Chronotopos

A Journal of Translation History

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Larisa Schippel, Julia Richter, Stefanie Kremmel & Tomasz Rozmysłowicz

Gedanken zur Zukunft der Translationsgeschichte.

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Gedanken zur Zukunft der Translationsgeschichte

Die Übersetzungsgeschichte wächst, blüht und gedeiht. Die Tatsache, dass im Jahr 2019 vier übersetzungsgeschichtliche Buchreihen entstanden sind, ist zugleich Produkt und Faktor dieser dynamischen Entwicklung. Natürlich ist die Existenz einer Buchreihe erst der Anfang. Für sie gilt im Grunde das gleiche wie für unsere Zeitschrift *Chronotopos*: Sie sind so gut, wie die Autoren und Autorinnen sie machen. Mit klaren translationsgeschichtlichen Anliegen werden nun folgende Projekte auf den Weg gebracht:

- Christopher Rundle, Pekka Kujamäki, Michaela Wolf starten eine englischsprachige Reihe bei *Routledge* mit dem Titel „Research on Translation and Interpreting History", die sich dem interdisziplinären Dialog zwischen Geschichte und Translationswissenschaft widmet und Translation(spraxis) als soziale und historische Ereignisse betrachtet. Die Reihe wahrt einen kritischen Blick auf theoretische und methodische Entwicklungen und Innovationen und will einem breiten Spektrum an kulturellen und geografischen Kontexten Raum bieten.

- Bei *Palgrave Macmillan* ist die Reihe „Translation History" entstanden, die von Andrea Rizzi, Anthony Pym, Birgit Lang, Belén Bistué, Esmaeil Haddadian-Moghaddam und Kayoko Takeda herausgegeben wird. „Translation History" wird als erste Reihe präsentiert, die eine globale und interdisziplinäre Sicht auf Translation sowie Translatoren und Translatorinnen über Zeit, Raum und Kulturen hinweg, einnimmt. Explizit genannt wird das bisher ungenutzte Potential der Zusammenarbeit von Translationswissenschaft mit Komparatistik, Kunstgeschichte, Druck- und Buchgeschichte.

- Beim Wiener Verlag *new academic press* wird die Reihe „Translationen" von Larisa Schippel und Julia Richter herausgegeben. Die mehrsprachige Reihe (Deutsch, English, Français, Русский, …) charakterisiert Translationsgeschichte als eigenständige Teildisziplin der Translationswissenschaft, die auch Quell- und Nachbar-Disziplinen einbezieht. Neben Fallbeispielen, die Erkenntnisse über Epochen, Akteurinnen und Akteuren, Motive, Wirkung, etc. von Translation versprechen, finden auch Kommentare von Übersetzerinnen und Übersetzern zu ihren Übersetzungen Platz, die bedeutend für die Theorieentwicklung sein können.

- Unter dem Namen „Studien zur Übersetzungsgeschichte" beziehungsweise „Studies on the History of Translation" firmiert die von Andreas Gipper, Lavinia Heller und Robert Lukenda beim *Franz Steiner Verlag* gegründete zweisprachige Reihe, die Übersetzungsgeschichte als dynamisches Forschungsfeld sieht, das die Grenzen der Disziplin erweitert. Die Reihe bietet ein Forum für alle vom *translational turn* bewegten historischen Wissen-

schaften. (Auch) Übersetzungen translationshistorischer Texte, die noch nicht in deutscher oder englischer Sprache vorliegen, sind willkommen.

In ihrem gegenwärtigen disziplinären Ansatz ist die Geschichte der Übersetzung überwiegend englischsprachig, was in deutlichem Kontrast zur Geschichte der Übersetzung steht, wo zu verschiedenen Zeiten in verschiedenen Regionen verschiedene Sprachen als Ausgangs- oder Zielsprache wichtig waren. Wenn die These richtig ist, dass die gegenwärtige Zeit bereits transkulturell geprägt ist und dass sich dieser Prozess fortsetzen und intensivieren wird, wie kann es dann sein, dass die Mehrheit der wissenschaftlichen Texte nur auf Englisch vorliegt? – Diese Frage müssen auch wir als Herausgeber und Herausgeberinnen von *Chronotopos* uns immer wieder stellen. Natürlich gibt es eine Grenze, die sich aus den Sprachkenntnissen und damit aus den Möglichkeiten der Herausgeber und Herausgeberinnen ergibt, verantwortungsvoll über die Veröffentlichung eines Textes in einer Fremdsprache entscheiden zu können. Aber die Erwartung, dass Autoren und Autorinnen ihre wissenschaftlichen Anliegen in einer Sprache ausdrücken können, die nicht ihre primäre (wissenschaftliche) Arbeitssprache ist, erzeugt einen Druck, der zum bereits bestehenden Publikationsdruck hinzukommt. Wir alle, die wir andere als unsere Erstsprache nutzen, wissen, um wie vieles einfacher es ist, einen fremdsprachigen Text zu verstehen als einen solchen zu produzieren. Ist es dann nicht vielversprechender, die modernen Möglichkeiten der maschinellen Übersetzung auf der rezeptiven Seite zu nutzen? Auch dies ist derzeit nicht uneingeschränkt möglich. Die (nicht mehr ganz neue) Übersetzungssoftware *DeepL* bietet zum Beispiel leicht zugänglich Übersetzungen in acht Sprachen in überzeugender Qualität. Für die Rezeption von Fachtexten in diesen Sprachen muss also kein Autor oder keine Autorin in ein Sprachkorsett gezwungen werden. Gleichzeitig könnte eine solche Kommunikation auch ältere Texte aus vordigitaler Zeit in den Wissenskreislauf zurückführen. Vielleicht ist dies auch eine Form der Digital Humanities ... Denn bekanntlich hängt der Fortschritt auch davon ab, nicht zu vergessen, was man schon einmal wusste.

Ähnlich verhält ES sich mit dem Wissen, das Akteure des Translationsprozesses über Jahrtausende ansammelten. Oft beklagt wird die Tatsache, dass die Translationsgeschichte so schwierig zu betreiben sei, weil ihr die Dokumente fehlen, weil diese nicht in Archive gelangten, weil vieles, was rund um Translation entstand, nicht als aufhebenswert oder überhaupt nur aufschreibenswert galt. Uns erschien es daher wichtig, 1. den Versuch zu starten die Grundlagen für zukünftige Translationsgeschichte mitzugestalten, und 2. den Texten, die man als Dokumente der Translationsgeschichte bezeichnen kann, in *Chronotopos* einen Platz zu bieten.

Aufgabe aller Translationshistoriker und -historikerinnen ist es, ein Umdenken in den Institutionen zu bewirken, die die Grundlagen liefern, damit überhaupt Translationsgeschichte geschrieben werden kann. Die Kapazitäten in Archiven und Bibliotheken sind jedoch beschränkt. Allein die Titelaufnahme von Werken in Bibliothekskataloge, die Katalogisierung, muss streng geregelt sein. Im deutschsprachigen Raum ist dies beispielsweise seit den *Preussischen Instruktionen* (1899) der Fall und die erste internationale Regelung findet sich in den *Paris Principles* (1961). Übersetzer und Übersetzerinnen waren an dieser für die Arbeit der Translationsgeschichte so elementaren Stelle bis vor wenigen Monaten kein „Kerngebiet", sondern gesellen sich unter der Kategorie „Mitwir-

kender" zu einer bunten Schar von Nebenakteuren, die alle potenziell am Entstehen eines Werkes beteiligt sein könnten: „Ein Mitwirkender (contributor) ist eine Person, die in Beziehung zu einer Expression steht (z.B. Herausgeber, Übersetzer, Illustrator, Interpret, Musik-Arrangeur, Darsteller, Regisseur etc.). Mitwirkende sind im Regelfall optional (kein Kernelement)."[1]

Im November 2019 wurde dies geändert und für den internationalen RDA-Standard (Resource Description and Access)[2] eine genauere Beschreibung dieser „Mitwirkenden" geregelt. In einer Unterkategorie kann nun der Übersetzer explizit angegeben werden.[3] Während die Illustratoren aus den Reihen der „Mitwirkenden" in die Reihen der „geistigen Schöpfer" aufgestiegen sind, rangieren diejenigen, die im Falle von Übersetzungen den vorliegenden Text zu verantworten haben, weiter unter „Mitwirkenden". Es bleibt zu hoffen, dass diese Neuerung es erlaubt, in Katalogen nach Übersetzern, Übersetzerinnen und Übersetzungen zu suchen. Für alle Anregungen, Hinweise und Informationen zu Verbesserungen bei der Sicherung und Wahrung translationsgeschichtlicher Quellen sind wir als Redaktionsteam von *Chronotopos* dankbar. Ein transnationaler Überblick über die Entwicklungen in diesem Bereich, könnte für alle nutzbringend sein, um entsprechende Initiativen zu bündeln.

Das aus translationsgeschichtlicher Sicht bedeutende Werk der UNESCO, der *Index Translationum*, der seit 1932 Übersetzungen aus aller Welt erfasste, wird bereits seit nunmehr zehn Jahren nicht mehr weitergeführt. Auch wenn sicher Mängel formulierbar wären – dadurch dass die Zahlen auf den Meldungen der Verlage basierten, war keine Vollständigkeit erwartbar, das Format und die Weiterverwertbarkeit der Daten erschwerten die Arbeit –, ist der Verlust groß. Manchmal gelingt es durch die Initiative Einzelner, Datenbankprojekte ins Leben zu rufen. Erich Prunč startete vor reichlich zehn Jahren *Tradok*, eine Datenbank zur Erfassung von Übersetzungen. Es ging aus einem Projekt zu deutsch-slowenisch/kroatischen Übersetzungen 1848–1918 hervor und beinhaltet daher sehr viele Einträge zu diesem Sprachenpaar. Sie ist allerdings natürlich international ausgerichtet und vor allem aus einer translationswissenschaftlichen Perspektive konzipiert, aber leider stagniert das Eintragen von neuen Daten. Außerdem ist das Projekt zu erwähnen, das Herbert van Uffelen, Niederlandist an der Universität Wien, ins Leben rief: die *Digital Library and Bibliography of Literature in Translation* (DLBT). Für alle Informationen zu weiteren ähnlichen nationalen und internationalen Projekten sind wir im Sinne von Synergieeffekten und Vernetzungen dankbar für jeden Hinweis.

Der Translationsgeschichte sowie Translationshistorikerinnen und -historikern gelingt es im besten Fall, Entscheidungen darüber, welche Quellen und Informationen in welcher Form ihnen und ihren Kollegen und Kolleginnen zur Verfügung stehen, mitzugestalten. So kann die Zukunft der Translationsgeschichte beeinflusst werden. Aber auch im Blick auf Vergangenes liegen innovative Auf-

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[1] http://www.initiativefortbildung.de/pdf/2011/Wiesenmueller_RDA2011_RDA_Titelaufnahme.pdf
[2] Um das RDA toolkit nutzen zu können, werden für die deutschsprachige Version jährlich 90 EUR erhoben.
https://www.informationsverbund.ch/fileadmin/shared/RDA/RDA_Toolkit_KonsortialV.pdf Die Übersetzungsrechte an RDA werden ebenfalls verkauft und es gibt eine translation policy:
https://www.rdatoolkit.org/sites/default/files/2019-08/Translation%20Policy-RDA.pdf
[3] Beispielkatalogisate finden Sie hier:
https://www.borromaeusverein.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Buechereiarbeit/Anleitungen/RDA_Bibliothecaplus_Besipielkatalogisate.pdf.

gaben vor den Translationshistorikerinnen und -historikern. Es gilt, die Quellen und Materialien, die potenziell für Translationsgeschichte zur Verfügung stehen, überhaupt als solche zu erkennen und sie aus neuen Perspektiven zum Erkenntnisgewinn zu nutzen. Beides bedarf eines hohen Maßes an Kreativität. Wir möchten daher unsere Autoren, Autorinnen sowie Leserinnen und Leser einladen, zu diesen Prozessen beizutragen und uns „Dokumente der Translationsgeschichte" zuzusenden. Eine Einschränkung in Form einer genauen Definition, was wir darunter verstehen, soll bewusst nicht geschehen, um die Vielfalt Ihrer Ideen nicht zu begrenzen.

Diese Rubrik startet in der vorliegenden Ausgabe mit dem Vorwort einer Shakespeare-Übersetzung, die 1924 in Italien erschien. Sie soll den Chronotopos der Übersetzung und die Vorstellung von der Aufgabe des Übersetzens in ihm verdeutlichen. Dieses Dokument erscheint dank der Initiative und Arbeit von Angela Tiziana Tarantini & Christian Griffiths in *Chronotopos*.

Viel Freude an der Lektüre dieses und aller weiteren Beiträge,
Ihre *Chronotopos*-Redaktion

Larisa Schippel, Julia Richter, Stefanie Kremmel & Tomasz Rozmysłowicz

Thoughts on the future of translation history.

Larisa Schippel, Julia Richter, Stefanie Kremmel & Tomasz Rozmysłowicz

Thoughts on the future of the history of translation

The history of translation is growing, blossoming and flourishing. The fact that four books series on the history of translation were established in 2019 is both a product and a factor of this dynamic development. Of course, the existence of a book series is only the beginning. Basically the same applies to them as to our journal *Chronotopos*: they are as good as the authors make them. With clear translation-historical concerns, the following projects are now being launched:

- Christopher Rundle, Pekka Kujamäki, Michaela Wolf are launching an English-language series at *Routledge* entitled "Research on Translation and Interpreting History", which is dedicated to the interdisciplinary dialogue between history and translation studies and considers translation (practice) as social and historical events. The series maintains a critical perspective on theoretical and methodological developments and innovations and aims to provide space for a wide range of cultural and geographical contexts.

- At *Palgrave Macmillan*, the series "Translation History" has been created, edited by Andrea Rizzi, Anthony Pym, Birgit Lang, Belén Bistué, Esmaeil Haddadian-Moghaddam and Kayoko Takeda. "Translation History" is presented as the first series to take a global and interdisciplinary view of translation and translators across time, space and cultures. It explicitly mentions the as yet untapped potential of collaboration between translation studies and comparative literature, art history, the history of printing and books.

- The Viennese publisher *new academic press* houses the series "Translationen" by Larisa Schippel and Julia Richter. The multilingual series (Deutsch, English, Français, Русский, …) characterizes the history of translation as an independent sub-discipline of translation studies, which also includes source and neighbouring disciplines. In addition to case studies that promise insights into epochs, actors, motives, effects, etc. of translation, there is also room for commentary by translators on their translations, which can be important for the development of theory.

- The bilingual series founded by Andreas Gipper, Lavinia Heller and Robert Lukenda at *Franz Steiner Verlag* under the name "Studien zur Übersetzungsgeschichte" or "Studies on the History of Translation" sees the history of translation as a dynamic field of research that extends the boundaries of the discipline. The series offers a forum for all historical sciences moved by the translational turn. (Also) translations of translation history texts that are not yet available in German or English are welcome.

In its current disciplinary approach, the history of translation is predominantly English-speaking, which contrasts sharply with the history of translation, where at different times in different regions different languages were important as

source or target languages. If the thesis is correct that the present time is already transculturally shaped and that this process will continue and intensify, how can it be that the majority of academic texts are only available in English? – This is a question that we as editors of *Chronotopos* must also ask ourselves again and again. Of course, there is a limit, which results from the language skills and thus from the possibilities of the editors to decide responsibly about the publication of a text in a foreign language. But the expectation that authors express their thoughts in a language that is not their primary (academic) working language creates a pressure that adds to the already existing pressure to publish. All of us who use languages other than our first language know how much easier it is to understand a foreign-language text than to produce one. Isn't it then more promising to use the modern possibilities of machine translation on the receptive side? At present, this too is not possible without restrictions. The (no longer entirely new) translation software *DeepL*, for example, offers easily accessible translations in eight languages in convincing quality. This means that no author needs to be forced into a language corset for the reception of specialist texts in these languages. At the same time, such communication could also bring older texts from pre-digital times back into the knowledge cycle. Perhaps this is also a form of Digital Humanities ... Because, as is well known, progress also depends on not forgetting what we already knew.

The same is true of the knowledge that actors in the translation process have accumulated over thousands of years. Often there are complaints about the fact that the history of translation is so difficult to pursue because it lacks documents, because these documents did not end up in archives, because much of what has been created around translation was not considered worth preserving or even worth writing down. It seemed important to us, therefore, to 1. attempt to help shape the foundations for future translation history, and 2. to offer a place in *Chronotopos* for the texts that can be described as documents of translation history.

It is the task of all translation historians to encourage a change of thinking in the institutions that provide the foundations for translation history to be written at all. However, the capacities in archives and libraries are limited. Only the inclusion of titles of works in library catalogues, the cataloguing, must be strictly regulated. In German-speaking countries, for example, this has been the case since the Prussian Instructions (1899) and the first international regulation can be found in the Paris Principles (1961). Until a few months ago, translators were not a "core area" in cataloguing, which is an area so elementary for the work of translation history, but joined a colorful group of secondary actors under the category of "contributors", all of whom could potentially be involved in the creation of a work: "A contributor is a person who is related to an expression (e.g. editor, translator, illustrator, interpreter, music arranger, performer, director, etc.). Contributors are usually optional (not a core element)."[1]

In November 2019 this was changed and a more detailed description of these "contributors" was laid down for the international RDA standard (Resource Description and Access).[2] The translator can now be explicitly specified in a sub-

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[1] http://www.initiativefortbildung.de/pdf/2011/Wiesenmueller_RDA2011_RDA_Titelaufnahme.pdf

[2] To use the RDA toolkit, an annual fee of 90 EUR is charged for the German language version. https://www.informationsverbund.ch/fileadmin/shared/RDA/RDA_Toolkit_KonsortialV.pdf. The

category.[3] While illustrators have moved up from the ranks of "contributors" to the ranks of "intellectual creators", those who are responsible for the text in question in the case of translations continue to be listed under "contributors". It remains a hope that this innovation will allow searches in catalogues for translators and translations. We as the editorial team of *Chronotopos* are grateful for all suggestions, tips and information on improvements in securing and preserving translation historical sources. A transnational overview of the developments in this field could be useful for everyone in order to bundle corresponding initiatives.

UNESCO's *Index Translationum*, an important work in the history of translation, which has recorded translations from all over the world since 1932, has not been continued for ten years now. Even though it would certainly be possible to formulate shortcomings – the fact that the figures were based on reports from publishers meant that no completeness could be expected, and the format and reusability of the data made the work more difficult – the loss is great. Sometimes database projects are launched through the initiative of individuals. Erich Prunč launched *Tradok*, a database for recording translations, a good ten years ago. It emerged from a project on German-Slovenian/Croatian translations 1848–1918 and therefore contains many entries on this language pair. It is, of course, internationally oriented and designed primarily from a translation studies perspective, but unfortunately the entry of new data is stagnating. Also worth mentioning is the project that Herbert van Uffelen, a Dutch scholar at the University of Vienna, initiated: the *Digital Library and Bibliography of Literature in Translation* (DLBT). We are grateful for all information on other similar national and international projects, in regards to creating synergy effects and networking.

At best, translation history and translation historians succeed in helping to shape decisions about which sources and information are available to them and their colleagues and in what form. In this way, the future of the history of translation can be influenced. But translation historians also have innovative tasks to perform with regard to the past. It is important to recognize the sources and materials that are potentially available for translation history as such and to use them from new perspectives to gain new insights. Both require a high degree of creativity. We would therefore like to invite our authors and readers to contribute to these processes by sending us "Documents of Translation History". A restriction in the form of a precise definition of what we mean by this should deliberately not be made, so as not to limit the diversity of your ideas.

The section begins in this issue of *Chronotopos* with the preface of a Shakespeare translation that appeared in Italy in 1924. It is intended to illustrate the Chronotopos of translation and the idea of the task of translation within it. This document appears in *Chronotopos* thanks to the initiative and work of Angela Tiziana Tarantini & Christian Griffiths.

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translation rights to RDA are also sold and there is a *translation policy*:
https://www.rdatoolkit.org/sites/default/files/2019-08/Translation%20Policy-RDA.pdf
[3] Example catalogue entries can be found here:
https://www.borromaeusverein.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Buechereiarbeit/Anleitungen/RDA_Bibl
iothecaPlus_Besipielkatalogisate.pdf.

We hope you enjoy reading this text as well as all the other contributions,
your *Chronotopos* editors

This text was translated from German into English through machine translation
and post-edited by the editorial team.

Articles / Artikel / articles

Chronotopos

A Journal of Translation History

Tomasz Rozmysłowicz

Die Geschichtlichkeit der Translation(swissenschaft).
Zur paradigmatischen Relevanz der maschinellen Übersetzung.

Abstract

Although machine translation has become an everyday and ubiquitous phenomenon, it has met with widespread disinterest in translation studies. The essay attempts to show that this is no coincidence, but can be explained by the history of translation studies itself. It is claimed that in the transition from the paradigm of 'recoding' to the paradigm of 'action', which at the same time marks the emancipation of translational studies from linguistics, machine translation falls into a systematically generated blind spot: The guiding idea of a translating human subject inevitably leads to the suppression of machine translation, whose increasing social relevance in turn puts this guiding idea under empirical pressure. The article suggests that the challenge posed by machine translation for a discipline focused on human translation should be met by recognizing the constitutive historicity of translation.

Keywords: machine translation, history of translation studies, translation history, translation theory

Tomasz Rozmysłowicz

Die Geschichtlichkeit der Translation(swissenschaft). Zur paradigmatischen Relevanz der maschinellen Übersetzung

Abstract

Obwohl die maschinelle Übersetzung mittlerweile ein alltägliches und allgegenwärtiges Phänomen darstellt, stößt sie in der kultur- bzw. sozialwissenschaftlich orientierten Translationswissenschaft auf weitestgehendes Desinteresse. Der Aufsatz versucht zu zeigen, dass dies kein Zufall ist, sondern durch die Geschichte der Translationswissenschaft selbst erklärt werden kann. Es wird herausgearbeitet, dass die maschinelle Übersetzung im Übergang vom Paradigma der ‚Umkodierung' zum Paradigma der ‚Handlung', der zugleich die Emanzipation der Translationswissenschaft von der Linguistik markiert, in einen systematisch erzeugten blinden Fleck gerät: Die Leitvorstellung eines übersetzenden Subjekts führt zwangsläufig zur Ausblendung der maschinellen Übersetzung, deren zunehmende gesellschaftliche Relevanz diese Leitvorstellung wiederum empirisch unter Druck setzt. Der Aufsatz schlägt vor, der Herausforderung, die die real existierende maschinelle Übersetzung für eine auf die Humantranslation fokussierte Translationswissenschaft bedeutet, durch die Anerkennung der konstitutiven Geschichtlichkeit der Translation zu begegnen.

Keywords: Maschinelle Übersetzung, Geschichte der Translationswissenschaft, Translationsgeschichte, Translationstheorie

Although machine translation has become an everyday and ubiquitous phenomenon, it has met with widespread disinterest in translation studies. The essay attempts to show that this is no coincidence, but can be explained by the history of translation studies itself. It is claimed that in the transition from the paradigm of 'recoding' to the paradigm of 'action', which at the same time marks the emancipation of translational studies from linguistics, machine translation falls into a systematically generated blind spot: The guiding idea of a translating human subject inevitably leads to the suppression of machine translation, whose increasing social relevance in turn puts this guiding idea under empirical pressure. The article suggests that the challenge posed by machine translation for a discipline focused on human translation should be met by recognizing the constitutive historicity of translation.

Key words: machine translation, history of translation studies, translation history, translation theory

> *Jede Wissenschaft hat an ihrer eigenen Geschichte zu tragen. Sie bewahrt die Spuren dieser Geschichte auch dann, wenn der Fortschritt ihrer Ergebnisse ausschließlich durch die Erfordernisse ihres Gegenstandes bedingt zu sein scheint.* (BLUMENBERG 2009: 9)

Ein großer blinder Fleck

Die allgemeine Aussage des Philosophen Hans Blumenberg trifft auch auf die gegenwärtige Translationswissenschaft zu. Dass sie trotz oder gerade wegen ihrer Emanzipation von der Linguistik weiterhin an ihrer eigenen Geschichte zu tragen hat, zeigt sich nicht zuletzt daran, dass sie eine bestimmte Realisierungsform ihres Gegenstandes weitestgehend unbeachtet lässt: die maschinelle Übersetzung. Dabei ist sie – wie die Translation überhaupt – zu einem alltäglichen und allgegenwärtigen Phänomen der gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft geworden.

Vermutlich konnte die maschinelle Übersetzung bis vor nicht allzu langer Zeit aufgrund ihrer ‚Fehlleistungen‘ noch ziemlich leicht der Ridikülisierung preisgegeben oder wegen ihrer relativ geringen Verbreitung in funktional spezifizierten Zusammenhängen standardisierter Fachkommunikation eingehegt gewährt und der Computerlinguistik bzw. Informatik überlassen werden. Doch dank mehr oder weniger rezenter konzeptionell-technischer Entwicklungen (wie des statistischen oder neuerdings neuronalen Ansatzes), u. a. auch von *Big Tech* Unternehmen (wie *Google* oder *Microsoft*) vorangetrieben, ist die Übersetzungsmaschine in den letzten Jahren so weit in die alltägliche Lebenswelt vorgedrungen, dass sie nicht mehr nur multinationalen und -lingualen Organisationen in Politik (z. B. EU) und Wirtschaft (z. B. *Caterpillar*, *Ebay*)[1], sondern potentiell jedermann jederzeit zur Verfügung steht und kaum noch zu übersehen ist. Wer ein Smartphone bzw. einen Computer besitzt, dem sind die Leistungen von Übersetzungsmaschinen mit einem einfachen Knopfdruck stets zur Hand. Entweder bieten sie sich als eigene ‚App‘ an oder sie sind in Suchmaschinen (z. B. *Google*), ‚sozialen Medien‘ (z. B. *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *Youtube*) und Online-Kommunikationstechnologien (z. B. Skype) integriert. Dass diese Maschinen in großem Stile erfolgreich genutzt werden, suggerieren Zahlen, die Franz Och, *Distinguished Research Scientist* bei *Google Translate*, in einem Beitrag für den offiziellen *Google*-Blog schon im Jahre 2012 veröffentlicht hat: Laut Och übersetzt *Google Translate* ungefähr die Menge an Wörtern, die sich in einer Millionen Büchern finden – wohlgemerkt täglich.[2] Was das bedeutet, macht Och mit

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[1] Darüber hinaus werden Übersetzungsmaschinen von Organisationen im öffentlichen Sektor verwendet: Die *Pan American Health Organization* (PAHO) etwa verwendet SPANAM und ENGSPAN, um Texte aus dem Englischen ins Spanische und umgekehrt zu übersetzen (vgl. BRISSET / GODBOUT 2017: 257).

[2] In einer Fernsehwerbung von *Google*, die bei der Übertragung des US-amerikanischen Sport-Großevents *Superbowl* 2019 ausgestrahlt wurde und die Errungenschaften von *Google Translate* preist, ist von mittlerweile 100 Milliarden Wörtern täglich die Rede (siehe: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXfJc8up6cM (26.07.2019).

dem folgenden Vergleich fassbar: „[...] what all the professional human translators in the world produce in a year, our system translates in roughly a single day. By this estimate, most of the translation on the planet is now done by Google Translate" (OCH 2012). Wie immer man die Verlässlichkeit und Aussagekraft solcher Auskünfte auch einschätzen mag – sie dürften genügen, um davon zu überzeugen, dass sich gegenwärtig massive Veränderungen in der translationswissenschaftlichen Empirie vollziehen, die zu ignorieren und in andere Forschungsfelder zu externalisieren das Fach sich schlicht nicht leisten kann[3], will es mit ihr Schritt halten und als auskunftsfähige Stimme im interdisziplinären Chor gesellschaftlicher Wirklichkeitsdeutungen gelten.

Weitestgehend ausgeblendet wird das Phänomen der maschinellen Übersetzung zumindest von demjenigen Zweig der Translationswissenschaft, der sich im Zuge einer Reihe von turns auf ein kultur- bzw. sozialwissenschaftliches Selbstverständnis verpflichtet hat. Natürlich gibt es daneben eine ganze Reihe von Forschungsbemühungen, die der Untersuchung von Veränderungen gewidmet sind, welche die Automatisierung des Translationsprozesses für die (professionelle) Translationspraxis nach sich zieht, wie etwa die beiden im Fachverlag des BDÜ erschienen Sammelbände „Man vs. Machine?" (BAUR et al. 2014) dokumentieren. Dabei handelt es sich vornehmlich um anwendungs- bzw. praxisbezogene Forschung, die das Verhältnis von Mensch und Maschine bei der Produktion von Translaten beleuchtet oder der Frage nach den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen maschineller Übersetzung im Sinne der Substitution des Humantranslators nachgeht.[4] Und selbstverständlich gibt es auch in der kultur- bzw. sozialwissenschaftlich orientierten Translationswissenschaft vereinzelte Auseinandersetzungen mit der Translation im Zeitalter ihrer technischen Reproduzierbarkeit, die in der maschinellen Übersetzung eine fundamentale Umwälzung der translatorischen Realität erkennen: Allen voran hat Michael Cronin (2013) in seinem Buch *Translation in the Digital Age* versucht, die Technisierung der Translation in einer umfassenden, soziale, kulturelle und politische Aspekte berücksichtigenden Perspektive zu beschreiben. Des Weiteren haben Mark O'Thomas (2017) und Maeve Olohan (2017) über rein technische und anwendungsbezogene Fragen hinausgehende Zugänge vorgeschlagen: Während O'Thomas die vielfältigen und ambivalenten Folgen der Automatisierung der Translation für

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[3] Folgt man PRUNČS (2011: 248) und HERMANS' (1999: 152) Einschätzung, dass die Forschung zur maschinellen Übersetzung eines der größten – wenn nicht *das* größte – Forschungsprojekt zur Translation ist, dann wird das Ausmaß der Folgen dieser Externalisierung in Umrissen deutlich.

[4] Eine zentrale Automatisierungsfolge für die professionelle Translationspraxis besteht in einer Veränderung des Verhältnisses zwischen Translator und Translat. Durch den Einsatz von Übersetzungsmaschinen wird der Translator zu einem ‚Post-Editor', der die sprachlich ggfs. fehlerhaften Maschinentranslate überprüft und korrigiert. Das Post-Editing ist selbst ein empirischer Untersuchungsgegenstand geworden, u. a. mit dem Ziel, die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse in die Translationslehre einfließen zu lassen (siehe z. B. NITZKE et al. 2014).

die professionelle translatorische Praxis, aber auch für die Gesellschaft insgesamt in einer post-humanistischen Perspektive spekulativ vorwegzunehmen sucht[5], führt Olohan eine sozialkonstruktivistische und kritische Techniktheorie ein, um der vorherrschenden technikdeterministischen Sichtweise auf Translationstechnologien eine Perspektive entgegenzusetzen, welche Technik als ein soziales, von Machtverhältnissen abhängiges Produkt begreift. Doch so vielversprechend die vorgeschlagenen Zugänge auch sein mögen – es bleibt bei diesen wenigen und auch sie versäumen es letztlich, die maschinelle Übersetzung zu einem zentralen Gegenstand systematischer Reflexion zu erheben.

Das ist umso verwunderlicher, als der kultur- und sozialwissenschaftlich orientierte Zweig der Translationswissenschaft sein Selbstverständnis und seine interdisziplinäre Relevanz durch den Nachweis der sozio-kulturellen Bedeutsamkeit zu legitimieren sucht, die der Translation grundsätzlich, historisch, vor allem aber in der gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft zukommt. Ganz gleich um welchen Zusammenhang sozialen Lebens es sich handelt – sei es die Sphäre der Politik, des Rechts, der Wirtschaft oder die Sphäre der Wissenschaft – und ganz unabhängig davon, ob von der Makro- oder der Mikroebene dieses Lebens gesprochen wird: Es scheint keinen Zusammenhang zu geben, in dem die Translation derzeit keine Rolle als Medium grenzüberschreitender Kommunikation spielen würde. Nicht umsonst war schon vor Jahrzehnten von einem „Jahrhundert der Übersetzung" (STÖRIG 1973: XIII) und kürzlich erst von einem „Zeitalter der Translation" [translation age] (CRONIN 2013: 3) bzw. einer „Translationsgesellschaft" [translation society] (CRONIN 2013: 103) die Rede: Sie bringt die Erfahrung der Translationsabhängigkeit der gegenwärtigen weltgesellschaftlichen Ordnung, welche auf die dauerhafte Fortsetzbarkeit von Kommunikation über sprachliche und kulturelle Sinngrenzen hinweg angewiesen ist, auf einen prägnanten Begriff. Und in welcher Form der Translation manifestiert sich diese Angewiesenheit am deutlichsten, wenn nicht in der maschinellen Übersetzung, d. h. in dem Versuch der Erfüllung des weltweiten Translationsbedürfnisses durch die Gewährleistung der instantanen und konstanten Verfügbarkeit der Translation? Mit dem Aufkommen der Übersetzungsmaschine rückt dieses wiederkeh-

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[5] O'Thomas sieht in der maschinellen Übersetzung u. a. ein emanzipatorisches und demokratisierendes Potenzial, insofern „populations would be freed from any state-controlled filtering of translations leaving citizens at liberty to invoke their own translations as and when required" (O'THOMAS 2017: 285). Demgegenüber könnten man mit Brisset einwenden, dass die Automatisierung der Translation dazu tendiert, (ökonomisch bedingte) Ungleichheiten zwischen Sprachen bzw. Sprachgemeinschaften zu reproduzieren und einige wenige zu privilegieren: „For now, automation favors textual productions and those that come from a small number of cultures. English, as both source and target language, appears as a hypercentral language. Many languages rely on machine translation systems that require the use of English as a bridge language. In this case, English operates as a filter for what passes or does not pass into these cultures. Conversely, English again frames and conditions the projection of these cultures to the rest of the world" (BRISSET/GODBOUT 2017: 260).

rende Bedürfnis tendenziell in den Zustand der „Hintergrundserfüllung" (GEH-LEN 1986: 50-54; vgl. dazu auch ROZMYSŁOWICZ 2014), d. h. in einen Zustand, in dem seine Erfüllung chronisch abgesättigt wird. Angesichts dieses epochalen Baus eines „new tower of Anti-Babel" (WEAVER 1955a: vii), der, um im Bild zu bleiben, darauf abzielt, die ursprüngliche Verwirrung der Sprachen durch ein technisch hergestelltes Pfingstwunder in einer grenzenlosen Kommunikationsgemeinschaft aufzuheben[6], wäre ein reges translationswissenschaftliches Interesse an der maschinellen Übersetzung zu erwarten.[7] Doch das Gegenteil ist der Fall. Denn die Translationswissenschaft hat an ihrer eigenen Geschichte zu tragen, deren Spuren sie auch dann bewahrt, wenn der Fortschritt ihrer Ergebnisse ausschließlich durch die Erfordernisse ihres Gegenstandes bedingt zu sein scheint.

Die Geburt der Translationswissenschaft aus dem Geiste der Maschinellen Übersetzung

Die Bezugnahme auf die Geschichte der Disziplin setzt bereits voraus, dass der translationswissenschaftliche Widerstand gegen die Übersetzungsmaschine nicht oder nicht allein aus psychologischen Motiven heraus erklärt werden kann. Er ist nicht oder nicht allein auf eine prometheische Scham im Sinne Anders', auf ein Unbehagen an der Technik im Sinne Gehlens oder eine Freud'sche Kränkung des notorisch unsichtbaren und nun auch noch mit seiner technischen Substituierbarkeit konfrontierten Humantranslators zurückzuführen.[8] Denn es lassen sich außerdem spezifisch disziplinhistorische Gründe für diesen Widerstand identifizieren: Die maschinelle Übersetzung liegt in einem systema-

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[6] Eine soteriologische Bedeutung legt z. B. LEHMANN-WILZIG (2000) der maschinellen Übersetzung bei, wenn er davon ausgeht, dass sie zur Erreichung des Weltfriedens beitragen wird, weil sie die prinzipiell polemogene babylonische Trennung der Menschheit in unterschiedliche Sprachgemeinschaften zu überwinden vermag.

[7] Zumal dem mit ihr verbundenen Thema des umfassenden technisch-gesellschaftlichen Wandels (‚Digitalisierung', ‚Künstliche Intelligenz', ‚Algorithmen') zurzeit eine hohe öffentliche und wissenschaftliche Aufmerksamkeit zuteilwird. Siehe ähnlich auch schon Lyotard, der in seinem Buch *Das postmoderne Wissen* (LYOTARD / PFERSMANN 1993) die „Probleme der Sprachübersetzung und die Suche nach Vereinbarkeiten zwischen Sprachen" (ibid.: 20) in einen direkten Zusammenhang mit denjenigen „Pilotwissenschaften und -techniken" (ibid.: 20) stellte, die „die Sprache zum Gegenstand haben" (ibid.: 20): Phonologie/Linguistik, Kybernetik, Informatik, Telematik. Für Lyotard sind sie unmittelbar mit der technologisch bedingten Transformation des Wissens verbunden, die charakteristisch für die Postmoderne ist.

[8] Diesen Nerv hat der deutsche SPD-Generalsekretär Lars Klingbeil wohl getroffen, als er in der Talkshow *Anne Will* prophezeite, der Beruf des Dolmetschers und Übersetzers werde bald aufgrund technologischer Entwicklungen verschwinden (Sendung vom 25.11.2018, *Arbeitswelt im Wandel – wie muss der Sozialstaat reformiert werden?*). Der deutsche Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer (BDÜ) reagierte prompt mit einer Pressemitteilung, in der – erwartungsgemäß – die Unersetzbarkeit des Humantranslators behauptet wurde (https://bdue.de/fuer-presse-medien/presseinformationen/pm-detail/berufe-mit-zukunft-uebersetzen-und-dolmetschen-in-zeiten-des-digitalen-wandels/ (24.07.2019)).

tisch erzeugten blinden Fleck der Translationwissenschaft. Dass er sich durch einen Blick in die Fachgeschichte erkennen lässt, liegt, wie im Folgenden zu zeigen sein wird, daran, dass diese Geschichte bereits aufs Engste mit der maschinellen Übersetzung zusammenhängt und sich geradezu als Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Translationswissenschaft zur maschinellen Übersetzung selbst lesen lässt.[9]

Es gilt nämlich zu vergegenwärtigen, dass die Entstehung der Translationswissenschaft im Sinne einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin maßgeblich durch Probleme angestoßen wurde, die sich bei dem Versuch stellten, kurz nach dem 2. Weltkrieg die ersten Übersetzungsmaschinen zu bauen. Nicht nur Autoren wie Werner KOLLER (1979: 79) oder André LEFEVERE und Susan BASSNETT (1998: 1) stellen einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Maschinellen Übersetzung und den disziplinären Anfängen der Translationswissenschaft her. Schon Vertreter der für die Verwissenschaftlichung des Faches wichtigen Leipziger Schule etwa waren sich dieses Zusammenhangs durchaus bewusst. So ist bereits auf der ersten Seite von Otto KADEs ‚Klassiker' *Zufall und Gesetzmäßigkeit in der Übersetzung* (1968) nachzulesen, dass es die Erfordernisse der Maschinellen Übersetzung waren, die den Bedarf nach einer an Exaktheits- und Objektivitätsidealen orientierten Erforschung der Translation geweckt hätten, durch welche die Translationswissenschaft überhaupt erst zu einer Wissenschaft im eigentlichen und strengen Sinne werden könne.[10]

Doch erschöpft sich dieser Zusammenhang nicht in einer bloß genetischen Beziehung. Wie an eben jener Schrift Kades deutlich erkennbar wird, besteht außerdem ein *kognitiver* Konnex, sowohl auf der Ebene der Problemstellung als auch auf der Ebene der theoretischen und methodischen Fundamente: Die disziplinkonstitutive Frage nach den sprachlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten, die in der Translation wirksam sind, ist eine Frage, deren Beantwortung laut Kade insofern notwendige Voraussetzung für die Konstruktion einer funktionierenden Übersetzungsmaschine ist, als sie die Formalisierung des Translationsprozesses ermöglicht und dadurch unmittelbar zur Realisierung des Projekts der maschinellen Übersetzung beiträgt. Die zur Ermittlung der sprachlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten vorgenommene Modellierung der Translation mithilfe des berühmt-berüchtigten Sender/Empfänger-Modells der Kommunikation führt wiederum

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[9] Es geht im Folgenden also nicht um die Geschichte der maschinellen Übersetzung im Sinne einer Rekonstruktion der Entwicklung der Funktionsprinzipien von Übersetzungsmaschinen. Vielmehr gilt das Interesse der translationswissenschaftlichen Bedeutung der maschinellen Übersetzung.

[10] Vgl. auch die Aussage eines weiteren Vertreters der Leipziger Schule, Albrecht Neubert (1973): „Es ist typisch für den Entwicklungsstand der Wissenschaft vom Übersetzen, daß sie eigentlich erst als selbständige Disziplin im Gefolge oder zumindest im gleichen Zeitraum mit der Problematik des maschinellen Übersetzens ernsthaft betrieben wurde. Vorher hatte nicht eigentlich die zwingende Notwendigkeit zu ihrer Entwicklung bestanden" (NEUBERT 1973: 21).

dazu, dass Kade die Translation von Anfang an technizistisch als „Umkodierung"
einer Mitteilung von einem sprachlichen Kode in einen anderen versteht. Das
Sender/Empfänger-Modell der Kommunikation wurde ursprünglich von Claude
Shannon für ausschließlich nachrichtentechnische Zwecke entworfen und dann
von Warren Weaver auch auf interpersonale Kommunikation übertragen
(SHANNON & WEAVER 1949). Es war dann auch derselbe Weaver, der 1949 das
‚Gründungsdokument' des Projekts Maschinelle Übersetzung verfasste (WEAVER
1955b), worin er die Translation bezeichnenderweise als kryptographisches
Problem der richtigen Zuordnung von Kode-Einheiten beschrieb. Daher läuft die
Übernahme des Sender/Empfänger-Modells der Kommunikation durch Kade
zwangsläufig darauf hinaus, die Translation nach maschinellem Vorbild zu den-
ken, und zwar auch die Humantranslation, der sein eigentliches Interesse gilt.
Oder anders gesagt: Die maschinelle Übersetzung stellt für ihn nicht nur eine
Form, sondern geradezu den *Inbegriff* der Translation dar. Aber auch in metho-
discher Hinsicht lässt sich sein Vorgehen als ‚Maschinisierung' der Translation
bezeichnen. Sein Erkenntnisziel, die sprachlichen Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Trans-
lation zu bestimmen, sucht er schließlich dadurch zu erreichen, dass er alle *sub-
jektiven* Faktoren, die in der Translation wirksam sind, durch eine Reihe von
Idealisierungen schrittweise eliminiert: Übrig bleibt das Konstrukt eines Ideal-
translators, dessen kommunikative Leistungen der Rezeption, Umwandlung und
Produktion als optimal vorausgesetzt werden, sodass die Translation nur noch
als ‚reine', von subjektiven ‚Störfaktoren' bereinigte Aktualisierung objektiver
Äquivalenzbeziehungen behandelt werden kann – d. h. als ein genuin subjektlo-
ser Vorgang.[11] Daher ist die Übersetzungsmaschine für Kade und die gesamte
systemlinguistische Orientierung der frühen Translationswissenschaft, für die
Kade hier steht, von *paradigmatischer* Bedeutung.

Die anti-mechanistische Reaktion

Vor diesem Hintergrund ist es möglich, auch die post-linguistische Translati-
onswissenschaft nach dem *cultural turn* in eine Beziehung zur maschinellen
Übersetzung zu setzen: War sie für die (system-)linguistisch orientierte Trans-
lationswissenschaft der Inbegriff der Translation, wurde die maschinelle Über-

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[11] Gegenstand translationswissenschaftlicher Forschung ist daher auch gar nicht die Trans-
lation (als Erscheinung der *parole*) selbst. Bei Lichte besehen stellt sie einen lediglich *tran-
sitorischen* Gegenstand dar, der im Zuge der bereits erwähnten Idealisierungen Schritt für
Schritt in Richtung der objektiven Äquivalenzbeziehungen (auf der Ebene der *langue*) ver-
lassen wird, deren Ermittlung wiederum die linguistischen Voraussetzungen für die Reali-
sierung der maschinellen Übersetzung schafft. Streng genommen ist die maschinelle Über-
setzung bei Kade daher nicht nur der Inbegriff der Translation, sie ist auch die *einzige* Form
der Translation: Nur sie wird auf der sicheren Grundlage objektiver Äquivalenzbeziehun-
gen vollzogen. Deshalb ist es nur sie, die eine genaue Entsprechung zwischen ausgangs- und
zielsprachlichen Segmenten gewährleistet, durch welche die Translation im Unterschied
zur (sinngemäßen) ‚freien Paraphrase' erst zur Translation im eigentlichen Sinne wird.

setzung nach der kulturellen (und dann schließlich sozialen Wende) zum Inbegriff dessen, was die Translation *nicht* ist: ein mechanischer Akt der kontextlosen Umkodierung seitens eines „Sender/Empfänger-Aggregats" (WILSS 1977: 63) namens ‚Translator'. In diesen Zusammenhang lässt sich etwa die für die kulturelle Wende bedeutende funktionalistische Translationstheorie Hans J. Vermeers stellen: Als direkter Gegenentwurf zu dem mechanistischen Translationsverständnis der (frühen) Translationslinguistik läuft sie auf eine antimechanistische Rekonzeptualisierung der Translation hinaus, für die die maschinelle Übersetzung den ‚Unbegriff' der Translation darstellt.[12]

Für diese Behauptung spricht, dass Vermeer seine eigene Theorie aus einer Kritik an der Transkodierungs- bzw. Umkodierungstheorie der Translation entwickelt. Laut Vermeer handelt es sich um eben jene sprachwissenschaftliche Translationstheorie, die auf dem oben schon genannten Sender/Empfänger-Modell der Kommunikation beruht und den Translationsprozess als eine Transkodierungs- bzw. Umkodierungsoperation beschreibt, d. h. als die möglichst wortgetreue Übertragung eines Textes aus einer Ausgangssprache in eine Zielsprache (vgl. VERMEER 1989c: 19). An dieser Theorie kritisiert Vermeer, dass ihre Ausgangstextorientierung dazu führe, ein bestimmtes Translationsverfahren zu verabsolutieren: Sie erhebe den Ausgangstext zur „obersten Richtschnur" (VERMEER 1989a: 68) der Translation und könne deshalb die Funktion, die dem Zieltext im zielkulturellen Kontext zugedacht ist, nicht berücksichtigen. Diese Funktion aber, der *Skopos*, müsse über das Translationsverfahren entscheiden – und nicht der Ausgangstext –, da der zielkulturelle Kontext, in dem der Zieltext Verwendung finden soll, *per defintionem* ein anderer ist als der ausgangskulturelle, für den der Ausgangstext ursprünglich produziert worden ist. Die Transkodierung müsse daher, als generalisiertes Verfahren, zu praktisch unbrauchbaren bzw. dysfunktionalen Translaten führen, die das Gelingen interkultureller Kommunikationsprozesse grundsätzlich infrage stellen (vgl. VERMEER 1989b: 81). Der Zusammenhang der Transkodierungskritik mit der maschinellen Übersetzung besteht nun darin, dass Vermeer in dieser eine direkte Konsequenz des Transkodierungsdenkens erkennt: Dieses führe „schnurstracks zur automatischen (maschinellen) Translation" (REIß & VERMEER 1991: 45). Vermeer erkennt also, dass die maschinelle Übersetzung den transkodierungstheoretischen Inbegriff der Translation darstellt. Für ihn ist sie die technische Umsetzung der Transkodierungstheorie. Indem er die Theorie der Transkodierung als grundsätzlich verfehlt kritisiert, kritisiert er automatisch auch die maschinelle Über-

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[12] Siehe auch Prunč, der die damalige Fortentwicklung der Translationswissenschaft in einen direkten Zusammenhang mit der maschinellen Übersetzung bzw. ihrem Scheitern setzt: „Die ‚glänzenden Misserfolge' der Maschinellen Übersetzung […] sind eine der Ursachen für die Entwicklung der Translationswissenschaft. Die ‚Fehlleistungen' der ‚denkenden' Maschinen' hatten die Komplexität der Translationsprozesse vor Augen geführt" (PRUNČ 2011: 31). Dieser Komplexität gerecht zu werden, war u. a. Vermeers Anspruch.

setzung, da sie auf der Grundlage von problematischen Prämissen operiert und (deshalb) prinzipiell unbrauchbare Translate produziert.

