senhor permanece para sempre	a misericórdia do Senhor estende-se desde a eternidade e para sempre	verbum autem Domini nostri manet in æternum.	Misericordia autem Domini ab æterno, et usque in æternum	וְדַבַּר-אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְקוּם לְעוֹלָם	וְחֶסֶד יְהוָה מִעוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם

As noted above, Figueiredo had supplied two verbs in the psalm. Soares supplies only one, *i.e.*, *estende-se* (reaches). As was the case with Figueiredo, an opportunity for shared vocabulary was lost; the verb could easily enough have been rendered consistently in both texts rather than a *permanece* in the alluding and *estende-se* in the alluded-to text. Soares follows the *Vulgate* (as had Figueiredo) in enhancing shared vocabulary beyond ST¹ by rendering the divine name as *Senhor*

(Lord) in both texts. Once again, there is no textual or para-textual evidence in Soares that an allusion was recognized.

6.2.4.3 *Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147 (Vg 146):4, 5*

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
o exército das estrêlas	das estrelas	militiam	stellarum	צָבָאָם	לְפוֹכְבָּיִם
as chama a todas pelos seus nomes	chama cada uma pelo seu nome	omnes ex nomine vocat	omnibus eis nomina vocat	לְכָלֶם בְּשֵׁם יְקָרָא	לְכָלֶם שְׁמוֹת יְקָרָא
a sua sabedoria é impenetravel	a sua sabedoria não tem limites	nec est investigatio sapientiae ejus.	sapientiae ejus non est numerus	אֵין חֶקֶר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ	לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר

Matos Soares increases shared vocabulary by the addition of “of the stars” to the alluding text (as had Figueiredo), an example of the kind of explication that is typical in this version. Whether advertent or not, this perhaps leaves the inner-textual connection more perspicuous, but the pragmatic effects are altered since the pattern of “gaps” between texts (3.4.2.3) has been disturbed. Like Figueiredo, Soares inexplicably translates a singular “each one by its name” in the psalm and “calls them all by their names” in Isaiah, exactly opposite of both source texts; some influence from Figueiredo is possible. There are no textual or para-textual indications that any allusions were recognized.

6.2.4.4 *Isaiah 42:17, Exodus 32:4,8, and 1 Kings 12:28*

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Ex. v 4</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Ex. v 4</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Ex. v 4</u>
estátuas de fundição	bezerro fundido	conflatili	conflatilem	מִסְכָּה	מִסְכָּה
dizem	disseram	dicunt	dixeruntque	הָאֱמָרִים	וַיֹּאמְרוּ
Vós sois os nossos Deuses	Estes são, ó Israel, os teus deuses	Vos dii nostri	Hi sunt dii tui	אַתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ	אֱלֹהֵ אֱלֹהֵיךָ
	<u>M.S. Ex v 8</u> bezerro fundido		<u>ST² v 8</u> conflatilem		<u>ST¹ v 8</u> מִסְכָּה
	disseram		dixerunt		וַיֹּאמְרוּ
	Estes são, ó Israel, os teus deuses		Isti sunt dii tui		אֱלֹהֵ אֱלֹהֵיךָ

	<u>M.S. 1 Kgs</u> Eis aqui, ó Israel, os teus deuses		<u>ST² 1 Kgs</u> ecce dii tui		<u>ST¹ 1 Kgs</u> הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ
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With the exception of “cast statues”/“cast calf,” there is essentially no alteration in the degree of shared vocabulary between in this pair. There is also no sign in the text or para-text that the translator was aware of an allusion.

6.2.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Dt</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Dt</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Dt</u>
desde o princípio		ab initio		מִיּוֹם	
E eu sou o mesmo	sou eu só (<i>o verdadeiro Deus</i>)	ego ipse	ego sim solus	אֲנִי הוּא	אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא
não ha nada que possa subtrair-se à minha mão	não há quem possa tirar da mnha mão (<i>coisa alguma</i>)	et non est qui de manu mea eruat.	et non est qui de manu mea possit eruere.	וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצִּיל	וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצִּיל

Matos Soares follows the *Vulgate* (and all versions so far) in its missing the allusion marker in מִיּוֹם (See 3.4.2.5 above). It also follows the *Vulgate* in interpreting אֲנִי הוּא as an affirmation of God’s uniqueness in Deuteronomy; in DtI, the phrase is seen as affirming God’s immutability. Shared vocabulary is decreased over the *Vulgate* when the subject of מִצִּיל is personal (“anyone who”) in Deuteronomy and impersonal (“nothing”) in Isaiah, and when the action is interpreted as someone snatching some “thing” from God’s hand in the alluded-to text and the subject extricating itself in the alluding text. Furthermore, the verb is *tirar* in Deuteronomy and *subtrair-se* in Isaiah, suggesting that preserving shared vocabulary, even over the *Vulgate*, was not a translation norm.

Outside the boundaries of this particular allusion, but nonetheless interesting for our purposes, is what occurs three verses later. Here an obvious allusion to the Exodus tradition in 43:16 receives the inner-textual insertion: “o qual (*quando saistes do Egito*) vos abriu um caminho pelo meio do mar” (“who [*when you went out from Egypt*] opened for you a path through the middle of the sea”). This is a good example of the kind of explicitation that greatly increases a reader’s chances of recognizing the allusion, while greatly decreasing those poetic effects that depend on the source text’s weak commitment to having alluded (2.2.4)—an illustration of the price a translator pays for explicitation when working with a literary text.

6.2.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
as portas de bronze	as portas de bronze	portas aereas	portas aereas	דלתות נחושה	דלתות נחשת
arrombarei	arrombou	conteram	contrivit	אֶשְׁבֵּר	שִׁבַּר
trancas de ferro	ferrolhos de ferro	vectes ferreos	vectes ferreos	וּבְרִיחַי בְּרִזְלִי	וּבְרִיחַי בְּרִזְלִי
quebrarei	quebrou	confringam	confregit	אֶגְדַּע	גִּדַּע

Here both texts are so similar to Figueiredo (6.1.4.2.6) that dependence is not out of the question; therefore, everything that was said above regarding shared vocabulary applies here as well. Soares, too, preserves no chiasm in either text.

The note on the psalm explains it as presenting four symbolic pictures of the great evils from which God delivered Israel, and afterward (in vv 33-41) the happy situation of the nation after its return from exile. The concluding verse of each section that calls on hearers to “give thanks” is rendered in italics, suggesting some sensitivity to issues of structure. The section of which v 16 is part, however, is explained as liberation from imprisonment. A direct connection to the exile is not in view.

There is no note on Isaiah 45:2. A note on 45:4 suggests an alternate understanding of the verse “according to the Hebrew,” which since Soares was not a Hebraist should probably be attributed to Fonseca’s influence. In neither text nor para-text is there a suggestion that an allusion was recognized.

6.2.4.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78 (77):15,20

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Ps 78:15</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Ps 78:15</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Ps 78:15</u>
fendeu	fendeu	scidit	Interruptit	וַיִּבְקַע	וַיִּבְקַע
a penha	<u>M.S. Ps 78:20</u> a pedra	petram	<u>ST² Ps 78:20</u> petram	צוּר	<u>ST¹ Ps 78:20</u> צוּר
correram	correram	fluxerunt	fluxerunt	וַיִּזְבּוּ	וַיִּזְבּוּ

as águas	águas	aquæ	aquæ	מַיִם	מַיִם
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Here Matos Soares follows the *Vulgate* more closely than had Figueiredo. Shared vocabulary is increased when *fender* is chosen for בקע in both texts; it is decreased when צור is rendered with *pedra* in the Psalm and *penha* in Isaiah. The abruptness of an allusion to the Exodus tradition in Isaiah is one of its markers, and it remains similarly abrupt in Matos Soares' version.

A footnote on the verse following the alluded-to text calls it “an allusion to the terrible incident related in Numbers 11:1-3.” An additional footnote on verses 24-25 in the psalm is emblematic of the version's target-culture function. The “bread of heaven,” so-called because it descended from heaven, refers in the first instance to manna and in the second to the Holy Supper which it symbolizes—and which is “much more heavenly and powerful.” A reference is then drawn to John 6:30ff.

The lone footnote on the alluding text suggests “in order to distribute” rather than “in order to possess” as “following the Hebrew,” another probable Fonseca influence. The connection of Isaiah 48:21 to the story of the Exodus would seem to have been impossible to miss. There is no evidence, however, of an awareness of a textual relationship to the psalm.

6.2.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69 (68):14

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Psalm</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Psalm</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Psalm</u>
no tempo favoravel	no tempo da graça	In tempore placito	tempus beneplaciti	בְּעֵת רְצוֹן	עֵת רְצוֹן
eu te ouvi	ouve-me	exaudi vi te	exaudi me	עֲנֵי תִיָּד	עֲנֵנִי
salvação	teu auxílio	salutis	salutis tuae	יְשׁוּעָה	יְשׁוּעָה

In this case, the *Vulgate's* translation was arguably unusual (in rendering ענה with *exaudire*), but consistent across both texts. Matos Soares' is inconsistent, and what shared vocabulary there was in the *Vulgate* is significantly disturbed. The most important allusion marker is עֵת רְצוֹן, which occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible (See 3.3.2.8 above); this is rendered “in the time of grace” in the alluded-to text and “in the favorable time” in the alluding text. Furthermore, יְשׁוּעָה in the alluded-to text is “aid” (*auxílio*) and in the alluded-to text, “salvation” (*salvação*). In ST¹, the thought of a prayer to God is explicit in the alluded-to text but gapped in in the alluding text; it seems improbable that a reader of Soares' version could activate the allusion and fill in the gap.

No notes suggest an inter-textual relationship.

6.2.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

<u>Fig. Is</u>	<u>Fig. Nu</u>	<u>ST² Is</u>	<u>ST² Nu</u>	<u>ST¹ Is</u>	<u>ST¹ Nu</u>
Encurtou-se porventura, e tornou-se pequenina a minha mão	Porventura é impotente a mão do Senhor?	Numquid abbreviata et parvula facta est manus mea	Numquid manus Domini invalida est ?	הַקְצוֹר קְצָרָה יָדִי	הַיָּד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר

The *Vulgate* had rendered the infinitive absolute in DtI with a second participle, with both participles dependent on a single occurrence of *est*. Matos Soares departs from ST¹ even further by introducing a second, synonymous finite verb—raising the question of how Fonseca, if he was in fact a Hebraist, could have let the error pass. In any event, by the time the allusion reaches Matos Soares, the only shared vocabulary that remains from ST¹ is the word “hand” (though *porventura*—“by chance”—does introduce a new resonance between the two texts).

As mentioned above (3.4.2.9), the beginning of Isaiah 50 is replete with allusions to the Exodus tradition. The difficulty lies in choosing which text is the primary alluded-to text; Numbers 11:23 was selected as featuring the clearest cases of shared vocabulary and plausible “bonus meaning” for the reader who can activate it. With shared vocabulary impaired significantly, the question becomes whether the context in TT is as richly allusive. The answer is, “Somewhat.” A reference to the Red Sea incident is still clear at the end of v 2. A possible reference to the plague of darkness in v 3, however, is obscured by an interpretive inner-textual insertion: “I will envelop the heavens in darkness; I will put a sack (*of mourning*) on them for a covering.”

6.2.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)

<u>M.S. Isaiah</u>	<u>M.S. Nahum</u>	<u>ST² Isaiah</u>	<u>ST² Nahum</u>	<u>ST¹ Isaiah</u>	<u>ST¹ Nahum</u>
Que formosos são sobre os montes	Eis já sobre as montes	Quam pulchri super montes	Ecce super montes	מֵהֶ־נְאוֹו עַל־ הַהָרִים	הִנֵּה עַל־ הַהָרִים
os pés do que anuncia	os pés do que traz a boa nova	pedes annuntiantis	pedes evangelizantis	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר
prega a paz	anuncia a paz	prædicantis pacem	annuntiantis pacem	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם

Again, Matos Soares follows the *Vulgate* more closely than had Figueiredo (who was somewhat expansive in Nahum); the allusion fares almost identically in Matos Soares as in ST². As mentioned above (3.4.2.10), in this case the direction-of-dependence question is acute. This study

regards as decisive the fact that DtI is demonstrably the more highly allusive author in this section. It is therefore in place to note how other allusions fare in the same context.

One allusion that suffers from translator explicitation is found a few verses later in 52:12, where in ST¹ that Israel would not depart בְּהִרְפָּז, “in haste.” The word is found only here and in the Passover instructions at Exodus 12:11 and Deuteronomy 16:3, and represents a deft suggestion by DtI that the departure from exile will both resemble the first Exodus and surpass it. In Matos Soares’ version, the word is rendered *tumultuariamente* (“tumultuously”); in Exodus 12:11 it is *à pressa* (“in a hurry”) and in Deuteronomy 16:3 it is *com mêdo* (“with fear”). A footnote in Isaiah 52:12 gives the explanation, “Your return will be a triumphal journey,” and thus provides no evidence that a verbal connection to the Passover accounts was recognized.

6.2.4.11 Conclusions

With regard to coherence between source and target texts, it has been claimed that a revision by Luís Gonzaga da Fonseca moved Matos Soares’ version slightly away from the *Vulgate* and toward ST¹ (Alves 2010:211f). There is in fact little in these passages to suggest any effort to align them more closely with the Hebrew, and at least one verse (Isaiah 50:2) in which a divergence from ST¹ present in the *Vulgate* was exacerbated. Footnotes beginning with *Segundo o hebreu . . .* (“According to the Hebrew. . .”) do occur, but the facility in Hebrew that they demonstrate is unremarkable. With regard to the claim of a certain “linguistic autonomy” on Soares’ part comparable to Figueiredo’s (Konigs 2003:233n), in these verses Soares’ adherence to the *Vulgate* is not slavish. He is considerably less “linguistically autonomous,” than Figueiredo, however.

Most important for our purposes is this. The *skopos* of Matos Soares’ translation predicts a Bible for in-home reading by Roman Catholics that will satisfy them, and enable them to satisfy others, that there is perfect harmony between the Bible and Church teaching. This is what one finds in this version. As mentioned above, this target-culture function implies a certain interest in controlling the reading (Ramos 2010:119), demonstrated in particular *via* this version’s inner-textual, parenthetical notes. These notes often treat the reader condescendingly (*cf.* those on 40:15-16 or 41:5-7), which in terms of pragmatic effects is exactly the opposite of what a highly allusive author such as DtI intends. With regard to allusion, the notes do, as predicted, exhibit the kind of explicitation that is inimical its intended effects (as in 43:16). If “poetic effects” by definition require an author to cede some control over the message to the reader, it seems that an objective of preserving the source text’s poetic effects in translation is not compatible with the objective of controlling the reading. The latter objective may account for Matos’ Soares’ version being not only less than “allusion-friendly,” but unremarkable on other literary criteria as well.

6.3 The *Bíblia Ilustrada* (1957-1970)

6.3.1 Introduction

The next version to be considered, the *Bíblia Ilustrada*, first appeared in the year (1957) in which Matos Soares died. The *Bíblia Ilustrada* followed Matos Soares' *Bíblia Sagrada* by less than 40 years, but in the interim Roman Catholic attitudes toward the Bible had changed significantly. This makes this version significant despite its relatively narrow distribution; so do both its high quality when compared with Matos Soares' effort and its influence on subsequent versions (Alves 2010:215). The *Bíblia Ilustrada* is also the first Roman Catholic translation into Portuguese to be based on "scientific" exegesis of the original source texts (Alves 2010:214) and the first Roman Catholic version into Portuguese not produced by a single individual. The latter feature is particularly relevant to the present study, since it has implications for the question of whether one might expect inter-textual relationships to be recognized and preserved.

6.3.2 Target Culture Function—*Divino Afflante Espiritu* and *Dei Verbum*

As noted above (6.2.2), the *skopos* of Matos Soares' Bible translation reflects the program (and occasionally even the wording) of Leo XIII's encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, which explicitly censures "an inept method, dignified by the name of the 'higher criticism'" (17.50) in biblical studies. In fact, during Leo's papacy, modern biblical scholarship had begun to emerge within the Roman Catholic Church. For instance, the *École Biblique* was founded in Jerusalem in 1890, and the Pontifical Biblical Institute (established by Leo's successor Pius X) followed in 1909. Some commentators regard these developments as consistent with *Providentissimus Deus*, which they view as less rigidly anti-modernist than one might have expected given the spirit of the times (Donahue 1993:7). In any event, in the early decades of the 20th Century, a reactionary climate set in during which Roman Catholic Bible scholarship was forced underground, especially in the United States (Donahue 1993:7).

By the fiftieth anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus*, the climate had changed completely. In 1943, on the feast day of St. Jerome, Pius XII promulgated *Divino Afflante Spiritu* and threw open the doors to the "biblical movement" in the Roman Catholic Church (Alves 2010:209). *Divino Afflante Spiritu* attributes several centuries of neglect of the primary source texts (14,15) and Trent's position regarding the *Vulgate* (22) to historical factors. The situation has now changed, it says. Now that knowledge of the source languages has become deeper and more accessible, and the science of textual criticism has been refined (17), the time has come for vigorous study of the source texts. These clearly have greater authority than any translation (16), the encyclical says—a position to which Figueiredo, who feared the subordination of Church tradition to Hebrew and

Greek philology (*cf.* 6.1.3 above), would have objected. Furthermore, according to *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, the Church is now in a position to encourage translations into vernacular languages and the use of the Bible in the home (51).

Twenty years later, in 1965, the Vatican II³⁵ document *Dei Verbum* reiterated the position of *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (Alves 2010:209) when it announced (IV, 22) that translations of the Bible should be made “especially” from the original texts. The *Bíblia Ilustrada* was published serially in the years surrounding this pronouncement (1961-1970), and the scholarship behind this version very much reflects the spirit of *Dei Verbum*. *Dei Verbum* also declared that the Church sees no difficulty in principle with translating the Bible in cooperation with “separated brethren,” *i.e.*, Protestants. Eventually, this would lead to a joint statement by the Vatican and the United Bible Societies on “Guidelines for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible” (1968; revised 1987) and to such projects as the *Tradução Interconfessional* considered below.

As a translation from the original source texts, the *Bíblia Ilustrada*’s target-culture function is emblematic of the “biblical movement” within the Roman Catholic Church. Advertising for the version claims that nearly all the translators held degrees from the Pontifical Institute in Rome (Alves 2010:215). Additionally, in his endorsement contained in the version, the Bishop of Lisbon declares it “a book for everyone, but in particular a book for families, who in gathering together to read it will find herein the secret to peace, unity, and happiness”—strongly reminiscent of *Divino Afflante Spiritu*’s emphasis on the place of the Bible in the Catholic home.

6.3.3 Target Text Coherence

As it happens, in-home use by well-to-do Roman Catholics may be the only function to which the *Bíblia Ilustrada* is suited. The version was published serially in seven leather-bound, lavishly illustrated volumes and sold *via* subscription, and it was never made available in a more portable or less expensive edition. Advertising for the books promoted the ornate volumes as befitting the exalted nature of their contents (Alves 2010:215). Luxury-edition Bibles can suggest tepid enthusiasm toward widespread Bible reading by the uneducated masses (Ellingworth 2007:138n); in this case, however, a more accessible edition was planned, but the plans were interrupted by the revolution in Portugal of 1974 and never resumed (Alves 2010:214). Others suggest that it was

³⁵ Vatican II was called by Pope John XXIII in 1958 and concluded in 1965. It promulgated no new dogmas; rather, it has been characterized as a move toward *aggiornamento* (“updating”) in the Church. The relationship of the Bible to Church teaching was a central concern, and according to Robert J. Murray, there is a more evident effort to ground the teachings of Vatican II in Scripture than was the case with previous ecumenical councils (Murray 2014).

competition from the Brazilian-produced *Bíblia de Jerusalém* (*Edições Paulinas*, 1973)³⁶ that put a damper on plans to market the *Bíblia Ilustrada* more widely (Nascimento 2010:55). In any case, the limited distribution of the *Bíblia Ilustrada* is lamentable in view of the high quality of the translation.

The *Bíblia Ilustrada* could be considered less than “accessible,” however, on another criterion: its language. Since it was produced in Portugal, its frequent recourse to mesoclisism and its use of the second-person plural *vós* are not necessarily indications of a high language register or of archaizing. Mesoclisism is much more common in Portugal than in Brazil, as noted above; and there are regions of Portugal today where *vós* and corresponding forms are still in use. A better indication of its language register is the *Bíblia Ilustrada*’s vocabulary, which shows a predilection for erudite language (e.g., *descontada* 6.4.3.1 below; *desabrocha*, 6.4.3.2; *robustez*, 6.4.3.3; *rochedo* and *promanaram*, 6.4.3.7; etc.). The Portuguese of this version is often magnificent; but the suitability of this Bible for home reading by families would depend very much on how the “family” is constituted.

The introduction to this version includes a treatment of the divine inspiration of Scripture that affirms inerrancy as a consequence. It also briefly sketches the history of Portuguese translations. Almeida, while “faithful,” was too literal. Figueiredo’s version receives high praise (actually, exaggerated—cf. 6.1.3 above). Matos Soares’ version is described as “the most accessible until now,” though it is marred by “certain defects.” If the implication of “until now” is that the *Bíblia Ilustrada* has set out to replace Matos Soares as the “most accessible,” the form in which this Bible was marketed is not consistent with this intention.

The introduction to the book of Isaiah, as well as the translation and notes, are the work of Joaquim Mendes de Castro. His introduction calls Isaiah, after the Pentateuch, the biblical book that critical scholars most enjoy dividing into sources, and if the tone of the introduction is an indication he views their work with bemused skepticism. Unity of theme characterizes the book as it stands, in his opinion. The most likely scenario for its origin has a successor-prophet producing chapters 40—66 in order to reapply the message of Isaiah 1-39 to his own era (if indeed we may stop the “dismemberment” of the book at chapter 55 and not assign 56-66 to an Isaiah III). This cautious acceptance of the prevailing canons of critical scholarship is typical of the “biblical movement” in

³⁶ The *Bíblia de Jerusalém* is a Portuguese adaptation of the French *La Bible de Jerusalem* notable mainly for its use of the idiosyncratic divine name *Iaweh* and for the high education level of its implied target reader (Konigs 2003:229). Its significance for the story of Portuguese translating has been judged insufficient to merit its inclusion in this study.

the Roman Catholic Church. A lengthy footnote at 40:1 re-articulates de Castro’s position: 40-66 is the work of a disciple of Isaiah. The first section of the work, 40-48, is concerned with the end of the reign of Babylon, and 49-55 with the end of the reign of sin.

6.3.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

Since the remaining versions in this chapter are not relay translations, potential dependence on other versions will not enter into consideration. For this reason, and to preserve the *Biblia Illustrada*’s distinctive approach to stichometry, in what follows charts will be dispensed with and texts will be considered *in toto*. The Hebrew source text will be followed by my own translation, then that of the version under discussion in Portuguese, then my own back translation from Portuguese into English.

6.3.4.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41, 43

נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ (Isaiah 40:2)

Her iniquity has been atoned for (my translation).

Biblia Illustrada: . . . *lhe foi descontada a culpa* (Her guilt has been nullified).

יִרְצוּ אֶת-עֲוֹנָם (Leviticus 26:41)

They will atone for their iniquity (my translation)

Biblia Illustrada: . . . *expiarão os seus pecados* (They shall expiate their sins).

יִרְצוּ אֶת-עֲוֹנָם (v 43)

They will atone for their iniquity.

Biblia Illustrada: ... *eles hão-de expiar os seus pecados* (They shall [mesoclitic form] expiate their sins).

Here lexis that is identical in the source texts is entirely different in the translation, and there is no indication in either text or para-text that an inter-textual relationship was recognized. The lengthy footnote on Isaiah 40:1-2 mentioned above explains only the themes of the major sections in chapters 40-55 (A note on vv. 3-4 identifies the “voice” as angelic, as in Chapter 6). The footnote on Leviticus 26:40-45 explains the promised punishments as discipline intended to bring about the Israelites’ repentance, and it suggests Jerome’s interpretation that the Israelites would expiate their sins by praying for forgiveness. Despite the fact that *culpa* (guilt) is not only an accurate rendering of עֲוֹן but a natural object of the verb *expiar* (“expiate”—de Holanda Ferreira 1986:743), עֲוֹן singular is rendered in Leviticus with *pecados*—a plural of the less marked term. The translation

of Leviticus was the work of José António Godinho de Lima, whereas Joaquim Mendes de Castro was the Isaiah translator as noted above.

6.3.4.2 Isaiah 40:6-8, Psalm 103:15-17

כָּל־הַבֶּשֶׂר חֵצִיר וְכָל־חַסְדּוֹ כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה:
 יִבֶּשׂ חֵצִיר גַּבַּל צִיץ כִּי רוּחַ יְהוָה גֹּשְׁבָהּ בּוֹ ...
 יִבֶּשׂ חֵצִיר גַּבַּל צִיץ וְדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם:

All flesh is grass, and all its mercy (LXX, NT “glory”) like the flowers of the field
 Grass dries up and flowers wither, when the breath of Yahweh blows on them
 Grass dries up and flowers wither, but the word of our God will stand forever (Isaiah 40:6,8; my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada:

<<Todo o ser humano é feno,
 e toda a sua glória é flor do campo.
 O feno seca, e as flores murcham,
 quando lhes sopra o vento do Senhor.
 (. . .)
 O feno seca, e as flores murcham,
 mas a palavra do nosso Deus
 permanece eternamente>>.

Every human being is hay,
 and all his glory is a flower of the field.
 Hay dries, and flowers wither,
 when the wind of the Lord blows on them.
 (. . .)
 Hay dries, and flowers wither,
 but the word of our God remains eternally (Isaiah 40:6,8).

