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Cover image: A wordcloud mosaic of the History & Translation conference in Tallinn 2022, created by Chronotopos with wordclouds.com, based on the summaries panel chairs and panelists submitted for the editorial.

Chronotopos

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Editors' note

How can a conference as large and diverse as the first conference of the History and Translation Network in Tallinn in May of 2022 be adequately represented and remembered? To archive, share, and promote the multiplicity of topics and approaches that came together, we invited panel chairs and, in some cases, panelists to write short texts about their panels. These now form a conference mosaic as tiles. As is often the case with a mosaic, the tiles vary in size and style, with some leaving a blank space. From time to time, tiles in different languages remind us of the multilingual reality of the research subjects, the researchers, and also the conference. The texts have been arranged in three overarching categories: methods & approaches, actors & themes and time & space. We thank all contributors for their efforts and hope readers enjoy browsing the mosaic.

Keywords: translation history, Tallinn, HTN network, mosaic, conference report

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Prelude by the organizers

The *History and Translation Network* was founded in June 2021 and currently has over 600 members. The aims of the Network are to:

- enhance the visibility of translation and interpreting history in other disciplinary areas;
- promote interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration between all scholars with a historical interest in translation and interpreting;
- organise and promote regular events on translation and interpreting history;
- explore forms of collaboration that can enhance our work as translation and interpreting historians.

For further details of the Network, its Manifesto and its objectives please see <https://historyandtranslation.net>.

The HTN 2022 Conference

It was always our intention to follow up the launch of the Network with a 'founding' conference that could give scholars a concrete sense of the growing research community that is forming around the theme of translation and interpreting history. This overriding aim was the premise for some of the key choices that we made:

- *The conference was in-person only.* This was essential because only by meeting in person can scholars properly interact with each other and develop new relationships. A conference is an opportunity to learn about other scholars' research, but it is also an opportunity to find like-thinking people with whom you might collaborate. This is the fundamental purpose of a network: putting researchers in touch with each other.

- *The conference was very large with multiple parallel sessions. A large conference with a number of parallel sessions is not ideal, but our overriding aim was to bring together as many scholars as possible for this founding event.*

Our idea was to host a conference which could include all the many different approaches to translation and interpreting history, bringing together scholars with a wide range of interests and from different disciplinary backgrounds. We feel that from this perspective the conference was a great success.

It is arguable that translation history began its evolution into a distinct international research community with the conference *Between Cultures and Texts: Itineraries in Translation History* which was organized by the University of Tallinn in 2010. It seemed appropriate, therefore, that the inaugural conference of the Network should take place in Tallinn and we are very grateful to our colleagues of the University of Tallinn for hosting the conference so beautifully.

We are aware of the challenges that many scholars faced in travelling to Estonia due to Covid-19 restrictions and other reasons. This is why we organized an online-only, follow-up event in for those scholars who were not able to come to Tallinn to present their papers.

The next official conference of the Network will take place in September 2024 and will be hosted by the University of Graz, Austria.

Actors & Themes



- Women Translators
- Translation in Conflict
- Institutions and Contexts
- Traduction audiovisuelle (TAV)
- Memoria, Historia y Traducción
- Translators as Mediators of Foreign Literature and Ideas
- Feminism/Gender in the Study of History and Translation
- Los traductores como mediadores de literatura e ideas extranjeras
- Translation under precarious conditions
- Audiovisual translation (AVT)
- Memory–History–Translation
- Publisher Policies

Feminism/Gender in the Study of History and Translation

In 1986, Joan W. Scott an American historian of France published the article entitled “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.” She begins by discussing a number of contemporary theoretical approaches to gender – as implemented by Anglo-American historians – and then provides her own definition of gender in two parts:

- gender is based on the perceived differences between the sexes,
- it is a way of signifying power differentials.



Scott’s paper argues that a focus on questions of gender in history can reveal the *social and political construction of gender in certain places at certain times and under certain conditions, and the impact this has on the society in question*. In fact, she argues that without reference to gender and a historical analysis of its presence in a given society historians have been telling truncated stories, doing truncated research.

This was the starting point for the panel on ‘gender’ at the History and Translation Conference in Tallinn. It asked how ‘gender’ has played a role in the histories of translation, and in history more generally. How has the sociological, ideological and political factor of ‘gender’ affected research in and on translation? A further impetus for the panel was to draw on knowledge of those working beyond the Anglo-American Eurozone, where ‘gender’ issues have been established for decades, and elicit papers from Iran, China, India, East-Central Europe and Mexico. The response was enthusiastic, dampened only by the lack of access to visas and travel funding. In what follows I briefly summarize the two papers that were presented in Tallinn, although more topics were proposed and accepted, but not all of the presenters could be present.

Elisabeth Gibbels’ paper “Lost voices, invisible women. German translators of small languages and their groundbreaking work” starts from the statement that women have been largely absent from overviews of translation in Germany. The German National Biography database ADB/NDB lists a total of 66 women as translators and has a meagre thirteen entries for the period under discussion, the mid-late 19th century. The five translators that Gibbels’ work presents are not included in this list, and neither are Else Otten, after whom the German Translation Award is named, or Marie Herzfeld, the ‘ambassador for Scandinavian literature’ (Killy’s Literary Lexikon). Inclusion in the ADB seems to be as haphazard as the selection in scholarly publications (e.g. by Bachleitner, Braithwaite, Wilhelmy). Gibbels’ paper investigates the reasons for this sparse reference to women translators in German archives and outlines women translators’ contribution to cultural transfer in Germany. It focuses on two specifics: small languages (Dutch, Yiddish and Scandinavian, Slavic and Baltic languages) and translators’ dates of birth (1830-1875). The reasoning for small languages is that here the gap between groundbreaking achievement and absence from translation histories is acute and thus symptomatic. The focus on the 19th century is due to the fact that by this point women had become a regular force in the translation industry, producing work that should make them present in the archives. Moreover, earlier periods have been addressed in a comprehensive monograph comprising 250 translators born before 1830 (Gibbels’ Lexikon der deutschen Übersetzerinnen 1200-1850).

This paper thus highlighted factors that have contributed to making women translators invisible in bibliographies, catalogues and published books, and then went on to showcase

the translator 'E. Rudolphi' and the story behind deciphering the pseudonym. The second part presented five outstanding women translators of small languages, providing their biographical background and translation oeuvre, outlining the scope of their achievement and contribution to German translation history.

In her contribution "The Mirror of Transfiction. On the Gender Aspect of Contemporary Polish Literary Translation History", *Ewa Rajewska* worked on transfiction – "rethinking translation through literature", as Rosemary Arrojo puts it – which is a novelty in Polish translation studies, especially in its diachronic and sociocultural aspects. The "fictional turn" in TS has not yet made itself felt very clearly in Polish literature. Yet, convinced that literary fiction thematising translation as a process and a product is an interesting reflection – and distortion – of a translator's status and of the official translation studies discourse, Rajewska focused on contemporary, i.e. post-war Polish literary texts on translation, especially those written by women and/or with women translator protagonists, especially as the last 75 years in mainstream Polish literary history have seen women translators professionalize and emancipate themselves, leaving clear and researchable traces. In this respect, Rajewska examined not only novels and poems about literary translation, but also the metaphors used by women translators in their paratexts and in literary polemics with other translators.

Luise von Flotow

Los traductores como mediadores de literatura e ideas extranjeras

Anna Verschik (Universidad de Tallin) abrió el panel *Los traductores como mediadores de literatura e ideas extranjeras* con su ponencia “Traducciones de la literatura yiddish al estonio: el papel de los traductores individuales”. Basándose en la teoría de los polisistemas, enunciada por Even-Zohar, Verschik estudia la traducción de obras de ficción en yiddish al estonio, así como el papel decisivo desempeñado por los traductores, responsables de introducir estas obras en el sistema literario estonio, donde, a pesar de su presencia, la literatura yiddish ha sido escasa y nunca ha adquirido una posición central. La ponencia de Verschik desgranó así la historia de estas traducciones dentro de la literatura estonia, en gran parte desconocida para el público, y ofreció una panorámica de las principales editoriales y colecciones del país que trabajan con esta literatura importada.

Julia Miesenböck (Universidad Carolina de Praga) presentó su trabajo titulado “Especificidades de los traductores de poesía del checo al alemán durante la Guerra Fría”. Miesenböck ofreció una panorámica de los rasgos comunes de los traductores de poesía del checo al alemán, partiendo de la tipología de Pascale Casanova basada en el capital simbólico de los traductores. A continuación, expuso las ventajas e inconvenientes de utilizar dicha tipología en su estudio de caso. El debate posterior ahondó en algunos aspectos que despertaron la curiosidad del público, como la cuestión del género y el hecho de que la mayoría de los traductores de poesía fueran hombres, o la procedencia de los traductores y sus motivaciones para traducir, en particular la condición de emigrante de uno de los traductores estudiados, que le llevó a transferir poesía checa al alemán.

Martin Djovčoš (Universidad Matej Bel de Banská Bystrica) cerró el panel. La ponencia de Djovčoš, “Living on the margins: translators' invisibility regardless of ideology”, abordó la percepción de los traductores en la sociedad eslovaca y la medida en que esta percepción está influida por la ideología. Abarcando un periodo de 35 años mediante el estudio de un corpus de 500 reseñas de ficción estadounidense publicadas en Eslovaquia, Djovčoš sostiene que, aunque la ideología influye en el traductor y en el editor, no interviene en la percepción que la sociedad tiene del traductor. Este estudio también revela que la invisibilidad de los traductores en Eslovaquia, que comenzó a extenderse a partir de 1948, sigue arraigada en la sociedad. De ahí la necesidad de elevar el estatus de los traductores para hacer sostenible la profesión del traductor y su estudio.

Estos tres trabajos permitieron a los participantes conocer sistemas literarios periféricos, ya sea como literaturas de origen o de destino, como la literatura estonia, checa o eslovaca. A pesar de las particularidades de cada una de ellas, cabe destacar que los traductores en estos estudios han sido con frecuencia los responsables de introducir nuevos elementos en las literaturas de destino, no sólo asumiendo la tarea de traducir, sino también como iniciadores del proceso, aunque su labor no siempre ha sido reconocida. Si bien se suele hablar de la necesidad de llenar “vacíos” como razón para importar literatura, la transferencia de obras y géneros de un sistema a otro ha surgido a menudo del deseo individual de los traductores y de su naturaleza creativa.



Tanya Escudero

Translators as Mediators of Foreign Literature and Ideas

The panel “Translators as Mediators of Foreign Literature and Ideas” was opened by *Anna Verschik* (Tallinn University) with her paper “Translations of the Yiddish literature into Estonian: the role of individual translators”. Based on the polysystem theory, enunciated by Even-Zohar, Verschik studies the translation of Yiddish fiction into Estonian, as well as the crucial part played by translators, responsible for introducing these works into the Estonian literary system, where, despite its presence, Yiddish literature has been rare and has never gained a central position. Verschik’s paper thus drew attention to the history of these translations within Estonian literature, largely unknown to the audience, and gave a glimpse of the leading publishers and collections in the country working with this imported literature.

Julia Miesenböck (Charles University Prague) presented her paper on the specifics of Czech to German poetry translators during the Cold War. Miesenböck gave an overview of common characteristics of Czech to German poetry translators, drawing on Pascale Casanova’s typology based on the translators’ symbolic capital (charismatic consecrators, institutional consecrators and ordinary mediators). Later, she outlined the benefits and drawbacks of using such a typology in her particular case study. The subsequent discussion delved into some aspects that aroused the curiosity of the audience, such as the question of gender and the fact that most of the poetry translators were men, or the background of the translators and their motivations for translating, in particular the migrant status of one of the translators studied, which led him to transfer Czech poetry into German.

The panel was closed by *Martin Djovčoš* (Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica). Djovčoš’ paper, “Living on the margins: translators’ invisibility regardless of ideology”, focused on the perception of translators in Slovak society and the extent to which this perception is influenced by ideology. Covering a period of 35 years through a corpus study including 500 reviews of American fiction published in Slovakia, Djovčoš argues that, while ideology influences the translator and the publisher, it does not influence society’s perception of the translator. This study also reveals that the ‘invisibility’ of translators in Slovakia, which began to spread after 1948, is still embedded in society. Hence, the need for raising the status of translators to make the translator’s profession and its study sustainable.

These three papers introduced the participants to peripheral literary systems, whether as source or target literatures, such as Estonian, Czech or Slovak literature. Despite the specific features of each of them, it should be noted that the translators in these studies have frequently been responsible for introducing new elements into the target literatures, not only by undertaking the task of translating, but also as initiators of the process, although their role has not always been acknowledged. While the need to fill “gaps” is often spoken of as a reason for importing literature, the transfer of works and genres from one system to another has often stemmed from the individual desire of translators and their creative nature.



Tanya Escudero

Women Translators 1

The first session of the panel on women translators featured three presentations that all had a focus on the agency of women translators. The three speakers emphasized the contributions of women translators to their cultural and historical contexts and delved into various aspects of their translatorial agency. The first speaker *Margarita Savchenkova* focused on Belarusian journalist and author Svetlana Alexievich, who won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2015 and explored Alexievich's historical works from a translation studies perspective. Describing how Alexievich's writings on the Second World War can be studied as a form of translation framing the Second World War within a female perspective, Savchenkova particularly reflected on how the author has rewritten some of her works and the changes that were made in new editions. Savchenkova argued that Alexievich's writing, and specifically *The Unwomanly Face of War* mobilizes the senses in creating an embodied and intimate portrayal of the horrors of war. Savchenkova showed some of the techniques the author used in constructing an alternative narrative using accounts by female combatants and witnesses of the Second World War. Increasingly relying on the sensory perceptions of her interviewees, the author has brought the reader closer to the battlefield and the war as experienced by Soviet women in subsequent rewritings of her work.

The second speaker *Catherine McAteer* presented a microhistorical study of female translators of Russian literature into English. Tracing the footsteps of Constance Garnett and her post-WWII successors, including British, emigrée Russian, and American women translators, McAteer discussed the ways in which literary translation served multiple functions for the female translators, including employment, self-validation and a platform for ideological activism. Drawing on archival research, McAteer provided biographical details about female translators of Russian literature who boasted strong cultural and literary capital, and demonstrated the social impact that their work had.

The final speaker of the panel *Özlem Berk Albachten* presented her study on the autobiographies of Turkish female translators where she explored the possibilities and limitations of focusing on life narratives for a history of translators. Berk Albachten offered an overview of her corpus consisting of more than 30 autobiographical books published from the early 1900s onwards. Her study aims to increase the visibility of women translators and draws attention to the importance of understanding the autobiography as a form of translation where women translators translated their life experiences into various narratives. Berk Albachten argued that the subjective viewpoints of translators as reflected through their autobiographical writings should be welcomed as part of these narratives and autobiographies should not be considered as documentary texts.

This session attested to the growing interest in exploring the roles of women translators in translation history. All three speakers positioned the translator(s) at the centre of their presentations and astutely showed the fresh perspectives that can be gained from microhistorical and biographical studies. Their contributions were located at the intersection of translation history, sociology and gender and highlighted the need to understand female translators better for a fuller and more inclusive translation history.



Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar

Translation under precarious conditions

This panel focused on the historiographical potential and challenges of studying translation in war and conflict. Three papers were drawn from the research project Exil:Trans on the lives and work of translators in exile. *Julija Boguna* (Mainz) discussed the historiographical potential of the project, which questions master narratives and explanatory patterns on (translators in) exile. Boguna's research on translators in exile journals, for example, uncovers new and previously unknown networks and connections between translators and journals and translatorial activity of emigrants. *Marina Rougemont* (Lausanne) focused on Swiss war camps, which have been neglected by (Swiss) historiography and shows how a re-examination of available sources with a translation historical perspective can generate new results on multilingualism and translation politics in these camps. *Stefanie Kremmel* and *Julia Richter* (Vienna) discussed the translation of academic knowledge under conditions of exile and shared how they distinguish types of translation based on the motives for translation, the translation process and the translation products. *Pekka Kujamäki* (Graz) discussed the results of his research project on military translation cultures, applying the concept of *Translationskultur* by Erich Prunč.

An important takeaway from the panel was that, depending on the case, there either is a surplus of traces and sources or sources are scarce and scattered. It is also worth looking at cases that are considered "over-researched" by other disciplines, as a translation history perspective can contribute significantly to cultural history. Ongoing research on translation in precarious conditions shows that these case studies can advance translation historiography by testing and refining typologies and overarching concepts.

Stefanie Kremmel



Audiovisual Translation

Since two panelists who had prepared contributions on the issue of historiography in audiovisual translation (AVT) could not join because of Covid-19, this panel was partly modified. It then focused on censorship in two authoritarian regimes, under the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal (1933–1974), with the presentation of *K. Pieper* (University of Coimbra), and under the Greek Junta (1967–1974), with that of *K. E. Iliadou* (University of Manchester). In both situations, cinema was preemptively subjected to an ideological agenda that subtitlers followed by incorporating censorial mechanisms to varying degrees, sometimes to the point of self-censorship. Examples focused on films with political resonance (such as the documentary *Woodstock*, distributed in Greece in 1970 and provoking street demonstrations after its premiere, and *This Land is mine*, distributed in Portugal in 1953) or comedies and war films.

K. E. Iliadou placed her analysis within the framework of narrative theory and the concept of ‘new censorship’ to foreground the translators’ role in the film censorship process, while *K. Pieper* presented an analytical model following the descriptive-comparative approach in translation studies – her model combining three levels: meta- (context, censors’ directives), macro- (subtitling constraints, censors’ decisions) and micro- (comparison, textual analysis). Given their position among other agents in the film industry and in the censorship process, the translators in question have been a cog in the institutional apparatus of censorship. This apparatus, which could ban films, required the omission of scenes, exchanges and songs deemed subversive, or altered the subtitled dialogue, especially regarding sexuality, morality, violence, drugs, etc. It is not always easy to differentiate between subtitle techniques, factual errors and manipulation stemming from censorship injunctions.

The third intervention by *Y. Gambier* (University of Turku) questioned the change in the ways of watching and therefore in the perception of cinema in the first 20–25 years of the 7th art, when films were still said to be silent. We cannot underestimate the competition then with the theater and the influence of aesthetic revolutions (especially in painting and photography). It would remain to consider how this period of technical, industrial, and economic development of cinema could have impacted the arrival and growth of the spoken word, in particular the reception of translation modes (dubbing and subtitling). This avant-histoire of cinema is therefore part of the history of the AVT (not to mention the problem of intertitles).

The three interventions addressed succinctly the problem of archives – their availability, their accessibility, their reliability – whether for the original film, the subtitles (most often preserved on paper, and not embedded on film), the comments of the censors, the correspondence between distributors and the censorship board or the interviews of the time – always to be interpreted at the risk of anachronisms. Censorship is only one aspect of the TAV’s history. The evolution of film distribution media, genres of feature films, modes of translation and translators at work according to these modes are, among other themes, research directions still to be explored, without neglecting the methodological issues including the crucial one of documentary sources and the question of the kind of history we need while cinema has been straightaway transnational.