Über diese Ablehnung der Transkodierung hinaus gibt es allerdings noch einen weiteren, systematischeren Grund dafür, weshalb die maschinelle Übersetzung in der funktionalistischen Perspektive Vermeers als ,Unbegriff' der Translation erscheint. Die Erhellung dieses Grundes liefert gleichzeitig den Ansatz für eine Erklärung des allgemeinen translationswissenschaftlichen Widerstands gegen die Übersetzungsmaschine. Ausgehend von der Kritik der Transkodierungstheorie führt Vermeer seine anti-mechanistische Rekonzeptualisierung der Translation auf dem Wege einer grundbegrifflichen Weichenstellung durch, die ihn von Vertretern der Translationslinguistik unterscheiden soll: Grundbegriff der funktionalen Skopostheorie ist der Begriff der *Handlung* bzw. des *Handelns*. Inspiriert von einer handlungstheoretischen Tradition, die wohl bis zu Max Weber zurückreicht, bestimmt Vermeer die Translation als eine Form des (sprachlichen) Handelns (vgl. VERMEER 1978). Ähnlich wie Weber nämlich versteht er unter ,Handeln' *intentionales*, d. h. ziel- bzw. zweckgerichtetes (Sich-)Verhalten. Mit diesem Handlungsbegriff gelingt es Vermeer, seine grundlegende Einsicht in die Ausgerichtetheit des Zieltextes auf den zielkulturellen Kontext an systematisch zentraler Stelle zu verankern. Eine wesentliche (und beabsichtigte) Implikation dieser Begriffsentscheidung besteht darin, die Handlung der Translation an ein Handlungssubjekt zu binden, das sie intentional steuert (und für sie verantwortlich ist): den Translator. Dieser kann in der Vermeerschen Theoriearchitektur nur ein Mensch sein. Denn unausgesprochen gilt, dass nur bewusstseinsfähige Entitäten über Intentionalität verfügen – und als solche kommen für Vermeer nur Menschen in Frage. Auf der von Vermeer gewählten handlungstheoretischen Basis ist die Translation also stets als eine persönliche, d. h. von Menschen vollbrachte Leistung zu verstehen (vgl. VERMEER 1994: 34).[13] Mit Kade gemeinsam hat Vermeer, dass auch er der Translation ein individuierbares *Agens* als operative Einheit der Translation zuordnet. Im Unterschied zu Kade aber wird dieses Agens nicht mechanistisch als Sender/Empfänger-Aggregat bestimmt, d. h. nicht als passives *Objekt*, sondern als aktives S*ubjekt*, das die Translationshandlung eigenverantwortlich und situationsgerecht steuert. Dieser Unterschied bedeutet wiederum, dass Kades objektive zwischensprachliche Äquivalenzbeziehungen als wesentlicher Wirkfaktor der Translation von den intentionalen Leistungen eines personalen Translators ersetzt und als konstitutiv für alle Translationsprozesse vorausgesetzt werden. Für eine Theorie solchen handlungstheoretischen Zuschnitts muss die maschinelle Übersetzung aber zu einem grundlegenden Problem werden: Sie ist nicht einfach nur ein translatorisches ,Unding', weil sie eine Transkodierungsmaschine ist und ohne Rücksicht

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[13] Vgl. auch PRUNČ (2004), der Intentionalität als wesentliches Merkmal von Handlungen bestimmt und die Translation dadurch dem Menschen vorbehält.

auf die zielkulturellen Bedingungen stur und starr transkodiert. Strenggenommen kann sie gar nicht *als* eine *Form der Translation* beschrieben werden, da ihr die konstitutive Voraussetzung eines translatorischen Handlungssubjekts, das als unhintergehbarer Urheber und Ursprung der Translation fungiert, fehlt: Wo kein Translator, da keine Translation und kein Translat – also auch kein Gegenstand translationswissenschaftlicher Forschung.

Nun dürfte etwas klarer geworden sein, inwiefern auch noch die postlinguistische Translationswissenschaft an ihrer eigenen Geschichte zu tragen hat: Sie wird durch die zunehmende Verbreitung der Übersetzungsmaschine gewissermaßen von ihr eingeholt. Man könnte in diesem Zusammenhang auch von der *empirischen Wiederkehr des theoretisch Verdrängten* sprechen. Denn die vollends von der Linguistik und der Idee der maschinellen Übersetzung emanzipierte Translationswissenschaft sieht sich jetzt mit der real existierenden Übersetzungsmaschine konfrontiert.[14] Diejenige Form der Translation, welche den Inbegriff dessen darstellt, was die Translation gerade *nicht* ist, findet – wie schon erwähnt – zunehmende Verbreitung und Verwendung nicht nur in funktional spezifizierten Handlungszusammenhängen, sondern in der alltäglichen Lebenswelt. Diese Wiederkehr ist paradox und ironisch zugleich: Der handlungstheoretische Translationsbegriff wurde *gegen* das in der maschinellen Übersetzung verkörperte ,a-soziale' Translationsverständnis eingeführt. Genau dieser Begriff verstellt nun jedoch den Blick auf die gesellschaftlich immer relevantere und die gesellschaftliche Relevanz der Translation als solche hervorkehrende Translationsform der maschinellen Übersetzung. Deshalb stellt die Unterscheidung zwischen menschlicher und maschineller Übersetzung bzw. zwischen Mensch und Maschine eine Unterscheidung von besonderer Bedeutung für die gegenwärtige Translationswissenschaft dar: Es handelt sich um eine *disziplin- und gegenstandskonstitutive* Unterscheidung. Sie legt fest, dass nur solche Phänomene als Translationsphänomene in Frage kommen, denen ein

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[14] Das gilt nicht nur für diejenige Translationswissenschaft, die an die von Vermeer begründete funktionalistische Tradition anschließt. Für die Translationswissenschaft im Allgemeinen lässt sich schon seit längerer Zeit eine ausgesprochen starke Akteursorientierung konstatieren, die ihren deutlichsten Ausdruck wohl in Chestermans Vorschlag einer ,Translatorwissenschaft' (*Translator Studies*) (vgl. CHESTERMAN 2009). Der Schluss vom Funktionalismus Vermeers auf die Translationswissenschaft legitimiert sich dadurch, dass sich die für die translationswissenschaftliche Akteursorientierung charakteristische Verankerung der Translation in einem translatorischen Handlungssubjekt bei Vermeer am deutlichsten ausgearbeitet findet. Die Skopostheorie artikuliert den impliziten translationswissenschaftlichen Grundkonsens, dass jeder Translation ein übersetzendes Subjekt zugrunde liegt, bloß auf besonders systematische und explizite Weise. Dass dieser Grundkonsens zu einem Ausschluss der maschinellen Übersetzung aus dem translationswissenschaftlichen Gegenstandsbereich führt, zeigt sich auch in Arrojos und Chestermans gemeinsam verfassten und programmatischen Text *Shared Ground in Translation Studies*. Dort heißt es: „Translating is a human activity (excluding machines here)" (CHESTERMAN & ARROJO 2000: 154). Die Exklusion der Maschine ist nicht arbiträr, sondern das Resultat eines in besagtem Grundkonsens angelegten Denkzwangs.

translatorisches Handlungssubjekt zugeordnet werden kann. Und diese Phäno-
mene fallen in den Kompetenzbereich einer Translationswissenschaft, die sich
des mechanistischen Translationsdenkens der (frühen) Translationslinguistik
entledigt hat und deshalb von ihr emanzipiert wähnt. Dadurch aber rückt die
maschinelle Übersetzung als Form der Translation in einen systematisch er-
zeugten blinden Fleck, in dem sie für translationswissenschaftliche Bezugnah-
men nicht mehr (ohne Weiteres) zugänglich ist.[15]

Will die Translationswissenschaft aber einen Beitrag zur Analyse der gegenwär-
tigen Gesellschaft leisten und dadurch als legitime Stimme im interdisziplinären
Dialog anerkannt werden, muss sie auch und vor allem über die Translation im
Zeitalter ihrer technischen Reproduzierbarkeit Aussagen treffen können, die
nicht allein auf die praktische Optimierung von Translationsprozessen abzielen
(vgl. CRONIN 2003). Nach dem bisher Gesagten ist mit diesem Anspruch die Auf-
gabe verbunden, Erscheinungsformen der Translation, die im Zuge und nach
dem *cultural turn* des translationswissenschaftlichen Feldes verwiesen wurden,
in dieses wieder einzugemeinden und so die eigene Geschichte positiv wieder in
sich aufzunehmen. Dies kann im Falle der maschinellen Übersetzung durch die
Anerkennung der konstitutiven Geschichtlichkeit der Translation selbst gelin-
gen. Inwiefern eine solche Anerkennung notwendig ist, zeigt sich besonders
deutlich an dem folgenden Beispiel. Es veranschaulicht die hier dargelegte Prob-
lematik der Übersetzungsmaschine, indem es die Grenzen der akteur- bzw.
translatorzentrierten Begrifflichkeit vor Augen führt.

Die Anonymität der Maschine

Im Rahmen des von ihr mitbegründeten und geleiteten Projekts *Gendered Inno-
vations in Science, Health & Medicine, Engineering, and Environment* hat die
feministische Wissenschaftshistorikerin Londa Schiebinger in der Fallstudie
Machine Translation: Analyzing Gender auf einen „male" bzw. „masculine
default" (SCHIEBINGER o.J.) bei der Übersetzungsmaschine *Google Translate* hin-
gewiesen.[16] Auf diesen *default* ist sie nach eigenen Angaben gestoßen, nachdem
sie mehrere mit ihr in Spanien durchgeführte und auf Spanisch publizierte In-
terviews von *Google Translate* hat ins Englische übersetzen lassen. Dabei stellte
sich laut Schiebinger heraus, dass in den von *Google Translate* generierten
Translaten auf sie immer wieder mit *he* Bezug genommen wurde: Das heißt,
dass im maschinellen Translat z. B. *he said* anstatt *she said* zu lesen war. Diese
Erfahrung führte sie dazu, nach weiteren solchen Erscheinungen zu suchen und
sie wurde fündig: Sie stellte einen „massive overuse" (SCHIEBINGER o.J.) männli-
cher Pronomina fest, der sich zum einen dadurch zeigt, dass bei der maschinel-

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[15] Sie ist und bleibt dann Gegenstand und Projekt der Computerlinguistik bzw. Informatik.
[16] Die Studie wurde auf https://genderedinnovations.stanford.edu/case-studies/nlp.html#tabs-2 (30.06.2019) veröffentlicht und enthält weder ein Publikationsdatum noch Seitenzahlen.

len Übersetzung aus einer Sprache mit schwacher Genus-Flexion (z. B. Englisch) in eine Sprache mit starker Genus-Flexion (z. B. Deutsch) vorwiegend Translate mit einem *male default* produziert werden. Der englische Satz *A defendant was sentenced*, der offenlässt, ob es sich bei dem *defendant* um einen Mann oder eine Frau handelt, muss, so Schiebingers Argumentation, bei der Übersetzung ins Deutsche eine Spezifikation des Geschlechts enthalten und erfährt durch *Google Translate* eine männliche Engführung: *Ein Angeklagter wurde verurteilt.* Umgekehrt gibt es laut Schiebinger in manchen Fällen aber auch ein „female default" (SCHIEBINGER o.J.), z. B. wenn *nurse* als Krankenschwester übersetzt wird (was aber, so darf man die Autorin wohl verstehen, wiederum auf ein *male default* in der Sozialstruktur verweist). Zum anderen äußert sich der „massive overuse" (SCHIEBINGER o.J.) männlicher Pronomina darin, dass selbst Ausgangstexte, in denen eindeutig von einer Frau die Rede ist – wie in dem Interview das Schiebinger gegeben hat –, *Google Translate* männlich übersetzt. Diese „unacceptable infidelity" (SCHIEBINGER o.J.), die für Schiebinger die Perpetuierung des allgemeinen *gender bias* zur Folge hat, führt sie nun auf die technische Funktionsweise von *Google Translate* zurück. Diese ist, wie jetzt deutlich werden wird, nämlich nicht nur aus einer Perspektive relevant, die auf die Konstruktion von Übersetzungsmaschinen abzielt.

In Schiebingers Untersuchungen handelte es sich bei *Google Translate* noch um eine *statistische* Übersetzungsmaschine.[17] Die Funktionsweise statistischer Übersetzungsmaschinen geht im Grunde auf den bereits erwähnten Warren Weaver zurück, wurde aber erst Ende der 1980er Jahre von Brown und seinen Mitarbeitern systematisch entwickelt (BROWN et al. 1990). Statistische Übersetzungsmaschinen zeichnen sich im Unterschied zu *regelbasierten* Übersetzungsmaschinen dadurch aus, dass die Generierung von Translaten nicht auf der Grundlage von linguistisch rekonstruierten und formalisierten Sprachregeln sowie eines Wörterbuchs erfolgt, sondern auf der Basis eines bilingualen Korpus, das aus bereits vorhandenen Ausgangs- und Zieltexten besteht. Von dem Grundgedanken ausgehend, dass alle möglichen Sätze der Zielsprache potentielle Translate eines bestimmten Satzes der Ausgangssprache darstellen, geht es dem statistischen Ansatz darum, das *wahrscheinlichste* Translat eines bestimmten Satzes der Ausgangssprache zu ermitteln. Da es aber unmöglich ist, alle möglichen Sätze einer Sprache zur Verfügung zu haben, arbeiten statistische Übersetzungsmaschinen mit Näherungsmodellen. Damit sie das wahrscheinlichste Translat eines bestimmten Satzes ermitteln können, greifen sie auf das

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[17] Mittlerweile sind *Google* und andere auf den ‚neuronalen' Ansatz umgestiegen. Um aber nicht von Schiebingers Fall abzuweichen, bezieht sich die folgende Darstellung weiterhin auf den statistischen Ansatz. Für das hier verfolgte Erkenntnisinteresse ist die Differenz zwischen statistischen und neuronalen Systemen im Übrigen gar nicht weiter von Bedeutung: Beide haben gemeinsam, dass sie Translate auf der Grundlage bilingualer Korpora generieren (vgl. Forcada 2017) – und einzig auf dieses Merkmal kommt es an dieser Stelle an.

besagte Korpus zurück. Dieses zweisprachige Korpus ist aliniert, d. h. es besteht nicht nur aus einer Sammlung bereits vorhandener Ausgangs- und Zieltexte. Darüber hinaus sind diese Ausgangs- und Zieltexte einander zunächst auf Satzebene und dann auf Wort- bzw. Phrasenebene als bedeutungsäquivalent zugeordnet. Auf diese Weise wird aus dem Korpus ein sogenanntes ‚Übersetzungsmodell' extrapoliert, also ein Modell der Häufigkeit von Ausgangstext/Zieltext-Entsprechungen. Dieses Modell repräsentiert die im Rahmen des Korpus möglichen Translate aller im Rahmen des Korpus möglichen Ausgangstexte, wobei die einander zugewiesenen den höchsten Wahrscheinlichkeitswert besitzen. Kurz: Das häufigste Translat einer ausgangsprachlichen Einheit ist zugleich auch das wahrscheinlichste Translat. Und das wahrscheinlichste Translat ist dasjenige, das dem *User* der Übersetzungsmaschine als Output angezeigt wird (vgl. STEIN 2009).

Die Funktionsweise statistischer Übersetzungsmaschinen dient nun Londa Schiebinger dazu, das Phänomen des *male default* von *Google Translate* zu erklären. So führt sie zum einen die Tatsache, dass statistische Übersetzungsmaschinen sich allein für die Frequenz des Auftretens ausgangs- und zielsprachlicher Wort- bzw. Phrasenpaare interessieren, als Grund für den *gender bias* bei *Google Translate* an. Zum anderen die Tatsache, dass die sprachlichen Einheiten, mit denen diese Übersetzungsmaschine operiert, sich eben nur auf Einzelwörter und Wortkombinationen (bzw. Phrasen) beschränken, so dass Informationen über das Genus, die dem Kontext auf Satzebene oder gar auf satzübergreifender Ebene entnommen werden könnten, die Maschine nicht verarbeiten kann. Dieser auf die Funktionsweise statistischer Übersetzungsmaschinen bezugnehmende Erklärungsversuch Schiebingers ergibt allerdings nur Sinn, wenn man – und das ist sicherlich ganz im Sinne ihrer feministischen Perspektive – zusätzlich davon ausgeht, dass der *male default* bereits in den Ausgangs- und Zieltexten, die in das bilinguale Korpus der Maschine eingehen, enthalten ist. Wenn man also annimmt, dass schon in den Texten des Korpus eine höhere Frequenz männlicher Pronomina vorhanden ist, die wiederum als Wiederspiegelung sprachlicher und in letzter Konsequenz sozialer Strukturen interpretiert wird. Ein solche Annahme ist auch gar nicht unplausibel. Als Brown und seine Mitarbeiter 1990 zum ersten Mal den statistischen Ansatz präsentierten, ließen sie von ihrer Maschine das wahrscheinlichste französische Äquivalent des englischen Artikels *the* ermitteln. Dabei rangierte das männliche *le* vor dem weiblichen *la*. Berücksichtig man nun den Umstand, dass das Korpus, auf dessen Grundlage diese Berechnung vorgenommen wurde, sich aus den zweisprachigen Protokollen des kanadischen Parlaments zusammensetzte, dann liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass dessen personale Zusammensetzung eine Einfluss auf dieses Ergebnis gehabt haben könnte. So zumindest könnte man aus Schiebingers Perspektive argumentieren, in der die Übersetzungsmaschine ganz offensichtlich kein harmloses und neutrales Objekt ist, d. h. nicht nur ein Mittel für

praktisch Zwecke, sondern ein Ort der Reproduktion gesellschaftlicher Macht-verhältnisse und Ungleichheiten.

Wie auch immer man nun zu Schiebingers feministischem Ansatz und der aus ihm folgenden Analyse sowie Diagnose im Ganzen und im Einzelnen steht – an ihrem Beispiel sollte zumindest zweierlei deutlich geworden sein: Zum einen, inwiefern die maschinelle Übersetzung nicht nur einen Gegenstand computer-linguistischer bzw. informatischer Konstruktionsinteressen darstellen muss. Vielmehr zeigt es auf, inwieweit die maschinelle Übersetzung auch und vor al-lem Gegenstand translationswissenschaftlicher Analysen post-linguistischen Zuschnitts sein kann, die sich für das Verhältnis von Translation und Gesell-schaft interessieren. Dabei ist es vielleicht nicht unwichtig festzuhalten, dass es im Rahmen solcher Analysen offenbar nicht sinnvoll ist, die maschinelle Über-setzung auf ihre *instrumentelle* Funktion zu reduzieren, grenzüberschreitende Kommunikation auf Knopfdruck zu ermöglichen. Diese Funktion ist selbstver-ständlich ebenfalls zu berücksichtigen. Gerade an ihr besteht ein großes gesell-schaftliches Interesse, wobei die Folgen der Dauerverfügbarkeit der Translation für die Wahrnehmung sprachlicher Grenzen und die Dynamik kultureller Aus-tauschbeziehungen noch völlig unabsehbar sind. Genauso aber gilt es zu erken-nen, dass die Übersetzungsmaschine auch eine *politische* Dimension besitzt, die sich bei der statistischen durch ihre Funktionsweise nachweisen lässt: Indem sie bei der Produktion von Translaten auf ein Korpus bereits bestehender Aus-gangs- und Zieltexte zurückgreift, die in einer bestimmten sozialen Situation produziert worden sind, reproduziert sie zugleich auch bestehende soziale Strukturen, in deren Rahmen die Produktion dieser Ausgangs- und Zieltexte stattgefunden hat. Betrifft also die instrumentelle Dimension die grenz*über-schreitende* Funktion maschineller Übersetzung, so betrifft die politische Di-mension offenbar ihre grenz*ziehenden* Effekte. Es wäre sicherlich eine reizvolle Aufgabe translationswissenschaftlicher Forschung, das paradoxe Zusammen-spiel von Grenzüberschreitung und Grenzziehung durch die Übersetzungsma-schine theoretisch und empirisch näher zu untersuchen.

Zum anderen aber sollte deutlich geworden sein, inwiefern Übersetzungsma-schinen eine Herausforderung für handlungstheoretisch fundierte bzw. akteur-sorientierte Ansätze in der Translationswissenschaft darstellen. Wie schon ge-sagt: Führt man als Reaktion auf das technizistische Translationsverständnis der frühen, linguistisch orientierten und aus dem Geist der maschinellen Über-setzung geborenen Translationswissenschaft den Begriff der Handlung als Grundbegriff translationswissenschaftlicher Forschung ein, so erklärt man die Translation zu einer Leistung eines intentional handelnden Subjekts – eines ‚Menschen'. Denn wer von Handlung spricht, setzt zumindest implizit einen *Handelnden*, einen *Akteur* voraus, der als Urheber und Ursprung der Handlung fungiert – und als solcher kommen nur mit Bewusstsein ausgestatte Entitäten, d. h. ‚Menschen', infrage. Durch den Grundbegriff der Handlung ist also bereits

theoretisch vorentschieden, wer als Urheber und Ursprung der Translation infrage kommt: nur der Mensch bzw. der menschliche Translator. Daher ist alle Translation notwendigerweise Humantranslation. Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Ontologie und Logik, welche die Welt unter Ausschluss anderer Möglichkeiten in handlungsfähige Subjekte und handlungsunfähige Objekte unterteilt, erwächst aber das folgende translationstheoretische Problem: Wer übersetzt, wenn eine Maschine übersetzt? Kann man überhaupt noch von ‚Translation‘ sprechen, wenn nicht ein ‚Wer‘, sondern ein ‚Was‘, wenn nicht eine Person, sondern ein Ding übersetzt? Nimmt man die Rede von ‚Handlung‘ begrifflich ernst, so muss die Frage eigentlich verneint und die maschinelle Übersetzung aus dem Gegenstandsbereich der Translationswissenschaft ausgeschlossen werden. Denn ihr fehlt ein konstitutives Translationsmerkmal: ein Akteur.

Zugegeben: auch Übersetzungsmaschinen fallen nicht vom Himmel, sondern sind das Resultat menschlicher Handlungen. Insbesondere die Funktionsweise statistischer Übersetzungsmaschinen drängt zu der Einsicht, dass sie nicht nur das Ergebnis menschlicher, sondern spezifisch *translatorischer* Handlungen sind: Schließlich setzt sich das bilinguale Korpus, auf dessen Grundlage Translate maschinell generiert werden, aus unzähligen handgemachten Translaten zusammen. In diesem Sinne ist die Praxis der Humantranslation *notwendige Voraussetzung* für die Konstruktion und Verwendung von Übersetzungsmaschinen – denn ohne sie verfügte die Maschine über keine operative Basis. Aber dieser Befund ist bei Lichte besehen kein Einwand gegen die Behauptung, die maschinelle Übersetzung stelle ein Problem für Translationstheorien dar, die von einem menschlichen Agens und Subjekt der Translation ausgehen. Im Gegenteil, er bestärkt sie nur: Auch wenn das bilinguale Korpus der statistischen bzw. neuronalen Übersetzungsmaschine menschengemachte Translate enthält, so lässt sich das maschinell generierte Translat, der ‚Output‘, unmöglich auf einen individuierbaren Humantranslator zurückrechnen. Diese Unmöglichkeit zeigt sich vor allem bei *Google Translate*, weil diese Übersetzungsmaschine auf ein Korpus zugreifen kann, das sich tatsächlich aus unzähligen, d. h. aus Millionen von Ausgangs- und Zieltexten zusammensetzt.[18] Wie soll hier noch ein Translator identifiziert und zur Verantwortung gezogen werden? Gewiss, man kann nicht sagen, dass ‚niemand‘ übersetzt, wenn eine Maschine übersetzt. Aber genauso wenig kann man sagen, dass ‚jemand‘ übersetzt, wenn eine Maschine übersetzt – gesetzt den Fall, dass mit dem Ausdruck ‚jemand‘ die Vorstellung einer konkreten Person verbunden wird. Gerade an dem Beispiel Londa Schiebingers lässt sich gut zeigen, inwiefern das Agens der Translation, so man noch von einem solchen sprechen will, zwischen ‚jemand‘ und ‚niemand‘ zu verorten ist

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[18] Deshalb lassen sich das bilinguale Korpus und das maschinelle Translat auch nicht als Ergebnis ‚kollaborativer Translation‘ beschreiben, d. h. als Resultat der Kooperation *mehrerer* Translatoren, die ein ‚Team‘ oder eine ‚Gruppe‘ bilden und an der Übersetzung eines Ausgangstextes arbeiten (vgl. CORDINGLEY & FRIGAU MANNING 2017).

und mangels besserer Begriffe vorläufig als ein „impersonales Man" bezeichnet werden kann, um einen Terminus des Soziologen Alfred Schütz zu borgen (SCHÜTZ 1991: 189). Wie lässt sich dieses impersonale Man, dieser anonyme und überindividuelle Translator, der für den *male default* bei *Google Translate* verantwortlich zu sein scheint, begrifflich fassen? Ist der Übersetzer etwa ein Diskurs? Ein System? Eine soziale Praxis? Eine Kultur? Eine Organisation? Eine Institution? Oder gar das Patriachat? Und welche Konsequenzen ergeben sich für den Auf- und Ausbau einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie, wenn als operative Einheit der Translation nicht ein individuelles, sondern ein wie auch immer geartetes kollektives bzw. überindividuelles Agens eingeführt wird?

Die Geschichtlichkeit der Translation

Diese Fragen zeigen an, wie weittragend der Versuch sein kann, sich dem Aufkommen der Übersetzungsmaschine translationstheoretisch zu stellen. Angesichts des gegenwärtig zu beobachtenden translationswissenschaftlichen Interesses an soziologischen Theorieangeboten, mag es nun naheliegen, vor allen Dingen auf techniksoziologische Ansätze zurückzugreifen. Als besonders relevant erscheinen sicherlich Überlegungen, wie sie prominent etwa von Bruno Latour in Form einer ‚Symmetrischen Anthropologie' (2008) oder von Werner Rammert und Ingo Schulz-Schaeffer in Form des Konzepts des ‚verteilten' bzw. ‚gradualisierten Handelns' vorgelegt worden sind (RAMMERT/SCHULZ-SCHAEFFER 2002; SCHULZ-SCHAEFFER 2009). Sie können dazu genutzt werden, die ontologischen Grenzziehungen, die im translationswissenschaftlichen Diskurs zwischen Mensch und Maschine bzw. Gesellschaft und Technik vollzogen werden, als solche kritisch zu reflektieren und in eine empirische Forschungsfrage zu überführen, die da lautet: Wann und wie werden seitens der Teilnehmer an Vorgängen der Herstellung und Verwendung von Übersetzungsmaschinen solche Grenzziehungen vorgenommen? Wann und wie wird die Differenz von Mensch und Maschine überhaupt relevant? Idealerweise würde ein solcher Anschluss an techniksoziologische Ansätze nicht nur zu sogenannten work place studies führen, in denen die Verwendung maschineller Übersetzungssysteme in der professionellen Translationspraxis beobachtet würde. Darüber hinaus wäre etwa auch der Prozess der sozialen Konstruktion von Übersetzungsmaschinen zu untersuchen[19] wie auch eine Technografie ihres alltäglichen Gebrauchs anzuvisieren, die die kognitiven und kommunikativen Leistungen der User im praktischen Umgang mit Übersetzungsmaschinen und deren Output rekonstruiert.
An dieser Stelle soll allerdings ein anderer Weg eingeschlagen und auf Überlegungen des Translationswissenschaftlers Theo Hermans zurückgegriffen werden, um sie in Richtung der schon weiter oben angekündigten These von der Geschichtlichkeit der Translation zu verlängern, welche einen möglichen Aus-

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[19] Vgl. dazu TIEBER (2019).

weg aus der Problematik der maschinellen Übersetzung aufzeigt. Hermans' Überlegungen laufen auf die systematische These der ‚Selbstreferentialität' der Translation hinaus, die besagt, dass Translate sich implizit oder explizit immer auf andere Translate beziehen. Zu dieser These gelangt er, indem er zunächst von der einfachen Beobachtung ausgeht, dass Texte immer wieder und auf unterschiedliche Arten und Weisen übersetzt werden können. Dieser selbst noch nicht aufsehenerregende Ausgangspunkt der Wiederholbarkeit und Pluralität von Übersetzungen führt ihn jedoch nicht dazu, nach der ‚richtigen' und ‚abschließenden' Übersetzung eines Textes zu fragen, wie es etwa ein Translationstheoretiker vom Schlage Kades tun würde. Vielmehr interessieren ihn die Bezüge zwischen verschiedenen Übersetzungen eines Ausgangstextes, genauer: Ihn interessiert, wie sich Übersetzungen auf bereits existierende Übersetzungen eines Ausgangstextes beziehen, wobei es ihm insbesondere um Fälle geht, in denen sich Übersetzungen zu anderen Übersetzungen negierend verhalten. Diese Negation kann nicht nur die Übersetzung einzelner Wörter, sondern auch ganze Translationsverfahren betreffen. Beispiele dafür sind laut Hermans etwa Laureen Nussbaums ‚Korrekturen' der englischen, von B. M. Mooyart-Doubleday stammenden Übersetzung des Tagebuchs der Anne Frank. Nussbaum, durch urheberrechtliche Bestimmungen daran gehindert ihrer Unzufriedenheit mit dieser Übersetzung durch eine eigene Ausdruck zu verleihen, hat alternative und ihrer Ansicht nach ‚korrektere' Übersetzungen einzelner Wörter in eckigen Klammern in die ‚Originalübersetzung' eingefügt. Ein weiteres Beispiel stellt Vladimir Nabokovs berühmt-berüchtigte englische Pushkin-Übersetzung dar – in deren Paratexten er jede andere englische Übersetzung dieses Textes verdammt und das Verfahren der wörtlichen Übersetzung als das einzig legitime Verfahren preist. Doch betont Hermans, dass die sehr viel häufiger auftretende Form der Selbstreferentialität der Translation in einem affirmierenden Bezug von Übersetzungen auf bereits vorhandene Übersetzungen eines Textes besteht. Genau heißt es: „In fact, the overwhelming majority of translations fall in with existing translations and prevalent modes of translating" (HERMANS 2007: 35). Und weiter: „This is so obvious that it is only rarely made explicit" (HERMANS 2007: 35). Als Beleg bezieht sich Hermans auf Hugh Tomlinson und Barbara Habberjam, die in ihrem Vorwort zu ihrer Übersetzung der *Dialogues* von Gilles Deleuze erklären, dass sie Schlüsseltermini seiner Philosophie in Übereinstimmung mit rezenten Übersetzungen anderer seiner Werke übersetzt haben. Doch Hermans beschränkt seine Darlegungen nicht auf die literarische und philosophische Übersetzung, sondern dehnt sie auf einen Kontext aus, in dem diese Selbstreferentialität der Translation von größter praktischer Bedeutung ist und ihre Relevanz für das vorliegende Thema evident macht: Die Rede ist von ‚Translation-Memory-Systemen', d. h. von Programmen, die vor allem in der professionellen Translationspraxis verwendet werden und der Funktionsweise statistischer Übersetzungsmaschinen insofern ähneln, als sie deren halb-

automatische Vorstufe mit Translatorbeteiligung darstellen. Denn auch sie arbeiten mit einem Korpus von bereits vorhandenen Ausgangs- und Zieltexten, auf das bei jedem neu zu übersetzenden Text zurückgegriffen wird, um festzustellen, ob kleinere oder größere Teile eines Textes nicht bereits in vorherigen Ausgangstexten vorkamen und entsprechend auch ihre Translate für seine Übersetzung ‚recycelt' werden können. Die vollautomatische Übersetzungsmaschine ist so gesehen nichts anderes als die zum expliziten Funktionsprinzip erhobene allgemeine Selbstreferentialität der Translation, die zumindest implizit bereits auf der Ebene des humantranslatorischen Handelns anzutreffen ist, in Translation-Memory-Systemen teilweise operationalisiert wird und in statistischen Übersetzungsmaschinen ihre methodische Vollendung erfährt: Letztere produziert Übersetzungen nur noch auf der Basis eines Korpus von bereits bestehenden Übersetzungen. Sie kann dies, weil alle Übersetzungen auf eine bereits bestehende Übersetzungspraxis verweisen. Und genau in dieser Eigenschaft liegt nun auch die Geschichtlichkeit der Translation begründet.

Denn die Selbstreferentialität der Translation im Sinne Hermans' hat eine spezifische zeitliche Struktur, insofern der (implizite oder explizite) Verweis auf andere, bereits bestehende Translate notwendigerweise ein Verweis auf vorausgehende Translate und Translationspraktiken ist. Die ‚Geschichtlichkeit' der Translation besteht daher nicht nur in ihrer Eingebettetheit in historischen Kontexten. Sie besteht darüber hinaus auch in der Eigenschaft, auf vorausgegangene Translation zu verweisen. Man kann sagen: Alle Translation beruht auf einem vorgängigen ‚translatorischen Apriori'. Alle Translation vollzieht sich auf dem Boden einer bereits stattgefundenen Translationsgeschichte, d. h. auf dem Boden einer Geschichte der Interaktion zwischen kulturellen Lebensformen, aus der durch wiederholte Translation (mehr oder weniger) dauerhafte transkulturelle Verflechtungen hervorgehen. Diese Geschichtlichkeit ist nun insofern notwendige Voraussetzung der Technisierung der Translation, als Übersetzungsmaschinen, aber auch Translation-Memory-Systeme, nur auf der Grundlage einer wiederholt und dauerhaft vollzogenen Translationspraxis konstruiert werden und funktionieren können. Denn die so verstandene Translationsgeschichte geht mit der Entstehung eines für sie konstitutiven Translationsgedächtnisses einher, in dem transkulturelle Verflechtungserfahrungen (wie selektiv und in welchem Aggregatzustand auch immer) aufbewahrt werden, etwa in Form fixierter Wortgleichungen.[20] Es fungiert als Apriori aller weiteren, folgenden Translation und kann als Korpus vergegenständlicht von Translation-Memory-Systemen – der Name ist bezeichnend – sowie Übersetzungsmaschinen als operative Basis genutzt werden. In diesem Sinne stellt die Übersetzungsmaschine

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[20] Vgl. dazu auch das Konzept der ‚tradierten Äquivalenz' bei Jörn ALBRECHT und Iris PLACK (2012).

die technische Verkörperung und Inanspruchnahme der konstitutiven Geschichtlichkeit der Translation dar.

Ein wesentlicher Schluss, der aus dieser Einsicht gezogen werden kann, ist, dass gerade die stets mit einem Zukunftsindex versehenen Translationstechnologien nicht ohne ein translationsgeschichtliches Bewusstsein angemessen verstanden werden können – und umgekehrt: Translationsgeschichtliche Grundlagenforschung kann und sollte ihren Ausgang auch von Gegenwartserscheinungen nehmen: Wie gezeigt wurde, bergen Translationstechnologien wie die maschinelle Übersetzung überraschende translationshistorische Aspekte von systematischer Tragweite. Ein anderer, ebenfalls wesentlicher Schluss betrifft die handlungstheoretische bzw. akteursbezogene Orientierung der Translationswissenschaft. Durch die Einsicht in die konstitutive Geschichtlichkeit der Translation lässt sich das Problem, das mit der Bestimmung der Translation als Handlung verbunden und durch die maschinelle Übersetzung virulent geworden ist, nämlich genauer als bisher benennen: Diese Bestimmung verortet die Translation nicht nur in einem translatorischen Bewusstsein, wodurch eine Maschine als mögliches Agens der Translation ausgeschlossen wird. Sie reduziert die Translation darüber hinaus auf einen singulären Akt eines Akteurs und abstrahiert dadurch von den einem konkreten Translationsakt vorausgehenden Translationsakten, auf die sich dieser implizit oder explizit als eine Tradition des So-übersetzt-Habens bezieht.[21] Er abstrahiert also von der Geschichtlichkeit der Translation und damit von einem Verweisungszusammenhang, der die subjektive Perspektive von individuellen Translatoren transzendiert, ihnen aber als ermöglichende Bedingung, als anonymes translatorisches Apriori vorausliegt. Diese Abstraktion gilt es aufzuheben, soll ein systematisch fundierter Zugang zur Translation im Zeitalter ihrer technischen Reproduzierbarkeit geschaffen werden. Eine Möglichkeit, eine solche Aufhebung durchzuführen, besteht eben darin, das translatorische Subjekt zu dezentrieren und von dem Gedanken der Geschichtlichkeit der Translation auszugehen. In dieser Perspektive würde die Vorstellung eines translatorischen Handlungssubjekt im Sinne einer reflexiven Translationswissenschaft und -geschichte dann selbst zum Gegenstand – und nicht zum Grundbegriff – translationshistorischer Forschung: Unter welchen historischen Bedingungen wurden Translatoren als Zurechnungsinstanzen für Translationsprozesse ‚erfunden' und institutionalisiert? Welche Mechanismen haben das translatorische Subjekt historisch hervorgebracht und inwieweit handelt es sich bei ihm um ein kulturspezifisches Produkt? Die Rekonstruktion der gesellschaftlichen Konstruktion von ‚Übersetzerschaft' steht noch weitest-

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[21] Larisa Schippel spricht in einem anderen Kontext, aber mit ähnlicher Absicht von „Konventionen des ‚So-Sagens und -Schreibens'" (SCHIPPEL 2011: 11), die nicht nur Voraussetzung, sondern auch Resultat von Translationsprozessen sein können.

gehend aus.[22] Wie auch immer die Antworten auf diese Fragen letzten Endes ausfallen mögen – festgehalten werden kann wohl, dass die theoretische Reflexion der Geschichtlichkeit der Translation zur Folge hätte, dass die postlinguistische Translationswissenschaft nicht mehr so schwer an ihrer eigenen Geschichte zu tragen hat.

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[22] Erste Überlegungen finden sich bei Hermans (1998), der im Anschluss an Barthes und Foucault das Konzept der ‚Translator-Funktion' (*translator function*) einführt.

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Chronotopos

A Journal of Translation History

Karin Almasy

Setting the canon, translating the canon.
Translations in Slovene school readers and translation policy within the school system of the Habsburg monarchy (1848–1918)

Abstract

The second half of the nineteenth century is of crucial importance in Slovene history, as during this time, a sense of national consciousness began to be disseminated, literacy increased significantly, and different Slovene vernaculars were developed into a modern, supra-regional, standardized, and codified Slovene language. These developments were intertwined and enabled by general processes of modernization within the Habsburg Monarchy, under which the Slovenes had lived for centuries alongside speakers of other languages. At the same time, spurred on by the ideas of the liberal Revolution of 1848, a modern school system was first established within the monarchy. The demand for modern schoolbooks to be used within this system was a considerable challenge, especially for Slavic languages like Slovene, which were not yet fully developed. This task proved to be impossible without relying heavily on translations, and, starting in 1848, modern schoolbook production soon led to an increase in translation activity. This paper examines the historical circumstances surrounding the creation of Slovene schoolbooks between 1848 and 1918, the main agents in the field, the volume and the characteristics of translations included in schoolbooks, if and when they were marked as translations, translation strategies, and ideological steering through translations. It also examines the issues of whether and how the state, through the Ministry of Education, controlled or guided these translations activities while also controlling content within schoolbook production in general.

Keywords: translation history, Habsburg empire, nineteenth century, school readers, canonization, agents of translation, pseudo-originals, rewritings

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Introduction

This paper sheds light on an understudied part of shared Slovene/Austrian history: translations within the context of the school system. Careful examination of the school system and schoolbook production brings into focus the groundbreaking

modernization processes that took place between 1848 and 1918. Through this examination of the newly established school system after 1848, it becomes evident that during the second half of the nineteenth century that what was essentially still a feudal society transitioned into a modern one. This transformation occurred mostly by gradually moving away from a religious orientation, which dominated every aspect of life, and by establishing literacy and basic education for all (OSTERHAMMEL 2009: 1097). By focusing on the role of translators and translations within the state-led production of schoolbooks, light is also shed on an even more understudied topic: the tremendous, though rarely appreciated, contribution of translation to this processes of modernization as well as to the standardization of Slovene language and Slovene nation-building. Thus, examinations of translations in schoolbooks of this time are of relevance not only to Translation Studies scholars wishing to learn more about Slovene translation culture (PRUNČ 2008), but also to historians focusing on the discursive construction of national identities (e.g., CILLIA, REISIGL & WODAK 1999; FEICHTINGER, PRUTSCH & CSÁKY 2003; JUDSON 2006; KOSI 2013; ALMASY 2014; JUDSON 2016; KOSI & STERGAR 2016), who served as my "natural interlocutors" (RUNDLE 2012: 232) when conducting this research.[1] Studying translations draws attention to the polycultural and transnational and examines what connected speakers of different languages, how they lived together in a common space (HEPPNER 2002), what they shared, how they collaborated, what they had in common, and what they learned from each other, rather than looking at what separated them. Translation history thus has the potential to counter the nationalist narratives that have long dominated national historiographies:

> *Der Fokus auf den Beitrag von Kulturtransfer- und Übersetzungsprozessen für die Herausbildung nationaler Identitätsmuster hat […] unzweifelhaft eine fruchtbare ideologiekritische Seite, indem er besonders wirkungsvoll nationalistische Reinheits- und Homogenitätsphantasien unterläuft. (GIPPER & DIZDAR 2015: 8)*

Within the "polycultural communication space" of the Habsburg empire (WOLF 2012: 87–193), various language regulations were established to meet the 1848 ideal of equality among the Empire's nationalities and their right to cultivate their lan-

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[1] This paper shares results of the author's doctoral thesis project, mentored by Erich Prunč, completed in 2017, and published as ALMASY (2018).

guages in public.[2] Because language and translation (which is inseparable from language but is rarely mentioned) played an important role in constructing national and other collective identities, the Habsburg empire seems to be an ideal area of research for translation historians.

This paper will first give a brief overview of the historical context of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century, the Slovene situation starting in 1848, and the development of the modern school system within the monarchy. The paper will then focus on translations in Slovene schoolbooks and school readers in particular—the anthology-like, canon-setting, and most commonly used type of schoolbooks at the time. The focus will then shift to the wider circumstances of schoolbook production and the approval process and look at whether the state-controlled translations in schoolbooks through some sort of specific translation policy. Furthermore, the paper will shed light on the agents of translations in Slovene schoolbooks and their different roles and responsibilities. Throughout the paper, methodological questions on the research of translation in history will be addressed and the interdisciplinary nature of translation history will be highlighted.

The historical context: Slovenes and the Slovene language within the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918

Slovene-speaking subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy lived in the historical crownlands of Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, the Austrian Littoral, and the two Hungarian Comitats of Zala and Vas, where they had lived for centuries alongside their German-, Italian-, or Hungarian-speaking neighbors. Diglossia among the intellectual elites of Slovene origin (FISHMAN 1967) was widespread. In the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy, referred to as Cisleithania, where most Slovenes lived, German was the language of law, bureaucracy, higher education, intellectual debate and correspondence (even among Slovene intellectuals) as well as a *lingua franca* within the entire monarchy. Slovene was often limited to informal, verbal, and private use.

A national Slovene group identity among the broader masses of society did not really develop until the end of the nineteenth century. There was no older statehood, historical dynasty or Slovene nobility with which they could have aligned themselves, and although Catholicism was an important aspect of Slovene identity, religion was not a distinctive feature with which they could have distinguished themselves from their predominantly German and Italian neighbors. Thus, they relied heavily on lan-

[2] In 1867, paragraph 19 of the *Staatsgrundgesetz* finally granted these collective language rights. Franz Joseph I. (1867).

guage and ethnicity as the dominant paradigms for their "national awakening." At this time, language in the Habsburg Monarchy was no longer simply a means of communication, but was instead a source of identity and a symbol of the existence of nations and the establishment of certain group solidarities used to mobilize ethnicities (HROCH 2005: 178–200). As a result language policy in the late nineteenth century Habsburg Monarchy, which very much included issues of language policies in schools (ALMASY 2014: 128–169), became the new battleground for nationalist conflicts (JUDSON 2006; CVIRN 2016). The more important language became in the mid-nineteenth century as an ethnic marker, the more Slovene intellectuals became acutely aware of the inadequacy of the Slovene language. Therefore, the Slovene political agendas were related to language and their political demands were organized around language policy.

In 1848, the Slovene language was, by objective standards, far from being a fully developed, supra-regional, standardized, and codified language able to fulfill all the necessary functions of a "national" language, especially since a variety of genres had not yet been developed. For example, the very first Slovene novel, *Deseti brat* by Josip Jurčič, was only published in 1866, and the first normative Slovene spelling, Fran Levec's *Slovenski pravopis*, was published in 1899. Moreover, very little specific terminology for the sciences, law, and other specialized fields existed, and so specialized texts were essentially non-existent. As a result, a push for the development of the Slovene language began to gain momentum, and without translations, this development would not have been possible. As Gipper and Dizdar, note, translation is often the midwife of national literature ("Geburtshelfer nationaler Literaturen") and is found at the beginning of this development from vernaculars to a "national" standardized language (GIPPER & DIZDAR 2015:8), and this was no less true for the Slovene language. Or in other words:

> *Sprachliche Eigenständigkeit im Sinne einer (modernen) Standardsprache entwickelt sich zwangsläufig auch über Übersetzung. In vielen Fällen, wenn nicht sogar in der Regel, geht die übersetzte Literatur des Anderen/Fremden der eigenen („nationalen") Literatur voraus. Anders gesagt: das (prestigereiche) Fremde zwingt förmlich zur Schaffung einer eigenen Literatur, die als Kollektiv dienen soll und somit früher oder später zur Nationalliteratur avanciert. (Karvounis 2015: 110)*

Due to this overall symbolic importance of language and the need to cultivate and extend the Slovene language, many of the trailblazers in the Slovene master narrative, or what Jarausch and Sabrow describe as "the dominant narration about the past in a

certain cultural community at a certain time" (JARAUSCH & SABROW 2002: 17), were writers, poets, intellectuals, scholars, teachers, and language reformers. In other words, the Slovene nation was constructed as a "literary nation" (HLADNIK 2002: 2). Among the most important yet often undervalued agents of language development and the dissemination of a common national group identity were those involved in the school system and schoolbook production, which included editors, writers, and translators of schoolbooks as well as teachers and public officials, who will be discussed later on in this paper.

The establishment of a new school system and the development of schoolbooks

The school system within the Habsburg Monarchy began when Maria Theresia declared schools to be a *Politikum* in 1770. After the important reforms of the school system inspired by the liberal ideas of the Revolutions of 1848 and the 1869 *Reichsvolksschulgesetz*, the Catholic Church lost all supervision over schools, and the educational system finally became a state-led endeavor. Founded in 1848, the Ministry of Education, known as the *Ministerium für Cultus und Unterricht,* took on the role of providing and overseeing a basic education for all people instead of just the privileged upper class. The main goal of a basic school education changed from providing obedient subjects with a moral and religious instruction to raising responsible, mature citizens who were able to earn a dignified living and contribute to their own well-being and to that of the state as a whole.[3] Due to this radically different mindset, many new schools were built, and for the first time there were many educated, well-trained teachers. As a result, the literacy rate increased dramatically within just a few decades, as did the average level of education and standard of living (SCHMIDT 1966: 18–21; ENGELBRECHT 1986: 226; ALMASY 2018: 45–137).