אָנוֹשׁ כְּחֵצִיר יָמָיו כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה כִּן יִצְיָץ:
 כִּי רוּחַ עֲבָרָה־בֶּן וְאֵיגָנוּ וְלֹא־יִכְרַנּוּ עוֹד מְקוֹמוֹ:
 וְחֶסֶד יְהוָה מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד־עוֹלָם עַל־יְרֵאָיו

Mankind is like grass; his days are like the flowers of the field—so he blooms.

When the wind passes over him, he is no more; and his place regards him no longer.
But the mercy of Yahweh is forever and ever upon those who fear him. . . (Psalm 103:15-7; my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada:

*Os dias do homem são como feno:
desabrocha como desabrocha a flor do campo.
Mas por ele passa o vento,
e logo desaparece,
e nem o próprio lugar o reconhece.
A bondade do Senhor, prém, dura de eternidade a eternidade
sobre os que o temem,
e a Sua justiça passa aos filhos dos filhos.*

Man's days are like hay:
He blooms the way a flower of the field blooms.
But the wind passes over him,
and soon he disappears,
and not even his own place recognizes him.
The goodness of the Lord, however, endures from eternity to eternity
over those who fear him,
and His justice passes to their sons' sons (Psalm 103:15-17).

As noted in 3.4.2.2 above, verbal parallels in the source text are extensive, but not exact. This is generally the situation in the translation. A target-oriented rendering of *בְּשָׂר* as "human being" (*ser humano*) rather than "flesh" in Isaiah 40 brings the alluding and alluded-to texts into slightly closer alignment, offering some compensation for the shift in *תְּהִלָּה* ("glory" in Isaiah; "goodness" in the psalm). De Castro was the translator of both Isaiah and the Psalms, and it is clear from the note on the psalm text that a connection was recognized.

In the note, however, there is no apparent indication of an awareness of how this allusion functions. As noted in 3.4.2.2, the connection between the transitory nature of humanity and the message of deliverance for captive Judah is gapped in the Isaiah text. The gap is filled in for the "full-knowing reader" who can activate Psalm 103, where it is the very frailty of transitory humankind that moves

the Lord to pity and to action. The *Bíblia Ilustrada*'s note on the passage suggests that it is *Babylon*'s "glory" that is in view, and that is soon to come to an end.

There is no note on the Isaiah passage sending a reader to the psalm. The note on the psalm identifies the simile as a familiar trope in the Hebrew Bible, and explains it as a natural one for authors familiar with the effect of a *scirocco* on a meadow in the Middle East; references are to Psalm 27(36), Psalm 90(89), and the alluding text in Isaiah considered above.

6.3.4.3 *Isaiah 40:26,28 and Psalm 147:4*

שְׂאוּ-מַרוֹם עֵינֵיכֶם וּרְאוּ מִי-בָרָא אֱלֹהֵי הַמּוֹצֵיָא בְּמִסְפָּר צְבָאָם לְכֹלֵם בְּיָשָׁם יִקְרָא מְרַב אֲוֵנִים וְאַמִּיץ^a כָּח
אִישׁ לֹא נִעְדָּר:

...

הֲלוֹא יִדְעַתְּ אִם-לֹא שִׁמְעַתְּ אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם | יְהוָה בּוֹרֵא קְצוֹת הָאָרֶץ לֹא יִיָּעַף וְלֹא יִיָּגַע אִיו חָקֵר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ:

Raise your eyes on high and see. Who created these?

The one who brings their host out by number,

Who calls them all by name—

Because of [his] abundant strength and the power of his might

Not a one is missing.

(. . .)

Don't you know? Haven't you heard?

Yahweh is the eternal God, the Creator of the ends of the earth.

He doesn't grow tired and he doesn't grow weary;

There is no searching-out his understanding (Isaiah 40:26,28; my translation)

Bíblia Ilustrada

Erguei os olhos para o alto

e vede quem criou aquelas coisas:

o que fez surgir por conta o Seu exército,

que a todas chama pelo seu nome.

Pela grandeza do Seu poder e robustez da Sua força,

não falta nenhuma.

(. . .)

Acaso não o sabes, acaso não o ouviste dizer?

o Senhor é um Deus eterno,

criador do orbe inteiro.

*Não Se cansa nem Se fatiga:
a Sua inteligência é insondável.
Ele fixa o número das estrelas,
chama a cada uma pelo seu nome.
Grande é o nosso Deus e muito poderoso,
inefável a Sua inteligência.*

Raise your eyes on high
and see who created those things:
who made His army arise one by one,
who calls them all by name.
By the grandeur of His power and the robustness of His might,
not one is missing.

(. . .)

Do you somehow not know it; have you somehow not heard it said?

The Lord is an eternal God,
Creator of the entire globe.

He does not tire or grow fatigued;

His intelligence is unfathomable (Isaiah 40:26,28).

מוֹנֵה מִסְפָּר לְפוֹכְבֵּי כָּל־שְׁמֹת יִקְרָא:
גָּדוֹל אֲדוֹנֵינוּ וְרַב־כֹּחַ לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר:

The one who counts the number of the stars--
He calls them all by names--
Great is our Lord and abundant in strength;
There is no counting-up his understanding (Psalm 147:4, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*Ele fixa o número das estrelas,
Chama a cada uma pelo seu nome.
Grande é o nosso Deus e muito poderoso.
Inefável a Sua inteligência.*

He fixes the number of the stars:
He calls each one by its name.
Great is our God and very powerful.

His intelligence is unfathomable (Psalm 147:4).

Vocabulary shared between the alluding and alluded-to texts is slightly greater in TT than it was in ST, as the singular-plural difference in “name/names” has been flattened and both concluding cola have been rendered “His intelligence is unfathomable.” From the translation, it seems highly likely that the translator was aware of the relationship between the two texts, and the relationship is reproduced deftly.

His awareness is even more evident from the para-text, in which a remarkable footnote appears at Psalm 147 that might have been more appropriate at Isaiah 40. It reads:

The stars, whose number and name only God knows, illustrate the wisdom and power of the Lord and form the basis of an a fortiori argument that the Scriptures present: If God knows and controls so well the heavenly bodies, he knows much better the scattered elements of His people, and he will be capable of going to find them to the end of the world, to the line of contact between heaven and earth (Dt 30:1-4, Ne. 1:9).

6.3.4.4 Isaiah 42:17; Exodus 32:4,8; and 1 Kings 12:28

נִסְגּוּ אַחֲוֹר יִבְשׁוּ בְּשֵׁת הַבְּטֻחִים בַּפֶּסֶל הָאֲמָרִים לְמִסְכָּה אַתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

They will retreat backward and be utterly ashamed who trust in a carved image,
Who say to a cast image, “You are our gods” (Isaiah 42:17, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*Retrocederão, cheios de vergonha,
os que têm confiança nos ídolos,
os que dizem às estátuas:
<<Vós sois os nossos deuses>>.*

They will shrink back, full of shame,
those who have confidence in idols,
those who say to their statues:
“You are our gods” (Isaiah 42:17).

וַיִּעֲשֶׂהוּ עֵגֶל מִסְכָּה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָעֵלִיד מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם: ...
עָשׂוּ לָהֶם עֵגֶל מִסְכָּה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ-לוֹ וַיִּזְבְּחוּ-לוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָעֵלִיד מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:

And he made it into a cast image of a young bull, and they said, “These are your gods, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.” (...) “They have made themselves a cast image of a young bull and bowed down to it and sacrificed to it, and they have said, ‘These are your gods, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.’”(Exodus 32:4,8; my translation)

Bíblia Ilustrada

Ele tomou-lhes das mãos o ouro, deu-lhe forma com o cinzel e fez dele um bezerro de metal fundido.

Então eles exclamaram:

--Este é o teu deus, ó Israel, o que te libertou da terra do Egípto.

(. . .)

fizeram para si um bezerro de metal fundido, prostraram-se diante dele, ofereceram-lhe sacrifícios e disseram: <<Este é o teu deus, ó Israel, o que te libertou da terra do Egípto.

He took the gold from their hands, gave it a shape with a chisel, and made from it a calf of cast metal.

Then they cried out, “This is your god, o Israel, who liberated you from the land of Egypt.”

(. . .)

They have made themselves a calf of cast metal, bowed down before it, offered it sacrifices, and said, “This is your god, o Israel, who liberated you from the land of Egypt” (Exodus 32:4,8).

וַיַּעַזְז הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיַּעַשׂ שְׁנֵי עֲגֹלֵי זָהָב וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲלֵהֶם רַב־לָכֶם מִעֲלֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר
הָעֲלִיךָ מִמִּצְרַיִם:

And the king took some advice, and he made two calves of gold. He said to them, “Enough of your going up to Jerusalem! Here are your gods, o Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt (1 Kings 12:28, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

Por isso resolveu fazer dois bezerros de ouro e disse ao povo:

--- Há tempo que andais subindo a Jerusalém! Israel, eis aqui o teu Deus, o que te fez sair da terra do Egípto.

He therefore decided to make two calves of gold, and he said to the people:

--For a long time now you’ve kept on going up to Jerusalem! Israel, here is your God, who made you leave the land of Egypt (1 Kings 12:28).

Here the singular form “god” in the translation of Exodus is retained as a singular in 1 Kings (despite the fact that there are two calves), suggesting an awareness of this celebrated inter-textual connection. A footnote on 1 Kings explains at length:

Jeroboam did not want to change deities; in those times, the bull was the symbol of strength and majesty, and was often a representation of divinity. It was for this reason that Aaron erected the *golden calf* in the desert, as an image of Yahweh (cf. Ex. 32:1-6). Jeroboam does the same thing, and entrusts his subjects with the worship of Yahweh in the figure of a calf. It was not idolatry in the strict sense, but a reducing of the religion of *Israel* to the level of other religions; to represent the invisible *God* under in the form of a sculpture was to establish very serious and dangerous precedents to *Israel*. The king forgets that this was absolutely prohibited by the Law (cf. Ex. 20:4-5, Dt 4:15-20; 5:8-9). It was an opportunity for idolatry (my translation; italics original).

Nothing in the Isaiah translation signals any awareness of an inter-textual connection. “Gods” is plural, while the identical form is a singular in the translations of Exodus and 1 Kings; and for contextual consistency’s sake both מִסְכָּה and פְּסֻלָּה are construed as collectives. There is no footnote on the Isaiah passage.

De Castro was the translator and commentator for both Exodus and Isaiah. 1 Kings, however, was the work of Manuel Rodrigues Martins. It may be that the division of labor was an obstacle to a perspicuous allusion in the translation—if in fact all three texts are in dialogue, and all three components are necessary for a reader fully to activate the inter-textual connections.

6.3.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

גַּם-מִיּוֹם אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל אֶפְעַל וּמִי יִשְׁבְּרֶנָּה:

Henceforth, also, I am he,

And there is no one who can snatch out of my hand.

I act; who can reverse it? (Isaiah 43:13, my translation)

Bíblia Ilustrada

Das Minhas mãos nada se pode subtrair.

O que Eu faço quem o pode desfazer?

From My hands nothing can be taken away.

What I do, who can undo? (Isaiah 43:13)

רְאוּ עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדַי אֲנִי אֲמִית וְאֶחָדָה מִתְצַתִּי וְאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל:

See now, that I—yes, I—am he, and there is no god besides me.

I kill and I bring to life again; I wound, and I heal;
And there is none who can snatch out of my hand (Deuteronomy 32:39, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*Vede, porém, que Eu, sim, Eu o sou
e a Meu lado não há outro Deus.
Sou Eu que dou a vida e a morte;
ninguém poderá fugir à Minha mão.*

See, however, that I, yes, I am he
and beside me there is no other God.
It is I who give life and death;
Nobody can escape from my hand (Deuteronomy 32:39).

As noted above, מִיֹּם functions as one allusion-marker in DtI; it has simply been dropped from the *Bíblia Ilustrada*, as has “I am he” (perhaps considered redundant after v 10). A third allusion-marker is the ambiguous מִצַּיִל, the hinge on which God’s hand of punishment in Deuteronomy turns into the hand by which God saves in DtI. In Isaiah, the *Bíblia Ilustrada* translates with a passive verb and understands an impersonal subject, “nothing.” In Deuteronomy, its translation “escape” not only obliterates the allusion; it results in a loss of meaning in its immediate context.

A lengthy footnote on the alluding text explains whom God is calling as “witnesses” and why, and may demonstrate an appreciation for the legal-dispute genre of the material. It also points out verse 10’s resonances in the “I AM” statements of Jesus (John 8:24, 28; 10:29-30) and in the designation of the apostles as “witnesses” (John 15:27, Acts 4:12). There is no reference to the Deuteronomy passage. At Deuteronomy, a note comments briefly on the implication that God is superior to idols, and refers to Isaiah 43:13.

Like 1 Kings, Deuteronomy was the work, not of de Castro, but of Martíns.

6.3.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16

דַּלְתוֹת נְחוֹשֶׁה אֶשְׁבֵּר וּבְרִיתֵי בְרֹזֶל אֶגְדַּע:

Doors of bronze, I will smash;
And bars of iron I will chop into pieces (Isaiah 45:2, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*...quebrarei as portas de bronze
e partirei as trancas de ferro.*

I will break the bronze gates
and split the iron locks (Isaiah 45:2).

כִּי־שָׁבַר דַּלְתוֹת נְחָשֶׁת וּבְרִיחַי בְּרֹגֶל גִּדְעָה:

For doors of bronze he smashed,
And bars of iron he chopped into pieces (Psalm 107:16, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*...pois quebrou as portas de bronze
e partiu as trancas de ferro.*

For he broke the bronze gates
And split the iron locks (Psalm 107:16).

Shared lexis is reproduced identically in both texts, making it clear that a relationship was recognized. A note on the alluding text indicates the nature of the relationship: “*Broke . . . split*, as he had promised in Isaiah 45:2.” In other words, for translator and commentator de Castro, DtI is the alluded-to text and the psalm, the alluding text. This is the reverse of the position of this study.

6.3.4.7 Isaiah 48:21, Exodus 17:6, and Psalm 78:15, 20

וְלֹא צָמְאוּ בְּחַרְבוֹת הָהוֹלִיכֶם מַיִם מִצֹּר הַזֶּה לָמוּ וַיִּבְקַע צֹר וַיִּזְבוּ מַיִם:

But they did not go thirsty as he led them through the wastelands;
He made water spurt from the rock for them.
And he split open the rock,
And waters oozed out (Isaiah 48:21, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*Não tiveram sede nas estepes
por onde os guiou:*

*fez-lhes brotar água da rocha;
abriu a rocha, e jorrou água>>.*

They were not thirsty in the steppes
through which He guided them:
He made water gush from the bedrock for them:
He opened the bedrock, and water spurted out (Isaiah 48:21).

הִנְנִי עֹמֵד לְפָנֶיךָ יְשׁוּׁם עַל־הַצּוּר בְּחֶרֶב וְהִכִּיתָ בַצּוּר וַיֵּצְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ מַיִם וְשָׁתָה הָעָם

See, I will be standing before you there on the rock at Horeb. You shall strike the rock, and waters will come out from it and the people will drink (Exodus 17:6, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

Eu estarei diante de ti, lá, sobre o rochedo, em Horeb. Tu ferirás o rochedo, e dele brotará água, e o povo poderá beber.

I will stand before you, there, on the cliff, at Horeb. You will strike the cliff a blow, and from it will gush water, and the people will be able to drink (Exodus 16:7).

יִבְקַע צָרִים בַּמִּדְבָּר וַיִּשְׁק פְּתַח־מַיִם רַבָּה

...
הֲוֹן הַכֶּה־צּוּר וַיִּזְנוּבוּ מֵיֵם וַיִּנְחֲלֵם וְשָׁטְפוּ הַגַּם־לָחֶם יוּכַל תַּת אֶם־יִכִּין שְׂאֵר לְעַמּוֹ

He split the rocks in the desert,
And gave them drink as abundantly as if from the ocean depths.
(. . .)
Indeed, he struck the rock, and waters oozed out and streams gushed forth.
But can he also give bread?
Or can he provide meat for his people? (Psalm 78:15,20, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*Abriu as rochas do deserto
e dessedentou-os com um mar de água.*

(. . .)

*Na verdade, feriu a rocha, e a água brotou,
e promanaram abundantes mananciais.
Mas poderá também dar pão
ou preparar carne ao seu povo?>>*

He opened the bedrock in the desert
and freed them from thirst with a sea of water.
In truth, he struck the bedrock a blow, and water gushed out,
and abundant springs flowed forth.
But shall he also be able to give bread
or prepare meat for his people? (Psalm 78:15,20)

As noted above (3.4.2.7), in the source text a reference to the Exodus tradition is unmistakable.
A note on the Isaiah text comments on v 20:

“Go out!”— the same word as in the Exodus (cf. Ex. 12:31). At that time, it was the command of Pharaoh; this time it will be an edict from Cyrus (cf. Ez. 1:2-4). The intervention of men, however, is a sign of the intervention of God. This is proven by the miracles that took place at the departure from Egypt (cf. Ex.17:5, Nu. 20:11) and that were expected in the return *from Babylon*, which the prophet foresees in terms of the earlier event (cf. Is. 41:48) and, as such, expects them to be accompanied by a jubilant song of thanksgiving, whose lyrics he is preparing (cf. Ex.15:1-21) [my translation].

DtI, however, shares more vocabulary with the psalm than with the Pentateuch [In the Pentateuch the rock is not “split (בקע) as it is in DtI and the psalm, nor does the water “ooze” (זוב)]. The dynamics of this inter-textual relationship would have been more evident in translation if the *Bíblia Ilustrada* had not adopted the expansive and elevated expression *promanaram abundantes mananciais* (“abundant springs flowed forth”) at Psalm 78:20. Nonetheless, there is certainly sufficient shared lexis between the three texts to make an inter-textual relationship visible.

6.3.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בְּעֵת רְצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ וּבְיָוֶם יְשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיךָ:

This is what Yahweh says:
In the acceptable time I answered you;
And in the day of salvation, I helped you (Isaiah 49:8, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

Assim fala o Senhor:

<<*No tempo da graça, Eu te ouvi;
E, no dia da salvação, Eu te ajudei.*

The Lord speaks thus:

“In the time of grace, I heard you;
And, in the day of salvation, I helped you” (Isaiah 49:8)

וְאַנִי תַפְלִיתִי יִלְחָדְךָ יְהוָה עַתָּה רְצוֹן אֱלֹהִים בְּרַב־חַסְדֶּךָ עֲנֵנִי בְּאַמֶּת יְשׁוּעָה:

As for me, my prayer comes to you, Yahweh, [in? for?] the acceptable time;
Answer me, God, in your abundant mercy,
In your reliable salvation (Psalm 69:14, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

*E eu? –Elevo a Ti, Senhor, a minha súplica
no momento oportuno da graça:
Ouve-me pela grandeza da Tua bondade,
pela verdade da Tua protecção.*

And I? I raise to You, Lord, my supplication
at the opportune moment for grace:
Hear me, by the grandeur of Your goodness,
By the truth of Your protection (Psalm 69:14).

A lengthy footnote on Isaiah explains:

The Lord speaks thus—The holy writer continues to exploit the Jewish side of the mission of the *servant* of Yahweh, who is himself an adumbration of the *time of grace*. By the *Lord’s* will, the history of Israel is the pre-history of redemption; the covenants of the Old Testament prepare for the new *covenant*; the conquest and re-occupation of the Promised Land, under the commanders designated by heaven, symbolize the kingdom of God on earth (cf. Is. 32:14; 42:6-22; 61:2; Lam. 1:6) (my translation; italics original).

The note above is highly reminiscent of remarks in the preface to Matos Soares’ version on the relationship of the Old Testament to the New.

The note on the psalm takes a different direction, however:

And I?—The Righteous One does not respond to offensive statements (cf. Mt. 26:22). He turns to God and reminds him that the time *of grace* has arrived, the final *moment* for divine intervention, if God does not want His promises to become empty words and His honor to suffer (cf. Psalm 5:13; 32[31]:6; Is. 48:9) (my translation; italics original).

In other words, עֵת רַצוֹן (unique to these two texts in the Hebrew Bible) is not only translated “time of grace” in the alluding text and “opportune moment for grace” in the alluded-to text; it is also interpreted quite differently. In the note on Isaiah, it is more or less synonymous with the New Testament era, whereas in the psalm it is understood as the appropriate moment for God to come and help the psalmist. The additional allusion marker יְשׁוּעָה/יְשׁוּעָה comes out “salvation” in Isaiah and (oddly) “protection” in the psalm, with further loss of shared lexis. The perspicuity of the allusion therefore fares less well than might have been expected, given that both texts were the work of the same translator.

6.3.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

הַקְצוֹר קַצְרָה יְדֵי מַפְדֵּיּוֹת וְאִם־אֵינֶי־בִי כֹחַ לְהַצִּיל

Is my arm indeed too short for redeeming?

Or is there not with me strength to deliver? (Isaiah 50:2, my translation)

Bíblia Ilustrada

Será tão curto o Meu braço que não pode remir?

Ou não terei Eu poder para salvar?

Can My arm be so short that it can't redeem?

Or can it be that I have no power to save? (Isaiah 50:2)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הֲיֵד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר עַתָּה תִּרְאֶה הֲיִקְרָךְ דְּבַרִי אִם־לֹא:

And Yahweh said to Moses, “Is the arm of Yahweh too short? Now you will see whether or not my word comes to pass” (Numbers 11:23, my translation).

Bíblia Ilustrada

O Senhor disse a Moisés:

--É curta, acaso, a mão do Senhor ?

Em breve verás se a Minha palavra se cumpre ou não, diante de ti.

The Lord said to Moses:

--Is my hand short, perchance?

In a moment you'll see whether or not My word is fulfilled or not, right before you (Numbers 11:23).

Obviously, “short” and “hand” appear in both texts; and there are no shifts in shared lexis beyond what occurs in the source text. This and the alluding text's position in a context that is packed with Exodus allusions make it relatively easy for a “full-knowing reader” to activate the allusion.

A note on Numbers explains the “short hand” idiom. A note on Isaiah explains:

Israel's silence [*i.e.*, the failure to respond to the Lord that he complains of in the first part of the verse] does not please the Lord, because it reveals a lack of faith (cf. 7:9). It is so much the more culpable in Israel as its history demonstrated how far the *power* of the Lord extended (cf. Ex. 7:18-21, 14:21; Ps. 30(29):2; 106(105):9; 107(106):33) (my translation, italics original).

The alluded-to text's context in the broadest sense is therefore evoked for the reader, although a reference to one of two other passages in the Hebrew Bible that use an identical expression is absent.

The translation and commentary on Numbers is the work of Manuel Teixeira Borges.

6.3.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1

מֵהַנְּאוֹי עַל־הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב מִשְׁמִיעַ יְשׁוּעָה אֵמַר לְצִיּוֹן מִלֵּךְ אֵלֶּיָּהּ:

How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger,
 The one who lets us hear of peace;
 The messenger of good things,
 The one who lets us hear of salvation,
 The one who says to Zion, “Your God reigns!” (Isaiah 52:7, my translation)

Bíblia Ilustrada

*Como são belos sobre os montes os pés do mensageiro,
 pregoeiro da paz,
 núncio do bem,
 pregoeiro da salvação,
 que dirá a Sião: <<O teu Deus é rei!>>*

How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger,
 the herald of peace,

the nuncio of well-being,
 who shall say to Zion, “Your God is king!” (Isaiah 52:7)

הִנֵּה עַל-הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם

Look, on the mountains—the feet of the messenger,
 The one who lets us hear of peace! (Nahum 2:1, my translation).

Biblia Illustrada

*Vede, sobre os montes corre o mensageiro
 que anuncia a salvação!*

See, on the mountains the messenger is running
 who announces salvation! (Nahum 2:1)

Despite the obvious verbal connection between these two passages, shared lexis in the translation is minimal. In Isaiah, the translation of מְבַשֵּׂר alternates from the commonly-understood “messenger” to the rather arcane “nuncio,” and chooses the seldom-used *pregoeiro* (herald) for מְשַׁמְעַ שְׁלוֹם despite the ready availability of many Portuguese equivalents. There is a lengthy footnote explaining in particular resonances of this verse within the New Testament; nothing, however, sends a reader to Nahum.

The rendering in Isaiah would have complicated the task of a Nahum translator who wanted to make the inter-textual relationship apparent, if in fact s/he was aware of it. It is at least probable that this Nahum translator (Teodoro de Faría) was aware. Although Isaiah 52:7 is not cited, the note on Nahum 2:1 explains:

The messenger is running—The prophet has a presentiment of a messenger who announces the good news of salvation (cf. Is. 62:7, Ze. 9:10). With the destruction of Nineveh, the tyranny would cease. For Israel, a new era of peace and progress would begin. Isaiah takes up again the theme of the messenger to describe the eschatological peace of Zion (my translation; italics original).

The translation of Nahum 2:1 is very free, however: there are no “feet,” and שְׁלוֹם is inexplicably rendered “salvation.”

6.3.5 Conclusions

The *Bíblia Ilustrada* is remarkable for more than the beauty of these volumes, the scholarship on which the translation and para-text are based, and the occasional excellence (if less-than-universal accessibility) of their Portuguese. Roman Catholic translations have been described as exhibiting

“a certain controlling tendency, a paternalistic flavor, and an attempt to shape the reading in the direction of Catholic orthodoxy, which are most densely concentrated in the catechetical or occasionally ascetic-ideological treatment of the introductions and notes” (Ramos 2010:119). That describes Matos Soares’ version perfectly, but not the *Bíblia Ilustrada*. No tendentiously Roman Catholic renderings were apparent in the texts under consideration in this study. The para-text—while its interests are clearly theological—is much more concerned with helping than with controlling the reader.