Yves Gambier



Traduction audiovisuelle (TAV)

Le panel a été en partie modifié à cause du Covid-19 puisque deux panélistes qui avaient préparé ensemble avec Y. Gambier sur la problématique de l'historiographie en traduction audiovisuelle (TAV) n'ont pu s'y joindre. Il s'est alors focalisé sur la censure dans deux régimes autoritaires, sous la dictature de Salazar au Portugal (1933-1974), avec la présentation de K. Pieper (University of Coimbra), et pendant de la Junte grecque (1967-1974), avec celle de K.E. Iliadou (University of Manchester).

Dans les deux situations, le cinéma a été soumis de manière préventive à un agenda idéologique que les sous-titres ont suivi en incorporant à des degrés divers les mécanismes censoriaux, parfois jusqu'à l'autocensure. Les exemples ont porté sur des films à résonance politique (comme le documentaire *Woodstock*, distribué en Grèce en 1970 et suscitant après les projections des manifestations de rue, et *This Land is mine*, distribué au Portugal en 1953) ou des comédies, des films de guerre. K. E. Iliadou a placé son analyse dans le cadre de la théorie de la narration tandis que K. Pieper a présenté un modèle analytique suivant l'approche descriptive-comparative en traductologie – son modèle combinant trois niveaux : meta- (contexte, directives des censeurs), macro- (contraintes du sous-titrage, décisions des censeurs) et micro- (comparaison, analyse textuelle). Étant donné leur position parmi d'autres agents dans l'industrie cinématographique et dans le processus de la censure, les traducteurs en question ont été souvent un rouage de l'appareil institutionnel de la censure. Cet appareil qui pouvait bannir des films a exigé, pour les films acceptés, de couper des scènes, d'omettre des échanges et des chansons jugés subversifs, d'altérer le dialogue sous-titré, notamment pour ce qui touchait la sexualité, la morale, les violences, les drogues, etc. Il n'est pas toujours aisé de différencier entre techniques des sous-titres, erreurs factuelles et manipulation due aux injonctions de la censure.

La troisième intervention par Y. Gambier (Université de Turku) s'est interrogée sur le changement de regard et donc de perception du cinéma dans les 20-25 premières années du 7^{ème} art, époque où les films étaient encore dits muets. On ne saurait sous-estimer la compétition alors avec le théâtre et l'influence des révolutions esthétiques (notamment en peinture et avec la photographie). Il resterait à considérer comment cette période de développement technique, industriel et économique du cinéma a pu impacter l'arrivée et l'essor du parlant, en particulier la réception de modes de traduction (doublage et sous-titrage). Cette avant-histoire du cinéma relève donc de l'histoire de la TAV (sans parler même du problème des intertitres).

Les trois interventions ont abordé, succinctement, la problématique des archives – leur disponibilité, leur accessibilité, leur fiabilité, que ce soit pour le film original, les sous-titres (le plus souvent conservés sur papier, et non incrustés à la pellicule), les commentaires des censeurs, les correspondances entre distributeurs et comité de censure, les interviews de l'époque, toujours à interpréter au risque des anachronismes. La censure ne représente qu'un des aspects de l'histoire de la TAV. L'évolution des supports de diffusion des films, des genres de longs métrages, des modes de traduction, les traducteurs à l'œuvre selon ces modes sont, parmi d'autres thèmes, des directions de recherche encore à creuser, sans négliger les enjeux méthodologiques dont celui, crucial, des sources documentaires ni surtout celui du type d'histoire dont nous avons besoin tandis que le cinéma a été d'emblée transnational.

Yves Gambier



Publisher Policies 2

This panel included four talks on the role of publisher policies for literary translations, especially into Italian or from Italian and other languages into English. The publishing strategies were analyzed from different disciplinary, theoretical and methodological perspectives.

The first talk was given by *Michele Troy* (Hartford), author of *Strange Bird: The Albatross Press and the Third Reich* (2017), and focused on the role of Albatross Press, a precursor to Penguin, in the distribution of English literature in continental Europe in the 1930s. She showed how the cooperation between Albatross Press and the Italian publisher Mondadori helped to extend Albatross' marketing strategies to translated literature.

Mary Wardle (Rome) presented a case study on the English translations of Primo Levi's famous account of his time in Auschwitz, *Se questo è un uomo* (1947). In the context of Postmemory Studies, she analyzed the publishing history of the English translations and showed, among other things, interesting textual differences between two English versions.

The last two papers focused on translations into Italian. In her contribution, *Mila Milani* (Warwick), analyzed the role of the left-wing publishing houses Einaudi and Feltrinelli in publishing Italian translations of Russian literature in the 1950s and 1960s. This study on the sociology of translation was methodologically mainly based on Bourdieu's conceptual framework.

Andrea Palermitano (Pavia), a doctoral student in history, presented a case study on the collaboration between Luigi Rusca, who worked for Mondadori from 1928 to 1945 and had a profound influence on the company's editorial strategies, and the famous author Elio Vittorini, who was one of the most important translators of contemporary American literature at the time. The study was based, among other sources, on the correspondence between Rusca and Vittorini and on the paratexts of certain translations.

Since the panelists and the audience included several specialists of Italian and English literature and translation, the discussion dealt not only with methodological issue and with the agents of the translation processes mentioned in the talks, but included also questions on textual elements and details of individual translations.

Michael Schreiber



Memoria, Historia y Traducción

Este Panel escuchó tres ponencias complementarias sobre el tema Memoria, Historia y Traducción, abordando a) la traducción de fuentes históricas, b) la participación activa de los traductores como agentes de la memoria, y c) la traducción de eventos nacionales traumáticos.

Rita Bueno Maia consideró la obra de dos grandes figuras, Caetano Lopes de Moura y Visconde de Santarém, ambos exiliados en París en el siglo XIX. Analizó como estos hombres produjeron traducciones al portugués de fuentes históricas/geográficas sobre Brasil, disponibles en Francia, y al hacerlo, argumentó, reinventaron las identidades culturales de Brasil y Portugal en un momento de gran cambio histórico. El debate se centró en la medida en que dicha actividad de traducción representa potencialmente una nueva forma de erudición en la que se puede rehacer la cultura nacional.

La ponencia de *Françoise Miquet* se centró en la actividad de los traductores como agentes de la memoria, observando las trayectorias de un grupo de traductores griegos de Estambul que estaban involucrados en una variedad de actividades más allá de la traducción interlingüística que, argumentó, estaban contribuyendo a la memoria compartida de estas relaciones difíciles griegas/turcas. En particular, los traductores griegos de literatura turca enseñaron turco, asesoraron a editores y comentaron sobre la cultura turca. Algunos de estos traductores griegos del turco ahora se han convertido en escritores, y sus obras en griego se traducen al turco. El debate se centró en las implicaciones que esta “doble traducción” podría tener para la posible creación de una memoria griega/turca compartida y las relaciones entre la autobiografía del traductor y la memoria colectiva.

Alicia Castillo Villanueva abordó la relevancia de la traducción para la transmisión de la memoria de la Guerra Civil española y la dictadura franquista. Su interés residía en el papel de la traducción en un diálogo intergeneracional/intercultural, en el contexto de las teorías del viaje y la memoria transcultural. Hubo un debate sobre la validez de este concepto de memoria viajera: eventos históricos están enmarcados en el tiempo, se argumentó, de modo que la traducción intergeneracional inevitablemente cambiaba la naturaleza del acontecimiento. La dinámica de la memoria cultural, y la traducción como su posible medio, podría verse como ahistórica. Hubo un debate sobre cómo se compara la dinámica de la traducción y la transmisión de la memoria en diferentes países que experimentaron una profunda agitación: ¿por ejemplo, una Comisión de la Verdad y la Reconciliación (como en Sudáfrica y Colombia) produjo una forma diferente de narración de la memoria?

En general, las ponencias y el debate contribuyeron de manera útil al tema de la traducción y la memoria, situando la traducción tanto en su sentido interlingüístico como en una comprensión metafórica del movimiento y de la recreación. Se ejemplificó la contribución de la traducción al paso de la memoria personal a la memoria colectiva y viceversa, y se plantearon cuestiones clave sobre el tiempo y la particularidad nacional de las memorias.



Hillary Footitt

Memory-History-Translation

This Panel heard three complementary papers on the theme of Memory, History and Translation, addressing a) the translation of historical sources, b) the active engagement of translators as agents of memory, and c) the translation of traumatic national events. *Rita Bueno Maia* considered the work of two major figures, Caetano Lopes de Moura, and Visconde de Santarém, both exiles in Paris in the nineteenth century. The paper analysed how both men produced translations into Portuguese of historical/ geographical sources on Brazil, available in France, and in so doing, she argued, reinvented the cultural identities of Brazil and Portugal at a time of considerable historical change. Discussion focused on the extent to which such translational activity potentially represents a new form of scholarship where national culture can be remade.

Françoise Miquet's paper focused on the activity of translators as agents of memory, looking at the trajectories of a group of Istanbul Greek translators who were involved in a variety of activities beyond interlingual translation which, she argued, were contributing to the shared memory of the historically fractious Greek/Turkish memory. In particular, Greek translators of Turkish literature taught Turkish, advised editors, and commented on Turkish culture. Some of these Greek translators of Turkish have now become writers themselves, with their works in Greek being translated into Turkish. Discussion centred on the implications that this 'double translation' might have for the possible creation of a shared Greek/Turkish memory, and the relationships between translator autobiography, and collective memory.

Alicia Castillo Villanueva addressed the relevance of translation to the transmission of memory of the Spanish Civil War, and the Franquist dictatorship. Her interest lay in the role of translation in an intergenerational/intercultural dialogue, in the context of theories of travelling and transcultural memory. There was a discussion about the validity of this concept of travelling memory – historical time framed and fixed events, it was argued, so that translating intergenerationally inevitably changed the nature of the event. The dynamics of cultural memory, and translation as their potential medium, could be challenged as ahistorical. There was some discussion about how the dynamics of translation and memory transmission compared in different countries which had experienced profound upheaval – did for example a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (as in South Africa and Colombia) produce a different form of memory narration over time?

Overall, the papers presented, and the ensuing discussion, added helpfully to the field of translation and memory studies by situating translation both in its interlingual sense, and in a metaphorical understanding of movement and recreation. Translation's contribution to the shift from the personal memory into the collective memory, and vice versa was exemplified, and key questions about time and the national particularity of memories were raised.



Hillary Footitt

Institutions and Contexts

In Translation History, one of the most important questions concerns the contexts in which translations take place. Authors, initiators, interests and partners can only be identified in the concrete translatorial event. One of the determining elements is the institution, which constituted the topic of this panel. The four contributions of this panel were all based on corpora, but each posed different research questions.

Valérie Dullion (Genève) conducts the research project *Places of Translation: A Comparative Study of the Emergence of Local Translation Policies in Belgium and Switzerland (1830/1848–1918)* together with Reine Meylaerts (Leuven), which focuses on the local institutions as places of contact between citizens and authorities in Swiss and Belgian multilingualism. The way in which individuals can or should exercise their rights and responsibilities in society depends to a large extent on the use of translation. The project investigates three levels of the emergence of local translation policy with case studies on several Belgian and Swiss cities.

Mathilde Kamal-Girard (Guyane) analyzes the difference between translation policies of constitutional courts in “unilingualist” countries such as France, Germany and Italy, where translation is not mandatory but produced for a foreign audience. She calls these “cognitive translations” because they don’t have any juridical effect, as opposed to mandatory “normative translations” in multilingual countries. From Kamal-Girard’s juridical point of view, the different status of translation has consequences for the rigidity and quality of service of these different types of translation circumstances.

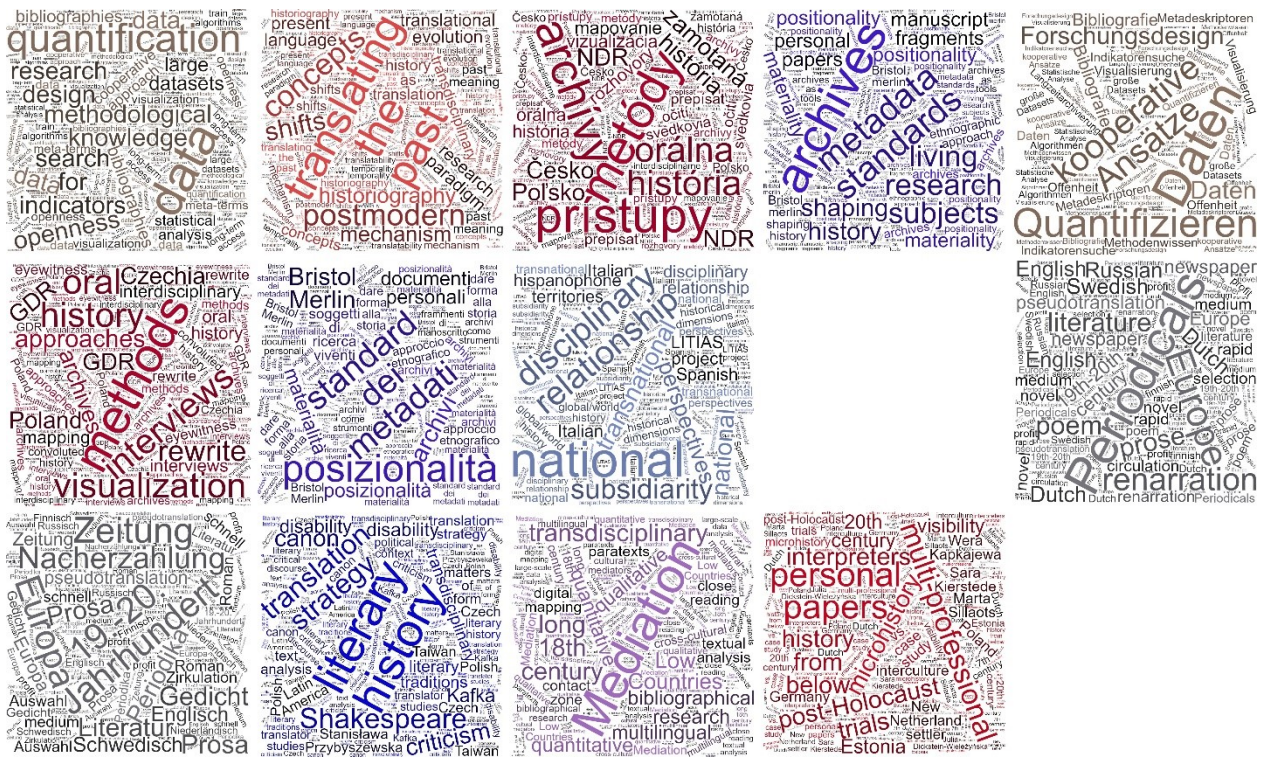
A regional interest led *Michael Schreiber* and Sarah Del Grosso (Mainz) to set up a corpus of legal translations during the Napoleonic occupation of the Rhineland. This project benefits from a previous project on legal, administrative and political texts in the so-called *Triennio rivoluzionario* (1796–1799) in Italy, which focused on translation policies and the interrelation between language, translation and law. With their new project focusing on the Rhineland and the Palatinate, the researchers will examine how French translation policy in the occupied territories presumably contradicted the general language policy after the French Revolution, which was mostly hostile to multilingualism and privileged the French language. On the contrary, in the region under French rule, translation played an important role and influenced the development of the German-language-based law.

Marc Pomerleau’s (Montréal) research is situated in Canada as an officially bilingual country with quite famous translation practices. He focused on the effect of various events on the translation policies of Canada, and especially in Quebec, before and after the so-called Quiet Revolution/Révolution tranquille (1960s) and compared the translation of election signs during various electoral campaigns. Pomerleau observed a sharp decrease in the translation of election signs in the context of a growing nationalist atmosphere, an issue, that he states has been overlooked in the history of translation and in the historiography of Canada and Quebec in general.



Larisa Schippel

Methods & Approaches



Translation archives: discovery, engagement, presentation

Transnational and National Perspectives

Methods and Approaches 1

Übersetzung in Periodika

Microhistorical accounts

Metódy a prístupy 1

Daten im Fokus

Data in Focus

Translation in Periodicals

Methods and Approaches 2

Literary History and Translation

Translating the Past: Historiography as Translation

Found in Translation. Translation and Mediation in the Low Countries
in the long eighteenth century – quantitative and qualitative methods

Transnational and National Perspectives

The panel was very well attended with over 30 people present. After the presentations there was a lively discussion, which we were able to prolong as there were only two papers in this panel.

Lieven D'hulst (KU Leuven) discussed the relationship between translation history and the discipline of history, especially the role it can play in global/world history. Lieven discussed both the opportunities and challenges that translation history faces in this respect, and focused on the principle of subsidiarity. The point he made is that not all dimensions of history are on the same level: global, world, national, supra-national, local, regional, etc. The question, then, is how to relate these different historical dimensions to each other in a prospective global/world history of translation; and how to bring together the different competences that they imply.

Florenzia Ferrante (University of Genova) presented the work of the LITIAS project, “La lingua italiana in territori ispanofoni, da lingua della cultura e della traduzione, a lingua dell’educazione e del commercio” [The Italian language in Hispanophone territories, from the language of culture and translation, to the language of education and commerce]. One of the main objectives of the project is to search for, catalogue and study “non-literary” translations from Italian into Spanish, published in Hispanic American territories from the 16th century up to the late 20th century. What this involves in practice, is the study of academic, religious, philosophical and scientific texts. Florenzia cited as an example two texts by the Italian writer and patriot Silvio Pellico: *Le mie prigioni* [My prisons] and *Dei doveri degli uomini* [On the duties of man].



Christopher Rundle

Methods and Approaches 1

Our panel embodied the maxim that a vibrant research field necessitates a selection of broad, varied and innovative approaches in order to fully capture the scope of its possibilities. At the same time, all four contributors demonstrated the need to reconsider universally acknowledged theorems, question the prisms through which we look at history, and to think outside of the proverbial box in order to create a fuller, more inclusive picture of translation in its varied linguistic pasts.

Hanna Blum opened the panel with an invitation to reconsider the generally accepted history of translation in the GDR, which is seen as a binary struggle between censors and the rest of the publishing industry. By using the still rarely applied but highly illuminating method of collecting oral histories, Blum brings history to life through eyewitness accounts in order to remind us that the past is never a clear-cut dichotomy between ideological opponents and is in reality filled with nuanced and interconnected human stories.

The issues associated with such a straightforward vision of the past were echoed by *Magda Heydel* and *Zofia Ziemann*, who introduced a four-year project focusing on the history of Polish translations after the First World War. This monumental undertaking was accompanied by a number of practical problems, such as archival research in a country with a deeply convoluted history, but also brought up provoking questions about the meaning and definition of a national literature, and the role of translators in creating these idealised institutions.

The question of what is considered “proper” literature was further developed by our third panellist *Olga Słowik*, who used structured interviews in order to explore the perceived dichotomy between books published through official channels and through the so-called samizdat publications. Using Polish translations of Czech literature during the communist years, Słowik’s interviews focus on the framework of trust as an anchor for questions seeking to untangle the complicated networks of allegiances, personal preferences and official agreements tying together translators, editors and publishers in this turbulent era. The last presenter, *Philipp Hofeneder*, offered an intriguing method for visualising some of these complicated tangles of historical threads through an innovative use of pop-up PDFs. A seemingly simple map of Europe in the 18th century reveals an interactive web of layered information that is designed to be explored vertically in greater and greater depth, or horizontally where the geographical ties across the continent become immediately apparent. Hofeneder’s presentation offers a fascinating glimpse into the future of historical research with an interdisciplinary pathway that combines cartography, spatial visualisation and cutting-edge technological advancements.