A completely new school system created a demand for a large number of new schoolbooks and other teaching materials, much of which were issued directly by the *k.k. Schulbücherverlag*, the official publishing house in Vienna. Starting in the 1860s, the

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[3] See the radically different wording in Maria Theresia wish, as expressed in the *Schulordnung* "aus den Schulen wohlgesittete und brauchbare Unterthanen zu erhalten" in comparison to the *Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Oesterreich* from 1848: „Die Volksschule hat dasjenige Maß von Kenntnissen und Fertigkeiten [zu vermitteln], welche künftig bei jedem mündigen Bewohner des österreichischen Staates vorausgesetzt werden müssen, damit er durch redlichen Erwerb sein Bestehen zu sichern, die Rechte und Pflichten, welche aus den neuen Staatseinrichtungen ihm erwachsen, zum Wohle des Ganzen und seiner selbst auszuüben, und ein menschenwürdiges Leben zu führen im Stande sei. (MARIA THERESIA 1774: 119; [VON EXNER 1848: 5F).

first Slovene monographic schoolbooks were created specifically for scientific and academic subjects in secondary schools like as physics, chemistry, biology, history and geography in addition to practical schoolbooks for various forms of vocational schools.[4] However, the most common and widely used form of schoolbook was the reader or textbook (*Lesebuch*, and in Slovene *berilo* or *čitanka*). In the lower classes, the reader, along with the *Rechenbuch* and the *Katechismus*, were often the only schoolbooks used. These readers were a sort of anthology of various genres and topics, and they provided reading materials for almost everything taught over the course of one or two academic years.

These school readers offer a good overview of text production in general, since they contain a wide range of material written at age appropriate levels. These areas included poetry and prose; fiction and non-fiction; texts from the sciences, history, geography, and ethnology; as well as fables, tales, stories, and parables. This universal, encyclopedic, and anthology-like character also makes the school reader a fascinating object of investigation because it was an important instrument of canonization in which patronage becomes visible (ALMASY 2017b). André Lefevere, for example, foresaw the potential of introductory anthologies in the higher education system for setting the canon, and even though he referred to a slightly different type of anthology (an exclusively literary anthology), the following is nevertheless also true for the nineteenth century school reader:

> *Canonization appears at its most obvious and also its most powerful with the spread of higher education. It has found its most impressive – and most profitable – monument to date in the publication of that hybrid crystallization of the close and lucrative cooperation between publisher and institutions of higher education: the introductory anthology […] (LEFEVERE 1992: 22).*

The rare, pre-1848 readers with predominantly religious content could not be used anymore, so new schoolbooks and appropriate texts for them were in urgent need. This high demand for new schoolbooks in all the languages of the monarchy, and especially for the not-yet-fully developed Slavic dialects, could only be met by relying

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[4] These thematic schoolbooks were mostly translations of German schoolbooks, and their main importance lies in the development of Slovene terminology for the natural sciences, which had previously been non-existent. In this following paper, however, I focus mainly on the translations in school readers, because their variety of content provides a better overview than schoolbooks for specific subjects like mathematics and chemistry would. For more detail regarding the translation of the first monographic science schoolbooks, see: ŽIGON, ALMASY & LOVŠIN (2017).

heavily on translations. Franz Exner and Heinrich Bonitz, the founding fathers of the Austrian school reforms, were aware of this, and in the *Organisationsentwurf,* the 1849 document providing the foundation of the Austrian education reform, they suggested using translations to alleviate this shortage:

> *Wenn die Literatur einer Sprache einen in den Schulen anwendbaren stofflichen Inhalt von genügender Menge und Mannigfaltigkeit nicht darbietet, um durch ihn die gestellten Zwecke zu erreichen, so ist dem Mangel einstweilen durch gute Uebersetzungen abzuhelfen […] (N. N. [Exner/Bonitz] 1849: 28).*

The production of modern Slovene educational materials, and readers in particular, which began after 1848, had an enormous effect on a still predominantly semi-literate, poorly educated society. For many children and households, these readers were often the only reading material they owned other than a Bible or a catechism. These schoolbooks, however, were not only important for combating illiteracy; they were also a basic source of information and, as in the case of Slovene, of major importance for the development of a standardized written language and a common group identity. Because the types of authors, texts, and ideas introduced to Slovene youth through those readers were so influential, it is worth investigating the content of these readers as well as who wrote them, who translated texts for them, and who controlled the production of these readers.

Setting the canon

Schoolbook production was supervised by the Ministry of Education, and it had to approve every schoolbook before they could be used in schools. Thus, the state had an exclusive monopoly on the approbation of school materials. The decision was made based on one, two or sometimes even more reports from experts (*fachmännische Gutachten*). The ministry asked the regional authorities, or *Landesschulbehörden*, to send them these reports, and these authorities then selected experts in the field. In the case of Slovene schoolbooks, they were Slovene teachers, professors, schoolbook editors, school principals, school supervisors, or officials working in some other capacity within the school system. Thus, the ones selected to evaluate the quality of these books had expertise in school matters, a good command of Slovene and, for as state officials, an internalized *habitus* of loyalty toward the monarchy and the emperor. This process of quality management could be considered comparable to modern peer review for scholarly publications, because reports about materials found

to be lacking were sent back to the schoolbook authors or editors anonymously with requests for improvement. (ALMASY 2018: 327–343).

It is worth noting that the ministry in Vienna always followed the experts' recommendations and never overruled them. If a Slovene schoolbook was hindered from being published, it was because Slovene experts (rightfully) claimed it was lacking in quality. Also noteworthy is the fact, that the ministry did its best to avoid nepotisms and reach a supra-regional consensus, especially in language matters. A lot of the reviewers' concerns were linguistic and were often caused by the still very apparent regional differences and animosities concerning the not yet fully standardized Slovene language, and in particular regarding the Carniolan and Styrian Slovene variants. So, if an author/editor from Carniola submitted a schoolbook for the ministry's approval, they would ask the local Styrian authorities for an expert report and vice versa. There were even cases when the expert opinions from Carniola and Styria, colored by their regional preferences and necessities, differed so widely that the ministry asked the local authorities from the Austrian Littoral to settle the dispute with a third opinion (ALMASY 2018: 335ff).[5]

It is, in fact, quite surprising how little micromanaging the ministry engaged in regarding more specific issues like which requirements for schoolbooks would be set by the ministry and the extent of ideological steering.[6] Some very general guidelines were set in the *Hauptgrundsätze für die Verfassung Slovenischer Lesebücher* concerning the content of Slovene school readers, which required "ein gesunder Idealismus […] soll dem Schüler aus dem Lesebuche entgegenströmen" that should be expressed through "tiefe Verehrung der christlichkatholischen Religion", "Treue und Liebe zu unserem gemeinsamen Vaterlande Oestereich und dessen erlauchtem Herrscherhause", and "Liebe zu unserem eigenen Volke." Moreover, the students were supposed to also learn about "den Charakter und die Vorzüge der übrigen Völker", a goal for

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[5] All these observations are based on extensive archival research into the entire production of Slovene school readers and the approval procedures of these schoolbooks accompanied by expert reports. Archival research was conducted in both the Austrian and the Slovenian State Archives (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv* ÖSTA AVA and *Arhiv Republike Slovenije* ARS), as well as in the Slovene National Library (*Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica* NUK), the Slovene School Museum (*Slovenski šolski muzej* SŠMUL), and the *Schulbuch- und Schulschriftensammlung* of the Austrian Ministry of Education (BMB). For more detail about my archival sources and the methodology, see ALMASY (2018: 327-343; 381-387).

[6] Even though the topic of ideological steering through translations was the focus of my doctoral thesis, due to a lack of space, I will abstain from discussing it here at length. For ideological steering through translations see PRUNČ (2010) for detailed examples from Slovene school readers, ALMASY (2018: 349-326).

which the document specifically mentions translations as a means for achieving this: "Diesem Zwecke sollen gute Uebersetzungen von Werken der Weltliteratur dienen, aber auch Reisebeschreibungen, Aufsätze udgl. über das Ausland." (NUK, N.N.).

However, the ministry did not go beyond these general guidelines. There were no specific instructions regarding which authors, texts, or content should or should not be included. The editors and authors of schoolbooks were given considerable freedom in their micro-decisions, and in the end, a book only needed approval from the expert reports to pass the approbation process. The experts were asked to indicate in their reports if the content and the language of the schoolbooks were "angemessen und zweckmäßig" (ALMASY 2018: 352). As a result, such general phrases were common in these reports. Due to the fact, that the ministry's guidelines were mostly superficial and the ministry almost never interfered with an editor's decisions at the microlevel, the state monopoly on the approbation of schoolbooks was a regulatory tool for setting the school reading canon rather than a form of censorship in the most literal sense of the word (ALMASY 2018: 100–110).[7]

Returning to the topic of translations, the following questions can be raised: Were translations regularly discussed in these expert reports? Was there some sort of state-led translation policy by which the ministry also regulated the use of translations in schoolbooks? Did the experts discuss translations in their reports? As established in the *Organisationsentwurf,* the use of translations was allowed and mentioned as a tool to import innovations into not yet fully developed literatures. However, since state regulations of schoolbook production in general were rather superficial and generic, it naturally followed that translations were also not heavily regulated.

Not only were there no official regulations regarding translation, there was also little attention paid to them in the experts' reports. In fact, the word *Übersetzung* rarely appears in files about schoolbook approbation or within the reports themselves. If translation as a concept was mentioned, it was only as part of very superficial observations like "die Lesestücke [seien] mit großer Gewandtheit übersetzt und hinsichtlich der sprachlichen Korrektheit – einwandfrei" (K. K. MINISTERIUM FÜR CULTUS UND UNTERRICHT 1917). Translated texts were discussed though, but hardly ever *because* they were translations and not original Slovene texts. If they were given consid-

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[7] Traces of what could truly be considered censorship were only to be found during the highly politicized time of World War I and the established "war absolutism". During that time, translations in school readers also came to be viewed from an ideological perspective, as either politically reliable (translation from German source texts) or suspicious (translations from Slavic source texts). Due to a lack of space, I will not discuss the war years in detail. For more information, see AL-MASY (2018: 327–369).

eration, then the discussion of them was based on the same types of issues on which original texts were also judged: whether they were, in terms of content and of language, "zweckmässig und angemessen." Translation in and of itself was not a concern for ministry officials, regional authorities, or experts evaluating materials, so it was hardly ever discussed. The only issues of importance were if schoolbook texts were linguistically acceptable and correct, contained appropriate content, and were, in ideological terms, "reliable," meaning they conveyed the necessary messages regarding Catholicism and love for the emperor and the monarchy. Which and how many translations to include was primarily decided by the editors of school readers and was a decision often dictated by necessity, especially in the early decades after 1848 when appropriate, original Slovene texts were not widely available.

Translating the canon

When I decided to investigate translations in Slovene schoolbooks from 1848–1918, I followed the advice of Anthony Pym, who claims that "[l]ittle history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations. Worse, quite superficial history can result from hypotheses that are pumped up after summary testing on just one or two cases." (PYM 1998: 39). This was the reasoning behind my decision to undertake an extensive quantitative analysis of all the texts in eight Slovene readers written for the higher schools (*Gymnasien*), which comprise half of the readers (first editions) published between 1848 and 1918, and contain a total of 902 texts.[8] Again, I focused on readers because they offer an extensive overview of a large part of Slovene text production at the time. I found that (1) around a third of all texts in the sample were translations, among which were quite a few "[u]nmarked translations or 'pseudo-originals' (translated texts falsely presented and received as originals)" (PYM 1998: 60); (2) a very unevenly genre-specific distribution of translations among the different types of texts; (3) German, Czech, and Croatian/Serbian were by far the most common languages of source texts, and (4) a very wide variety of different translation strategies were employed, ranging from source text loyal to very free forms of rewriting, adaptations, and localizations.

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[8] In this quantitative overview, I listed information on the content of the text, whether it was prose or poetry, the author and/or translator (if available), the source text, the source text language, and whether a text was marked as a translation. I combined information provided in the readers themselves with other research finding, especially into the biographical background of the authors/translators. For detail on the methodology, see ALMASY (2018: 383–386).

Translations and pseudo-originals

The exact number of translations is difficult to pin down to something more specific than an estimate of around a third of the total number for a few reasons.[9] First, when working within historical contexts, it is not always easy to determine whether or not a text is a translation. In this analysis, I identified many pseudo-originals in the sample.[10] In general, information about the origin of texts, authorship, translation, etc. was much less frequently provided than it would be today. Uncanonical non-literary texts, which were very common in school readers (especially in those for the lower classes) were even less frequently marked. Modern standards of identifying authorship and consciously avoiding plagiarism were not standard practice at the time, so including the names of authors or any other bibliographic information was done much more haphazardly in nineteenth century Slovene school readers that it would be today. However, two facts suggest the invisibility of translations was not accidental and cannot be explained by looser citation conventions in comparison to today's standards. Firstly, hidden translations or pseudo-originals were more common in readers compiled by certain editors than they were in those compiled by others. Secondly, all of these traced back to German source texts – not a single one originated from texts in Slavic languages (ALMASY 2018: 203–222). This can be better understood within the context of the times, in which the Slovene national movement was trying to gain momentum and develop its own language, which its nation-building relied heavily on. This also meant a need for Slovene education to use translations as a means of distancing itself from the predominantly German influence on literature and schoolbooks. Nationally oriented Slovene intellectuals were acutely aware of the overwhelming need for, or one could say an overbearing dependency on, translations from German language sources. Therefore, from the perspective of those creating a national consciousness, this dependency on German source texts and the resulting high number of translations had to be reduced, or at least hidden, in Slovene school

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[9] The precise numbers in my sample were: 198 (22%) texts were definitive translations, 70 (8%) additional texts that most likely are translations, another 80 (9%) text that might be translations, and 554 texts (61%) were original Slovene texts. The in-between-categories (17% altogether) consist of texts that, due to evidence within the text, biographical data about the author, and/or bibliographic data on the text, I strongly suspect to be translations but for which I was unable to find a source text. ALMASY (2018: 188).

[10] There were 139 texts in the sample transparently marked as translations, but I was able to prove through identifying the source text that another 59 texts were also translations. There were 70 more texts I strongly suspected were translations but for which I was unable to find definitive proof. Almasy (2018: 208).

readers. This wide-spread approach among Slovene intellectuals regarding translations was clearly expressed by the writer, poet, and literary critic Josip Stritar in 1870:

> *Prestava je vendar tuje, izposojeno blago: to pa bodi še tako lepo, ne moremo se ga prav veseliti; s prestavami se jezik gladi in vadi, slovstvo se z njimi ne bogati; narod more svojo lastnino imenovati samo, kar je zrastlo iz njegovih tal. (STRITAR 1955: 119)*

> *[Translations are always foreign, borrowed goods: No matter how beautiful they may be, we cannot be really take pleasure in them; language is smoothed over and practiced through translations, but our literature will not be enriched by them; a nation can only call its own that which has been grown on its own soil.]*

Genre specifics

The translations in the sample were very unevenly distributed and depended on the text genre because in 1848, the different text genres in the Slovene language were still very unevenly developed. Whereas, for example, poems in original Slovene production were already available in large numbers, prose – and non-fiction texts with specialized context from the sciences or history in particular – were still rare. Thus genres that were underdeveloped or had yet to begin developing contained higher numbers of translations, while there were very few poetry translations in the sample.[11] This would seem to support Erich Prunč's observation that within nineteenth century Slovene translation culture, translations were avoided in more developed genres and were more likely to be used to extend and cultivate undeveloped or underdeveloped genres (PRUNČ 2007:168). So translations did in fact fulfil the role suggested for them in the *Organisationsentwurf* by assisting and filling in gaps where original text production was not yet sufficiently available. This made them, from a standpoint of nation-building, a kind of "necessary evil" (STRITAR 1956:203).[12]

Source languages

Within the sample, the most common source text language was predominantly German, which was a natural result of the role of the German language had in higher education and among intellectuals within the monarchy. All told, more than half of all

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[11] Among the 371 poems in the sample, only 43 poems (12%) were translated and 316 were of Slovene origin. Meanwhile, among the 129 texts from natural history (biology, chemistry, physics), 37% were translations (48 in comparison to 31 original Slovene texts). The remaining texts fall into the in-between-categories of "probably a translation" and "most likely a translation" and are cases in which I could not prove for certain were translations or were original Slovene texts without foreign origin. ALMASY (2018: 191 and 199).

[12] In the Slovene original, he stated: "Prevode samo za silo!".

translations in the sample came from a German source text. But even though texts of a technical or scientific nature most often came from a German source text, no text genre was completely free of translations from German sources. Furthermore, secondary translations from languages like Greek and Latin were mostly likely to come from a German translation rather than the original language. The other half of translations had a Slavic source text – mainly Croatian/Serbian and Czech, with only a few, rare examples from Russian and Polish source texts.

In comparison to translations from German source texts, translating texts from the languages of the more developed and admired Slavic "brother" peoples carried no stigma and instead affirmed a Slovene national spirit by showing awareness of an inter-Slavic connectedness. Among the Slavs, the Slovenes especially looked up to the Czechs and the other South Slavs. The Czech language was older and more developed than Slovene, and the editors of the first post-1848 Slovene readers particularly relied on already-existent Czech readers, such as Čelavkovský's 1850s series *Česká čítací kniha* and translated a great deal of material from them. About half of Slavic source texts came from a Czech source, while the other half came from South Slavic sources. Among these, legends, folk tales, and heroic epics, especially of Serbian origin like the legends of the Battle of Kosovo Polje, were the most common. A Slavic consciousness was thus not only present in the choice of source texts but was also demonstrated by the choice of content. However, the over-arching framework for all schoolbooks had to be loyalty to the Emperor Franz Joseph I and the House of Habsburg, of which Slovene authors and editors were fully aware. As a result, the orientation in Slovene readers was strictly Austro-Slavic rather than pan-Slavic that looked toward Russia (JELAVICH 1990: 272; MORITSCH 1996).

Translation strategies

Close examination revealed that a variety of translation strategies were employed in creating these texts. At one extreme, there were examples of highly source text-orientated translations, especially among translations of informational texts, which preserved German syntax to such an extent that the Slovene texts read almost like German. At the other extreme, there were very free forms of rewritings, especially among non-canonic texts. Some examples of these were localizations (for example, transferring certain stories into a Slovene or a Slavic setting or connecting general content to a specific Slovene surrounding), adaptations (texts translated based on one or more source texts that were shortened, adapted, and rewritten to suit Slovene school children), self-translations (translations by the authors themselves who transformed their own German texts into Slovene versions), and creative free-rendering of

poems into Slovene versions. Since these readers assembled all sorts of texts and text adaptations, the concept of rewriting as defined by Lefevere (1992) appears to be a very useful concept for describing the different forms of text production found in nineteenth century Slovene school readers. Again, as with the problem of marked/unmarked authorship/translations, we must not transfer too-narrow concepts of today into the past: Conceptualizing to narrow just in black-and-white categories of original text vs. translation does not do justice to the diverse reality in nineteenth century Slovene school readers. The gray area in between, texts neither belonging clearly to one of those binary categories, was substantial.

Agents of translation

Again, even though the Ministry of Education had final approval, it did not micromanage the process of creating schoolbooks, leaving authors and editors with considerable freedom in choosing their material and deciding what content and authors to include as long as their choices fell within the general ideological framework of Catholicism and loyalty toward the monarchy. Furthermore, there were a variety of approaches and decision-making involved in translation. Thus, for these readers, the editors held a great deal of power as "secondary authors" (SERUYA et al. 2013: 7), because they are the ones deciding content, texts, and authors to include or exclude. They re-conceptualized, structured, shortened or rearranged already-existing texts, assigned writing or the translation of new texts to specific authors, and often wrote or translated themselves. Thus, they were important agents of canonization and translation, although many of their contributions to the Austrian school system and the development of Slovene language are largely forgotten. If they are remembered, it is mostly for their other achievements such as literary or scholarly work (ALMASY 2017a).

Following the premise "Study translators, then texts" (PYM 1998:30), certain questions present themselves. Who were the people steering the educational and intellectual orientation of Slovene youth so substantially through writing or editing Slovene schoolbooks? What information is available about the translators and their professional background? In order to answer these questions, I consulted archival material in the extensive Slovene biographical lexicon (ZRC SAZU 1925-2013) to learn more about these people and to identify their motivation, their habitus, and the different forms of capital in the Bourdieusian sense necessary to succeed with such an difficult endeavor. (BOURDIEU 1998; ALMASY 2018: 139–187) The agents involved acted out of personal conviction (in Bourdieusian terms, "illusio") rather than a desire for finan-

cial gain. Due to the state's price regulations, small print runs, and lack of payment for additional work, there was no real money to be made writing or editing Slovene schoolbooks. As the editor Janez Bleiweis stated, spending one's time and energy on such a difficult endeavor was "eine Gabe am Altar des Vaterlandes" – a patriotic contribution to one's fatherland (K. K. LAIBACHER STATTHALTEREI 1850).

The editors – all together 24 men – of Slovene readers published between 1848 and 1918 were either employed within the Austrian school system or were connected to it in some other way. Their professional occupations thus ranged from primary school teachers to *Gymnasialprofessoren* and from school principals to regional or state officials (*Schulrat, Bezirksrat, Landesschulrat, Minsterialbeamter* etc.). Generally, the more influential a series of readers was, and the higher the level it was created for (especially for the *Gymnasium*), the more incorporated cultural capital its editor would have had. Those of this group who were primary school teachers only compiled readers for introductory reading lessons in the *Volksschulen* (most often only what was known as the *Abecedniki* or *Prvo berilo* used in the first year). Those with more prestige within the educational system took on the task of compiling the more complex and sophisticated readers needed for the higher levels.[13] Readers for the *Gymnasien* were compiled by high ranking state officials, scholars and/or otherwise influential men like Janez Bleiweis, Johann Kleemann, Fran Miklošič, Anton Janežič and Jakob Sket.

Turning away from the editors and toward the writers/translators of texts for Slovene school readers, what can we learn about their professional background and what can we learn about the translation activities?[14] In terms of their professional backgrounds, half of them worked in some capacity within the Austrian school system, mainly as teachers but also as principals, schoolbook editors, and regional or state officials within the school system. Just over a third of them (37%), were members of the clergy. These two groups also intersected, since 16% were both clergymen and teachers,

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[13] These observations are the result of extensive research into the background of the 24 editors of all published Slovene school readers. The editors often edited series of readers rather than just a single volume for consecutive school years and often also revised editions. See ALMASY (2018: 142–180).

[14] The following is, again, based on the sample of 902 texts from Slovene school readers, for which 228 authors/translators were named. Among those, 55 were of foreign origin and thus authors of source texts such as Andersen, Schiller, Pushkin. 147 Slovene authors/translators were named, for which biographical information is also available. There were an additional 26 names for which no biographical data was found. The following observations are thus based on the 147 Slovene authors/translators for whom biographical information is available. Every one of them contributed at least one text to these readers. For more detail, see: ALMASY (2018: 180–186).

which reflects the fact that, until the middle of the nineteenth century when the modern school system began to produce secular intellectuals, the small Slovene elite was mostly comprised of priests. Only another 25% of the authors/translators named in the readers had some other sort of professional background. Among them were the rare female author/translators as well as attorneys, politicians, scientists, doctors and the like. In other words, there were two distinct, professional groups who decided on the content and the values taught in these readers: teachers and priests.

Examination of the available biographical information of these editors revealed there was no separation of authors/editors and translators into two professional groups as they are thought of today, and the majority of Slovene intellectuals contributing to school readers (98 out of 147, or 67%) were engaged in both activities.[15] Most intellectuals from the nineteenth century Slovene elite were not only teachers, priests, politicians, writers, or poets, but *also* translators. In other words, Pym's observation that "the cases most fleshed out tend to be translators who found fame wearing a different hat, as authors, political figures, polemicists, and so on" (PYM 2009:32) also holds true for this case. None of them had his or her professional identity exclusively shaped by being a translator.

Instead of a Conclusion: Desiderata for translation history in the Habsburg monarchy

The Habsburg Monarchy and its ideal of equality among languages, various language regulations in general, its school system, and school readers in particular, still offers much untapped potential for translation history research, as do many other multilingual and multiethnic empires of the time. The research summarized here provides insight into Slovene translation culture between 1848 and 1918 through the use of translation in school readers, but it is merely a first step. A desirable goal for future studies would be comparative studies of the use and treatment of translations along with the content and values taught in schoolbooks in other languages from the monarchy, such as Czech, Ruthenian (that is Ukrainian), Croatian/Serbian, Polish, Hungarian, Romanian, and Italian, to see if they differ, and if so, how much. Focusing on translations can be especially fruitful because it involves focusing on the interconnectedness, interdependencies, cooperation, and contacts among the different

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[15] Of course, there is a wide range of translational professionalism and frequency within the sample. Some may have been professional writers and translators who regularly translated pieces of world literature, while others may have just contributed a modest text to a school reader. ALMASY (2018: 185f).

language/ethnic groups within the empire. From what I can judge from my own research, which also included German, Czech, and Croatian school readers for comparison purposes and research on source texts, such research reveals how much alike and how interconnected large parts of Habsburg Central Europe were. In order to get a better understanding of the agents involved and the diversity of translations in such a historical setting, already-established theoretical framework in Translation Studies, including Bourdieu's Field Theory and Lefevere's Rewriting can be particularly useful. Finally, in comparison to the already well-researched phenomenon of pseudo-translation (TOURY 1995: 40), research into pseudo-originals, which is frequently encountered when investigating historical settings, is yet to be identified as a desideratum in Translation Studies.

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Chronotopos

A Journal of Translation History

Raluca Tanasescu

Chaos out of Order.
Translations of American and Canadian Contemporary Poetry into Romanian before 1989 from a Complexity Perspective

Abstract

This essay dwells on Romanian translations of American and Canadian contemporary poetry in stand-alone collections and anthologies between World War II and 1989 against a complexity theory background that sets out to recognize irregularities (or chaotic phenomena) within what is otherwise commonly perceived as an orderly, predictive literary system. Employing a computational social network analysis approach, I examine a corpus of such translations that have been typically considered as part and parcel of a heavily controlled cultural system. The analysis shows that a sizeable part of the corpus were translations projects initiated, carried out, published, and promoted by the translators themselves — the result of a series of interactions in interpersonal and transnational networks of private individuals, rather than the result of established institutional policies and publication agendas. The essay also reflects on the need to carry out agent-oriented research in translation studies within the wider context of the digital social humanities, which present both the theoretical framework and the necessary methodologies for describing translators as agents of change.

Keywords: literary translators, poetry translation, complexity, chaos theory, network analysis

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Acknowledging Irregularity and Multiple Centers in Peripheral Contexts and Beyond

Let us think of translations and translators as nodes in a network in which the edges, or the links, are the publication venues. Actually, publishers or literary journals can be nodes themselves, linked to translations by translators, and so on, and each of them can be a center around which other nodes revolve. As Anthony Pym notes in his 2007 essay on intercultural networks, employing a structural model that allows for multiple centers "invite[s] us to grasp the ways in which [translators] have configured their own spaces" (PYM 2007: 746) and provides a context that does not make individual agency fade away against assumptions about economic power or hegemonic cultural policies. It is in such a context that I analyze the corpus of contempo-

rary American and Canadian poetry translated into Romanian before the fall of communism, which has been otherwise only very broadly and scarcely described from a publishing perspective (IONESCU 1981), with little attention paid to those who proposed and carried out the actual translation projects, although actors in translation networks are mutually dependent (RISKU et al. 2016, TANASESCU & TANASESCU 2018). Thus, the chaos-out-of-order perspective proposes to acknowledge the full extent of any lack of patterns whenever order is *a-priori* assumed, and to identify self-regulation and personal initiatives in what may traditionally appear as the realm of order – in our case the heavily censored Romanian cultural field during the Communist regime.

This paper provides a historical overview of the role played by translators and literary journals in the circulation of American and Canadian poetry and outlines the network of translated contemporary author-collections and anthologies before the fall of communism by combining close reading with computational network analysis. The proposed approach allows us to have a better grasp of why and how translation happened and what the role of translators was in shaping a corpus of American and Canadian contemporary poetry. Accounting for the salient role played by translators or even for their *lack* of agency sometimes in proposing a translation project is paramount, for it is, I conjecture, a stepping stone in presenting translation as a highly complex (MARAIS 2014) and sometimes chaotic human endeavor. Essentially based on Bruno Latour's, Michel Callon's and John Law's relationist sociology, which posits that "neither the actor's size nor its psychological make up nor the motivations behind its actions are predetermined" (CALLON 1997: 2), a complexity framework allows us to overcome the deterministic nature of autonomous organizations and offers a fertile ground for further research into the translators' potential to bring about change by means of personal initiative. Instead of seeing translation as a regulated activity only, I propose to approach it as a possibly chaotic enterprise, which in peripheral contexts may be triggered by a wide range of elements, from a press's publishing program to a translator's whim.

Nevertheless, I would like to caution the reader from the get-go that I do not propose to purposefully look for irregularities in the practice of translation. 'Chaos out of order' does not refer to chaos *following* order but *coexisting* with order in any given living system and is a gentle reminder that perhaps we should not *level out* irregularities in a translation system simply because more established practices outnumber such irregularities. Publishing policies do not preclude translators' personal agendas: the two may exist at the same time in any network and may prove to be equally produc-

tive. According to Kobus Marais (ibid.), this coexistence is what places the agent and the system in a constant state of tension, without favoring any of them. For this very reason, I find a complexity-informed framework as being much more suitable in the study of translators' agency than any systemic approach and I will address this choice in more detail in the following sub-section dedicated to methodology.

In this context of permanent tension between agents and their environment, the main contention of this paper is that poetry translation in Romania has always functioned according to the rules of an actor-network (LATOUR 2005), whose structure could account for the 'holes', for the lack of institutional representation, as well as for literary translators' initiative, connectivity, and sometimes even their lack of accountability. First, I will point out the importance of literary translation for shaping up Romanian poetry as we know it today, as well as the role played by poet-translators in this process. Contemporary U.S. and Canadian poetry translation before 1989 owes greatly its existence to Romanian poets' work: while the overwhelming majority of author-collections were published by Univers Press (IONESCU 1981), the landscape of poetry anthologies is more varied and emphasizes the essential role translators have always played. Second, and in parallel, this paper underscores the central position that literary journals have always had in the activity of literary translation, alongside translators' initiatives and unpredictable cultural mobility. While it can be argued that journals are institution-like structures that mold the taste of their audiences, in Romania we have witnessed a reversal of this situation: most literary periodicals were founded or changed their orientation according to the taste of their following. Finally, I posit that poetry translation in Romania has followed its own pattern and was not only influenced by the practices of more hegemonic cultures: while foreign models did have a role in modelling the translators' wish to align Romanian culture to the more established ones, patterns were also largely determined by translators' personality, historical circumstances, taste, and personal networks.

The latest research carried out by various scholars on the position of Romanian literature within and as world literature (MARTIN et al. 2017) conjectures that "the emphasis on the nation-state as a "basic unit" of analysis and on nationalism broadly can be defined […] as the tendency of a system to limit cultural mobility" (GOLDIŞ 2017: 95). As these scholars demonstrate, Romanian literary history, including the translations it contains, has never been subsumed to a static mode of existence, but to a deeply transnational traffic of cultural goods, "no matter how "marginal," stable, all-of-a-piece, and well configured most literary histories picture them" (ibid.: 96). This new criticism of the old modes of analysis of Europe's southeastern peripheries

includes the 'original vs. translation' model, which they regard as obsolete and non-reflective of the mergers that cultures establish and of the multiple cultural memberships foreign writers acquire through translation. Alex Goldiş proposes an interactional model for the analysis of literary histories grounded in Stephen Greenblatt's notion of "cultural mobility" (GREENBLATT 2009) and notes that instead of trying to fill the gaps of national literary history by linking the numerous translations from Allen Ginsberg, for instance, to an autochthonous tradition, one may benefit more from an interactional model that unearths those geo-cultural nodes which enabled the meeting of the Romanian and U.S. cultures and stimulated them. Carmen MUŞAT (2017) too goes beyond the imitation stereotype and analyzes the importance of geo-cultural networks in the rise of modern Romanian literature. To her, looking at others does not mean imitation or a derivative body of work, but a highly formative act engendered by new aesthetic protocols, concordance, and kinship, all marked by the idea of exchange and not by mere emulation. Muşat argues that the perpetually shifting borders of that part of Europe have created a more complex literary environment, marked not by one national identity, but by multiple, 'intersectional', and 'nodal' identities. A short relaxation in an otherwise very strict communist ideology during the late 1960s and the early 1970s had French structuralism enter Romanian universities and caused a massive interest in the French *nouveau roman* and in contemporary American poetry. The interest in the latter was furthered by the large number of Romanian writers and professors emigrating to the U.S. and also to Canada after the cultural liberalization (also known as the Thaw) ended in the late 1970s. As we shall see, they were salient in proposing anthologies mirroring their new cultures of adoption and influenced a whole new generation of writers, the so-called 'Generation of the 1980s', whose representatives integrated new American writing in their own postmodern work, as a reaction to a pithy European complex. According to Muşat, this process happened in perfect synchronicity with American postmodernism and took place through a series of translations done in the 1970s, a moment of perfect synchrony with the world's literature.

Translators as Nodes in a Network of Practice

The methodological contributions of sociology to the study of translation are unquestionable. However, these sociological perspectives on translation in the context of globalization have often emphasized hierarchies, power relations, and macroscopic analyses, hardly ever providing more detailed accounts from the translation universe. Although much later than literary studies (HAYLES 1991), translation studies scholars

have recently started to question the idea of translation as a field. As GOUANVIC (2014) noteworthily observed, besides translators that act as political agents or translators that aim at gathering as much literary capital as possible by translating reputed authors, there are translators by necessity, that seldom compete for a certain position and render the solubility of a concept like 'field' problematic in relation to translation studies. Johan HEILBRON and Gisèle SAPIRO (2018) also note that translation is not a field in Bourdieu's sense because it is strongly dependent on various other social universes and these influence to a great extent the composite configuration of the translation practice. Even so, while acknowledging that irregularities exist in the practice of translation, sociologists like Heilbron and Sapiro focused their research on constructing "a *general* approach to translation […] by focusing on book translations in the field of publishing" (2018: 184), with particular interest in state-enabled policies for shaping up cultural transfers via translation or in translation on the international book market.

In order to capture best the complexity of any translation phenomenon, translators' agency needs to be researched, I suggest, within the digital social humanities, an umbrella-notion that situates any translated text in its context of production, dependent at all levels on the agent(s) producing it and on the medium of circulation (online[1] or offline), and analyzed by computational means. The particular framework of complexity presents itself as particularly suited because of its attention to methodology. It has been argued that complex systems may be modeled and analyzed by means of adaptive networks (SAYAMA et al. 2013) and that, in general, the formal language and the tools of network theory offer a more practical and user-friendly approach than any other. Since translation is not a field in itself and it ramifies into various more homogenous universes, I believe network analysis is a very viable way of describing both its history and the possible mechanisms that drive any translation project. In recent years, the humanities took new computational methods of analyzing and visualizing past events and social relationships at heart, as such approaches complement the close reading of historical texts with further granulated modes of analysis. More specifically, computational historical network research has seen an unprecedented development, while network visualisations have gained ground as a very effective way of mapping out the heterogeneity of historical and social relationships (BLAKESLEY 2020).

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[1] Since this research is concerned with translations done well before the advent of the digital in Eastern Europe, the non-human factor has little importance in our study. No other non-human factors have revealed themselves as relevant during the present research.

The complexity of the translation system at the level of agent-based modelling is given by the dynamics of the system, agent interaction, and agent heterogeneity. Unlike traditional social sciences, which are focused on the social average, in complexity theory the analysis and modelling of the complex adaptive systems promise to offer a more complete image of translators' actions, which may range from chaotic behaviours to assumed, intentional agency. Using the example of economic systems, MILLER and PAGE (2007) argue that homogeneity in such a complex system can only account for the proper functioning of institutions, but cannot explain an economic crash. Therefore, complexity theory presents itself as a proper research paradigm to account for translation phenomena outside institutional contexts or for aspects that may be otherwise classified as accidental or unusual. Unlike other systemic models, be they open or closed, networks enable a two-pronged approach: on the one hand, an examination of local, particular, and infinitesimal processes and, on the other, a contextualization of such small-scale processes in the wider transnational webs of connectivity cultures are involved in. In terms of agency, networks emphasize the connectionist mind of translators. The edges that connect the dots in the following graph visualizations do not represent only exchanges between cultures: they may also be lines of flight that translators embark on, they may represent the cooperation translators establish with authors, publishers, and other translators. Thus, these network representations, although perhaps not the most visually clear,[2] provide a layout of the distances translation sets to cross and of our potential to act through communication. The research methodology I use in this paper echoes Andrew Chesterman's propositions related to deploying a network as envisioned by Latour:

> *For instance, we might wish to establish what networks exist (in a given context): what the various nodes are, both human and non-human; what the range of the network is; what use is made of each of the nodes; the frequency of links in different directions; the flexibility of the network, the extent to which it remains stable or expands or contracts over time; even the way compromises are born and become necessary. How do translators build and maintain their networks?* (CHESTERMAN 2006: 22)

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[2] In a keynote address for the International Seminar on Network Theory: Network Multidimensionality in the Digital Age, Latour complained that network visualizations are "not a pleasant landscape, but [it is] rather like watching lines and lines of barbed wire" (LATOUR 2010: 6). Others call them 'hairballs' (Schulz & Hurter 2013).

and is rooted in network analysis (NA), which measures structural and process-related properties at the level of the whole network and of the sub-networks. NA offers computational ways to wrangle large amounts of data and helps us grasp the structure of relationships between actors by offering a unique 'outsider' view of any given associations. This qualitative stage of the research starts with data collection (bibliographic research converted into a data matrix) and the formalization of the model (establishing which aspects of the subject will be computable and in what form, cf. FLANDERS & JANNIDIS 2016) and then employs a popular quantitative method: the network consisting of authors and translators as nodes and publication venues as links shall be measured and visualized by means of a dedicated software: the NetworkX libraries in Python, which offers two-dimensional graph drawings (or network diagrams)[3]. NetworkX is a package for the creation, manipulation, and study of the structure, dynamics, and functions of complex networks. Network studies have gained a lot of traction lately (KAUFMANN et al. 2017) because of the increasing pervasiveness of computational power and because computers are much more able to work in non-linear ways than humans. Furthermore, besides feeding on graph theory, network analysis also uses data mining – the practice of analyzing large databases for the purpose of acquiring new information in computer science –, and information visualization (or visual data analysis) – the study of visual representations of abstract visual or non-numerical data, which take various spatial forms and help users understand intuitively how large amounts of information are organized. Visualizing information as graphs is used "to summarize, present, and enact rich materials visually" (HUGHES, CONSTANTOPOULOS & DALLAS 2016: 160) and is considered to have the potential to generate meaning (LIU 2013) and work hypotheses, followed by more formal analyses. In the context of this particular research, although we deal with a fairly small corpus, visualizations help us see, for instance, if and to what extent anthologists share interest in the same authors.

Aside from measuring the size of the network (the number of nodes and edges) and the clustering coefficient (a measure of the degree to which nodes in a graph tend to

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[3] Although Latour initially addressed the issue of computational visualizations as too static for the inherent instability of the complex interactions that may exist within a network, he subsequently nuanced his position. In the plenary quoted above, he acknowledges that "the digital expansion given to information techniques is going to have huge and fascinating effects", (LATOUR 2010: 5) and that computational networks actually enhance the materiality of such structures: "[…] what I like most in the new networks is that the expansion of digitality has enormously increased the material dimension of networks: the more digital, the less virtual and the more material a given activity becomes" (ibid.).

cluster together), I will look into its density – a ratio of the number of edges E to the number of possible edges in a network with N nodes –, as well as into its average degree – the average number of edges attached to a node in the respective network. Connectedness (or connectivity) – how well components of the network connect to one another – is another feature I will examine, as it determines the nature of the structure: full connectedness is a feature of complete graphs (also known as "cliques"), in which a node is connected with any other node in the graph. Connectedness will offer information on the giant component of a graph, which is a single connected component that contains the majority of the links in the network, as well as on weakly connected components—a series of nodes in which there exists a path (a sequence of edges) from any node to any other and on the strongly connected component.

As far as centrality measures are concerned, that is, the measure of the most important vertices in the graph, the analysis will follow four avenues. First, I shall refer to the degree centrality of certain nodes which traditional functionalist analyses would consider to be the most important ones, by analyzing the number of links, or translations, incident on that node, i.e., that particular author or translator. High connectivity may translate into having more resources to attain an objective or to connect in the wider network. Second, I will examine betweenness centrality, which will help me establish the relative importance of a node by measuring the amount of translation traffic flowing through that node to other nodes in the network. This is done by measuring number of the shortest paths that pass through the node and connect other nodes, therefore it quantifies the number of times a node acts as a bridge along the shortest paths between two other nodes. This measurement is relevant for finding the agent that influences the network flow the most. Third, I will look into closeness centrality, to determine the shortest paths connecting that node to others in the network. This count helps me find out the agents that are best placed to influence the network the fastest. Fourth, I will determine the Eigenvector centrality (or the EigenCentrality), which assigns relative scores to all nodes in the network based on the concept that connections to high-scoring nodes contribute more to the score of the node in question than equal connections to low-scoring nodes. That makes this score qualify as the 'all around' grade for any agent in the network, as it is considered to quantify the influence of nodes on other nodes in the same network. In order words, the higher the value of the EigenVector, the more prominent a node is in the network.

Contemporary U.S. and Canadian Poetry in Author-Collections and Literary Journals after World War II

The corpus of author-collections (Figure 1 and Figure 2) translated before 1989 which mark the generation's interest in their American counterparts (Diane Wakoski, Frank O'Hara, alongside Pound, Plath, Eliot, W. Stevens, T. Roethke, W. D. Snodgrass, and W. S. Merwin) form a disconnected network dominated by a 'star-like' giant component – Univers Press as a central hub of translations from contemporary poets:
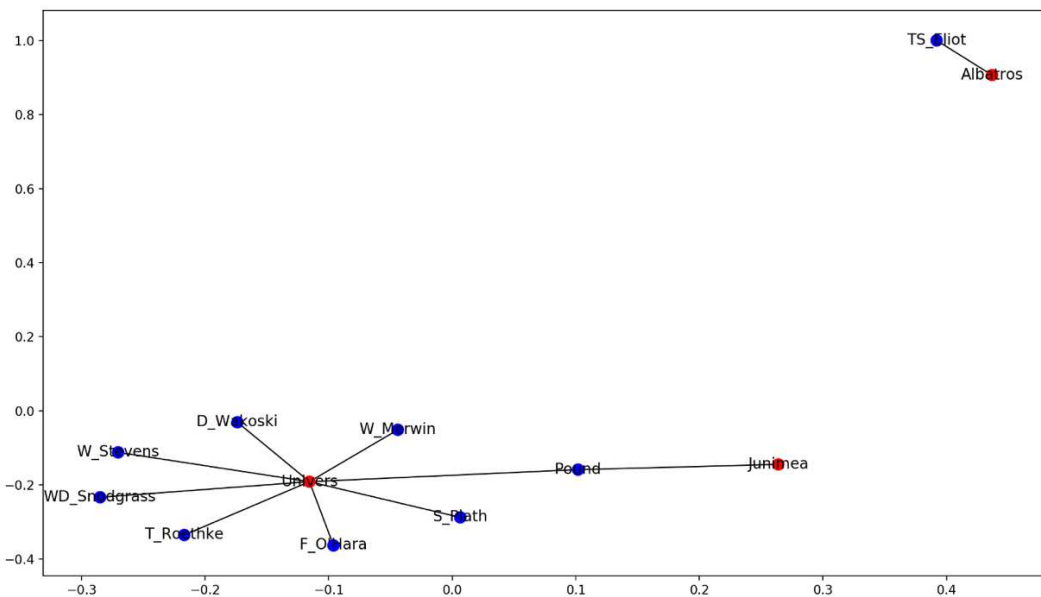
Figure 1. Contemporary U.S. poetry collections translated before 1989.
Legend: red = publishers, blue = authors

The most central and influential nodes are Univers Press and Ezra Pound in both subnetworks. However, it is the disconnected component, the translation published by Albatros, which would be republished after 1989, while none of the other translations have ever been republished. The only poets retranslated by different translators after 1989 are T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. Moreover, this data visualization alone not point to translators' agency. When translators are factored in the visualization, the resulting graph indicates translators Constantin Abăluță and Ștefan Stoenescu as preferred by Univers Press for contemporary poetry projects and all the others (L. Ursu, I. Caraion, V. Teodorescu, P. Negoșanu, Ioan A. Popa, and V. Nicolescu,) as potentially having a more important role in the decision-making process prior to the publication of these translations:
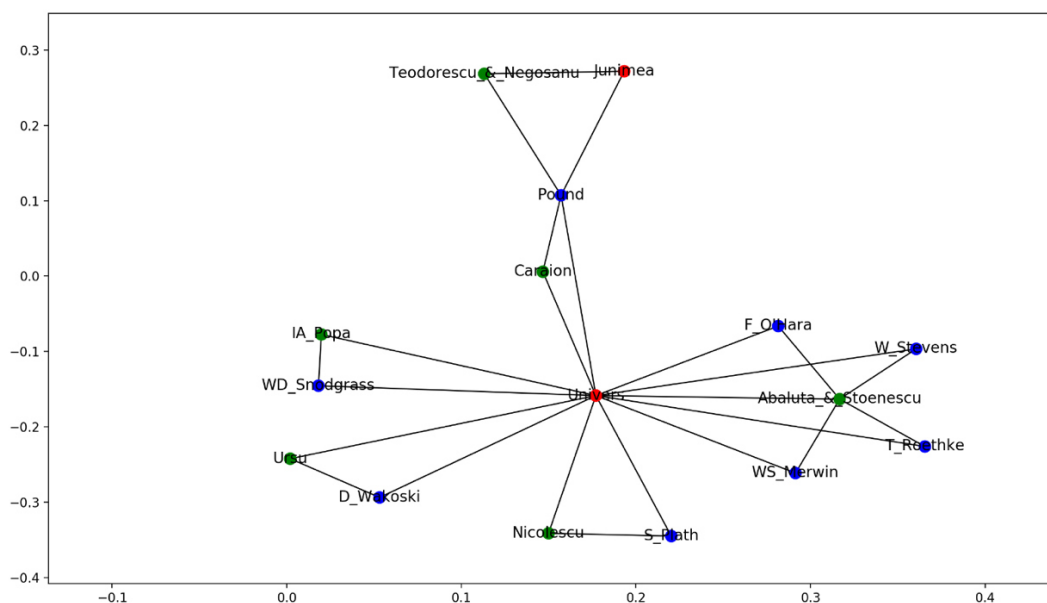
Figure 2. Network of publishers, authors, and translators before 1989.
Legend: red = publishers, blue = authors, green = translators

In this case, the network analysis and data visualisation alone are certainly not very revealing in themselves, although they do show us what exactly American poetry in author-collections looked like during those years. The computational analysis needs to be doubled by close reading, a critical analysis of the paratexts and secondary sources related to these titles. How did these volumes happen? What preceded them and had an impact on the publication decision? Why are the nodes linked the way they are? Although there is no stand-alone translated volume of English- or French-language Canadian poetry published by the state-controlled Univers Press, how did Canadian authors become known in the Romanian cultural system?