With regard to inner-biblical allusion, however, the picture is mixed. In some cases it seems possible that interaction with recent scholarship had led to a desire to hear the Bible for its own sake, which in turn led to an enhanced recognition of its literary features. Furthermore, a certain amount of confidence in the competence of the *Bíblia Ilustrada*’s implied reader (perhaps as a function of his/her implied level of education) is evident in the product. This would seem to permit a certain literary “openness” in the target text that the approach of, *e.g.*, Matos Soares did not.

The *Bíblia Ilustrada* is the first Portuguese version produced by a committee, however, and at times it shows. Preservation of the source text’s allusions in the target text fared best when both the alluding and alluded-to texts were the work of one man (but even here it could not be assumed). Committee translations will not be characterized by perspicuity of allusion if committee members work simultaneously rather than together—in other words, if perspicuous allusions are not a conscious translation norm, and if some mechanism for comparison across the entire target text with regard to this norm is not in place. This can also be observed in the version considered below.

6.4 The *Nova Tradução dos Freis Capuchinhos* (1992-1998)

Fortunately, the story of this version has been chronicled extensively by the Capuchin Fr. Herculano Alves, director of the project. In addition to the introductory material in this Bible, the summary below is greatly indebted to his accounts (Alves 2010 and Alves 2014).

6.4.1 Target Culture Function

The publisher of this version was founded in Beja, Portugal in 1955—*i.e.*, during the period between *Divino Afflante Spiritu* and *Dei Verbum* and slightly before the release of the first volume of the *Bíblia Ilustrada*. From the beginning, the *Difusora Bíblica*’s mission was to publish accessible Bibles for Roman Catholics. It released a pocket version of the New Testament in 1961 (with a standard-size version following in 1961), a condensed version of the Old Testament in 1962, and a complete Bible at the affordable price of \$75 *escudos* (less than US \$3) in 1965.

By the 1980s, the urgent need to revise the *Difusora Bíblica*'s version had become apparent—not only because of its uneven quality (including differing translations of the same proper names), but because the type used to print it had been worn down almost completely. The project stalled, allegedly due to the fact that the relatively few biblical scholars in Portugal were occupied in an effort by the Portuguese Episcopal Conference to produce a new version (Alves 2014). This effort failed, however, and the *Difusora Bíblica*'s project resumed under the leadership of Fr. Alves.

Interestingly, at the same time the *Difusora Bíblica* was also involved with the *Sociedade Bíblica do Portugal* in producing an inter-confessional translation; in fact, Fr. José Augusto Ramos participated in both projects. The inter-confessional version eventually became the *Tradução Interconfessional* (published in 1993) which will be considered below. In Fr. Alves' account of the process that produced the *Nova Tradução dos Freis Capuchinhos* there is an oblique reference to Fr. Ramos's mention of difficulty with the ecumenical translation project, apparently involving its leadership (Alves 2014). It is not clear whether this was the reason that the *Difusora Bíblica* went ahead with its own, parallel project, one that involved only Roman Catholic scholars.

The first translators' meeting took place on September 26, 1992; the group of participants subsequently grew until it included 23 scholars, all trained at the Biblical Institute in Rome. Fr. Alves, coordinator of the project, was also chosen coordinator of the New Testament; the Old Testament would be coordinated by Fr. José Augusto Ramos. Biblical books were divided among participants, and the criteria established for the project were the following:

- 1) Each translator should work directly from the original source texts, unless he could certify that the old *Difusora Bíblica*'s version was already in compliance with up-to-date translation criteria. In that case, he could simply revise the original version in the direction of the source texts.
- 2) The translation should be “rigorously” based on the original, but “excessively semitic” vocabulary and expressions should be avoided.
- 3) A list of 3000 proper names was prepared to guarantee harmony in the way these were rendered, since this had been a particular problem in the old *Difusora Bíblica* version.
- 4) Inclusive language should be used whenever possible, especially in the para-text.
- 5) Introductions and notes should be updated. The introductions to lengthy or “more important” books could be two to three pages long; those to shorter books, no more than one page. In no case should the notes exceed 1/3 the length of the biblical text.
- 6) A deadline at the end of 1993 was established for each translator to deliver his work to Fr. Alves.

A complex process of coordination followed (largely the work of Frs. Alves and Ramos) in order to bring some level of homogeneity to the work of many translators. Some biblical books went through three or four revisions. Chapter and verse numbers were checked against the original, or against a foreign version judged trustworthy. Introductions and notes were edited (and often condensed). References to parallel texts were harmonized. Finally, after the text was theoretically ready for publication, various readers were asked to preview it with an eye toward its freedom from *cacófatos* (see 5.4.3.3.2 above) and double *ententes*, and the suitability of its language for individual and group reading. A large body of liturgical and study helps was also prepared. Finally, the Portuguese Episcopal Conference approved the version on June 30, 1998, and it was officially released as the *Nova Bíblia dos Capuchinhos* at the Catholic University of Portugal.

A second edition followed in 2000 which involved some revisions, although the pagination of the 1998 edition was retained. Punctuation errors were corrected and some arcane vocabulary was replaced. The notes were improved particularly with regard to inter-textual references, and more of these were added. The liturgical lectionary was completely revised. Most notably, *Capuchinhos* was dropped from the name, and the version was titled simply *Bíblia Sagrada* (in order to avoid confusion with a number of other versions with this name, it will continue to be known as the *Bíblia dos Capuchinhos* in this study). Subsequent editions followed until the fifth in September of 2008 (on which this study is based).

Important for present purposes is the fact that, while the *Bíblia dos Capuchinhos* benefitted from a very large translation team, each translator did his work in isolation and delivered it to the coordinators upon completion. Translations were not initially arrived at *via* debate and consensus, and it fell to coordinators Alves and Ramos at a later stage of production to bring coherence to what was essentially a large number of individual projects. It seems reasonable to predict that this procedure would not produce a translation that is notable for the recognition of inter-textual allusions in the source text and their perspicuity in the translation. This prediction will be tested below.

6.4.2 Target Text Coherence

“Second Isaiah”—the translation of which, like “First” and “Third Isaiah,” was the work of Joaquim Carrera das Neves—has its own title and introduction in the *Nova Bíblia dos Capuchinhos*. The three sections of Isaiah are said to be the work of three different prophets in three different eras. According to the introduction to Second Isaiah, it consists of 40:1-55:13 and is divided into two parts: “God, the Liberator” (40:1-48:2) and “Restoration of Zion (49:1-55:13). The author is situated in the final period of the Exile, and he portrays the Return as a second and

more glorious Exodus. “More poet and theologian than historian,” Second Isaiah reveals how “everything depends on the mystery of the divine will inscribed at the center of history itself.” His style is said to be quite different from First Isaiah; how Second Isaiah came to be joined to First is left unspecified. The four Servant Songs (42:1-4, 49:1-6, 50:4-11, and 52:13-53:12) are set off in italics in the body of the translation, perhaps as a nod to conventional scholarship which sees their composition history as different from that of their surrounding contexts. All this demonstrates an awareness of certain canons of critical scholarship, but not yet of attempts by the field to account for the whole book as it currently stands (*cf.* 3.2.3 above).

The translation itself demonstrates a certain target-orientation in its tendency toward explication (*e.g.*, *o dobro do castigo* [“double the punishment,” emphasis mine] at 40:2), the freedom of some of its renderings (*e.g.*, *Bom! Estou quente e tenho luz!* [“Good! I’m warm and I’ve got light!”] at 44:16; *jovem cidade de Babilónia* [“young city of Babylonia” rather than “virgin daughter of Babylon”] at 47:1), and in its tendency to translate rather than transliterate proper names (“Petra” in 42:11, “Ethiopia” in 43:3, *etc.*). Nevertheless, like the *Bíblia Ilustrada*, at times this version shows a predilection for elevated vocabulary (*rebites*, 41:7; *aguçada*, 41:15; *parturiente*, 42:14; *perscrutar*, 42:23;) and constructions (*conta-mo* for *conta-o para mim* in 43:26; *Não vo-lo anunciei?* for *Não o anunciei a vós?* in 44:8). The language register is a written rather than an oral one and the diction is at a high level.

Section headings are frequent. These normally attempt to follow changes in topic or speaker (not always successfully—see 44:29). The para-textual notes are brief and not intrusively plentiful. One note (at 41:25) explains that the translator followed “Qumran” (clearly 1QIsa^a), which is not further identified or explained. Another (at 44:12) observes a shift from poetry to prose. Most offer a definition of a term or identification of a person or place (*e.g.*, on 42:11), or inter-textual references (frequently to the New Testament, *e.g.*, on 42:7), or a short comment on a passage’s theological significance—although attempts to harmonize the passage with Roman Catholic orthodoxy are conspicuously absent, especially when compared with Matos Soares (See, *e.g.*, the note on 43:22-28). There were no obvious instances of inclusive language in the notes; one note, on 52:1, does warn: “The author is opposed to the religious syncretism promoted by Babylonian colonialism, but a fundamentalist view of the text could promote racism or anti-semitism” (my translation). The overall effect is to imply an educated target reader who appreciates some orientation, but in whose hands many interpretive decisions may be left with some degree of confidence.

6.4.3 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

6.4.3.1 Isaiah 40:2 and Leviticus 26:41,43

נִרְצָה עֲוֹנָהּ (Isaiah 40:2)

Her iniquity has been atoned for (Isaiah 40:2, my translation)

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos: . . . *estão perdoados os vossos crimes* (Your crimes have been forgiven).

יִרְצוּ אֶת־עֲוֹנָם (Leviticus 26:41)

They will atone for their iniquity (Leviticus 26:41, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos: . . . *expiarão a sua iniquidade* (They shall expiate their iniquity).

יִרְצוּ אֶת־עֲוֹנָם (v 43)

They will atone for their iniquity (my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:... *repararão a sua iniquidade* (They shall become aware of their iniquity).

It is not likely that perspicuity of allusion across the Hebrew Bible will be a translation value when the fact that an identical expression occurs only three verses apart (Lv. 26:41-43) is not deemed sufficiently important to make the fact available to a reader. The translation and notes on Isaiah were the work of Joaquim Carreira das Neves, while Leviticus was the work of Fr. Alves, but this alone may or may not account for the fact of this allusion being lost. In the Isaiah passage, there are shifts in lexis, person, and number not only between the alluded-to and alluding texts, but between the target and the source text. All possible allusion markers have been obliterated, and nothing in either para-text suggests that an allusion was recognized.

6.4.3.2 Isaiah 40:6-8, Psalm 103(102):15-17

כָּל־הַבָּשָׂר חָצִיר וְכָל־חֶסֶדּוֹ כַּצִּיץ הַשָּׂדֶה:
 יִבֶּשׂ חָצִיר גַּבַּל צִיץ כִּי רוּחַ יְהוָה גֹּשְׁבָהּ בּוֹ . . .
 יִבֶּשׂ חָצִיר גַּבַּל צִיץ וּדְבַר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם:

All flesh is grass, and all its mercy (LXX, NT “glory”) like the flowers of the field

Grass dries up and flowers wither, when the breath of Yahweh blows on them . . .

Grass dries up and flowers wither, but the word of our God will stand forever (Isaiah 40:6,8; my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

<<*Proclama que toda a gente é como a erva*

e toda a sua beleza como a flor dos campos!
A erva seca e a flor murcha,
quando o sopro do SENHOR passa sobre elas.

(. . .)

A erva seca e a flor murcha,
mas a palavra do nosso Deus permanece eternamente.

Proclaim that all the people are like vegetation
and all their beauty like the flower of the field!
The vegetation dries and the flower withers,
when the breath of the LORD passes over them.

(. . .)

The vegetation dries and the flower withers,
but the word of our God endures eternally (Isaiah 40:6,8).

אָנוֹשׁ כְּחֶצִיר יָמָיו כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה כֵּן יִצְיָן:
כִּי רוּחַ עֲבָרָה-בֶּן וְאִיגָנוּ וְלֹא-יִכְרְנוּ עוֹד מְקוֹמוֹ:
וְחֶסֶד יְהוָה מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד-עוֹלָם עַל-יִרְאַיוֹ

Mankind is like grass; his days are like the flowers of the field—so he blooms.
When the wind passes over him, he is no more; and his place regards him no longer.
But the mercy of Yahweh is forever and ever upon those who fear him (Psalm 103:15-17, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Os dias dos seres humanos são como a erva:
brotada como a flor do campo,
mas, quando sopra o vento sobre ela,
deixa de existir e não se conhece mais o seu lugar.
Mas o amor do SENHOR é eterno para os que o temem . . .

The days of human beings are like the vegetation:
it sprouts like the flower of the field,
But, when the wind blows over it,
It ceases to exist and its place is no longer recognized.

But the love of the LORD is eternal for those who fear him. . . (Psalm 103:15-17).

The Psalms translation was the work of Fr. Ramos, who coordinated the translation of the entire Old Testament. Both translations evidence some interesting decisions (*e.g.* כָּל־הַבְּשָׂר is “all the people” in Isaiah 40:6; “all mankind” becomes a gender-inclusive plural at Psalm 103:15, and the last colon of v 15 is interpretively re-worked). Nothing, however, suggests a real attempt to bring the translations of the alluding and alluded-to texts into lexical harmony. Some degree of shared lexis is lost (רוּחַ is “breath” in DtI and “wind” in the psalm; it “passes over” in DtI but “blows over” in the psalm, exactly opposite their respective source texts; and תְּקוּהָ is “beauty” in Isaiah and “love” in the psalm). Enough remains for most TR’s to recognize a familiar trope, but probably not an inter-textual relationship.

6.4.3.3 Isaiah 40:26,28 and Psalm 147(146-147):4.

שְׂאוּ-מַרוֹם עֵינֵיכֶם וּרְאוּ מִי־בָרָא אֱלֹהֵי הַמּוֹצֵיָא בְּמִסְפָּר צְבָאָם לְכֹל־בְּשָׂרָם יִקְרָא מְרַב אוֹנִים וְאִמִּין כָּח
אִישׁ לֹא נִעְדָּר:

...

הֲלוֹא יִדְעַתְּ אִם־לֹא שִׁמְעַתְּ אֱלֹהֵי עוֹלָם׃ יְהוָה בּוֹרֵא קְצוֹת הָאָרֶץ לֹא יִיָּעַף וְלֹא יִיָּגַע אִינוּ חֲקֹר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ:

Raise your eyes on high and see. Who created these?

The one who brings their host out by number,

Who calls them all by name—

Because of [his] abundant strength and the power of his might

Not a one is missing.

(. . .)

Don’t you know? Haven’t you heard?

Yahweh is the eternal God, the Creator of the ends of the earth.

He doesn’t grow tired and he doesn’t grow weary;

There is no searching-out his understanding (Isaiah 40:26,28; my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Levantai os olhos ao céu e vede!

Quem criou todos estes astros?

Aquele que os conta e os faz marchar como um exército.

A todos Ele chama pelos seus nomes.

É tão grande o seu poder e tão robusta a sua força,

que nem um só falta à chamada.

(. . .)

Porventura não sabes?

Será que não ouviste?

O SENHOR é um Deus eterno,

que criou os confins da terra.

Não se cansa nem perde as forças.

[Section break. New heading: *Deus, superior aos poderosos da Terra*]

É insondável a sua sabedoria.

Lift up your (pl.) eyes to the sky and see!

Who made all these heavenly bodies?

The one who counts them and makes them march like an army.

All of them he calls by their names.

So great is his power and so powerful his strength,

That not even one misses the call.

(. . .)

Do you (sg.) somehow not know?

Can it be you haven't heard?

The LORD is an eternal God,

who made the uttermost parts of the earth.

He doesn't grow tired, nor does he lose his powers.

[New heading: "God, Superior to the Mighty Ones of the Earth"]

His wisdom is unfathomable (Isaiah 40:26,28).

מוֹנֵה מִסְפָּר לְכֹכְבִּים לְכֹלֵם שְׁמוֹת יִקְרָא:
גָּדוֹל אֲדוֹגִינוּ וְרַב־כֹּחַ לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר:

The one who counts the number of the stars--

He calls them all by names.

Great is our Lord and abundant in strength;

There is no counting-up his understanding (my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Ele fixa o número das estrelas,

*Chama a cada uma pelo seu nome.
Grande e poderoso é o nosso Deus;
A sua sabedoria não tem limites.*

He fixes the number of the stars:
He calls each one by its name.
Great and powerful is our God;
His wisdom has no limits (Psalm 147:4).

Shared lexis is (as usual) a significant allusion-marker in ST, but its function depends on more than just this. As noted above (3.4.2.3), phrases found together in the alluded-to text are spread across three verses in the alluding text, making this a likely example of Sommer’s “split-up” phenomenon. Furthermore, the precise identity of the “host” (צָבָא) under discussion is gapped in DtI, but would be immediately apparent to a source reader who could call the psalm to mind.

In the translation, shared lexis fares relatively well, though the shared noun מְסַפֵּר is lost in Isaiah to an interpretive translation (“the one who counts them”). Any initial ambiguity about the identity of the “host,” however, is immediately removed *via* explication (the addition of *astros*, “heavenly bodies”).

A note on Isaiah does not refer to the psalm, but interestingly calls 40:27-28 “a climax in the theology of Deutero-Isaiah, the theme of which is repeated continually” (my translation). Psalm 147:6 (translation: “The LORD supports the humble, but brings evildoers down to the ground”) has a note that inexplicably sends a reader to Isaiah 40:29 (translation: “He gives powers to the weary and fills the weak with vigor”), where there is considerably less shared vocabulary than the pair of passages considered here.

6.4.3.4 Isaiah 42:17; Exodus 32:4,8; and 1 Kings 12:28

נִסְגּוּ אַחֲוֹר יִבְשׁוּ בְשֵׁת הַבְּטָחִים בַּפֶּסֶל הָאֲמָרִים לְמִסְכָּה אֲתֶם אֱלֹהֵינוּ:

They will retreat backward and be utterly ashamed who trust in a carved image,
Who say to a cast image, “You are our gods” (Isaiah 42:17, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos

*Retrocederão, depois, cheios de vergonha,
os que põem a confiança nos ídolos
e dizem às estátuas:*

<<Vós sois os nossos deuses!>>

They will shrink back, afterward, full of shame,
those who put their confidence in idols
and say to statues,
“You are our gods!” (Isaiah 42:17)

וַיַּעֲשֶׂהוּ עֵגֶל מִסַּכָּה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: ...
עָשׂוּ לָהֶם עֵגֶל מִסַּכָּה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּוּ-לוֹ וַיִּזְבְּחוּ-לוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

And he made it into a cast image of a young bull, and they said, “These are your gods, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.” ... “They have made themselves a cast image of a young bull and bowed down to it and sacrificed to it, and they have said, ‘These are your gods, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt.’”(Exodus 32:4, 8; my translation)

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos

...e fez um bezerro de metal fundido. Então exclamaram: <<Israel, aqui tens o teu deus, aquela que te fez sair do Egipto.>>

...

Fizeram um bezerro de metal fundido, prostraram-se diante dele, ofereceram-lhe sacrifícios e disseram: <<Israel, aqui tens o teu deus, aquela que te fez sair do Egipto.>>

...and he made a calf of cast metal. Then they exclaimed, “Israel, here you have your god, the one that made you leave Egypt.”

...

They have made a calf of cast metal, bowed down before it, offered it sacrifices and said, “Israel, here you have your god, the one that made you leave Egypt” (Exodus 32:4,8).

וַיִּזְעַץ הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיַּעַשׂ שְׁנֵי עֲגֵלֵי זָהָב וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם רַב-לְכֶם מֵעֲלֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר
הֶעֱלִיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:

And the king took some advice, and he made two calves of gold. He said to them, “Enough of your going up to Jerusalem! Here are your gods, o Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt (1 Kings 12:28, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos

Então, o rei deliberou para consigo e mandou fazer dois bezerros de ouro e disse-lhes: <<Vós tendes subido a Jerusalém com demasiada frequência. Aqui estão os vossos deuses, ó Israel, aqueles que vos fizeram sair da terra do Egito.>>

Therefore, the king thought it over within himself, and he had two calves made of gold and said to them, “You have been going up to Jerusalem too frequently. Here are your gods, o Israel, the ones that made you leave the land of Egypt” (1 Kings 12:28).

Here a מִסְכָּה is first a collective “statues” in Isaiah and an image of “cast metal” in Exodus. “Gods” is plural in DtI, singular in Exodus, and plural again in 1 Kings—renderings which achieve contextual clarity but lose inter-textual resonance. A para-textual note on 1 Kings 12:25-36 proposes a possible relationship with Exodus, but no connection to or from the DtI passage is acknowledged.

6.4.3.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

גַּם-מִיּוֹם אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין מִיָּדִי מִצֵּיל אֶפְעֵל וּמִי יִשְׁיבֶנָּה:

Henceforth, also, I am he,
 And there is no one who can snatch out of my hand.
 I act; who can reverse it? (Isaiah 43:13, my translation)

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Eu sou esse Deus desde sempre,
 e não há nada que possa subtrair ninguém de minha mão;
 o que faço, quem o poderá desfazer?*

From eternity I am this God,
 and there is nothing that can remove anybody from my hand;
 what I do, who will be able to undo? (Isaiah 43:13)

רְאוּ | עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים עִמָּדִי אֲנִי אֲמִית וְאֶחָדָה מִחֲצַתִּי וְאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא וְאֵין מִיָּדִי מִצֵּיל:

See now, that I, yes, I am he, and there is no god besides me.
 I kill and I bring to life again; I wound, and I heal;
 And there is none who can snatch out of my hand (Deuteronomy 32:39, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Reparai bem: Eu é que sou Deus,
e não há outro deus além de mim!
Eu é que dou a vida e dou a morte,
Eu firo e curo, e não há quem livre de minha mão.*

Note well: it is I who am God,
and there is no other god besides me!
It is I who give life and give death,
I wound and cure, and there is no one who liberates from my hand (Deuteronomy 32:39).

The allusion marker **וְאֵין מְיָדַי מְצִיל** is rendered “there is nothing that can remove anybody from my hand” in Isaiah and “there is no one who liberates from my hand” in Deuteronomy, leaving the pair with only one, unremarkable shared lexeme—this, when retaining the entire phrase in both texts, had the translators been minded to do so, would have required an extremely minor adjustment (Deuteronomy was the work of translator Geraldo Coelho Dias). There are no paratextual notes on either passage.

6.4.3.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107:16

דְּלִתוֹת נְחוּשָׁה אֶשְׁבֵּר וּבְרִיחַי בְּרֹזֶל אֶגְדַּע:

Doors of bronze, I will smash;
And bars of iron I will chop into pieces (Isaiah 45:2, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*. . .despedaçarei as portas de bronze,
quebrarei as portas de ferro.*

I will break the bronze gates in pieces,
I will break the gates of iron (Isaiah 45:2).

כִּי־אֶשְׁבֵּר דְּלִתוֹת נְחוּשָׁת וּבְרִיחַי בְּרֹזֶל גִּדַּע:

For doors of bronze he smashed,
And bars of iron he chopped into pieces (Psalm 107:16, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Ele fez em pedaços as portas de bronze
e quebrou as barras de ferro!*

He reduced to pieces the bronze gates
and broke the bars of iron! (Psalm 107:16)

Clearly, if a relationship between these two texts was recognized at all, then preserving it in the target text was of no importance to the translation project. There is no accounting for the choice of *despedaçar* (“break in pieces”) and *fazer em pedaços* (lit. “make into pieces”) as translations of *שבר*, or of *בָּרִיחַי* being rendered as “bars” in the psalm and (erroneously) as “gates” in DtI, other than autonomous translator decisions. As previously noted, in the source text the psalm passage is chiasmic and the DtI passage is not; there is no chiasm in either text in the translation (as was the case with other translations reviewed in this study) and hence no evidence available to the target reader that the psalm has been reworked by DtI.

6.4.3.7 Isaiah 48:21, Exodus 17:6, and Psalm 78(77):15, 20

וְלֹא צָמְאוּ בְּחַרְבוֹת הַיָּבֵשׁ מֵיָמֵי מִצְרַיִם הַזֵּה לָמֹו וַיִּבְקַע צוּר וַיִּזְבּוּ מַיִם:

But they did not go thirsty as he led them through the wastelands;

He made water spurt from the rock for them.

And he split open the rock,

And waters oozed out (Isaiah 48:21, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Não passaram sede quando os guiou pelo deserto
porque lhe fez brotar água de um rochedo,
fendeu a rocha para que a água jorrasse.*

They did not go thirsty when he guided them through the desert

for he made water gush from the bedrock for them:

He cracked the rock so that water would spurt out (Isaiah 48:1).

הֲנִי עֹמֵד לְפָנֶיךָ יְשׁוּם | עַל־הַצּוּר בְּחֹרֵב וְהִכִּיתָ בַצּוּר וַיִּצְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ מַיִם וְשָׁתָה הָעָם

See, I will be standing before you there on the rock at Horeb. You shall strike the rock, and waters will come out from it and the people will drink (Exodus 17:6, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Eis que estarei diante de ti, lá, sobre a rocha no Horeb. Tu feriras a rocha e dela sairá água, e o povo beberá.>>

Look, I will stand before you, there, on the rock at Horeb. You will strike the cliff a blow, and from it water will come out, and the people will drink (Exodus 17:6).

יִבְקַע צָרִים בַּמִּדְבָּר וְיִשְׁקַ פְּתַח־מַוֹת רֶבֶה

...

הֲיִזְנוּבוּ מֵיַם וְיִנְחָלִים? שְׁטָפוּ הַגַּם־לֶחֶם יוּכַל תַּת אֶם־יִכִּין שְׂאֵר לְעַמּוֹ

He split the rocks in the desert,

And gave them drink as abundantly as if from the ocean depths.

(. . .)

Indeed, he struck the rock, and waters oozed out and streams gushed forth.

But can he also give bread?