Eva Spišiaková

Translation archives: discovery, engagement, presentation

Our purpose was to talk about archives and translation from various perspectives, in regards of both era and methodology. *Anna Saroldi's* paper focused on the implications of working with contemporary authors and of being the first person to study their papers, often at their homes. She asked if, in this context, being distant and “objective” was a goal to pursue – or even possible. The conversation at the end of the paper, with Hilary Footitt in particular, highlighted how, even when working in older archives, we, as researchers, are still very much shaping their content and history. Thus, a personal, positional, and ethnographic approach should be favoured: stating where we come from, our inclinations, biases, and interests, we can give readers and future visitors of the archives the tools to comprehend the dynamics of the reciprocal influence between us and the archive.

Laura Ivaska's paper asked how to make the encounter between TS researchers and archives happen more easily. She led a survey on how archives could organise their metadata to make translation materials more accessible, and she presented her first results. One of the key problems that emerged is that often archivists are not trained to give visibility to translation, so that its presence is not highlighted in databases and catalogues. To give an example, “translation” is often not even a possible keyword for the search. Ivaska is part of the project “Traces of Translation in the Archives”, currently developing an archival database that gives translation a central place. The group also organised a conference on translation and archives in 2023.

Laura Chuhan Campbell presented her work on the Bristol Merlin. When Old French manuscript fragments relating to the Merlin tradition were discovered in Bristol Central Library, she was asked to translate them. She discussed with the audience which translation issues arised that go beyond rendering the language and style of the text. For instance, she explained how recent technologies such as multi-spectral imaging can assist researchers in the task of transcribing. Then, she addressed the key question of how to render the materiality of the text, its fragmentary nature, in the translation and edition. She showed the solution adopted in her work to present to a larger, non-specialised audience the specificity and features of the materials.

One of the most important results of the discussion was agreeing that the network should create a working group on archives and translation, with the key goal of offering training opportunities to PhDs. To conclude, we would like to thank Nadia Georgiou, who first had the idea to organize this panel, and Coraline Jortay.



Found in Translation. Translation and Mediation in the Low Countries in the long eighteenth century – quantitative and qualitative methods

This panel, which was composed of translation historians, cultural historians and literary historians, presented new research into the forms and functions of literary translation and cultural mediation in the eighteenth-century (Southern and Northern) Low Countries. For a long time, the prevalence of the “nation paradigm” discouraged specialists of the Low Countries from addressing its literature’s multilingual and cross-cultural orientation. Moreover, it was generally assumed that these regions’ literature (especially for the Southern parts) lacked the aesthetic quality present in adjacent, more established cultures, such as France and Britain. These preconceived notions contributed to a long-lasting scholarly disregard. To date, most of this inherently hybrid literary field – and especially the many (types of) interrelations with other literatures that shaped it – remains unmapped. In recent decades, however, the increasing scholarly interest in processes of translation, cultural transfer and their impact on the literary field has also flourished in the field of Dutch and Belgian Studies. Pioneering research by e.g. Lieven D’hulst and Reine Meylaerts provided – and continues to deliver – crucial insights into the intra- and inter-systemic cross-pollinating dynamics of Dutch (that is: Netherlandish and Flemish) and francophone literature from the nineteenth century onwards. For the eighteenth century, the recently published translation history of the Low Countries (2021) represents a first attempt to synthesize previous studies and increase focus on literary translation in the Low Countries.



For the first time, the papers in this panel by *Vanessa van Puyvelde*, *Charlotte Van Hooijdonk* and *Beatrijs Vanacker* as well as *Merel Waeyaert* brought into focus the role played by translators and other “cultural mediators” such as editors and journalists involved in the circulation of literature in a hybrid and multilingual contact zone, situated at the crossroads of more established (literary) cultures. While sharing their interest in a hitherto underexplored, peripheral region, the papers in this panel interacted and complemented each other, either diachronically (thus laying bare some of the continuities and discontinuities one might see appear over time during the “long” eighteenth century) or geographically (through focus on either the Southern or the Northern Low Countries).

Specific attention was paid to how journalists on the one hand, and translators on the other hand, actively shaped their own participation to the literary and cultural domain and helped establish the contours of an emerging literature. This panel thus presented the preliminary results of two ongoing research projects, the shared aim of which is, (1) to lay bare macro-structural patterns through large-scale data analysis, (2), and to further examine the potentially creative, emancipatory and/or institutionalizing features of literary translation and cultural transfer.

Through their innovative combination of macro-structural analysis and close readings, these papers offered broad overviews as well as detailed/in-depth textual analyses of literary translation paratexts, and cultural transfer patterns in literary periodicals. This combination of methods, together with the aim for a three-step macro-, meso-, and

microstructural approach, proves timely and fruitful, yet challenging: its success depends significantly on the time-consuming digital mapping of large corpora and could be affected by the (unequal) quality standards (in terms of accuracy for instance) of bibliographic research instruments at hand.

Beatrijs Vanacker & Lieke van Deinsen

examples, relevant genres, or relevant topics that could then be studied on a case for case level allowing for a deeper contextualization of the material.

In summary, the debates in Panel 5.3 point to the importance of large-scale quantifiable datasets in the field of translation history. Its potential will depend on the cooperativeness and openness of all involved actors as well as openness in sharing materials and methodological knowledge. Working with quantifiable data may result in transnationally relevant translation-related indicators, it may also provide overviews of long-term trends, and has the potential to offer appealing visualizations for the broader public.

Rafael Schögler

mit Vertreter:innen digitaler Geisteswissenschaften oder Spezialist:innen für Datenvisualisierung zusammen zu arbeiten, eine breite Anwendung innovativer Analyse- und Visualisierungsverfahren schwer vorstellbar ist. Umsetzen ließe sich dies etwa, indem Antragsteller:innen von Drittmittelprojekten systematisch solche Kooperationen in Forschungsdesigns und Finanzierungsvorschläge einarbeiten. Außerdem könnte die translationshistorische Community weiter an Plattformen arbeiten, die eine Zusammenarbeit mit digitalen Geisteswissenschaften beinhaltet.

Schließlich diskutierten die Anwesenden die mögliche Tiefe und Reichweite quantitativer Dateninterpretationen im Bereich der Translationsgeschichte. *Nijole Maskaliuniene* (Universität Vilnius) stellte beispielsweise die Frage, wie viel man anhand von Übersetzungsbibliografien über die Übersetzungspolitik in der Sowjetzeit in Litauen sagen kann. Ihre interessantesten Schlüsse zog sie dabei nicht direkt aus der Quantifizierung bibliografischer Einträge, sondern aus „fehlenden“ Elementen: so konnte sie etwa Hypothesen zu Mechanismen der präventiven Zensur anhand der Nicht-Übersetzung bestimmter Werke oder Genres aufstellen. Darüber hinaus dienen große translationshistorische Datensätze eher dazu, relevante Beispiele, Gattungen oder Themen zu identifizieren, die dann mit einer tiefergehenden Kontextualisierung untersucht werden konnten.

Zusammenfassend deutet die Arbeit der Panelteilnehmer:innen auf die Bedeutung groß angelegter quantifizierbarer Datensätze im Bereich der Translationsgeschichte hin. Das Potential liegt in der Kooperativität und Offenheit sowie Offenlegung von Material und Methodenwissen, aber auch in der Arbeit an translationsbezogenen Indikatoren, Berechnungsmöglichkeiten für die Darstellung sich historisch verändernder Trends in der Ausübung translatorischer Praktiken sowie der ansprechenden Darstellung solcher Analysen für ein breites Publikum.

Rafael Schögler

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Pekka Kujamäki

Translation in Periodicals

The panel on translation in periodicals covered one hundred years of European history, allowing a focused study of the role of periodicals in literature and translation in the 19th and early 20th centuries. *Sakari Katajamäki* spoke on alternative Finnish translations of J. L. Runeberg's *Vårt land*, *Brecht De Groote* on Romantic periodicals and the recovery of personal history, and *Gaëtan Regniers* on the renarration of Russian prose in Dutch newspapers (1885 – 1900).

The wide accessibility and rapid circulation of periodicals enabled publishers to receive an almost immediate response from the readership and to assess its reaction to publications, as well as its degree of readiness for novelty and experimentation. Catering to the readership's expectations, publishers could easily fall into mystification. For instance, De Groote presented the fascinating case of the novel *Walladmor*, a literary hoax created by Willibald Alexis, an editor of the *Berliner Konversationsblatt*. Presented as a free translation of Walter Scott's *Waverly*, *Walladmor* proved to be a pseudotranslation and reached London before the original, which was duly accounted for by the English press in 1823.

Pseudotranslations were but one of the publishers' profit-raising strategies. Thus Regniers, addressing a later period of the 19th century, spoke about the increasing interest of Western European readers to Russian literature. Periodicals channeled literature arriving from Russia, with a particular focus on Tolstoy, Pushkin, and Turgenev. Yet, the format of periodical editions and the desire of publishers to provide reading material for a wider audience dictated a narrow selection of works in terms of length and content. Descriptions of works of Russian literature tended to attract rather than inform the reader, and the works published regularly proved to be retellings rather than translations of the originals.

Despite the chase for profit, periodicals also proved to be a means of nation-building and a tool for engaging readers in discussion. Katajamäki made a very convincing case of the anthem of Finland, "Maamme" ("Our Land"), which in itself is a Finnish translation of a poem written in Swedish by Johan Ludvig Runeberg. Through archival studies of periodicals, Katajamäki was able to trace readers' reactions towards the translated text, as well as describe an impressive competition to modernize a stanza of the poem, organized by Finnish modernists in the 1920s.

In the course of the session, therefore, periodicals were presented both as a powerful means of manipulation and profit-making on the one hand, and as a platform for active disputes, solution-seeking, and inspirational discussions on the other. These double-edged abilities of periodicals were described within the confines of the 1820s and 1920s, but they extend well beyond the timeframe outlined. The discussion of translation in periodicals, by all means, deserves its own conference, which would be able to consolidate knowledge of the ways in which translation has manifested itself in the periodicals of different countries in different historical periods.



Natalia Kamovnikova

eigene Konferenz, um das Wissen darüber zu vertiefen, wie sich Übersetzungen in Zeitungen und Zeitschriften verschiedener Länder und historischer Epochen manifestieren.

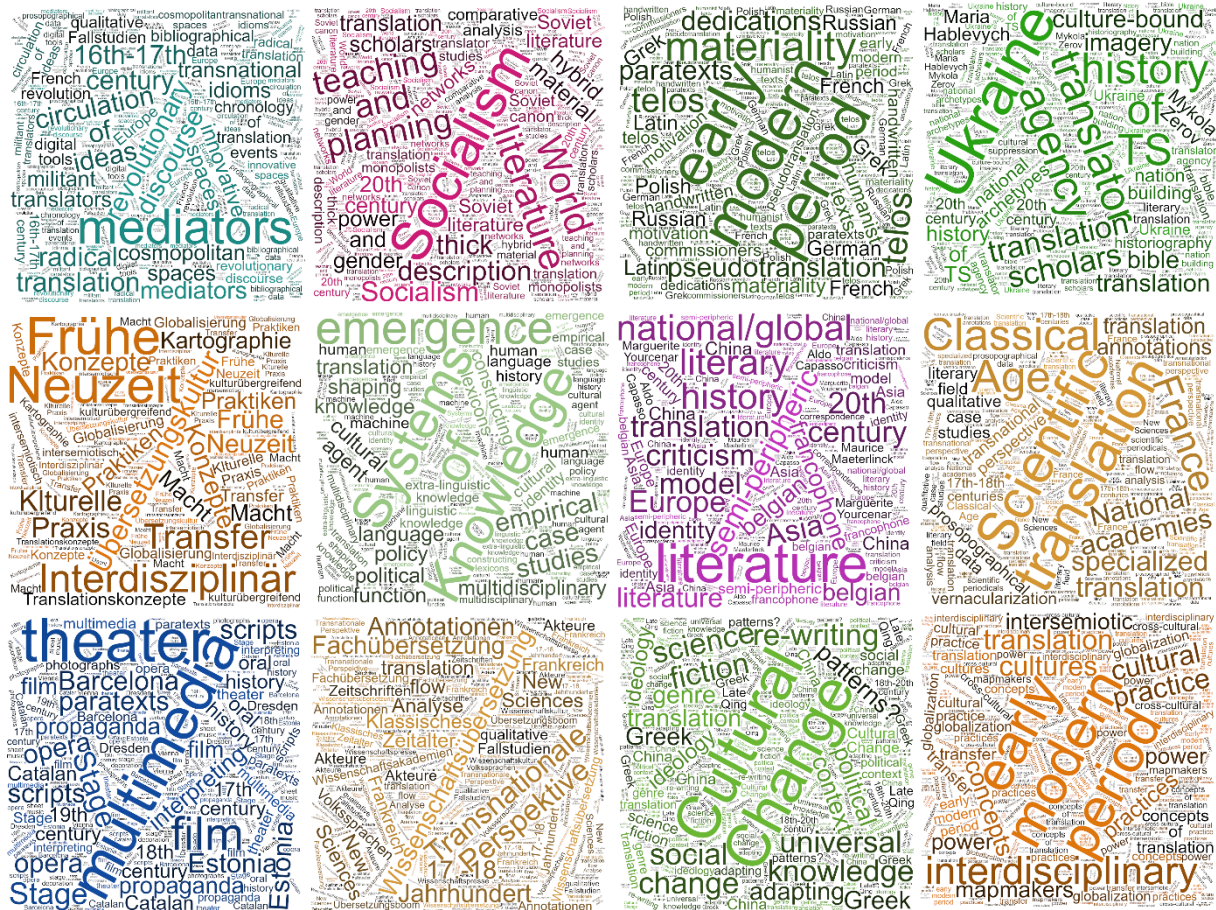
Natalia Kamovnikova

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Karen Bennett

Time & Space



- Translation and the stage
- Ukrainian translation studies
- Translation in the (Early) Modern Period
- Translators as mediators in revolutionary discourse
- Konzepte und Praktiken des Übersetzens in der Frühen Neuzeit
- Translations of the “Semi-Peripheric” Francophone Belgian Literature
- Wissenschaftsübersetzungen in Frankreich im Klassischen Zeitalter
- Concepts and Practices of Translation in the Early Modern Period
- Translation and the Emergence of Systems of Knowledge
- Scientific Translations in France in the Classical Age
- Translation as Instrument of Cultural Change
- Translation under Socialism

Konzepte und Praktiken des Übersetzens in der Frühen Neuzeit

Unser Panel stellte das von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft eingerichtete Schwerpunktprogramm 2130 ‚Übersetzungskulturen der Frühen Neuzeit (1450–1800)‘ vor. Ein wichtiges Ziel des SPP ist es, die verschiedenen Übersetzungskulturen unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Internationalisierung und Globalisierung zu betrachten. Damit überschreitet das Programm sowohl die Grenzen des zentralen Forschungsfeldes der Antikenübersetzungen als auch die Grenzen innereuropäischer Transferprozesse, die Wissenschaft, Politik und Wirtschaft zunehmend mitgestalten. Es geht damit bewusst das Risiko ein, den modernen europäischen Epochenbegriff der Frühen Neuzeit mit alternativen Übersetzungskulturen weltweit zu konfrontieren. Im Wechselspiel und als Alternative zu etablierten Konzepten der Frühneuzeitforschung verfolgt das SPP 2130 einen Ansatz, der Übersetzung als kulturelle Praxis begreift. Entsprechend der interdisziplinären Struktur des Programms ist es wichtig, zwischen verschiedenen Auffassungen von Übersetzung zu unterscheiden. Während in den Sprach-, Literatur- und Übersetzungswissenschaften der Begriff ‚Übersetzung‘ in der Regel in einem engen Sinne verwendet wird und sich v. a. auf interlinguale Phänomene beschränkt, wird er in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften weiter gefasst und auf verschiedene Arten kulturübergreifender, medialer und materieller Transferprozesse angewendet.



Im ersten Vortrag erläuterte die Sprecherin, *Regina Toepfer* (Univ. Würzburg), das wissenschaftliche Konzept, die organisatorische Struktur und die Ziele des interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramms, das 2018 mit seiner Arbeit begonnen hat und an dem siebzehn Einzelprojekte verschiedener Disziplinen und Universitäten beteiligt sind. Wir fragen fächerübergreifend nach den gesellschaftlichen Leitvorstellungen, Wahrnehmungsmustern und Kommunikationsformen, die seit dem 15. Jhd. durch Praktiken des Übersetzens etabliert wurden und bis in die Gegenwart von prägender Bedeutung sind. Auf diese Weise wollen wir auch gegenwärtigen Diskussionen einen historischen Bezugsrahmen und eine potentielle Vergleichsgröße bieten.

Im zweiten Vortrag präsentierte die koordinierende Mitarbeiterin *Annkathrin Koppers* (Univ. Würzburg) das zentrale Gemeinschaftsprojekt der ersten Förderphase (2018–2021): die digitale Ausstellung „Übersetzen ist Macht. Geheimnisse, Geschenke, Geschichten in der Frühen Neuzeit“ (uebersetzenistmacht.de). In der Ausstellung fragen wir danach, wer in der Frühen Neuzeit übersetzte, was übersetzt wurde und welche Machtfaktoren dabei eine Rolle spielten. Mit diesem Projekt wollen wir ein breites Publikum erreichen und disziplinäre, diskursive, epistemische, intellektuelle und akademische Grenzen überwinden. Die Themen wurden didaktisch reduziert und zielgruppengerecht aufbereitet, ohne den wissenschaftlichen Anspruch aufzugeben.

Im dritten Vortrag stellte *Irina Saladin* (Univ. Tübingen) ihr SPP-Teilprojekt zu frühneuzeitlichen Kartographen exemplarisch vor. Um Reiseberichte als Quelle für Karten zu nutzen, müssen Methoden zur Visualisierung der Texte entwickelt werden. Dieser komplexe intersemiotische Übersetzungsprozess geht mit der Transformation von Raumkonzepten einher, wie die Referentin anhand der kartographischen Skizzen

vorfürte, die Claude und Guillaume Delisle auf Grundlage von Reiseberichten anfertigten. Die Geographen übertrugen nicht nur einzelne Informationen aus Texten in äquivalente kartographische Zeichen, sie schufen vielmehr neue geographische Vorstellungen.