The end of World War II brought about a wave of translations from American literature in various cultural periodicals, such as *Revista Fundațiilor Regale* (The Journal of Royal Foundations) or the newly established *Revista româno-americană* (The Romanian-American Journal), founded by a mixed group of intellectuals that were supposed to represent a collaboration between Marxists and Americans. More and more authors, such as Whitman, Poe, Dickinson, Lowell, cummings, and Frost, are translated by a number of young intellectuals dedicated to opening Romanian culture to the New World. And, "[a]s in previous decades, the most successful translators were writers, especially poets, in their own right" (KOHN 2009: 515). Then, in 1947, Romania entered the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. Many intellectuals were denied publication, were imprisoned, went under political surveillance, or went into hiding. Some others decided it was safer to collaborate with the proletarian Communist par-

ty, in spite of its anti-intellectual stance. All the basic policies for Romanians, including the cultural ones, were imposed by Moscow (cf. PERRY 2001: 117).

Translation projects started immediately after the end of the war were postponed and books already published were banned. *Revista româno-americană* had been established in 1926 by the Friends of the United States Foundation, under the aegis of Queen Maria of Romania, but was forced to end its activities in 1941, reopened in 1944 and concluded its operations again in 1947, as a magazine whose first objective was "to present Romanians with the true image of America" (CROITORU 1999). As Drace-Francis notes, "[t]he few existing studies on Romanian views of the outside world under the Communist regime tend to treat the early (pre-1965) period and stress the negative light in which the West was portrayed in official propaganda as against an idealised *private* view" (2012: 231, emphasis mine). However, efforts by young writers and academics continued. Most of the people who still had the power to bring American literature to Romania were associated with various academic circles: Petru Comarnescu, Mihnea Gheorghiu, Leon Levițchi, Dan Duțescu, Geo Bogza, Eugen Schileru, Mihail Bogdan, and others. Young academics began taking advantage of various exchange opportunities with universities in the United States and return to their home country, where they capitalized on translating the literature with which they have come into contact.

Literary and cultural journals presented translators with the possibility of publishing frequently selections of the authors they admired and also served a series of other purposes: "The journals serving either to introduce writers not yet published in book form, to test reader response to certain writers, to follow up on authors already introduced in book form, or to provide critical commentary" (PERRY 2001: 134). The main outlets after 1964 were *Secolul XX*, *Steaua*, *România literară*, *Iașiul literar*, and *Tribuna*, which functioned as perfect venues for translation from new contemporary poets, such as Donald Barthelme, Sylvia Plath, Allen Ginsberg, Denise Levertov, Robert Lowell, Robert Bly, James Merrill, W.S. Merwin, Anne Sexton, William Stafford, John Berryman, Reed Whittemore, James Wright, James Tate, Robert Duncan, Robert Creeley, and Louis Simpson. Translators took advantage of the fact that translation was seen as "an ethically sound activity, whereas original literary works were subject to censorship and could only be published if they glorified the totalitarian regime" (KOHN 2009.: 516). Poet-translators used this situation to import cultural capital and to keep an open door to the rest of the world and to undermine the discourse and censorship of the Communist party and poets were joined in their efforts by important scholars, such as dissident philosopher of culture Noica. Katherine Verdery

explains that sanctioned translation was doubled by a parallel activity of subversion via translations carried out by Noica's *Cercul de la Păltiniș*[4] in the 1970s:

> *Translations […] were part of creating a larger public for culture, a sort of raising of the spiritual standard of living, parallel to the state's claims to raise the material standard of living. At the same time, however, they were like "viruses" loosed into the mechanism by which culture was officially transmitted. They were a form of political action.* (VERDERY 1991: 294-295)

Such form of political action was too weak to undermine effectively the official discourse and publishing policies, but it was a natural reaction nonetheless, allowed by a short "defrosting" from 1964 to 1971—a "crisis" of Marxist legitimation which partially liberated Romania from socialist propaganda. The declaration of independence from the Soviet Union by the Communist Party in 1964 was the beginning of a period of cultural boom, when

> *[t]he Romanian man of letters […] was officially encouraged as nowhere else in Eastern Europe and he made notable progress in recovering synchronization with the West which his forebears had so avidly sought and achieved. This passion to participate in and to contribute significantly to the major literary currents of the day – inspired by an intense nationalism and by a personal hunger in some of the best Romanian literary minds for the broader and more varied world of ideas and art forms, and inspired by the native Romanian genius for experimentation and innovation in art forms and techniques – this passion now returned the Romanian to a meaningful and original participation in the larger literary community.* (PERRY 2001: 145)

Policies for cultural, scientific, and educational exchanges between the United States and Romania were put into place, and in 1964 the legations of both nations were promoted to full embassies. As a result, the range of authors and modes broadens, although the publication policies remain basically the same. Contemporary poets, such as Ezra Pound (1975, 1983), were translated and published in book form. A substantial selection from the poetry of T.S. Eliot (1965) translated by Ștefan Augustin Doinaș, Virgil Nemoianu, and Toma Pavel, was included in the first issue of reputed *Secolul XX* (The 20th Century).

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[4] An unofficial philosophy discussion and training circle, commonly referred to as 'the Noica School' in English.

Dan Grigorescu, a well-known Romanian specialist in Anglo-American Studies and a director of the Arts Department within the State Committee for Arts and Culture, published an influential volume of essays titled *13 scriitori americani* (Thirteen American Writers), in which he analysed "writers whose work [he] deemed paramount for modern American literature" and which left aside "writers to whom Romanian critics have been dedicating substantial analyses […]" (1968: 6). In the 1970s, he is transferred as a lecturer to Portland State University and to the University of California, Los Angeles, where he came in further contact with contemporary American literature. He is also known for having been the founder of the Romanian Library in New York City. Other intellectuals of that time took advantage of the Fulbright Program that had been in place since 1946: Mihail Bogdan received a Fulbright fellowship at the East Texas State University, Virgil Nemoianu – translator of Denise Levertov and Whittermore in the *Steaua* literary journal – received his doctorate from the University of California in San Diego. In their turn, American poets like W.R. Snodgrass and Diane Wakoski went to Romania through the Exchange Program in 1963 and 1964.

Author collections were usually translated either by Romanian poets alone, or by Romanian poets in collaboration with university professors known for their scholarship in the field of English and/or American Studies and Literature. For example, Wallace Stevens' *World as Meditation* (1970[5]), Theodor Roethke's *Selected Poems* (1973), William Merwin's *Poems of the Seventies: Selected Poems, 1963-1973* (1977), and Frank O'Hara's *Meditations in an Emergency* (1980) were all four translated by Constantin Abăluță and Ștefan Stoenescu for the same publisher, Univers Press. A recent interview (Mincan 2012) with Denisa Comănescu, a former editor for Univers, reveals that pairing a translator with a specialist in British or American Studies was a common practice of that time. Such teams were commonly referred to as "colectiv de traducere" (translation committee) and were meant to be a guarantee for the translation's accuracy, as well as for the thoroughness of the paratexts. Abăluță and Stoenescu's background in American poetry translation, mostly grown under the umbrella of Univers Press, influenced Minerva Press's decision-makers to commission them for the translation of Serge Fauchereau's *Introduction to Modern American Poetry* (1974). The interest shown by Univers in publishing contemporary U.S. poetry continued with selections from Sylvia Plath's work (1980), translated by poet

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[5] This year and the subsequent ones are the years the respective translations into Romanian were published.

and translator Vasile Nicolescu, alongside Diane Wakoski's *The Magellanic Clouds* (1981), translated by poet and creative writing lecturer Liliana Ursu.

Although gathered around and largely driven by Univers Press, Romanian translators' own literary profiles and personal biographies had a salient role in shaping the roster of American poets translated after World War 2 and their role becomes more and more apparent as examine the few anthologies put together before 1989.

Contemporary Canadian and U.S. Poets in Anthologies

Canadian English-language contemporary poetry during communism was translated only in anthologies and it owes greatly to Romanian émigré poet Nicholas Catanoy (or Nicolae Cătănoiu by his Romanian name). In his translator's note to the anthology of contemporary English Canadian poetry (1978) – one of the three anthologies of Canadian poetries ever assembled and translated into Romanian – translator and anthologist Ion Caraion explains that the driving force behind that compilation was Catanoy, "this strange enthusiast and hopeless poet" (Caraion 1978: 5). Shortly after his arrival in Canada, circa 1968, Catanoy came up with the idea of such an anthology, which Caraion put together only about ten years later. The description of the Romanian émigré is quite veracious: he has often been characterized as a 'phenomenon' that is hardly ever pinned down appropriately; a doctor and philosopher by profession and a globetrotter and a cosmopolitan by nature, he never felt at home in any foreign culture, but always wanted to incorporate these cultures and these languages in his own work: "The wish of this polyglot is to rebuild one single language, an integrating matrix for all things and phenomena, a universal vehicle which would carry his ideas across without any translation hurdles to the farthest corners of the world" (Mițariu 2009: 239). Translation is an integral part of his work and reflects his perpetual *mal du pays*: in 1977 he published the second anthology of Romanian poetry in North America (Catanoy 1977), in which he included 53 poets, selected "not on academic grounds, as he confesses, but according to his personal taste" (Catanoy 1977: 244).

For *Walum Olum. Cântecele și proverbele indienilor din America de Nord* (Walum Olum. The Songs and Proverbs of Native Peoples in North America) (1981), Catanoy collaborated with translators Virgil Teodorescu and Petronela Negoșanu. It opens with a preface and a foreword by Catanoy, who offers the rationale for gathering the 107 songs and proverbs that were representative of 33 tribes, and also the mechanics of assembling the anthology. Although the title refers to a North-American selection, the short preface reveals that most of the texts had been gathered by Catanoy himself

over twelve years and reflect the folklore of natives from various reservations, "either from the north-east coast of the continent, especially from the Canadian Maritimes, or from the north-[western] coast, namely the province of British Columbia" (CATANOY 1981: 5). The eleven-page introduction puts forward an analysis of the texts that mirrors his background as a poet and outlines the history, themes, motifs, and poetic devices and features apparent in native literature in general and in his anthology in particular.

In tackling the limitations of his endeavor, he admits to a *modus operandi* that fits the patterns traced in translations from U.S. poetry in the early 20th century: "Moreover, for this anthology we have only selected those songs that are comprehensible to our sensibility and lyrical universe" (CATANOY 1981: 6). As Mițariu aptly notes, Catanoy had committed to "a courageous attempt at bringing the cultural patrimony of a native population to light" (MIȚARIU 2009: 244), an attempt which was motivated by the fact that Catanoy identified himself in a way with "these outcasts of a hyper-ethnical North-American society, packed in reservations" (MIȚARIU 2009: 244).

Catanoy's role in creating an awareness of Canadian poetry began the moment he emigrated to Canada. Following his émigré friend's suggestion, Caraion authored an anthology of English language Canadian poets, in which he played a multiple role: he made the selection, translated the poems into Romanian, and wrote the preface. The anthologist's preface notes that fragments had been previously published in various literary journals, along with poems by French Canadian poets. Caraion acknowledged two other anthologies from the same literature and qualified his own endeavor as "only quite a modest selection" (CATANOY 1981: 6). His foreword contains a critical apparatus that analyzes the translated poems within the work of the respective author, a natural choice for the literary critic. It also traces a common feature of their work: "[…] the rigorous consistency with which most of Canadian poets insist not on a word, not on a concept, not on an idea, but on a true existential meaning and on a set of gnoseological implications expressed through the term consciousness" (CATANOY 1981: 7). Each batch of translations is preceded by a short biography and analysis of that poet's work. Caraion's roster includes poets born at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, some even younger, such as Margaret Atwood. The most generous selection is from Irving Layton's work, followed by Fred Cogswell, Lionel Kearns, John Newlove, and Michael J. Yates. Leonard Cohen is listed among the poets he did not include, along with Elizabeth Brewster, Clarence Major, Henry Beissel and others. The anthologist confessed that he would like to publish stand-alone collections dedicated to each of the poets he failed to include.

Interestingly enough, the other three volumes – *Înțelegând zăpada. 60 poeți canadieni de limbă engleză* (Understanding the Snow. 60 Canadian English-Language Poets) (Teodorescu & Negoșanu 1977), *Antologie de poezie canadiană de limbă franceză* (An Anthology of Canadian French-Language Poetry) (Andrițoiu & Șchiopu 1978), and *Steaua marilor lacuri. 45 poeți canadieni de limbă franceză* (The Star of the Great Lakes. 45 Canadian French-Language Poets) (Teodorescu & Negoșanu 1981) are published around the same date, done by translators typically associated with contemporary poetry translation, and published by different publishers, which is probably another indication of the personal nature of each of these projects. In each case, the translators are the ones who did the selection, the translations, and put together the preface. However, the anthology published by Univers appears to be one of their 2,007 titles meant to bring valuable world literature into the local literature. This anthology precedes all the projects related to Catanoy, but it includes Catanoy himself among the selected Canadian poets. The 1977 anthology by Teodorescu and Negoșanu does not acknowledge his role, or anybody's role for that matter: the translators' note is simply an overview of the Canadian literature, which aims at establishing whether it brings something new compared to the British one, but Catanoy's presence among the selected authors is perhaps another indication of the latter's involvement in the project.

The beginnings of Canadian contemporary poetry translated into Romanian are presented below (Figure 3) and disclose two different translation programs: one interested exclusively in contemporary poets (Caraion, for Albatros) and one that encompasses both modern[6] and contemporary poets (Teodorescu and Negoșanu, for Univers). Published only one year apart, thus most probably conceived at the same time, and with different publishers than the anthologists collaborated with for other projects, the selection of the authors reveals two different types of agency. Univers, known for its interest in both modern and contemporary literature and for the effectiveness in carrying out such large-scale projects, most likely commissioned Teodorescu and Negoșanu, translators who otherwise consistently collaborated with Dacia Press, because Caraion was putting together his own selection to be published with Albatros a year later. Furthermore, as I explain further on, Caraion publishes his next anthology (this time of contemporary American poetry) with Univers one year later, which is another indication that the Canadian poetry anthology was his own endeavor and was not commissioned by the publisher.

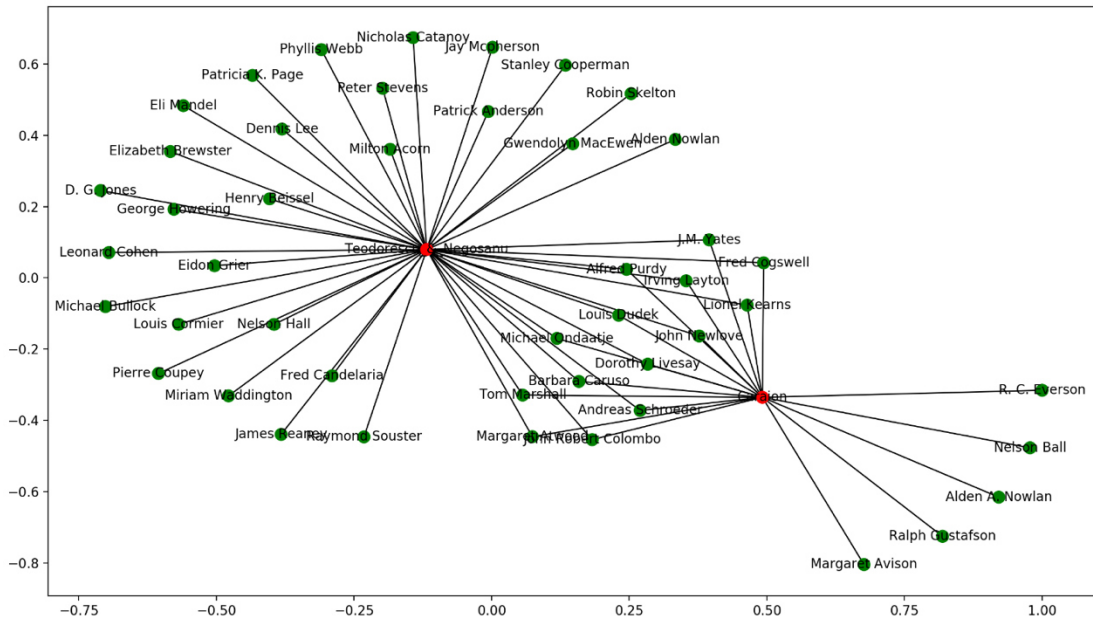
[6] I have not included modern poets in the graph.

Figure 3. Anthologies of contemporary Canadian poetry before 1989.

There are thirteen Canadian poets included in both anthologies (Figure 4), thus they are central nodes with equal values in all three centrality measurements. The best positioned nodes overall are the ones in the *Univers* anthology due to their more numerous vicinities. The whole graph consists of 48 poets, with 27% of the nodes in both anthologies, a percentage that attests both to the different programs of the two titles, and to the prominence of poets like Romania-born Irving Layton or young Margaret Atwood and Michael Ondaatje in the cultural networks of the late 1970s.
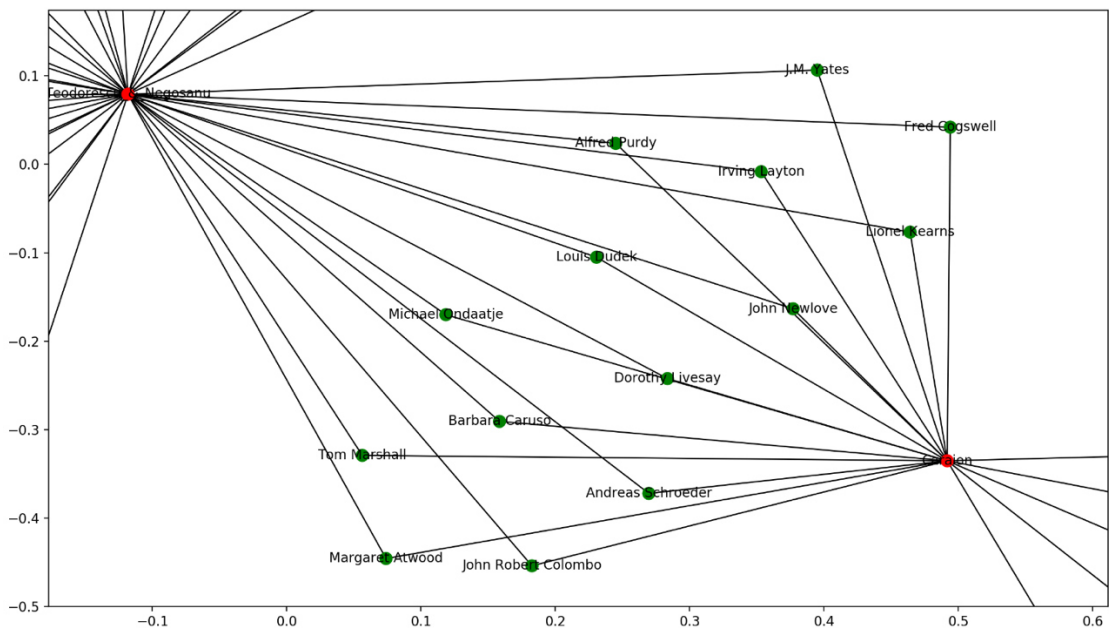
Figure 4. Contemporary Canadian poets selected both by *Univers* and *Albatros*.

The equal values of many of the nodes in this graph result from the equal weight (number of translation occurrences) assigned to the edges. Had I factored in the number of poems selected for each of these authors, the values would have been different. However, since this research focuses on translators' agency, I would have taken a great risk in doing so, especially in the case of the Univers anthology, where the involvement of the translators in the selection is not clear, so I compared the Eigen-Vector values (a measurement that indicates the overall most prominent nodes in a network) with the number of poems selected by Caraion for each of the fourteen poets:

EigenVector = 0.1386	Albatros	Univers	EigenVector = 0.1386	Albatros	Univers
Dorothy Livesay	4	3	Barbara Caruso	3	3
John Robert Colombo	2	4	Andreas Schroeder	7	4
Lionel Kearns	17	3	Michael Ondaatje	4	3
Irving Layton	20	5	Margaret Atwood	7	4
John Newlove	16	4	Tom Marshall	11	4
J. M. Yates	13	4	Alfred Purdy	2	1
Fred Cogswell	18	3	Louis Dudek	4	6

Table 1. Number of poems per contemporary author in the Albatros and Univers anthologies of Canadian poetry

The distribution of poems per author shows great discrepancies between the two projects: while the Univers anthology generally contains selections of three or four poems per author, the anthology compiled by Caraion selects as few as two and as many as twenty poems per poet, a clear expression of the anthologist's personal taste. Thus, it is safe to conclude that the two anthologies of contemporary English-language Canadian poetry ever compiled in Romania were as much the result of an institutional cultural agenda as they were the expression of a poet-translator's personal taste and the outcome of a network whose driving force was poet Nicholas Catanoy.

As far as American poets are concerned, anthologies played a salient role in Romanians' becoming familiar with their work and were put together or simply suggested mostly by writers and professors who benefited from academic mobility programs financed by the U.S. government. The first such translation project was curated by Margareta Sterian, translator and anthologist of *An Anthology of Modern American Poetry from Whitman to the Present* (1946). Sterian was also a reputed poet and painter, one of the leaders of the generation of the 1930s. Her anthology was published by the State Press only two years after her own poetry debut, but the whole print run was burnt in 1947 by the pro-Soviet regime. The anthology presents the work of poets that were new to the Romanians, such as Stephen Crane or William

Carlos Williams, and was re-published in 1973 under the title *I Hear America Singing. An Anthology of Modern American Poetry* (1973). This latter revised edition reveals the history of the anthology, which was initially suggested to Sterian by Petru Comarnescu. For this revised edition, the anthologist adds thirteen poets that were born between the two world wars, such as Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsberg, or Gwendolyn Brooks, and confesses in the translator's note that the main criterion was her personal taste, followed by the selected poets' stature in American literature. Sterian also discusses translation proper and explains that her guiding principle was observing the original meter and, as much as possible, the rhyme, without trying to adapt the poems to match "our Romanian poetic spirit" (STERIAN 1973: 11) and admits to revising many of the initial translations that had been published in 1946. The note also acknowledges the role played by the publisher in reviving the translation project and professionally mentions the sources used for authors' biographies. However, the book exudes its translator's personality: its unusual large format recalls that of an art book; the soft, porous paper is reminiscent of that used for watercolor painting; and the text is interspersed by tasteful illustrations selected by the translator herself. Also, the illustration on the cover bears her signature and is titled "The Michigan Brass Band". Moreover, one of the very few analyses dedicated to her work as a translator confirm the personal nature of her projects: "The poet's translations, when not commissioned or requested by her need to practice, follow […] the road of self-discovery. Technically exact and poetically inspired, their intention was to impose the free spirit of America […], turning her into a pioneer in this field in 1947" (CREȚU 2007: 363). After the 1989 revolution will be republished twice (2005, 2017).

The second anthology presenting contemporary poets in translation—*Din poezia engleză și americană* (British and American Poetry. An Anthology) (1970)—was curated by philosopher, poet, playwright and novelist Lucian Blaga. The edition published in 2012 by Humanitas Press (which contains two older anthologies put together by Blaga in one single volume in 1970) reveals the rationale behind his venture as an anthologist in *În loc de prefață* (Instead of a Preface): "I was not interested in their number. I was interested in their carats" (9), he says of the way he made the selection. "I selected authors from foreign anthologies, however best I could and whenever I had the occasion" (id.), he confesses about his sources. He also explains what translation meant to him and why he selected certain texts and not others:

> *By translating, I quenched a tremendous thirst. By translating, I became richer in experiences. I wanted to see the extent to which poetry can travel from one language*

> *to another. By translating, I felt myself growing. Because I have been brooding only*
> *those poems which delighted me and which, through the act of translation, could*
> *become in a way mine, ours, could belong to the Romanians.* (BLAGA 2012: 9-10)

Further selections from American poetry appear in Anatol E. Baconsky's *Panorama poeziei universale* (A Panorama of Universal Poetry) (1973), considered by Paul Cernat (2007) and numerous other Romanian critics as "fundamental" for the evolution of recent Romanian literature. Out of the 99 poets selected on the grounds of the "Meridiane lirice" publishing program, eight are American: Eliot, Faulkner, Steinbeck, Caldwell, Sandburg, Dickinson, Miller, and Capote. All translations belong to Baconsky, an effort for which he received the prize of the Romanian Writers' Union the same year. The anthology followed the critically-acclaimed stand-alone volume he translated from Carl Sandburg (1965).

A comprehensive anthology in two volumes appeared between 1977 and 1978, a project edited by Leon Levițchi and Tudor Dorin: *Antologie de poezie americană, de la începuturi pînă azi* (1977, 1978) (An Anthology of American Poetry from the Beginnings to the Present Day). The 84 authors presented in the second volume cover an impressive time span (1912-1977), but the selection of the poems is poor and translation is often improper. Although translated by Leon Levițchi, a reputed specialist in English Studies, along with Tudor Dorin, the excellent translator of Rudyard Kipling, among others, the general impression is that of a hasty execution.

Another example is the anthology curated by poet, essayist and translator Ion Caraion: *Antologia poeziei americane* (The Anthology of American Poetry) (1979), a selection of poems by one hundred and thirty American authors translated by Mihnea Gheorgiu, Petru Solomon, Emil Gulian, Vasile Nicolescu, and Caraion himself. The anthologist belonged to a generation of young poets that had been affected by the war, disillusioned with the old poetic techniques that still prevailed during the Communist years, and animated by an energising rebellion against the Marxist doctrine and values imposed through the formal education system. "My name is Ion Caraion and I am one of those writers that can no longer be ushered away from Romanian literature by any party, dictator, bullets, or scoundrels and toads with the official media" (CARAION, cit. in ȘERBAN 2003), he boldly stated in 1982, bitterly reminiscing about the years spent in Communist detention from 1950 to 1955 and then again from 1958 to 1964. After he was released from prison, he started to publish frantically, trying to make up for the lost time:

> *Tormented as I was by the years that had been stolen from me, by the manuscripts they had confiscated from me and destroyed, by the heart-breaking complex that I would not have enough time to write, obsessed by the idea that my message might have been stifled again […] I didn't have any other solution, but to work tremendously, 14-16 hours a day, so that I can leave an oeuvre behind.* (Caraion, cit. in Şerban 2003)

As a result, he published twenty volumes of poetry, six volumes of essays and literary critique, and an impressive number of translations. For Masters' *Antologia orăşelului Spoon River* [Spoon River Anthology] (1968) he received the Prize of the Writers' Union, then continued with the translation of Pound's *Cantos* (1975) and finished the series of translations from American literature with the above-mentioned anthology. This project, however, may not have been solely his initiative. Published by Univers and bringing together renditions by five translators, the 1979 anthology fit perfectly the publication program the press was committed to, but may have been, in a way influenced, by the similar Canadian project run by Caraion the year before. In any case, all these names associated with translations from American and Canadian contemporary poets form a tightly-knit network of poet-translators committed to connecting these cultures either through projects commissioned by reputed publishers with a consistent program or through their own resourcefulness and extended network of acquaintances.

Unlike Caraion, Virgil Teodorescu did not translate out of a need to react to the political regime and to update poetic techniques that had been in place for too long. One of the most renowned Surrealist poets, he was famous for his "monotonous nonconformism" and for his books resembling "the rich harvest of a peace-loving and thorough cultivator" (Ştefănescu 2002). Ştefănescu explains that he combined systematic study with important positions in the Communist cultural diagram: editor-in-chief of the *Luceafărul* journal, president of the Writers Union, vice-president of the Great National Assembly. Interestingly enough, his co-translator, Petronela Negoşanu, was an editor of *Steaua* in Cluj who had spent two years in a correctional facility for "public agitation" at the same time with Ion Caraion. What is even more interesting is that hers and Teodorescu's translation projects are very similar to Caraion's: in 1980 they published *American Contemporary Poetry* (Lirică americană contemporană) (1980), followed by Pound's *Cantos* (1983). Their anthology of American poetry was the first one to break with modernism and focuses only on contemporary poets. Although limited by the small format of the *Cele mai frumoase poezii* (The most beautiful poems) series of Albatros Press, the translators dedicated a

one-page presentation to each of the 34 poets. Selections vary between four and eleven pages and are preceded by a clear and comprehensive preface, which outlines the main directions in American contemporary poetry.

The last anthology of American poetry put together before 1989 belongs to poet Mircea Ivănescu, forerunner of Romanian postmodernism. *Poezie americană modernă şi contemporană* (Modern and Contemporary American Poetry) (1986) is the most comprehensive and well executed translation project that has ever been published in Romania, a status confirmed by the many republications of his translations. Most importantly, the sole responsibility for a project of such breadth lay with the translator. Influenced by the poetry of Frank O'Hara and other poets affiliated with the New York School, Ivănescu left behind an impressive number of translations from T.S. Eliot, John Berryman, James Joyce, William Faulkner, and many others (exclusively in periodicals), alongside this anthology that gathered relevant samples from the work of 43 poets. In it, he offered generous space to Pound, Eliot, cummings, Berryman, Lowell, and Plath, and made up to the others through relevant notes and substantial commentaries. The preface signed by Ştefan Stoenescu resonates with Mathew Arnold, according to whom "one cannot do informed literary criticism unless, besides mastering your national tradition quasi-exhaustively, you are also familiar with at least one other modern literature in detail" (STOENESCU 1986: 5). He also added that literatures should opt neither for unlimited continentalism, nor for total 'insularization', but for the plural and relative metaphor of the 'archipelago', such as the Anglophone one.

The last interview given by Mircea Ivănescu to poet Radu Vancu in March 2011 (VANCU 2014), only a few months before his passing, revealed the mechanisms that fueled his work as a translator. First, as a student, he took advantage of the fact that one of his relatives was a librarian for the French Library at the University of Bucharest, and he borrowed books that were normally banned by the Party, hidden in "a bookcase with the display window covered in blue paper" (ibid.): Gide, Valéry, Giraudoux, or Cocteau. Later, as an editor for Agerpres, the news agency of the Communist Party, Ivănescu became familiar with various periodicals in Western Europe, especially in France and Great Britain, such as *New Republic*. This is how he came to read Jack Kerouac in French for the first time, for example, but he also brushed up his English and started reading American writers in the original. Finally, a third mechanism that underlined his work as a poet and translator was his network of friends: Matei Călinescu, who received a Fulbright fellowship at the Iowa University and never returned, but maintained a continuous dialogue with him on various top-

ics pertaining to contemporary literature; Denisa Comănescu, an editor for Univers Press at that time, who helped him publish a translation that he had been brooding over for many years: James Joyce's *Ulysses*; George Serafin, his editor-in-chief at Agerpress, who would bring him a massive anthology of American poetry when he returned from one of his many trips abroad. Asked by Vancu why he chose to translate American poetry, Ivănescu answered that the trigger had been his friendship with one of the editors of Dacia Press, Vasile Igna (himself also a poet), and further explained:

> *[Igna] told me at a certain point "Let's do this [an anthology]". They had already published an anthology of modern German poetry, made under similar circumstances, that is, proposed by one single person; so I made a list and I offered to put together an anthology of American poetry and an anthology of British poetry. And he said OK, let's do this. And so it happened that we did both.* (VANCU 2014)

Ivănescu also confessed that he strongly preferred American poetry to French poetry, although he had been thoroughly trained in French language and literature, and that all his work as a translator was a matter of circumstances, a happenstance. He revealed in the same interview that he chose to translate poets that resonated with him, confessional ones, like Anne Sexton, John Berryman, or Meryl Moore and disclosed that even Stoenescu, the author of the preface, was surprised by his selection.

Although not an anthology *per se*, Marin Sorescu's *Tratat de inspirație* (1985) (Inspiration Treatise) reunites translations from one hundred twenty poets from all over the world in an attempt to answer a series of questions related to the essence of poetry and to the best practices in poetry writing. Widely translated abroad, Sorescu took part in numerous literary events on all continents, where he interviewed writers on the craft of poetry:

> *Like a Romanian poetry's "ministry of foreign affairs" of sorts, Marin Sorescu took part in a slew of international literary happenings, and he did not return empty handed. On a paper napkin or in a small notebook, as conditions allowed, the poet wrote down with a diligence almost stripped of any kind of pride, musings that many of today's good poets entrusted him with, be it on a ship, at a café, or on a bus.* (PRUTEANU 1986)

The work he put into interviewing poets and making selections from their work was equated by Sorescu to a unique chance for 'landlocked' cultures to connect to others

through translation. Out of the one hundred twenty poets, eight[7] are American and complete the network of U.S. contemporary poets that appear in anthologies (Figure 5) before 1989:
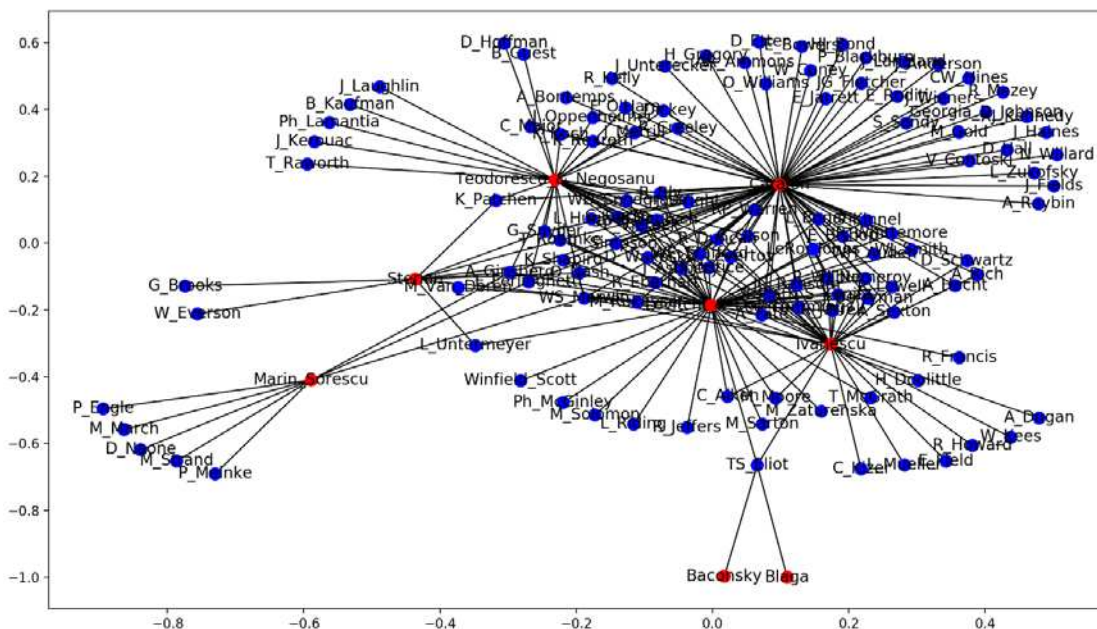

Figure 5. Network of U.S. poets published in anthologies before 1989.

Eliot, Pound, cummings, Whitman, Lowell, Berryman, O'Hara, Ginsberg, or Corso played a very important role in the education of the so-called generation of the 1980s (CRĂCIUN 2009, VAKULOVSKI 2010) and their influence still continues today. Vancu's interview with Ivănescu and Sorescu's treatise speak volumes about the influence and the practice of poetry translation in Romania before the 1989 revolution: although apparently organized around institutions, such as literary journals and presses controlled by the party in power, I hope to have shown how the taste of the poets and their networks of friends played an essential role in initiating, executing, and disseminating such translation projects.

The network of contemporary U.S. poets in anthologies before 1989 is a highly connected graph of 123 poet-nodes, which presents the small world effect. It shows us that translator-anthologists were paying attention to each other's work and also manifested a preference for certain poets, one which does not necessarily coincide with publishers' interests and which in many ways changed after the revolution. Node centrality points to W.S. Merwin as a preferred poet, followed by Allen Ginsberg, T.S.

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[7] Paul Engle, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, A. Ginsberg, Michael March, Peter Meinke, W.S. Merwin, Dana Naone, and Mark Strand.

Eliot, John Ashbery, Denise Levertov, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Theodore Roethke, Gary Snyder, D. Justice, and W.E. Stafford. Of these poets, only W.S. Merwin, T.S. Eliot, and T. Roethke were published in dedicated volumes, which is another proof of translators' attention to the local and foreign literary scene. As far as the anthologists are concerned, their selection of poets influenced their place in the analysed network, with Ion Caraion positioned first (EigenVector = 0.5290) and Ivănescu fourth (EigenVector = 0.2017). However, the anthology put together by Ivănescu is referenced most often even to this day and suggests that the amplitude of an anthologist's persona contributed more to the visibility of the anthology than the selection itself.

Conclusion

I have examined in this paper translations done during a period in the history of Romania typically associated with a quest for national literary identity and with a strong control of the book market by communist ideology. My research showed that, even under such circumstances, many of these translation projects turned out to be nodes in interpersonal and transnational networks of individuals rather than institutional actors. For instance, applying the bottom-up ontological model of computational network analysis to the production of anthologies of U.S. and Canadian contemporary poetry in Romania provides what I think is a new explanation as to why such Canadian poetry anthologies were not as numerous as the American ones and why their publication stopped after 1989. The U.S. policies limiting migration but encouraging cultural and academic mobility bore more fruit for American cultural diplomacy than the more permissive immigration policies and the lack of consistent cultural diplomacy policies did for Canada. While Romanian intellectuals had a chance to travel to the U.S. and returned home with new ideas and aesthetic protocols engendered through translations from American literature, Canadian poetry benefited only from the interest of one émigré, Nicholas Catanoy, who grew a much more limited network with his friends and acquaintances at home. Instead of limiting the discussion to the cultural power America holds, the network approach helped me assess Romanian translators' drive in initiating and growing a series of exchanges between the two literatures, an interpollination that owed private initiatives at least as much as they owed institutional policies.

This essay has also hopefully demonstrated the thoroughness of all translation endeavors and the popularity of translations in anthologies and literary journals before 1989. They were strong arguments made by poets about the need for Romanian culture to open towards world literature, as well as a gesture of defiance towards an op-

pressive political regime. Not only did these titles express their curators' and translators' affinities, but they also, and much more so, were a reflection of these poets' vision for the future of their literature. They are also an argument to reflect on any translation process as turbulence, as a chaotic event that may or may not eventually evolve into a stable system or that coexist with stable, easily mappable practices. No matter how apparently all of a piece, regulated, and masterfully shaped by Univers Press, U.S. and Canadian contemporary poetry translation in pre-1989 Romania was sparse and dependent on its translators' (sometimes chaotic) professional trajectory and personal taste. A networked approach, a more local and fragmented mode of analysis, with boundaries as arbitrary constructs and highly porous membranes, seems to offer a more nuanced approach, in this particular context, as well as in wider ones.

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Chronotopos

A Journal of Translation History

Akkad Alhussein

Von den Möglichkeiten translatorischen Handelns. Eine performative, ausgangskulturorientierte Perspektive am Beispiel Antoine Gallands und seiner Übersetzung der ‚Tausend und eine Nacht'

Abstract

This article deals with the translation history of the Arabic narratives of the 'Thousand and One Nights' from a performative, source culture-oriented perspective. The two-stage nature of the translation process as interlingual/bilingual communication implies a one-dimensional linearity that determines the relationship between source and target text. The effects of translation on the production/reception of the source text fall beyond the conceptual scope of the concept of translation and cannot, in principle, be dealt with in a translation-theoretical framework, resulting in a static-genetic conception of the source text as a "source". I will use the 'Thousand and One Nights' to argue that a new concept of translation as a performative movement towards the source text can better demonstrate the complexity of translational action and expand the interpretative possibilities of translation as an interaction between a source text and a target text. The role of Antoine Galland and his translation of the 'Thousand and One Nights' (Les mille et une nuits) is highlighted.

Keywords: translation theory, translation history, target-orientedness, reciprocity, Thousand and One Nights, Antoine Galland

Akkad Alhussein

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Eine performative, ausgangskulturorientierte Perspektive am Beispiel Antoine Gallands und seiner Übersetzung der ‚Tausend und eine Nacht'

Abstract

Dieser Artikel beschäftigt sich mit der Translationsgeschichte der Arabischen Erzählungen der ‚Tausend und eine Nacht' aus einer performativen, ausgangskulturorientierten Perspektive. Die Zweistufigkeit des Translationsprozesses als interlingualer/zweisprachiger Kommunikation impliziert eine eindimensionale Linearität, die die Beziehung zwischen Ausgangs- und Zieltext bestimmt. Die Effekte der Translation auf Produktion/Rezeption des Ausgangstextes fallen jenseits der konzeptuellen Reichweite des Translationsbegriffes und können prinzipiell nicht in einem translationstheoretischen Rahmen behandelt werden, was in einer statisch-genetischen Konzeption vom Ausgangstext als „Quelle" resultiert. Ich werde anhand der ‚Tausend und eine Nacht' argumentieren, dass eine neue Auffassung der Translation als performative Bewegung in Richtung Ausgangstext die Komplexität translatorischen Handelns besser zeigen und die interpretativen Möglichkeiten der Translation als Interaktion zwischen einem Ausgangstext und einem Zieltext erweitern kann. Dabei wird die Rolle Antoine Gallands und seiner Übersetzung der ‚Tausend und eine Nacht' (Les mille et une nuits) hervorgehoben.

Keywords: Translationstheorie, Translationsgeschichte, Zielgerichtetheit, Reziprozität, Tausend und eine Nacht, Antoine Galland

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Key words: Translation Theory, Translation History, Target-orientedness, Reciprocity, Thousand and One Nights, Antoine Galland

Einleitung

Translationen sind Repräsentationen. Sie repräsentieren einen anderen Text, eine andere Sprache und Kultur. Was wie übersetzt wird und unter welchen Bedingungen kulturelle Austauschprozesse stattfinden, kann die Repräsentation anderer Sprachen und Kulturen maßgeblich beeinflussen. Translationen sind somit keine ‚unschuldigen' Beschreibungen. Insofern die Translation das, was durch sie repräsentiert wird, auch zum Teil konstituiert, trägt sie unmittelbar zur Schaffung kultureller Identitäten bei. Sie hilft, eine gesellschaftliche Realität als Projektion des Selbst auf das andere zu schaffen und sich eine Geschichte einzuverleiben. In dieser Hinsicht unterscheidet sich die Translation nicht von anderen Formen und Modalitäten des interkulturellen Austausches. Wenn die Translation immer Teil eines gesamtgesellschaftlichen Diskurses mit den darin implizierten Interessenkonflikten ist, und wenn Texte nie unabhängig von ihrem historischen Kontext gelesen werden, dann kann keine Rede von der Translation als neutraler Aktivität sein, in der eine ‚Botschaft' übermittelt werde. Translation erweist sich somit als politische und gesellschaftliche Frage. Der Effekt ist umso größer, wenn die Übersetzung aus einer peripheren in eine dominante (Welt)sprache erfolgt. Übersetzungen aus dem Sanskrit, stellt NIRANJANA (1992: 60) fest, bilden einen Kanon, „interpelate a colonial subject, construct a Hindu character, a Hindu psyche, a Hindu way of life."

Die Translationswissenschaft, der gelegentlich politische ‚Blauäugigkeit' hinsichtlich der unterschiedlichen Machtverhältnisse und der historischen Einbettung der Translation in imperialistischen Praktiken vorgeworfen wurde (vgl. NIRANJANA 1992), hat ein strukturelles Problem bei der Beschreibung reziproker Einflüsse im Umfeld der Translation jenseits apriorischer Definitionen und idealisierender Interpretationslinien hinsichtlich des ‚richtigen' Verhältnisses zwischen Original und Translat. Die moderne Anthropologie hat längst auf die kulturelle und geopolitische Gestaltungskraft ethnographischer Zeugnisse hingewiesen. „In modern and modernizing societies," stellt ASAD (1986: 163) fest, „inscribed records have a greater power to shape, to reform, selves and institutions than folk memories do. They even construct folk memories." Diese Aussage trifft sehr gut auf die europäische Übersetzungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der *Tausend und eine Nacht* (*TEN*) und deren Folgen für die Repräsentation der Sprache und Kultur ‚des' Orients zu. Dieser Prozess ist beispielhaft für die phantasievolle, imaginäre Polarisierung und Manipulation von Selbst und Identi-

tät, die von der Translation als unauffälligem (aber sehr einflussreichem) Mittel der Geschichtsschreibung ausgeht. Der Orient wurde in *TEN* ‚erfunden‘. Asads Feststellung, „die Monographie des Anthropologen kann neuübersetzt in eine ‚schwächere‘ Drittweltsprache zurückkehren“ (ibid.; meine Übers.), kann mühelos auf diesen einmaligen Prozess übertragen werden. Auch die Geschichten in *TEN* fanden (über die Translation) ihren Weg zurück ins arabische Bewusstsein, nachdem sie dort lange Zeit verbannt und als Stück triviale Literatur vergessen und verdrängt worden waren. Die europäische Geschichte der *TEN,* so FÄHNDRICH (2000: 95f), ist die Geschichte des Einflusses eines „work in translation“, der „implementation of a European vision“ von einer Region der Welt und der „adaptation of a literary work from this region to this vision.“

Die *TEN* ist im europäischen Bewusstsein untrennbar mit der Übersetzung des Franzosen Antoine Galland verbunden. Der Translationswissenschaftler, der sich für die Entwicklungsgeschichte der *TEN* interessiert, kommt nicht an Galland und seiner *Les mille et une nuits*[1] (*Tausend und eine Nacht*) (1704-1717) vorbei. Galland war der erste, der die arabischen Erzählungen aus *TEN* dem europäischen Leser zugänglich machte. Seine Pionier-Übersetzung entfachte viel Begeisterung für die Literatur und Kultur des Orients und löste eine lang andauernde Suche nach dem ‚Original‘ aus. Gallands Motive und die Umstände dieses höchst unüberschaubaren Translationsprozesses bleiben bis heute umstritten. Die Erzählungen, die er hinzufügte, sind nichtsdestotrotz fester Bestandteil der *TEN* geworden. *Gallands Übersetzung* hat ihr Original geschaffen und maßgeblich zur Entstehung des orientalistischen Diskurses im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert beigetragen. „Dass gerade *Tausendundeine Nacht* (in der Adaptation von Antoine Galland) zu romantisierenden Klischees über den Vorderen Orient geführt hat“, hat Edward Said deutlich gemacht (WALTHER 2004: 435).

Das Ziel dieses Aufsatzes ist es, eine neue theoretische Perspektive auf die Translation und das translatorische Handeln als performative Bewegung in Richtung AT und AT-Autor/-Leser zu präsentieren. Die wissenschaftliche Diskussion stellt die Rolle der Translation als Interpretation oder Reproduktion eines Textes und die repräsentative Funktion des Translats gegenüber dem Original in den Vordergrund. Es geht vor allem um die Einflussfaktoren sowie die Adäquatheit translatorischen Handelns. Dies hat zur Folge, dass die Reziprozität und die Ereignishaftigkeit des Ausgangstexts, die durch die Linearität des Translationsprozesses als unidirektionalen, auf die

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[1] In diesem Aufsatz wird parallel von ‚Tausend und eine Nacht‘ und ‚Les mille et une nuits‘ gesprochen, um die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Originaltext von ‚Tausend und eine Nacht‘ und der französischen Version/Übersetzung von Antoine Galland zu markieren

Erzielung einer kommunikativen Wirkung in der Zielsprache ausgerichteten Trans-
fer verdeckt wird, nicht als Eigenschaft der Translation als solche, sprich als etwas
Translationsspezifisches begriffen und thematisiert werden kann. Dies verbirgt hinter
sich jedoch die Tatsache, dass Ausgangstext und Zieltext miteinander interagieren
und einander in vielfältiger Weise beeinflussen können. Der Ausgangstext ist nicht
nur die ‚Quelle‘ oder die ‚Mitteilung‘, die von A in B transformiert wird. Er ist oft das
Ergebnis einer komplexen Interaktion zwischen Texten und Sprachen. Bei der Trans-
lation geht es nach der vorgeschlagenen, pragmatisch und ausgangskulturorientier-
ten Perspektive nicht (primär) um die Auslösung einer bestimmten Reaktion oder
eines bestimmten kommunikativen Effekts in der ZS, was generell als Erfolgskriteri-
um der Translation gilt. Der Ausgangstext wird als ‚Reaktion‘ bzw. ‚Antwort‘ auf die
Translation aufgefasst. Auf diese Weise soll das produktive Potenzial der Translation
als Gestaltungskraft hinsichtlich des AT und seiner Sprache/Kultur als vernachlässig-
tes Gebiet translationstheoretischer Reflexion in den Vordergrund gestellt und ein
dynamischer Zugang zum AT als Text-in-Zeit, als Text-in-Produktion-und-
Interaktion begründet werden. Warum eine solche Perspektive sinnvoll ist, und wie
sie unser Verständnis von Translation und dem translatorischen Handeln ändern
kann und uns hilft, das dialektische Schema der Adäquatheit und der Repräsentation
zu verlassen, in dem die translationswissenschaftliche Diskussion verhaftet bleibt,
wird am Beispiel Antoine Gallands und seiner Übersetzung der *TEN* gezeigt.