Can he provide meat for his people? (Psalm 78:15, 20, my translation)

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Fendeu os rochedos no deserto

e deu-lhes a beber águas abundantes.

(. . .)

Ele feriu a rocha e logo brotaram as águas

e correram torrentes abundantes;

mas, poderá também dar pão

e preparar carne para o seu povo?

He cracked the bedrocks in the desert

and gave them abundant waters to drink.

(. . .)

He struck the rock a blow, and soon the waters gushed out

and abundant torrents ran;

But, will he also be able to give bread

and prepare meat for his people? (Psalm 78:15,20)

Lexemes to be tracked through these texts are בקע (which does not occur in the Pentateuch account, and here is given as *fender* in both texts) and זוב (also absent from the Pentateuch account; here it is *jorrar* in DtI and *brotar* in the psalm). There is, however, less variation in the renderings of צור than there was in the *Bíblia Ilustrada*.

As noted above (3.4.2.7) the abruptness of the reference to the Exodus tradition in the context of the alluding text is able to serve as an allusion marker. This abruptness is not mitigated in the target text.

6.4.3.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בְּעֵת רְצוֹן עֲנִיתִיךָ וּבְיוֹם שְׂשׂוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיךָ:

This is what Yahweh says:

In the acceptable time I answered you;

And in the day of salvation, I helped you (Isaiah 49:8, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Eis o que diz o SENHOR:

*<<Eu respondi-te no tempo da graça
e socorri-te no dia da salvação.*

Here is what the LORD says:

“I answered you in the time of grace

and came to help you in the day of salvation” (Isaiah 49:8)

וְאֲנִי תַפְלִיתִי־לְךָ יְהוָה עֵת רְצוֹן אֱלֹהִים בְּרַב־חַסְדֶּךָ עֲנֵנִי בְּאַמֶּת יִשְׁעֶךָ:

As for me, my prayer comes to you, Yahweh, [in? for?] the acceptable time;

Answer me, God, in your abundant mercy,

In your reliable salvation (Psalm 69:14, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

Mas eu dirijo a ti a minha oração,

ó SENHOR, no tempo favorável;

ó Deus, responde-me, pelo teu grande amor,

como prova de que és meu salvador.

But I direct my prayer to you,

- o LORD, in the favorable time;
- o God, answer me, for the sake of your great love,
- as proof that you are my savior (Psalm 69:14).

עַתָּה רְצוֹן is rendered “time of grace” in Isaiah and “favorable time” in the psalm, and the noun “salvation” in the psalm is lost to a paraphrase; all that is left of shared lexis is the extremely common עֲנֶה. As noted above (3.4.2.8), a reader who could activate the psalm would have understood exactly what is being “answered,” but here the translation has made this less likely.

6.4.3.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

הַקְצוֹר קַצְרָה יְדֵי מַפְדּוֹת וְאִם־אֵי־גִי כַח לְהַצִּיל

Is my arm indeed too short for redeeming?
Or with me is there no strength to deliver? (Isaiah 50:2, my translation)

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Porventura encurtou-se a minha mão para vos resgatar?
Não tenho Eu poder bastante para vos salvar?*

Has my hand perhaps grown [too] short to rescue you?
Do I not have sufficient power to save you? (Isaiah 50:2)

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הֲיָד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר עַתָּה תִּרְאֶה הֲיִקְרָה דְבַר־י אֱמֹלָא:

And Yahweh said to Moses, “Is the arm of Yahweh too short? Now you will see whether or not my word comes to pass” (Numbers 11:23, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

O SENHOR disse a Moisés: <<Acaso será curta a mão do SENHOR? Agora verás se a minha palavra se realiza ou não a teu respeito.>>

The LORD said to Moses: By chance is the hand of the LORD too short? Now you will see whether my word about you will come to pass, or not (Numbers 11:23).

The renderings of the forms of קַצָּר arguably diverge no more than the source text does. There the alluding text is followed by additional allusions to the Exodus tradition that are unmistakable.

These are also readily apparent in the translation, which may perhaps aid the target reader in activating the incident of the quail at 50:2.

6.4.3.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1

מה־נָאוּוּ עַל־הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מְשֻׁמֵּעַ שְׁלוֹם מְבַשֵּׂר טוֹב מְשֻׁמֵּעַ יְשׁוּעָה אָמַר לְצִיּוֹן מִלֵּךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ:

How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger,
The one who lets us hear of peace;
The messenger of good things,
The one who lets us hear of salvation,
The one who says to Zion, “Your God reigns!” (Isaiah 52:7, my translation)

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Que formosos são sobre os montes os pés do mensageiro que anuncia a paz,
que apregoa a boa-nova
e que proclama a salvação!
Que diz a Sião, <<O rei é o teu Deus!>>*

How beautiful on the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace,
who preaches the good news
and who proclaims salvation!
The one who says to Zion, “It is your God who is king!” (Isaiah 52:7)

הִנֵּה עַל־הַהָרִים רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר מְשֻׁמֵּעַ שְׁלוֹם

Look, on the mountains—the feet of the messenger,
The one who lets us hear of peace! (Nahum 2:1, my translation).

Bíblia dos Capuchinhos:

*Eis sobre os montes
os pés do mensageiro que traz notícias de paz.*

There on the mountains are
the feet of the messenger who brings news of peace (Nahum 2:1).

Here para-textual notes send the reader of Isaiah (without comment) to Nahum (and to Romans 10:15), and the reader of Nahum to Isaiah. The note on Nahum makes it clear that it is regarded as

the alluded-to text and DtI as the alluding text; it explains, “Once the total annihilation of Nineveh was decreed, the liberation of Judah and the restoration of its religious life were also announced (originally verse 3 should have followed verse 1). The expression at the beginning of verse 1 is taken up again in Isaiah 52:7. See Romans 10:15.”

Despite this recognition, however, no effort was made to harmonize the renderings of מְשֻׁמֵּעַ שְׁלוֹם in a way that would have facilitated the reader’s making the connection on his/ her own. In addition, within the alluding text there is an odd alteration in the renderings of מְשֻׁמֵּעַ (“who announces”...”who proclaims”), and no explanation other than variety suggests itself—a not infrequent phenomenon in this translation.

6.4.4 Conclusions

The impression of the *Nova Bíblia dos Freis Capuchinhos* left by this study (of one feature, in one limited corpus) is of a target-oriented version, with an elevated and liturgically appropriate language register, that seeks to acquaint its target reader with recent biblical scholarship in order to help him/her to read with historical and theological understanding. The translation is also sensitive to such target language considerations as euphony. What it does not do is to make a systematic attempt at perspicuity in the text’s allusions. Even such preserving as might have taken place fortuitously through shared lexis was at times thwarted by a translational philosophy that privileges contextual clarity over inter-textual resonance (see on “Functional Equivalence” below). At times, a more perspicuous allusion in this version would have required very slight modification to either the alluding or alluded-to text, but this was not done. Nor is it probably reasonable to expect a concerted or coordinated effort in this direction; the process that produced this translation practically precludes it.

What seems clear is that perspicuity of the source text’s allusions in a target text is a delicate matter to begin with, and it can be very easily thwarted *via* recognition-failure on a translator’s part, a target-culture function that is inimical to or at least inconsistent with a text’s poetic effects, a philosophy of translating that is similarly inconsistent, or a division of labor in committee translations that inhibits real collaboration. A translation project in which such perspicuity is a value will have to consider the role of this value within the version’s TC function, and its consistency with the adopted translational philosophy and procedures.³⁷

³⁷ A summary of the various conclusions of this study about the effect of target culture and *Übersetzungsweisen* on the perspicuity of allusions will appear in the final chapter.

7. Portuguese “Functional Equivalence” Versions

7.1 Introduction

The *Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje* (BLH) and its revision, the *Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje* (NTLH), are reportedly the Portuguese versions that have recently seen the greatest rise in popularity in Brazil (SBB 2014). This alone would merit their inclusion in this study, but there is a more important reason. These Bibles are the best examples of “functional equivalence” (FE) translating in Portuguese. In FE, as will be explained below, lexical concordance is subordinate to other values; therefore, we may hypothesize that the fortuitous preservation of source-text allusions that operate *via* shared lexis will tend not to occur in FE Bibles, and these allusions will be apparent in the translation only in cases where this is made a conscious translator priority. We may further hypothesize that, in view of the very high priority assigned by traditional FE to clarity of information content, the multivalence upon which the poetic effects of allusion depend will tend to be lost in these translations.

First, this chapter will place the BLH/NTLH project in context by describing two notable figures in its origin: Eugene A. Nida, father of FE translating; and Robert G. Bratcher, Bible translator and close Nida collaborator. As in previous chapters, sections will follow on the BLH/NTLH’s target-text coherence and on its coherence with the source text. In the latter section, some effort will be made to gauge the relationship between these versions and their Spanish counterpart, the *Versión Popular*; the claim will also be tested that NTLH’s revision was “so thorough that it could really be considered a new translation of the Sacred Scriptures” (NTLH *Prefácio*, my translation). The chapter will conclude with a summary of findings with respect to the hypotheses stated above.

7.1.1 Eugene Nida and “Functional Equivalence”

Eugene Nida is without question the pioneer of modern, so-called “meaning-based” Bible translating (Statham 2005:39). No single figure approaches Nida’s impact on modern Bible translating and it is impossible to understand the current state of the field without him (S. Porter 2005:16). His literary output was prodigious, but his most impressive achievement was to incorporate findings from a broad range of disciplines into a coherent, practical, and readily-transferable approach to Bible translating (Watt 2005:27).

An appreciation for the context in which he worked is crucial for an understanding of Nida’s *oeuvre*. In the latter 20th Century, American Protestant missionaries needed Bibles for use in evangelism and church-planting in non-Western settings. Often they worked in oral cultures with weak literary traditions and little or no prior experience with the Bible (De Vries 2007:276).

Where Bibles existed, these were usually first-generation efforts by missionaries who, as non-native speakers working in a theoretical vacuum, tended to produce painfully unidiomatic renderings that nationals could not understand (Wendland 2006:207f). What was needed was a theoretical foundation for a method of translating that could be easily taught and that produced Bibles that communicated. At the same time, the method had to be justifiable to constituencies back home, whose level of comfort with non-literal translating could not be assumed, to say the least (De Vries 2007:276).

An early stage of Nida's thought on translating appears in the American Bible Society (ABS) imprint *Bible Translating: An Analysis of Principles and Procedures, with Special Reference to Aboriginal Languages* (1947). 17 years later, *Toward a Science of Translating* (TASOT, 1964), a more sustained and theoretical treatment of the subject, was still virtually the only such treatment in existence (W. Porter 2005:4). Nida's *Theory and Practice of Translating* (TAPOT, 1974), written with Charles R. Taber, is a pedagogically-oriented presentation of the same principles articulated earlier. A great deal of refinement in Nida's approach is visible over the nearly half-century of his work, but the foundations laid in TASOT remain more or less stable throughout (Statham 2005:40).

In TAPOT, Nida asserts that his approach to translating represents a shift from a focus on the original form of the message to a focus on the receptor's response (Nida & Taber 1974:1f). He advocates "new attitudes" toward the target languages (TL's), which include these:

- 1) "Each language has its own genius" (3) and its genius must be respected if communication in translation is to be effective (4).
- 2) "Anything that can be said in one language can be said in another, unless the form is an essential element of the message" (4f).
- 3) Structural differences between source and target languages mean that preserving the content of the message demands changing its form (5f).

"New attitudes" toward the biblical source languages included the principle that these are "subject to the same limitations as any other natural language" (7) and that the source authors "expected to be understood" (7f). The translator's task is therefore to represent the message just as its author understood it (8) and just as naturally as the author expressed it. The goal is a target text that, in terms of linguistic form, could pass for an original artifact of the target culture—a translation that "does not sound like a translation," in other words (Nida & Taber 1974:12).

Much of this was not entirely “new,” of course; similar concerns appear as early as 1530 in Martin Luther’s *Open Letter on Translating* (Wendland 1995). Principle #2 above, however, is an application of Chomskyan linguistics to the translator’s task (Watt 2005:20). Nida had begun very early to question the assumption that grammar and thought are essentially the same (Watt 2005:21). While he was always deeply sensitive to the cultural factor in translating, he took a dim view of the strong form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Watt 2005:21), according to which thought is so inextricably language- and culture-bound as to make “equivalence” in linguistic expression virtually impossible (Bascom 2003:82). Nida has been mischaracterized as having derived from Chomskyan linguistics a belief in an absolutely stable, universal, and accessible “meaning” enjoying an independent existence apart from a text and even from language (Statham 1997:33). The fact remains, however, that as he outlines a procedure for uncovering “kernels” of meaning and rebuilding them into the forms of the target language (Nida & Taber 1974:39ff), Nida is speaking the language of the Chomskyan transformational grammar of his time.

“Functional equivalence” (FE) dominated Bible translating in the latter 20th century, and homage is paid to it in the prefaces to many popular Bible versions. Eventually, theoretical difficulties with traditional FE as outlined in TAPOT became apparent, however, and one of these is precisely its relationship to Chomskyan linguistics. Naturally, very little in linguistics can be expected to have remained current for four decades; but today, efforts to recover universal, non-linguistic “deep structures” have fallen on especially hard times (Pattimore 2007:245).

The universalist vs. relativist (Sapir-Whorf) debate rages unabated, however (*cf.* Pinker 1994:44ff, Lakoff 1987:304ff), and one’s stance in the debate crucially determines one’s approach to key issues in translating (Ross 2003:115). This study takes a somewhat mediating position. While in the past the number of cross-linguistic “universals” has probably been overestimated, enough of these do exist so that communication across languages can indeed be successful. At the same time, as noted above, an inferential model of communication like that proposed by relevance theory makes the cognitive environment of the receptor the crucial factor in whether or not a message will be understood. This calls into question the assumption that “anything that can be said in one language can be said in another” (S. Porter 2005:10), as well as the idea that if only a translator selects the correct linguistic expression, successful communication in translation will follow (Gutt 1992:19).

A second weakness sometimes identified in FE is the model of communication on which it is based. The “code model,” typically conceived and expressed in terms of the “conduit metaphor,” has been outlined above (2.3.1). There I noted its unsuitability for a study like this one, which

requires a more elegant way to account for implicit information in communication. When as in Nida's approach "translation" is defined as "the reproduction in a receptor language of the closest natural equivalent of the source language message, first in terms of meaning, and second in terms of style" (Nida & Taber 1974:208), a relationship to the "code model" is discernible (*cf.* also Nida & Taber 1974:198; Nida & de Waard 1986:11). As time passed, Nida's model of communication became much more nuanced, and was influenced to an increasing degree by semiotics (Stine 2004:41). But critics of FE on communication-theoretic grounds continue to find it resting on the assumption that meaning, or at least a "message," exists somewhere in an objective, non-linguistic state waiting to be unwrapped by an exegete and repackaged by a translator (Mojola & Wendland 2003:9, Ogden 2003:169, Wilt 2003:34).

For some critics, a third weakness is FE's excessive prescriptivism. To be fair, it is important to keep in mind Nida's context, in which new translators needed to be trained and a prescriptive approach was obviously called for; it should also be remembered that Nida always advocated a creative and sensitive rather than a slavish application of his principles (Stine 2004:175). The fact remains that in early FE literature, when (as often) FE is pitted against "formal correspondence," in general the latter is treated quite dismissively. When TAPOT, for example, defines "formal correspondence" as an approach in which forms are reproduced "mechanically," one that "distorts the message" so that the receptor will "misunderstand" or "labor unduly hard" (Nida & Taber 1974:201), we are clearly in the presence of strong claims about the way that translating ought to be done.

Some find a certain irony in the fact that a theory that began with a strongly subversive element eventually became institutionalized and developed into an "orthodoxy" in its own right (Mojola & Wendland 2003:5). This naturally met with resistance, and a somewhat polemical climate ensued in the field of translation theory—to which Descriptive Translation Studies, with its explicit rejection of prescriptivism, represents something of a reaction (Mojola & Wendland 2003:17).

A fourth weakness—the point at which FE is probably most frequently criticized—is its notion of "equivalence," which is essentially a more nuanced concept of "faithfulness" or "accuracy." TAPOT defines "equivalence" as "a very close similarity in meaning, as opposed to similarity in form" (Nida & Taber 1974:2000); two texts had similar "meanings" if they produced the same responses (both cognitive and affective) in their target readers ("dynamic equivalence"—Nida & Taber 1974:200). In *From One Language to Another* (FOLTA—*cf.* Pattemore 2007:224), this becomes the more realistic expectation that readers of a translation "should comprehend the translated text to such an extent that they can understand how the original reader must have

understood the original text” (De Waard & Nida 1986:36). In FOLTA, Nida’s concept of meaning has shifted to a more socio-semiotic one, and “dynamic equivalence” has been replaced with equivalence in “function” (De Waard & Nida 1986:73ff). Since the shift involves more than mere terminology (Pattemore 2007:224), Nida’s philosophy of translating should no longer be referred to as “dynamic equivalence;” “functional equivalence” is the correct expression (Statham 2005:37).

“Equivalence” is perhaps the most controversial notion in Translation Studies (Munday 2009:185). Its utility as a working concept has been debated vigorously for roughly twenty years (Snell-Hornby 2006:153), and in Christiane Nord’s opinion the entire discussion “has got us absolutely nowhere” (Nord 2005:27). There have been those who regard the concept as frustratingly ambiguous (*e.g.* Nord) or even useless (*e.g.* Hans Vermeer—Snell-Hornby 2006:75). Sometimes this is because “equivalence” is seen as entailing a notion of “meaning” as objective, stable, independent of language, and readily transferable (Kenny 2009:96), a sort of disembodied *tertium comparationis* that ideally should be equally available to both source and target readers (Pym 2010:18).

It is the view of the present study that “equivalence” does not necessarily entail a simplistic concept of “meaning,” and that “equivalence” can be a useful way to refer to some kind of purposeful similarity between target and source texts (*i.e.*, “inter-textual coherence”). The question must be asked, however: “Similarity with respect to *what?*” (Pym 2010:18; *cf.* Munday 2009:185). Traditional dichotomies do not provide a satisfactory answer. Texts may be said to be formally “equivalent” if they employ corresponding linguistic structures, referentially “equivalent” if they say the same things about the same things, and connotatively “equivalent” if they evoke the same associations in their readers. They have textual “equivalence” if they regulate information-flow and cohere in similar ways, text-normative “equivalence” if they can be used in similar situations, and pragmatic “equivalence” if they perform the same operations on their receptors (Kenny 2009:96). The type of “equivalence” under investigation in this study, for instance, is neither strictly “formal,” in view of the definition of “allusion” adopted above; nor is it purely “functional,” in view of the importance for this study of the “formal” feature of lexis shared between source and target texts.

A fifth weakness in (especially early) FE seems connected to the premium it placed on rendering the information content of the source text absolutely transparent for the target reader, so that even such basic literary considerations as genre were sometimes relegated to a position of insignificance. For instance, Philip Stine argues:

For example, while poetry is a very prominent feature of the Old Testament, poetry in modern English is not commonly read and is not a major medium of communication. In fact, to convey weighty theological ideas through poetry would be considered laughable by many, and certainly would not reach most readers. Very commonly, then, poetry is translated as prose, although it may be printed in poetic lines (Stine 2004:44).

From the FE principle that the source authors wrote in order to be understood (Nida & Taber 1974:8), it might seem to follow that transfer of cognitive information (in particular “weighty theological ideas”) is the primary or even sole consideration. If so, a great literary “flattening” effect on the resulting translations will be the expected result (Zogbo 2009:25), and early FE Bibles do in fact exhibit this tendency. When, for example, Ecclesiastes 3:1 in the *Good News Translation* (GNT) comes out “Everything that happens in this world happens at the time God chooses,” the “kernels” present in the source text have (arguably) been preserved, but the parallelism has been obliterated, no “equivalent” target-culture literary device has been substituted, and the result is not likely to inspire a poet or musician. Since literariness in the source texts is often a function of their openness, early FE’s strong emphasis on preventing all possible misunderstandings led at times to renderings that were decidedly un-literary. Multivalence seemed inimical to the values of early FE translating, a fact of direct relevance to the present study.

Another relevant characteristic of early FE translating was a certain atomizing tendency. FE translators initially were taught to concentrate on the sentence as the basic textual unit (Nida & Taber 1974:39ff), and neither TASOT nor TAPOT deals with text units larger than sentences (Stine 2004:84). Naturally, this resulted in the loss of literary features that are spread across larger units (Wendland 2003:180). For example, in William F. Beck’s *An American Translation*, a self-consciously FE version (Beck 1976:xi), not only do obvious relationships of dependence between synoptic texts in Kings and Chronicles frequently become invisible; no reader of this version would guess that in the source texts 2 Chronicles 36:22-23 and Ezra 1:1-3 (with the possible exception of one consonant) are identical. The probable impact of this narrow textual focus on inter-textual allusions is apparent.

A third tendency (noted above) was FE’s assigning a higher priority to “contextual consistency” than to “verbal consistency” or “concordance” (Nida & Taber 1974:15ff). This justified rendering the same source-text lexeme with a variety of target-language equivalents across various contexts; this, in turn, meant that inter-textual relationships that operate *via* common vocabulary tended to become opaque. This is the strongest reason for the present hypothesis that the more representative a translation is of an FE approach, especially at an early stage of FE’s theoretical development, the

less likely it is that we will find the translation providing a reader with access to the source text's allusions.

7.1.2 Robert G. Bratcher, Bible Translator

Eugene Nida may have been the architect of the translation philosophy behind BLH/ NTLH, but it was Robert G. Bratcher who brought the philosophy to concrete realization both in these versions and in the English *Good News Translation* (GNT), a version with which the story of BLH/NTLH is intertwined. Bratcher was born in 1920 to Baptist missionaries in Campos and grew up in Rio de Janeiro. He was educated and ordained in the United States, returning to Brazil in 1949 to teach Greek and New Testament at Rio's South Brazil Theological Seminary. During these years, he worked on the *Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada* (Bratcher 1985:58; on the ARA, see 5.4.6.1 above). Conflict arose between Bratcher and Baptist theologians and mission personnel over a point of doctrine,³⁸ and in 1956 it became clear that the Bratchers would not be returning to Brazil.

Help came from an unexpected source. Eugene Nida had visited Brazil in 1950 in connection with the ARA project, at which time he and Bratcher became friends (Stricklin 1985/1986:66). In 1956, Bratcher wrote to Nida asking him to keep an eye open for a teaching position at a Baptist seminary or Bible college in the US. In 1957, Nida traveled to Louisville, Kentucky to meet with the Bratchers, and he persuaded Bob to join the American Bible Society (ABS) as a New Testament consultant.

7.1.2.1 Bratcher and the Good News Translation (GNT)

Bratcher was research assistant to Nida in the ABS Translations Department when, in 1961, the Society received from the Secretary of Special Ministries of the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board a request for advice on the best English version to use with newly literate and second-language speakers of English in the United States. Nida and his colleagues believed that no existing version was suitable, and Bratcher was chosen to begin work on a new version of the New Testament. The first meeting of the Translations Department to discuss the project took place in New York in 1962, at which Bratcher presented his first draft of Ephesians. Bratcher left the meeting with the sinking feeling that leaving a scholarly language milieu and produce a "dynamic equivalence," common-language version was beyond him (Stricklin 1985/1986:75; Orlinsky & Bratcher 1991:197).

³⁸ It concerned the Baptist doctrine of "perseverance," *i.e.*, the teaching, derived from classical Calvinism, that once acquired personal salvation cannot be lost. In a question-and-answer column in a Baptist journal Bratcher had denied that this teaching could be supported from Scripture (Stricklin 1985/1986:51ff).

Through the encouragement of others and the use of available common-language resources (*e.g.* commentaries), Bratcher's doubts were overcome and the project moved ahead. Publication of the complete *New Testament in Today's English Version* was recommended by the ABS Translation Committee in 1965, and it was released that year as *Good News for Modern Man*; subsequent editions following in 1967 and 1971. When the New Testament was published as *Today's English Version* (TEV) in 1966, the ABS, contrary to its usual policy (UBS Executive Committee/SPCU 1968:105), named Bratcher as the translator, allegedly in case the translation was poorly received; in general, however, the version's positive reception greatly exceeded expectations (Stricklin 1985/1986:100,102).

The Old Testament panel began work in 1967, with Bratcher, Roger A. Bullard, and Heber F. Peacock present at the initial meeting. Bratcher was to lead a team of six translators. A statement was prepared on "Principles of Translation," which included treatments of "The Original Text," "The Exegesis of the Text," "The English Text of the Translation" and eight specific statements on what the Committee understood by "dynamic equivalence" (Orlinsky & Bratcher 1991:200f).

The procedure followed in the Old Testament was as follows. One translator was initially responsible for a draft translation of an entire book, to include notes on text-critical and exegetical issues.³⁹ His work was then circulated among other members for comments and suggestions; the translator would receive these and either incorporate them or note those places where he had chosen not to. The Committee would then meet in a plenary session to consider the entire text, with the translator explaining his decisions. At these meetings the entire text would be read aloud, and a simple majority vote would decide any outstanding issues. The result was then sent out to translators and consultants worldwide, whose comments were solicited especially with regard to suitability for the translation's target culture. The text was considered ready for publication once these suggestions had been received and acted upon (Orlinsky & Bratcher 1991:201).

Controversy attended the GNT Old Testament from the moment of its completion. Several renderings were judged unacceptable by the ABS (including Genesis 1:1-2), and the Society announced that the Committee's rendering would have to be changed or sales would be affected. The Committee felt that this violated a Bible Society policy that translation committees should have the last word on the translation. As a result, in 1975 the Committee resigned *en masse* and

³⁹ These translator assignments are relevant to this study: Peacock—Genesis through Numbers; Barclay A. Newman—Deuteronomy; Bratcher—Kings, Psalms; Herbert G. Grether—Isaiah 40-66, Nahum.

placed all responsibility for the product in the hands of the ABS (Stricklin 1985/1986:113ff), which published the complete GNT in 1976.