Regina Toepfer

Translation under Socialism

The panel included four papers: *Oleksandr Kalnychenko* (V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University) spoke on campaigning against ‘Nationalistic Translator-wreckers’ in Ukraine in 1934-35 as Evidence of the Turn to Stalinist National Bolshevism, *Susanna Witt* (Stockholm University) on the case of Aleksandr Deich at the intersection of World and Soviet Literature, *Lada Kolomiyets* (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv) focused on the planning and teaching of translation in the early 1930s in Soviet Ukraine, and *Natalia Kamovnikova* spoke on Soviet female translators as translation monopolists. In addition to thick historical contextualization, all papers focused on the personalities of translators and translation scholars and their networks as the main engine that shaped the translation culture of their lifetimes. Translation history is not a history of books, but rather a history of society and the personalities within it. A writer on translation history uses hybrid material: Besides a comparative textual analysis of the prototext and the translation (as Kalnychenko had used for his presentation), archival material from institutions and personal collections of translators and interviews with translators if they can still be conducted (as Kamovnikova was able to do), are of explanatory value. The wider campaign of the Communist Party of the USSR to sovietize both national and world literature by establishing a different canon of it was at the backdrop of all panelists, who viewed translators as socially and politically vulnerable people whose love of literature and faith in the value of the availability of versatile translations kept them finding ways to publish their work. The important role of power and gender relations in understanding the history of translation was stressed. Another point of the panel, especially highlighted in the presentation of Lada Kolomiyets, was that modern translation studies as an academic discipline was not born in 1972 at the Copenhagen Congress of Applied Linguistics, thanks to James S. Holmes’ paper. She shared how in Ukraine, Mykola Zerov and Mykhailo Kalynovych held university courses in the 1930s, outlining the multifaceted content of translation studies as a university subject with theoretical, methodological-descriptive and applied strands. These included the training of translators, editors and critics of literary translation, and furthered the organization of translator’s work and field planning of translated literature. Translation studies has taken place and has ramifications in other languages than English which should be noted in any treatment of the history of the discipline.

Anne Lange



Translators as mediators: discrete cultures and innovative spaces in revolutionary discourse

This panel looked at translators as liminal figures who can introduce innovation into apparently stable cultural systems. The speakers presented examples from the revolutionary period in Europe (1780–1815), examining translation as a space for cultural transfer and innovation, focusing on the crossed temporalities of radical translations and thus problematizing notions of hermetic and stable linguistic and national cultures.

The session began with a paper by *Patrick Leech* critically examining the ways in which cosmopolitanism has been correlated, in translation studies, with the ‘foreignisation’ or ‘domestication’ of the target text. While acknowledging this methodology for the study of texts, the paper proposed instead to look at translators, and at the ways in which they can inhabit a cosmopolitan space and develop “conversations across difference” or “habits of coexistence” in the terminology of Kwame Anthony Appiah. The paper gave two examples. The first was the work of Honoré Riqueti, Count Mirabeau, a key charismatic figure of the early years of the French Revolution but also, in the 1780s, a prolific journalist and translator. The paper looked at his translation into French of the anonymous tract *Considerations on the Society of the Cincinnati* (1783), an attack on the principle of heredity, published in London in 1784 by the radical publisher Joseph Johnson. The text itself was clearly ‘domesticating’ in its effacing of the source language, but the work of the translator constituted a real ‘conversation’ between different radical figures in the U.S., France and Britain. The second example presented was that of Arthur O’Connor, Irish aristocrat and revolutionary who founded and edited the short-lived journal *The Press* (Dublin, 1797–1798). The newspaper included many translations from French which, although ‘domesticating’ in style, highlighted the proximity between the political worlds of Paris and Dublin.

The second paper, presented by *Sanja Perovic* but jointly prepared with *Rosa Mucignat*, unfortunately not able to be present, illustrated the research project carried out in King’s College, London, entitled ‘Radical Translations: The Transfer of Revolutionary Culture between Britain, France and Italy (1789-1815)’. This project has constructed a database of c. 1000 revolutionary-era translations and a prosopography of some 500 translators, many of whom remain anonymous. The result is a careful mapping of the circulation of radical ideas and language in this period through its double focus on people and texts. The project expands the cast of characters associated with revolutionary movements to include militant translators. It examines what these translations can tell us about how transnational revolutionary idioms can be adopted, adapted, resisted or rejected in the effort to create culturally specific tools for political action on the ground. The paper showed how a double-pronged bibliographical and prosopographical approach can be used to recover the plurality and complexity of what we call revolutionary ‘radicalism’ as it changed course over time. The paper closed by focusing on how to construct specific chronologies that allow translations and revolutionary events to be thought together and showing how digital tools can be used to overcome some shortfalls of ‘national’ chronologies.



Sanja Perovic

Scientific Translations in France in the Classical Age (17th–18th centuries)

The emergence of modern experimental natural sciences in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe was closely linked to the vernacularization of scientific discourse and the founding of national academies of sciences (Accademia del Cimento 1657, Royal Society of London 1660, Académie des Sciences 1666, Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1700, Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien in Sweden 1739, etc.). Scientific knowledge was thus increasingly communicated in the European vernacular languages rather than in the early modern lingua franca, learned Latin, although the *New Sciences* described themselves as transnational and universal. It is precisely this stress on the universalization and particularization of sciences that the panel aimed to investigate, looking at the boom in translation production between the European vernacular languages that accompanied this transition from monolingual to multilingual scientific discourse. What was the role of translation in the universalization and particularization of sciences and thus in the emergence of modern natural sciences? What norms and regulations of translation emerged in the scientific field during this period, and how do they vary from translation practices in other fields? And what can this research tell us about the history of modern specialized translation?

It is precisely these and other questions that motivated the panel, in which the panelists aimed at presenting fundamental results of a three-year research project funded by the German research foundation on the emergence of modern specialized translation in 17th- and 18th-century France. Combining quantitative analyses with qualitative interpretations, the panelists sought to delineate the role of translation in the formation of national scientific cultures (Andreas Gipper), the role of translation annotations in the differentiation of authorship and translatorship in the scientific field (Garda Elsherif), the importance of translations for the emergence of scientific periodicals in France, Germany and England (Caroline Mannweiler), the importance of translation in the Italian scientific press and how it changed in the 19th century (Robert Lukenda), as well as determining prosopographical data on the agents of scientific translation at that time (Diego Stefanelli).

The panel and the discussions spurred by the presentations invite further consideration of several overarching questions. First of all, the panel showed how fruitful the combination of qualitative case studies with quantitative data and translation flow analyses can be for research in translation history, in order to trace overall tendencies and trends and thus to better contextualize and interpret individual cases. In the discussions, it became even more evident how promising it is to investigate translation in the respective (literary, scientific, juridical, etc.) fields, which lets us observe, for instance, the different functions of annotated translations in the field of modern natural sciences and in the literary field. Finally, the panel highlighted the importance of combining national and transnational perspectives (especially) when studying translation in the field of modern sciences.

Andreas Gipper



Wissenschaftsübersetzungen in Frankreich im Klassischen Zeitalter (17.-18. Jahrhundert)

Die Entstehung der modernen experimentellen Naturwissenschaften im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in Europa war eng mit der Vernakularisierung des wissenschaftlichen Diskurses und der Gründung nationaler Wissenschaftsakademien (Accademia del Cimento 1657, Royal Society of London 1660, Académie des Sciences 1666, Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1700, Kungliga Vetenskapsakademien in Schweden 1739, etc.) verbunden. Wissenschaftliches Wissen wurde also zunehmend in den europäischen Volkssprachen und nicht mehr in der frühneuzeitlichen *Lingua Franca* – Latein – vermittelt, und das, obwohl die *New Sciences* ihrem Selbstverständnis nach transnational und universell sind. Genau diesem Spannungsfeld von Universalisierung und Partikularisierung der Wissenschaften sollte in besagtem Panel nachgegangen, und der wissenschaftliche Übersetzungsboom zwischen den europäischen Volkssprachen, den dieser Übergang von einer einsprachigen zu einer mehrsprachigen Wissenschaftslandschaft nach sich zog, unter die Lupe genommen werden. Welche Rolle spielte Translation bei der Universalisierung und Partikularisierung der Wissenschaften und damit bei der Herausbildung der modernen Naturwissenschaften? Welche Normen und Regularien der Translation kristallisierten sich in dieser Zeit im wissenschaftlichen Bereich heraus, und in welcher Hinsicht unterscheiden sich diese von den Übersetzungspraktiken in anderen Bereichen? Und was kann uns diese Forschung über die Geschichte der modernen Fachübersetzung sagen? Genau diese und weitere Fragen haben das Panel geleitet, in welchem die Panelteilnehmer grundlegende Ergebnisse eines dreijährigen, von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) geförderten Forschungsprojekts zur Entstehung der modernen Fachübersetzung in Frankreich im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert präsentieren wollten.



Durch die Kombination quantitativer und qualitativer Analysen versuchten die Panelteilnehmer, die Rolle von Übersetzung bei der Herausbildung nationaler Wissenschaftskulturen zu eruieren (Andreas Gipper), der Rolle von Übersetzungsannotationen bei der Ausdifferenzierung von Autorschaft und Übersetzerschaft im wissenschaftlichen Bereich nachzugehen (Garda Elsherif), nach der Bedeutung von Übersetzungen für die Entstehung wissenschaftlicher Zeitschriften in Frankreich, Deutschland und England zu fragen (Caroline Mannweiler), die Bedeutung von Übersetzungen in der italienischen Wissenschaftspresse mit Ausblick auf das 19. Jahrhundert herauszuarbeiten (Robert Lukenda) sowie erste Einsichten aus erhobenen prosopographischen Daten über die Akteure der wissenschaftlichen Übersetzung in dieser Zeit darzulegen (Diego Stefanelli).

Die Vorträge und durch sie angeregten Diskussionen erlauben es, einige übergreifende Überlegungen für translationshistorische Forschung allgemein anzustellen. So zeigte sich zunächst, wie fruchtbar die Kombination von qualitativen Fallstudien mit quantitativen Daten und *translation flow* Analysen für translationshistorische Forschung sein kann, da dadurch übergreifende Tendenzen und Trends beobachtet werden können und somit eine bessere Einordnung und Interpretation einzelner Fälle möglich wird. In den Diskussionen wurde zudem einmal mehr deutlich, wie vielversprechend es ist,

Translation in den jeweiligen (literarischen, naturwissenschaftlichen, juristischen, etc.) Feldern zu untersuchen, wodurch etwa unterschiedliche Funktionen annotierter Übersetzungen im Bereich der modernen Naturwissenschaften und im literarischen Bereich beobachtet und erklärbar gemacht werden können. Nicht zuletzt hat das Panel gezeigt, wie wichtig es ist, bei der Untersuchung von Translation (insbesondere) im Bereich der modernen Wissenschaften nationale mit transnationalen Perspektiven zu kombinieren.

Andreas Gipper

Ukrainian translation studies

The panel included four researchers at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, which is one of three main centers – together with Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv and V.N. Karazin National University of Kharkiv – of the extremely lively and productive field of translation studies in Ukraine. The country has a long tradition in translation theory with a few scholars who, already in the 1920s, anticipated some of the ideas which will be elaborated in Western translation studies from the 1970s. The papers of the panel offered an overview of the wide range of topics studied in Lviv and the varieties of approaches adopted by translation scholars at Ivan Franko University.

Oksana Dzera compared the Ruthenian Prince Kostiantyn of Ostroh's Bible (1581) and the King James Version (1611) as examples of the central role that Bible translation acquired in early modern Europe in establishing national religious spaces. The sociocultural and comparative approach adopted by Dzera unravels the collective agency engaged in the translations at the textual, paratextual and extratextual levels. Particularly, the analysis of the translators' prefaces offers interesting insights into the power relationship between the royal patrons of the projects and their translators. If in the case of early modern Bible translation, the translator's agency is strongly limited by a collective translation project run from above, the case of Ukrainian Shakespeare scholar Maria Hablevych (1950) allowed *Anna Sverdiuk* to reflect on the opposite case, in which different kinds of translation agency are concentrated in a single individual. In her paper, she expanded the notion of agency by introducing the figure of the "multiple agent" to cover not only Hablevych's translation of Shakespeare's tragedies but also her critical commentaries and editorial practices. The complex of translator's, 'critical' and 'editorial' agencies creates a coherent picture of the translated author, which also functions as a mirror image of and for the translator herself. *Oksana Molchko's* paper proposed an analysis of national archetypes about Love, Life, Hatred, Death in the English translation of modernist Ukrainian writer Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky's (1864–1913) novel *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*. Molchko argued that such archetypes are culture-bound images and concepts, which makes the study of the translator's creative strategies in rendering them in another language and for another culture interesting, as well as the inevitable deviations and losses of culture-bounded symbolism in the translation. *Oryslava Bryska's* paper developed an important line of research after the independence of Ukraine in 1991, which focuses on the translator's agency and habitus under historical circumstances of cultural suppression and assimilative policy. Bryska analyzed the activity of Mykola Zerov, an outstanding translator and translation scholar in the period of the 1910s–1930s. The work of Zerov is illuminating of the role that translation and cultural transfer from the Western European tradition played in the development of Ukrainian culture before the wave of Stalinist repressions of the 1930s. What impresses us is Zerov's awareness of the importance of translation for the development of national culture – an awareness that explains the unusually important position of translation and translation studies in the Ukrainian academy at the beginning of the 20th and the 21st century.



Daniele Monticelli

Translation as Instrument of Cultural Change

This panel brought together papers from various contexts which situated translation in different cultural contexts. Loic Aloisio's paper "The History of the Translation of Foreign Science Fiction Literature in China from the Late Qing (1860-1911) to Date" presented the role translation played in fostering the development of Chinese science fiction. This genre is now translated into English and recognized by readers and critics of the Western world. The history of the genre translation and its transplantation in the Middle Kingdom was – as the paper showcased – closely linked to the political climate in China and its modernizing ambitions.

Simos Grammenidis read a paper on "The Impact of the Historical Context on The Definition of Translational Aims: the Case of the Greek-speaking World during the 18th and 19th centuries," in which he sketched a wide panorama of the place of translation in this complex cultural and geographic space. His presentation also linked the changes in the socio-political environment and translation as a cultural practice to show its change from a tool of instruction to one of entertainment.

Gaia Ferro spoke about "Translations, History, and Politics in the Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure" in the period 1747–1814 to show the ways in which political and historical materials translated for this London periodical were linked with its "universal" character but also how they served the Bolingbrokean ideology. Again, the *iunctim* between translation policy and general political framework was highlighted.

The final paper by Cheng Qi: "China vs. the West? Chinese Translation Discourse at the Beginning of 20th Century" (on the example of John Dewey's Chinese lectures and their translation by Hu Shi) brought us back to China and presented an intriguing case of re-creation of Dewey's thought by his translator who, through his strategy of deep re-writing, entangled the American philosopher's lectures into the domestic campaign of social change while virtually disregarding the original ideas of the speaker.

While the papers differed considerably in many ways, all of them addressed the complex question of the middle ground between translation and politics. In spite of the fact that it has been one of the main areas of interest in Translation Studies after the Cultural Turn of the 1990s, the panel left no doubt there is a need for further systematic amassing of cases and examples from around the world in order to get a more detailed understanding of the processes that have been taking place in various contexts and to recognize potential patterns or models – as well as exceptions. The topic also certainly refers us to post-colonial and wider post-traumatic areas in history, as these offer some striking insights. Finally, the presentations and discussion around them showed we are still in need of a set of good analytic tools and new conceptual frameworks that would let us move forward from the very true and equally well-known claim that translation is always deeply engaged in the political context of its time and place.



Magda Heydel

Translation and the stage

The panel on translation and the stage focused on the translation of multimedia texts in their historical contexts. The four papers in the panel drew on sources that are underused in translation histories (sheet music, designs for stage decorations, personal interviews) but are essential for reconstructing a historical event.

Livio Marcaletti has researched translation of Italian opera at German-speaking courts in the 17th and 18th centuries. His focus lies on the translators, especially in the courts of Vienna and Dresden, their education, their sensitivity to the multimodal quality of their work and the varying social,

linguistic and gender characteristics of the audience. In addition to translations he has also analyzed paratextual material in which translators explain their principles of translation.

Katiliina Gielen and *Maria-Kristiina Lotman* are researching the corpus of translated theatre texts extending from the earliest known Estonian translations for the theatre to 1945. Their study includes photographs of historical stage decorations. As the scripts of the plays performed have often not been preserved, the fragmented history that can be traced has to rely on reviews and memoirs. What is possible is a history with gaps and intriguing conjectures.

Jordi Jane Lliege recorded a performance of Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *Der Besuch der alten Dame* in Barcelona in 1962 for a small and select audience. It was the time of Franco's dictatorship, when Catalan was banned from public use and the play was only performed twice. The translator's efforts were rewarded when, in 2017, the play was staged again in a prestigious theater in Barcelona in front of a large audience and with great success.

Karin Sibul spoke about simultaneous interpreting of films in Soviet Estonia, when it was practiced in academic film clubs. The clubs screened quality Western films that were not shown in public cinemas, and drew packed audiences. The films were obtained through personal contacts in Western embassies in Moscow, sent to Estonia on the night train from Moscow and returned the next day. The interpreters had not seen the films beforehand, they did not have the scripts. Sibul's informants recalled episodes that are amusing in retrospect but were highly embarrassing at the time. The interpreters' blunders usually went unnoticed and did not diminish the audience's need for an antidote to Soviet propaganda.



Anne Lange

Clare Griffin

Language For Trade An Early Modern Dutch How-To Guide to Russian Trade

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Abstract

This article uses a case-study of a Dutch translation of a Russian book of tariffs and trading laws from 1724 to examine how language shaped and was shaped by global trade. In the early modern period shifting trade routes brought new commodities with new names, imperial expansion reified imperial terms as the norm for imperial-controlled products, and both joined old terms for the technicalities and legalities of international trade. All those terms had to be arranged within texts, tables, and books, and rearranged in translations vital to international trade. Such mercantile texts aimed not for definitive and lasting translations, but rather translations that worked in the immediate and fleeting context trade required. Comparing these two books shows how the semantics of commerce were shaped not only by linguistics but the expediencies of trade. Examining this unexpected and as-yet unused textual pairing demonstrates the interconnected nature of linguistic, mercantile, and material changes in the early modern global world.

Keywords: Global history; trade; Russia; The Netherlands; translation

Clare Griffin

Language For Trade

An Early Modern Dutch How-To Guide to Russian Trade

Abstract

This article uses a case-study of a Dutch translation of a Russian book of tariffs and trading laws from 1724 to examine how language shaped and was shaped by global trade. In the early modern period shifting trade routes brought new commodities with new names, imperial expansion reified imperial terms as the norm for imperial-controlled products, and both joined old terms for the technicalities and legalities of international trade. All those terms had to be arranged within texts, tables, and books, and rearranged in translations vital to international trade. Such mercantile texts aimed not for definitive and lasting translations, but rather translations that worked in the immediate and fleeting context trade required. Comparing these two books shows how the semantics of commerce were shaped not only by linguistics but the expediencies of trade. Examining this unexpected and as-yet unused textual pairing demonstrates the interconnected nature of linguistic, mercantile, and material changes in the early modern global world.

The early modern world saw a massive reorganisation of trading routes, with the Americas and Eurasia linked for the first time, and East Asia-Western Europe trade being recentred around sea routes that skirted Africa. This caused major social and economic changes, but also required a shift in language. Colonialists, traders, and other interested parties had to learn or invent new words for new things. And if, as often happened, those objects became a part of global trade, those names had to be organised, incorporated into systems of commodity types, laws, and economics. In the increasingly bureaucratic world of the early modern period, as the Empires sought to control the world around them, merchants trading such goods had to deal not only with those new commodity terms but also older words for coinages, official weights and measures, legal concepts, and administrator's positions and titles. Language, then, was essential to globalisation.