(Kommunikations)theoretische Grundlagen

Das theoretische Basismodell der Translation geht davon aus, dass der Ausgangstext
(AT) von einem ausgangssprachlichen (AS) Text-Produzenten für einen zielsprachli-
chen (ZS) Text-Rezipienten hergestellt wird. „Der Translationsvorgang“, schreibt
NORD (2009: 5), „wird in der Regel dadurch in Gang gesetzt, dass sich ein Auftragge-
ber oder Initiator an einen Translator wendet, weil ein bestimmter Zieltext für einen
bestimmten Rezipienten bzw. Adressatenkreis benötigt wird […].“ Zwar kann der
Translator als indirekter Empfänger des AT betrachtet werden. Im Allgemeinen gilt
aber, dass „der AT ja in der Regel *nicht für die Translation* hergestellt, sondern in der
Ausgangskultur an einen mehr oder weniger genau beschriebenen AK-
Adressatenkreis [Ausgangskultur-; A. A.] gerichtet wurde“ (ibid.; meine Herv.). Der
Originaltext kann dennoch in bestimmten Fällen (wie bei Propagandaschriften für
das Ausland) für die Rezeption in einer fremdsprachigen Situation konzipiert und
hergestellt werden. Die Pragmatik ist in diesem Fall von Beginn an „Translations-

pragmatik" (NEUBERT 1968: 31ff). DOLLERUP (1997) weist auf solche Konstellationen hin, wendet jedoch in Einklang mit Nord ein, dass:

> […] [i]n the vast majority of cases, today as well as in previous ages authors and original senders have not troubled to facilitate interlingual mediation of their product in the moment of conception; in most cases they have not taken subsequent translation into account at all. […] [T]ranslation is not an integral part of your ordinary source text. (DOLLERUP 1997: 46)

Solche Fälle, in denen der AT *für* die Translation geschrieben wird, sind in der Praxis häufiger anzutreffen als man zunächst vermutet und beschränken sich keineswegs auf mündliche und direkte Kommunikationssituationen, bei denen alle Kommunikationspartner an einem Ort präsent sind (man denke z. B. an Autoren, die primär in Übersetzung gelesen werden und ihre Texte entsprechend gestalten).[2] In diesem Sinn ist es theoretisch möglich, Translation so zu verstehen, dass der AT nicht der Ausgangspunkt, sondern das ‚Produkt' oder die ‚Folge' des Translationsprozesses ist. Dies impliziert eine Umkehrung des gewöhnlichen Translationsmodells ‚AT > ZT' entsprechend der Formel: ‚ZT > AT'.

Eine solche Betrachtung, die naturgemäß vom traditionellen Verständnis abweicht, scheint der (chrono)logischen Reihenfolge des Translationsprozesses zu widersprechen: Es wird ein Translat aufgrund eines Originals produziert, und dieser Prozess ist auch im strikten Sinn irreversibel. Das kommunikative Ereignis endet aber nicht bei der Übertragung und Rezeption des Textes durch den ZS-Empfänger. Insofern diese Rezeption und die besonderen Bedingungen, unter denen sie stattfindet, Auswirkungen für den AT und seine Interpretation/Produktion hat, kann sie nicht minder als der Beginn eines neuen Prozesses betrachtet werden, in dem die Translation ihr Original ‚schafft'. Dies trifft insbesondere zu, wenn der AT von Beginn an mit Blick auf die ZS-Rezipienten, also *für* die Translation, hergestellt wird. Der AT ist in diesem Sinn eine ‚Reaktion' auf bzw. eine ‚Folge' der antizipierten Reaktionen von Translator und ZS-Empfänger, die als intendierte Adressaten prospektiv in die Produktion des AT einbezogen werden und somit dessen Gestaltung (indirekt) beeinflussen. Insofern kann der AT auch als ‚Repräsentation', ‚Interpretation' oder ‚Perspektivierung' des ZT und seiner Sprache/Kultur begriffen werden.

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[2] Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist der tschechische Autor Milan Kundera, der seit seinem Exil in Frankreich vordergründig in Übersetzung gelesen wird (vgl. WOODS 2006, auch 2001).

Zur Verdeutlichung kann zwischen zwei Arten der kommunikativen Rückwirkung unterschieden werden: die retrospektive Rückwirkung einer Translation auf die Interpretation eines bereits existenten AT in seiner Sprache und Kultur[3] und, zweitens, die prospektive (oder antizipatorische) Rückwirkung einer antizipierten Translation auf die Produktion/Konzeption bzw. die textuelle Gestaltung eines in der Konzeptions-/Produktionsphase befindlichen AT (z. B. eine Rede, die vor einem ausländischen Publikum vorgetragen wird). Da es sich hier um eine antizipierte, noch nicht eingetretene Translation handelt, stellt sich die Frage, wie solche Rückwirkungen auf den Translationsprozesses zurückgeführt werden können. Die Translation und die folgende Rezeption in der Empfängersprache wird dennoch vom AT-Produzenten bei der Textproduktion berücksichtigt und in die Textgestaltung thematisch und stilistisch integriert (etwa durch die Wahl nicht-kulturspezifischer Elemente, die die Übersetzbarkeit fördern). Sie bestimmt daher die Entstehungsbedingungen des AT und ist Teil seiner Genese bzw. seiner Konstitution, was unter anderem in der Form von zielkulturellen Anpassungen beobachtet werden kann. Dementsprechend kann im übertragenen Sinn vom AT als ‚Folge' der Translation, d. h. eines antizipierten, (noch) nicht ereigneten Translationsprozesses, gesprochen werden. Dies lässt sich methodologisch dadurch rechtfertigen, dass der Untersuchungsgegenstand dadurch erweitert und die Reziprozität besser berücksichtigt werden kann, was wiederum bestimmte Schlussfolgerungen für die Translation und das translatorische Handeln über die Erfolgsbedingungen kommunikativer Akte ermöglicht. Denn es handelt sich bei solchen Rückwirkungen nicht nur um indirekte ‚Nebeneffekte' oder ‚Fernfolgen' von Translaten (vgl. HELLER 2013), sondern auch um unmittelbare Einflüsse, die (von den beteiligten Akteuren) gezielt verfolgt werden können (etwa wenn bewusst durch die Translation Einfluss auf die Rezeption des AT in seiner Sprache und Kultur genommen wird). Die Beobachtung, Translate würden in solchen Fällen nicht *mehr* als solche funktionieren (vgl. TOURY 2012: 21), trifft also nicht völlig zu.

Nach derselben Logik kann der AT-Autor/-Leser als *Adressat* translatorischen Handelns begriffen werden, was eine performative oder pragmatische Umkehrung des Translationsmodells impliziert. Dieses geht davon aus, dass der Translator dem ZT-Leser etwas mitteilt und eine Botschaft an ihn richtet. Die Translationspragmatik ist folglich immer zielgerichtet, da es bei der Translation darum geht, einen bestimmten kommunikativen Effekt in der zielsprachlichen Rezeptionssituation zu erreichen, unabhängig davon, ob eine Kongruenz oder Divergenz der kommunikativen Funktion

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[3] Vgl. den Einfluss der deutschen Rezeption Hans Christian Andersens auf seine Rezeption in Dänemark. Vgl. dazu MÖLLER-CHRISTENSEN 1996.

von AT und ZT verfolgt wird. Es kann aber durchaus sinnvoll sein, die pragmatische Adressiertheit des Translationsprozesses an die ausgangssprachliche (Produzenten)Seite zu knüpfen. Demnach würde der Translator durch die Translation dem AT-Autor/-Leser etwas mitteilen und in Bezug darauf kommunikativ aktiv werden. Dies hat zwei wichtige theoretische Konsequenzen: Translation als kommunikatives Handeln ist nicht unbedingt bzw. *nur* zielgerichtet. Dazu müssen (nach dieser Auffassung) die kommunikativen Effekte der Translation im ausgangskulturellen Kontext als für (den Gegenstand der) Translation wesenskonstitutiv betrachtet werden, was ein großer Vorteil gegenüber einer traditionellen, zielgerichteten Betrachtung sein kann, die den Ausgangstext hauptsächlich als ‚Quelle' definiert. Texte – und damit natürlich auch Translate – sind im Prinzip multidimensional, multiperspektivisch und multifunktionell. Dies erlaubt eine andere Perspektive auf Translation und das translatorische Handeln, die die Bidirektionalität und den dynamischen Charakter des Translationsprozesses als gegenseitiger Interaktion zwischen einem AT und einem ZT hervorhebt.

Dies impliziert nach VERMEER (1996: 199ff) die Aufgabe der statischen Anschauung des Raums zugunsten der dynamischen Anschauung der Zeit. „Gegenstände", so Vermeer, „sind als sistierte Prozesse im Gesamtprozess betrachtbar" (ibid.: 152). Ein Objekt ist demnach ein „als im Zeitpunkt/-raum t als sistiert gesetztes Ereignis" (ibid.: 205f). Dies macht Vermeer für alle Phänomene und Objekte geltend. Sprache ist entsprechend ein „sistierter (verdinglichter) Vergleich" (ibid.: 150). Auch der Mensch, der sich stets im Wandel befinde, sei als „Prozess" beschreibbar (ibid.: 209f). Nach dieser prozesshaften Anschauung ist der Text nicht bloß ein Gegenstand oder ein statisches Objekt, sondern ein in seiner zeitlichen Dimension und damit in seiner Entstehung und (Weiter)Entwicklung begriffenes (Text-)Ereignis.

Der Translationsprozess der Tausend und eine Nacht

1843 unternimmt der französische Schriftsteller und Romantiker Gérard de Nerval eine lang ersehnte Orientreise, von der er sich neue Impulse für sein literarisches Schaffen erhoffte. Acht Jahre später schrieb er über seine Ankunft in Kairo:

> *Am Abend meiner Ankunft in Kairo war ich todtraurig und entmutigt. Innerhalb weniger Stunden, die ich in Begleitung eines Dragomans auf einem Esel spazieren-ritt, war ich mir klar geworden, dass ich hier die sechs langweiligsten Monate mei-nes Lebens verbringen würde, und dabei fügte sich alles von vornherein so, als könnte ich nicht einen Tag weniger bleiben. ‚Was!', sagte ich mir, ‚das soll die Stadt*

von Tausendundeiner Nacht sein, die Hauptstadt der fatimidischen Kalifen und der Sultane?...' (DE NERVAL/AIGNER-DÜNNWALD 1986: 112).

De Nerval war einer von vielen Europäern, die in den Hauptstädten des Orients nach Inspiration und Abenteuer suchten. Seine Erwartungen haben sich nicht erfüllt. Die Stadt Kairo stimmte nicht mit den „sheer, overpowering, monumental descriptions" überein, die von Edward SAID (2003: 162) als charakteristisch für die meisten Berichte über den Orient beobachtet wurden. Der Orient wurde für die europäischen Leser über zwei Jahrhunderte zu einem Fluchtort aus einem harten Alltag und für die europäischen Romantiker zu einer wichtigen Inspirationsquelle. Enttäuschung ist auch symptomatisch, wenn man heute in der arabischen Literatur des Mittleren Ostens ständig nach der Feengeschichte sucht oder aber eine realistische Reflexion des alltäglichen Lebens erwartet. Diese mit *TEN* verbundene, romantische Zugangsweise verstellt den Blick auf die moderne arabische Literatur und stellt, wie FÄHNDRICH (2000) deutlich macht, nach wie vor ein großes Hindernis bei deren Rezeption und Übersetzung dar.

Die europäische Übersetzungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der *TEN* hat in Frankreich des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts begonnen. Antoine Galland hat die arabischen Erzählungen, die bis dahin in Europa nicht bekannt waren, zum ersten Mal ins Französische übersetzt. Seine Übersetzung, die lange die einzige Grundlage für unzählige Übersetzungen in andere europäische Sprachen war, befeuerte das Interesse am Orient und seiner Kultur, die allmählich zum Leitmotiv eines eigenen literarischen Genres avancierten. Dieser komplexe Translationsprozess, der entlang der Begriffe der Macht, Hegemonie, Manipulation und der kulturellen Enteignung diskutiert wird, wirft viele Fragen auf: Hat Galland ohne Rücksicht auf den Originaltext und dessen Repräsentation einen ‚billigen' Unterhaltungstext produziert und die negativen Folgen für die Sprache und Kultur des Orients wissend in Kauf genommen oder wollte er in einer (noch) von polemischen Auseinandersetzungen zwischen West und Ost geprägten Zeit dem westlichen Leser eine fremde Kultur nahebringen, wobei der Orientalismus ein ungewollter ‚Nebeneffekt' war? Beide Lesarten scheinen möglich und haben ihre Legitimation. Es gibt heute vermehrt Stimmen, die Galland ‚rehabilitieren' wollen und die Vermittlungsfunktion seiner Übersetzung hervorheben (vgl. WIECKENBERG 2002: 29), was zur Entstehung einer ‚Gegennarration' dieses einmaligen Translationsprozesses führt. Zu Recht erinnert uns WIECKENBERG (ibid.: 31) daran, dass man Galland auch ‚antiorientalistisch' lesen kann. Ist es möglich, eine andere ‚Version' von Galland und seiner *Les mille et une nuit* zu erzählen? Dieser histori-

sche Translationsprozess und seine Folgen für die Repräsentation des Orients werden nun rekonstruiert.

Antoine Galland und die Tausend und eine Nacht

Galland (1646-1715) war einer der ersten europäischen Orientalisten, die sich den Sprachen und Kulturen des Orients widmeten. Er bereiste die Städte des Orients auf verschiedenen Auslandsmissionen, in denen er von seinen Kenntnissen der klassischen Sprachen, insbesondere des Altgriechischen, profitierte. Sein erster Kontakt mit der arabisch-islamischen Welt fand 1670 auf einer fünfjährigen Mission in Konstantinopel unter der Leitung des französischen Gesandten Marquis de Nointel statt, der Galland aufgrund seiner Sprachkenntnisse mitnahm. Es war in dieser Reise, dass Galland seine Kenntnisse des Arabischen, Türkischen und Persischen erwarb. Von Konstantinopel reiste er 1976 nach Jerusalem und studierte und verzeichnete dort alte Denkmäler und Inschriften. Schließlich reiste er 1679 ein drittes Mal in die Levante, wo er im Auftrag der Französischen Ostindienkompanie Antiquitäten sammelte. Zurück in Frankreich wurde er 1701 Mitglied der Pariser Akademie der Inschriften und Schönen Künste und acht Jahre später zum Professor der arabischen Sprache am Collège de France ernannt. Sein Werk umfasste Übersetzungen und Übertragungen arabischer, persischer und türkischer Schriften, darunter eine Koranübersetzung (1694) als auch *Les paroles remarquables, les bons mots, et les maximes des Orientaux: traduction de leurs ouvrages en arabe, en persan et en turc, avec des remarques* (Die bemerkenswerten Sagen, die guten Worte, und die Maximen der Orientalen: Übersetzung ihrer Werke in Arabisch, Persisch und Türkisch, mit Anmerkungen) (1694). Galland hat auch an Barthélemy d'Herbelots *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697) mitgewirkt.[4]

Interessanterweise hatte Galland während seiner Aufenthalte als Wissenschaftler und Diplomat in der Levante offenbar nichts von einem Werk namens *Tausend und eine Nacht* gehört. Die Märchensammlung war in der arabisch-islamischen Welt lange unsichtbar und galt in intellektuellen Kreisen als sekundäre, billige Unterhaltung, ein Stück „Subkultur" (OTT 2012: 648), das niemand verantworten wollte. Das autorlose Werk, das kulturelle Bezüge bis nach China enthält und dessen Ursprünge bis ins alte Indien und Persien verfolgt werden, verrät die Hand eines kommerziellen Erzählers (MAHDI 1994: 8). Als Stück ‚billige' Unterhaltung ungewisser Herkunft, die dazu viele stilistische und sittliche Verstöße beinhaltete, waren die Erzählungen mit den literarischen und moralischen Standards der arabischen Sprache nicht vereinbar.

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[4] Die *Bibliothèque orientale* ist das wichtigste Werk von d'Herbelot und wurde 1697 von Galland nach d'Herbelots Tod fertiggestellt.

Galland wollte seine Übersetzung der Sindbad-Geschichten gerade veröffentlichen, als er in Paris von der Existenz einer Sammlung arabischer Erzählungen hörte, die den Sindbad und viele andere ähnliche Geschichten enthalten sollte. Begeistert durch die Entdeckung, hielt er die Veröffentlichung der Sindbad-Geschichten zurück und entschied sich stattdessen, das gesamte ursprüngliche Werk zu finden. So kündigte er 1704 im ersten Band von *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes* [Tausend und eine Nacht, arabische Erzählungen] an[5], der Sindbad sei Teil einer größeren Sammlung arabischer Erzählungen, die aus 36 Teilen bestehe, und von der dieser nur der erste sei.[6] Ein syrischer Maronit aus Aleppo namens Hanna Diab, der sich dann in Paris aufhielt und mit Galland befreundet war, half ihm mit mündlichen und schriftlichen Überlieferungen und versorgte Galland mit seiner wichtigsten Quelle: ein aus drei Bänden bestehendes arabisches Manuskript, das eine Sammlung von Geschichten unter dem Titel *Alf Laila wa-Laila* [Tausend und eine Nacht] enthielt.[7] Die drei Bände, die Galland aus Syrien über Diab bekam und seine eigentliche Vorlage, den arabischen ‚Urtext' von *Tausend und eine Nacht*, bildeten, waren jedoch nicht vollständig und enthielten nur einen Bruchteil der Nächte (bis zur Nacht 282). Galland, der bereits im hohen Alter war, glaubt am Anfang tatsächlich an die Existenz eines vollständigen Werks und wartet auf weitere Manuskripte aus Syrien. Als das große Werk mit der im Titel angekündigten Zahl von Nächten aber nicht zu finden war und seine Hoffnungen langsam schwanden, entschloss er sich offenbar, das Werk selbst aus verschiedenen Quellen zu vervollständigen und sein ‚Original' selbst zu konstruieren, wobei er – von seinen Kenntnissen orientalischer Sprachen Gebrauch machend – möglicherweise auch nicht-arabischsprachige (vermutlich türkische und persische) Quellen heranzog.[8]

Galland, selbst ein raffinierter Erzähler, bewunderte das arabische Werk und lobte die Erzählkunst der Araber, die „alle übrigen Nationen in dieser Dichtungsart übertreffen" (GALLAND / VOß 1781: XIV). Nichtsdestotrotz nahm sich Galland, der im

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[5] Das Werk ist von 1704 bis 1717 in zwölf Bänden erschienen, die zwei letzten postum.

[6] Galland konnte nie ein Manuskript mit den Sindbad-Geschichten finden. „Es gibt keinen Beweis dafür, dass dieser Geschichtenzyklus jemals zur Originalversion der *Alf Laila wa-Laila* [Tausend und eine Nacht] gehörte" (IRWIN / WALTHER 2004: 25). Es ist möglich, dass Galland die Information über den *Sindbad* und seine Zugehörigkeit zur *Alf Laila wa-Laila* missverstanden hat (vgl. MAHDI 1994: 19, 36).

[7] Der Erhalt des ältesten arabischen Manuskripts verdankt sich diesem Umstand. Keines der früheren Manuskripte, die es möglicherweise gegeben hat, hat überlebt.

[8] Über den Prozess der Konstruktion von Gallands ‚Original' siehe MAHDI (1994: 17-49).

Sinne der französischen Tradition der *belles infidèles* übersetzte[9] und den arabischen Text verbessern wollte (vgl. MAHDI 1994: 34f), große Freiheiten beim Umgang mit dem Text und adaptierte ihn inhaltlich und stilistisch stark an den Geschmack seines Publikums und die moralischen Standards der französischen Sprache. Er erweiterte den Dialog an manchen Stellen, fügte erklärende Hinweise ein und strich Passagen, die ihm nicht passend erschienen.[10] *Les milles et une nuits* lässt auf jeden Fall an ihrem repräsentativen Anspruch nicht zweifeln. Der Leser wird demonstrativ eingeladen, den Orient, seine Völker und Gebräuche, kennen zu lernen:

> *Alle Morgenländer, Perser, Tartaren und Indier, unterscheiden sich hier, und erscheinen so, wie sie sind, von dem Monarchen bis zum geringsten Manne. Ohne die Mühe also, diese Völker in ihren Ländern zu besuchen, hat hier der Leser das Vergnügen, sie reden zu hören, und handeln zu sehn.* (GALLAND/VOß 1781: XV)

Galland präsentiert seinen Text also nicht nur als Übersetzung, sondern als ‚getreue‘ Widergabe des Originaltexts. Dabei macht er natürlich von seinem exklusiven Zugang zum Originaltext sowie dem Vertrauen der Leser Gebrauch.

Gallands Motive und die Folgen für die Repräsentation des Orients

Lange nach Veröffentlichung des ersten Bandes im Jahr 1704 galt Gallands *Les mille et une nuits* unhinterfragt als die ‚Wiedergabe‘ der arabischen Erzählungen von *Alf Laila wa-Laila*. Die philologischen Fortschritte warfen jedoch später ihren Schatten auf Übersetzung und Übersetzer. Der Unterhaltungsaspekt der Erzählungen, in denen man (neben der Nützlichkeit als Informationsquelle) vor allem ein Unterhaltungswerk für Frauen und Kinder sah (vgl. MAHDI 1994: 35),[11] dominierte schnell.

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[9] GIPPER (2017) zählt fünf Rezeptionsfaktoren der Übersetzung Gallands: 1) Märchenmode in Frankreich, die durch Charles Perrault und Mme d'Aulnoy ausgelöst wurde, 2) Querele des *Anciens et des Modernes* und die damit verbundene Öffnung des Literaturkanons, 3) zunehmende Verbreitung des Genres des Romans, 4) Konjunktur von Reiseberichten über den Orient und die neue Welt, und 5) Einfluss der Tradition der *belles infidèles*.

[10] Als der König Schahsenan etwa seine Frau beim Ehebruch entdeckt, versucht Galland die bevorstehende Handlung im Vorfeld zu rechtfertigen und abzumildern, indem er den Letzteren von seiner „gerechten Rache" sprechen lässt und von seiner Pflicht als König, die „Schandtaten in meinem Reich zu bestrafen" (GALLAND / VOß 1781: 5).

[11] In England wurden die Erzählungen mit dem Wort Entertainments verbunden. Vgl. den Titel: Arabian Nights Entertainments: consisting of One thousand and One Stories, told by the Sultaness of the Indies, to divert the Sultan from the Execution of a Vow he had made to marry a lady every Day, and have her cut off next morning, to avenge himself for the Disloyalty of his first Sultaness.

Schon im letzten Viertel des Jahrhunderts werden Zweifel an der Authentizität und Glaubwürdigkeit Gallands Übersetzung laut. James Beattie schreibt 1783:

> *This book [The Arabian Nights Entertainments], as we have it, is the work of Mons. Galland of the French Academy, who is said to have translated it from the Arabic original. But whether the tales be really Arabic, or invented by Mons. Galland, I have never been able to learn with certainty. If they be Oriental, they are translated with unwarrantable latitude; for the whole tenor of the style is the French mode: and the Caliph of Bagdad, and the Emperor of China, are addressed in the same terms of ceremony, which are usual at the court of France.* (BEATTIE [1783] 1970: 509f)

Für spätere Experten muss Gallands Übersetzung also sehr frei und assimilierend gewesen sein. Edward William Lane hat ihn am schärfsten beurteilt: „Galland has excessively perverted the work" (LANE 1841: viii). Nichtsdestotrotz traf *Les mille et une nuit* auf eine sehr enthusiastische Leserschaft. Die Übersetzung war von Anfang an ein großer Erfolg und verbreitete sich rasch in ganz Europa. In Holland kursierten sofort illegale Nachdrucke (MACDONALD 1932: 388), und allein in Frankreich sind bis 1800 ein Dutzend Ausgaben erschienen (WIECKENBERG 2002: 26).

Für die meisten Leser des 18. Jahrhunderts war es nicht wichtig, dass es sich bei der *TEN* um eine Übersetzung oder die Übersetzung einer Übersetzung handelte (MAHDI 1994: 3f). „For the eighteenth century", stellt Mahdi (ibid.) fest, „the Nights was the ‚Orient', and the Orient was the world of Muslims and Ottomans." Das Genre des orientalischen Märchens *(oriental tale)* wuchs im 18. Jahrhundert zu einem gigantischen Korpus, dass alles beinhaltete, von Übersetzungen über Bearbeitungen bis hin zu reinen Kreationen. Die Originalmanuskripte waren kaum zugänglich, und nur eine Handvoll Fachmänner beherrschte Arabisch oder Persisch. Lange nach Galland war es nicht einmal klar, was die vielen Übersetzer, Kommentatoren und Forscher meinten, als sie von der *Tausend und eine Nacht* sprachen: Es könnten sowohl einzelne Motive aus einzelnen Erzählungen als auch gesamte populäre Erzähltraditionen arabischer, persischer oder türkischer Herkunft sein. Frühestens gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts wird die arabische Manuskripttradition zum Gegenstand genauer wissenschaftlicher Forschung. So wurde aus dem bescheidenen Manuskript, das in den Besitz von Antoine Galland gelangte, ein „container, some may even say a bottomless pit" (MAHDI 1994: 8), in den jede Art von Erzählung hineinpasste, die nicht zur etablierten arabischen Prosa des Mittelalters gehörte.

Europa hatte keine einfache Beziehung mit dem islamischen Nachbarn im Osten. Die Osmanen haben sich im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert in Richtung Europa ausgebreitet

und Konstantinopel erobert. Der militärische Siegeszug der Osmanen konnte schließlich 1683 vor Wien gestoppt werden. Die geopolitischen Veränderungen und das Auseinanderklaffen der Lebensumstände in West und Ost ermöglichten einen neuen Blick auf diese Region der Welt. Aus dem einstigen Feind und Rivalen wurde plötzlich ein Ort der Phantasie und Verzauberung: „[T]he former world of monsters", so beschreibt FÄHNDRICH (2000: 97) den historisch gut dokumentierten Perspektivenwechsel, „became a region inhabited by wondrous and wonderful beings. The monsters turned into strangely clad creatures, partly kind and pleasant, partly unpredictable and even cunning and deceitful." Der frühere natürliche Austausch wich zugunsten eines neuen Diskurses, in dem der Orient selbst Gegenstand des Genusses wurde. Der neue Umgang von Galland und seinen Nachfolgern markierte das Ende einer langen Ära, in der christliche Europäer Erzählungen mit ihren muslimischen Nachbarn unbekümmert teilten (DANIEL 1966: 8f). Die Polemik, die zuvor West und Ost voneinander trennten, wurde durch „exotic entertainment" (ibid.) ersetzt. Der Diskurs, von dem die arabischen Erzählungen der *TEN* nun Teil wurden, war ein „self-conscious orientalism in which the story itself and its exotic setting together form the attraction" (ibid.). Dies wird vielleicht nirgendwo so deutlich wie in den Berichten der englischen Schriftstellerin Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, die 1717 aus Konstantinopel an ihre Schwester, die Gräfin von Mar, folgendes schrieb:

> *Now, do you imagine I have entertained you, all this while, with a relation that has, at least, received many embellishments from my hand? This, you will say, is but too like the Arabian Tales: these embroidered napkins! and a jewel as large as a turkey's egg:— You forget, dear sister, those very tales were written by an author of this country, and (excepting the enchantments) are a real representation of the manners here.* (MONTAGU 1803: 311)

Montagu, die in der Türkei „a fresh scene of an opera every day" (MONTAGU 2013: 225) erkannte, verbrachte viele Jahre im osmanisch-türkischen Gebiet und kannte das heimische Leben und die heimische Gesellschaft. Sie diskutierte häufig mit türkischen Frauen und beschrieb ihre Einblicke und Erfahrungen in ihrer schriftlichen Korrespondenz, die zuhause mit großem Interesse gelesen wurde. Ihre Korrespondenten erwarteten Geschichten von ‚Pracht' und ‚Glanz' im Osten, von „Wealth beyond imagination, beautiful girls enslaved in the sultans' harems, barbarous and uncivilized social customs, atheists and renegades" (LOWENTHAL 1994: 83).

Man kann glaubwürdig argumentieren, dass die spätere Dominanz des Unterhaltungsaspekts von *Les milles et une nuit* nicht im Sinne Gallands gewesen ist. Die Rolle

des Translators in diesem Prozess, der als das Ergebnis der Interaktion vieler, mikro- und makrostruktureller Faktoren gesehen werden muss, kann nicht verleugnet werden. Galland die komplette ‚Schuld' dafür zu geben ist genauso falsch wie ihm jede Verantwortung abzunehmen. Galland, der im Gegensatz zu anderen Orientalisten wie François Pétis de la Croix wissenschaftliche Maßstäbe hatte (vgl. FÄHNDRICH 2000: 99f), glaubte, durch die Erzählungen sein Publikum im Sinne der Romantheorie von Pierre-Daniel Huet belehren zu können (WIECKENBERG 2002: 28f).[12] Er blieb auf jeden Fall intransparent über sein Vorgehen und informierte die Leser nicht konsequent, was seinen Umgang mit den Quellen angeht. „[He] even misled them occasionally about what he was doing" (MAHDI 1994: 11). Galland respektierte dabei die Kultur des Orients und wollte sie seinem Publikum vermitteln. Sein Orient war „nicht die Welt eines schroff dem Abendland entgegengesetzten Islam" (OSTERHAMMEL 2010: 57). Er verstand darunter vielmehr einen „Begegnungsraum der Kulturen" (ibid.). Diese Lesart kann man auf *Les milles et une nuit* übertragen und darin eine gewisse Vorstellung kultureller Nähe zwischen Ost und West erkennen (WIECKENBERG 2002: 29). Die Anpassungen an den Geschmack und die Sitten der französischen Sprache sind in dieser Hinsicht auch im Sinne des arabischen Originals und seiner Repräsentation. Sie können – wie WIECKENBERG (2002: 29) meint – folgerichtig als Ausdruck der Hochachtung gegenüber dem Orient und seiner Kultur verstanden werden, die Galland aus unmittelbarer Nähe und in lebendiger Begegnung kennenlernen konnte.

Die Seiten wechseln!

Zwar kann man davon ausgehen, dass die negativen Folgen für die Repräsentation des AT und seiner Kultur von Galland innerhalb seines historischen Umfelds und seiner Vorstellungshorizonte weder beabsichtigt noch vorhergesehen werden konnten. Dies muss am Ende aber auf das gleiche Schema und die gleiche Struktur der Translation als gelungener oder misslungener Repräsentation, Interpretation oder Reproduktion eines anderen Textes hinauslaufen, was schließlich in der Frage der ‚Treue' und ‚Fidelität' mündet. ‚Treue', ‚Fidelität' und ‚Loyalität' sind hier aber, in diesem (orientalistischen) Diskurs der Repräsentation, eine moralisch-ethische Kategorie, ein Ausdruck translatorischen Handelns als verantwortlichen Handelns. Dies verengt die Perspektive auf Gallands Verhältnis zum AT und die Motive seines Handelns, das auch von einer Hochachtung und einer Bewunderung gegenüber dem AT und seiner Kultur geprägt ist. Galland kann aus dieser Perspektive nur ‚im Sinne' o-

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[12] Es ist nach GIPPERs (2017) Ansicht wahrscheinlich, dass Galland das Werk als Roman verstanden haben könnte.

der entgegen dem Sinn des AT handeln. Er kann getreu oder frei, adäquat oder nicht-adäquat, handeln. Er kann aber nicht *mit* und *an* dem AT als Subjekt, als Körper, handeln, weil dieses Handeln als teleologisches Handeln seinen Sinn und seine Substanz nur durch den Bezug auf und in Verbindung mit dem ZT-Leser als Adressat und Empfänger des ZT erhält. Man kann innerhalb dieses theoretischen Rahmens nur die Frage stellen, ob Gallands Entscheidungen gerechtfertigt, ob er sich seiner historischen Verantwortung und seiner Vermittlerrolle gerecht geworden, ob er ‚getreu‘ zu seinem Text gewesen sei oder nicht usw. Man kann aber nicht konsequent die Frage stellen, wie Galland mit *Alf Laila wa-Laila* interagiert und was dies (wenn überhaupt) für den Translationsprozess, für Galland als Translator und für den AT als Texterfahrung bedeutet. Die Diversifizierung der (dialogischen/hermeneutischen) Interpretationsmöglichkeiten des AT über eine strukturelle AT-ZT-Übereinstimmung hinaus – wie dies Robinson (1991) tut – löst das Problem nicht, weil Translation immer noch hinsichtlich ihrer repräsentativ-pragmatischen Funktion im zielkulturellen Zusammenhang betrachtet wird. Infolge kann das translatorische Handeln aus translationstheoretischer Perspektive nicht als aktive Interaktion und kommunikative Auseinandersetzung mit AT und AT-Autor/-Leser begriffen werden. Galland kann als Translator eine ‚metaphorische‘, ‚synekdochische‘, ‚metonymische‘, ‚ironische‘, etc. Identitätsbeziehung zum oder Interpretation von AT/-Autor verfolgen; er kann aber im dialogischen Sinn Robinsons (1991) nicht als ‚konvertierender‘, ‚avertierender‘, ‚subvertierender‘, ‚divertierender‘, ‚pervertierender‘, etc. Translator in Hinblick darauf aktiv tätig werden, und zwar deshalb, weil für den translatorischen Erfolg die Reaktion des ZS-Lesers, nicht die des AS-Autors oder -Lesers, maßgeblich ist.

Der Bezug auf den ZS-Leser hat zweifelsohne seine methodologischen Vorteile. Galland bezieht sich explizit auf seine Leser, um bestimmte Entscheidungen zu rechtfertigen. Dies ist angesichts der Situation wichtig. Denn Galland hat es von Anfang an nicht mit einem Originaltext im konventionellen Sinn zu tun. Zwar kann man das gesamte (folkloristische) Material, das von ihm verwendet wurde, als ‚Originaltext‘ betrachten. Galland fehlt aber (abgesehen von den ersten drei oder vier Bänden, die er anfänglich aus Syrien bekam) bereits früh eine solide Textgrundlage mit eindeutiger, autorieller Zuschreibung und klarem Umfang. Dies gibt dem Translator einen großen Spielraum, und Galland macht davon Gebrauch, vielleicht viel zu viel, wie die Kritiker (vgl. Beattie [1783] 1970: 509f oder Lane 1841: viii; siehe oben) später urteilen werden. Galland hat aber eigentlich keine andere Wahl, als sein Handeln auf den ZT-Leser und seine Reaktion zu beziehen, was zunächst selbstverständlich klingt.

Richtet er doch seinen Text an diesen Leser, und dieser reagiert schließlich darauf. Vielleicht reagiert er positiv oder negativ, zustimmend oder ablehnend, aber er reagiert, und man kann diese Reaktion sehen und spüren, wohingegen die mögliche Reaktion von AT-Autor oder -Leser nicht unmittelbar ersichtlich ist. Galland versteht und präsentiert seinen Text als authentische Repräsentation des Originaltextes und seiner Kultur. Er möchte dem Leser etwas darüber sagen, ihn darüber informieren und ihn zugleich belehren. Die Übersetzung ist eine Fortführung des ambitionierten Projekts der *Bibliothèque orientale*, seine ästhetische Umsetzung in einer für jedermann zugänglichen Prosaform. Diese Sichtweise und der damit verbundene Begriff von Erfolg, Adäquatheit oder Verantwortung ist aber schließlich selbst diskursiv konstruiert. Dies bedeutet im Umkehrschluss, dass eine andere Begrifflichkeit und ein anderes Konzept translatorischen Handelns möglich ist. Statt die Translation (im Einklang mit der Tradition) als Repräsentation eines AT zu verstehen, kann ich dieses Verhältnis umkehren und vom Translat als Repräsentation der ZS und ZK ausgehen: Der Translator repräsentiert sich selbst im ZT. Er interpretiert, in dem er einen anderen Text aus einer anderen Sprache in der eigenen wiedergibt und dabei den Erwartungen des ZS-Lesers Rechnung trägt, den ZS-Leser und seine Sprache/Kultur. Wir erfahren in *Gallands Übersetzung* Dinge über den Orient, seine Kultur und Sitten. Wir erfahren aber in einer Weise dadurch mehr über Galland und seine Leser, deren Erwartungen, deren religiöse, kulturelle und soziale Einstellungen, deren Wünsche, Ängste, Phantasien und Träume, und vor allem darüber, wie sie den Orient als Objekt des Begehrens sehen und was ihre Beziehung dazu bestimmt.

Les milles et une nuit repräsentiert also nicht den Orient per se oder den Orient wie er ist, auch nicht den Orient wie er gegebenenfalls hätte sein können, wenn dies und jenes gegeben wäre. Was dadurch repräsentiert wird, ist Galland und seine Leser. Was uns darin begegnet ist Frankreich des achtzehnten Jh. und die geistigen Debatten, die in dieser Zeit stattfinden und das Handeln des Translators bestimmen. Die Protagonisten, die man hier handeln und sprechen hört, sind keine orientalischen Figuren. Sie tragen zwar orientalische Kleidung und haben orientalische Namen. Sie sind aber zugleich Produkte der europäischen Imagination und Teil jenes Diskurses, in den sie eingeführt werden. Sie sind Variationen der jeweiligen, orientalistischen Diskurse, in denen sie agieren. Sie handeln so und sprechen so, wie man von ihnen in der jeweiligen Situation erwartet, als Franzosen, Engländer und Holländer. So bekommt jedes Publikum und jeder Leserkreis ein Bild nach dem eigenen Geschmack, ein Bild, das ihm passt und mit ihm übereinstimmt, das für ihn und für den Diskurs, in dem er aktiv ist, repräsentativ ist. Das Laienpublikum bekommt exotische Unter-

haltung, die aristokratische Elite elegante Manieren und moralische Zensur, die Fachexperten anthropologisch untermauerte Analysen usw.[13] *Gallands Übersetzung* ist hier aufgrund der starken adaptiven Haltung besonders aufschlussreich. In diesem Sinn ist die Übersetzung eine ‚getreue‘ Version, allerdings nur, wenn man Treue auf den ZT bezieht. Galland ist getreu zu sich selbst und seinem Leser. Er repräsentiert sie, dadurch, dass er den Orient ihrer Sicht anpasst, so, wie sie sind bzw. wie sie sein sollen, wie sie den Orient sehen wollen oder sollen.

Les milles et une nuits als Repräsentation der französischen Gesellschaft und Kultur des 18. Jh. zu verstehen bedeutet nicht nur, *den Text* als literarisches Produkt des ziel-sprachlichen Literatursystems zu untersuchen – wie dies in einem zielsystemorien-tierten Ansatz ohne Rekurs auf den Originaltext und unabhängig vom Translatcha-rakter geschehen kann, sondern vielmehr, zu fragen, wie sich der Translator zum Diskurs der Empfängersprache verhält, sich darauf bezieht, sich damit identifiziert und sich dazu positioniert, wie er diesen Diskurs bzw. diese Diskurse interpretiert, reproduziert, weiterentwickelt, neuordnet, gestaltet, steigert, verharmlost, zensiert, manipuliert, adaptiert, transformiert usw. Der Translator möchte im Translat etwas *über* den ZT-Leser, über sich selbst als ZT-Leser, sagen und in Erfahrung bringen. Er setzt sich – etwa indem er damit ein vollständiges oder teilweises, ein ‚metaphori-sches‘ oder ‚metonymisches‘, ein ‚ironisches‘ oder ‚hyperbolisches‘, etc. Identitätsver-hältnis sucht und dies im Text sichtbar macht – interpretierend mit dem Diskurs sei-ner Sprache auseinander, versucht, ihn zu analysieren, zu verstehen, zu penetrieren, sich ihn anzueignen, hebt bestimmte Eigenschaften und Qualitäten hervor, unter-drückt andere und schafft einen Text, der die ZS auf eine bestimmte Art und Weise repräsentiert. Dabei sucht er nicht den Dialog mit dem ZS-Leser, sondern mit dem AS-Autor/-Leser. Er tritt mit dem AT als Körper in Dialog, um ihm als ‚avertieren-der‘, ‚subvertierender‘, ‚pervertierender‘, ‚konvertierender‘, ‚divertierender‘, etc. Translator Dinge zu ‚sagen‘ und zu ‚tun‘. Vielleicht sind andere Kategorien erforder-lich, um derartige dialogische Verhältnisse zu beschreiben. Es könnte auch ein Akt der Erinnerung oder des Vergessens sein, ein Weg, das Erlebte zu verarbeiten und mit der Vergangenheit umzugehen. Dies steht im Gegensatz zu den derivativen Vor-stellungen der Vermittlung, Überbrückung und Transformation. Man fragt nicht, wie der Translator/das Translat den AT repräsentiert und auf die ZS einwirkt, son-dern wie er/es die ZS repräsentiert und auf die AS einwirkt. Es ist genauso, als ob die

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[13] Die verschiedenen Übersetzungen werden in einem viel zitierten Kommentar in der *Edinburgh Review* vom Jahr 1886 charakterisiert: „Galland for the nursery, Lane for the library, Payne for the study, and Burton for the sewer" (184).

Seiten sich wechseln würden, was lediglich einen dialogischen, keinen realen Wechsel, impliziert. Jede Seite übernimmt (metaphorisch) die Funktion der jeweils anderen und tritt an ihrer Stelle, nicht um translatorische Regeln willkürlich außerkraftzusetzen, sondern nur, um eine aktive Auseinandersetzung mit dem AT als Körper zu ermöglichen und den Dialog damit jenseits der Zwänge des zielgerichteten Diskurses und der Translationsdichotomie begreiflich zu machen. Ich kann *Les mille et une nuit* als Repräsentation des arabischen Originals und seiner Sprache/Kultur begreifen. Ich kann sie aber ebenso gut als Repräsentation jenes zielsprachlichen Diskurses begreifen, in dem sie entstanden ist. Wichtiger ist, dass ich Gallands Handeln im pragmatisch-performativen Sinn an den Ausgangstext und seinen Autor/-Leser als sprechendes Subjekt knüpfen und eine alternative Möglichkeit für die Beschreibung translatorischer Interaktionen finden kann. Es geht nicht darum, ob *die Übersetzung* ihrem Original ,treu' ist oder nicht, sondern darum, wie sie sich performativ in diese Richtung bewegt, wie sie den AT ,begehrt' und dadurch begehrt wird, als Akt der ,Liebe' oder des ,Hasses', des ,Neids' oder ,Mitleids', der ,Missachtung' oder ,Hochachtung', des ,Erinnerns' oder ,Vergessens' usw. Für Galland bedeutet dies etwa zu fragen, wie er sich als ethischer Akteur mit dem AT auseinandersetzt, wie er damit interagiert und darauf einwirkt, ob er sich dessen überhaupt bewusst ist, ob er diese Seite seines Handelns unterdrückt oder darauf eingeht und davon Gebrauch macht, und wenn ja, mit welchen Mitteln und mit welchen Folgen.

Schluss

Die Translationstheorie geht von der (pragmatischen) Funktion der Translation im Kontext der Zielkultur aus. Was darüber hinaus an Gegenreaktionen und Folgeprozessen stattfindet, liegt daher außerhalb der Reichweite der Theorie, die daran nicht unmittelbar, sondern nur über Umwege, anschließen kann. Sie können nur – da eine solche Wirkung oder Reaktion aus Sicht der Zielsprache als irrelevant betrachtet werden muss – via Sekundarität und Beiläufigkeit, als ,Nebenfolge', ,Störung', ,Inter-' oder ,Transkulturalität', ,Bidirektionalität', ,Emergenz', ,Unberechenbarkeit', ,Zufälligkeit', oder aber über idealistische Begriffe wie ,Loyalität', ,Adäquatheit', ,Kompensation', ,Ethik', ,Moral' etc. thematisiert werden, nicht aber als ,Translation' im eigentlichen Sinn, als bewusstes, translatorisches Handeln.

Die europäische Rezeptionsgeschichte der *TEN* hat schließlich nicht nur die Wahrnehmung des Orients im Westen geprägt. Dieser einmalige Translationsprozess und die transkulturellen Folgen, die er auslöste, haben auch die Position und (Weiter)entwicklung des arabischen Textes entscheidend beeinflusst und ihn zu mehr

Sichtbarkeit verholfen, dass man (angesichts der historischen und kulturellen Umstände) vielleicht sogar von einer ‚Renaissance' in der arabischen Rezeption sprechen kann. Einiges, was Galland unternahm, beruhte auch auf Missverständnissen und/oder Missinformation (vgl. MAHDI 1994: 19, 36).[14] Dies bringt einen wichtigen Aspekt dieses Translationsprozesses zum Ausdruck. Denn die Geschichte der *TEN* ist nicht nur im Westen geschrieben worden. Zwar ging der erste Funke von Europa aus, von Menschen wie Galland. Das aber, was aus dem anfänglich bescheidenen Text geworden ist, wie er sich (im Westen und Osten) entwickelt hat und welche Prozesse dadurch angestoßen sind, ist nicht nur das Produkt der abendländischen Suche nach *TEN*. Der Mythos ist auch im Orient entstanden. Die ausgangskulturellen Akteure, die daran mitgewirkt haben, sind ebenso Bestandteil dieses Prozesses und seiner Entwicklung. Sie tragen in Konsequenz auch eine Mitverantwortung dafür.

Die hier aufgebaute Perspektive richtet den Blick auf den AT als Text-in-Produktion und hilft, diesen Aspekt in den Vordergrund translationstheoretischer und -historischer Reflexion zu stellen. Der Translator wird sich der Signifikanz und der Reichweite seines Handelns bewusst, das nicht mehr allein an den ZS-Leser geknüpft werden muss. So können wir diesen Aspekt als etwas Translationspezifisches betrachten und müssen unsere Überlegungen nicht mehr mit dem Verweis auf die Bidirektionalität interkultureller Beziehungen oder die Adäquatheit translatorischen Handelns rechtfertigen. Auf diese Weise ist es möglich, das produktive Potenzial der Translation in der AS und AK jenseits der Dichotomie AT-ZT und trotz der Zwänge des zielgerichteten Diskurses zu untersuchen. Dies öffnet uns neue Perspektiven und Interpretationsmöglichkeiten und gibt uns ein Instrument, sich aktiv mit solchen Phänomenen auseinanderzusetzen, ohne dabei in traditionelle Erklärungsmuster zurückzufallen. Die Translationswissenschaft kann somit an die Diskussion in anderen Disziplinen anschließen und zu deren Erkenntnissen beitragen, ohne die Integrität des Translationsbegriffes als Kommunikationsakt zu opfern.