The GNT became a model for hundreds of Bible translations (Stine 2004:80). On occasion it saw use as the model in a “base-models” approach,⁴⁰ and since this was not its purpose some versions of dubious value and limited distribution were the result (Wendland 2010:19n). While a “base models” approach was not used by the BLH/NTLH, there is a relationship between this project and the GNT. The GNT had been anticipated in Spanish by the *Versión Popular* (initial NT edition in 1966, a few months before TEV). Nida reportedly undertook this Spanish project because he thought it would be less controversial than an FE version in English. The *Versión Popular* (VP) has been said to have influenced Bratcher’s work on GNT (Stine 2004:84), and the brief of the BLH/NTLH project recommended consulting modern versions in English, Spanish, and French (see #3 below). Therefore, influence from the VP on Bratcher’s Portuguese translating seems possible; if this is true, then a Spanish version influenced a Portuguese version, not because of Brazil’s proximity to a Spanish-speaking target culture, but *via* a UBS translator based in the United States. While a *Versión Popular* influence on GNT would be outside the purpose of this study, the possibility of a VP influence on BLH/NTLH will receive some attention in what follows.

7.1.2.2 Bratcher and the BLH/NTLH

The project that resulted in the *Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje* (BLH) began in 1966 with a seminar in Rio de Janeiro sponsored by the *Sociedade Bíblica do Brasil* (SBB). The seminar produced the following translation brief:

- 1) The NT translation would be made directly from the original Greek and would be faithful to its meaning.
- 2) Nestle’s NT text would provide the basis.
- 3) Modern translations in Spanish, English, and French would be consulted.
- 4) Whenever possible, the exegesis reflected in the *Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada* (ARA) would be given preference.
- 5) The language would be grammatically correct, simple enough to be understood by those who had recently learned to read, and in a style acceptable to university students.
- 6) The language would be simple, but free from slang.

⁴⁰ In a “base models” approach, translators who might be incapable of work with the original source languages make translation decisions by comparing a source-oriented version (such as RSV) with a target-oriented version (such as GNB).

- 7) The translation was not intended for liturgical use, but for the evangelization of non-churchgoers.
- 8) In order to reach these new readers, spoken language would receive preference over written language.
- 9) Regionalisms were to be avoided.
- 10) The translation would not be literal; it would use the forms and expressions of the receptor language, *i.e.*, the Portuguese spoken in Brazil.
- 11) Message being more important than linguistic form, the principle of “dynamic equivalence” rather than formal correspondence would be used.
- 12) The form of the original would be maintained whenever possible, except when this would impede understanding.
- 13) Whenever in doubt, the more natural and expressive choice was to be preferred.
- 14) If the receptor language had its own preferred form for a message like the one being translated, that form would be employed.
- 15) Contextual concordance would be preferred over verbal concordance.
- 16) Parenthetical phrases were to be avoided.
- 17) Theological terms would be replaced by vocabulary in common use.
- 18) Ambiguities would be avoided whenever possible.
- 19) Direct and natural word order would be preferred.
- 20) *Senhor* and *você* would be the forms of address, not the *vós* and *tú* of most traditional versions (Giraldi 2008:3).⁴¹

After a failed attempt in 1966-1967, the SBB administered written tests a second time to would-be translators in order to choose a translator for the base version of what was being called the *Novo Testamento na Linguagem de Hoje*. Test results were sent to Bratcher for evaluation, and the Presbyterian pastor Rev. Oswaldo Alves was chosen. Alves completed the base translation of Mark in 1968, and a Translation Commission was organized consisting of Alves, Bratcher (as editor), Dr. Paul Schelp, Rev. Antônio de Campos Gonçalves, and Rev. Luis Antônio Giraldi (Giraldi 2008:5). The Gospel of Mark, under the title *Boa-Novas para Você*, was released in 1969, and the first complete NT was published in 1973. Interestingly, it received the endorsement of the Roman Catholic National Conference of Brazilian Bishops in 1975 (Giraldi 2008:8).

⁴¹ My thanks to Rev. Giraldi, who very readily made the relevant portions of a personal copy of his 2008 book available to me here in the US.

Bratcher had become a permanent member of the project by 1968. Already during his time in Brazil, the release of J. B. Phillips' New Testament had inspired Bratcher with a desire to do something similar for Brazilian Portuguese (Stricklin 1985/1986:19). In 1971, another round of exams was administered to potential Old Testament translators, and these too were sent to Bratcher for evaluation. Eventually, Bratcher was himself asked to become a translator for the Old Testament (despite having much greater confidence in his Greek than his Hebrew—Stricklin 1985/1986:104). The Old Testament base translators came to include Alves, Bratcher, Prof. Selma Júnia Giraldi, Dr. Werner Kaschel, Gonçalves (until 1981) and Rev. Josué Xavier afterwards, and Giraldi as coordinator and editor. Interestingly, although Bratcher translated roughly 1/5 of the OT for the BLH (Stricklin 1985/1986:127)—including Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Isaiah—there was no overlap with the list of OT books he had done earlier for GNT. Since he had worked on both Psalms and Kings for the GNT, Bratcher was presumably aware of the allusions to those texts in the selected verses from the source text of DtI considered below.

The process involved 15 phases:

- 1) The base translation, together with an introduction to the book, variant readings, cultural notes, and a list of terms to be included in the glossary, was produced by the assigned translator.
- 2) The translator's work was reviewed by the other translators and by the Exegetical Editor.
- 3) Suggestions from these reviewers were incorporated into his work by the base translator, and any questions or alternatives were noted.
- 4) The work was again reviewed by the translator's colleagues, working individually.
- 5) The base translator would then incorporate the next batch of suggestions, and prepare a list of all remaining questions and decisions for a meeting of the Commission in a plenary session.
- 6) The Commission would discuss the list, along with any similar lists prepared by the other translators.
- 7) A new text was prepared, with examination copies sent to all members of a group of project consultants.
- 8) The base translator would prepare another list of all suggestions received from the consultants.
- 9) The translators, individually, would examine this list.

- 10) The translator would incorporate those suggestions that the other translators had approved. Another list of remaining questions and decisions was prepared for study by the Commission in plenary session.
- 11) The Commission would meet to discuss this list.
- 12) The text resulting from Phase 11 would undergo a grammatical revision.
- 13) The base translator would prepare the final text and para-textual material (introduction, variant readings, cultural notes, and glossary entries).
- 14) The introduction, maps, illustrations, and table of contents would be prepared.
- 15) The entire text would be read aloud by the Commission in plenary session (Giraldi 2008:17f).

The process was complete and the work delivered to the publisher by the Commission on October 29, 1987 (Giraldi 2008:17f). Meanwhile, the NT, which had been finished in 1973, had been published twice in revised editions (1975, 1979). The complete Bible, with the NT revised a third time, was published in 1988 (Kaschel 1999:111).

The translator who was initially assigned to BLH Isaiah reportedly did a poor job and Bratcher was commissioned to repair the work. He persisted in the attempt for ten chapters, but finally told the committee that it simply couldn't be done and that the book would need to be re-translated from start to finish, which he then did (Stricklin 1985/1986:121f). Isaiah was the last OT book Bratcher translated.

Controversy attended Bratcher again while the work on BLH was progressing. In 1981, at a Christian Life Commission seminar in Dallas, Bratcher had accused those who believe in the inerrancy of the Bible of "intellectual dishonesty" (Stricklin 1985/1986:130). The accusation was widely publicized (*Christianity Today* 1981:12f) and was seen as inflammatory—and potentially costly—by the ABS (Stricklin 1985/1986:131). As a result, according to Bratcher's recollection, the Secretary General of the ABS both pressured him to resign from the ABS and convinced the SBB to rescind his most recent invitation to visit Brazil (Stricklin 1985/1986:140). The upshot was that Bratcher resigned from the ABS, but not from the UBS (although the ABS continued to pay his salary—Stricklin 1985/1986:150). His work as a UBS translation consultant and BLH translator was allowed to continue.

7.2 The BLH/NTLH Target Culture

Fortunately, the BLH/NTLH project generated material in which its intended target-culture function is made quite clear. The goal is a common-language version, meaning one that would

strive for a maximally accessible level of language together with a maximally acceptable language register (Scholz 2006:36).⁴² BLH translators were selected *via* tests to determine their ability to translate into very simple Portuguese. Translator Werner Kaschel describes the target reader as someone who would have difficulty writing a simple note, something true of roughly half the population of Brazil; doubts about the intelligibility of a word or phrase were resolved by consulting the kitchen staff at the São Paulo Baptist Seminary (who were illiterate or nearly so) or passersby in a nearby market (Kaschel 1999:112). As a result, BLH/NTLH, like the GNT before it, requires a vocabulary of no more than 4000 words, fewer than half the 8000 words needed to understand the *Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada* (Stricklin 1985/1985:78, Scholz 2006:36).

As noted, the BLH was intended preeminently as a Bible for evangelization (Giraldi 2008:3, SBB 2014), and one source even attributes the rapid growth of evangelical churches in Brazil in the 1990's to its introduction (Stine 2004:6). In the view of the translators, this did not preclude the liturgical use of BLH in many churches, since its intended language register was “popular, not vulgar” and during the project attention was given to its effect when read aloud (Kaschel 1999:114).

The BLH revision that produced the NTLH was driven mainly by a desire to improve the NT, which according to one translator had been finished before the translation principles had been solidified (Giraldi 2008:30). Accordingly, a group of six revisers was formed, four of which had been BLH translators; new members added were Dr. Rudi Zimmer and Dr. Vilson Scholz. The NTLH was published in 2000, and according to its preface to the NTLH, the revision to BLH was “so thorough that to refer to the resulting text as the ‘New Translation in Today’s Language’ is justifiable.”

That really cannot be said about the NTLH translation of DtI, however. There are changes to the handling of divine names: BLH’s rendering of the Tetragrammaton as *Deus Eterno* or *Eterno* becomes *SENHOR Deus*; *Deus, o SENHOR*; or simply *O SENHOR*—which aligns the NTLH more closely with most other Portuguese versions. NTLH is also moved closer to other versions by the decision to represent *הַלְלוּ-יְיָ* with *Alleluia* rather than translating it, which BLH had done as

⁴² Stine (2004:46) argues that a common-language version cannot truly represent FE because a FE version should deploy the full repertoire of target-language resources. This study, however, is aware of no FE Bible that actually does this. Further, if para-textual material is any indication, the translators did not appear to notice any tension between FE and the goal of a common-language version.

Louvem ao Deus Eterno (“Praise the Eternal God”). Other than these small changes, however, BLH and NTLH are practically identical and will be treated together in this study.

7.3 Target Text Coherence

The most obvious feature of BLH/NTLH’s translation of DtI is a strong tendency toward explicitation. For example, speaker identifications are inserted at 40:1, 41:1, 42:1, 42:14, 42:18 *et passim*. “She received from the LORD’s hand double for all her sins” (my translation) at 40:2 comes out “*They* received from *me* two times *more* punishments than the sins *they* committed” (emphasis mine; *Eles receberam de mim duas vezes mais castigos do que os pecados que cometeram*). In 40:16, “And in Lebanon there isn’t enough for burning, and its *fauna* are not enough for a whole burnt offering” (my translation), becomes “In all *the region* of Lebanon, there aren’t enough animals for a sacrifice *such as God deserves*, nor *trees* that would suffice to burn *them*” (emphasis mine; *Em toda a região do Líbano, não há animais suficientes para um sacrifício como Deus merece, nem árvores que cheguem para os queimar*, 40:16). “He does not come by a path with his feet” (41:3, my translation) becomes “He walks *so fast that* his feet *almost don’t touch* the ground” (*Ele anda tão depressa, que os seus pés quase não tocam no chão*). The rhetorical questions of 45:9 become simple declarative sentences. At 47:1, “Go down and sit in the dirt, virgin daughter, Babylon; sit on the ground—there’s no chair—daughter of the Chaldeans; for you will no longer be called tender or delicate (my translation)” is amplified into “The LORD says, Babylonia, get down from your throne and sit in the dust. You were like a virgin, beautiful, delicate, and spoiled; but you will never be so again” (*O SENHOR diz: Babilônia, desça do seu trono e sente-se no pó. Você era como uma virgem, bela, delicada e mimada; mais nunca mais será assim*); furthermore, an addition to 47:2 makes it clear that Babylon is now a “slave” and is being treated as such. The servant of Yahweh is unnamed in source-text 42:19; in BLH/NTLH he is named as “the people of Israel” (*o povo de Israel*). Metaphors frequently become similes introduced with *como* (“like, as”) as at 40:7, 40:22, 40:24, *et passim*.

40:24 is also illustrative because here “grasshoppers” (חַגְבֵּיִם) become “ants” (*formigas*), presumably because in the target culture the latter are more proverbial for smallness. This is typical of BLH/NTLH’s translation philosophy, which allows broad and frequent departures from the forms of the source text (ST). At times, in fact, the translation demonstrates a degree of “loyalty” (Christiane Nord) to ST that could be described as casual. For instance, when “‘Console, console my people,’ says *your* God” (40:1, my translation) becomes “The LORD, *our* God, says: ‘Console, console my people,’” one wonders whether the information added (“the LORD,” “our”) and lost (“your”) really does make the verse any more easily understood. These changes are mild, however,

compared with the changes at 55:2. Here the imperative becomes a conditional protasis, the infinitive absolute is ignored, and what the addressee is to “hear” is explicated as a command to be kept (“*If you hear and do what I order,*” emphasis mine; *Se ouvirem e fizerem o que eu ordeno*, 55:2). As a result, a gracious invitation to Yahweh’s banquet in ST is transformed into a demand for obedience in TT.

BLH/NTLH arranges most of DtI stichometrically, indicating that ST has been identified as a work of poetry. There is sometimes little beyond stichometry, however, to suggest that this is a poetic text, especially if read aloud; and at times the stichometry disappears with no explanation given (44:9-20). At times sentences are restructured so that parallelism is lost (*e.g.*, 43:12,14; 53:12). Poetic devices such as metaphors, as mentioned, are frequently reformulated as similes in the interest of explication (*cf.* also 45:8).

The version demonstrates the FE principle, articulated above in the BLH/NTLH translation brief, that “contextual concordance” is a higher value than lexical concordance. For instance, רָדִיקָה (“righteousness”) appears ten times in ST DtI. BLH/NTLH translates רָדִיקָה with five different Portuguese lexemes, and its most intuitive Portuguese equivalents *justiça* or *retidão* are not used at all. Recall that one hypothesis that this study will test is that a translation that tends toward lexical concordance will also tend to preserve the source text’s allusions, if at times only fortuitously, to the extent that these depend on shared vocabulary. BLH/NTLH’s relative indifference to lexical concordance will provide a good opportunity to see whether this is true.

Other material generated by UBS translation projects, however, provides at least some reason to expect a degree of preservation of shared vocabulary. In 1961—just before the GNT project got underway—the UBS published a volume by Bratcher in the *Helps for Translators* series entitled *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*;⁴³ naturally the issues are not the same as those with allusion within the Old Testament, but there are certain points of contact. According to Bratcher, the purpose of the list was to “help the translator to make the Old and New Testament materials agree in translation whenever they are truly parallel in their respective originals” (Bratcher 1967:vii). The “ideal” in the case of parallel passages in the synoptic Gospels is said to be “verbal identity in the translation when there is verbal identity in the originals, although the translator is encouraged not to extend such identity to the point of an artificial and wooden type of

⁴³ The 1961 edition names Bratcher as author; the 1967 edition, as editor.

parallelism” (Bratcher 1967:vii). A similar interest in the inter-textual relationships within the OT on Bratcher’s part, and a similar technique for dealing with them, could plausibly be extrapolated.

One becomes less than sanguine, however, that such agreement will be attempted whenever possible upon noting that perhaps the most obvious inter-text within Isaiah 40-66—48:22/57:21— is virtually invisible in BLH/NTLH. In ST, the texts differ only with respect to the divine name. BLH/NTLH 48:22 reads, “But the LORD says to those who practice evil, ‘For you, there is no safety.’”⁴⁴ 57:21 has, “There is no safety for these sinners. My God has spoken.”⁴⁵

How other inter-texts across the OT will fare is the subject of the investigation below.

7.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

7.4.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Lv v 41</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Lv v 41</u>	<u>ST Isalah</u>	<u>ST Lv v 41</u>
os seus pecados	pelos seus pecados	sus faltas	su pecado	עֲוֹן	עֲוֹן
foram perdoados*	aceitarem o castigo	ya ha pagado	pagarán	רצה	רצה
	<u>BLH Lv v 43</u> pelos seus pecados		<u>VP Lv v 43</u> su maldad		<u>ST¹ Lv v 43</u> עֲוֹן
	pagarão		pagarán		רצה

(Note) *os seus pecados foram perdoados, *ou* ja pagaram pelos seus pecados

In this instance, direct *Versión Popular* influence on BLH seems unlikely. The Spanish version consistently translates verbal root רצה but translates עֲוֹן inconsistently; the Portuguese version does almost the opposite (the only exception being that, in BLH Isaiah, a translation of the verb that would parallel Lv 26:43 is given as a possibility in a footnote).

In BLH/NTLH עֲוֹן is rendered consistently, but with the less "marked" and extremely common term *pecados* rather than a natural equivalent like *iniquidade*. As for the verb, like the *Bíblia dos Capuchinhos* (6.4.3.1), BLH/NTLH does not attempt to preserve the shared vocabulary in the

⁴⁴ *Mas o SENHOR diz aos que praticam o mal: “Para vocês não há segurança.”*

⁴⁵ “. . . Não há segurança para esses pecadores.” *O meu Deus falou.*

identical expressions within the immediate context of Leviticus 26; in v 41 רצה becomes “they will accept the punishment,” which oddly inverts v 43 (and DtI’s) understanding of to whom Israel’s iniquity will be “made good.” Such divergences within Leviticus therefore make it unlikely that preserving a resonance between Leviticus and Isaiah would be a translator priority, and clearly it was not. There is nothing in either the text or para-text in Isaiah 40 to suggest to the target reader that a reversal of the curse of Leviticus 26 is in view.

7.4.2 Psalm 103:15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Psalm</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Psalm</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Psalm</u>
a erva do campo	grama	hierba	hierba	תְּצִיר	תְּצִיר
uma flor do mato	uma flor do campo	una flor do campo	una flor silvestre	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה
o sopro do Deus Eterno	o vento	el soplo del Señor	el viento	רוּחַ יְהוָה	רוּחַ
mas a palavra de nosso Senhor dura para sempre	o amor do Deus Eterno...dura para sempre	La palabra de nuestro Dios permanece firme para siempre	Pero el amor del Señor és eterno	וְדַבַּר־ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְקוּם לְעוֹלָם	וְחֶסֶד יְהוָה מֵעוֹלָם וָעֶד עוֹלָם

The only similarity here between BLH/NTLH and VP is their translations of רוּחַ, which alter identically between the alluding and alluded-to texts. A similar variation in their renderings of צִיץ between the two texts is also visible, but it works in opposite directions. In BLH, this is a “[inexplicably] forest flower” in Isaiah and a “field flower” in the psalm; in VP, the reverse is true. Other variations between VP and BLH (*viz.*, the rendering of תְּצִיר and עוֹלָם; VP’s picturesque but odd understanding that the wind has “lashed” [*azota*] the flower in the psalm) make a general awareness of VP by BLH/NTLH possible, but direct influence unlikely.

Though it is not visible in the chart above, NTLH’s change from BLH in the handling of divine names resulted in אֱלֹהֵינוּ in the psalm being translated “God, the LORD,” so that the alluding text and the alluded-to text share the additional lexeme “God” (*Deus*) over both BLH and the source texts. This alone, however, is unlikely to send a reader of NTLH Isaiah to NTLH Psalm 103. Apart from the divine name, *dura para sempre* (“endures forever”)—an extremely common rendering in this version for clauses with עוֹלָם⁴⁶—is the only significant shared lexis between the alluding and alluded-to texts in BLH/NTLH. There is therefore little evidence that any attempt to

⁴⁶ *Para sempre* is used in all four occurrences of לְעוֹלָם in BLH Isaiah 40-55.

preserve an allusion was made here. A footnote in BLH (not shown in my edition of NTLH) sends the reader to James 1:10-11 and 1 Peter 1:24-25, but there is no reference to the psalm.

7.4.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4,5

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Psalm</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Psalm</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Psalm</u>
estrelas...em ordem como um exército	estrelas	uno por uno	estrellas	צְבָאָם	לְכוֹכְבִּים
chama cada uma pelo seu nome.	chama cada uma pelo nome	a todos llama por su nombre	a cada una le pone nombre	לְשֵׁמֶלֶם בְּשֵׁם יְקָרָא	לְכֹלֶם שְׁמוֹת יְקָרָא
ninguém pode medir a sua sabedoria	a sua sabedoria não pode ser medida	su inteligencia és infinita	su inteligencia és infinita	אֵין חֵקֶר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ	לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מִסְפָּר

VP varies in how it understands what is being done to the stars in the two texts; no such variation takes place in BLH/NTLH. Also noteworthy are VP renderings of צְבָאָם (“their host”) as “one by one,” and of both אֵין חֵקֶר and אֵין מִסְפָּר with exactly the same expression (*és infinita*). BLH/NTLH does not seem to demonstrate any direct influence from VP here.

In BLH/NTLH shared lexis fares relatively well. It is disturbed only slightly by the introduction of a possessive pronoun (*seu*) in Isaiah, and the switch from an active to a passive construction in the Psalm; and the amount of vocabulary in common is actually increased by the translators’ decision to render both חֵקֶר and מִסְפָּר with Portuguese constructions that happen to use the same two verbs (*poder* and *medir*).

The explicitation added for “stars” in Isaiah leaves the allusion’s pragmatic function slightly impaired, however. Recall (3.4.2.3) that there is no direct mention of stars in source-text DtI. Initially the source reader is asked to consider “these” (אֵלֶּה); only later is this disambiguated with “their host” (צְבָאָם). A “full-knowing reader” of the source text whose context (in the relevance-theoretic sense) includes Psalm 147 could have experienced the full range of the allusion’s intended effects by filling in the gap himself; BLH/NTLH has removed this opportunity for the target reader by doing it for him/her.

7.4.4 Isaiah 42:17, Exodus 32:4,8, and 1 Kings 12:28

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Ex. v 4</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Ex. v 4</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Ex. v 4</u>
às imagens	bezerro de ouro	unas estátuas	forma de un becerro	מִסְכָּה	מִסְכָּה
dizem	disseram	dicen	dijeron	הָאֹמְרִים	וַיֹּאמְרוּ

Vocês são os nossos deuses	Este é o nosso Deus	Ustedes son nuestros dioses.	éste és tu dios	אתם אלהינו	אלה אלהינו
	BLH Ex v 8 bezerro de ouro fundido		VP v 8 becerro de oro fundido		ST v 8 מִסְכָּה
	estão dizendo		dicen		וַיֹּאמְרוּ
	que o bezerro é o deus deles		éste és tu dios		אלה אלהינו
	BLH 1 Kgs aqui estão seus deuses		VP 1 Kgs Aqui tienen a sus dioses		ST 1 Kgs הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ

There is considerable lexical similarity between versions here, such that awareness of one on the part of translators of the other is possible (VP's rendering of הִנֵּה in 1 Kings as *Aqui tienen* is good, idiomatic Spanish). Both vary their translation of אֱלֹהֵינוּ and מִסְכָּה from singulars to plurals in ways that are similar (and similarly destructive of the allusion marker).

In other respects BLH/NTLH charts its own course. Apparently to avoid any possible confusion on a reader's part as to why the Israelites would address themselves as "you" (sg.), BLH/NTLH renders "This is our god" rather than "This is your (m.s.) god" in Exodus 32:4. In the reported speech in v. 8 this becomes "They're saying that the calf is their god" rather than the source text's "And they said, 'This is your god'" (my translation). BLH/NTLH and VP have virtually effaced the allusion marker from Isaiah 42:17, but as shown in previous chapters, they are not the only versions to do so.

7.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

BLH Isaiah	BLH Dt	VP Isaiah	VP Dt	ST¹ Isaiah	ST¹ Dt
e sempre serei		desde siempre		מִיּוֹם	
Eu sou Deus	eu, somente eu, sou Deus	yo soy Dios	Yo soy el único Dios	אֲנִי הוּא	אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא
Ninguém pode escapar do meu poder	Ninguém pode me impedir de fazer o que quero.	¡No hay quien se libre de mi poder!	¡No hay quien se libre de mi poder!	וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מְצִיל	וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מְצִיל

The allusion fares better in VP than in BLH. BLH is not alone in its not construing מִיּוֹם as an allusion marker (*cf.* 3.4.2.5 and 5.1.4.2.5 above), but it is noteworthy for its free and diverging renderings of וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מְצִיל ("escape from my power," "impede me from doing what I want").

Presumably this was done for the benefit of a reader who is unaware of the biblical Hebrew metaphor “to be in the hand of” = “to be under the power of.” The absence of the metaphor from both renderings illustrates how the high priority given to clarity of information content in “classic” FE Bibles occasionally led to renderings that were something less than evocative or literary. In addition, in a culture with over a thousand years of history with the Bible, and in which “fall into the hands of” (*cair nas mãos de*) is not unusual in colloquial speech, one wonders how many target readers really would find the source-text metaphor especially difficult.

As noted above, Yahweh’s statement that “there is none who can snatch out of my hand” (my translation) occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible in exactly this form, and it is a good example of an allusion marker that sets up a “sympathetic vibration” between two texts such that the reading of one influences the other. In Deuteronomy, the statement is intended to be terrifying; in DtI, it is intended to be comforting, and the marker **וְיָיִם** signals that a dramatic change has taken place that “henceforth” will fill the phrase with new meaning. BLH/NTLH’s rendering in Deuteronomy actually heightens the effect of terror by introducing a note of capriciousness on God’s part as he punishes. Its rendering in Isaiah is slightly more source-oriented (albeit with the metaphor removed), but nothing therein would move a reader to activate a connection to Deuteronomy.