Language is an issue of communication and so must be specific, to name this thing and not that thing, but also general, to allow us to tell others the difference between those things. As Lydia H. Liu has argued regarding legal language, all terms for new concepts being translated are the result of "negotiating commensurability," working out how two languages can be comprehensibly connected at a specific point.¹ In international mercantile circles, the negotiation of a clear and comprehensible translation was key to trading success, especially when trading in a location with a very different local tongue to their own. A good translation would

¹ LIU: "Legislating the Universal," 152–153.

facilitate legal (for a given value of legal) purchase, transport, and sale of desired goods and a healthy profit margin; a poor one could lead to jail, expulsion, unhappy customers, and bankruptcy. When it came to translation for trade, the stakes were high.

We can see such a striving for successful linguistic negotiation between very different languages in trade between the Russian Empire and their Western European contacts. In 1724 an Amsterdam printer put together a little volume in Dutch called *Regulation for all persons of high and low standing, merchants and captains, in the loading and unloading of the ships in the ports of Great Russia. Also with the tariff for incoming and outgoing goods for the ports of St Petersburg, Vyborg, Narva, Archangel, and Kola*.² This text, preserved in two copies in the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, is a collection of Russian trade regulation documents from 1724 created from a printed Russian book that first compiled those regulations.³ In the text I will use the term *The How-To Guide to Russian Trade* and in the footnotes I will indicate which version I am referencing by using short forms of their titles in the respective languages: *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo* for the Russian and *Reglement van laden en lossen* for the Dutch. This text, in both the original Russian and the Dutch translation, were aimed at an international merchant readership, to help traders navigate trade in and out of Russian ports.

Russian-Dutch relations of this period give us a specific view of language and translation in a trading context. By the 1720s, Amsterdam had long had strong trading connections with Russia. Indeed, Russia's great northern trading port of Archangelsk, major entrepôt for traders and goods coming from the West until the early eighteenth century, was founded after Dutch merchants active in the region found a suitable site in 1582.⁴ Predating and outlasting the importance of Archangelsk to Russia-West trade were the Dutch themselves. Major scholar of early modern Russia-Dutch trade relations Jan Willem Veluwenkamp claims that from the late sixteenth century until the mid-eighteenth century the Dutch were the most important commercial nation dealing with Russia.⁵ By the early eighteenth century, the role of the Dutch in Russian society went beyond commerce. Peter the Great, who ruled Russia from 1696 until his death in 1725, himself spent time in the Netherlands, purchased the Dutch scholar Frederik Ruysch's anatomical collection to form the basis of his *Kunstkamera*

² Stadsarchief Amsterdam, collection no. 78, Archief van de Directie van de Oostersche Handel en Reed-erijen: Item 399, *Reglement van laden en lossen en tarief van inkomende en uitgaande rechten van de havens Petersburg, Viborg, Narva, Archangel en Kola* (Amsterdam, 1724). [Regulation for all persons of high and low standing, merchants and captains, in the loading and unloading of the ships in the ports of Great Russia. Also with the tariff for incoming and outgoing goods for the ports of St Petersburg, Vyborg, Narva, Archangel, and Kola].

³ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo, Vyborgskogo, Harvskogo, Arkhangelogorodskogo, Kol'skogo, portov* [Tariff for the ports of St Petersburg, Vyborg, Narva, Archangel, and Kola] (St Petersburg: Senate, 1724) BBK 65.03(2)51-861.1, Yeltsin Presidential Library, St Petersburg, <https://www.prilib.ru/item/372726> [Accessed 17.03.2021].

⁴ KOTILAINE: *Russia's Foreign Trade and Economic Expansion in the Seventeenth Century*, 18.

On Russia's trade with Western Europe in the early modern period see also ZAKHAROV: *Zapadnoevropeiskie kuptsy v Rossii. Epokha Petra I*. On Russian-Dutch trade through Archangelsk see in particular VELUWENKAMP: *Archangel'sk: Niderlanskije predprinimateli v Rossii 1550–1785*.

⁵ VELUWENKAMP: "Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Family Networks," 206–223.

museum, and was very invested in translating naval works from Dutch.⁶ By the 1720s, the Russians and the Dutch were heavily involved with each other.

Despite the long history of Russian-Dutch relations, language remained a major barrier. Few Dutch people – including Dutch traders – knew Russian, and few Russians – including merchants and customs officials – knew Dutch. According to Pepijn Hendricks and Jos Schaeken, around 15 Russian dictionaries, language manuals, and phrasebooks for Dutch, English, German and French speakers were created in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷ Some of these did deal with trade – Tönnies Fenne’s 1607 manual includes words of traded goods, and also some example conversations regarding trading – but were not books about trade.⁸ Despite the increasing availability of such dictionaries, foreigners learning Russian remained rare across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Translations like the Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* were then hugely important. Yet the 1724 *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* is the only merchants’ handbook in Dutch translation to guide them in that trade. That a Dutch merchant would want such a text is understandable, but until 1724 apparently no one had decided to fill that need.

The status of these two texts as printed, and the place Russian-Dutch relations in the history of Russian printing, is also significant. Although there was an earlier attempt to create a printing industry in Russia in the late sixteenth century, it was really under Peter the Great that Russian printing took off.⁹ As Simon Franklin has established, Peter used a monopoly on the printing press technology within the Empire in the first two decades of the eighteenth century to create near-unforgeable decrees and other official documents that could also be produced in large numbers for distribution across the massive territory of the Empire.¹⁰ It was only later that printing began to be used to produce a broader range of texts, and even then official institutions like the Senate and the Academy of Sciences long played a major role in the print industry. Printing in sixteenth-century Russia had taken place in Moscow; printing for eighteenth-century Russian official institutions initially took place in Amsterdam and only later shifted to St Petersburg and (to a more limited extent) Moscow. For example, I. V. Kopievskii published a Latin-Russian glossary, a Russian-Latin-German and a Russian-Latin-Dutch dictionary in Amsterdam between 1699 and 1700; Jacob Bruce’s 1717 Russian-Dutch dictionary was printed in St Petersburg.¹¹ The two versions of the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade*, the Russian printed in St Petersburg and Moscow, the Dutch in

⁶ On Ruysch’s artefacts in the *Kunstkamera* collection see ANEMONE: “The Monsters of Peter the Great”; on naval translations see CRACRAFT: *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*, 78.

⁷ HENDRIKS & SCHAEKEN: *Tönnies Fenne’s Low German Manual of Spoken Russian*; on the genre of phrasebooks (*razgovorniki*), see MIRONESKO BIELOVA: “The Phrasebook [‘razgovornik’] as a Communication Tool for Medieval Russian Travelers.”

⁸ HENDRIKS & SCHAEKEN: *Tönnies Fenne’s Low German Manual of Spoken Russian*. See for example “Van laken kopenschop,” (on buying cloth), 451–60.

⁹ See in particular BOGATYREV: “Special Issue: The Journeys of Ivan Fedorov.”

¹⁰ FRANKLIN: “Printing and Social Control in Russia 1: Passports; FRANKLIN: “Printing and Social Control in Russia 2: Decrees”; FRANKLIN: “Printing Social Control in Russia 3: Blank Forms.”

¹¹ BRUCE: *Kniga leksikon ili Sobranie rechei po alfavitu c roccijskogo na gollandskii iazyk*. On this text, see CRACRAFT: *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*, 290; BOSS: *Newton and Russia: The Early Influence*, 64 and 66.

Amsterdam, then sit in an established geography not only for trade relations, but also for the history of Russian printing.

The direction of translation is much more unusual. Up until his death in 1725, Tsar Peter the Great had a number of practical and legal documents from a number of Western European languages translated into Russian, which joined the religious works, herbals, maps, newsheets, and a variety of other Western European texts translated into East Slavic languages from the Medieval period on.¹² It was only later in the eighteenth century that works began to be translated out of Russian, but mostly literary works like the French translations of Aleksandr Sumarokov's plays.¹³ Generally speaking, we have more examples of the former than the latter: much was translated into Russian in this period; only select materials were translated out of Russian. It took a rising European interest in Russian literature for translations out of Russian to be normalised. Lisa Hellman writes of moving the history of early modern Chinese-European translation "from court to port"; our Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* moves us instead from salon to port, underlining that, perhaps especially in the expanding trade networks of the early modern world, translation and ports went together.¹⁴ This trade book then is an oddity as an early translation out of Russian that was also a technical rather than a literary text.

The Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* for merchants thus was a creation of what we already know about printing, trade, and translation in the 1720s, yet is also a different kind of document. We should then consider what this text can tell us about trade and translation in the multi-lingual world of early modern global commerce. Is the priority of this text to explain Russian terms and concepts to the reader, thus making them better aware of Russian trade terminology? Or to translate Russian terms and concepts into Dutch, thus conveying the contents to the Dutch reader without educating them on Russian semantics? How does it deal with commodity terms that originate in languages other than Dutch or Russian? Answering these questions will lead us to a better understanding of how early modern merchants navigated the practical semantic difficulties of their lives.

The Text

In order to think about this previously unstudied text, we need to set out its contents, how they relate to other Russian documents of the time, and consider its genre.¹⁵ The Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* consists of a Dutch-language front page followed by Dutch translations of Russian trade documents from 1724, making up a total of 88 printed pages. The translator is unknown, but it was sold by Cornelius Lelyvelt (alternatively Lelivelt) (1695–

¹² On Petrine era translations, see for example CRACRAFT, *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Culture*, 78; LOBACHEV: "Indexing Books in 18th-century Russia". For earlier translations from Western European languages into Russian, see for example MAIER: "Newspaper Translations in Seventeenth-Century Muscovy"; WATSON: *Tradition and Translation*; JANSSON & WAUGH: "Muscovite Acquisition of Books from Poland in the Late 1640s to Early 1650s".

¹³ RJÉOUTSKI & OFFORD: *Translation and Propaganda in the Mid-Eighteenth Century*.

¹⁴ HELLMAN: "Learning (on) Local Terms", 33.

¹⁵ To the best of my knowledge, no one has ever published on either the Russian or the Dutch versions of this text.

1733), a publisher and bookseller active in Amsterdam in the 1720s.¹⁶ This specific collection of Russian documents corresponds to a Russian-language compilation of the same texts, also produced in 1724, a copy of which can be found in the Yeltsin Presidential Library.¹⁷ The copy in the Yeltsin Presidential Library states that the book was printed in St Petersburg by the Senate on 26th March 1724, and reprinted in Moscow on 7th September 1724; the Dutch copy only mentions the first Russian printing and that the Dutch copy was printed in Amsterdam sometime in 1724.¹⁸ The Dutch version was then produced from the St Petersburg edition sometime after 26th March but before the end of 1724.

Both the Russian and the Dutch versions collect together: an order setting out 41 rules of trade promulgated by Peter the Great on 31st January 1724; two alphabetical tables of Tariffs for regularly traded goods, one for imports and one for exports; an order by Peter the Great also from 31st January 1724 on payments of tolls; and another order by Peter the Great setting out further rules regarding specific kinds of goods (especially luxury goods). The final document is undated in these books, but it is partially published in the document collection *Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire* and dated in that collection to 31st January 1724.¹⁹ These are not the only trade regulations created between 1st January and 26th March 1724, nor even the only trade regulations from that period that concerned foreign merchants or foreign trade.²⁰ Rather, this is a selection of regulations that the Senate in St Petersburg and an Amsterdam printer thought were sufficiently vital to form the basis of a guidebook for the use of foreign merchants.

The genre of a text substantially affects how we read and translate it: electronics manuals and the works of Shakespeare are both objects of reading and of translation, but very different ones. Our *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* collects together two kinds of official Russian documents: laws and tariffs. Those documents are similar in origin and aim – created by the Russian bureaucracy to enforce compliance with trade laws – but present different reading experiences – one set to be read as a continuous narrative of law, another to be referred to as needed. Collected together in one volume, they become another genre of text: the business handbook. According to Daniel A. Rabuzzi, 12,000 such books were published in Europe between 1470 and 1820, making it a major genre.²¹ These works were often anonymous (or effectively so) and contained both relevant trade data and also advice, such as how to conduct oneself in a business environment. Our *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* fits the first two criteria here, but not the last. There is no section directly addressing how to behave as a foreign merchant in Russia, but some of the laws included in it give implicit indications of appropriate behaviour. We can then see this text in terms of laws, official trade data, and

¹⁶ <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/persons/23190> [Accessed 17.11.2021].

¹⁷ <https://www.prlib.ru/item/372726> [Accessed 17.11.2021].

¹⁸ *Tarif SanktPeterburgskago*, 43; *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 1 and 88.

¹⁹ *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* [Complete collection of the Laws of the Russian Empire, hereafter *PSZ*] 45, <http://elibrary.shpl.ru/ru/nodes/226-t-45-kniga-tarifov-1830#mode/in-spect/page/129/zoom/5>. [Accessed 17.03.2021].

²⁰ See for example *PSZ* 7, 31st January 1724, 241–249.

²¹ RABUZZI: “Eighteenth-Century Commercial Mentalities.”

business texts, as it connects not only the Netherlands and Russia, but also the worlds of officialdom and of trade.

The Audience

Language learning, multi-lingualism, and translation were areas that shifted hugely across the early modern period in Russia. There were two issues: how many non-Slavs could function in Russian, and how many Russians could function in non-Slavic languages? I say here “function” rather than speak, write, or know, deliberately. The patterning of language in this period and context was such that various communities interacted with each other through intermediaries, phrasebooks, and limited written or oral skills. They “knew” languages, but to use that verb alone conceals the nuances of the kinds of functionality they employed.

The ability of early modern Russians to function in various languages was due to changing cultural norms. Before the eighteenth century, elite Russian culture had little time for what we would now call literacy even in Russian or Old Church Slavonic, and even less so in other languages. The Russian elite and the Tsar were decision-makers and warriors, not scribes, and they delegated the manual labour of writing and the unglamorous task of reading to servitors.²² That began to change over the course of the seventeenth-century, as the Western European idea of literacy as elite habit became popular and as heavier interactions with Western Europe led to a need for more competent translators and interpreters.²³ This trend was fuelled by the Europhile tendencies of Peter the Great, pushing literacy forward as he also encouraged study abroad. It continued under Catherine the Great (r. 1762–1796), whose reign heralded the beginning of the remarkable trend of Francophilia amongst the Russian elite, an enthusiasm for a language and a nation that had virtually no standing in Russia even a century earlier.²⁴ Early nineteenth-century elite Russian culture as literate and French-functioning was the result of a phenomenal trajectory away from a primarily oral Russian culture towards a more literate and foreignized one. But in 1724, where we lay our scene, the Russian elite still primarily functioned in other languages indirectly, via expert middle-men translators and interpreters.

The history of foreigners functioning in Russia and in Russian also underwent remarkable changes in this period. In the fifteenth century, learning Russian was a privilege, and one then granted solely to the preferred traders of the Hansa.²⁵ At least by the end of the sixteenth century this had changed, with the Englishman Mark Ridley producing a Russian-English dictionary. This dictionary did attempt to create a general view of common Russian and English words, but also included thematic word lists, a common strategy in this era of

²² GRIFFIN: “Bureaucracy and Knowledge Creation”.

²³ For example, the establishment of the Slavo-Greco-Latin Academy in 1685, an institution in part aimed at creating a translator corps. See in particular CHRISSIDIS: *An Academy at the Court of the Tsars: Greek Scholars*.

²⁴ ARGENT & OFFORD & RJEOUTSKI: “The Functions and Value of Foreign Languages in Eighteenth-Century Russia”.

²⁵ MAIER: “Foreign-Language Specialists in Muscovite Russia (16th and early 17th Century)”, 191.

Russian bilingual dictionaries.²⁶ Such dictionaries did not translate into a broad Russian-speaking expat community in Russia. Jos Schaeken has examined the papers of one such unusual European who learnt Russian from a private tutor.²⁷ Significantly, Schaeken's unnamed language student specifically wanted to learn to write phrases used in official letters. Alongside the trajectory of more Russians becoming more functional in non-Slavic languages, more Western Europeans became more directly functional in Russian, but that functionality was limited and often aimed at fulfilling particular tasks, rather than obtaining some abstract concept of fluency.

These issues of functionality take us to issues of social history and community. Peter Burke has argued that language helps make a community, that the language or languages spoken by a particular group helps bind them together.²⁸ He particularly points to the rise in use of Dutch and the standardisation of Dutch in grammar books in the seventeenth century.²⁹ The existence and language of the Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* were shaped by the previous century of the development of the Dutch language. Yet there was more to the Dutch merchants' linguistic community than this. Our Dutch book could be picked up by any Dutch reader, but it was designed to appeal specifically to Dutch merchants dealing with Russia. We know that these men knew little Russian, but we also know that they were plugged into networks of translators, interpreters, language teachers, and trading contexts that required and allowed them to function in Russia in a way the average denizen of Amsterdam would not have. Dutch merchants were not bound together by *knowledge* of Russian but by their ability to *function* in Russian-speaking contexts, in part via texts like the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade*.

Untranslatable Commodities

One major issue in creating and translating trade texts in the post-1500 world was commodity terms. In the aftermath of the early European invasions of the Americas, goods from Afro-Eurasia began to circulate the Americas and those from the Americas to circulate Afro-Eurasia.³⁰ This was an expansion and rearrangement of the long-distance trade interactions of the premodern world, which had linked sub-Saharan Africa with the Mediterranean world, and Western Eurasia and East Asia, for centuries.³¹ The novel commodities made available by those new trade routes required a linguistic intervention. Returning to Liu's concept of "negotiating commensurability," our Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* allows us to see

²⁶ Several are included in the dictionary attributed to Mark Ridley. STONE: *A Dictionarie of the Vulgar Russe Tongue, Attributed to Mark Ridley*.

²⁷ SCHAOKEN: "On Language Learning and Intercultural Communication in Seventeenth-Century Russia."

²⁸ BURKE: *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*.

²⁹ IBIDEM, 83.

³⁰ On early modern global trade see for example GERRITSEN & RIELLO: *The Global Lives of Things*; GRIFFIN: "Disentangling Commodity Histories"; PEREZ-GARCIA et al.: "Big Data and 'New' Global History."

³¹ For a recent work engaging with the idea of global medieval trade, see BERZOCK: *Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time: Art, Culture, and Exchange across Medieval Saharan Africa*.

how Russian administrators and Dutch translators negotiated in naming valuable commodities, a linguistic exchange vital to desired material exchanges.³²

Some commodity names were translated in the Dutch edition. Looking through both documents we find arsenic (Russian: мышьяк/mysh'iak, Dutch: the Latin term arsenicum), mercury (Russian: ртуть/rtut', Dutch: the Anglicized quicksilver rather than the Dutch kwikzilver), and sal ammoniac (Russian: нашатырь/nashatyr', Dutch: the Latin term sal ammoniac).³³ As such chemicals were available in some quantity across the globe, each language has different words for them; as they are available in varying quantities and qualities in different regions, they have also been traded for centuries. Other commodity terms were also translated: human hair (Russian: волосы человеческие/volosy chelovecheskie, Dutch: Menschen-Hair), traded to produce the then-fashionable wigs essential to elites across Europe.³⁴ Hair, human or otherwise, is again common enough that all languages have their own word for it. When a commodity was common enough to have a local term but its global distribution was sufficiently uneven to be traded, then a translation into a pre-existing term was made.