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[14] Es ist möglich, dass Galland die Information über den *Sindbad* und seine Zugehörigkeit zur arabischen Version von *Alf Laila wa-Laila* einfach missverstanden hat (vgl. MAHDI 1994: 19, 36).

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Chronotopos

A Journal of Translation History

José María Castellano Martínez

Translation as a novelty in the *Colección de los Tratados, Convenios y documentos internacionales* of the Marquis of Olivart.

Abstract

This paper aims to highlight the relevance of the Colección de los Tratados, Convenios y documentos internacionales *of the Marquis of Olivart from a translation history perspective. This international legal index covering the treaties and conventions held by the governments of Spain from the effective reign of Isabella II to the times of her grandchild Alphonse XIII was compiled between 1890 and 1912 in the Spanish Restoration context. After a brief social and historical introduction to this period, we have, with reference to Lepinette (1997), exposed the reasons that motivated this project —inspired by other national and foreign collections—, as well as analysed its structure and its process of compilation. Translation arises as the main novelty of this Spanish index —developed under royal auspices— through the incorporation of language versions, classified in four types. The collector's concerns about the warranty of authenticity of the texts define translations as an essential instrument in order to avoid possible mis-interpretations of other language versions. Because of this, linguistic equivalence arises next to legal equivalence when language versions of a same document are compared, revisiting legal veracity from a linguistic point of view. We conclude by sharing some considerations about these approaches that could contribute to translation history in the field of diplomacy.*

Keywords: translation history, Spain, Olivart, Diplomacy, Legal Collection, Long Nineteenth Century

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Introduction

The Marquis of Olivart compiled the *Colección de los Tratados, Convenios y documentos internacionales*[1] between 1890 to 1916. This work is composed by a total of 15

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[1] The full title of the studied work is *Colección de los Tratados, Convenios y documentos internacionales celebrados por nuestros Gobiernos con los Estados extranjeros desde el Reinado de Doña Isabel II hasta nuestros días.*

volumes which, for the very first time, made it possible to consult the international legally binding texts held by Spain from 1834 to 1912. The period covered by the *Colección* reflects the development of the Spanish international relations from the years of Isabella II to the reign of Alphonse XIII, in the beginnings of the twentieth century; that is to say, a framework of 78 years in which translation of international treaties and conventions can be analysed from a perspective that goes beyond the legal issue. According to DULLION (2018: 398), "[t]hroughout legal history, concepts and practices of translation have changed together with the relationship between law and power". Because of that, the *Colección* offers an extraordinary opportunity to better approach these aspects taking into consideration that translation is not the main purpose of the *Colección*, but one of the instruments that made it possible.

Our collector was inspired by the intent of organising a corpus of Spanish international legal documents initiated at the end of the eighteenth century by the German jurist and diplomat Georg Friedrich von Martens. In G. F. Martens' *Recueil des principaux traités d'alliance* (1791), the jurisconsult community found a sort of methodological volume for classifying the main treaties and conventions between the European nations. In his work, the Marquis of Olivart also referred to other later (monolingual) collections such as Hertslet's *Complete collection of the treaties and conventions* (1827-1850) in the United Kingdom, Neumann's *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par l'Autriche* (1855) from Austria or Clerq's *Recueil* (1864, 1880) in France, among others. Besides this bibliography, the Marquis of Olivart also studied the main European gazettes and official journals – the Spanish *Gazeta*, later *Gaceta*, *de Madrid* or *Colección legislativa*, the British *State Papers*, etc. – in order to compare or verify the compiled texts for his collection.

The relevance of the *Colección* lies in the originality of covering the tumultuous period in the history of Spain. It entails a unique framework for both legal and translational perspectives, not only regarding the international panorama and its evolution between the Spanish governments and other states, territories or entities; but also, how translation was conceived in this project. Since there are few works about this Spanish compilation, we must definitely point out those carried out by BLANC (1999, 2000). However, this author discusses the volumes from a purely historical and legal perspective, without any interest in linguistics or translation, which is what this paper aims for.

= Collection of the Treaties, Conventions and international documents held by our Governments with the foreign States from the Reign of Doña Isabella II until our days.

The *Colección*: an original instrument in the Restoration context

This enthusiastic project took place between 1889 and 1890, some years after the death of the king Alphonse XII. Once the battered monarchy of Amadeo I (1871-1873) was over and the First Spanish Republic collapsed in 1874, the Prince of Asturias – son of the queen in exile Isabella II – became Alphonse XII of Spain in November 1874 (CARR/CAPELLA et al. 1969: 310-326; TUÑÓN DE LARA 1974: 217-220, 249-251). A new historical period – called the Bourbon Restoration – started in Spain with the arrival of this liberal monarch, who was educated in elitist institutions throughout Europe such as the *Stiftung Theresianische Akademie* (Theresianum) of Vienna, the *Collège Stanislas de Paris*, or the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in England (ESPADAS 1990: 50, 73, 111).

The architect of the new regime was Antonio Cánovas del Castillo, leader of the Conservative Party and prime minister of Spain, who alternated the office with the liberal Práxedes Mateo Sagasta. The Restoration was founded in the "turnismo" which consisted of the agreement in advance of the results of the legislative elections by the two major parties – conservatives and liberals. Under this system, the kingdom of Spain reached the consolidation of the monarchy, a new Constitution in 1876 and the stabilisation of governments and institutions (CÁNOVAS DEL CASTILLO 1978). The prosperity and success of this new regime was suddenly interrupted by the death of Alphonse XII from tuberculosis in 1885. Despite this sad episode, his underage son Alphonse XIII awaken new hope in the institution and Cánovas' regime continued under the regency of the widow queen Maria Cristina of Austria (TUÑÓN DE LARA 1974: 271-273; MONTERO 1990: 421).

The Marquis of Olivart, whose full name was Ramón María de Dalmau y de Olivart, was a relevant jurisconsult and a versatile author who published several academic and non-academic works throughout the Restoration period[2]. He was elected as a national deputy of the conservative party to the *Congreso de los Diputados* (the Spanish parliament) for the 1896-1898 and 1899-1900/1900-1901 sessions, as well as a member of several institutions and associations based on legal and judicial interests like the prestigious *Asociación Francisco de Vitoria*. When the first volume of the *Colec-*

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[2] *Catalina de Aragón y Carolina de Brunswick* (1881), *Teorías de los interdictos* (1885), *Manual de Derecho internacional público y privado* (1886), *Tratado y notas del Derecho internacional público* (1887-1889), *La ejecución de las sentencias extranjeras* (1888), *Programa de Derecho Internacional Público* (1889), *Elementos de Derecho Internacional Público* (1906), or *Bibliographie du Droit international* (1905-1910). (GRAN ENCIPLOPÈDIA CATALANA: Ramon de Dalmau i d'Olivart. https://www.enciclopedia.cat/ec-gec-0021321.xml (22.10.2019))

ción was published under the regency in 1890, the Marquis of Olivart was an academician of the *Real Academia de Ciencias Morales y Políticas* (the Spanish Royal Academy of Moral and Political Sciences), as well as an assistant professor at the *Universidad Central* in Madrid (nowadays *Universidad Complutense*) and a member of the *Institut du Droit International* in Geneva.

The prime minister Cánovas del Castillo had good relations with the Marquis of Olivart, as the prologue of the first volume demonstrates. In one of their conversations, Olivart presented his project to Cánovas del Castillo, who fully agreed with the initiative to compile the future *Colección* as a legal instrument for the kingdom (OLIVART 1890: XV-XVII). In words of MONTERO (1990: 403): "Varias iniciativas de colecciones y bibliotecas contribuyen al crecimiento de la producción bibliográfica. […] [D]iversos boletines bibliográficos y revistas de publicaciones contribuyeron a un relanzamiento significativo de la producción bibliográfica"[3]. During the Restoration period, the bases for a more profound cultural production were established in favour of new libraries, original compilations and bibliographies. These works and enterprises were seen as educational instruments for society by both liberal and conservative governments (op. cit.: 401-406).

Cánovas personally supported the initiative of the Marquis of Olivart and under his auspices, the jurisconsult expert addressed a report about the *Colección* to the state minister, the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo on the 17th of May 1889. Some days later, on the 30th of May, the queen regent Maria Cristina – on behalf of king Alphonse XIII – authorised Olivart to coordinate and publish the *Colección de Tratados de España* [sic] by royal order (op. cit.: XIII).

The authorised project intended to achieve a complete and better compilation of the Spanish treaties and conventions since the reign of Isabella II in order to supersede those of ABREU (1740-1752), CANTILLO (1843) and JANER (1869). The two first mentioned collections were distant in time to the Restoration and JANER (1869) was incomplete and insufficient in the eyes of Olivart due to the lack of relevant treaties or official foreign texts which is why he disregarded it completely:

> *Sea cual fuere la causa, y sin ánimo de ofender la memoria de literato tan ilustre [Janer], el ser su prólogo mera y precipitada clasificación por materias de los tratados que publica, la ausencia en dicho libro de todo texto oficial extranjero, que im-*

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[3] = Several collection and library initiatives contributed to the growth of bibliographic production. […] [S]everal bibliographic bulletins and publication journals contributed to a significant relaunch of bibliographic production.

pide conocer la correspondencia con el mismo de la quizá simple traducción española, y lo que es peor, el hecho de faltar en él más de un tratado, no completamente desprovisto de importancia, hace que pueda seguirse diciendo que la última colección española es la del Sr. Cantillo. (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: VI-VIII)

= Whatever the cause, and without intention of offending the memory of such an illustrious writer [Janer], the fact that his prologue is a mere and hasty classification by topics of the published treaties, the absence in this book of any foreign official text, which does not indicate the simple Spanish translation, and what is worse, the fact that more than one treaty of importance is missing, makes it possible to say that the last Spanish collection is that of Mr. Cantillo.

This report reveals the main reason for the Marquis of Olivart to carry out his endeavour. He wanted to be the very first one to create a Spanish compilation that would serve as a legal instrument and that included the bilingual and/or multilingual versions of the international documents considered of importance. First, Olivart aspired to collect the Spanish treaties and conventions since the effective reign of Isabella II and after the regency of her mother, queen María Cristina de Borbón (also known as Maria Christina of the Two Sicilies). This point of departure continued where CANTILLO (1843) had left off: Cantillo collected only the Spanish version texts up until the beginnings of the nineteenth century and the period of the Peninsula War (*Guerra de la Independencia*) – without historical notes or commentaries – for reasons of "national decency"[4]: "faltan las notas á aquéllos, que el prudente colector suprimió desde 1800 por razones de nacional decoro, y resulta siempre la novedad de la inserción de los dos textos, dado que en dicha obra se continúa sólo el español" (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: VI). Second, Olivart intended to offer a prologue and a preliminary discourse for each one of the different volumes that would frame the whole *Colección*, as well as notes and commentaries to all the documents. Adding this information to the compilation, Olivart demonstrated an academic regard for his work, surpassing a simple gathering of official papers and designing a methodological legal instrument based on both original texts, official translations and commentaries and notes as metatexts. Finally, the Marquis of Olivart emphasised the unquestionable in-

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[4] In the Abdications of Bayonne (1808), Carlos IV was forced by Napoleon to abdicate the Spanish Crown to his son Ferdinand VII. Immediately, the new King abdicated the throne in same terms and conditions to Napoleon, who designated his brother Joseph as the new King of Spain under the name José I Bonaparte. These abdications were considered ignominious and dishonourable for the Nation, which had been previously invaded by the French troops. The Peninsula War (1808-1814) awoke a new national awareness reflected in the 1812 Spanish Constitution, and that is why, Olivart referred to the issue of "nacional decoro" (national decency) in his report.

clusion of official translations published in reliable sources to enrich the *Colección* as a true instrument to be consulted.

The project of the *Colección*

The *Colección* is composed by a total of fifteen volumes, previously planned in five tomes (op. cit., 4: v). The thirteen first volumes belong to the original collection published between 1890 and 1906. According to Blanc (1999: 148-149), the Marquis of Olivart added two more tomes[5] to cover the treaties from 1902 to 1905 and from 1905 to 1910 respectively. However, the costs and the extension of the original project were the main cause of the postponements, humbly assumed by Olivart (Olivart 1890-1906, 13: v). For solving these obstacles, the collector deleted national legislation not directly related to International Law:

> *Para disminuir en lo posible esta desproporción entre lo prometido y lo necesario, buscamos desde luego un remedio, suprimir á partir de este volumen, ó sea de 1859 en adelante, las disposiciones unilaterales de nuestros gobiernos cuya relación no sea tan directa é inmediata con el derecho internacional […].* (op. cit., 4: v).

> = In order to reduce as far as possible this disproportion between what has been promised and what is necessary, we seek, of course, a remedy, to suppress from this volume, or from 1859 onwards, the unilateral provisions of our governments whose relationship is not as direct and immediate to International Law […].

Likewise, the Marquis of Olivart admitted discontent in the prologue of the eighth volume: "No estamos satisfechos de la obra, (…). No nos ha sido posible realizar, por motivos ajenos á nuestra voluntad, el riguroso y detenido cotejo con los originales […]"[6] (op. cit., 8: v). Despite the reasons beyond his responsibility, the collector had an evident intention of improving the previously mentioned collections. Not only a new compilation of international treaties held by Spain from Cantillo's collection to the present date, but a critical —and extremely ambitious— revision of those texts from a methodological and translational point of view. The following table shows the full collection with the later added volumes:

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[5] The forteenth volume was published in *Revista Internacional de Derecho Internacional y de Política Exterior* (Olivart 1911).

[6] = We are not satisfied with the work, certainly, but experience persuades and reassures us by demonstrating that the best is always the enemy of the good. It has not been possible for us to carry out, due to reasons beyond our control, the rigorous and measured comparison with the originals […].

Volume[7]	Period		Published in
Tomo I	1834-1848		Madrid, 1890
Tomo II	1849-1852		Madrid, 1892
Notas Histórico-Críticas[8]	-	Reign of Isabella II	Madrid, 1892
Tomo III– Volumen III	1852-1859		Madrid, 1893
Tomo III– Volumen IV	1859-1862		Madrid, 1894
Tomo V	1863-1868		Madrid, 1895
Tomo VI	1868-1874	*Sexenio Democrático:* Provisional Government (1868–1871) Reign of Amadeo I (1871–1873) First Spanish Republic (1873–1874)	Madrid, 1895
Volumen VII	1875-1879	Reign of Alphonse XII	Madrid, 1896
Volumen VIII	1880-1885		Madrid, 1897
Volumen IX	1885-1890	Reign of Alphonse XIII (Regency of Maria Cristina)	Madrid, 1899
Volumen X	1891-1893		Madrid, 1901
Volumen XI	1894-1896		Madrid, 1902
Volumen XII	1897-1899		Madrid, 1904
Volumen XIII	1900-1902		Madrid, 1906
Revista Internacional de Derecho Internacional y de Política Exterior	1902-1905	Reign of Alphonse XIII	Madrid, 1911
Volumen XV	1905-1910		Madrid, 1912

Table 1: Tomes and volumes in the *Colección*

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[7] The author interchanged the names *tomo* (tome) and *volumen* (volume) without distinction throughout the publication.

[8] *Notas Histórico-Críticas* (Historical-Critical Notes) is the briefest volume and it includes notes and commentaries about the two previous tomes.

The compilation process

History and evolution of the *Secretaría de Interpretación de Lenguas* have been exhaustively studied by CÁCERES (2006), whose research on languages and translation of this institution is of interest for our study. Regarding the main translated languages, Cáceres (2010: 619-620) confirms the relevant position of French from the early to the late Modern period. The preponderance of this *lingua franca* – "given the central position of French in European culture (…)" (HEILBRON 2000: 16) – is clearly reflected in the *Colección* when Olivart considered that treaties and conventions written in a minor or "exotic" language should also be translated into French; in case of doubt, the French version was to be consulted[9]. This functionalist criterion focused on a possible wider dissemination for Olivart's project in American and European libraries and chancelleries, although the collector also assumed that adding different language versions of a same document would increase the number of pages and cost of his work (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: X).

Apart from French and Spanish, the most common language versions of the *Colección* are English (for the UK and the USA), Italian (for Italy), German (for the German States and the Austro-Hungarian Empire), Portuguese (for Portugal and Brazil), and Swedish (for Sweden and Norway). In case of "exotic" languages whose calligraphy differs from the Latin – Arabic, Chinese, Japanese or Ottoman Turkish[10] –, translations were also omitted or replaced by French versions, as previously mentioned[11].

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[9] Article XXI of the 1868 Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between Spain and Japan says: "Este Tratado está escrito en español, japonés y francés. Las tres versiones están enteramente conformes en su sentido y propósito; pero en caso de duda sobre su interpretación, deberá considerarse la versión francesa como la original y decisiva. (...)" (OLIVART 1890-1906, 6: 194-195).
= This Treaty is written in Spanish, Japanese and French. Three versions are enterely in accordance in terms of sense and purporse; but in case of doubt about its interpretation, the French version should be considered as the original and decisive one [...].

[10] There is a special commentary about the translation of the Ottoman Sultan Imperial diploma attached to the 1840 Treaty of Commerce between the Court of Spain and the Ottoman Empire. It reveals the collector's interest in translation as a source of knowledge as its meticulous analysis of the note demonstrates. In this kind of sworn translation, terms and expressions are studied as well as the structure of the document. The note says: "Por excepción insertamos este diploma de ratificación como curiosidad histórica, constando los títulos y dignidades del Sultán de los Otomanos" (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: 161).
= By exception we insert this ratification diploma as a historical curiosity, stating the titles and honours of the Sultan of the Ottomans.

[11] For example: The French version of the 1840 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Spain and the Ottoman Sublime Porte is a translation from the Turkish text (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: 152).

In the rest of the Western world – Europe, the Americas and maybe Japan –, French, English and German kept their role as diplomatic languages of chancelleries. The historical rivalry between France and Great Britain balanced the traditional use of French and English, mainly used for trade with the colonies and the USA. The emergence of modern sciences and philosophy in Central Europe empowered German as a language for knowledge and transmission of ideas (CÁCERES 2006: 65-66).

The *Secretaría* was the main source of original documents and translations to the *Colección*. We could summarise that the translation process that was carried out in the *Secretaría* under supervision of the *Secretario* (head of the secretariat) consisted of three different stages (OLIVART 1890-1906: 212-215): first, the document had to be duly registered in the office applying for the target language; and second, the *Secretario* put an official translator in charge of the text —whose drafts and copies had to be conserved in the said archives (*op. cit.* 216-219)—. The process concluded when the final translated version was also archived. Cáceres (2006) also describes a change of translation process of the office from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, due to the sworn translator's designation to assume official translations in order to reduce the amount of work of the *Secretaría* (OLIVART 1890-1906:196-197).

Turning back to the *Colección*, the Marquis of Olivart noticed mistakes and misinterpretations in the process of textual comparison that could cause "serious disruptions" in the Spanish diplomacy: "Esta escrupulosa reproducción de los textos originales no debe llegar hasta el punto de no corregir los crasos errores de copia que no tengan la más pequeña excusa basada en la sintaxis ú la ortografía de la época"[12] (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: XI). Concerned about the importance of a good textual reproduction of the originals and their translations, Olivart also proposed to include variants collected in other official reviews or publications as the *Gaceta de Madrid* or the *Colección Legislativa* in order to ensure a global comprehension of the document in case of disagreement:

> *El cotejo de los textos, empresa de curiosa erudición en las obras literarias, reviste en una recopilación de tratados (en los cuales del cambio de una coma pueden resultar […] una grave alteración en las relaciones cordiales de los pueblos y largas controversias diplomáticas) singularísima importancia. Por esto juzgamos que sería*

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[12]= This scrupulous reproduction of the original texts must not reach the point of not correcting the crass errors of copy that do not have the smallest excuse based on the syntax or the orthography of the period.

> *muy útil […] constar las variantes que quizá existan, entre los documentos origi-*
> *nales, […].* (op. cit., 1: X-XI)

> = The comparison of texts, a curious erudition in literary works, takes on a com-
> pilation of treaties (in which changing a comma can cause […] a serious altera-
> tion of the cordial relations of peoples and long diplomatic controversies) of the
> most singular importance. For this reason, we consider that it would be very use-
> ful […] to include the variants that may exist among the original documents, […].

Regarding the compilation process, the Marquis of Olivart adopted a strict chrono-
logical order for the inclusion of documents excluding those that would not have
been officially ratified. In other words, the *Colección* only admitted the texts legally
binding for the parties: "Sólo deben figurar aquellos por los que resulta la existencia
del *duorum vel plurium in codem consensus*, en materia de derecho, no de mera
acción política […]"[13] (op. cit., 1: VIII).

Olivart referred to the ministerial *Archivo* and *Biblioteca* (archives and library) as the
place where he developed his project. There, Olivart was assisted by civil servants,
such as Manuel del Palacio ⸺head of the archives⸺ and José Tobarra and his son
Alfredo, who cooperated in documentation, among others (op. cit., 1: XXI-XXII). Alt-
hough the compilation was carried out within the fold of the ministerial archives and
library, the Marquis of Olivart also required the aid of Mariano Juderías Bender for
the translation the *Colección*. The following schema represents the conceptual compi-
lation process described by the collector:
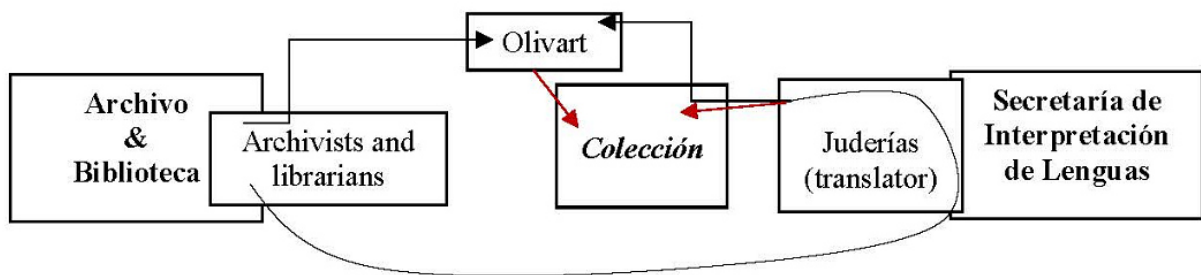
Figure 1: compilation process schema

Juderías was a versed translator from the *Secretaría* who could speak and translate
several foreign languages such as German, French and English. Apart from the trans-
lations of Irving's works (VILLORIA 1998: 212), he also translated into Spanish the
Historia de Cristóbal Colon y de sus viajes (1885, 1863) written by the French Ameri-

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[13]= "Only those [texts] appreciating the *duorum vel plurium in codem consensus* will be consid-
ered, legally, and not only politically, speaking […].

canist Roselly de Lorgues, as well as several studies of the British Whig historian Thomas Babington, such as *Estudios históricos* (1879), *Estudios biográficos* (1880), *Estudios críticos* (1880) or the four volumes of *Historia de la revolución de Inglaterra* (1905-1910). Because of his high profile and valued career in the *Secretaría*, his collaboration was crucial for this project. Juderías Bender was in charge of evaluating and revising the official translations archived in the Ministry. Additionally, the non-translated documents were also translated for the first time: "Al corregir juntos las pruebas de alguna traducción oficial desdichadísima, se ha escandalizado de semejante severidad mi amigo Bender, […]. Únicamente se han hecho nuevas traducciones donde no ha sido posible encontrarlas oficiales, […]"[14] (OLIVART 1890-1906, 1: XXI).

Translation as a warranty of authenticity

Lepinette's methodology (1997) consists of two models in order to analyse translation history: a) the sociological and cultural model (henceforth SCM) – which considers the social and cultural contexts of a translation and tries to explain the reasons, proceedings and reception in its time – and b) the historical and descriptive model (henceforth HDM) – which compares or contrasts metatextual aspects of the period such as decisions made by translators, concepts, its evolution as well as other works in space and time –. In words of Lepinette, her HDM is an adaptation of a translational framework by SWIGGER (1990) and his "architectonic" analysis of the linguistic object. Meanwhile, the SCM is close to meta-historiographical concepts and methods expressed by D'hulst and his goals for translation history (D'HULST 2010: 397-405). The SCM observes the object of study as a museum piece, isolated *in vitro*, without conceptual or philosophical reflections. The previous sections of this paper have briefly corresponded to this methodological model, where we have descriptively analysed the *Colección*.

On the contrary, the *in vivo* HDM begins by conceptualising collections as "crucial processes of Western identity formation" (CLIFFORD 1994: 220). This idea is reinforced by FRANK (1998: 13) who confirms that these processes are "memorable ways of transmitting culture within a country, or of transferring it internationally". At this point, we should point out the historical functions of translation assigned by Delisle (2003), concretely the identity and democratic roles in this kind of works. Transla-

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[14] = When revising together the proofs of some really wretched official translation, my friend Bender was scandalised because of such severity, (…). New translations have been done when it has been impossible to find the official ones, (…).

tion acquires a historical function in these collections due to its contribution to national identity through the compilation, and a democratic function because of the dissemination of its contents.

Legal interest in translation evolved from the mid-nineteenth century (Chevrel, D'hulst & Lombez 2012: 108 sqq.) modifying professional conditions of translators and highlighting its value as connoisseurs to be considered (i. e. Juderías Bender, mentioned in cover pages of the *Colección*). Translation was conceived as a warranty of textual authenticity – to be trusted, to be transferred –: "Por esto, si se quiere hacer una colección verdaderamente *auténtica*, han de marcarse bien estas diferencias entre el texto y las versiones oficiales (…)" (Olivart 1890-1906, 1: x)[15]. In this sense, double text treaties – language versions – were considered as *one* document or single legal act composed of two or more texts (op. cit., 1: xx), which equalised the value of translation with its source text by putting both of them on the same level as parts of a common instrument.

Textual warranty implies both legal and linguistic equivalence for this collection. The first one responds to a fictional belief of an equally legal accuracy of the compiled language versions based on the power of Law. However, the linguistic equivalence could have disrupted the previous one. When the Marquis of Olivart and Juderías evaluated the archived translations in order to include, improve or propose language versions, they indirectly revisited equivalence of these two natures.

This sort of manipulation was openly envisaged by Olivart (op. cit., 1: xxi) who applied a similar treatment to different language versions, modifying their original paratextual aspects – from the archives – in favour of the collective edition. Indeed, from a textual point of view, translations in the *Colección* can be classified into four categories: a) parallel versions, b) official translations, c) collector's translations and, finally, d) omitted translations.

Parallel versions

Parallel versions are bilingual or, to a lesser extent, multilingual texts comprising a single document without direct reference to translation. However, the closing paragraphs of these texts indicate duplicate issue versions of the parties: *hecho/fecho en duplicado* [ES], done in/by duplicate, done in double [EN], *fait en double, signé en double original* [FR], *in dopprio originale* [IT], *in doppelter Ausfertigung* [DE] or *feito em duplicado* [PT], among others. This kind of non-overtly recognised translations are typical for bilateral treaties and conventions, the Spanish version logically is one

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[15] = For this reason, if one wants to make a truly authentic collection, these differences between the text and the official versions must be clearly marked […].

of them. They are supposed to have been written in parallel or translated from the text elaborated first, but there is no evidence of that. The versions are commonly organised in comparative columns with, the Spanish text on the left.

Figure 2: parallel version samples[16]

Official translations

Official translations (*Traducción oficial*) are those recognised as such in the *Colección*. The source text is written in French and the official translation is in Spanish. The officiality of the translated texts comes from their publication in an official repository as the *Gaceta de Madrid* or the *Colección legislativa*. This category basically includes international conventions creating organisations or resolving controversies – i. e. the 1874 Treaty concerning the formation of a General Postal Union[17] –. Some bilateral treaties are originally written in French, translations of which will be subsequently added – i. e. the 1868 Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Spain and the North German Confederation[18] –. These versions are organised horizontally,

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[16] The conventions in Figure 2 are 1850 Postal Convention between Spain and the Helvetic Confederation (op. cit., 2: 61) and 1886 Commercial Convention with the Great Britain (op. cit., 9: 133), respectively.

[17] Op. cit. (7: 23-48).

[18] Op. cit. (4: 420-429).

differing to the parallel ones: the original paragraph in French appears first and its translation into Spanish later.
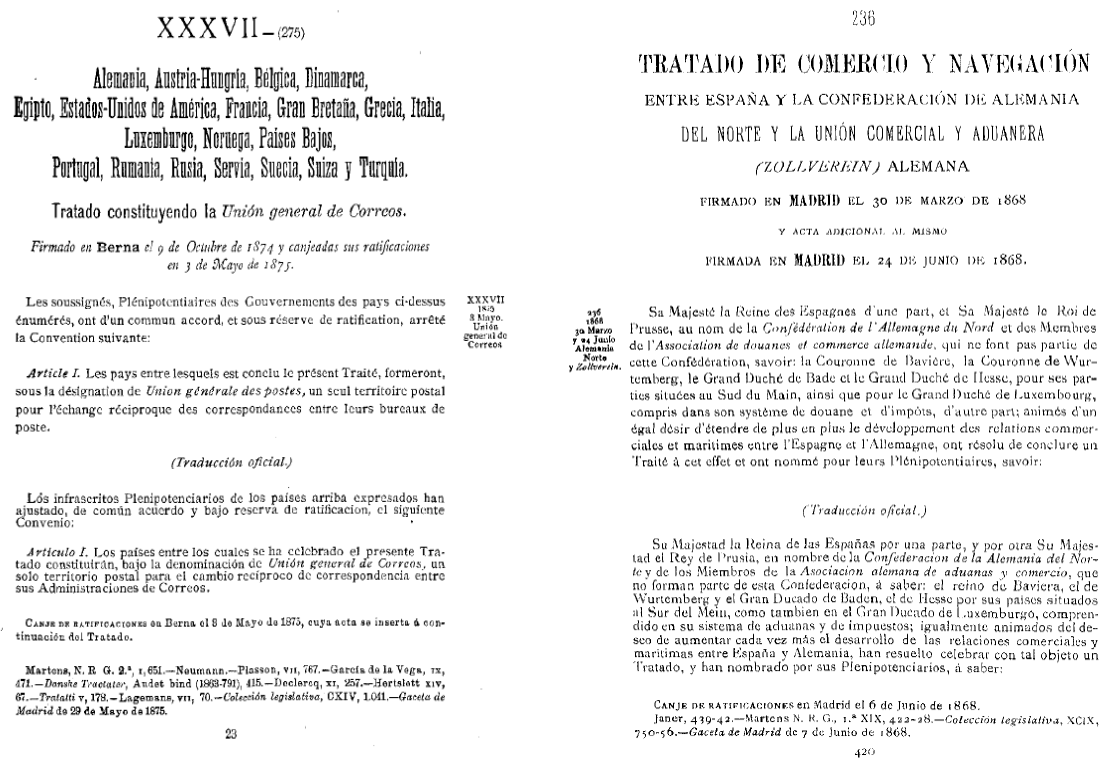

Figure 3: official translation samples

Collector's translations

Collector's translations (*Traducción del colector*) are the texts translated and added under the supervision of Olivart in order to offer a first Spanish version of an unpublished official document – i. e. the record the ratifications exchange to the Treaty concerning the formation of a General Postal Union [19] or the first-time translation into Spanish of the 1882 attached declaration[20] relating to the 1869 Commerce Convention between Spain and Switzerland –. Textual organisation of these versions is similar to official translations:

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[19] Op. cit. (7: 38).
[20] Op. cit. (8: 261).

Figure 4: collector's translation sample

Omitted translations

The last proposed category refers to the intentionally omitted translations. Usually, both versions are recognised in the text itself: "(…) se firmarán y sellarán cuatro originales de él en los idiomas español y árabe (…)"[21] (op. cit., 3: 157-158); even in the notes added by the Marquis of Olivart. For example, the first note of the 1864 Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between Spain and China says: "En español y en chino"[22] (op. cit., 4: 404), although the document is exclusively compiled in Spanish. On other occasions, a note advises of the omission of a language version because of typographic difficulties: "No insertamos, por las dificultades tipográficas, el texto chino"[23] (op. cit., 7: 247). For that reason, the Spanish or French versions are attached:

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[21] = (…) four originals [of the treaty] will be signed and stamped in Spanish and Arabic; (…).

[22] = In Spanish and Chinese.

[23] = We do not insert, because of typographic difficulties, the Chinese text.
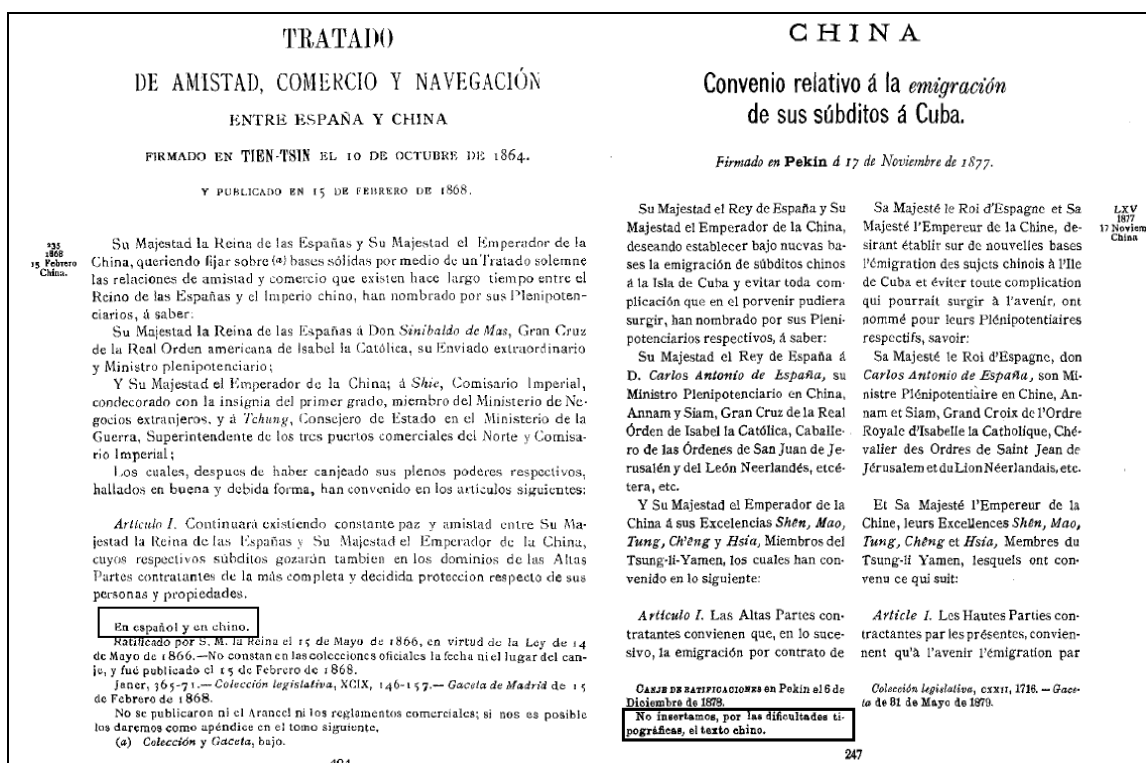
Figure 5: omitted translation samples with marking.

Textual organisation as a criterion for the classification of translation

The textual organisation designed by Olivart is founded on a translational perspective – there is a textual hierarchy, for example, in official translations –, otherwise all the language versions could have been reproduced in the same way just attending to legal equivalence. This remains into the background of the *Colección*, because legal texts cannot be questionable in a legality system, which is based on a "fictional" and "invisible" agreement between the parties. This sort of legal textuality corresponds to the legal communicational theory developed by Robles (1998, 2006, 2015), who considers Law as a Text. This point of the discussion raises the following question: have translational perspective here revised by Olivart and Juderías disrupted legal equivalence of the documents? This question makes us reflect on both equivalences (legal and linguistic) as connected but focused on different realities: legal equivalence arises from legal acts and not properly from language versions, some of them latterly proposed or reviewed to be compiled. This equivalence represents an invisible shell for the linguistic and textual core (language versions, translations), revisited *ad hoc* with a clear purpose of avoiding possible misinterpretations or improving archived texts without questioning the previous legal value.

This translational consideration – made possible via the incorporation of indexed language versions – was scarcely applied in such evident and direct way in this period. International legal collections were commonly written and compiled in French, the *lingua franca* of diplomacy. Olivart introduced this issue referring to the vast *Recueil* of C. Martens & Cussy (1846-1857), who only compiled French versions neglecting other language or national texts. The mentioned Hartslet (1827-1850), Neumann (1855), Clerq (1864, 1880) or Cantillo (1843) offered monolingual works, without any linguistic or textual "warranty" by comparing them to other language versions. Differences aside, there is a work close to the *Colección* in time and purpose: the *Recueil des traités et conventions conclus par la Russie avec les puissances étrangères,* compiled by Frédéric Fromhold de Martens (also Fiódor Martens, Фёдор Мартенс) from 1875 to 1909. Martens was a Russian jurist and diplomat who published a total of fifteen volumes of treaties and conventions held by Russia with other European powers. This collection, mainly written in French, included detailed introductions and texts of conventions and treaties in parallel in the languages of the contracting parties. Martens justified his work because of an imperative need for the "official and private spheres" of the empire (F. F. MARTENS 1875-1909, 1: V): "La présent publication est destinée à combler une lacune qui, depuis longtemps, se faisait sentir dans les sphères officielles et privées"[24]. This *Recueil* exhibits the same academic and functionalist purpose of the *Colección*: "le désir de faciliter autant que possible l'étude et l'accomplissement des obligations internationales"[25] (F. F. MARTENS 1875-1909, 1: V), also enclosing language versions in parallel with the Russian text. Although translation is not directly mentioned in Marten's preface, the incorporation of both language versions reveals the said necessity of legal warranty for those "spheres".

To finish our discussion, we must point out that the organisation and methodology of the Russian collection clearly differed from the Spanish: F. F: Martens compiled paying attention to geographical criteria, while Olivart followed a chronological order: F. F. Martens dedicated volumes 1-4 to Austria, 5-8 to Prussia and Germany, 9-12 to England and, finally, 13-15 to France. Although the thematic compactness of the four different thematical volumes is impressive, we must point out a methodological disadvantage regarding the possibility of incorporating new treaties or conventions to previous volumes. Furthermore, F. F. Martens only focused on bilateral relations and did not mention any kind of revision or translation process; in contrast to

[24] = This publication is intended to fill a long-standing gap in the official and private spheres.
[25] = the desire to facilitate as much as possible the study and implementation of international obligations.

Olivart, who kept a higher international vision compiling bilateral and multilateral treaties and highlighting translation as the main novelty of his *Colección* compared to others.

Conclusion

Translation history, as a diachronic branch of Translatology, sheds light on the construction – and reconstruction – of cultural and social narrations. The *Colección* reflects the Spanish contribution to the called *Law of the Nations* during the nineteenth century until the beginnings of the twentieth. However, this paper has focused on a study from a translational perspective considering translation as the essential angle of the compilation project.

The *Colección* represents an extraordinary translational framework to contextualise legal institutional translations in one of the most turbulent periods of contemporary Spanish history. This international legal index does not only reflect the international relations and diplomatic inclinations of the Spanish governments evolved from the reign of Isabella II to her grandchild Alphonse XIII, but the evident jurisconsult necessities that motivated the compilation itself. Inspired by other European legal *recueils*, Olivart developed an original project where language versions (translations) acquired a new dimension. The efforts of the Marquis were directed towards the incorporation of foreign language versions next to the Spanish texts – by reviewing, improving or proposing translations. Olivart abandoned writing historical-critical notes, which are only included in one volume attached to tomes I and II. The collector preferred to invest his time and resources in recovering and displaying the language versions of international documents. In this sense, we also consider that the role of the translator represented by Juderías Bender was particularly highlighted in the compilation process carried out in the Ministry. Likewise, the translations collected by Olivart in the ministerial archives from 1890 to 1912 reveal the intense translational activity of the *Secretaría de Interpretación de Lenguas* as an historical institution that began with the modern Hispanic Monarchy administration.

If the main contribution of the *Colección* or advantage in comparison to other international legal collections was to include language versions, translation had to become crucial in the compilation process. Recognising translation as an evident stage of international law proceedings should be considered of as a novelty for said period. The classification here proposed – parallel versions, official translations, collector's translations and omitted translations – arises from the concerns of Olivart about language version equivalence and how he decided to represent and display these texts. If legal

equivalence was formally and commonly assumed, the inherent and subordinated linguistic equivalence was questioned. In this regard, we have observed that Olivart conceived the textuality of Law as a linguistic reality where translations became an essential part of the international document. Nevertheless, translation was also part of the compilation process for a better legal understanding of the international document in the strict sense. In other words, Olivart indirectly equalised the legal shield of language versions to linguistic equivalence, through translation, when advertising of possible misinterpretations. For example, we see that parallel versions – the most common type – are closer to the notion of legal equivalence in comparison to the official or the collector's translations, which clearly distinguish source and target texts prioritising the linguistic equivalence through a hierarchical textual representation (figures 3 and 4). In this type of translations, we see that French was the diplomatic *lingua franca* of the period. This language was not only the *de facto* language version for "exotic" language treaties or conventions, but it was the preferred language of other multilingual states in the diplomatic relations with Spain such as the kingdom of Belgium (to the detriment of Dutch) or the Swiss confederation (instead of German or Italian). In the same way, there is no reference to any of the current co-official Spanish languages (Basque, Catalan or Galician) in the whole collection. Furthermore, multinational documents constituting unions and international organisations were written in French as the official version of the document, whose subsequent translations into Spanish were included by Olivart.

In quantitative terms, collector's and omitted translations are rare in the volumes, but they were conceived by Olivart as a remedy for certain circumstances such as the lack of a Spanish version of some international documents or the technical difficulties when reproducing a particular foreign language version. If collector's translations responded to an absence of information and contributed to the *Colección* by adding new texts, the omission of existing translation harmed the original purpose of this legal project and reduce its scope.

This study has introduced a possible line of research for translation history in the context of Spanish diplomacy in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries by applying Lepinette's model, taking into consideration the reduced framework that this paper applies. The next step of our research will shift focus from the macro text to the micro texts by comparing and analysing translations, since "little is known about the various translational strategies and techniques used through the ages in translating legal texts" (LAVIGNE 2006: 158), concentrating on the study of language combina-

tions, the translation techniques or the specialised fields of knowledge —Commerce, Telegraph, Defence—, among others.

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Documents of translation history /
Dokumente der Translationsgeschichte /
Documents de l'histoire de la traduction

Angela Tiziana Tarantini & Christian Griffiths

Introduction to *Rome in Shakespeare's Tragedies* by De Lorenzo. How Shakespearean Material was appropriated by Translators and Scholars during the Fascist Period.

Abstract

What follows is a prefatory commentary and an English translation of the critical introduction to the text Roma nelle tragedie di Shakespear*e (Rome in Shakespeare's Tragedies) published in Italy in 1924. The book contains the translations of* Julius Caesar *and* Coriolanus, *both carried out by Ada Salvatore, and an introductory essay written by Giuseppe De Lorenzo. Our aim in translating the introductory essay by De Lorenzo is to raise awareness among non-Italian speaking scholars of how Shakespearian material was appropriated through translation by translators and intellectuals during the Fascist era.*

Keywords: translation, Shakespeare, fascism, Italy

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Translators' introduction

The contexts of European nationalism have been marked by frequent attempts to appropriate the capital of Shakespearean literature to national traditions, in apparent conflict with its English/British origins. For example, HOENSELAARS (2009: 9) articulates the familiar claim that German scholarship of the Romantic period saw Shakespeare's Saxon affinities place him in closer alignment with the values of the German nation than modern Britain, a view which is felt to be vindicated by the prominence that Shakespearean literature, notably its translations, held in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century movements to establish a national German literature (for an overview, see MACEY 1971). The crux of such an argument is the claim that the Anglophone world's single-language engagement with Shakespeare pales in comparison to the multifaceted close-readings that the German age of translations produced, and the complementary claim that Shakespeare scholarship in English has been a development of the German tradition rather than a local extension of British engagements.

The modern Anglophone scholar, for whom Shakespeare is an unambiguously English property, may feel some difficulty with this claim, not that German culture has an *equivalent* claim to Shakespearean literature, but rather that it may have a *superior* claim. Such an argument challenges the ideological foundations of how we study literature, particularly where the Anglophone scholarship of Shakespeare has been conditioned by a heritage that aligns it with colonialism and empire (SINFIELD 1994: 173). While some may treat alternative claims of ownership of Shakespeare by continental European powers with scepticism, it is worth noting that Shakespeare emerged from a pre-nationalist world order, and that the British or Anglophone ownership of Shakespeare may be treated with a comparable degree of scepticism. Investigations of national traditions of Shakespeare outside of Britain, incorporating those of Europe and North America, are valuable, not only for the new insights they offer in relation to how Shakespeare may be read, but also for how they supply insights into the circulations of culture that predate the formation of national identities, but which reflect their inevitable emergence.

Less well-known than the German claims on Shakespeare's social capital are the arguments that place him in alignment with the nationalist ideals of Italian Fascism in the early 1920s. Such arguments are articulated at length in Giuseppe De Lorenzo's critical introduction to the 1924 publication of *Roma nella tragedie di Shakespeare: Giulio Cesare, Coriolano* (1924).[1] De Lorenzo's essay illustrates how the ideological matter of Shakespearean drama is invested with sufficient ambiguity that it is not only adaptable to a variety of cultural affinities; it may also be employed to support a range of modern political stances. The choice of the two plays *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* to be translated and published as a single volume in 1924 in Italy is significant, as is made clear by De Lorenzo's introduction, which argues that the former play encapsulates the spirit of ancient Rome, and that the latter champions the emergence of the modern fascist ideal, where society operates under the guidance of the powerful military leader or *duce.* As Alessandra Calvani points out:

> [S]e la traduzione rispecchia sempre, almeno in parte, nella scelta dei testi e nei contenuti l'ambiente politico e sociale che l'ha resa possibile, ecco che la scelta del 1924 assume un significato: il 1924, l'anno che vede l'ufficializzazione del regime fascista, con la sua 'romanità' e l'esaltazione del suo 'duce', non poteva che produrre versioni dei drammi romani di Shakespeare. (CALVANI 2010: 7)

[1] We are grateful to Dr. Michela Barisonzi for her advice on the literature on Gabriele D'annunzio relevant for this article.

[if translation always reflects, at least in part, in the choice of the texts and their content, the political and social environment which made the translation possible, then the choice of the year 1924 acquires meaning: 1924 is the year when the fascist regime was officialised, and its 'romanity' and the glorification of its 'duce' (leader) could not but produce versions of Shakespeare's Roman tragedies (translation by Tarantini)].

Coriolanus is clearly an important Shakespearean text for the articulation of fascist ideology in Italy at this time: no less than three new translations emerged in quick succession, namely by Laura TORRETTA (1924), Emma BOGHEN-CONIGLIANI (1925), and Ada SALVATORE (De Lorenzo's essay is an introduction to the latter). However, De Lorenzo's arguments do not rely solely on the familiar claim that the play is pro-to-Fascist in its ideals, a claim that has been both articulated and critiqued from a number of perspectives through the twentieth century (see HEINEMANN 1994: 245, HOLLAND 2013: 19–22); rather, they employ a more sustained examination of the influence of Italian culture on Shakespeare, drawing both from the example of ancient Rome, which is heavily present in the tragedies, and modern Italy, which is even more powerfully present in the comedies. Such arguments, whatever their immediate political purpose, may prompt a fertile rereading of Shakespearean drama, highlighting a range of philosophical and narrative influences that reach far beyond the enclosed sphere of the English language.