7.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Psalm</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Psalm</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Psalm</u>
portões de bronze	portões de bronze	puertas de bronce	puertas de bronce	דלתות נְחוּשָׁה	דלתות נְחָשֶׁת
arrebantarei	derrubou	romperé	hizo pedazos	אֶשְׁבֵּר	שֶׁבַר
as suas trancas de ferro	barras de ferro	las barras de hierro	barras de hierro	וּבְרִיחַי בְּרָזָל	וּבְרִיחַי בְּרָזָל
quebrarei	despedaçou	haré pedazos	hizo pedazos	אֶגְדַּע	גָּדַע

There is considerable verbal similarity between VP and BLH/NTLH here. Where differences appear, VP preserves much more shared lexis between the two texts than does BLH/NTLH—though even in VP, the forms of the root **שֶׁבַר** are inexplicably rendered differently. BLH/NTLH not only exhibits the same divergence; in BLH/NTLH, “iron locks” that are “burst” in Isaiah become “iron bars” that are “smashed” in the Psalm. Further, as noted above (3.4.2.6), the verse

is chiasmic in source-text Psalm 107 and not chiasmic in Dt, making this allusion a likely case of Seidel’s Law.⁴⁷ No chiasm appears in any of the verses here under consideration.

As also noted in 3.4.2.6, the allusion to the psalm enhances the “shock value” of the passage in the source text. Chapter 45 begins by referring to Cyrus as Yahweh’s “Anointed” (מְשִׁיחוֹ) and continues in the present passage by taking a statement of Yahweh’s deliverance of his people and applying it to a gentile emperor. BLH/NTLH begins chapter 45 with *O Deus Eterno ungiu Ciro como rei* (“The eternal God anointed Cyrus as king”), and continues, in 45:2, with wording that mitigates the passage’s allusive potential considerably. Evidently preserving any “shock value” in the source text was not on BLH/NTLH’s list of translator priorities.

7.4.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15, 20

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Ps 78:15</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Ps 78:15</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Ps 78:15</u>
partiu	partiu	partiό	partiό	וַיִּבְקַע	וַיִּבְקַע
a rocha	<u>BLH Ps 78:20</u> a rocha	la roca	<u>VP Ps 78:20</u> la peña	צוֹר	<u>ST Ps 78:20</u> צוֹר
jorrou	começou a correr como um rio	hizo brotar torrentes	brotó...como un rio	וַיִּזְבּוּ	וַיִּזְבּוּ
a água	a água	de agua	agua	מַיִם	מַיִם

VP and BLH/NTLH score roughly evenly on shared lexis, with VP exhibiting a shift in its rendering of צוֹר and BLH/NTLH a shift in its rendering of זָבַב.

In BLH/NTLH, the amount of common vocabulary in the two texts is considerable, and it would be difficult for a reader of Isaiah *not* to call the Exodus tradition to mind. Two questions remain, however. The first is whether what comes to mind is the tradition in general or in oral form, or its written embodiment in either the Torah or an Exodus psalm such as Psalm 78. Above (3.4.2.7) it was argued that the abruptness of the alluding text—preceded by an exhortation to “Leave Babylon!” and followed by the similarly incongruous statement “There is no peace, says Yahweh, for the guilty” (my translation)—sends a “full-knowing reader” in search of a source of borrowed

⁴⁷ On “Seidel’s Law,” see 5.4.2.3.9 above.

language, which in this case is Psalm 78 (as the shared use of זֶבַח makes clear). In BLH/NTLH, 48:21 remains abrupt, although the abruptness of 48:22 is mitigated somewhat by the introduction of the connective *mas* (“but, however”).

The second question is how far a “full-knowing reader” will go in allowing the psalm to inform his/her theory of what the alluding text means. If the reader can call to mind Psalm 78’s recurring cycle of 1) a test of God, 2) a divine miracle, 3) doubt and rebellion, and 4) judgment, s/he will locate the moment of Isaiah 48:21 at point #2 on the cycle, interpret the Captivity as a consequence of Judah having put God to the test, and hear in Isaiah 48:21 a warning not to respond to the “new Exodus” with unbelief. A rendering of זֶבַח that was consistent between the alluding and alluded-to texts would have facilitated a direct mental connection between them and a correspondingly enriched interpretation, but no such rendering occurs.

7.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:13

<u>BLH Isaiah</u>	<u>BLH Psalm</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Psalm</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Psalm</u>
O tempo de mostrar a minha bondade	na hora certa	el momento de mostrar mi bondad	ahora	בְּעֵת רְצוֹן	עֵת רְצוֹן
eu responderei ao seu pedido	responde-me	te respondi	respóndeme	עֲנֵיתִיךָ	עֲנֵנִי
de salvá-los	salva-me	salvación	sálvame	יְשׁוּעָה	יְשׁוּעָה

The primary allusion marker here is עֵת רְצוֹן, which as noted earlier (3.4.2.8) occurs nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Here the renderings of the DtI phrase in VP and BLH/NTLH make some kind of direct relationship between these versions possible, in that both unpack the phrase for the target reader in a remarkably similar way. Both, however, feature very different renderings in the psalm.

Moreover, in both versions the phrase is interpreted very differently in the alluding and alluded-to texts, so that the allusion marker is lost completely. It was suggested above that there is no mention of a prayer in source-text DtI, which creates a gap for the source reader that s/he could fill in by activating the psalm text (Nurmela 2006:53). BLH/NTLH’s explicitation *ao seu pedido* (“to your prayer”) fills in the gap for the target reader in Isaiah, so that the allusion—even if recognized—cannot function in the same way as it could have in the source text.

7.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

<u>BLH</u>	<u>BLH Nu</u>	<u>VP Is</u>	<u>VP Nu</u>	<u>ST Is</u>	<u>ST Nu</u>
Será que agora não tenho poder para salvá-los?	Será que eu tenho tão pouco poder?	¿Creyeron acaso que yo no era capaz de rescatarlos?	¿Crees que es tan pequeño mi poder?	הַקְצֹר קְצָרָה יְדֵי מְפֹדוֹת	הַיָּד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר

BLH/NTLH does not follow VP here in inserting “Do you believe...? (¿Creyeron/Crees...?). It explicates the metaphorical use of “hand,” but in ways that differ between the alluding and alluded-to texts; and differences between VP and BLH seem to indicate an indirect relationship if any at all.

Earlier it was mentioned (3.4.2.9) that the rest of the verse in source-text DtI contains several allusions to the Exodus account, especially the Plague and Red Sea narratives. Were this not the case **יָד קָצַר** could simply be formulaic language; its occurrence here in a highly allusive context, and the rarity of its occurrence elsewhere, make this unlikely. Furthermore, in the source text it is paired with a noun (or an infinitive, if we repoint with the Versions) from root **פָּדָה**, a key word in the Exodus tradition (Ex 13:15; Dt 7:8, 9:26; 13:6, 15:15, 24:18; 2 Sam 7:23, Micah 6:4, Ps 78:42). In BLH/NTLH’s explication, the metaphor **יָד קָצַר** is unpacked (with a slight variation in wording between the two texts) and **פְּדוּת** is rendered with the much more common and less evocative *salvar*. Both features make a direct verbal connection more difficult to recognize.

7.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)

<u>BLH</u>	<u>BLH Nahum</u>	<u>VP Isaiah</u>	<u>VP Nahum</u>	<u>ST Isaiah</u>	<u>ST Nahum</u>
Como é bonito ver...pelas montanhas	Vejam! Pelas montanhas	¡Que hermoso es ver llegar por las colinas...!	¡Miren! ¡...sobre los montes...!	מֵהַנְּאוֹן עַל־ הַהָרִים	הִנֵּה עַל־ הַהָרִים
um mensageiro correndo	vem um mensageiro	llegar...al que trae buenas noticias	¡Ya viene...el mensajero...!	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר
trazendo notícias de paz	que traz...notícias de paz	al que trae noticias de paz	¡...que trae noticias de paz!	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם	מִשְׁמִיעַ שְׁלוֹם

Here there are notable similarities between VP and BLH/NTLH, particularly in their lexical choices. The clearest difference is that in VP, *montes* in the alluded-to text becomes *colinas* in the alluding text, while in BLH/NTLH the rendering of **הַהָרִים** is consistent.

BLH, however, obscures the obvious relationship between the two texts—first, by deleting any mention of “feet;” second, by the fact that the messenger is “running” (*correndo*) in the alluding

text but simply “comes” (*vem*) in the alluded-to text; and finally, by the rendering of וַיָּבֹא in the alluding text with a gerund and in the alluded-to text with a relative clause. It could plausibly be argued that retaining the synecdoche with “feet” was inconsistent with the goal of a FE or common-language version. The other changes, however, are more difficult to justify on that basis, and would not be consistent with a desire “to have verbal identity in the translation when there is verbal identity in the originals” (Bratcher 1967:vii). Perhaps the explanation is as simple as a failure to coordinate the work of Bratcher, the Isaiah translator, and the work of Werner Kaschel who translated Nahum—although the process as outlined above would seem to have made such coordination fairly easy.

In BLH there is a note on the Nahum passage sending a reader to Isaiah. There is no similar note on Isaiah, possibly indicating a decision that Nahum, not Isaiah, is the alluding text.

7.5 Conclusions

With regard to the question of possible influence, from an examination of these verses it is certainly reasonable to think that the Spanish *Versión Popular* was among the modern translations consulted during the project that produced BLH/NTLH (7.1.2.2). In the passages above it seems that VP wording was seldom adopted directly (or, as directly as structural differences between Spanish and Portuguese would have permitted). But there are certainly enough echoes of VP in BLH/NTLH to suggest that the latter was conscious of the former.

More to the point of the present study, the perspicuity of the allusions in the passages under study appears, for the most part, to have fared rather badly in these versions. At times, explicitation has taken the alluding or alluded-to passages in different lexical directions; where shared lexis has been preserved, explicitation has indeed inhibited the pragmatic effects that the allusion had in the source text. The method used by the translation project does not explain this. Unlike, for example, the *Nova Bíblia dos Freis Capuchinhos*, the method that produced the BLH/NTLH would have allowed sufficient collaboration between translators of various biblical books so that the renderings of the alluding and alluded-to texts could have been adjusted toward each other. By and large this was not done, even when the required adjustment would have been relatively minor. The primary reasons for this are likely to have been the norm that contextual concordance trumps verbal concordance (7.1.2.2) and FE’s supreme goal of cognitive clarity and accessibility of language, with which multivalence in all its forms would conflict.

8. An Ecumenical Portuguese Version: The *Tradução Interconfessional*

8.1 Introduction

As we have seen, cooperation among Protestant denominations in Bible translating into Portuguese has a long history. Cooperation between Protestants and Roman Catholics, however, began only with the closing decades of the twentieth century. This chapter will first survey the changes to the target culture that made this possible; then it will consider the *Bíblia para Todos: Tradução Interconfessional* as the best example of such a project. As in previous chapters, the analysis of the target culture will be followed by sections on this version's coherence as a target text (TT) and on its coherence with the source text (ST) of DtI with regard to the allusive passages under study.

The perspicuity of DtI's allusions in the *Tradução Interconfessional* is difficult to predict. Features of this version that are potentially significant for our purposes are especially:

- 1) The fact of its being a cross-denominational endeavor.
- 2) General developments in biblical studies at the time, and changes particularly to the Roman Catholic view of these developments.
- 3) The translation-theoretic model followed in this version.
- 4) The translation procedure adopted in this version.

The cross-denominational nature of this version could have a negative effect on the perspicuity of DtI's allusions in the target text. This is because a norm of lexical concordance in translating is sometimes motivated by a desire that the translation be useful for teaching systematic theology and ecclesial doctrine. Inter-denominational translation projects usually renounce this intention quite explicitly, neutralizing at least one argument for lexical concordance. The *Tradução Interconfessional* is no exception.

On the other hand, the rise of inter-confessional translation projects coincides both with the "biblical movement" in the Roman Catholic Church mentioned above (6.3.2) and with a maturing appreciation within biblical scholarship generally for the source text's literary features. One could therefore expect increasingly sensitive readings of such a richly allusive text as DtI on the part of translators, with increased efforts to represent this text feature in translation.

Perhaps more significant than either of these factors, however, is the translation-theoretic philosophy adopted by a project. The *Übersetzungsweise* adopted by the *Tradução Interconfessional* is fairly easy to discern; it is, however, one that could exert tension in opposite directions on the version's handling of DtI's allusions. On one hand, "functional equivalence" (FE) reportedly had a powerful effect on the *Tradução Interconfessional* (Ramos 2010:103, Cavaco

2011), and as we have seen, the perspicuity of inter-textual allusion was not a high priority in classical FE. On the other hand, an expressed intention of this version is to maintain more formal characteristics of the source text than does a “classic” FE version such as the GNT (Ramos 2010:114f). This might be expected to result in a more lexically concordant—and thus, potentially, a more allusive—version of DtI than, for instance, a classic FE version such as the BLH/NTLH considered above.

Finally, the procedure followed by *Tradução Interconfessional*, at least initially, was more fully collaborative than those of most of the versions considered above (Cavaco 2011, Ramos 2010:112f). It could plausibly be hypothesized that this greater degree of collaboration would increase the likelihood that inter-textual features in the source text will be recognized and preserved. The difficulty is that this procedure was modified significantly by the time the project came to DtI (Ramos 2010:112f). How allusive the target text of Isaiah would have been had the initial procedure been used throughout the project can only be conjectured.

8.1.1 Target Culture: Movement Within Roman Catholicism

When, after the 1804 founding of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), other Bible societies began to proliferate, prospects for eventual cooperation between these and the Roman Catholic Church would have seemed dim indeed. The Church’s general suspicion in the nineteenth century toward trends in biblical scholarship has been noted above (6.2.2 and 6.3.2). In addition, the Bible societies were specifically denounced in an 1816 papal letter from Pius VII (Steer 2004a:155), the papal encyclicals *Inter Praecipuas Machinationes* (May 8, 1844) and *Qui Pluribus* (November 9, 1846), and the *Syllabus Errorum* (December 8, 1864).

As noted above (6.3.2), the appearance of Pius XII’s encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* in 1943 signaled a major shift. The encyclical recognized both the need and the new opportunities for the scientific study of the biblical texts, and it encouraged Bible translating into vernacular languages and the use of such versions in the home.

Divino Afflante Spiritu served as the template for the 1965 Vatican II document *Dei Verbum* (Alves 2010:209). *Dei Verbum* declares:

Easy access to Sacred Scripture should be provided for all the Christian faithful. That is why the Church from the very beginning accepted as her own that very ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament which is called the septuagint [*sic*]; and she has always given a place of honor to other Eastern translations and Latin ones especially the Latin translation known as the vulgate [*sic*]. But since the word of God should be accessible at all times, the Church by her authority and with maternal concern sees to it that suitable and

correct translations are made into different languages, especially from the original texts of the sacred books. And should the opportunity arise and the Church authorities approve, if these translations are produced in cooperation with the separated brethren as well, all Christians will be able to use them [22].

The last sentence is suggestive of the inter-confessional negotiations that were already underway. In 1963, the Jesuit Bible scholar and Cardinal Agostino Bea, who served as the first president of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity (SPCU) from 1960 until his death, had been approached by the UBS. Bea suggested postponing formal meetings until after the Vatican II documents, including *Dei Verbum*, were published. Very quickly thereafter, however, he proposed a plan for cooperation with the UBS to Paul VI, who approved the idea and charged the SPCU with working out the details.

In 1966, the American Rev. Walter M. Abbott, S. J. was appointed Bea's personal assistant; later, Abbott became director of the Vatican's Office for Common Bible Work. It was Abbott who told a UBS council in 1966, "In discovering who you are and what you do, and in coming to discuss the possibility of cooperating with you, we come with an attitude of respect for a prophetic function of the People of God" (Robertson 1996:114)—a statement that would have been unthinkable a century earlier. In 1988, under John Paul II, the Secretariat became the "Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity" (PCPCU), which declared in 1993:

As it continues to publish editions of the Bible that correspond to its own standards and requirements, the Catholic Church also willingly collaborates with other churches and ecclesial communities, in order to complete translations and to publish common versions, in accordance with what was envisioned in the Vatican II ecumenical council and what is articulated in Canon Law.⁴⁸ She considers such ecumenical collaboration in this area to be an important form of common witness and service in the Church and to the world (cited in Alves 2011:1232).

The Roman Catholic Church would view the *Tradução Ecumênica da Bíblia* as a parade example of such "witness and service."

⁴⁸ Can. 825 §1. "Books of the Sacred Scriptures cannot be published unless they have been approved either by the Apostolic See or by the conference of bishops; for their vernacular translations to be published it is required that they likewise be approved by the same authority and also annotated with necessary and sufficient explanations. §2. With the permission of the conference of bishops Catholic members of the Christian faithful can collaborate with separated brothers and sisters in preparing and publishing translations of the Sacred Scriptures annotated with appropriate explanations." *Code of Canon Law: Latin-English Edition* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983), p. 309.

8.1.2 Target Culture: Movement within the Bible Societies

Not all of the steps necessary to enable inter-confessional cooperation in Bible translating were on the Roman Catholic side. First, the vast number of Protestant Bible societies had to be brought under one umbrella before bilateral negotiations could take place. The need to avoid duplication of effort in certain countries and languages, and the desire for active collaboration in new projects, led to a period of “cautious cooperation” between various Bible societies from 1900 until 1932; then to a period of “orderly structured communication” until World War II (Robertson 1996:2f,6). When the war ended, the United Bible Societies (UBS) was founded at Elfinward, HaywardsHeath, England (1946). Negotiations between a unified Protestant body and Rome could now take place.

Second, inter-confessional cooperation was facilitated by a transition from the early leadership of the Bible societies toward leaders who were more open to inter-confessional cooperation (Johnston 2009:5). It is true that the ABS had reached out to the Roman Catholic Church early in its history, and as noted above (6.1.3) the BFBS published Figueiredo’s Portuguese version in 1828. Still, Roman Catholic polemics against the Bible societies had long had their counterpart on the Protestant side, and in some cases Bible societies lost their funding and disappeared (Johnson 2009:4) if they abandoned such distinctive Protestant practices as publishing Bibles without notes and without the Apocrypha (on which see below). By 1950, however, Olivier Béguin (UBS General Secretary since 1947) had taken special notice of the biblical movement within the Roman Catholic Church and was pushing for collaboration in translation projects (Sawatsky 1975:7). Eugene Nida, who had been a delegate to the Elfinward conference at which the UBS was founded, was also a strong advocate for outreach to Rome (Robertson 1996:111).

8.1.3 “Guiding Principles”

“Extensive discussion and careful scrutiny” of principles for collaboration in Bible translating began in earnest in 1963 (UBS/SPCU 1968:101; *cf.* also Robertson 1996:114). At Crêt Brérard in November 1964, in a meeting at which Roman Catholic scholars were present informally, the Committee on Translation of the UBS produced a draft of a document titled “Guiding Principles for Cooperation in Bible Translation.” The draft was largely Nida’s work (Robertson 1996:114) and the final document exhibits the special concerns of Nida’s philosophy of translating, in addition to the attention paid to the main issues on which inter-confessional agreement was necessary. After Crêt Brérard, the draft list of “Principles” was sent to the SPCU, which accepted them without change (Robertson 1996:114); they were officially adopted jointly by the UBS Executive Committee and a Vatican delegation in London on January 10, 1968 and published in a worldwide press release on June 1, 1968 in commemoration of Pentecost (UBS/SPCU 1968:101).

The technical issues on which agreement was reached included the textual basis for joint translations, the canon to be translated, the exegetical basis for translating, notes and para-textual features, cross references, orthography, proper names, the approach to linguistic borrowings, and language style. Historically, the issues of canon and para-text had been the most problematic. The Roman Catholic Church had pronounced an *anathema* in 1546 anyone who did not accept the books of Tobit, Judith, Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus (or Sirach, or Ben Sira), Baruch, and 1 & 2 Maccabees as “sacred and canonical.” Furthermore, the remaining canonical books had to be read “entire with all their parts” (*Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent IV*), which meant that the longer Greek version of the book of Esther, the Letter of Jeremiah, and the additions to the book of Daniel known as “Susanna” and “Bel and the Dragon” had to be included.

Protestants had not always opposed translating and disseminating these books; they were included in Luther’s translation, Valera’s Spanish version, the *King James Version*, and several BFBS publications (Robertson 1996:121). They had been omitted, however, from most Bible society versions since 1825. In fact, BFBS Bibles were published as bound editions rather than in sheets in order to prevent the Apocrypha from being inserted (Sheer 2004a:70), and by this time the exclusion of the Apocrypha had become a matter of conscience for many Protestants (Robertson 1996:122). According to “Guiding Principles,” the UBS would be satisfied if the Apocrypha were included, but set off in a separate section from the books of the Protestant canon. Rome found this solution agreeable as well.

Shortly after their release, in 1969, the UBS further clarified its understanding of the “Principles” with regard to the Apocrypha. The UBS’s normal policy would continue to be to publish Bibles without them, and Bibles that included them would not be produced or distributed in violation of anyone’s conscience. When a particular church wanted them, they would be included in the Bible, but always in a separate section and preceded by a clear statement on the differing status of these books for different faith communities; moreover, the costs of including the Apocrypha would not be paid for out of general UBS funds (Robertson 1996:121f). Even after this agreement, however, a frequent UBS complaint seems to be that Roman Catholic constituencies demand Bibles that include the deuterocanonicals, but will not help fund them (Robertson 1996:311). The result is that Protestants who do not regard these books as canonical end up bearing the cost of including them in Bible translations, often without their knowledge (Johnston 2009:13).

The second historically problematic issue was the matter of para-textual notes. The first paragraph of BFBS’s founding principles and regulations stipulated that Bibles would be produced and distributed “without note or comment,” and the intention of the policy was to facilitate

interdenominational cooperation by avoiding the appearance of favoring a particular ecclesial or dogmatic agenda (Steer 2004b:67). As time passed, however, the Bible societies became increasingly dissatisfied with simply placing the bare text of Scripture in readers' hands. In 1971, ABS's constitution was amended to read "without *doctrinal* note or comment" (emphasis mine), which was consistent with what had been ABS practice for some time: para-textual helps were encouraged as long as their purpose was simply to facilitate understanding and not to tell readers what to believe (Steer 2004b:73f).

On the Roman Catholic side, as noted above (n. 32), Canon Law required that translations be "annotated with necessary and sufficient explanations." While the purpose for Rome's policy was to prevent the use of its Bible versions by "heretics" to the "detriment" of the faithful, the kind of notes actually found in Roman Catholic Bibles varied greatly. Figueiredo's encyclopedic references to the Church Fathers and classical authors represent one approach; the strong attempts to control the reading found in the notes to Matos Soares's version (6.1.4.1, 6.2.3) represent another.

As a *modus vivendi*, "Guiding Principles" declared that "both the needs of the reader and the traditional requirements of the Church" could be met if notes were provided that contained variant readings, possible alternate renderings, and explanations of proper names or plays on words, and that provided necessary information on historical background or cultural differences—meaning the Roman Catholics had essentially agreed to UBS policy. Section headings were encouraged. Notes explaining divergent Roman Catholic and Protestant interpretations of a particular passage were discouraged. An introduction, if the receptor community desires one, should simply commend the Bible to the reader and avoid appeals to church authority (UBS/SPCU 1968:105). Interesting for present purposes is the fact that notes on cross references could include inner-biblical quotations and "clear cases of allusion;" further, "Guidelines" acknowledges, "While reference systems always run the risk of subjectivity and some are outright tendentious, it has been possible to prepare reference systems of great usefulness and scholarly objectivity" (UBS/SPCU 1968:104).

"Guiding Principles" also recommended "procedures" for inter-confessional translation projects, while granting that these will have to be modified to accommodate a variety of circumstances. Whether an inter-confessional project can be undertaken at all will depend on the "psychological climate" in a particular setting and on the desires of the constituencies affected. To undertake a new project is usually better than revising an existing version, which tends to entangle translators in "traditional attachments." An ideal structure would include a "working committee" of 4-6

members, equally divided between Roman Catholics and Protestants; a “review committee” of 8-10 qualified scholars, again with equal representation; and a “consultative group” of 25-50 competent to speak for their respective faith communities (UBS/SPCU 1968:107f). Most important: two editions of the same text should not be produced by two publishing houses, one Roman Catholic and one Protestant, since “it is almost inevitable that within five to ten years the texts will be further changed and ultimately there will be two different Bibles rather than one joint production,” thus defeating the purpose for a undertaking a joint project in the first place (UBS/SPCU 1968:109).

By 1987, a number of interconfessional projects had taken place, and on the basis of accumulated experience the “Principles” were modified and reissued as “Guidelines for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible.” Most of the wording of the 1968 “Guiding Principles” remains intact, but a new section appears under “annotations” on the desirable form for “introductions” to sections and books. The comment on prefaces omits the 1968 clause on avoiding “appeals to ecclesiastical authority.” Mention is made of the value of traditional language for pastoral care and liturgical use, and efforts to preserve it are commended where it is still the “functional equivalent” of the language of the source text. There are additional sections on matters of copyright, *nihil obstat*, and *imprimatur*. Arguably the most significant changes, however, are that all mention of “Protestants” has been dropped—reference is made instead to “other Christian constituencies” or “ecclesial communities”—and there is no requirement for 50/50 representation on the “translation team,” “review panel,” or “consultative group.” “Adequate representation” from both sides is all that is specified (SPCU/UBS 1987; cf. Johnston 2009:1).