However, when a commodity was from outside Europe, especially when it was a new commodity for Afro-Eurasia like those from the Americas, then something different happened. Cardamom, a spice made from plants native to South and South East Asia and known in Western Eurasia since the ancient period, has distinctly similar names in both languages: in Russian it is кардамон/kardamon; in Dutch it is cardamom.³⁵ Tobacco, that famous American commodity known and used across Afro-Eurasia from the sixteenth century on, also has markedly similar terms in both languages: in Russian табак/tabak; in Dutch toebak.³⁶ Tobacco is neither a Russian nor a Dutch word, rather it is a term adopted from Spanish, itself possibly originally taken from the Caribbean language Taino.³⁷ A now less well known American commodity, sassafras, can also be found in these documents as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was a valued medicament across Western Eurasia, under a name first given to it by the French and then adopted across Afro-Eurasia.³⁸ The term in Russian is дерево сасофрасъ/derevo sasofras, sassafras wood; in Dutch it is sassafras.³⁹ In these latter two cases then, the Dutch and the Russians both spoke a commodity language of the Atlantic World. As these commodities were grown and produced outside of the Netherlands and the Russian Empire the terms for them in both Dutch and Russian were markedly similar, as the foreign term followed the object it named through global trading channels.

³² LIU: "Legislating the Universal", 152–153.

³³ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, 8, 9, 12; *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 25 and 48.

³⁴ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, section on imported goods, 3. *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 34.

³⁵ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, section on imported goods, pages 5. *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 28 and 29.

³⁶ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, section on imported goods, 15; *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 53. Although tobacco use was restricted in Russia during the seventeenth century, cf.: ROMANIELLO: "Muscovy's Extraordinary Ban on Tobacco".

³⁷ BOOMERT: "Names for Tobago".

³⁸ GRIFFIN: "Disentangling Commodity Histories".

³⁹ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, section on imported goods, 3; *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 30.

As commodities retained their original names whilst they made their way to the Russian Empire, so commodities exclusively or substantially sourced from within the Russian Empire also retained Russian names abroad. One such term can be found in these texts: sable. The Russian *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* lists several kinds of sable fur in its outgoing goods section, all under the term соболь/sobol'.⁴⁰ We find this term in the Dutch version under the category pelterey (pelts): allerley Sobels (all kinds of sable).⁴¹ The Dutch term then differs from the Russian only in the alphabet used, the orthography (with the change of “o” to “e”), and the addition of a Dutch plural (“s”). Sable is the Slavic term for the popular luxury fur of the eponymous mammal which, due to the expansion of the Russian Empire, eventually lived almost exclusively within Russian-controlled territories, in particular Siberia and the Russian Far East. East Slavic principalities were the major source of sables to Western Europe even before Muscovy’s conquest of the Khanate of Sibir’ in the 1580s, with indigenous Siberian peoples paying tribute to East Slavic rulers in sables from at least the late fifteenth century.⁴² Sables were exported to Western Europe in substantial quantities: in 1662 alone Russia exported over 15,000 pelts.⁴³ Sables were not from the historical East Slavic lands, not initially hunted by Slavs, nor were they only named sables. The Solon people (an Evenk group) provided the Qing empire with this commodity, themselves naming it *biskal*, and Qing administrators calling it *seke* in Manchu and *diao* in Chinese.⁴⁴ It was the combination of Moscow’s domination of the trade from Northern Asia to Western Europe along with its Eastward-facing colonialism swallowing up the sables’ original habitat that meant that to Western Europeans sables were a commodity with a Russian name.

Russian Officialdom

Alongside commodity terms, the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* is concerned with Russian law and Russian official customs practices. Outside the long lists of commodities for import and export and the sections on what constitutes a luxury good, the rest of the book deals with payments, customs officials, and rules for merchant behaviour, all of which were specific to the Russian Empire. This is hugely important: knowledge of commodities is useless without an ability to function within the context of trade officialdom and correctly interact with bureaucrats whose decisions could sink an entire trade deal. This, then, presents another significant challenge, another negotiation of commensurability, to establish how Dutch merchants should understand the nature and titles of key Russian civil servants.

The sections of the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* that are continuous narrative laws rather than tables include a number of Russian official words and concepts, including, unsurprisingly, customs officials. Rather more surprising is how the Dutch text translates such terms. One of the decrees in its Dutch version specifies the role of “de Tollbediende of Zelowalnik

⁴⁰ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, section on imported goods, 21.

⁴¹ *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 72.

⁴² See for example MARTIN: *Treasure of the Land of Darkness*, 81.

⁴³ KOTILAINE: “Competing Claims,” 289.

⁴⁴ ROUÉ & MOLNAR: *Knowing our Lands and Resources*, 118; CHIA: “The Solon Sable Tribute, Hunters of Inner Asia and Dynastic Elites at the Imperial Centre,” 26–27.

(*Inspecteur*),” “the customs official or *tselovalnik* (inspector)”.⁴⁵ *Tselovalnik* (*tselovalnik* sng; *tselovalniki* pl) is equivalent to a swornman, someone who has taken an oath to serve the tsar. It is derived from the word “kiss” (*tselovat*), as Muscovite oaths were taken by kissing a cross, a practice used in the East Slavic lands from at least the twelfth century.⁴⁶ This title was used well into the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ Here, the Dutch text is specifying that the title of the Russian customs officials merchants will encounter is *tselovalnik*. It then also further explains the meaning of this – a *tselovalnik* is the particular kind of customs official that inspects goods. The Dutch text takes one concept – customs officials – and explains it to us three times, with their general position, Russian title, and Dutch equivalent title.

We would expect this explanation of *tselovalnik* the Dutch version gives us to be absent from the Russian text, as Russian readers would recognise such a common form of official. Yet even the title itself absent from the Russian text, with the relevant section calling them only “таможенные служители” (*tamozhennye sluzhiteli*), “customs servitors.”⁴⁸ Indeed, *tselovalniki* worked in any number of different areas of governance, particularly in financial and policing roles in towns. Referring to them just as *tselovalniki* here in the Russian would be confusing and pointless, as not all *tselovalniki* were have been customs officials even as customs officials were *tselovalniki*. For that matter, other Russian-Dutch texts translate customs officials’ titles without referring to the *tselovalniki*: Fenne’s *Low German Manual* translates таможник/*tamozhnik* (customs officer) as tollner (customs officer).⁴⁹ The Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* is then more specific than Russian text but actually at the expense of clarity.

This situation echoes one described by Lisa Hellman in the context of eighteenth-century trade in the Chinese port then called Canton, present-day Guangzhou. As Russian business handbooks were translated for Dutch merchants dealing with Russia, so Cantonese-English dictionaries were created for European merchants active in China. Speaking of the translation choices made in those dictionaries, Hellman writes that certain terms

*[A]re either vague or become short explanations rather than translations per se. In the Blake dictionary, for example, an erhu fiddle only become [sic] ‘a musical instrument’, whereas a go board is explained as ‘a game board which is used with white and black stones or men’. As the words chosen for the dictionaries were not part of a European tradition for music, games, or clothes, they also pose the question of what knowledge a trader would have access to, or even want access to.*⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Emphasis in the original. *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 82.

⁴⁶ MIKHAILOVA & PRESTEL: “Cross Kissing”.

⁴⁷ AKELEV & WILSON: “The Barber of All Russia”; KAMENSKII: “Do We Know the Composition of the 18th Century Russian society?”

⁴⁸ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, decree of 1724, 30.

⁴⁹ HENDRICKS & SCHAEKEN: *Tönnies Fenne’s Low German Manual of Spoken Russian*, 52.

⁵⁰ HELLMAN: “Learning (on) Local Terms,” 44.

Particularly interesting for our purposes, she goes on “Such examples include the word for a civil servant ‘a man who has passed the imperial examination’.”⁵¹ This is markedly similar to the Dutch translation of customs officials as “the customs official or *tsevalnik* (inspector).” In both cases, foreign merchants needed to know who these officials were in order to trade successfully, but the Chinese or Russian context was seen as sufficiently Other that rather than finding the closest equivalent term in the target language it was considered that a better sense of the concept could be given with a short explanation. These rather awkward translations then stemmed not from linguistic incapability, but rather from expediency.

Dutch Arrangements

We can further examine how the Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* prioritizes the immediate needs of traders by moving from looking at words and phrases to looking at the structure of the text. In broad overview, the Dutch text follows the structure of the St Petersburg printing of the Russian original. All the documents included in the Russian are present in the Dutch, in the order of the original, with no notable excisions or additions of paragraphs or documents. The clearest demonstration of how the text simultaneously follows the Russian original and departs from it on an organisational level is in the tables of imports and exports. Looking at this section of the text, we can again see substantial effort on the part of the translator to move this text towards the needs of the Dutch merchant readership.

Organisation is hugely important to how we use texts. From BuzzFeed listicles to the fractured timelines of postmodern novels, what comes next shapes our experience of reading and using texts. This was particularly important during the eighteenth-century’s boom in reference texts, with Samuel Johnson stating in 1756 that arranging materially alphabetically was a key feature of the age; he was speaking of Europe, but Hellman sees this principle at work in China as well.⁵² Lynda Mugglestone has argued of such texts that “order was central to the utility of a reference work”.⁵³ If we cannot find it, we cannot use it. Alphabetic organisation required a huge input of time and effort. Without the benefit of modern word-processing software which allows us to reorder text quickly, efficiently, neatly, and even automatically, any organisation of a text had to be done by hand.

The import/export tables of our *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* follow the eighteenth-century trend for arranging reference texts, and give us a case-study of how that practice worked out across languages. Those tables are alphabetical in each version, according to the alphabet of each respective language. The Russian version uses 25 Cyrillic characters in contemporary alphabetical order to create 24 sections (“и” and “і” sharing a section) including the letters “i,” and “θ” that are no longer used in modern Russian but excluding characters like “Ъ” that cannot be used to start a word. This reflects a specific moment in Russian orthography. Up until the end of the seventeenth century, Russian used 44-45 characters including the “i” and

⁵¹ IBIDEM.

⁵² MUGGLESTONE: “Ranging Knowledge by the Alphabet,” 207; HELLMAN: “Learning (on) Local Terms,” 46.

⁵³ MUGGLESTONE: “Ranging Knowledge by the Alphabet,” 215.

“θ.”⁵⁴ The Russian *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* represents an alphabetical arrangement based on the short-lived Petrine civil script, introduced in 1708.⁵⁵ It was already defunct by 1755 when the Russian scientist M. V. Lomonosov produced a grammar book using only 30 letters, removing both the “i,” and “θ” completely.⁵⁶ Interestingly, Peter the Great consulted with printers in Amsterdam on the orthographic reforms that created the Petrine civil script, as they were in part brought in to make Russian more easily printable.⁵⁷ Items in the Russian import/export tables are then arranged alphabetically by their Russian names according to a specific early eighteenth-century orthographical moment.

When the import/export tables were reproduced in the Dutch version of the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* they were rearranged according to the 23 characters of the early modern Dutch alphabet. For example, when the Russian term for arsenic, мышьяк/mysh’iak, was translated into the Latin term used in the Dutch, arsenicum, it was moved from under the Cyrillic letter “м/м” to under the Latin character “a,” relocating it several pages from its original place in the list.⁵⁸ This would have required substantial time and effort. The translator would have had to make a list of all the items in the Russian text translated into Dutch, then group them into their alphabetical arrangements in the target language. The import/export tables, although they contain the same items in an alphabetical arrangement in both texts, were actually painstakingly deconstructed and reconstructed in the production of the Dutch translation.

The rearrangements do not stop there. In the Russian original, we find multiple labelled sub-sections within the alphabetical sections. In the imports table we find wine (виноградные пѣтѣя/vinogradnye pit’ya) and cloth (сукна/sukna); in the exports we find soft items (мягкая рухлядь/myagkaya rukhlyad’), which includes a further sub-section of furs (мехи/mekhi) and ship sails by size (машты карабельные мерою/mashty karabelnye meroyu); both import and export tables include sub-sections on bread (хлебъ/khleb’).⁵⁹ The Dutch version also includes labelled sub-sections in the import table, yet those sections do not line up with the Russian. Sub-sections such as Droogeryen (drugs), and Verstoffen (dyes) were innovations to the text created for the Dutch translation.⁶⁰ Items were also typically double-listed in the Dutch version. For example, arsenic is listed both under the sub-heading of drugs and individually, putting it in both the As and the Ds.⁶¹ The compilers of both the Russian and the Dutch versions of the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* felt that thematic sub-sections within a general alphabetical arrangement were an important organising device, yet had different priorities for which kinds of goods should be so highlighted.

⁵⁴ HOLLAND: “Russian Orthographic Reform,” 14–15.

⁵⁵ IBIDEM.

⁵⁶ CRACRAFT: *The Petrine Revolution in Russian culture*, 294. Some of these characters are still used in other Cyrillic alphabets, such as that presently used for modern Kazakh.

⁵⁷ IBIDEM, 269.

⁵⁸ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, 12; *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 25.

⁵⁹ *Tarif Sanktpeterburgskogo*, import/export tables, 2, 13, 16, 22, 23, 27.

⁶⁰ *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 29, 55.

⁶¹ *Reglement van laden en lossen*, 25 and 29.

Those labelled sub-headings are related to the kinds of goods of substantial value to Russian officialdom and the Dutch mercantile community respectively. The Russian export sub-sections of soft items and furs includes not only sables, but also other similar commodities such as Siberian squirrel. The Russian state made a substantial amount of money from their fur exports, especially those furs on which they had a near-monopoly in Europe because the habitat of the free-living animals from which the fur was taken lay within the Russian Empire. The Dutch import sub-sections on drugs and dyes highlight items that had a very high price-per-weight, important when filling a merchant ship with a specific weight limit. The labelled sub-headings are then not there merely to indicate groups of items, but rather to help the reader navigate quickly to “big-ticket items” of specific interest because of their high profits. Although the Russian and Dutch versions make different decisions about what to highlight, they both make the decision to aid navigation to key items and facilitate that navigation using similar methods.

The decision to reorder the subsections when translating the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* into Dutch takes us back to its purpose and its audience. Veluwenkamp has argued that, as knowledge of commodities and markets were key to commercial success, merchants typically specialised in a particular kind of goods in order to know that area of trade better. They were running a boutique, not a Walmart. This did not mean they would never source anything out of their usual area – money has no prejudice – but rather that they practised a commercial behaviour that was typically highly specialised but was also flexible when necessary.⁶² Having then a full list of commonly-traded goods and their tariffs that was also arranged to facilitate locating information on particular groups of commodities allowed merchants of various specialisations to focus in on their target, and so making the Dutch *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* a more valuable item for potential purchase. The alphabetic organisation identified as important by Johnson, Hellman, and Mugglestone, in the Russian-Dutch trading context was significant but also multiply adapted. Moving from one alphabet to another necessitated textual reorganisation to maintain alphabetical order, but more than that, alphabetical organisation, in both versions of the *How-To Guide to Russian Trade*, was only a starting point for an ordering of knowledge based on trade priorities and not linguistics.

Conclusion

The *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* in its Russian and Dutch versions gives us an important case-study of how a mercantile reference book was constructed and reconstructed across two languages in an era of global trade. This book, its original creation, its translation, and its audience all serve to underline Hellman’s statement on the importance of ports to early modern histories of translation. Peter the Great wanted naval manuals translated from Dutch for his state-building plans, and French intellectuals enjoyed editions of Sumarokov’s plays. Yet alongside these desired translations, merchants required translation for their livelihoods. In a world where cardamom from South Asia could be sold next to fur from Siberia and tobacco from the Americas, the wheels of commerce were greased by linguistic support for material exchanges. There was no globalisation without linguistic innovation.

⁶² VELUWENKAMP: “Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Family Networks”.

The kind of innovation formed in the context of ports and trading hubs was shaped by community priorities, not linguistic principles. In Archangelsk, St Petersburg, and other Russian Imperial ports, trade was conducted and regulated by non-fluent merchants and officials functioning in a multilingual environment. The Dutch translation of terms does not aim at a neat encapsulation of a foreign term in a single Dutch word, but rather to convey as helpfully as possible the meaning and significance of that term. The Dutch translation of tables does not aim at fealty to the original, but rather utility to the audience. The presence of what seems like awkward phrasing and heavy-handed reorganisation then is not evidence of linguistic incapacity. Rather, it is evidence of substantial capability for linguistic innovation informed by readers' priorities.

The *How-To Guide to Russian Trade* also shows us the intersection of early modern practices of organisation and translation. The import/export tables in both editions use the same strategies of alphabetic organisation and categoric sub-sections, even as that information could be conveyed in other arrangements. They differ in the principles of how that organisation is applied, which sub-sections should exist and how they should relate to the rest of the list. Words are rarely translated in a vacuum, and here the vital context of the rush to profits shaped how words were arranged and rearranged. Individual terms are the building-blocks of texts or, perhaps we should say instead, discrete words are the remnants of a disarticulated body of language. How they are put together is as important to understanding their translation as the word itself.

Overall, these two texts tell us of the mercenary linguistic environment of the early modern port translation. There is no interest here in creating a general principle of language, or a definitive translation. These texts were not meant to make a meaningful contribution to the development of either language or to Russian-Dutch translation practices. Rather, they were created and informed by immediate and specific mercantile needs. That led to a deliberately limited kind of meaning. The non-fluent actors of early modern Russian-Dutch trade did not need definitive, they needed immediate. In the shifting early modern global world of trading laws, commodities, and empires, language was for right now, not forever.

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Nadia Georgiou

Invisible Mediators: Interpreters of German Occupied Greece (1941–1944)

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Abstract

Recent years have seen the creation of a complex and multifaceted body of scholarly work examining the role of translators and interpreters in conflict situations. More is yet to be discovered, however, about these significant individuals and their functions and contribution to past and current wartime situations. Using data collected from oral histories gathered as part of the digital archive project by the Free University of Berlin, and the written testimonials provided by the Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, this study focuses on the underexplored role of interpreters in German Occupied Greece (1941–1944). The digital archive offers key information regarding issues beyond what has been recorded so far regarding interpreter ethnic and ideological allegiances, for instance. Issues connected to the interpreters' background, with a special emphasis on acquisition of linguistic skills, shed light on broader anthropological and sociological issues, such as their level of education, which may be linked to social class. Gender is another aspect discussed, as a result of the finding that a large number of interpreters in Occupied Greece were women.

Keywords: interpreters; World War II; Occupied Greece; gender; social class; ideology

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Abstract

Recent years have seen the creation of a complex and multifaceted body of scholarly work examining the role of translators and interpreters in conflict situations. More is yet to be discovered, however, about these significant individuals and their functions and contribution to past and current wartime situations. Using data collected from oral histories gathered as part of the digital archive project by the Free University of Berlin, and the written testimonials provided by the Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies, this study focuses on the underexplored role of interpreters in German Occupied Greece (1941–1944). The digital archive offers key information regarding issues beyond what has been recorded so far regarding interpreter ethnic and ideological allegiances, for instance. Issues connected to the interpreters' background, with a special emphasis on acquisition of linguistic skills, shed light on broader anthropological and sociological issues, such as their level of education, which may be linked to social class. Gender is another aspect discussed, as a result of the finding that a large number of interpreters in Occupied Greece were women.