To begin, De Lorenzo offers a compelling statistical breakdown of Shakespearean drama, identifying plays that use Italian settings, characters or philosophical ideas, and demonstrating that Italy is more present in Shakespeare than Britain itself, which dominates only the history cycles, appearing only intermittently in the tragedies (*King Lear*, *Macbeth*), and even less in the comedies (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*). De Lorenzo's arguments are passionately expressed, utilising a fluid rhetoric that supports a vision of Shakespeare as a writer driven by the lessons of Latin literature, and distinguished by his capacity to apply them imaginatively across a range of historical and dramatic contexts. This is aptly supported with reading of *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, which offer the tragic protagonists as embodiments of the "stoic" ideal. However, when the focus of the essay shifts to the second play in the volume, *Coriolanus*, there is a corresponding ideological shift, wherein the Roman ideal that drives Shakespeare's work is appropriated to the contemporary political climate. As we have suggested above, *Coriolanus* has been consistently identified as containing plausibly pro-Fascist/conservative ideals, particularly in wartime contexts (HOLLAND 2013: 19–21); in this essay, we are exposed to reasoning that positions the

play as a partial source for the construction of these ideals. While the traditional readings of Martius as "hard and unyielding" or "irrational and violent" are certainly present in De Lorenzo's analysis, they are juxtaposed with the greatness of spirit embodied in his heroism, and which is recounted in numerous quoted speeches from the play. However, what is perhaps emphasised with more vigour is the theme of the "cowardice" and "baseness" of the world, in which context the hero's attempts to grasp the reins of history are all the more noble. Although an erudite range of source materials, ancient and modern, is present throughout, the second half of the essay favours materials by then contemporary authors such as D'Annunzio, whose relationship with fascism is to this very day controversial (for an in-depth analysis on the topic, see HUGHES-HALLET 2013, BARBIERI SQUAROTTI 1982). It even draws upon a newspaper column by Rudyard Kipling written in praise of the modern Italian soldier. Although Kipling's description of "the precise way in which they [the soldiers] strike their feet on the ground, and at every step seem to take possession of it" (our translation, French in the original) may seem relatively innocuous in the context of a discussion of Shakespeare's Roman plays, it certainly strikes an ominous note in relation to the rise of European militarism over the decades that followed.

Translation does not take place in a vacuum; as Bassnett and Lefevere (1990: 11) claim, "[t]here is always a context in which translation takes place", and the translator operates within a social structure. "Translations thus always reflect the historical and cultural conditions under which they have been produced" (WOLF 2011: 3), and Ada Salvatore's translation and De Lorenzo's introductory essay are to be seen through the lens of the Italian social and cultural milieu, as well as the political situation of the time. Hatim and Mason claim that a translation can be assessed in terms of "degrees of *mediation*, that is, the extent to which translators intervene in the transfer process, feeding their knowledge and beliefs into their processing of a text" (HATIM AND MASON 1997: 147, original emphasis). The degree of intervention is to be seen, among other things, in lexical and stylistic choices. As it is easy to infer, in all the three Italian translations of *Coriolanus* published between 1924 and 1925, terms with heavy connotative values are omnipresent.[2] The most striking example of what Hatim and Mason (1997: 153) define "maximal mediation" is to be found in the

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[2] The version by Laura Torretta (1924) is politically less connoted than the other two, but words such as "proletarian" (*proletari,* 14), "blue collars" (*operai*, 135) and "workers" (*lavoratori,* 136), and also "comrades" (*compagni,* 33, 37, 41, 80, 97, 137) are to be found. The version by Boghen-Conigliani (1925) can be read as fascist, and the word *camerata* (comrade, with right-wing connotation) is recurrent (25, 92, 167, 187, 189) (CALVANI 2010: 8).

translation by Ada Salvatore, for which De Lorenzo wrote the introductory essay we have translated:

Coriolanus: Hail, lords! I am return'd your soldier, No more infected with my country's love Than when I parted hence, but still subsisting Under your great command. **You are to know** **That prosperously I have attempted and** **With bloody passage led your wars even to** **The gates of Rome.** (*Coriolanus*, V, v, 71-77)	*Coriolano:* Salute, signori! Ecco di ritorno il vostro guerriero: egli torna non più preso dall'amore della sua patria che non lo fosse quando se ne allontanò; ma tuttora pronto ai vostri ordini. **Occorre che voi sappiate che ho intrapreso con successo la <u>marcia su Roma</u> ed ho guidato attraverso un sanguinoso cammino i vostri eserciti alle porte di essa** (translation by Ada Salvatore 1924: 123, our emphasis).

Back translation: You are to know / That prosperously I have undertaken the **March on Rome** and / With bloody passage led your wars even to / its gates.

The reference to the insurrection by which Mussolini came to power on 28th October 1922 is quite obvious. The representation of the strong Roman leader pleased the fascist regime, and the tragedy of *Coriolanus* lent itself to the "manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (HERMANS 1985: 11). The extent of the manipulation of the source text carried out by Ada Salvatore would be difficult to convey, as it would require a meticulous back translation and/or a detailed analysis of the Italian version.[3] We have chosen, instead, to focus on the introductory essay by De Lorenzo, since we believe it is an even more blatant specimen of the cultural appropriation and violence[4] exerted on Shakespearean material by the Italian *intelligentsia* of the time, of which non-Italian speaking scholars might be less aware. By translating De Lo-

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[3] For a detailed analysis, CALVANI (2010).
[4] For an extensive discussion on the concept of appropriation in translation, SAGLIA (2002). The notion of violence of translation is VENUTI's (2010).

renzo's essay we aim to show how powerful the translation's ideology (TYMOCZKO 2010)[5] was in the context of Italian Fascism.

Introduction to Rome in Shakespeare's Tragedies[6]

Shakespeare was born, as we all know, on 22nd April (the Julian calendar) 1564 in Stratford-upon-Avon, where he died on 23rd April 1616.

One of the greatest scholars of Shakespeare's work, the Dane Georg Brandes, noted that Shakespeare was born in the same year that Michelangelo died, and died on almost the same day that Cervantes died. Michelangelo painted and sculpted mighty demi-gods in the agony of solitary grandeur: his bleak lyricism and tragic sublimity is matched by no one. The finest creations of Cervantes are monuments of a high comedy that defined an epoch in the world's literature. Shakespeare equals Michelangelo in *pathos* and Cervantes in *humour*: this is the measure of his immense grandeur.

Brandes himself, in *William Shakespeare: a critical study*, London 1911, p. 341, says that Denmark owes its universal renown principally to *Hamlet*. Of all Danes, only one can be said to be truly famous; just one, with whom the thoughts of all Europeans, Americans, Australians, Asians and Africans are engaged; and one that never really existed, or at least not as the world knows him. Denmark has produced many notable men, Tycho Brahe, Thorwaldsen, Andersen, but none of them has reached one thousandth of the fame of Hamlet: critical readings of *Hamlet* exceed in number the populations of some small European nations.

If such is indeed Shakespeare's greatness, with Denmark owing him so much for just one, even if amongst the greatest, of his works, how much will Italy, the source or inspiration of the greater part of his immortal world of souls, owe him? Others have studied and written meticulously about the real and historical relationships between Shakespeare and Italy and Italian culture: let us for a moment stop and reflect instead upon the ideal relations directly accessible in Shakespeare's works, between the world's eye[7] and Italy, the object of his contemplation and the source material of his constructions.

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[5] According to Maria Tymoczko (2010: 217) a "translation's ideology" is determined only in part by the source text, and much more by "the place of enunciation of the translator – both the ideological positioning and the geographical and temporal positioning – […]" in relation to the target audience.

[6] All the footnotes are translators' notes. All the references to Shakespeare's plays (i.e. act, scene, verse) are absent in the Italian text, and have been added by the translators.

[7] Quote from Sonnet 69, l. 1

First, let us look at the statistics. Of the thirty-seven dramatic works by Shakespeare, one, *Hamlet*, has a Danish setting. Two, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *As you like it*, are French. Four, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream, Troilus and Cressida, Timon of Athens* and *Pericles*, are Greek, even if the main character of the latter, Marina, recalls Italy with her name. Four, *The Comedy of Errors, All's well that ends well, Measure for Measure* and *Cymbeline*, use diverse settings but feature Italian sources and elements. Thirteen, that is to say the ten History plays, *The Merry Wives of Windsor, Macbeth* and *King Lear*, are plainly English. Thirteen, that is to say *Titus Andronicus, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Romeo and Juliet, The Merchant of Venice, The Taming of the Shrew, Much Ado about Nothing, Twelfth Night, Julius Caesar, Othello, Anthony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus, The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* are fundamentally Italian. To that, let us add that, of the two poems, *Venus and Adonis* is of Ovid's inspiration (just like *Titania* in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*) and *The Rape of Lucrece* is intimately Italian. Furthermore, the famous sonnets, which are of Petrarchan inspiration and are analogous to Michelangelo's, frequently evoke Italic or Latinate remembrances, like the famous sonnet LV:

> Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
> Of Princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme; (ll. 1–2)

Where the verses of Ovid are echoed:

> *Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis,*
> *Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas*;

> And now my work is done; which not Jove's wrath,
> Nor fire, nor sword, nor all-consuming age
> Can e'er destroy.[8]

And the more famous ones by Horace:

> *Exegi monumentum aere perennius.*

> I have raised a monument more permanent than bronze (III.30)[9]

Already these unembellished statistics reveal how in Shakespeare's work the portion given to Italy conspicuously prevails over all others, even the national English sub-

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[8] Fowler (1903: 150-54)
[9] Horace / Conington (1882)

ject. Shakespeare loved and adored Italy, both the ancient Roman one and the contemporary Renaissance one: through the blooming of the Italian culture in Elizabethan England; through the Latin literature he was taught, and which he learnt as an autodidact; but most of all through an intimate and innate elective affinity. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, dated 1591, was Shakespeare's first love declaration to Italy: a love that would become the deepest passion of his life. It now appears certain that, in 1593, he travelled to Northern Italy. The opening verses of the first scene of *The Taming of the Shrew* …

> …since for the great desire I had
> To see fair Padua, nursery of arts,
> I am arrived for fruitful Lombardy,
> The pleasant garden of great Italy (1.1.1–4)[10]

… sound like a memory of his trip and evoke the landscape he has seen. Italy lives unperishingly in his immortal works, not only the regions that in all probability he did see, but also those lands that he never saw. The venerable Italian cities, Milan, Verona, Mantua, Padua, Venice, Florence, Naples, Misenum, Messina, Syracuse, and most of all Rome, as well as the Roman countryside, are immortalised in Shakespeare's plays. Even when the scene is set in Vienna, as in *Measure for Measure,* or in Illyria, as in *Twelfth Night*, the names of the characters, either invented or drawn from Italian novellas, immediately recall Italy: Vincenzo, Angelo, Claudio, Lucio, Varrio, Pompeo, Isabella, Mariana, Juliet (Giulietta), Francesca and Orsino [sic], Valentine, Antonio, Curio, Fabian (Fabiano), Olivia, Viola and Maria.

But SHAKESPEARE, like Michelangelo, is not a landscape painter. Therefore, the cities for him are but the background against which the characters and human passions unfold. And what human passions he set in the sacred land of Italy! *Magna parens virum*![11]

First of all, music, the purest expression of human affection by which Shakespeare is always so intimately penetrated, appears more evidently in all the Italian plays; as if in Shakespeare's mind music could not be separated from Italy. It suffices to recall the celestial music of Ariel in *The Tempest,* or the dialogues between Orsino and Viola in *Twelfth Night*, or Lorenzo's conversation in the moonlight with Jessica*, in The*

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[10] All quotes and citations from Shakespeare here reproduced are from the online texts of the Folger Shakespeare Digital Text: http://www.folgerdigitaltexts.org/?chapter=4 (15.12.2019).

[11] "Great parent of men" (our translation).

Merchant of Venice. In this last scene, Launcelot precedes the musicians, singing in Italian: "Sola! sola! … sola! sola!" (5.1.47); and Lorenzo exclaims:

> How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank!
> Here will we sit and let the sounds of music
> Creep in our ears; soft stillness and the night
> Become the touches of sweet harmony.
> Sit, Jessica. Look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patens of bright gold.
> There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
> But in his motion like an angel sings,
> Still choiring to the young-eyed cherubins.
> Such harmony is in immortal souls,
> But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it (5.1.62–73)

And Jessica replies with these profound words: "I am never merry when I hear sweet music" (5.1.77). This scene is all about the marvellous musical landscape of Italy. But, I repeat, it is not the landscapes, rather the characters and the human affections, which blaze and burn in Shakespeare's plays. Volumes would be required to list the qualities of the Italian characters that the poet has forged in bronze and gold in his immortal works: but the time required to write or read those volumes would be better used re-reading or re-listening to the voice of their creator directly. There are hundreds of Italian creatures, high or low, sweet or fierce, sad or joyful, beautiful or ugly, happy or unhappy, who by now live an immortal life in the verse of the poet, and who have spread the name and the soul of Italy across the orb of the earth. From the humble figure of Launce (in the early play *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the first love declaration for Italy), who speaks to his dog and his shoe; passing by those wonderful souls, Juliet, Desdemona, Marina, Miranda; up to the dark abyss of Iago (almost a personification of Cesare Borgia, as Brandes notes) and to the spiritual summits of Brutus, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar: what a diverse and immense world of souls is germinated from the Italian soil through Shakespeare's genius!

The very native soil of England did not provide him with as much material for his creations as Italy did. I will not even speak of other countries! It suffices to note what he drew from ancient Greece, for which, as much as for Italy, he could have resorted to Plutarch. Greece inspired in him but two divine fantasies, *Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *Pericles*, and those two brutal satires, *Timon of Athens* and *Troilus and Cressida*. For this latter, Brandes felt justified in criticising Shakespeare, accusing him

of barbarism for not fully understanding the beauty of the *Iliad,* upon which he based that appalling parody. The only barbarian in this, *pace* Brandes, is Brandes himself! Shakespeare was in fact so far from barbarity that he was incapable of accepting anything primitive or savage in his vision. He loved to peer into the deepest bowers of human passion, and to follow human thought to its finest ramifications. In the hearts of his heroes there is such turmoil of passions that it seems to make the world explode, and such clamour of thoughts in their minds that it seems to invite madness. All of that would not be possible in a primitive, barbarian world. Consider what he brought forth from the primitive tales of Holinshed's chronicles and Saxo Grammaticus: King Lear, the reasoning madman, and Hamlet, the philosopher of philosophers! Even when his heroes are unmerciful and savage, like Macbeth and his wife, they too have in their complicated hearts conflicting passions and feelings, and in their subtle minds reserves of strength and complexity of thought, which gives them the power of reason until those same minds dissolve into madness and suicide.

Now, compared to this vast, complex and deep vision of life and the world, what could the *Iliad* represent? A wonderful poem, more than perfect in its form, but one that depicts the gestures of primitive men, simple and fierce, to whom all higher thoughts and feelings, those of superior order, were totally alien: no love, no mercy, no self-abnegation, no sacrifice, no reflection on the pain of the world. Those heroes, wonderful, but "With too much blood and too little brain" (*Troilus* 5.1.49) could not find grace with the author of *Troilus and Cressida.* After all, long before Shakespeare, the figures of Greek mythology had already found themselves vulnerable to the caricature of Aristophanes.

What remains is beauty, the immortal beauty of Greek art, which Shakespeare supposedly did not understand. But in my opinion it is not that he didn't understand it: it is that beauty for beauty's sake, art for art's sake, had little value for Shakespeare. Even in this he is similar to his Titan brother Michelangelo. For Shakespeare, as for Michelangelo, form is an outer garment, welcome when beautiful (and these two are unequalled in making it so), but negligible if it doesn't express the spasm, the tension and repose, of the moral element – intimate, inexpressible, elusive – which is the spirit and the essence of the universe: *Spiritus intus alit, mens agitat molem!*[12]

The ancient Greeks could not say much to Shakespeare's heart and mind: that is why he neglected them and addressed almost all of his love to the ancient Romans, and to their Italians heirs, even if degenerate. Those who, with their lives and their great per-

[12] The verse is from Vergil's Aeneid, Book VI, 726-7. The full citation is "spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artusmens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet".

sonalities, could provide him with materials worthy to shape the wonderful world of passions and thoughts expressed by his characters.

Just as Greece is the unequalled parent of beauty, so Rome represents, indeed virtually encompasses, the moral order of the world. Shakespeare bowed, reverent and adoring, to this Rome, the brightest expression of the spiritual essence of the universe; so much so that, before retiring from his art, in his penultimate work, *Cymbeline*, he wanted to celebrate a desired alliance between Britain and Rome, with the wonderful vision of the setting Britannic sun, in whose beams, following …

> … il corso del ciel, ch'ella seguìo
> dietro all'antico, che Lavinia tolse,[13]

… the eagle of Rome penetrates and plunges with its powerful flight.

Rome is therefore something like a magnetic north towards which Shakespeare's thought is primarily oriented. In my own book, *Shakespeare e il Dolore del Mondo*[14] I tried, incidentally, to demonstrate how vast and profound the imprint of Rome on all of Shakespeare's works is. Let us consider the main threads through which this is demonstrated, by focusing mainly on two of his Roman tragedies, *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*.

The first of Shakespeare's Roman tragedies, *Titus Andronicus*, which he probably composed around 1586 under the influence of Marlowe, already clearly reveals this admiration for Rome; it will pervade all his work, starting from this russet dawn, to the culminating zenith of *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, and to the effulgent dusk of *Cymbeline*. Truly, it may be said of Shakespeare that everything great and beautiful in his work is, again, Roman, and for him the spirit of ancient Rome appears as the highest manifestation of humanity on earth. Even if he had little Latin and less Greek, as his contemporary Ben Jonson claimed, he depicted the spirit of ancient Rome with images that are superior to those of any other poet; not only in comparison to Ben Jonson's and Marlowe's, who had far superior education, but also to the work of our Italian poet Alfieri. As Ben Jonson said, he was the star of all poets, not just for an age, but for all time; and Goethe named him in 1820, the star of the greatest height: so, his vision, which saw other remote places and times, as well as an-

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[13] "Against the course of heaven, which it had followed / Behind the ancient who Lavinia took" (DANTE/WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW 1997: Canto 6 l. 2–3).

[14] "Shakespeare and the pain of the world" Bologna, Zanichelli, 1922.

cient Rome, originated not from scholarship, but by virtue of his perfect and graceful eye looking beyond time and space.

The perfection of his eye is revealed, for example, in his conception of Julius Caesar, which he had expressed before writing the tragedy of the Roman dictator: the idea springs forth suddenly in his disturbing history of *Richard III*, composed in 1593. Here he puts the words in the mouth of the doomed young Edward, Prince of Wales:

> That Julius Caesar was a famous man.
> With what his valor did enrich his wit,
> His wit set down to make his [valor] live.
> Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
> For now he lives in fame, though not in life. (3.1.85–9)

These wonderful words, which are the most concise and beautiful apologia on Julius Caesar, are further evidence of the intense admiration that Shakespeare had for ancient Rome, and for Julius Caesar himself, who was the highest and most complete personification of Rome.

Such a tone of admiration resounds incidentally also in other tragedies, whose plots have little or no connection to ancient Rome. So, in *The Merchant of Venice*, Bassanio, to express his admiration for Antonio, says:

> The dearest friend to me, the kindest man,
> The best conditioned and unwearied spirit
> In doing courtesies, and one in whom
> *The ancient Roman honor more appears*
> *Than any that draws breath in Italy*. (3.1.304–8)[15]

This ideal of man is the same as that which Hamlet sees embodied in his friend Horatio, and which, deep down is the ideal always strived for by Shakespeare: the ancient Roman is strong and affectionate, impartial and wise, as Horatio explicitly demonstrates at the end of the tragedy, by offering to follow Hamlet into death by suicide, exclaiming "I am more an antique Roman than a Dane." (5.2.374). In contrast, the ferocious Macbeth, tormentor of himself and others, before falling in his final battle, cries:

> Why should I play the Roman fool and die
> On mine own sword? Whiles I see lives, the gashes

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[15] Emphasis by De Lorenzo.

Do better upon them. (5.8.1–3)

Indeed, he wants to die, but in dying he also wants to assert his inextinguishable will to life and power by killing others. The epithet "fool" used by Macbeth for the ancient Roman, who is otherwise acclaimed by Horatio in *Hamlet*, would be applied precisely to Macbeth by just such a Roman, as it is the case, for example, of Lucretius, who well knew to "with calm mind embrace a rest that knows no care" (Book III, line 938-9.).

So, love and admiration for the ancient Romans fermented in Shakespeare, almost as an innate virtue. It is with such an inclination to understand and represent the spirit of ancient Rome that he came to the writing of *Julius Caesar*.

The traditional view of Malone, Chalmers and Drake held that *Julius Caesar* was written in 1607, just after *Macbeth*; more recent and reliable research supports the view that it was instead written in the period 1600–1601, right before *Hamlet*. Artistically and psychologically, however, this tragedy is more closely linked to *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus*, which were written shortly after *Macbeth*, and which form the majestic triad of the great Roman tragedies. As is well known, Shakespeare based these tragedies on Plutarch's *Lives*, first published in London in 1579 (a second edition appeared in 1595, a third in 1603, and a fourth in 1612), in the English translation by Sir Thomas North, from a French translation by Jacques Amiot, Abbot of Belozane, published in 1559, which was itself based on a Latin version of the Greek original. This is the mine from which Shakespeare extracted the travertine and the marble, from which he built the pillars, the arches, and the columns, and at times, even the decorations and the friezes of his wonderful three-naved Roman edifice. Thus Shakespeare followed Plutarch's descriptions more faithfully than those of the chronicles and novellas from which he drew the materials of his other works, thereby enlivening the Roman plays with the sublime lines of his genius. Shakespeare finds himself in the Roman world described by Plutarch and ranges across the psychological and moral habitat that is nearest and dearest to him: it is almost as if he shares the impressions of Cinea, the Greek ambassador of Pyrrhus, who, in the Roman Senate felt as if he were in an assembly of many kings. And from this impression, Shakespeare is drawn to invest the Roman tragedies with an aura of majesty and a tone of superior humanity. This is revealed as early as the first of those plays, which represents the death, and the consequences of the death, of the man he most loved and admired as the ultimate personification of human, moral and mental power: Julius Caesar.

Julius Caesar had already been identified by Shakespeare as a superior human being in several passages in his earlier works. Let us not forget the passage, already cited, in the third act of *Richard III*. Given these precedents, and given the nearly divine aura with which the legendary figure of the emperor is garlanded, critics are often surprised to find in the great tragedy a Caesar full of flaws and vices, both physical and moral: deaf in one ear, subject to fevers and epileptic seizures, ambitious, vainglorious, and full of prejudice; somewhat similar to Napoleon as he appeared to his dear ones in the last years of his empire, and while exiled to St Helen's. Indeed, it must not be forgotten that for Shakespeare even the greatest heroes are human, and nothing human can be alien to them. Therefore, the weaknesses and flaws that Caesar had in life in the first two and a half acts accentuate his spiritual greatness, which suddenly emerges after his death and dominates the remainder of the tragedy. It gains further grandeur in Philippi, where, in Brutus' words, it ultimately seems to pervade all the earth:

> O Julius Caesar, thou art mighty yet;
> Thy spirit walks abroad and turns our swords
> In our own proper entrails. (5.3.105–7)

This is the true immortal greatness of Caesar that Shakespeare also projects in the famous scene that so outraged the critics, where Cassius and Brutus, with their hands full of blood, Caesar's corpse still warm before them, exclaim:

> How many ages hence
> Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
> In states unborn and accents yet unknown! (3.1.124–6)

The critics might be equally outraged by the anachronisms that Helen uses when addressing Hector in the Sixth Canto of the *Iliad*:

> Still, brother, come in and rest upon this seat, for it is you who bear the brunt of that toil that has been caused by my hateful self and by the sin of Alexandrus— both of whom Jove has doomed to be a theme of song among those that shall be born hereafter.[16]

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[16] HOMER / BUTLER, Samuel (2016)

Quod licet Iovi, non licet bovi:[17] in this case Jove is Shakespeare, who can exploit these dissonances to make Caesar's spirit wander free, beyond space and beyond time.

This immortality of Caesar's spirit, hovering in the Italian sky, is articulated by our modern writer Alfredo Panzini in his book *Il Mondo è Rotondo* in the chapter where he describes the conscripts of 1899 who marched on the *Via Emilia* to block the advance of the barbarians on the Piave:

> But rapid chimes shook Beatus. They came closer. At the end of the sunny road, he saw a dark mass of people. Then he heard the beating of the iron boots on the cobblestones, then a flag flashed, then he saw the trumpets, and then the outlines of the helmets. Then Beatus remembered that this was the Via Emilia; that, at the end of the road, was the Roman arch; and that, by him, was Caesar's pedestal. So, Beatus thought, after twenty centuries Italian soldiers still march by you with their iron helmets, O Caesar! Beatus did not see the immense war, he only saw the orderly strength of Italy, the marching army. It was then that Beatus also got closer to the soldiers and marveled. They weren't even soldiers: they were all young conscripts. Beneath the iron helmets, adolescent faces were to be seen. The faces were grimed with earth and etched with lines of sweat; their breath panted slightly: expressionless. They all had the same kind of dazzled expression; maybe it was the sun, or fatigue, or the white dust. Their calves, tightly bandaged, were all white. The officers leading the squadrons were themselves adolescents: how sweet was that adolescence beneath those iron helmets? What strength could hold this adolescence with such discipline? That strength did not come from the living: the living instead had wound up the army in an atmosphere of civil hatred. But there was something rabid in the steps of those iron boots; yet, above the ranks a voice seemed to raise up saying, Caesar, Caesar, here come the soldiers of Italy! And maybe none of them even knew who Caesar was. Then Beatus thought of the ground where the dead lie: the iron boots hitting the ground, drew strength from the ground.[18]

Here Panzini, in describing the strength of Italy reborn in the flame of foreign wars and in the blood of civil enmity, unconsciously follows Shakespeare's great footsteps, and has truly represented the immortality of Caesar's spirit, as well as that of Italy and Rome.

In *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare performs a miracle worthy of Caesar and of Rome; for he not only sees in Caesar the highest of men, but, at the same time, also presents his two murderers as great tragic heroes. This is truly the act of an ancient Roman: Rome itself originated in the fratricide between twins nurtured by a "*lupa*", whether that is

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[17] "What is permissible to Jove, is not permissible for an ox."
[18] Our translation.

meant to signify the "prostitute" or the beast of Lazio.[19] From such inauspicious and murky origins, the oaken strength of Italy and Rome is born and endures for two and half thousand years. But the blood of the wolf will inevitably boil up in the Italians, violently overflowing into civil enmity and familial conflict, and prompting the rebel, not less great, to always rise against the oppressor. Have we not seen, in our own time, the greatest living Italian, Gabriele D'Annunzio, poet, prose writer, politician and brave soldier, rebel against the government and the King of Italy,[20] realizing the prophecy that he had made twenty years earlier to the young king, the grandson of him who rebuilt the Third Italy?[21]

> Egli volle Roma,
> egli ebbe il Campidoglio
> egli ha pace nel Tempio romano.
> Che vorrai tu sul suo soglio?
> Quale altura è il tuo segno?
> Miri tu lontano?
> Sai tu come sia bello il tuo regno?
> Conosci tu le sue sorgenti
> Innumerevoli e la forza
> Nuova o antica delle sue correnti?
> Ami tu il suo divino mare,
> Giovine, che assunto dalla Morte
> Fosti re nel Mare?
> T'elesse il destino
> All'alta impresa audace.
> Tendi l'arco, accendi la face.
> Colpisci, illumina, eroe latino!
> Venera il lauro, esalta il forte!
> Apri alla nostra virtù le porte

[19] Some sources, such as Livy, observe that since the word "*lupa*" means both "she-wolf" and "whore" in Latin, it is possible that the popular legend that Romulus and Remus were nursed by a wolf is a garbling of an account that they were nursed by a prostitute (LIVY / DE SELINCOURT 2002: 35).

[20] In 1919, D'Annunzio seized control of the disputed territory of Fiume and ruled it for nearly 16 months. He declared the action as a protest against the failure of Italy to retain territorial power after the "secret" treaties of London assigned Italy's to an inferior place in the post-war order. Italy's post-war concessions were branded by D'Annunzio as the "mutilated victory", and this phrase was later exploited by the fascist regime. For a detailed discussion, see HUGHES-HALLET (2013).

[21] "Third Italy" here seems to refer to the Third Italian War of Independence, fought under the reign of Vittorio Emanuele II, grandfather to the Vittorio Emanuele III addressed by D'Annunzio in the verse quoted below.

Dei domimii futuri!
Che, se il danno e la vergogna duri,
quando l'ora sia venuta,
tra i ribelli vedrai da vicino
anche colui che oggi ti saluta,
o tu che chiamato dalla Morte
venisti dal Mare,
Giovine, che assunto dalla Morte
Fosti re nel Mare.[22]

However, despite the civil war, everyone remained in their place: the king, peacefully secure on his throne, *i duci* and the soldiers, obedient to the discipline and strength of Rome, and the glorious rebel of Fiume. Upon their *concorde discordia*[23] Italy hovers immortally.

A similar vision is to be found in *Julius Caesar*. Caesar, great when alive, even greater after death. But also great are his murderers Brutus and Cassius, such is the manner in which Shakespeare recreates them. Not everyone has had the same admirable vision. Dante unjustly places Brutus and Cassius in the deepest circle of hell, in the mouth of Lucifer, next to Judas Iscariot. In contrast, Michelangelo sculpted in 1540 that wonderful bust of Brutus, to honour that young Brutus of his own time, Lorenzino dei Medici. His face contains all the encrypted strength and noble scorn of the ancient Roman, as also celebrated by Leopardi in his *Bruto Minore* and incomparably represented by Shakespeare himself in *Julius Caesar*.

Let us now turn our attention to how Shakespeare, following the very Roman tradition he brought back to life through his art, represents these two murderers of Caesar. Cassius is described by Caesar himself:

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[22] The poem quoted here is *Al Re giovine* ("To the young king"). It is included in *Elettra*, second of the five books of *Laudi* (Hymns) composed between 1896 and 1912. In his original project, the *Laudi* were supposed to be a collection of seven books, each with the name of one of the Pleiades (or seven sisters). The fifth book was published posthumously (in 1918), while the sixth and the seventh book had never been started. The poem here cited is an ode addressed to Vittorio Emanuele III. It challenges the new king to fulfil the promise that the Risorgimento would re-establish Italy as a world power. In the poem, D'Annunzio warns the king that failure will breed rebellion among otherwise loyal subjects: "T'elesse il Destino/all'alta impresa combattuta. / Guai se tu gli manchi!" ("Destiny elected you/to the high fought-over enterprise. /Woe betide you if you fall short.") For a partial translation, see Woodhouse (2001: 194–5). For more information, refer to Barbieri Squarotti (1982; for a general discussion on the *Laudi* pp. 22-37; for a discussion on *Al re giovine*, pp. 36-37).
[23] An "agreed disagreement."

> Yond Cassius has a lean and hungry look.
> He thinks too much. Such men are dangerous.
> […]
> Would he were fatter! But I fear him not:
> Yet if my name were liable to fear,
> I do not know the man I should avoid
> So soon as that spare Cassius. He reads much,
> He is a great observer, and he looks
> Quite through the deeds of men. He loves no plays,
> As thou dost, Antony; he hears no music;
> Seldom he smiles, and smiles in such a sort
> As if he mocked himself and scorned his spirit
> That could be moved to smile at anything. (1.2.204–5, 210–17)

A follower of Epicurus, and a man of thought and action, is Cassius, as it becomes clear through the course of the tragedy, until his noble end, where he runs himself through on his own sword.

> Time is come round,
> And where I did begin, there shall I end;
> My life is run his compass.
> […]
> Caesar, thou art revenged
> Even with the sword that killed thee (5.3.24–6, 50–1)

And with that same sword, next to his corpse, his friend Titinius, kills himself.

> By your leave, gods, this is a Roman's part.
> Come, Cassius' sword, and find Titinius' heart! (5.3.99–100)

Brutus dies in the same way. Almost immediately after Caesar's murder, he tells the people of Rome …

> … as I slew my best lover for the good of Rome, I have the same dagger for myself when it shall please my country to need my death. (3.2.47–9)

Brutus' "love" is not just empty rhetoric. It was recognized by Caesar himself when, seeing himself struck by Brutus also, he refuses to defend himself, covers his face with

his toga and dies, exclaiming, *Et tu Brute, fili mi*![24] Also, Cassius acknowledges this in 4.3, when, wrangling with Brutus, he says:

> Strike as thou didst at Caesar, for I know
> When thou didst hate him worst, thou lovedst him better
> Than ever thou lovedst Cassius. (4.3.116–8)

He then makes the preparations for his death after saying goodbye to his friends, and he effects it nobly by throwing himself on his sword, held out by Strato.

> So fare you well at once, for Brutus' tongue
> Hath almost ended his life's history.
> Night hangs upon mine eyes; my bones would rest,
> That have but labored to attain this hour.
> […]
> Farewell, good Strato
> […]
> Caesar, now be still.
> I killed not thee with half so good a will. (5.5.43–5, 55–7)

Over his corpse, his praises are sung by his greatest adversary, Antony, who says to young Octavius,

> This was the noblest Roman of them all.
> All the conspirators save only he
> Did that they did in envy of great Caesar.
> He only in a general honest thought
> And common good to all made one of them.
> His life was gentle and the elements
> So mixed in him that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world "This was a man." (5.5.74–81)

This is how Shakespeare's genius, interpreting the spirit of ancient Rome, elevates Brutus to almost the same stature of Caesar, creating around both of them a moral and intellectual aura of nearly-superior humanity.

But where does this light of superior humanity, which radiates from ancient Rome and passes through the genius of Shakespeare, originate? I argue that it comes from the profound insight that both Shakespeare and the Romans had into the great vanity

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[24] The quote here is not from Shakespeare, but appears to conflate Cassio Dione's "Tu quoque, Brute, fili mi" with Shakespeare's "*Et tu, Brute. Then fall, Caesar*" (3.1.85)

and pain of the world, and from an equally profound desire for freedom and independence. For that, one needs to have serenity when confronted with the thought of death, and the power of choosing to withdraw from the pain and misery of life through voluntary death. It has already been shown how serenely Portia, Cassius, Titinius and Brutus take their own lives: it is yet to be seen what judgment they, and the other characters in *Julius Caesar*, make of life and death.

The most jovial of these characters, Mark Antony, while standing among the conspirators, the daggers still dripping in their hands over the bleeding corpse of Caesar, exclaims, much like Hamlet in the graveyard,

> O mighty Caesar, dost thou lie so low?
> Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils
> Shrunk to this little measure? Fare thee well. (3.1.164–6)

And when he is left alone with his dead friend, says,

> O pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
> That I am meek and gentle with these butchers.
> Thou art the ruins of the noblest man
> That ever livèd in the tide of times.
> Woe to the hand that shed this costly blood! (3.1.280–4)

This man, the most noble to ever live in the affairs of men, never feared death, just as he claims in 2.2 …

> Cowards die many times before their deaths;
> The valiant never taste of death but once.
> Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
> It seems to me most strange that men should fear,
> Seeing that death, a necessary end,
> Will come when it will come. (2.2.34–9)

In 3.1, Cassius[25] points to death itself as the cure for those who lack this Caesarian sense of serene detachment when confronting death:

> Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life
> Cuts off so many years of fearing death. (3.1.113–5)

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[25] De Lorenzo incorrectly identifies the line as by Cassius. In Shakespeare it is spoken by Casca.

For Cassius, as for many ancient Romans, there are spiritual riches more precious than material life and, for their preservation, death is sometimes preferable to life. Amongst these riches, which are worth dying for, there is independence, freedom, just as Cassius argues to Brutus in 1.2 …

> I cannot tell what you and other men
> Think of this life; but, for my single self,
> I had as lief not be as live to be
> In awe of such a thing as I myself. (1.2.100–3)

And he adds,

> Men at some time are masters of their fates.
> The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
> But in ourselves, that we are underlings. (1.2.146–8)

And, when there is no way to not be an "underling", to man or to nature, the option of suicide always remains open.

This concept of liberation through suicide has been wonderfully expressed in modern words by Guy de Maupassant in his novella *The Magic Couch*[26]

> Suicide! Why, it is the strength of those whose strength is exhausted, the hope of those who no longer believe, the sublime courage of the conquered! Yes, there is at least one door to this life we can always open and pass through to the other side. Nature had an impulse of pity; she did not shut us up in prison. Mercy for the despairing! As for those who are simply disillusioned, let them march ahead with free soul and quiet heart. They have nothing to fear since they may take their leave; for behind them there is always this door that the gods of our illusions cannot even lock.[27]

This thought had already been beautifully articulated in a superior fashion by Goethe in *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, "… he still preserves in his bosom the sweet feeling of liberty, and knows that he can quit his prison whenever he likes."[28] With a few ancient words, this is expressed by Seneca in chapter XV of the third book of *De Ira*,

> Wherever you turn your gaze, there is an end to your troubles. Do you see that cliff? From there you can drop to freedom. Do you see that sea, that river, that

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[26] In French: L'Endormeuse
[27] de Maupassant / Henderson et al (2012)
[28] Goethe / Boylan (2001)

well? Freedom lies in its depths. Do you see that stunted, twisted, barren tree? Freedom hangs from it. Do you see your throat, your gullet, your heart? They are the means to escape slavery. Are the ways out I'm showing you too troublesome? Do they require too much bravery, too much strength? Do you ask what may be the way to freedom? Any vein in your body![29]

As a matter of fact, Seneca, following his own precepts, was able to find the way to freedom through the veins in his body. Shakespeare's Cassius thinks and conducts himself in a similar way when he says in 1.3,

> I know where I will wear this dagger then;
> Cassius from bondage will deliver Cassius.
> Therein, you gods, you make the weak most strong;
> Therein, you gods, you tyrants do defeat.
> Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
> Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
> Can be retentive to the strength of spirit;
> But life, being weary of these worldly bars,
> Never lacks power to dismiss itself. (1.3.92–100)

The austerity and solemnity of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, reflecting the vigour and the splendor with which the zenith of the Roman Republic was crowned in the time of Julius Caesar, transmutes in *Antony and Cleopatra* into an unequalled magnificence: matching the red dusk of the Republic and the dawn of the Roman Empire with Octavius Augustus. In *Julius Caesar* the scene alternates between only Rome and Phillipi, and here the only figures on the stage are heroic and virile. Their dominant thoughts of Rome and liberty are only for brief moments veiled and sweetened by the affection of family and the marital virtues of women of ancient Roman stock such as Calpurnia and Portia. *Antony and Cleopatra*, in contrast, sees the scene widen from Rome to Alexandria, from Misenium to Actium, from Messina to Athens and Syria: it takes place on the waves of the Mediterranean and the lands of Europe, Asia and Africa. Meanwhile, upon them the great triumvirs move restlessly, aspiring to command the world; and the Greek-Egyptian spirit of Cleopatra and her fatal passion hovers above it all.

Even as a Roman, and friends with Caesar, Antony was not what Cleopatra herself calls "broad-fronted Caesar" (1.5.34). He thus succumbs to the fatal passion of love and sinks, as he himself says, in "our dungy earth" (1.1.40). To lift him out of this

[29] Seneca, *De Ira*, 3.15.4, quoted in Edwards (2007: 103).

dungy earth, the order of Roman thought offers timely rescue, the same order of thought we have seen in *Julius Caesar*: the noble way out of the misery and pain of life through voluntary death. The master of this order of Roman thought is a soldier, the true representative of the strength of Rome, who at Actium in 3.7, implores Antony to attack by land and not by sea.

> O noble emperor, do not fight by sea!
> Trust not to rotten planks. Do you misdoubt
> This sword and these my wounds? Let th' Egyptians
> And the Phoenicians go a-ducking. We
> Have used to conquer standing on the earth
> And fighting foot to foot. (3.7.77–82)

In these words all of the spirit of the ancient Roman soldier is truly engraved. It is interesting to note how Shakespeare's divination coincides with the observation made by Rudyard Kipling about the modern Italian soldiers in the recent Great European War, recorded in *The Times* and in the *Revue de deux Mondes* on August 1st, 1917.

> The Italian soldiers wear iron helmets, which differ slightly from the French helmet, and makes them look a lot like the Roman legionnaires on a triumphal tapestry. The size, the body and, more than anything, the poise of these men is particular. They look more supple in their overall movements and less overloaded with accessories than the French and the English; but the main difference consists in their way of marching, the precise way in which they strike their feet on the ground, and at every step seem to take possession of it.[30]

The Italian soldier described by Kipling is the direct descendant of the ancient Roman soldier described by Shakespeare, who summons Antony to respect and love the motherland and Rome.
In fact, the first words that Antony delivers to his soldiers on setting foot in Alexandria after their escape from Actium, are…

> Hark! the land bids me tread no more upon't;
> It is ashamed to bear me! (3.11.1–2)

It is from this moment, when he is approaching catastrophe, that his thoughts once again become worthy of Rome. "What shall we do Enobarbus?" he asks in the last

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[30] Our translation (originally in French).

scene of the third act;[31] Domitius Enobarbus replies in the Roman fashion, "Think, and die" (3.13.1–2). Thinking, he makes his preparations for death in the same Roman spirit, together with his freed slave Eros:

> Nay, weep not, gentle Eros. There is left us
> Ourselves to end ourselves.
> […]
> Unarm, Eros. The long day's task is done,
> And we must sleep. (4.14.25–6, 44–5)

These are the Roman thoughts we have already analysed in *Julius Caesar*.

Such Roman thoughts ultimately ensnare and overcome Cleopatra herself. The Greek girl, the Egyptian gypsy who had conquered Pompey, Caesar and Antony in life, ends up being conquered by the thoughts and actions of Pompey, Caesar and Antony in death, and she gives up her life in the same Roman fashion, casting herself into Augustus' victory, but ultimately conquering herself:

> ANTONY
> … she […], by her death, our Caesar tells
> "I am conqueror of myself."
> […]
>
> CLEOPATRA
> Come, we have no friend
> But resolution and the briefest end. (4.14.72–3, 4.15.104–5)

Once she has made this resolution, "more fierce through deliberate death"[32], as Horace says, Cleopatra in 2.5, speaks and acts with sublime loftiness of thought and feeling. She starts to reject and despise every attachment to life and earth:

> … it is great
> To do that thing that ends all other deeds,
> Which shackles accidents and bolts up change,
> Which sleeps and never palates more the dung,
> The beggar's nurse, and Caesar's. (5.2.4–8)

When she sees that her maidservant Iras has sweetly preceded her in death, she tells her:

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[31] The Folger text, and most other editions consulted, give this line to Cleopatra.
[32] Horace, "Cleopatra Ode", cited in LOWRIE (1997)

> If thou and nature can so gently part,
> The stroke of death is as a lover's pinch,
> Which hurts and is desired. Dost thou lie still?
> If thus thou vanishest, thou tell'st the world
> It is not worth leave-taking. (5.2.349–53)

When receiving the visit from the rustic who carries the asp in the fig basket, she uses Seneca's same words on liberty, found in the tragedy of *Julius Caesar*:

> What poor an instrument
> May do a noble deed! He brings me liberty. (5.2.289–90)

And applying the asp to her breast, she speaks like Hamlet

> With thy sharp teeth this knot intrinsicate
> Of life at once untie. (5.2.361–2)

And in the end, death breaks her last thoughts in half. "What should I stay…", which is completed by her maidservant Charmian: "In this vile world?"[33] (5.2.373–4).

The vision of the cowardice of the world, with which Shakespeare closes Cleopatra's eyes, is soon replicated with even darker colours in the tragedy of *Coriolanus*.

Coriolanus was written by Shakespeare in 1609, right after the tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra*, and equally follows the outline of Plutarch's *Life*. However, while the fatal passion of *Antony and Cleopatra* takes place within the dusk of the Roman Republic, and has all the splendor of mauve and gold, the closed tragedy of the disdainful soul of *Coriolanus* flashes in the first dawn of the republic and has in its form and substance all the stiff bitterness of the morning air. In *Coriolanus*, as much as in *Antony*, as much as in *Julius Caesar*, the same civil conflict always burns, from the fratricide of the twins nursed by the wolf, and on which the whole history of Rome is based. But in *Coriolanus* the vision of the cowardice and pain of the world becomes darker; the vision has by now come to dominate Shakespeare's spirit, and leads him to write, soon after *Coriolanus*, the even more pessimistic *Timon of Athens*.

In *Timon*, as much as in *Coriolanus*, the protagonist is an upright man, incapable of bending to the crooked ways of the world, destined therefore to break himself against the rocks and shallows of base humanity. Timon embodies the open, generous and elegant nature of the refined Greek world; Coriolanus is a Roman patrician and war-

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[33] Folger uses "wild".

rior with a hard and unyielding temperament. From the clash of this hard steel against the flint of the surrounding world, fly the hot sparks of this tragedy, so full of disdain and scorn for the world.

Coriolanus's temperament, noble and generous, but also, as Schopenhauer observes, irrational and violent, carries within itself the cause of his own ruin, so great and yet so pitiful.

As the good Meninius Agrippa observes in 3.1:

> His nature is too noble for the world.
> He would not flatter Neptune for his trident
> Or Jove for's power to thunder. His heart's his mouth;
> What his breast forges, that his tongue must vent,
> And, being angry, does forget that ever
> He heard the name of death. (3.1.326–32)

He despises all the riches of the world. After the victory in Corioli, his peer, the general Cominius says in 2.2,

> Our spoils he kicked at
> And looked upon things precious as they were
> The common muck of the world. He covets less
> Than misery itself would give, rewards
> His deeds with doing them, and is content
> To spend the time to end it. (2.2.142–7)

When such a noble and generous temperament sees itself surrounded, captured and smothered by the cowardice and evil of men, he breaks its chains like an enraged elephant and becomes the terrifying assailant of Rome, so powerfully described by Meninius Agrippa 5.4.

> MENENIUS
> There is difference between a grub and a butterfly, yet your butterfly was a grub. This Martius is grown from man to dragon. He has wings; he's more than a creeping thing.
>
> SICINIUS
> He loved his mother dearly.
>
> MENENIUS
> So did he me; and he no more remembers his mother now than an eight-year-old horse. The tartness of his face sours ripe grapes. When he walks, he moves like an en-

gine, and the ground shrinks before his treading. He is able to pierce a corslet with his eye, talks like a knell, and his hum is a battery. He sits in his state as a thing made for Alexander. What he bids be done is finished with his bidding. He wants nothing of a god but eternity and a heaven to throne in.

SICINIUS Yes, mercy, if you report him truly.

MENENIUS I paint him in the character. Mark what mercy his mother shall bring from him. There is no more mercy in him than there is milk in a male tiger. (5.4.11–30)

And yet this tiger, this dragon, this machine, still has within itself the same beating heart that leads him to ruin and death. When, in the field of the Volscians, he sees his mother Volumnia, and his wife Virginia [*sic*], and his son, and his dear friend Valeria, all begging, he tells himself to resist, not to be moved.

> I'll never
> Be such a gosling to obey instinct, but stand
> As if a man were author of himself,
> And knew no other kin. (5.3.38–41)

A vain proposition – instinct prevails: sentiment, sympathy and love win over reason. The principal architect of this fatal victory of sentiment over reason is Volumnia, the mother. She is the type of the Roman mother, proud, austere, terrible, such as can still be found through the countryside of Italy. She first sets her son on the road to honour, rectitude and pride; she then makes his hardened soul break under the wave of love for family and motherland, and thus sinks him into pain and death. She says "Think'st thou it honorable for a noble man/Still to remember wrongs?" (5.4.176–7). Right words in a purely moral sense, but dangerous advice in an immoral world, as Coriolanus immediately acknowledges:

> O, my mother, mother, O!
> You have won a happy victory to Rome,
> But, for your son—believe it, O, believe it!—
> Most dangerously you have with him prevailed,
> If not most mortal to him. But let it come. (5.4.208–12)

Far different from Volumnia is his wife Virginia, sweet, domestic, loving, delicately sketched in half-light: one of the most gracious female creatures in Shakespeare, who is made to live before us in just one sentence spoken to her by Coriolanus: "My gra-

cious silence, hail!"[34] In silence Virginia loves, suffers and cries: she cries over the storm of suffering, in which family, friends and enemies alike overwhelm her Coriolanus.