8.2 Target Culture: the *Bíblia para Todos: Tradução Interconfessional*

The project that resulted in the *Tradução Interconfessional* began in 1969 under the direction of Sociedade Bíblica de Portugal (SBP) executive secretary Augusto A. Esperança. The year coincided with the death of Portugal’s dictator António de Oliveira Salazar, who had ruled the country since 1932. It has been suggested that a national climate of ferment in the years leading up to the Portuguese “Carnation Revolution” of April 25, 1974 contributed to the initiation of a new translation project (Ramos 1987:479). Clearly, the recent publication of “Guiding Principles” was also a factor.

A team of translators began work in June of 1972. Although initially others were also involved, the five principle translators were António Augusto Tavares, António Pinto Ribeiro Junior (who died before the project’s conclusion), João Soares de Carvalho, Joaquim Carreira das Neves, José Augusto Ramos, and Teófilo Ferreira. The Roman Catholic bishopric for Portugal was represented

by D. Américo Henriquez, who provided an exegetical review and many of whose suggestions were adopted. Francolino J. Gonçalves provided a review specifically of Isaiah, and Herculano Alves assisted with a revision of the translation of the Apocrypha (Ramos 2010:113).

Most noteworthy for present purposes is the procedure adopted by the project. Initially, in the New Testament, the level of collaboration was reminiscent of Luther's "Sanhedrin," in that every rendering of every verse had to pass before the entire group to be decided on collectively. This proved too cumbersome for the Old Testament and for the final review of the entire Bible, however; for these, coordinating the work became the responsibility of Ramos and was done in more piecemeal fashion (Ramos 2010:112f). Had the translation procedure remained fully collaborative throughout, the *Tradução Interconfessional* would serve as an ideal test case for the effects of such a procedure on the perspicuity of source-text allusions in the target text. As it is, this version is still a representative of collaborative translating, but an imperfect one; and conclusions with regard to this particular hypothesis will have to be cautious.

As the translation progressed, sections were released and feedback received. The finished New Testament first appeared in 1978. The entire Bible was published in 1993, and a revision began with the appointment of a new translation committee in December of 1999—meaning that the Old Testament had been in print a mere six years before the work of revising it began (Cavaco 2011). By the time the revised edition was published in 2009, the project had taken 37 years and involved 20 participants, among them Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Episcopalians, Brethren, Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, Pentecostals, members of the Portuguese community *Acção Bíblica*,⁴⁹ and independent evangelicals. Institutions represented were the University of Lisbon, the New University of Lisbon, the Catholic University of Portugal, the Portuguese Bible Institute, the Baptist Theological Seminary of Portugal, and two American schools: Gordon-Comwell Theological Seminary and Loma Linda University. To the translators mentioned above, the revision added Manuel Alexandre Júnior, Roy Emilius Ciampa, Rui Oliveira Duarte, Teófilo Vieira Ferreira, and Theron Reginald Young. Other participants included UBS consultants Ignacio Mendoza, Jan de Waard, Jean Claude Margot, Paul Ellingworth, and Robert Bratcher. For the revision, the role of General Coordinator passed from Esperança to Timóteo Cavaco.

⁴⁹ *Acção Bíblica* began in Portugal in 1928 as a mission of L'action Biblique based in Switzerland and France. L'action Biblique was founded by H. E. Alexander (1884-1957), who studied at the Bible Training Institute in Glasgow and was influenced by the Welsh Revival of 1904-1905 (*Acção Bíblica* 2014). The Welsh Revival was an important precursor of the global Pentecostal movement (Burgess & van der Maas 2002:1188f).

The *Tradução Interconfessional* exemplifies the progress in translation theory that was taking place at the close of the twentieth century. Ramos notes that the beginning of the project coincided with the strong turn in Bible translating toward the needs of the receptor for which Eugene Nida was largely responsible (Ramos 2010:111), and *Tradução Interconfessional* participant Augusto Tavares was a very strong “functional equivalence” advocate (Cavaco 2011). Later, the model shifted slightly in the direction of one represented by the *New English Bible* or the *Nueva Biblia Española* (1975), *i.e.*, an approach more congenial to certain concerns of traditional, source-oriented translating. One such concern is the preservation of source-text alliteration and assonance in the target text when this was possible (Ramos 2010:116,118). Another example is that, while in the 1993 *Tradução Interconfessional* an attempt was made to expunge anything that could sound archaic (such as the pronoun *vós*⁵⁰) or like “churchspeak” (*e.g.* such terms as *justificação* or *evangelho*), the 2009 edition is much less rigorous in this respect (Cavaco 2011). The *skopos* remained a target-oriented translation into Portuguese as currently spoken; and according to Ramos, this objective facilitated inter-confessional cooperation, since it called for an avoidance of the kind of traditional language that can carry sectarian baggage (Ramos 1987:479).⁵¹

The *Tradução Interconfessional* adopts the solutions proposed in “Guiding Principles” and “Guidelines” to the two issues on which inter-confessional compromise had been most obviously needed. First, the Apocrypha are included, but in a separate section entitled “*Livros Deuterocanônicos*” (with the Greek version of Esther and the “*Suplementos de Daniel*” located here), and an *Introdução ao Antigo Testamento* explains the differing Roman Catholic and Protestant views on the canonical status of these books. Second, the para-text is characterized by Ramos as somewhere in between the traditional Bible Society approach, which tended toward Bibles devoid of notes or nearly so, and the Roman Catholic approach in which notes proliferate.⁵² The notes in the *Tradução Interconfessional* provide the reader with textual, literary, or historical information, but there are no pronouncements on doctrine (Ramos 2010:119).⁵³ That a translation

⁵⁰ On which see 7.3 below. Because of regional variation and the ongoing evolution of the Portuguese language in this regard, *vós* became one of the target-language issues that translators struggled with most (Ramos 2010:118).

⁵¹ A good example might be the translation of *πρεσβυτέρους* at James 5:14. Matos Soares had rendered this with *sacerdotes* (“priests”). The *Versão Almeida Revista e Atualizada* had used *presbíteros* (“presbyters”). The *Tradução Interconfessional* has *os responsáveis* (“those in charge”).

⁵² Roman Catholic teaching is that a reader needs the help of the doctors of the church in order to understand Scripture correctly (*Iniunctum Nobis*, November 13, 1564). As a result, explanatory notes are obligatory in Roman Catholic Bibles (*cf. Canon of Canon Law* 825 §1, cited above). In contrast, the Bible societies’ policy of producing and distributing Bibles “without note or comment” was a direct consequence of the Protestant doctrine of the perspicuity of Scripture (Sheer 2004b:63f).

⁵³ The SBP has also produced an *edição literária* devoid of all para-text (including chapter or verse numbers) except for a general introduction. This edition bears no papal *nihil obstat* or *imprimatur*.

be truly inter-confessional is the priority most frequently mentioned in SBP surveys of its target culture (Cavaco 2011). The *Tradução Interconfessional*'s approach to these two pressing issues demonstrates concretely, not only its adherence to “Guidelines,” but also its attention to this target-culture concern.

8.3 Target Text Coherence

According to a section on *Características da Tradução* (characteristics of the translation) that precedes the text, the project aimed for a clear, comprehensible Portuguese, at a medium language register, as the language is spoken in the daily life of readers throughout the Lusophone world (a linguistic form which is equivalent to that of the source texts, according to the authors). The vocabulary is intended to be consistent with the source texts’ cultural and historical context; at the same time, archaisms, Semitisms, and all expressions foreign to the “spirit of the receptor language” (*cf.* the “genius” of the receptor language in Nida & Taber 1974:3) are to be avoided. As noted above, the 1993 version had attempted to exclude rigorously all terminology that could sound too theological, both because of its unfamiliarity to many target readers and because it was seen as inimical to an inter-confessional translation project (Ramos 1987:479); the 2009 version did not pursue this objective quite as aggressively (Cavaco 2011). The section on *Características da Tradução* says that terms with doctrinal import will not be paraphrased or replaced with equivalent expressions.

The section describes fairly accurately what we actually find in the target text of Isaiah, although its language is not representative of the entire Lusophone world (nor was this a realistic expectation). The language of this version is distinctly Portuguese (as opposed to Brazilian) in several ways. Mesoclisism⁵⁴ is used freely (*e.g.* *Não-vo-lo anunciaram*, “Did they not announce to you pl.?” at 40:21), as is the future form *há-de* (as in *há-de vir*, “It shall come,” at 41:22).⁵⁵ Both constructions are encountered in Brazilian Portuguese, but only in formal, written language registers. The contractions *dum* (for *de + um*—40:28, 44:29, *etc.*), *duma*, *dumas*, and *dantes* (for *de + antes*—51:9) also appear in the *Tradução Interconfessional*; in Brazil these forms are encountered rarely, and many people think they are grammatically incorrect. The construction *ver o fogo a arder* (“see the fire burning,” 44:16) is also distinctly Old World. A Brazilian would have written *ver o fogo ardendo* (even more likely, *ver o fogo queimando*).

⁵⁴ On mesoclisism *cf.* 5.1.4.1 above.

⁵⁵ Already in the 1990 *Acordo Ortográfico da Língua Portuguesa*, the hyphen joining forms of *haver* to preposition *de* was declared incorrect (Portal da Língua Portuguesa 2014).

The second person plural *vós* and its related verb and adjective (*voss[a]*) forms, likewise, are not used in quotidian Brazilian Portuguese. In fact, there is significant disparity even within Portugal with regard to *vós*, and for this reason translators agonized over what to do with it (Ramos 2010:118). In Isaiah, interestingly, *vós* and *vosso(a)* appear often, but often mixed together with third-person forms of the verb in a way that is technically “incorrect.” Examples include *Consolem* (correct would be *Consolai*) *o meu povo, é o vosso Deus que o pede* (“Comfort my people, it is thy God who asks it,” 40:1), *Apresentem* (correct would be *Apresentei*) *a vossa queixa* (“Present thy complaint, 41:21), etc.

At times, however, the usual rule of agreement is followed. The identification of 42:10-13 as a “hymn” might explain the appearance of the traditional *vós* verb forms here (*percorreis* and *habitais* in v. 10), but even in this case the “incorrect” third-person forms appear in close proximity (*Cantem* and *louvem*, v. 10, etc.). Finally, in texts like 55:1-3, all attempts at consistency are abandoned. The likely explanation is that such mixed constructions are common in the *português corrente* (“current Portuguese”) of Portugal, Africa, and Asia, although a Brazilian is likely to find them jarring.

As for the claim that terms of doctrinal import have been preserved wherever possible, DtI may not present enough of these to serve as a test case, and in fact the 2009 revision made fewer changes in this direction to the OT than to the NT (Cavaco 2011). In general, there is a lower level of lexical concordance in the *Tradução Interconfessional* than one finds in a more source-oriented version like the *Almeida Revista e Corregida* (ARC). For instance, $\text{הַקְּדָצָה/קְדָצָה}$, which occurs 21 times in DtI, is rendered 8 different ways in the *Tradução Interconfessional* (“victory” or a synonym, “justice,” “in a frank manner,” “rectitude,” “faithfulness to his plan,” “loyalty,” “rights,” and “true”), while *justiça* (*justo*, 41:2) is used for every occurrence of $\text{הַקְּדָצָה/קְדָצָה}$ in ARC. טָשַׁף מַן occurs 11 times in DtI and is rendered six different ways in the *Tradução Interconfessional*, compared to only three ways in ARC. These examples lead one to wonder which terms were judged to be doctrinally important and on what criteria. They also suggest that preservation of vocabulary shared between texts, and therefore of inner-textual allusions where these depend on shared vocabulary, may not be likely in this version.

As we have seen elsewhere, de-emphasis on lexical concordance is characteristic of a target-oriented version, which the *Tradução Interconfessional* clearly is. Very natural target-language expressions appear at several places, e.g., *Bom trabalho!* (“Nice job!”) at 41:7; or *Como é bom estar quentinho e ver o fogo a arder* (“How fine it is to be nice and warm, and see the fire burning!”) at 44:16; or *ficarão de boca aberta* (“they’ll stand there open-mouthed”) at 52:15. The

target-orientation of this version is clear most of all from its frequent use of explicitation. A few examples will suffice: *entre os deuses não vi ninguém* (“among the gods I saw no one,” 41:28); *o deus Bel. . . o deus Nebo* (“the god Bel...the god Nebo,” 46:1); *o documento de divórcio com que repudiei Jerusalém* (“the divorce document with which I repudiated Jerusalem, 50:1). Some of these are not intrusive, like the insertion of “the god” at 46:1, and explicitation on this level is not necessarily inimical to the preservation of an inner-textual allusion provided it is done consistently in both the alluding and alluded-to texts. The freer the rendering and more prolix the explicitation, however, the more likely it is that a particular rendering will be unique to either passage; and absent a conscious attempt at coordination, the allusion will probably be lost.

Sometimes a reader is sent to the para-text when a term or expression is seen as needing explanation. For instance, 40:2 has the source-oriented rendering *Falem ao coração* (“speak to the heart”), but an asterisk refers the reader to the glossary entry on *coração*;⁵⁶ glossary entries appear on a large number of other terms as well.⁵⁷ Notes at the bottom of the page are consistent with the principles in “Guidelines” and, in general, with Ramos’s remark (cited above) that these would be limited to textual, literary, or historical information. A note on 44:24, for instance, explains Isaiah’s theology of creation in a brief but helpful way. “The dragon of the seas” and Rahab (51:9) are identified; the former *via* a reference to Babylonian creation myths, the latter *via* references to Psalm 89 and Job 9. References to Cyrus of Persia are explained at 46:11 and 48:14, and where the referent is uncertain the reader is made aware of this (48:16). The reader is similarly made aware of the difficulty posed by a *hapax legomenon* at 46:8. One might legitimately question, however, whether a note informing the reader that passages like 52:1 have sometimes been used to justify racism has truly confined itself to providing what is necessary to understand the text.⁵⁸

The bulk of notes on inter-textual references concern verses that are cited or alluded to in the New Testament, although a significant number—including notes on some of the Isaiah passages that will be considered below—send the reader to other Old Testament passages. These indicate that inter-textual relationships were, on some level, a value for the *Tradução Interconfessional*. The results from a preliminary survey of inter-texts within Isaiah do not suggest that they were a consistently high priority, however. The 48:22/57:21 relationship, on one hand, is very clear in this version (unlike in BLH/NTLH; *cf.* 7.3 above). On the other hand, a literary device (a rhetorical

⁵⁶ The entry explains the meaning of לֵב/לִּבָּב in biblical Hebrew. It is not helpful with the idiom “speak to the heart.”

⁵⁷ Zion, servant, prophet, sin, shepherd, righteous, holy, Babylon, Chaldean, pagan, covenant, bride, disciple, Paradise, law, dragon, impure, purify, and lamb.

⁵⁸ Interestingly, a very similar note is found on the same verse in the *Bíblia dos Freis Capuchinos*. See 6.4.2 above.

question that is surprisingly answered) which is the same in 49:15 and 49:24 in the source text is handled in markedly different ways. This suggests an approach to inter-textual relationships that will not be uniform; it is hoped that further light will be shed on the nature of the *Tradução Interconfessional's* approach to these relationships through what follows.

8.4 Coherence Between Source and Target Texts

8.4.1 Lev 26:41,43 and Isaiah 40:2

TI Isaiah	TI Lv	ST Isaiah	ST Lv v 41
crime	o castigo do seu pecado	עון	עון
está pago	aceitar	רצה	רצה
	o castigo pela sua culpa		ST Lv v 43 עון
	sofrem o castigo		רצה

A principle of classic “functional equivalence” translating was that contextual clarity is more important than lexical concordance. In these verses, the *Tradução Interconfessional* takes this principle to something of an extreme. First, in its rendering of עון in Leviticus, it retains the notion of necessary punishment (*castigo*) in both occurrences, but what it is that requires punishing is handled differently. *Pecado* (sin) is the choice in the case of the first occurrence. The reader is sent to the glossary, which defines “pecado” as:

Everything that, in the creatures of God who is perfect, is contrary to his will and represents a failure to comply with his purposes in human life and in the order of creation; capable of expressing itself in a great variety of attitudes and conceits, such as error, transgression, iniquity, injustice, disobedience, unfaithfulness, unbelief. Lv 4:20, Ps 51:9, Ro 3:9, 1 Jo 1:9. (my translation)

This suggests that *pecado* was seen as an example of the kind of “church language” that is uncharacteristic of *português corrente*. If this is true, however, the reason for its being used in the first occurrence, with a switch to “guilt” (*culpa*) in the second, is not clear. Nor is it clear why *crime* (“crime”), rather than either “sin” or “guilt,” is the choice in Isaiah.

In addition, the rendering of רצה is markedly different from Lv 26:41 to v 43 and entirely different in Isaiah. There is, in short, very little reason here to believe that an inter-textual relationship was recognized here, or that if it was, providing the reader with access to the relationship was a translator priority.

8.4.2 Psalm 103:15-17 and Isaiah 40:6-8

TI Isaiah	TI Psalm	ST Isaiah	ST Psalm
como erva	como a erva	תְּצִיר	תְּצִיר
como flor do campo	como a flor do campo	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה	כְּצִיץ הַשָּׂדֶה
o sopro do SENHOR passa por elas	o vento sopra sobre ela	רוּחַ יְהוָה נִשְׁבָּה בּוֹ	רוּחַ עֲבָרָה בּוֹ
mas a palavra do nosso Deus permanece para sempre.	Mas o amor do SENHOR é eterno	וְדַבַּר־אֱלֹהֵינוּ יָקוּם לְעוֹלָם	וְחֶסֶד יְהוָה מֵעוֹלָם וָעֶד עוֹלָם

With the exception of the use of definite articles in the psalm, but not in Isaiah (where the source-language expression is identical), and divergent renderings of עוֹלָם, shared lexis in this pair of texts fares very well. Arguably, the minimal divergences are more than compensated for by an interesting handling of the רוּחַ and its accompanying verb. Since Portuguese has no noun with a semantic range identical to that of רוּחַ, a target-oriented version cannot render both occurrences in the same way; therefore, רוּחַ is rendered *vento* (wind) in the psalm and *sopro* (breath) in Isaiah. But the notion of “breathing” is added back in to the psalm by the translation of עֲבָרָה as *sopra* (where *passa* would have been the default choice); in Isaiah, *passa* is used for נִשְׁבָּה (for which *sopra* would have been the default choice). The upshot is that, on the whole, the amount of shared lexis in the target text is the same in the source text, and the allusion is equally available. Nor is there any announcement of the fact of an allusion, either in the text or the para-text, of the kind that would inhibit the pragmatic effects that are possible when a “full-knowing reader” is allowed to activate the allusion for him- or herself.

8.4.3 Isaiah 40:26-28 and Psalm 147:4,5

TI Isaiah	TI Psalm	ST Isaiah	ST Psalm
estrelas...um exército bem ordenado	das estrelas	צָבָאָם	לְכוֹכְבִּים
a todos, ele chama pelo seu nome	põe a cada um o seu nome	לְכֹלֵם בְּשֵׁם יְקָרָא	לְכֹלֵם שְׁמוֹת יְקָרָא
a sua sabedoria é insondável.	a sua sabedoria não tem limites	אֵין חֶקֶר לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ	לְתַבּוּנָתוֹ אֵין מְסָפֵר

In general, shared lexis is preserved reasonably well in this case. A singular and a plural form of שֵׁם are rendered the same (*seu nome*, “its name”), although לְכֹלֵם and יְקָרָא are rendered differently, since the *Tradução Interconfessional* understands the action as the LORD naming the stars in the psalm and summoning the stars in Isaiah (probably in view of the preposition בְּ in DtI). *Sabedoria* is used for תְּבוּנָה in both passages. A more direct parallel for the two constructions with אֵין could have been chosen, but was not.

With respect to other features of the allusion, the translation functions differently from the source text. As noted above (3.4.2.3), this allusion is an example of Sommer’s “split-up” pattern, since DtI spreads vocabulary borrowed from the psalm over three verses; its distribution in the target text is roughly parallel. In DtI, however, the ambiguity in “Who created these?” (אֵלֶּה) opens a gap that is closed only with the not-necessarily-definitive צָבָאָם (“their troops”). A reader who can activate Psalm 147 can close the gap, however, since s/he will know that stars are meant. In the translation, although צָבָאָם is rendered very effectively (“like a well-ordered army”), there is no gap. אֵלֶּה is disambiguated immediately as the reader is told that stars (*estrelas*) are in view. In sum, while there is sufficient shared lexis for a reader to recognize a connection between the alluding and alluded-to texts, there is also explicitation that obstructs the allusion’s pragmatic effects.

8.4.4 Isaiah 42:17, Exodus 32:4,8, and 1 Kings 12:8

TI Isaiah	TI Ex v 4	ST Isaiah	ST Ex v 4
imagens de metal	de metal	מִטְּכָה	מִטְּכָה
dizem	exclamaram	הָאֹמְרִים	וַיֹּאמְרוּ

Vós sois os nossos deuses!	aqui tens os teus deuses...te fizeram sair	אַתֶּם אֱלֹהֵינוּ	אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ... הַעֲלִינוּ
	TI v 8 de ouro fundido		ST v 8 מִטְּכָה
	exclamando		וַיֹּאמְרוּ
	aqui tens os teus deuses...te fizeram sair		אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ... הַעֲלִינוּ
	TI 1 Kgs aqui estão os teus deuses*...te tiraram		ST 1 Kgs הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ...הַעֲלִינוּ

*note: “Or *here is your God*. The Hebrew word used for *God* has a plural form” (my translation).

In view of the tendency of most versions influenced by “functional equivalence” toward explicitation, the *Tradução Interconfessional*’s rendering of Exodus 32 is interesting. Just as in the source text, although Aaron makes only one calf, the people exclaim, “You have here your gods (pl.), Israel...!” and neither text nor para-text directs the reader toward a solution for the incongruity. As noted above (3.4.2.4), a connection to the two calves of 1 Kings 12:28 has long been observed. One could theorize that this is the reason for *Tradução Interconfessional*’s translation in Exodus, were it not for the fact that the same verb in both texts (הַעֲלִינוּ) is rendered in completely different ways (“made you leave,” “extricated you”) and for no apparent reason. It may be that the translators understood the plurals in Exodus as referring to both the calf and to YHWH enthroned above it (a possible understanding of the source text), but a connection to 1 Kings does not seem to have been in view.

In any event, the plural in Exodus 32 does leave open the possibility of a reader recognizing an allusion in Isaiah. Other features of the translation militate against this, however. An ideal opportunity to mark the allusion was lost when אָמַר was rendered with two different lexemes (“exclaimed,” “say”); “exclaimed” in Isaiah would have struck a reader as unusual (though certainly intelligible) in that context and sent him/her in search of an explanation. מִטְּכָה is rendered as a plural in Isaiah, either on the basis of LXX and Syriac (though no note so indicates), or because

it is construed as a collective, or simply as a translator decision. While the *Tradução Interconfessional* has not made the activation of this allusion by a reader impossible, facilitating this was clearly not a translator priority—if in fact the allusion was recognized at all.

8.4.5 Isaiah 43:13 and Deuteronomy 32:39

TI Isaiah	TI Dt	ST Isaiah	ST Dt
desde sempre		מִיּוֹם	
Eu sou esse Deus	Eu sou o único Deus	אֲנִי הוּא	אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא
ninguém me poderá resistir	e ninguém me consegue escapar	וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל	וְאֵין מִיָּדַי מִצִּיל

As noted above (3.4.2.5), this study regards מִיּוֹם as meaning “henceforth” (ESV, HCSB, NET, NRSV, Paul 2012:213) and thus functioning as an allusion marker in the source text (Nurmela 2006:31f). The *Tradução Interconfessional*’s translation *desde sempre* (lit. “from always”) reflects the more common view. But that no attempt was made here to preserve an allusion is clearer from other features of the two translations. Both add “God” to the אֲנִי הוּא phrase, but the explicitation in the alluding and in the alluded-to texts leads the reader in two different directions—toward identifying the speaker with the אֱלֹהִים of v. 12 in Isaiah; toward God’s affirming his uniqueness in Deuteronomy.

אֲנִי + participle is handled with constructions that begin with “nobody” (*ninguém*) in both texts, but there the similarity ends. As noted above (3.4.2.5), to optimally preserve the allusion and its function would require the choice of the same, neutral-connotation target-language rendering for נִצַּל מִיָּד in both the alluding and the alluded-to text, in order to allow a reader to notice that what had been a divine threat in Deuteronomy has been converted in Isaiah into a comforting divine promise. In the *Tradução Interconfessional* the metaphor with מִיָּד is also unpacked in two different ways; completely different lexemes are chosen, and the verb is a present tense in Deuteronomy and a future in Isaiah.

8.4.6 Isaiah 45:2 and Psalm 107 (106):16

TI Isaiah	TI Psalm	ST Isaiah	ST Psalm
portas de bronze	portas de bronze	דְּלִתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת	דְּלִתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת

arrombar	fez em pedaços	אֶשְׁבֵר	נִשְׁבַר
ferrolhos de ferro	as barras de ferro	וּבְרִיחֵי בְרֹזָל	וּבְרִיחֵי בְרֹזָל
quebrar	despedaçou	אֶגְדַּע	גִּדַּע

As noted previously, a chiasm in source-text Psalm 107 is rearranged in DtI, making this text a probable instance of Seidel's Law.⁵⁹ In the *Tradução Interconfessional* neither text is chiastic, undoubtedly because an object-first word order would be unusual (though not impossible) in *português corrente*. In other words, a reason that this allusion remains unmarked in the target text could simply be that Portuguese does not use a device equivalent to Seidel's Law to mark allusions.

The more likely reason is that no connection between these two texts was recognized. Vocabulary is shared between these texts only where the resources of the target language would have provided the translators with few if any other options (*portas de bronze, de ferro*).