The Greek experience of the Nazi Occupation (1941–1944) and occupation interpreters

WWII is a particular chapter in European and world history that continues to hold the interest of scholars due to its multi-site and multi-cultural operations and their wide-ranging repercussions. In Greece in particular, the disillusionment of the Greek-Italian war of 1940–41 and the bleakness of the German Occupation (1941–1944) were further heightened by the civil war (1946–1949), which started when most countries in Europe were settling into peace. It is not coincidental that there is no official state holiday in Greece celebrating the unconditional surrender of Germany's armed forces with a Victory in Europe Day. Instead, the bewildering 'Anniversary of the No' (Επέτειος του Όχι) is celebrated each October 28th. The event commemorates Ioannis Metaxas¹ rejection of the ultimatum sent by Benito Mussolini, who had, via proxy of his Italian ambassador in Athens, demanded Axis forces be allowed entrance to Greek territories (MAZOWER 2001).

¹ Metaxas was a military officer who became prime minister in 1936. While Metaxas assumed his duties as prime minister in a democratic and constitutional fashion initially, within a few months he established a coup and became dictator, under the auspices of the Greek King George II. The 'Anniversary of the No' is now commemorated annually as an act of patriotism while Metaxas' pro-fascist affiliations and dictatorial regime are glossed over.

The forces of the Greek Resistance, which helped to keep the morale high during the occupation by raging a guerrilla war against the German regime but also engaging in humanitarian and protection work (PERRAKIS 2022), were the same ones to throw the country into political turmoil and cause civil instability after the official withdrawal of the occupying forces in 1944. This civil war between members of the communist fractions (EAM) and the royalist army (ELAS) came to a tentative halt four years later, in 1949. This series of events was later on exploited by post-1974 leftist governments to create a rhetoric which has inexorably linked WWII with the civil bloodshed that followed and the perceived role that the Greek resistance played in Greek liberation (PERRAKIS 2022). This politicization of wartime history has resulted in what Perrakis terms “the politicization of memory” (ibid.: 345), a fact which will also be reflected in the material discussed in this paper.

One of the manifestations of the political split between the left and right side of the resistance was an ideological dichotomy, with patriots on the one side and traitors or collaborators on the other. As a result, the partisans involved in the Resistance, as well as their counterparts engaged in administrative and civil work during and after the occupation, have been tainted by association and often demarcated as either heroes or villains. Even before the defeat and retreat of the German forces were publicly known, the guerrilla forces of EAM-ELAS² started a crusade of purification, which involved the execution of Nazi collaborators, perceived or true, since a collaborator was anyone who might be suspected of “working traitorously with the enemy” (DAVIES 2005: 5). As Davies notes, however, this definition is too narrow to capture the complexity and nuanced nature of the phenomenon. Translation history studies focusing on roughly the same period (1940–1945) testify to the heterogeneous and multi-faceted tasks undertaken and roles performed by interpreters working for occupying forces (NAKAMURA 2008; TAKEDA 2014; KUJAMÄKI 2016; ROSENDO 2019). These studies point towards a complex liminality, either ideological, emotional, or ethical, which situates interpreters working under conditions of occupation within a morally ambiguous area from the point of view of the researcher who often has limited insight into their motivation and thought processes.

Gaining insight into interpreters’ lived experiences often proves a challenging task, as sources pertaining to war time interpreters and translators of the period examined are particularly sparse and the evidence found there ambiguous and often inconclusive (TORIKAI 2009; FOOTITT & KELLY 2012). Two of the most common sources are translator and interpreter autobiographies and memoirs (such as in KUJAMÄKI 2016; ROSENDO 2019), archival material (such as in KUJAMÄKI 2014; TAKEDA 2014) or a combination (RODRÍGUEZ-ESPINOSA 2016). As has been noted (KUJAMÄKI 2016; TAKEDA 2016), interpreters themselves rarely discuss or describe their interpreting and translation work even in their own memoirs. It is often the case that they consider it part of their more general clerical role, or they often associate it with a sense of embarrassment. The same applies to eyewitness accounts in which interpreters are present: in those accounts interpreters are mentioned, usually in passing, especially in situations of Gestapo interrogations. Interpreters are also mentioned in

² EAM-ELAS: “abbreviation of Greek Ethnikón Apeleftherotikón Métopon–Ethnikós Laïkós Apeleftherotikós Strátos, English National Liberation Front–National Popular Liberation Army, communist-sponsored resistance organization (formed September 1941) and its military wing (formed December 1942), which operated in occupied Greece during WWII” (*ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA*).

connection to other administrative and clerical translation tasks, as they seemed to have been used as clerks in the regime's bureaucratic services.

Apart from the scarcity of resources there is also the matter of their reliability. Firstly, because these accounts, either by interpreters themselves or by other individuals who mention them, are often "constrained by time, audience and social frameworks" (KUJAMÄKI 2016: 118). As a result, they have undergone a series of rewritings, both in the sense of the individual's memories of the past and in terms of textual editing. As Munday notes, "the mediation of memory is inherently unreliable" (MUNDAY 2014: 68), a belief echoed by other scholars working with war narratives. As Perrakis concurs, the war testimonials he used "often give exaggerated and occasionally self-serving or misleading accounts of their author's activities" (PERRAKIS 2022: 5), at least partially one could argue, due to "affect memory", which is defined as the "emotionally expressed feeling that recurs when recalling a significant experience" (KOSKINEN 2012: 24). Regarding the particular material discussed in this paper, the second source of unreliability is a direct effect of the politicization of wartime memory, mentioned earlier. As will be seen in the discussion, sources (both entirely fictional and semi-fictional) are more readily found about interpreters who were members of the Communist party. Their trajectories have been preserved, reiterated, commemorated and celebrated in different forms and their memory is still present today.

The digital archives that host the accounts used in the discussion provide a variety of oblique or passing comments of eye/ear witnesses about conversations with German officials or civil servants, usually without explanations as to the language used to communicate or the presence of interpreters. Without precluding the possibility that in some instances the reports were made by people able to speak and understand German, I would argue that in far more instances the language mediator has become invisible in their role, for a variety of reasons, as will be seen in the discussion. Similar to Kujamäki (2014), therefore, the presence of interpreters cannot be based on explicit textual references alone. Instead, the very useful concept of "assumed translational spaces" and, therefore, "assumed interpreters" (ibid.: 130) is used in this article.

The interpreter of Occupation Greece is an unaccounted presence, a transparent pane of glass that occupiers and occupied were able to communicate through, used to negotiate, come to terms, diffuse potentially flammable situations, and avoid confrontation, even head-on conflict. Often equally despised by both parties, their status as mediators had them treading on a tightrope without a safety net: were they German and Italian collaborators and therefore unpatriotic, even traitorous? Did they place themselves at key places within the administrative mechanism in order to prevent, to protect, to warn against, therefore, acting in a humanitarian capacity, as has been observed in other instances (ROSENDO 2019), being, as a result, altruistic, even heroic? At the time and because of the extreme conditions under which they operated, "framed by prior or anticipated violence" (KUJAMÄKI 2014: 130) interpreters could not simply be language professionals providing a paid service, as we often view them now. The political, ideological and ethical implications of their involvement were too influential, too inciting and open to an array of interpretations, easily twisted by the public, the occupiers, and even the interpreters themselves.

Method and materials

This study draws data from two sources. Firstly, the digital archive of the Center for Neo-Hellenic Studies (henceforth referred to as shell), which has 58 witness accounts about significant events of modern Greek history, including aspects of the Italo-Greek war, the occupation, the resistance and the civil war that ensued. In support of the earlier point about the scarcity of information regarding acts of communication, and therefore, references to war-time and occupation translators and interpreters, out of the 27 WWII testimonials only three have explicit references to (unnamed) interpreters, though there are instances of “assumed interpreting”. The second source of information is the digital archive ‘Memories of the Occupation in Greece’ (henceforth referred to as MOG) co-created by the Free University of Berlin and the University of Athens. It includes 93 oral history biographical interviews with survivors of the German Occupation in Greece and is a unique source of information, completed in 2016.

The oral history interviews of the MOG project, as well as the written testimonials of the shell are in Greek. The MOG oral interviews have been transcribed along with the recorded account of each witness and attached as a .pdf file, which was downloadable and keyword searchable. The Greek transcripts of the interviews were used for the analysis undergone for this article, in conjunction with the video of the interview which offered useful extralinguistic elements, such as laughter, smiling, body movement, pauses, lowering or raising of the voice, among other indicators. Such indicators often manifest the speaker’s state of mind and emotional state, which may not always be in accordance with the content of their interview.

The oral interview accounts do not offer specific information about acts of mediation and communication or the acts of translating and interpreting. It was therefore necessary, and luckily straightforward, to conduct keyword searches in the text of the digital archives, in order to see what type of information was available. The keywords used were *διερμην** (the equivalent of interpret*), *μεταφρασ** (the equivalent of translat*) as well as the keywords for the adjective German*, Ital* and French (*γερμαν**, *ιταλ** and *γαλλ**). The keywords for German, Italian and French were used with RQ2 in mind, namely “How did the interpreters acquire their language skills?” Although most of the interpreters mentioned are assumed to be working with German and Greek as their language combination, there are instances of interpreters working with English, French and Italian. The keyword search yielded 23 hits for interpret* and nine for translat*. The searches for German* understandably yielded tens of hits for each transcribed interview.

After the sections where interpreting is mentioned were located, patterns of information started emerging. These patterns were input on a spreadsheet and have formed the categories presented in the discussion section. The discussion section has been structured according to these recurrent categories, in the form of thematic analysis. The themes were determined according to the research questions (RQs), which are

- RQ1: What information is available regarding the interpreters’ name, gender, nationality, social background, education, and pre-war profession?
- RQ2: How did the interpreters acquire their language skills?
- RQ3: How were the interpreters treated by the occupying forces and the local populace at the time (1941–1944)?

For the purposes of clarity and ease of cross-referencing, the excerpts in the analysis and discussion will be mentioned by code. For the MOG project, the code was created by the researchers who conducted the oral interviews and has the form mog051, for instance. For the snhell project, the code created for the three entries that will be used is a combination of the project provenance (snhell), followed by the number of the writer/editor assigned by snhell. An example would be snhell043 for the collection of the testimonials edited by Papademetriou (2003).

Finally, a note regarding the translation of the data, which in its initial form were oral and spoken in Greek. In the case of the MOG project, subtitles in English and in German are available with the video of the interview. For reasons of copyright as well as for textual cohesion, I decided to provide my own translations of the excerpts used in this study, as I did for the excerpts used from the snhell archive. The thematic analysis was done in the Greek version of the data, as recommended by scholars in Applied Linguistics (PAVLENKO 2007).

Identity and language combinations of the interpreters

The purpose of the thematic analysis was to locate potential answers in response to the research questions. The accounts, however, provide multiple strands of information within the same response and are, therefore, difficult to categorise under one thematic label as several themes are present simultaneously. Regarding the key questions of the interpreters' biographical information, these are not readily addressed in the available accounts, unless they have some connection to the interpreter's role during the tasks and functions they performed. A pertinent example are the accounts found in the collection of Elli Papademetriou, in the testimonials gathered for snhell. The interpreters there are never named, only presented through their actions, such as in Papademetriou (2003), who mentions that

[snhell043] *The Germans enter presently with a Greek interpreter dressed in German clothes. They talk among themselves in German. I was about to ask my sister something very quietly but promptly the interpreter tells the German whose back was turned to me and he slapped me across the face with his heavy, gloved hand.*³

Similarly, in the testimonial of a farmer there are two interesting examples of interpreters, neither of whom is again named:

[snhell043] *[...] the door opens and four carabinieri [of the Italian military police] force themselves in, guns at the ready to shoot me. "Are you M...?" "Yes" I reply. "Get up" the interpreter told me. I get up, get dressed and ask them what they wanted with me. They say: "Give us the suitcase with the manifestos". "Guys, I say, I don't have any suitcase, all I have is a sack full of beans". [...] at the interrogation, the commander tells me: "Why did you leave your village without permission? Don't you know you're under police surveillance? Leave at once and go present yourself in Kiato today."*

³ The Greek versions of the translated data are included in Appendix A.

Interestingly, in the previous example the interpreter's mediation is only mentioned once, and then they are relegated to the "assumed interpreting space" discussed in the introduction. Again, the interpreter becomes invisible, with only their function as noteworthy point. This lack of interest in identifying the interpreter does not seem to stem from any malice on the part of the witness, and indeed the witness does not refer to the interpreter in any of the words used contemptuously for German collaborators in other accounts. This assumption is further justified by the same witness's account of a different interpreter.

[snhell043] *In Kiato, I had a let's call her relative, we were in-laws through her deceased husband, she taught foreign languages and spoke Italian. She immediately started socialising with the Italians, she may have hurt herself but did not harm us, she saved many. My family went to see her and she went to the Carabinieri [the military police] and spoke to the commander, an officer, who later on became her boyfriend—that is not our concern.*

This last example is the source of multiple themes, as will be elaborated in the next section. Equally interesting is the language used to describe both the woman, her function as a mediator and helper as well as the witness's feelings towards her and his knowledge of other opinions about her, which are different to his own. The Greek word *ψευτοσυγγένισσα* used here is a compound word, the first part of which is the word *ψευτο/ψευδό*, also found in English as *pseudo*, and having the same meaning: something false or fake. The compound word thus acquires the meaning of 'someone who is not really my relative' by which the witness distances himself from the woman, while at the same time makes sure to mention that 'she saved many'. This account is intriguing as it is typical of the complex attitudes with which many mediators, whether interpreters or other administrative and clerical staff, were viewed during the occupation in Greece and afterwards.

Another aspect of this complex attitude is the fact that the witness does not name his widowed relative, though he must be aware of her name. There are other accounts, however, in which interpreters' names are readily provided, such as the following testimony from the MOG project.

[mog014] *The interrogation started. There was an interpreter, his name was Yorgos, he wore a German uniform. I don't know if he was Greek or German.*

An interesting element of this particular account regards the witness' uncertainty as to the interpreter's ethnicity. The witness is clear about the interpreter's name, which is given in its Greek form and would lead us to assume the interpreter was indeed Greek. The name Yorgos, George in its anglophone version, has a German equivalent of Georg. Whether the witness was indeed confused by the seemingly Greek name and the German apparel of the interpreter or whether they were trying to make a point about the interpreter is open to interpretation.

A treasure trove of information, the following interview from the MOG project offers us not one but two interpreter names, as well as the information that several female camp inmates spoke German. ESG (ΕΣΓ) is the witness and GK (ΓΚ) the interviewer.

[mog018] ESG: *They were pretty typical. When you entered_ [overlapping speech]*

GK: *Soukatzidis [overlapping speech]*

ESG: *Yes. When you entered the camp, it was Napoleon that you met.*

GK: *Had you met him?*

ESG: *Of course, many times. He came to act as interpreter, although some of us knew German, some women. But he came to the camp with the German, the commander.*

[mog032] *There was a Yorgakakis Yorgis, who spoke, he was a patriot, and it was stupid of him because [car noise] had he declared he spoke German, they would use him as interpreter and he would live the good life. They were two brothers, one of them Yorgis and the other one called Thodoris. Because that one had graduated from the German School and spoke fluent German. And the poor fellow did not declare to say “I speak German” to include him in their tasks. And his brother, Thodoris, kept telling him: “Tell them that you speak German”, “No, because they will call me a traitor in the future”. And a few days later he died.*

[mog033] GK: *Was there an interpreter?*

NT: *There was an interpreter of course who, well, [shuffles his body forward] for the simple ones he did not, but he was generally more interested in the partisans. He pretended to be tough and such in front of the Germans, but he helped a lot. He must have existed somewhere [he exhales] Well, that person I couldn't find out when I returned, I couldn't thank him and so on. Because he helped me a lot, with the interrogations the Germans did.*

GK: *What did he do for you? How did he help you?*

NT: *At, at the ... I don't know where from he got the warning and such and in front of the Germans tough and such but [gestures] during the interrogations he said things in a better way and well, he generally helped the partisans. Irrespective of where they were.*

GK: *Was he Greek?*

NT: *Greek. Greek [shuffles his body forward] who had studied in Germany and spoke German there. Ah, the Germans, when someone spoke their language he mellowed, [smiles] they mellowed.*

A number of issues of interest come up in this account as well. The witness implies that the interpreter was particularly helpful towards the partisans and less so to more regular people who were interrogated. There is also information regarding the interpreter's educational background and his acquisition of German. An intriguing element of this account is the witness's response to the question of how the interpreter helped him and the others who were interrogated. The witness claims that the interpreter “said things in a better way” at the interrogations, which implies that the interpreter exercised his mediating power to manipulate the narrative by alterations, additions or omissions. This fact in itself is not an isolated incident, as will be seen by the example of mog040 and mog028 in the following section.

Attitudes towards wartime interpreters and interpreting

The following examples showcase a mixture of positive and negative attitudes towards interpreters. The first example from [mog040] conveys a very positive, admiring attitude towards

the woman, Zelo, who acted spontaneously in a situation of ‘impromptu interpreting’, as I term it, aided by her knowledge of German. A combination of information is provided in example mog040: the interpreter’s name and gender, how they acquired German and even the witness’s attitude towards them.

[mog040] *There was some resistance act that had happened, they killed a German and so on and they march into the village ready to burn it to the ground. And there goes Zelo, who had a German governess, she had a German governess and spoke perfect German and was tall, blonde, blue-eyed, Arian, gorgeous, and she finds the I don’t know who and tells him “We here, herr whatever, we are... [interruption] how could you possibly think that such a thing happened here? I can play the piano for you and all the German composers” and who knows what else.*

The next excerpt is reminiscent of similar accounts in Rosendo (2019) and Rodríguez-Espinosa (2016), in which interpreters acted as censors to filter and manage information in favour of the people interrogated.

[mog028] *One of them had an affair with an Italian superior officer of the Carabinieri. Roula. Roula with an R. I’ll talk about her. She took her with him, He took her with him, Antonio did, whom I knew because he came everyday downstairs and I saw him, we lived upstairs. And when he went to search Greek, houses of Greek resistance fighters he took her along as an interpreter. Roula, the moment they went inside tried to grasp the situation and would tell the girls or women or the wives of whoever was in the house when they went there and charged in the Italian carabinieri with Antonio in charge, “Say nothing. You know nothing.” And nothing else. [...] And after that she wouldn’t speak Greek again but only translated what Antonio said. I later found out that Antonio was in the know about Roula’s role. And that worked for him.*

In a different wartime situation, imprisoned in a concentration camp, the interpreter in Tryuk’s study advises: “You say nothing, and I’ll interpret”. Tryuk reports that the interpreter “handled the entire conversation with great skill and presented the matter such as the “Herr Lagerführer” understood everything completely” (2010: 141). Roula’s intervention seems less drastic in this example, but it would likely not be possible for the witness to know whether she span tales about the resistance fighters based on what those interrogated did or did not say. Her role as censor and protector of the interrogated being known to the carabinieri officer may also explain the lack of violent episodes narrated by the witness following such interrogations, in which the carabinieri, if they felt that the truth was being withheld, could always resort to violence and destruction. Equally interesting is the tone in which the account is narrated, as the witness appears neutral towards Roula despite her obviously helpful attitude, perhaps due to the moral ambiguity connected at the time with having an affair with a member of the occupying forces.⁴

⁴ Affairs between the occupier and occupied during the Nazi occupation of European counties have been the focus of several novels and films, such as *Suite française* by Irène Némirovsky (written in 1942 and published in 2004) and *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin* by Louis de Bernières (1994). In de Bernières’ book, one of the local Cephalonia women who is thought to have fraternised with a German officer is hanged

The case presented in [mog018] reflects again the complex moral attitude found in accounts such as [snhell043], as the witness offers two examples, a positive and a negative one.