Among those, the worst are the two tribunes of the people, full of bile and rancor, deceitful and vile, and, depending on the circumstances, scared or arrogant, humble or ferocious. Identical in every respect to modern political leaders, and to political leaders of all times and places: the complete antithesis of Coriolanus' temperament. Against the plebeians, and the tribunes who lead and incite them, Shakespeare directs all of his spite and sarcasm, which is found throughout his other works, and already powerfully expressed in the figure of Jack Cade and the rebels in the second part of *Henry VI*. In *Coriolanus*, the plebeians are called "multiplying spawn" (2.2.93), "many-headed multitude" (2.3.16), "the beastly plebeians" (2.1.98), "the mutable rank-scented meiny" (3.1.88), "the yea and no/ Of general ignorance" (3.1.186–7), "the multitudinous tongue" (3.1.198), "the beast/With many heads" (4.1.1–2), etc., etc. The tribunes are instead called "the tribunes of the people/The tongues o' the common mouth" (3.1.26–7) and "the herdsmen of the beastly plebeians" (2.1.98). Being human, they respond to insults, and ultimately direct at Coriolanus in 3.1 the merited reprimand: "You speak o' th' people/As if you were a god to punish, not/A man of their infirmity" (3.1.106–8). Despite that, the words that Coriolanus directs at the plebeians in the first act, after Meninius Agrippa has told the parable of the belly and the other body parts, have the flavor of rustic truth:

> What would you have, you curs,
> That like nor peace nor war? The one affrights you;
> The other makes you proud. He that trusts to you,
> Where he should find you lions, finds you hares;
> Where foxes, geese. You are no surer, no,
> Than is the coal of fire upon the ice
> Or hailstone in the sun.
> […]
> Trust you?
> With every minute you do change a mind
> And call him noble that was now your hate,
> Him vile that was your garland. (1.1.179–85, 192–6)

In fact, when the plebeians, incited by the tribunes, turn against Coriolanus, who beforehand seemed their idol, Volumina rightly hurls these fiery words at the tribunes:

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[34] English citation in the original.

'Twas you incensed the rabble.
Cats, that can judge as fitly of his worth
As I can of those mysteries which heaven
Will not have Earth to know. (4.2.45–8)

So, the crowd may agitate or calm, applaud or tumult, over Coriolanus, just like the sea, which may ripple softly, or crash on the stony cliff, until it weakens and breaks it. In 4.5, the dialogue among the servants gives a lively picture of the crowd's mutability, when they see the symptoms of a new war:

SECOND SERVINGMAN
Why then, we shall have a stirring world again. This peace is nothing but to rust iron, increase tailors, and breed ballad-makers.

FIRST SERVINGMAN Let me have war, say I. It exceeds peace as far as day does night. It's sprightly walking, audible, and full of vent. Peace is a very apoplexy, lethargy; mulled, deaf, [sleepy,] insensible; a getter of more bastard children than war's a destroyer of men.

SECOND SERVINGMAN 'Tis so, and as wars in some sort may be said to be a ravisher, so it cannot be denied but peace is a great maker of cuckolds.

FIRST SERVINGMAN Ay, and it makes men hate one another.

THIRD SERVINGMAN Reason: because they then less need one another. (4.5.241–56)

Shakespeare's idea that peace is a cause of hatred among men is reminiscent of Leopardi's in *Storia del Genere Umano*, who, when describing the future world in the image of the ancient and the new socialist utopias, says:

… human life will come to lack all values, and all rectitude, both of thought and action; and not only learning and charity, but the very names of the various countries and nations will everywhere become extinct; so that all men will be gathered as they will be in the habit of saying, into one single country or nation, as it was in the beginning, and profess universal love towards their whole species; though in fact, scattering the human race into as many peoples as there are men. Therefore as no one will have a country which he is particularly bound to love,

or foreigners to hate, each one will hate the others, and of the whole of this kind love only himself.[35]

Far different from this utopia is the degeneration of the ideal of ancient Rome, as expressed by Meninius Agrippa to the plebeians, agitated and striking because of the famine,

> For your wants,
> Your suffering in this dearth, you may as well
> Strike at the heaven with your staves as lift them
> Against the Roman state, whose course will on
> The way it takes, cracking ten thousand curbs
> Of more strong link asunder than can ever
> Appear in your impediment. (1.1.68–74)

This Meninius Agrippa, who uses allegories and parables, is wise and possesses a good sense of humor:

> I am known to be a humorous patrician and one that loves a cup of hot wine with not a drop of allaying Tiber in 't (2.1.47–9)

Even he, so wise, happy, loving and good, ends up being disgusted by the wickedness and baseness of the world, and in the Roman fashion, sees death as the only salvation, as he spitefully says to the sentinels of the Volscians who deny him access to Coriolanus,

> I neither care for th' world nor your general. For such things as you, I can scarce think there's any, you're so slight. He that hath a will to die by himself fears it not from another. (5.2.108–11)

The ancient Romans' stance on death and liberty is a recurrent and persistent theme in Shakespeare's work, and is also present in his last tragedy *Cymbeline*, composed in 1610. Here, when Posthumus, educated in the Roman school, is locked away in prison, he exclaims,

> Most welcome, bondage, for thou art a way,
> I think, to liberty. Yet am I better
> Than one that's sick o' th' gout, since he had rather

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[35] LEOPARDI / CREAGH (1983)

Groan so in perpetuity than be cured
By th' sure physician, Death, who is the key
T' unbar these locks. (5.4.4–9)

And, upon receiving notification of his death sentence from the jailer, he replies, "I am merrier to die, than thou art to live" (5.4.175). Strange, that this was precisely the proud response given by Giordano Bruno when he was sentenced to death by the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Rome on the 9 February 1600: "Perhaps you pronounce this sentence against me with greater fear than I receive it."[36] Thus, in Italy, the heir of Rome, great Roman spirits are also to be found among Shakespeare's contemporaries.

The ancient Roman represented in *Cymbeline*, the general Caius Lucius, who is defeated and captured by the British forces of Cymbeline, says to the latter. "Sufficeth/A Roman with a Roman's heart can suffer" (5.5.93–4). Shakespeare's admiration for the Romans and their magnanimity compels him to make Cymbeline, although victorious, consent to remain a tributary of Rome, and to place the Roman banner next to the British:

Caius Lucius,
Although the victor, we submit to Caesar
And to the Roman Empire
[…]
Let
A Roman and a British ensign wave
Friendly together. (5.5.559–61, 580–2)

Shakespeare's admiration of ancient Rome goes so far as to overtake his love and pride for the British motherland, which he had so powerfully and proudly expressed in the histories of *Richard II* and *Henry V*.

Such is the vision of Rome in Shakespeare's tragedies, and so great it is indeed that it should be immensely valued by us Italians.

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[36] FURTADO (2012)

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Review / Rezension / compte rendu

Carsten Sinner

So, what is translation to you?
Lin Moniz, Maria & Lopes, Alexandra (eds.) (2017): The Age of Translation. Early 20th-century Concepts and Debates. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

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So, what is translation to you?

Lin Moniz, Maria & Lopes, Alexandra (eds.) (2017): The Age of Translation. Early 20th-century Concepts and Debates. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (Passagem. Estudos em Ciências Culturais. Studies in Cultural Sciences. Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien 11). 253 p. Contributors and Subject Index. ISBN 978-3-631-71657-1

Here we have another volume with contributions on what the editors and authors from the perspective of cultural studies (rather than *Cultural Sciences*, as stated in the name of the series) call *translation* – but without actually explaining what they exactly refer to when using this term. It would thus come as no surprise if translation studies scholars considered the main research object of some of the volume's articles to be beyond their field of research. Due to the different approaches to translation(s) that we find here, some of the contributions will be discussed in more detail than others.

In their introduction, the editors try to define the 20th century as "the age of translation". They state that "the 1900s have witnessed an explosion of translations not only in the sheer number of translated books, articles and other textual evidence, but also, and perhaps more significantly, in the pivotal role translation began to assume as a metaphor, a conceptual and/or analytical tool at the heart of humanities and social sciences" (p. 7); they add that "Doris Bachmann-Medick has discussed this 'translational turn' in a number of articles, reflecting how the impact of translation as a conceptual category is able to shed light on liminal spaces that would otherwise remain obscure" (p. 7).

The editors argue that "in the 1900s, communities could no longer be described in terms of a monolingual monoculture" (p. 7) – but most communities or societies in Europe *before* 1900 can hardly be described as being monolingual monocultures, can they? Rather, the 20th century was perhaps the century in which most of Europe's formerly multilingual communities disintegrated or became extinct through war, flight, expulsion, deportation and brutal language policies, and more and more

people all over Europe were forced into monolingualism in one of the dominant national languages ever since. It is therefore quite astonishing to read that "[t]wo world wars, gender and race struggles, the colonial experience and the slow demise of European empires, all conspired to put an end to an overall perception of cultural homogeneity" (p. 7-8). It's easy to think of examples that contradict the editors: the 20th century saw an end of German speaking communities in most middle and eastern European countries as a reaction to the atrocities committed by the Germans during the war; it saw the disappearance of Spanish speaking Jews from the Balkans; it witnessed the extinction of Yiddish speaking communities; it was the century of brutal persecution of anybody daring to speak anything but Spanish in Spain; and I could add a long list of other instances of disappearance of cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe.

Bachmann-Medick's approach seems to have been a bit predated here. Most of what the editors say about the 20th century might hold true only for the last two decades, and only for the most advanced Western European societies. The articles that I am going to review here focus, however, mainly on the first half of the 20th century, which is sometimes erroneously referred to as "the early 20th century". The editors seem to confuse data and periods; they mention, among others, Benjamin and Jakobson as early 20th century, notwithstanding the fact that the contextually relevant writings of both date from the late 1930s. Here, we should bear in mind that scholars in the field of cultural studies or their colleagues in linguistics or translation studies were not attracted *at all* by heterogeneity until the late 1960s, early 1970s, and in most areas not even before the 1980s. In some areas of research, such as theoretical linguistics, homogeneity assumptions introduced into research in the 1950ies have been dominating ever since.

I believe it is important to thoroughly determine the concept of translational turn as used by the editors because doing so directly impacts how translation can to be understood. Some of the texts gathered in this volume refer to translations and translation studies, others do not actually deal with translated texts at all and it is unclear how these contributions fit into what is referred to as cultural studies. The editors could have considered the (very important) fact that there was, of course, no translational turn in translation studies, and as long as the idea of translation in the field of translation remains faithful to the assumption that you only *translate* when you change the linguistic variety (that is, language or dialect) of a text into another, the translational turn cannot happen within the discipline called translation studies.

Part I on "Concepts & practices in 20th-century translation" starts with Cristina Roquette's contribution "'Double-voiced words': from Bakhtin's heteroglossia to heterolingualism in writings by hyphenated authors" (23-44). Roquette opens her article with the absurd assertion that "Translation Studies only emerged as a discipline in its own right in the late 1970ies" and claims the existence of a "strictly linguistic-centered notion of translation" (23) until the 1980s. This is probably the moment when translation scholars would prefer to put the book aside because it becomes clear that this is a layperson's view on translation. Roquette claims that her intention is to explain "Bakhtin's contribution to Translation Studies" (25), but she actually just summarizes some of his positions on dialogism and heteroglossia and thereafter presents individual examples from translations of one single text – by a Canadian author with Portuguese roots (that is, a Portuguese-Canadian and, thus, a "hyphenated author") – and its translation into Portuguese. She apparently does this to illustrate how useful Bakhtin *could be* for the analysis of translations. The question remains as to why she speaks of his contribution to translation studies and not of what his work *might mean* for translation studies. In particular, it repeatedly becomes clear that Roquette, when she speaks of *translation*, only refers to literary translation, for example, when stating that "Mikhail Bakhtin […] has been very influential on the recognition of the dialogic and polyphonic nature of narrative, and as such of great importance to translation" (11). This minimises the possible importance of Bakhtin to translation (as a process) in general even further.

Furthermore, only a few text passages were actually analysed, and we do not know why Roquette chose them. The reader does not get any information on how the study was conceptualized and carried out, whether the analysed examples where chosen for a special reason and also processed according to an established method, and whether other translations were analysed within perhaps a larger project. Apparently, no representative study is presented, and a look at just a few text passages does not allow to extrapolate anything regarding other translations, or translations in general. Some of the passages that – from the author's point of view – seem to be poorly translated should not just be explained in terms of heteroglossia and hyphenated identities in the source text, but also be put into relation with the expertise of the translator. But why spend time analysing some more or less randomly chosen examples of one single (bad?) translation? In addition, Roquette apparently relies on her own expertise, but why should her opinion be more valuable, why should her judgment be more valid than the translator's? The author herself mentions her own *opinion* of the translation of the Canadian anthem into Portuguese and explains that "[t]ranslating the anthem

into Portuguese strips it of its symbolism and deprives the text of a heterolingual co-presence" (39). But this is just an individual's opinion, one clearly contrasting with the translator's belief. Despite everything that is being said in this volume on turns and the overcoming of a "strictly linguistic-centered notion of translation" (23), in Roquette's article we get a stark example of the confidence of and reliance in *just one single opinion*, the author's own. And such a way of acting probably only characterizes one thing: theoretical—Chomskyan—linguistics, popular since the 1960ies. Apart from that, it would be interesting to see if her judgment were the same if the performed anthem were in Korean or any other less "accessible" language. Who is supposed to read this translation? Just bilinguals? Portuguese with perfect skills in English? The author could have taken it a bit further and thought of other language pairs and other instances of "heteroglossia" and "heterolingualism".

Roquette ends her article by explaining that "[a]s with most translations of writings by hyphenated authors, occurrences of heterolingualism were to be ignored" (41). What motivates the author to make such a drastic quantification at this point? She neither mentions own studies that allow for such a far-reaching claim, nor does she quote any other scholars. So, is all of this, once again, just opinion? The author could have benefited from taking a look at other instances of "heteroglossia", especially from text samples that reflect language use in bilingual communities where two closely related languages are spoken, such as Catalan and Spanish, in order to see that her claim is just not correct.

The volume's second contribution, by José Antonio Sabio Pinilla, focuses on "The philological underpinning of Translation Studies in Spain and Portugal" (45-66) and tries to give a short historical overview of the recent past of translation studies in Spain and Portugal. The article starts with a definition of the term *philology* from the Spanish normative dictionary (which reduces it to a science that studies a culture as manifested in its language and literature). This decision is not very convincing if we consider the countless self-reflexive debates on the tasks of philology within the corresponding subdisciplines, on the one hand, and the fact that language-for-special-purposes aspects do not play a major role in this dictionary, on the other. To illustrate the latter, it is worth looking at the Spanish Academy's definition of *interpretación* ('interpreting'): the meaning that is relevant to our discipline is not even mentioned there, and even worse, *interpretación de lenguas* is explained as an administrative unit where legal documents and papers are translated into Spanish or other languages. The author's explanation for the lack of translation theory in BA programmes in Spain and Portugal directly points to the Bologna system of studies.

That is surprising, at least. Because, above all, it seems to me that it is related to the replacement of philology with translation training based on the students' own choice. Nearly anybody wants to study philology in Spain and Portugal anymore, and – this applies at least to Spain – due to a lack of foreign language skills, at least in some universities translation training at the BA level does actually not deserve this designation as the courses are usually largely devoted to language acquisition. This is also the reason why currently ongoing PhD projects want to find out why final-year translation students still have insufficient language skills. The author, however, does not ask the important question of why there are nowadays more than 25 universities in Spain offering translation training as compared to only a couple of them back in the 1980s.

The text shows blatant errors in the chronology of events as the author transfers the reforms of the Moyano Law from 1857 to the middle of the 20th century. Surely a typo, but the consequences for the understanding of the text by uninformed readers are serious. The fact that the Portuguese editors did not notice this speaks volumes. Also otherwise the chronology is quite curious: the author starts rather late in the 20th century and by doing so skips any notions on translation from before, and which might have lead to the way it was actually dealt with in the 20th century (such as the philological translation method mentioned, in an unchronological manner, in subchapter 2.2.2), then moves from subchapter 2.1, "The weight of the humanist tradition: the first half of the twentieth century", to "The concept of translation before 1980" in subchapter 2.2, where he actually reports on things that occurred in Portugal during the 1920s or in 1943 (which would better fit into 2.1) in order to dedicate chapter 3 to "Translation Studies as a discipline". Astonishingly, here we read about things that happened in "the final quarter of the twentieth century", which leaves us with the question of why the years before 1980 were actually treated separately. While the author mentions some research projects carried out at Catalan and Galician universities (61), he skips the Basque approach to translation and omits the fact that the interest in translation in the multilingual regions of Spain differs greatly from the monolingual part of the country. But part of what this contribution definitely lacks is dealt with in the following article by Enrique Íñiguez Rodriguez.

Íñiguez Rodriguez's chapter on "The Iberian absence: translations of Modern Greek literature in Europe during the first half of the 20th century" (67-86) is an instructive presentation, rich in facts and details, despite the fact that it deals with something about which you can most of the time only speculate. Montserrat Franquesa Gòdia's wonderful study about Bernat Metge and the translation of classical texts, or lack

thereof,[1] could be an inspiration for researching the reasons for the "Iberian absence" because here we are shown, in great detail, why certain translations were created, and why certain authors or books were not, or just partially, or only at a very late stage translated. Íñiguez Rodriguez mainly gives an account of the volume of existing translations, and although the article contains multiple figures and tables (with percentages and proportions of translations from and into different languages, of genres translated, works translated per author, etc.), the article is rather pleasant to read.

Part II on "Translation, power & conflict – Imagining Others in times of hostility" begins with Teresa Seruya's "Salazar translated: on translation and power under the Estado Novo (1933–1950)" (89-109). Seruya examines the role and politics of translation in the Portuguese National Propaganda Secretariat (founded in 1933) under the far right, clerical-fascist regime (which was installed in 1930 and ended only in 1974). She focuses on how the regime exported some of its texts via commissioned translations into other European languages. After a brief introduction to the field, the author presents her corpus and a selection of translations of political speeches and writings of António de Oliveira Salazar, Portuguese Prime Minister from 1932 to 1968, which were published as an anthology. Seruya then moves on to the external history of the translations of these speeches, by presenting, in a brief overview, their translations into French (two translations from 1937 and 1940, respectively), German (one translation from 1938), and Czech (the Czech translation was aborted due to the occupation of Czechoslovakia and remained unpublished). Seruya concludes that translation was a relevant tool for the government's strategy of deploying soft power. The article is enriching, but the author could have benefited from similar studies on translation as a propaganda instrument to promote a dictatorship's image abroad, which could have been listed in her bibliography.

Zsófia Gombár's "Theatre Translations Censored in Portugal (1929–1945)" (111-132) "examine[s] the position of theatre translations on stage in *Estado Novo* in a more systematic and data-driven manner" (112), and highlights the changing position of British and US-American plays. As historical background for the study, Gombár compares the "Fascist Theatre Policies" of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and "semi-fascist" or "para-fascist" Portugal (cf. 112). It is unfortunate that the author's claims about perceived trends and tendencies sometimes lack reference – so the

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[1] Montserrat Franquesa Gòdia (2013): *La Fundació Bernat Metge, una obra de país (1923–1938)*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

reader does not always know whether it is just the author's opinion or the factual outcome of her PhD project (in which the presented study is embedded). We find, for example, a whole paragraph on mediocrity that characterises the propaganda theatre of both the German and the Italian regimes (114), with only the following note at its end: "For more information, see Berezin, Cavallo, Drewniak, London *Theatre*, and Strobl". If this is meant to serve as a reference for the origin of the paragraph's information, it is a rather unorthodox way of doing so. Gombár sets out her approach and her sources in detail, but it does not become very clear how she actually understands the term *censorship*, that is, whether she only counts as such the manipulation of existing translations, or also includes the decision to prohibit the translation of certain plays in the first place. She retrieves her information from the censorship files stored in the National Archives of the *Torre de Tombo*, and also from the Archives of the National Theatre Museum in order to find out about censorship of theatre *performances* (116) and explicitly states that her scope is contextually confined "to the analysis of theatre translations staged or *destined to be staged*" (115, my emphasis) – both interpretations are feasible at first glance. In her findings, she discusses, in detail, the mode of translation, source languages and countries the plays came from, and compares translation statistics on different languages and countries, including the evolution of figures for German, British and American plays in the decade before and the years after the outbreak of World War II. Gombár then deals with the (surprisingly small) numbers of censored theatre translations: four American, one German play, commenting very briefly on the reasons for textual cuts. The question whether censorship also includes orders forbidding certain translations is not addressed. As in other contexts the mere existence of censorship led to self-censorship by both authors and translators, it seems of particular relevance to add text-based analysis to this data-driven approach in order to get a bigger picture of censorship in the Portuguese theatre of the *Estado Novo.*

In the volume's next contribution, "Bound by translation: Portugal and Brazil in the first half of the 20th century" (133-151), Ana Teresa Santos analyses the relationship between Portugal and Brazil based on Brazilian translations that were imported in Portugal. After an outline of Luso-Brazilian relations in general, the author moves on to cultural and literary relations in particular. She highlights the impact of a postal agreement from 1924 that reduced taxes and allowed for closer cultural relationships between the two countries (until then, Brazilian books were almost unknown in Portugal) and points to the specific importance of the literary journal *Presença*, which contributed to the dissemination of then-current Brazilian literary production.

Santos relates that "a phenomenon described as an invasion of the Portuguese bookshops by Brazilian books was reported as early as 1933" (138); the success of Brazilian books was also based on a low currency exchange rate, which made an import economically interesting. Together with Brazilian books, the imports also included translations into Brazilian Portuguese from other languages, as Santos shows with quotes from various sources. However, these findings seem to be exclusively based on statements by persons such as editors or co-owners of publishing houses, and do not refer to a scientific assessment of sales figures of Brazilian book companies or (private?) library catalogues or registers. The same holds true for the following description regarding forbidden books, among them "clandestine Brazilian translations" (141). This term could be read twofold: either referring to illegally translated books or to legal translations that are bought or held in secrecy in Portugal – with Santos meaning the latter. Santos' reflections on these clandestine imports are apparently based on the findings of other authors, for example, Seruya (who contributed an article to this book herself), and one of the editors, Moniz, who in a study of censorship reports from the 1950s "have found that Brazilian translations were only a small part of the books that caught the censors' attention" (142). In the following paragraphs, the author gives a few examples of Brazilian translations that were forbidden in Portugal, and here it gets clear that Santos' concept of censorship does not correspond with that of the previous article, and then, by sharing some more examples of Brazilian book companies and publishing houses, she shows that the Portuguese censorship authorities were well aware of the illegal imports. Although Santos does not present exact data or figures, she turns to quantification in her statements: e.g., "Many Livros do Brasil translations that were to be found in Portugal were therefore authored by Brazilian translators […]" (148). In her conclusion, Santos explains the difficulty "in tracing some of the Brazilian translations as an obvious consequence of the clandestine nature of the corresponding purchasing and reading activities herself" (148). At the end, you get the impression that everything said is very vague. Regarding the presence and dissemination of Brazilian books, and among them translations, it might be interesting to research private libraries and the legacies of private book collectors.

The following paper, "The experience of World War I in Portugal through translation" (153-167), by Maria Lin Moniz, focuses on narratives on World War I that were translated into Portuguese and published in Portugal between 1916 and 1939 – Moniz speaks of "the archaeology of World War I narratives" (166). She examines the role they played (or might have played?) in representing the war and

shaping public opinion. Her contribution touches upon what was actually translated, when, and with what effect; she deliberately skips addressing who translated, how, where, and for whom, and does also not consider the actual contents, the way these narratives were rendered in the target language, or the actual dissemination of the translated works. The author states that the number of translations increased against a backdrop of decreasing (and finally even ceasing) own Portuguese publications on the war, and had thus an important role in filling this void in the literary system and depiction of World War I (154).

In "Dispatches from Berlin: news translation in the golden age of foreign correspondence" (169-188), Elisabeth Möckli presents a case study, in which she examines 18 letters (written between 1935 and 1939) between the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and three of its foreign correspondents (who spent at least some time reporting from Nazi Germany) and one unpublished memorandum (from 1936) by Charles Lambert (who was one of these correspondents). By referring to Bielsa and Bassnett (2009)[2], Möckli states that, although reporting "usually involved translating extracts of texts and speeches", "[v]ery few foreign correspondents […] considered themselves to be formal translators, despite the fact that they regularly performed translational acts pertaining to all of the different stages of the translational process" (170). On the basis of these writings, Möckli explores to what extent these three correspondents – referred to by Möckli in a rather denigrating and simplistic way as "news translators" – were able to make decisions on selecting (or excluding) information, as well as their motives in doing so, and other factors that influenced their actions.

Part III of the volume, "Engendering literature through translation", leads us to Marta Teixeira Anacleto's "Intersectiong identities and censorship: translating *Brigitte* for/by the Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (M.P.F.) in the 1940s" (191-207). The author investigates the role of the Portuguese translations of Berthe Bernage's *Brigitte* novels in the context of the female wing of the Portuguese Youth Movement, and reflects on identity construction through reading, translating, and self-censorship. This contribution is, basically, a description and contextualisation of the French originals and their corresponding translations, substantiated with extracts of the literature dealt with.

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[2] Bielsa, Esperança / Susan Bassnett (2009): *Translation in Global News*. London, etc.: Routledge. (This publication is erroneously referred to as „Bassnett and Bielsa" in the article text and included as „Bassnett, Susanne [sic] and Esperança Bielsa (2009)" in the bibliography.)

In "'A woman's place is in the home'? – Portuguese translations of studies on the condition of women and guides of good conduct (1910–1950)" (210-227), Sónia Martins Pereira and Maria Teresa Cortez contextualise Portuguese translations of essays on "good conduct guides" for women. Unfortunaltely, their textual choice and the criteria applied are not always clear. For example, the authors present a selection of essays in defence of women's rights, published in Portugal before 1933, that "should be mentioned" (211), without explaining why those texts were chosen and what makes them seem worth to be included. They also refer to "a large number of foreign guides, mainly translated from French, which were published for the first time and/or reprinted before 1933" (213), "namely those included" in a table comprising several pages. Adding on that, we also get a rather superficial – perhaps because of limited space? – contrastive analysis, which compares the Portuguese version of *Woman and Home* by Orison Swett Marden (1915) with a Spanish one from 1920, and another Portuguese one from 1934.

The volume's final article, "Toccata & Fugue, On Authorship, translation & originality" (229-246), by Alexandra Lopes, deals with a fictional biography, i.e. the pseudotranslation *The Little Chronicle of Magdalena Bach* (1925) – with the biography's author using the *idea* of translation as a motif and as a tool for achieving literary goals. This contribution thus only fits into the volume when taking a pure literary standpoint.

In summa, the reviewed volume's articles – and even within the three thematic parts – are very heterogeneous. Bringing together these different texts under one bracket appears to have only been partially successful. A lack of cross-references throughout the volume underlines this statement. Some of the articles presented are absolutely enriching for the history of translation and point to the need of further research, while others can hardly be regarded as relevant for translation studies – even with an extremely broad concept of translation in mind.

Conference Reports / Konferenzberichte / comptes rendus de conference

Ondřej Vimr

Big Translation History and the Use of Data Mining and Big Data Approaches: Panel Report and Observations (EST Congress 2019 in Stellenbosch)

Ondřej Vimr

Conference Report

Big Translation History and the Use of Data Mining and Big Data Approaches: Panel Report and Observations[1] (EST Congress 2019 in Stellenbosch)

The 2019 Congress of the European Society for Translation Studies held in Stellenbosch, South Africa, featured a panel entitled *Big Translation History*. Convened by Diana Roig-Sanz (Open University of Catalonia), Ondřej Vimr (Czech Academy of Sciences & University of Bristol) and Laura Fólica (Open University of Catalonia), it brought together researchers applying Big Data inspired approaches to translation history.

The convenors opened the panel by outlining a Big Translation History approach as one that makes use of data mining, collection and computational processing and aims at visualizing, analyzing and interpreting the data to provide unique insights justifying the approach. Issues proposed for discussion included: a clear-cut definition of Big Translation History, various scales of analysis, the need for a flexible periodization of the corpus, the manageability and feasibility of data collection and visualization as well as the relationship between qualitative and quantitative analysis.

The subsequent presentations revealed a broad scope of interpretations of a Big Data approach to translation history and raised a number of methodological questions fundamental to this underexplored method. Diana Roig-Sanz and Laura Fólica presented their research focusing on the analysis of the literature translated from and into Spanish and published in the Spanish-speaking book market between 1900 and 1945. Their goals included a classification of texts, discovery of yet unidentified originals of translations and visualization of the market of translated books in the Hispanic realm and beyond. The methodological issue of metadata collection, cleaning and reliability when mining data on a global level was particularly pertaining to their research. The potential and challenges related to the mass harvesting and algorithmic

processing of bibliographic metadata was a recurrent issue discussed by both the panelists and the members of the audience.

It reappeared in Ceyda Elgül's contribution (Boǧaziçi University) based on a large-scale analysis of bibliographies of biographies translated into Turkish from 1800 to 2020. Among other things, she discussed the challenges of dealing with a dataset covering a time span of over 200 years in Turkish history that included a fundamental change of script with severe implications for an automated processing of bibliographies. Furthermore, her presentation opened the question of what size of a dataset is big enough for Big Translation History. In most scientific fields, Big Data involves processing of terabytes or petabytes of data. In translation history, a well-defined dataset of one thousand entries may already be of relevance at least as basis for a pilot study. Moreover, given the fact that statistical methods have been used in translation history for decades, what is the potential advantage of a Big Data approach? The latter seems to involve processing of a dataset of such an extent that it cannot be analyzed manually and features a method reliant on using automated computational processing.

Josefína Zubaková (Palacký University of Olomouc) echoed the concern over the size, structure and quality of a big dataset in her analysis of the Czech theatrical system drawing on a well-curated bibliography of theatre productions of plays translated from English into Czech since 1989. While her dataset was comparatively small, slightly less than 1000 entries, the quality and depth of information multiplied the analytical options and interpretation avenues. Zubáková's contribution focused largely on individual and systemic traits in translators' biographies. This brought attention to a household topic of translation history for over two decades, which was otherwise suspiciously absent in other presentations. While Big Data researchers keep discussing the challenges of integrating close and distant reading, there is yet another dimension that they might be losing the sight of as they are busy coding, namely that of agency, or people of flesh and bone that make literature and translations happen.

Ninja Steinbach-Hüther (University of Leipzig) presented a team research project investigating geographical societies from 1821 to 1914, which is conducted within a broader framework of the Collaborative Research Centre (SFB) 1199. In cooperation with Thomas Efer and Dirk Hänsgen, she analyzes journals published in 13 languages by 34 geographical societies from Europe, North and South America as well as Asia, Northern Africa and Australia over almost 100 years. The aims of the analysis of over 60000 entries include providing a global and transnational comparison of spatial se-

mantics embedded in the journals' content. She attempted to shed light upon the synchronic and diachronic presence of spatial semantics, its transformation and translation as well as imagined meanings in various languages. Yet at the same time, her presentation tested the boundaries of translation history and showcased a research avenue that integrates translation history, global studies and digital humanities.

Observations

The panel proved very timely as the presenters and audience seemed to face similar methodological challenges while addressing rather different research questions dealing with geographically and historically diverse sets of data. In translation studies, statistical analysis has been the bread and butter of sociological and historical research for a long time with researchers regularly using various databases and bibliographies of translations to introduce topics to translation history and support their arguments. A Big Translation History approach is meant to provide a new Big Data perspective. Yet, analyzing a variety of sources, structured and unstructured data on a large scale with a vision to modify canonical narratives of translation history and comparative literature as well as reveal dynamics in less translated and explored settings, however tempting, is bound to require much effort and face at least three major methodological challenges.

First, mining data on translations from libraries and meta catalogues is largely dependent on the quality of the data in the catalogues. Big Data researchers may tend to control quality using algorithms that check the consistency and possibly improve the quality and enrich the metadata with the help of triangulation of several databases. This may prove insufficient and/or might result in a research on cataloguers and library practices in a given period of time rather than translations, translators, literature or any other actual subject of the research.

Second, the problem of the quality of the underlying data, very common in all large-scale research, is coupled with issues related to the multinational and multilingual nature of translation history. Attempts at combining catalogues from various geographical (and linguistic) settings will inevitably need to deal with the implications of the global technological imbalance. Hypothetically, wealthy countries have more comprehensive and detailed catalogues while poorer countries have patchy and unreliable catalogues. A translation history project aiming at an adjustment of a canonical West-centric narrative by including non-Western datasets from non-Western catalogues, for instance, may unintentionally replicate the canonical pattern due to an

overlap with the existing distribution of funds available in global territories that are necessary to maintain high-quality databases. Unless the quality and balance in the dataset is well controlled, research based on such databases will potentially show biased results mirroring the socio-economic status of the regions included.

Third, Big Translation History presupposes a hefty use of technology and computer analysis. Excellent skills in information technology, statistics and especially coding are a precondition *sine qua non*. Including a data scientist in a research team and offloading much of the technology-related issues sounds inevitable and like a reasonable solution. The drawback, however, is less apparent. The data scientist will become an important gatekeeper of the research project and the other researchers are running the risk of inserting black boxes into their research. Big Translation History researchers will need to get their hands dirty with coding in order to understand what is happening with their data below the surface of the algorithms and be able to correctly interpret the outputs. The acquisition of coding skills will also make them aware of the intrinsic limitations of algorithmic processing of their data (bibliographic or other) and teach them a lesson of research feasibility, for instance what kind of a dataset may or may not produces consistent results.

Overall, the panel showed great promise in terms of providing new questions, methodologies, producing and using new datasets as well as opening up to other bordering disciplines such as global studies and digital humanities. Yet, researches will need to make sure they also develop methods to bridge the gap between the digital and more traditional translation history.

The book of abstracts that includes the panel description and its contributions is available at https://www.est2019.com/.

Charlotte Bollaert

Methods in Translation History: summer school Translation in History – History in Translation (September 2018)

Charlotte Bollaert

Conference Report

Methods in Translation History: summer school Translation in History – History in Translation (September 2018)

My participation in the 2018 edition of the 'Translation in History – History in Translation' summer school was motivated, on the one hand, by my interest in translation history, related to my research practice, on the other hand, by my enthusiasm and curiosity after the 2017 edition and the wish to further discuss the topic. The more explicitly defined focus on methods in translation history in 2018 and the way these relate to broader translation theory, seemed promising. More than most other international gatherings (that are, in my experience, often rather product-oriented), I find that summer schools foster the space and breeding ground for genuine, constructive exchange and the development of new ideas. I have also had the impression that the Vienna group – with its research projects, the summer school and its recent journal *Chronotopos* – is actively contributing to the creation of a space for (meta)reflection on translation history, which I hope will be continued and will contribute to the further 'institutionalization' of translation history as a legitimate subdiscipline of translation studies.

The guests Dilek Dizdar (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz), Carsten Sinner (University of Leipzig), Michaela Wolf (University of Graz) and Christopher Rundle (University of Bologna) each gave a morning lecture and then a workshop-like afternoon session on different methodological approaches and issues. Furthermore, the Vienna organizing team completed the week with contributions on history and transculturality (Larisa Schippel), translation history and its contribution to translation theory (Tomasz Rozmyslowicz) and a workshop on source critique (Julia Richter). The covered topics were diverse, ranging from (meta)theoretical-oriented discussions, over critical (self-)reflection on the various possible ways of doing translation history, to concrete, practical applications of translation history. Some questions came up repeatedly, such as that of the interrelation between historical translation research (that is empirical) and translation theory, not only in Tomasz Rozmyslowicz's

contribution, dealing specifically with this matter, but also at other points in time: for example when discussing the place and value of translation history in relation to translation studies, when touching upon questions of interdisciplinarity, or when discussing the added value of case studies, and related to that, representativeness – with Dilek Dizdar's inspiring questioning of whether representativeness is actually something translation history should claim to do at all. What I also found particularly valuable was the critical reflection on the role of the *historical* in translation history, the ways in which translation history has been done in translation studies, and how it would seem meaningful to argue for a more active interplay with the field of History (from a translation studies perspective), especially with respect to methodologies, more particularly when it concerns dealing with sources (from selection over collection to interpretation).

Like many doctoral students, I have struggled with recurring existential questions ('existential' for my research praxis, at least) – such as self-reflexivity and positionality, how to delineate my object of study and based on what, where to find sources and what sources to use, how to interpret these sources, which conclusions to (not) draw from certain phenomena, how to deal with periodization, which methodological frameworks to use and whether or not to combine various methodological frameworks and traditions, which audience(s) to address and in what language to write my dissertation. Often, however, in the myriad of other decisions one has to make and in the haste of carrying out my project, these crucial questions partially get lost to make space for more practical considerations. Many a time I have wondered to what extent these choices I make and, for example, the sources I draw on, were directly resulting from my object of study, or on the contrary bound to the structures of a certain (political) economy of knowledge I situate myself in. The summer school not only brought my attention back to these essential questions, it also encouraged me to more decidedly (re)position myself in both the way I raise and answer them.

Although I believe it is quite obvious from the kind of research I engage with, that it relates to (what could be referred to as) translation history (as a subdiscipline of translation studies), this has not automatically implied for me that translation history would become my main frame of reference. Perhaps, that brings us back to the above-mentioned economy of knowledge production? It seems to me that in a way, as this has not proved self-evident for me; in fact, many research projects either do translation history without calling it that, or maybe even without conceiving of it as such. Instances of translation history have been omnipresent in various fields of research for a long time. Although its development as a subdiscipline of translation

studies is quite recent, as a practice, it is not new. This implies that although translation history has in fact been around for quite some time, it has not often been (recognized) in that capacity. Therefore, I wonder, is it not essential for those of us engaging with translation history to name it that, if that is what we (aim to) do? And does the act itself of naming it translation history then not also bring with a responsibility to use certain frameworks and to embed it in the field correspondingly? Maybe one of the first answers to the question of how to write translation history is to be found exactly there: in naming what we do translation history, thus calling into question the (somewhat invisibilizing) idea or assumption that there is something self-evident about it, or that it is an automatic by-product of something else. The above has undoubtedly been said and developed already by scholars more eloquent than myself, however, it is one of the insights brought about by the summer school that will stay with me.

I return to my research practice mostly with questions; however, I hope insightful ones. Maybe looking at our research through the prism of translation history could encourage us to rethink the narratives we are (co-)constructing? What could it mean for our research not to tell one story, but rather tell parts and versions of that story, or tell more stories and focus on certain aspects more than others, rather than 'applying' one unified methodology? It is my contention that often we might not give enough attention to the unstructured nature of our material, that we might be telling stories that are too much preconditioned by the methodologies we use, that we might not often enough allow for our material to ask back.

More information on the (annual) summer school 'Translation in History – History in Translation' in Vienna is available at: https://summerschool-translation-history.univie.ac.at/

Andreas F. Kelletat

(Nie)widzialność tłumacza. Jak badania nad rolą tłumaczy przyczyniają się do humanizacji translatologii / (Un)Sichtbarkeit des Übersetzers. Wie die Beschäftigung mit den Übersetzern zur Humanisierung der Translatologie führt. Warschau, März 2019.
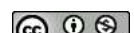
Andreas F. Kelletat

Konferenzbericht

(Nie)widzialność tłumacza. Jak badania nad rolą tłumaczy przyczyniają się do humanizacji translatologii / (Un)Sichtbarkeit des Übersetzers. Wie die Beschäftigung mit den Übersetzern zur Humanisierung der Translatologie führt. Warschau, März 2019

Am Institut für Germanische Philologie der Jagiellonen-Universität Krakau fand am 29. und 30. März 2019 eine Tagung zur „(Un)Sichtbarkeit des Übersetzers" statt. In zwei als *Keynote Lecture* angekündigten Beiträgen referierten Magda Heydel (Krakau) und Piotr de Bończa Bukowski (Krakau) anknüpfend an Andrew Chestermans Aufsatz *The Name and Nature of Translator Studies* (2009) über (in der Regel auf Englisch oder Deutsch erschienene) translationswissenschaftliche Forschungsbeiträge, die sich weniger mit übersetzten Texten befassen denn mit denen, die diese Texte in der Zielsprache produziert haben: Übersetzer und Dolmetscher. Jene Polonisten und Germanisten im Publikum, die mit der sich immer noch als vergleichsweise jung verstehenden Translatologie bisher nicht in Kontakt geraten waren, mögen gestaunt haben, was sich unter dem Pym'schen Schlagwort „Humanizing" alles versammeln lässt: Von Hans Peter Krings Blicken in die Köpfe der Übersetzer, dem Dolmetschen in Kriegsverbrecherprozessen und Venutis vermeintlicher Invisibilität der Translatoren ging es über das Konzept der „Transfiction", die Skopos-Theorie, den „performative turn" und die Entdeckung von Übersetzer-Archiven bis hin zum „Eye-Tracking" und avantgardistisch-posthumanistischen Text-Remix-Verfahren durch den Google-Translator sowie von dort noch einmal zurück zu Schleiermacher, Gadamer, Steiner und Fritz Paepcke oder auch zu der Frage, wie Rilkes „untreue" Übersetzungen der Sonette von Louise Labbé aus ethischer Sicht zu bewerten wären. Das durch die beiden Krakauer Keynote-Referenten ebenso kundig wie breit aufgefächerte translatologische Themenspektrum wurde in den anschließenden Kurzreferaten (à 20 Minuten) spürbar eingeengt. In diesen ging es fast ausschließlich um Fragen des literarischen Übersetzens, genauer: um einzelne Literaturübersetzer, noch genauer: um Literaturübersetzer, die aus dem Polnischen ins Deutsche bzw. dem Deut-

schen ins Polnische gearbeitet haben. Behandelt wurden: Izydor Berman (1898-1942), Carl von Blankensee (?-1836?), Kazimierz Brodziński (1791-1835), Hermann Buddensieg (1893-1976), Karl Dedecius (1921-2016), Wanda Dynowska-Umadevi (1888-1971), Jacek Frühling (1892-1976), Friedrich Griese (1940-2012), Jutta Janke (1932-2004), Andrzej Kopacki (Jg. 1959), Olaf Kühl (Jg. 1955), Maria Kurecka (1920-1989), Roswitha Matwin-Buschmann (Jg. 1939), Walter Tiel (1894-1974), Witold Wirpsza (1918-1985), Ryszard Wojnakowski (Jg. 1956) und Albert Zipper (1855-1936).

Fast immer war es spannend, der biografisch-bibliographischen Spurenlese der Referenten zu folgen und ihrem Bemühen, ihren jeweiligen Übersetzer „sichtbar" zu machen. Im Falle Dedecius ist da freilich nicht mehr viel zu tun, ihm waren gleich drei Vorträge gewidmet, so dass man sich fast wünschte, er würde mal etwas unsichtbarer, damit auch andere Akteure des polnisch-deutschen Texttransfers deutlicher ans Licht kämen. Wie sich freilich all diese Fallstudien konzeptuell bündeln ließen, blieb noch im Vagen. Zwar informierte eine Mitarbeiterin der Polnischen Akademie der Wissenschaften über ein am dortigen Institut für Literaturforschung entstehendes digitales Polnisches Übersetzerlexikon (*Słownik tłumaczy*), aber es scheint in Warschau bisher keine Klarheit darüber zu bestehen, für wen das Lexikon gedacht sein soll und worüber die einzelnen, stark standardisierten (und anders als im *Germersheimer Überetzerlexikon*: keinesfalls essayartig anzulegenden) Artikel Auskunft geben sollen. Vereinzeltes Kopfschütteln gab es bei der Information, dass die heute aktiven polnischen Literaturübersetzer bei der Auswahl und Anlage der Lexikon-Artikel qua Umfragen beteiligt werden sollen.

Vor welch großen Herausforderungen eine akteursbezogene und nicht in positivistischen Biografismus abdriftende Übersetzungsforschung steht, machte Paweł Zajas' (Poznan, z.Zt. Marbach) Bericht über seine Archivrecherchen deutlich. Im Archiv wird nicht nur das „Netzwerk" einzelner Übersetzer deutlich, sondern auch der oft stark kollaborative Charakter des Übersetzens. Wichtig auch die Hinweise auf (in Verlagsarchiven zu findende) niemals realisierte Übersetzungsprojekte sowie auf die bisher meist übersehene Rolle, welche die auswärtige Kulturpolitik bei der Entstehung einzelner Übersetzungen und der gezielten Förderung einzelner Übersetzer gespielt hat (Stichwort: Politik der Translation).

Verblüffend war zu beobachten, wie stark der Schwenk hin zur Akteurs-Perspektive die übersetzten Texte selbst aus dem Blick geraten lässt, wo doch das Vergleichen zwischen Original und (niemals endgültig befriedigender) Übersetzung lange zur Hauptbeschäftigung der Übersetzungswissenschaft gehört hat. Hier in Krakau ging

es primär um „translatorische Biographien" – so die Formulierung im Vortragstitel von Markus Eberharter (Warschau). Nur noch wenige Vorträge befassten sich mit dem Wie des Übersetzten, etwa der von Katarzyna Lukas (Gdansk) zum archaisierenden Verfahren in Roswitha Buschmanns Brandys-Übersetzung.

Die Tagung wurde durch ein Rahmenprogramm bereichert: Am Abend des 29. März gab es im Goethe-Institut am Hauptmarkt eine Podiumsdiskussion mit den praktizierenden Literaturübersetzern Esther Kinsky und Andrzej Kopacki, der sich bereits am Vormittag temperamentvoll in die Aussprache über das ihm gewidmete Referat von Beate Sommerfeld (Poznan) eingebracht hatte. Am Abend des 30. folgte die Vernissage einer Ausstellung zum Karl-Dedecius-Preis im neuen Anbau der Jagiellonischen Bibliothek sowie ein ausführliches Gespräch mit der Übersetzerin Lisa Palmes (Jg. 1975). Die beiden Abendveranstaltungen ließen den Wunsch der Tagungsorganisatorinnen (Jadwiga Kita-Huber und Renata Makarska) erkennen, auch sichtbare Verbindungen zwischen einer eher historisch ausgerichteten Übersetzerforschung und dem aktuellen Literatur- bzw. Übersetzungsbetrieb herzustellen.

Die Vorträge wurden in polnischer und deutscher Sprache gehalten. In beide Richtungen wurde professionell gedolmetscht, wobei es erstaunte, dass manchen Translatologen nicht immer gegenwärtig zu sein scheint, dass in hohem Tempo vom Blatt abgelesene Referate auch den besten Dolmetscher in die Bredouille bringen können. Am gelungensten jedenfalls war die Verdolmetschung immer dann, wenn im Anschluss an die Vorträge in freier Rede diskutiert wurde. Bedauerlich war, dass zu den Vorträgen kaum Studenten erschienen. Nur einmal stürmte ein ganzes Rudel in den (technisch perfekt ausgestatteten) Hörsaal, aber die verschwanden dann auch gleich wieder, als dieser eine Vortrag beendet war.

Sehr umsichtig strukturiert war das Programm der Tagung und klug überlegt die Auswahl der Themen und Referenten. In den Pausen (man wurde üppig bewirtet) und an den Abenden ergaben sich zahlreiche Begegnungen und aus ihnen resultierende neue Kontakte, die der weiteren Forschungsarbeit in einer „humanisierten" bzw. menschlicher werdenden Translationswissenschaft zugutekommen mögen.

Aufbauend auf den Tagungsreferaten wird 2020 eine Publikation in polnischer Sprache erscheinen.

Das Konferenzprogramm ist unter https://polnisch.fb06.uni-mainz.de/konferencja-tagung/ aufrufbar (16.12.2019).