8.4.7 Isaiah 48:21 and Psalm 78:15, 20

TI Isaiah	TI Psalm	ST Isaiah	ST Psalm
fendeu	fendeu	וַיִּבְקַע	<u>V 15</u> יִבְקַע
o rochedo	a rocha	צוּר	<u>V 20</u> צוּר
jorrou	correu	וַיִּזְוֹבוּ	וַיִּזְוֹבוּ
água	água	מַיִם	מַיִם

In this case, shared lexis has not been deleted entirely, but could easily have been enhanced with similar renderings of צוּר and זוּב. As noted above (3.4.2.7) this allusion is marked, not only *via* shared lexis, but by its incongruity in its context. Its general thematic prominence in DtI makes it unlikely that a reader will miss the allusion to the Exodus tradition. A more conscious attempt to

⁵⁹ On "Seidel's Law" see 5.4.2.3.9 above.

represent the shared vocabulary between the two texts would have enhanced the likelihood that the reader would call its incarnation in the psalm’s verbal sequence to mind.

8.4.8 Isaiah 49:8 and Psalm 69:14 (13)

TI Isaiah	TI Psalm	ST Isaiah	ST Psalm
no tempo devido	quando achares oportuno	בְּעֵת רְצוֹן	עֵת רְצוֹן
respondi-te	responde-me	עֲנֵיתִיָּהּ	עֲנֵנִי
salvação	Tu, que és ajuda fiel, . ..	וּבַיּוֹם יְשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּיָּהּ	יִשְׁעָהּ

Shared lexis is preserved in the translations of ענה, but deleted *via* the expansive (and dubious) translation of עֵת רְצוֹן, a phrase which in the source texts is unique to these two passages and the most important marker for this allusion (3.4.2.8). Another marker in the source texts is the mention of “responding” in DtI when no prayer or request has been mentioned. This creates a gap that which a “full-knowing reader” may close by recalling Psalm 69. In the *Tradução Interconfessional* the mention of “responding” is not jarring, but it is slightly incongruous.

For reasons that are not clear, the *Tradução Interconfessional* joins the final stich of Psalm 69:14 to v 15 and renders it, “You [*i.e.*, God], who are a faithful help ...”. It could be argued that vocabulary common to both passages was subtracted *via* divergent translations of the root ישע, but added when both עֲזַרְתִּיָּהּ (DtI) and הֶצְלַנִּי (Psalm 69:15) were translated with *ajudar* (“help”). In view of the adjusted syntax, however, the net effect is such that similarities between the alluding and alluded-to texts are unlikely to register with a reader.

A note on Isaiah 49:8 sends the reader to 2 Corinthians 6:2 (and *vice versa*), but not to the psalm. In 2 Corinthians the *Tradução Interconfessional*, like the New Testament source text, reflects LXX rather than MT DtI.

8.4.9 Isaiah 50:2 and Numbers 11:23

TI Isaiah	TI Numbers	ST Isaiah	ST Numbers
Será o meu braço muito curto para vos poder salvar?	Será que o poder do SENHOR é tão limitado?	הֲקָצוֹר קַצְרָה יָדִי מִפְדּוֹת	הֲיָד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר

Although Isaiah 59:1 lies outside the corpus chosen for this study, it is significant that the “short hand/arm” metaphor is handled identically there as here (though with the explicative addition of *Não pensem que...* [“Don’t think that...”]). Obvious here is that the “short hand/arm” metaphor is maintained in the alluding text but deleted from the alluded-to text. It may be that a translation like the one used in Isaiah was considered potentially confusing to the reader in Numbers, or at least out of place in a section of prose. In any event, the result is that the metaphor’s occurrence in Numbers would not be a feature of a target reader’s “context” in the relevance-theoretic sense. There is therefore no “allusion” to Numbers 11:23, in the sense in which the term has been defined in this study (2.2.4), in the *Tradução Interconfessional*.

8.4.10 Isaiah 52:7 and Nahum 2:1 (1:15)

TI Isaiah	TI Nahum	ST Isaiah	ST Nahum
Como são formosos sobre os montes	já vem sobre os montes	מֵהֶצְאוּ עַל־הַהָרִים	הִנֵּה עַל־הַהָרִים
os pés do mensageiro	[]	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר	רַגְלֵי מְבַשֵּׂר
que anuncia a paz	aquele que anuncia a paz	מְשַׁמֵּעַ שְׁלוֹם	מְשַׁמֵּעַ שְׁלוֹם

In Isaiah the translation adheres quite closely to the source text, despite the fact that the expression is hardly native to *português corrente*. In Nahum, however, not only are “feet” unmentioned; the entire phrase has inexplicably been dropped. This is the kind of unnecessary and unhelpful change between the allusion and its source that would be difficult to explain if the same translator worked on both texts, or that perhaps could have been avoided if the *Tradução Interconfessional* had followed a fully collaborative procedure throughout the project.

The fact of some kind of inter-textual relationship was clearly recognized by the Dtl translator. A note at the bottom of the page invites the reader to “compare” Nahum 2:1 (in addition to Romans 10:15 and Ephesians 6:15). Naturally, such a note implies no position on dating or the direction-of-dependence question, so that one could plausibly expect a similar note on Nahum 2:1 directing a reader to Isaiah. No such note appears, however.

What is most important for our purposes is that the allusion in the source text functions *via* the abrupt appearance of an expression found in only one other place in the Hebrew Bible. By calling

Nahum to mind, a reader could interpret Isaiah 52:7 as “historic recontextualization” (3.4.2.10), amplify his/her understanding of the Isaiah passage accordingly, and experience the “conspiratorial” pragmatic effects that are available to a reader who can activate the allusion him- or herself (2.3.4). It would be very difficult for a reader who knew both texts only *via* the *Tradução Interconfessional* to activate the allusion him- or herself. Furthermore, a footnote in Isaiah does the activating for the reader, making him/her aware of the inter-text but detracting considerably from its pragmatic effects.

8.5 Conclusions

As noted in the Introduction, the exact outcome for DtI’s allusive passages was difficult to predict from the *skopos* of the *Tradução Interconfessional*. An approach to lexical concordance that normally has a negative effect on the perspicuity of allusion could have been predicted both from this version’s being a cross-denominational endeavor and from the influence of classical “functional equivalence” (FE) theory on its *Übersetzungsweise*. On the other hand, the version coincided historically with a maturing of translation theory such that a nuanced application of FE theory characterized the project. For instance, the *skopos* of the 2009 revision suggested that immediate contextual clarity would not necessarily trump other values when translation decisions were made, as it did in early FE Bibles. We might have concluded from this that shared lexis—even where incongruous in the alluding text—would often be allowed to stand. In addition, material generated by this project does not suggest that a version was intended that would be immediately accessible to persons of very low levels of education and literacy, as does material connected with the *Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje/Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje* (BLH/NTLH). This led us to anticipate less frequent and less expansive explicitation in the *Tradução Interconfessional* than one finds in BLH/NTLH, with a correspondingly greater likelihood of the retention of shared lexis—and, therefore, greater perspicuity of allusion.

Finally, this project’s procedure was more collaborative than projects considered in previous chapters, at least when it began. It seemed logical to infer that the more fully collaborative a translation procedure, the greater the likelihood that inter-texts across biblical books would be recognized and some effort made to make them visible. For all the above reasons, therefore, a target text in which some effort was made to grant a reader access to DtI’s allusions was anticipated.

The results from the above study of the sample passages are mixed. The *Tradução Interconfessional* does indeed demonstrate a less expansive and condescending approach to explicitation than BLH/NTLH and a more nuanced handling of many source-text features. In some

instances, these are preserved where, given the translation brief for this version, one might not have expected it. Examples noted above were very source-oriented renderings at Isaiah 50:2 and 52:7, *sopro/soprar* as a translation choice in Psalm 103:15-17//Isaiah 40:6-8, and the plural “These are your gods!” in Exodus 32:4//Isaiah 42:17. The last two are particularly significant. Both do in fact facilitate a reader’s making an inter-textual connection, yet in neither case are the effects spoiled of allowing the reader to make the connection for him/herself.

In other cases, however, shared lexis is obliterated where preserving it would have been a fairly simple matter, and with no corresponding gain in target-language readability. Examples here are the divergent handlings of רצה in Lev 26:41,43//Isaiah 40:2, of אֵין מְצִיל מִיָּדַי in Deuteronomy 32:39//Isaiah 43:13, of יַת רְצוֹן in Psalm 69:14//Isaiah 49:8, of קצר יָדַי in Numbers 11:23//Isaiah 50:2, and of most of the vocabulary shared between Psalm 107:16//Isaiah 45:2. Of particular significance is the deletion from Nahum 2:1, which not only suggests that the Nahum-Isaiah inter-text may not have been recognized by the Nahum translator; it suggests that the translators of Nahum and Isaiah applied the *Tradução Interconfessional*’s translation philosophy in different ways.

The *Tradução Interconfessional* is a landmark version with many laudable features. With regard to the perspicuity of allusion in DtI, however, it represents evidence that achieving this objective requires more than exegetical sensitivity, the nuanced application of a particular *Übersetzungsweise*, or an acknowledgment of the benefits of collaboration. It requires the explicit affirmation of perspicuity in allusion as a translator priority, calibration of this priority against other target-culture values, exegesis that identifies allusions in the source-text according to an agreed-upon definition and criteria, and an agreed-upon and articulated approach to dealing with these in the target text. This proposal will be discussed in the next and final chapter.

9. Summary and Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

The focus of this thesis, “Allusion as Translation Problem: Portuguese Versions of Second Isaiah as Test Case,” could be viewed as a problem in four dimensions. The first dimension was the nature of “allusion” and its function in a literary text. The second dimension, the translation-theoretic, required us to locate the problem within the field of Translation Studies, and the third required close attention to DtI as a highly allusive source text. To carry the analogy to conclusion, framing the problem as a descriptive study of historically significant Portuguese versions allowed us to place this study within a fourth dimension—namely, time.

This final chapter will recall the definition of “allusion” with which this study has operated and briefly summarize what makes it a problem for a translator. It will review the hypotheses that were proposed for how the problem would be approached in the landmark Portuguese versions of DtI selected for analysis. After noting some ways in which the analysis was inhibited and suggesting some lines for further inquiry, it will offer some conclusions with respect to these hypotheses. Finally, it will offer some cautious suggestions for what an allusion-friendly approach to translating might entail.

9.2 Summary of the Problem

This study began (2.3.4) with an attempt to define “allusion” in relevance-theoretic terms:

A text may be said to contain an “allusion” when it uses language similar to language found in a prior text such that, by calling the prior text to mind, an implied reader arrives at a significantly altered understanding of the new text, a significantly altered attitude toward its author, and a plausible reconstruction of the alluding author’s intentions, all of which advance the purpose of the communicative event.

This required locating instances of language that closely resembles language found in another text, one presumably available to both the author and the implied hearer/reader; the language, furthermore, must be demonstrably not formulaic or common. The most important feature of an allusion, however, is the apparent purposefulness in its use of precedented language. This study considers this purposefulness demonstrated when the precedented language appears capable of altering the implied reader’s “context” (in the relevance-theoretic sense) in the ways noted above.

An initial obstacle to a translation project’s producing an allusive target text is the gap between the contexts of the implied source reader and the translators. As Gideon Toury noted (Toury 1995:88), in a descriptive translation study there is no reason to assume that *any* feature of a source text caught the translator’s attention. This study has attempted to bear Toury’s point in mind. When

translators are aware of an allusion, if they see their task as equipping the target reader to approach the target text in a way analogous to the way an implied source reader could have approached the source text, then a second obstacle will be the gap between the “contexts” of the source and target readers. A third and no less significant obstacle is the fact that allusions must compete with other source-text features for position within a hierarchy of translator priorities. These priorities are not simply dictated by the source text, as has sometimes been thought. Instead, they are negotiated within systems, and they reflect the values of both the translators and the culture in which the translation is meant to function.

9.3 Versions Studied

The Portuguese versions included in this study represent considerable variety with respect to these values, as the reader has no doubt observed. These versions were:

- 1) The *Bíblia Sagrada* of João Ferreira de Almeida (or the *Versão Almeida*). This most important Portuguese version was produced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was begun by a Calvinist working in the East Indies. Its general source-orientation continued through the daughter versions considered in this study: the *Tradução Brasileira*, the *Almeida Revista e Corrigida*, and the *Almeida Revista e Atualizada*.
- 2) The *Bíblia Sagrada* of António Pereira de Figueiredo. This was a Roman Catholic, relay translation (of the Clementine *Vulgate*) produced by a renowned Latinist in Pombalist Portugal. While little read today, Figueiredo’s version is widely acknowledged as a Portuguese literary classic.
- 3) The *Bíblia Sagrada* of Pr. Matos Soares, a Catholic translation produced in Portugal in the twentieth century. Matos Soares’ translation was a response to the versions produced by the Protestant Bible Societies. Strong efforts to conform the text and para-text to Catholic orthodoxy are visible in this version.
- 4) The *Bíblia Ilustrada*, a Roman Catholic version produced from original-language source texts in the late 20th century. This version is known both for the level of scholarship it demonstrates, the high quality of the translation, and, as a luxury item, its limited accessibility.
- 5) The *Bíblia dos Freis Capuchinhos*, another Roman Catholic version produced from the original languages—also a translation of high quality, but aimed at a broader clientele than the *Bíblia Ilustrada*.
- 6) The *Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje* and the *Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje*. The latter, though it announces itself as “new translation” (“*nova tradução*”) of the former, is

in Isaiah a fairly mild revision. These Bibles, produced in Brazil, are good examples of “functional equivalence” translating.

- 7) The *Tradução Interconfessional*, a project of the Sociedade Bíblica de Portugal (SBP). This project was a systematic attempt to involve biblicists and translators from across the denominational spectrum.

9.4 Hypotheses

These versions differ in the translators’ general literary sensitivity, the target-culture function envisioned for the translation, the state of biblical studies and of translation studies at the time they were undertaken, the procedure followed by the project, and the confessional commitments of both the translators and their target cultures. While typical claims of “accuracy” or “faithfulness” were made for several of these versions, none of them made any explicit claims (*e.g.*, in a translation brief) that recognizing and preserving allusions within the Hebrew Bible was a translator priority.

This study proposed the following hypotheses for how these variables might affect translations of the allusions found in DtI.

- 1) Lexical concordance is one target-text feature often associated with “source-oriented” translating. Therefore, source-oriented versions will tend to preserve instances of lexis shared between the alluding and the alluded-to texts. This will positively affect the perspicuity of allusions that function in this way.
- 2) Conversely, the source text’s allusions will tend not to be preserved in versions that value contextual clarity over inter-textual resonance, and for which lexical concordance is lesser priority (*viz.*, classical “functional equivalence” versions).
- 3) Explicitation within the translation is not necessarily inimical to the preservation of an allusion, since it could be possible to expand the alluding and the alluded-to text in identical or similar ways. Such explicitation, however, is usually deployed in the interest of immediate contextual clarity, not in the interest of revealing inter-textual relationships. Sometimes (as in the case of Matos Soares’s version), explicitation represents a heavy-handed attempt to control the reading. The effect of this attempt on the pragmatic effects of an allusion will normally not be positive, since an allusion achieves its effects by ceding some control of the reading to the reader.
- 4) Explicitation in the form of a cross-reference in a para-textual note is one way to ensure that a reader will recognize an inter-text; it will also effectively demolish those pragmatic effects that depend on allowing the reader to invoke the alluded-to text him/herself. Therefore, para-textual notes will help to identify those inter-texts that were recognized

and considered significant by translators, but they will generally be better suited to purposes other than the preservation of the source text's allusions in the target text.

- 5) Translators and target cultures with a demonstrated sensitivity to literary features of texts in general could be expected to produce more allusive target texts. As biblical studies and translation theory matured, translations might be expected to handle the allusions of source texts with increasing sophistication.
- 6) The more piecemeal the fashion in which a translation project carries out its work, the less likely it is that literary features that stretch across its canon will be recognized and preserved. The more truly collaborative a translation project, the greater the likelihood of an allusive target text.

9.5 Limiting Factors and Directions for Further Research

Certain target-side considerations should be borne in mind as the conclusions of this study are evaluated. For one, this study has operated with a distinction between European and Brazilian forms of Portuguese, because dialects of the language can be broadly classified in these two categories (Transportuguês 2010; *cf.* 4.2.4 above). The accessibility of DtI's allusions for target readers of Portuguese Bibles in Africa or Asia could merit an investigation of its own.

An additional limiting factor has been that I am not a native Portuguese speaker, which no doubt has impaired my sensitivity to certain target language phenomena (*e.g.*, *cacófatos*). Textual features such as allusion are not only "lost in translation." They can be added as well, and to discern inter-textual resonances that have been added into a particular Portuguese version would require a more finely tuned ear than mine. Furthermore, tools such as, *e.g.*, FrameNet Brazil would no doubt be tremendously helpful in an attempt to analyze the information implicit in a Portuguese text. At this writing these tools are still in the developmental stage.

A difficulty in analyzing the target cultures of certain versions has been the paucity of information about the processes that produced them. Some translation projects were much more scrupulously documented than others, and this study has revealed gaps in what is known about important Bible translators. This study benefited greatly from, *e.g.*, Herculano Alves' landmark 2006 work on João Ferreira de Almeida and from de Castro's and dos Santos' work on António Pereira de Figueiredo. Next to nothing is known about Matos Soares, on the other hand; and since he died in 1957, opportunities to chronicle his life and work by other means are disappearing.

Some attention was given in this study to the possible interrelationships between these versions, but a more systematic investigation of the subject would have taken it far afield. Contradictory

claims about this appear in the literature, and in general the basis for the claims seems intuitive and lacking in rigor. It was noted above that little has been done in this regard with regard to the earliest Portuguese Bibles (Nascimento 2010:32). Investigation of more recent and well-documented projects as well could illuminate the benefits and pitfalls of the use of predecessor versions, *e.g.* in a “base-models” approach. In this connection, a suggestion noted above (5.4.4) is intriguing: at times a revision may have adopted a rendering for no particular reason other than to distance itself from its predecessors. At present no scientific way to investigate the matter suggests itself.

A final target-side question worth exploring further—though potentially a controversial one—is the relationship between a translation project’s theological commitments and its *Übersetzungsweise*. Roman Catholicism’s doctrine of the teaching ministry of the church historically kept translation projects tethered to church tradition (6.1.3, 8.1.3). Wendland has demonstrated a connection between Luther’s theology and his generally target-oriented approach to translating (Wendland 1995). After the Reformation, Calvinist translators concluded from their doctrine of inspiration that Luther’s approach was much too free, and they produced versions that were much less idiomatic (De Vries 2007:274). In the twentieth century, the American Bible Society took such strong theological exception to the *Good News Translation* at its initial stage that it overruled its translation committee, leading to mass resignations (7.1.2.1). The *Tradução Interconfessional* found a particular approach to target-text lexis necessitated precisely by its *lack* of a confessional commitment (Ramos 1987:479). The assertion is often heard that a high view of Scripture demands a certain approach to translating, though it is not agreed just what that approach might be. How would a descriptive translation study test the theological commitments of several versions against their *Übersetzungsweisen* in some kind of systematic way?

Two interesting questions for further research suggest themselves on the source side. One would be to apply the relevance-theoretic definition of allusion and the method used here to inter-texts between DtI and Ancient Near Eastern (ANE) texts outside the biblical canon, such as *Enuma Elish* (Lessing 2011:40). Another would be to investigate whether allusions function differently in a “text” that is stable and recognizable, but has not yet been reduced to writing. To delimit a corpus and to adapt the tools used here for these purposes would be challenging, but the results could be worth the effort.

9.6 Conclusions

With regard to the hypotheses listed above, however, the following conclusions seem fairly secure.

- 1) Source-oriented versions (e.g., the *Versão Almeida* and its daughters) do indeed tend toward concordant renderings of lexemes with evident thematic or theological significance (e.g. צִדְקָה/צִדְקָה or מְשֻׁפָּט), though not always toward concordant renderings of other shared lexemes (e.g. צוּר or פְּרִייה) or linguistic features by which DtI's allusions function. Therefore, while the perspicuity of the source text's allusions tends to fare somewhat better in source-oriented versions, the correlation is not as strong as one might expect.
- 2) Versions that assign top priority to cognitive information content and to contextual clarity, represented in this study by the classic "functional equivalence" versions *A Bíblia na Linguagem de Hoje/Nova Tradução na Linguagem de Hoje*, tend not to preserve the source text's allusions.
- 3) Versions that resort readily to intra-textual explicitation do not make an effort to coordinate the explicitation of the alluding text with that of the alluded-to text. For that reason, they tend to render the source text's allusions opaque.
- 4) Versions that use the para-text to indicate inter-textual relationships usually do not do so in the interest of allusion as a literary feature, but for some other purpose. For instance, most para-texts are more interested in the re-use of DtI's language in the New Testament than in resonances within the Hebrew Bible.
- 5) Translators who demonstrate a high level of literary sensitivity (e.g. Figueiredo) appear to deploy it in the interest of such target-language concerns as euphony, not in the interest of such source-text concerns as allusion. The *Tradução Interconfessional* does present the hint of a possibility that continuing maturation in biblical studies and translation theory could lead to more recognizably allusive versions (cf. its handling of the Isaiah 40:6-8//Psalm 103:15-17 and Isaiah 42:18//Exodus 32:4 pairs).
- 6) Translations in which the initial work was done piecemeal, even when there are strong efforts at coordination at a later stage (e.g., the *Bíblia dos Capuchinhos*), tend naturally to produce renderings that are not consistent between alluding and alluded-to texts. The *Bíblia Ilustrada*, in which more allusions were preserved when the alluding and alluded-to texts came from the same hand, also suggests a correlation between allusiveness and a project's method of organization. The *Tradução Interconfessional* would have been a promising case with which to test the effects of a more fully collaborative approach, if the collaboration with which the project began had been carried through to the end. As it is, the *Tradução Interconfessional* represents an improvement over the *Bíblia dos Capuchinhos* in this respect, but only a slight one.

In summary, certain norms and procedures indeed seem to be less friendly toward preservations of the source text's allusions than others. On the other hand, there seems to be no particular reason to expect a target text with allusions that function in way "equivalent" to their function in the source text *unless this is made an explicit translational norm*. The next section will offer some suggestions on how this might be done.

9.6 What Would "Allusion-Friendly" Translating Look Like?

If it is true that the initial obstacle to "allusion-friendly" translating is the gap between the contexts of the implied source reader/hearer and that of the translator, biblical studies has now made it easier than ever before to narrow the gap. The trend toward reading the Hebrew Bible as a book that is profoundly aware of itself did not begin with Michael Fishbane (Fishbane 1985). Since Fishbane, however, biblical scholarship has demonstrated much greater awareness of the rewards of such a reading. Awareness of the webs of inter-texts present in texts like DtI is on the increase. The day may come when the UBS, as a help for translators, begins to publish lists of inter-texts within the Hebrew Bible similar to Robert Bratcher's *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*. In addition, translators may begin to make it a priority to equip their readers to consider such questions as whether an author has in mind only a conspiratorial "wink and nod" toward his/her implied reader/hearer, or a thoroughgoing reinterpretation of an assertion by a predecessor (*cf.* Sommer 1998:15f). At a time when the value of "canonical" (James Sanders, Brevard Childs) or "scriptural" (David Carr) readings of the Bible has come to be widely recognized, might one hope that "canonical translating" will follow?

"Canonical" or "scriptural translating" would require agreement on the criteria for identifying allusions in the source text and on a coordinated approach to these in the target text. The latter would also necessitate balancing the perspicuity of allusions against other priorities for the translation. Statements on these issues would naturally find a place in a translation brief.

"Canonical translating" seems unlikely to happen, however, if a translator's responsibilities are defined solely in terms of a particular book or books. This thesis has not been able to demonstrate that translation projects involving broad collaboration at all stages produce more allusive target texts, mainly because there has not been a translation of DtI into Portuguese that took such an approach. What has been demonstrated is that projects where the work is parceled out, even if an attempt is made later at coordination, do *not* produce allusive target texts. It seems reasonable to infer that the more biblical text (and the more colleagues) with which all translators interact, and the earlier and more frequent this interaction, the more inter-textual connections will be recognized

and acted upon. To combine a process like the *BLH/NTLH*'s (7.1.2.2) with a stated commitment to “canonical translating” would seem like an ideal approach.

This commitment would, above all, require a target culture that actually wants “allusion-friendly” Bibles. If the poetic effects of allusions are to be included, this in turn implies a target culture that will permit a translator to cede some control of the reading to the reader. On occasion, translators will have to relinquish the absolute transparency of the meaning of a passage in its immediate context, in order to retain an incongruity—or “allusion marker”—that sends a reader in search of an alluded-to text. Readers, in turn, will have to be prepared to expend the processing effort necessary to perform the search. On the one hand, most readers are willing to exert themselves considerably in order to understand sacred text. On the other hand, in a target culture where biblical literacy is unimpressive, the effort necessary to process an allusion may simply be asking too much, particularly when this effort is rewarded with a conspiratorial wink from an implied author and not with some revolutionary new insight. According to relevance theory, translators must view allusion as translation problem in terms of such a “cost-benefit” analysis. There will also be situations in which an allusion represents the kind of implicit information in a source text that is simply not translatable for a particular target reader (*cf.* Gutt 1992:32).

As demonstrated above, however, there are also cases where a translation that would permit an allusion in a source text to function in the target text would have been an extremely simple matter—as simple as keeping the chiasmic structure of a bicolon, respecting singulars and plurals in the source text, or *not* arbitrarily choosing two different but synonymous renderings for the same lexeme. As both translators and their clients increasingly come to recognize allusion as a textual feature that is not only beautiful and evocative, but part of how texts mean, we might look for “allusion-friendly” translating to make a modest beginning with cases such as these.

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