[mog018] *One of his [the witness's father] brothers was Germanophile and loved the Germans. That is why, when the Germans were marching in, he didn't behave very well. They were not traitors, they weren't. And his, his son, who spoke very well, he'd graduated from the Goethe (Institute), he didn't join the Germans, working as an interpreter and such, no. But he loved the Germans [...] And that Zena Frangea went there too, supposedly as an interpreter. [...] when they were leaving [the Germans] though and they executed the interpreters, Papadoukas and that one and the, those ones they tortured with the Germans at the gorge, there, in Haidari⁵, they took her too. We had made our plans, that we'd find her and kill her. We had reached that point. And they told us "They took her away and executed her".*

The final two examples offer insights into attitudes of witnesses who perceived some interpreters as opportunists who manipulated the situation to not only survive but potentially thrive to the detriment of other members of their community.

[mog067] *KM: When the Germans came to the village, were there only Germans or were there Greeks with them too?*

XBM: There were of course, they had interpreters, they had some scumbags which were collaborators of the Germans. If only you knew how many people collaborated with the Germans then? [...] Others for money, others for ... (4) Unfortunately, in such cases you find plenty of scumbags.

The final example is particularly disturbing, mainly because of the witness's attitude, which seems to be a mixture of awkwardness and reluctance to divulge information which may, in the light of the interview, not seem as clear-cut as the witness believed at the time when the incident happened. It is also worth mentioning the phrasing used by the witness in Greek, translated here as "Oh, well" (*E, καλά*), which is a dismissive phrase, denoting something banal or of less importance than what the interviewer's (GK) question and tone suggested.

[mog060] *GK: Mr Taso, also, did the party at some point try to kill one of those who interpreted for the Germans?*

AM: One of who?

GK: An interpreter.

AM: Yes.

GK: Did they try to kill someone who interpreted for the Germans here in Tripoli?

AM: Oh, well, yes, they killed him in the monastery, the nun did.

in punishment. The Greek novelist Yorgos Theotokas in his novel *Ασθενείς και Οδοιπόροι* (*The Sick and Travelers*), initially published in 1950 and then in an expanded edition in 1964, recounts the tale of a Greek actress who had an affair with an SS officer in occupied Athens. At the end of the war, she was sentenced to death for treason by a people's tribunal led by partisans.

⁵ The Haidari camp, located in the Athenian suburb of the same name, was used as a concentration camp by the Axis powers during the occupation of Greece.

GK: *How did that happen?*

AM: *[laughs] One night, the nun Sofronia had given a, what do you call it? I've written it down, I don't know, I didn't know now. She took him inside the nunnery, took him to bed to make love and the guerrilla was under the bed with a knife, stabbed him, threw him over his shoulder and brought him to Martyr Demetrio's church. Dumped him outside Tzafa's house and left [laughs].*

GK: *What was the man's name?*

AM: *I don't recall.*

GK: *The interpreter. Was he called Lekkas?*

AM: *Lekkas, yes, yes [laughs].*

Andrianopoulos (2018) reports that there was a reprisal after the assassination of the interpreter Kostas Lekkas, killed in Tripoli on February 9th, 1943, in which the Germans executed 50 Greeks in retaliation. The fact that the retaliation was mainly due to the interpreter's assassination was made publicly known in an announcement issued by the German authorities (APOSTOLOPOULOS 2000).

Discussion

The testimonials retrieved from the eyewitness accounts and the oral interviews of the two digital archives used for this study help lift the veil of invisibility many language mediators have been assigned to by the norms of the day which considered their role and contributions secondary at best. It is a curious phenomenon that even in extreme and critical situations in which the intervention of a language mediator may mean the difference between life and death, their significance is not always weighted as it should. In fact, likely due to the morally ambiguous position of the perceived ideological 'in-betweenness' (TYMOCZKO 2003) of the interpreter, the interpreter becomes as Rafael notes "the polyglot foreigner whose uncertain allegiance and rootless existence" transform them into a potential enemy (RAFAEL 2009: 11). Even in cases in which the interpreter was clearly helpful towards the occupied, their morality was under scrutiny, and they often suffered from social stigma for their actions. Perhaps this was more so in the case of women, as was seen in mog028 with the example of Roula or in mog018 with the example of Zena Fragkea and in snhell043 with the unnamed widowed relative of the speaker.

During World War II the world was witness to a women's phenomenon. Women served in all branches of the military in many countries of the world: 225,000 in the British army, 450,000 to 500,000 in the American, 500,000 in the German. About a million women fought in the Soviet army (ALEXIEVICH 2017: x). The presence of women interpreters during this period has been noted by other scholars, particularly in the context of the US occupation of Japan after WW II (TAKEDA 2016; NAKAMURA 2008) often in an official military capacity, having undergone a recruitment process and relevant training. In terms of their language acquisition, Nakamura (2008: 55) states that these interpreters were second generation Japanese Americans (*Nisei*), while Takeda elaborates that the women hired as interpreters and translators "were mostly young and educated, often as English majors", adding that they "typically came from high social strata' were well-educated and equipped with the ability to

understand and accept different cultures; and needed to work for economic reasons” (TAKEDA 2016: 235).

In the accounts discussed here, out of the eighteen named individuals, there were six named women who acted as interpreters in a variety of situations. The presence of more women interpreters is implied by mog018, who states that an unspecified number of women prisoners held in the camp in Haidari were fluent in German, though presumably not necessarily as eager to share that information with the camp’s authorities. Considering that the prisoner’s camp in Haidari held mostly members of the Communist party who were often members of the working class (KOUNDOUROS 1978), the question arises: how, when and why did these women learn German?

Social class as a significant factor determining the degree, and even the existence, of education comes up repeatedly in the accounts. For instance, a potential source of language training for women is one mentioned in mog040 in the example of Zelo, who had a German governess. Governesses of a different ethnic background were not uncommon among the upper middle classes, with a preference to French governesses. Perrakis, discussing the family of Lela Karayanni, a middle-class member of the Greek Resistance, notes that there were also “the foreign language private tutors, one for English and one live-in for French, indispensable complements for the proper education of the children, especially the female ones in order to improve their social graces” (PERRAKIS 2022: 32). Reading the account of snhell 043, for instance, in its entirety, it is evident that Alex Zannou belonged to an affluent middle-class family, who managed to survive the occupation and the famine in Athens largely unscathed.

Other sources for language training were studies abroad, in Germany likely, such as in example mog033, or in Greece as part of the German school or one of the higher education institutions in which a foreign language, often German, was required, such as the Athens School of Commercial Studies founded in 1920. These two sources of language training would have been less available to women at the time, however. Finally, since heritage speakers very frequently become language mediators, it would be plausible to assume some heritage speakers among the interpreters of the time. Overall, there seems to have been some degree of language acquisition present. Mackridge and Ricks, for instance, report that in the mid-1930s “the knowledge of the English language came fourth in Greece, after French, German and Italian” (MACKRIDGE & RICKS 2018: 2), while it was French that Greek schoolchildren would have been taught at secondary school until the start of the war.

Instances of germanophilia among the interpreters and the presence of German-speakers who hid the fact of their linguistic abilities, also appear as a theme in the testimonials. It is easy to understand why any hints of love for the German language, literature, the country or its people could be perceived as outright treachery by the fellow occupied Greeks, even in cases of people who were raised by German governesses, had studied in Germany or indeed were of mixed ethnic parentage. Baker echoes this sentiment in discussing modern day war-time translators and interpreters when she notes that “the issue of trust is heavily depended on ethnicity” (BAKER 2010: 211). Footitt (2010) also observed mistrust of translators because of their ethnicity in her study. Such mistrust or overt suspicion is not surprising since wars are often nation-centric and even ethno-centric, and that certainly was the case with WWII. Since the accounts discussed here are those of non-interpreting individuals, they do not offer any insight into the state of mind and attitudes of interpreters themselves regarding their potential pro-German feelings, which ought to be distinguished from any existing pro-

Nazism feelings. Takeda, for instance, elaborates on the variety of feelings experienced by the interpreters which included shame and fear due to a sense of conflicting loyalties and the implications of the social stigma attached to their role (TAKEDA 2016). At the same time, curiosity and excitement were also present in Takeda's study, as some interpreters viewed this opportunity as a way to utilise their linguistic skills, come into contact with another culture and learn from it. An overall sense of excitement and an eagerness to embrace adventure is also described by Kujamäki (2016) in the analysis of two autobiographical accounts by a female Finnish interpreter during the Finnish-German military alliance (1941–1944). Is it likely not coincidental that the interpreters described in these studies were in many cases women who, having traditionally suffered multiple exclusions from education and workplace, found a way to contribute and attain a sense of purpose during the war.

The examples in the shell and MOG accounts demonstrate that the female interpreters' involvement during the occupation often engendered suspicion and even outward contempt, as may be observed in mog018. The witness clearly expresses her open hostility and disbelief towards Zena Frangea, the 'supposed' interpreter, who accompanied the Germans. The witness does not elaborate on her disbelief that Frangea did indeed interpret. The aborted execution planned by the witness and her cellmates speaks of the harsh moral judgement on the ethics of this particular interpreter. Would socially ascribed conventions, which Frangea seemed to overtly ignore, play any part in this vehemence towards her? This view would reflect Stefatos' summary of women's experiences in 1930s and 1940s, particular rural, Greece: women "were restricted to the private sphere [...] modesty and virginity, but especially the moral code of honor, were the means of this restriction" (STEFATOS 2011: 253). In other words, it would seem that the standard held to judge the morality of occupation interpreters was conflated for women, as the lines between loyalty to one's nation and conformity to the social mores ascribed to women by 1940s society became blurred.

A special mention is required for Napoleon Soukatzidis (in mog018), who was a member of the Communist party and an active interpreter at the internment camp in Haidari.⁶ Soukatzidis was executed, alongside another 199 political detainees, in Kaisariani in 1944 in reprisal for a German officer killed in an ambush by Greek guerrilla forces. Soukatzidis was a former refugee born in 1909 in Bursa, then part of the Ottoman empire, to a Greek family. His family was forced to move to Crete after the defeat of the Greek troops in Asia Minor in 1922 but not before he learned to speak Turkish and French. He later learned Russian and German and became an accountant but was captured by the government of Metaxas in 1936 because of his Communist party affiliation and sent to exile in Akronafplia, a town in Eastern Peloponnese. Soukatzidis' multiple displacements under the threat of war (in 1922) and Metaxas' authoritarian, anti-communist regime (in 1936) bring the nature of his allegiance into relief:

⁶ The film by Pantelis Voulgaris titled 'The last note' released in 2017 has Napoleon Soukatzidis and his struggle as an interpreter for the German occupying forces as its main focus. It is mentioned in the film that because Soukatzidis had been prisoner of the Greek government, information about his skills were on file and he was not given an opportunity to hide them or to refuse becoming an interpreter. Soukatzidis is also the topic of the historical semi-fictional novel *The cycle of futile acts* [*Ο κύκλος των μάταιων πράξεων* in Greek] by Spiros Tzokas (2014).

despite the official nation's treatment of Soukatzidis first as an Asia Minor refugee and then as a person of specific political beliefs, he still felt a sense of loyalty to the Greek nation⁷. In terms of ideological dissonance with the source text (the source text in this case being any utterance the interpreter was expected to interpret), it stands to reason that Soukatzidis would have been at complete disagreement with most of the utterances he was interpreting. Not only on a humane level but because of his political involvement and activism as a communist, it is safe to assume that his principles would constantly be at loggerheads with the words and actions of the occupying forces. I stress this seemingly common sensical aspect of interpreting at an internment camp or during Gestapo interrogations in order to highlight that many of those acting as interpreters were very likely not there of their own free will. Being coerced and/or intimidated into performing communicative acts on behalf of a despised and feared commissioner (for lack of a better word) while being frequently scorned by the occupied Greeks could, and did, force the interpreters into an othering that often cost them their lives. By, willingly or unwittingly, assuming the powerful position of mediator, the interpreters suffered from being associated with that source of power. Inghilleri calls this "the contradictory esteem in which [translators/interpreters] are held—objects of both necessary trust yet at the same time deep suspicion" (INGHILLERI 2009: 207). The accounts recorded in the oral interviews and the written testimonies foreground this complex picture of tentative allegiances and conflicted loyalties among the war interpreters of occupied Greece. Some interpreters were perceived as mercenary opportunists who manipulated situations to not only survive but potentially thrive, often to the detriment of other members of their community (mog067, mog060, mog018). At the same time, the intervention of other 'impromptu interpreters', who were able to intervene precisely because of their germanophilic upbringing, was seen as both timely and successful and devoid of any ulterior motive (mog040). The case of Soukatzidis, whose reputation has been untainted by any negativity vis-à-vis his acting as interpreter, is an interesting one. The fact that he was acting on the party's orders by providing them with information gleaned during his interpreting sessions was widely known after his execution, possibly by word-of-mouth, which ensured he was elevated to the status of wartime hero. A statue of him was erected in his native Crete and a street in Haidari, where the internment camp was located, now bears his name. This is a specific, and in this case positive, example of the politicization of memory discussed earlier. As was seen in mog060, however, the interpreters' lives were not solely threatened by the occupiers. The interpreter Lekkas, mentioned in the account, was lured in and executed by the guerrilla forces of the Greek resistance for his role as a Nazi collaborator. His role increased his visibility, in itself both an empowering and a disempowering tool, and condemned him to the marginality attributed to those whose purposes and moral principles are not clearly identifiable. What seems to have guaranteed an interpreter's survival without the stigma attached to Nazi collaborators were testimonies that the interpreter did their best to serve their fellow occupied people and never truly fraternised with the enemy. In this sense, perceived loyalty to the Greek nation or to a political party which could confirm they were acting on superior orders would preserve the interpreter's posterity if not their life.

⁷ The political detainees of Akronafplia wrote a letter to Metaxas requesting to be sent to the front when the war with Italy broke out in 1940. Metaxas refused and demanded they sign a declaration of repentance instead (MANOUSAKAS 1975).

Concluding thoughts

Applying current labels to a past situation, while one of the few ways to conduct historiography, comes with its own inherent perils of oversimplification, distortion, and (intentional or not) censorship, as a result of researcher-borne biases and predilections. The fact that interpreting and the role of the interpreter have changed and evolved since the end of World War II is a vital clue in how we decode and interpret the data gathered in these digital archives. As Footitt and Kelly observe “activities associated with conflict are radically context-dependent, as being framed by the particular historical and geopolitical circumstances which have produced the war in the first place” (FOOTIT & KELLY 2012: 3). With this in mind, questions of the interpreter’s impartiality and neutrality and adherence to professional ethics, which are now staples of the profession, become largely irrelevant when examining wartime interpreters and their function, since such principles were neither sought after nor imposed at the time. Inghilleri and Harding have pointed out regarding current day wartime interpreters that they “do not work in a neutral territory, their relationship to war is up close and personal and at all stages of a conflict ethical decisions are required” (INGHILLERI & HARDING 2010: 166). This statement about the lack of neutrality applies even more so to past wartime interpreters, who had neither the training nor the disciplinary indoctrination through norms and peer practice to aspire to being impartial. In fact, impartiality in the case of the people who interpreted in occupied Greece may have been considered a form of masked disloyalty to the occupied Greeks.

The testimonies used as material for this article have been inadequate to answer the question of the interpreters’ biographical information and linguistic and professional backgrounds before the war and the occupation. Perhaps this is another manifestation of the ambiguity of their position: not only in terms of their morality but also in terms of their overall identity, as potentially bilingual, bicultural beings who could speak the language of the occupier and understand its mind, a sense of unease and embarrassment often shrouds them in the eyes of the witnesses. At the same time, their interpreting and translating roles were often subsumed by other administrative and clerical duties which did not allow the witnesses to view them as exclusive language mediators simply because that was not their main or only function. The question of their language acquisition in particular remains open – it will be necessary to study it through different archival and autobiographical material available from that period. The equally interesting question of the interpreters’ social class and its convoluted links to language acquisition which has surfaced in the testimonies and subsequent analysis here also requires further investigation.

Dangerously visible and open to anyone’s judgement when they performed their interpreting tasks, most wartime interpreters of occupied Greece have become largely invisible nowadays, relegated to the status of ambiguous figures, often on a par with other Nazi collaborators. With the notable exception of Napoleon Soukatzidis, whose name and role were preserved with particular ideological motives in mind, the numerous people who mediated between the occupying Germans and the Greek population have been largely ignored by contemporary historiography. This study aimed at shedding light on their background and roles and discussing the perceptions of eyewitnesses from that period with the purpose of addressing this gap in (translation) history and reevaluating the interpreters’ contribution.

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Histoire de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest: France, Allemagne, Espagne, Italie

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Abstract

Cet article traite de la question de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles des Etats unilingues de l'Europe de l'Ouest: France, Italie, Espagne, Portugal et Allemagne. Cette recherche, débutée en 2019, a permis de mettre en évidence la particularité des "traductions cognitives". Une fois la notion définie, nous avons décidé de mener une enquête socio-historique (Payre / Pollet 2005) en envoyant un questionnaire aux Cours constitutionnelles concernées. Trois Cours ont répondu (France, Allemagne, Espagne); un article a été écrit sur la question à propos de la Cour constitutionnelle d'Italie et nous avons pu nous entretenir avec son auteur, Paolo Passaglia (Passaglia 2017); seule la Cour constitutionnelle du Portugal n'a pas été joignable. Les données récoltées ont permis de mieux comprendre l'histoire de la traduction dans ces Cours: comment elle est née, de quelle manière elle s'est développée; quelles sont les pratiques passées et actuelles. Ce travail empirique a pour ambition de porter à la connaissance les usages de traduction au sein des Cours constitutionnelles de France, d'Allemagne, d'Espagne et d'Italie, tout en réfléchissant à leurs transformations présentes et à venir.

Mots-clés: Cour constitutionnelle; Europe; traductions cognitives

Mathilde Kamal-Girard

Histoire de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest: France, Allemagne, Espagne, Italie

Abstract

Cet article traite de la question de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles des Etats unilingues de l'Europe de l'Ouest: France, Italie, Espagne, Portugal et Allemagne. Cette recherche, débutée en 2019, a permis de mettre en évidence la particularité des "traductions cognitives". Une fois la notion définie, nous avons décidé de mener une enquête socio-historique (PAYRE / POLLET 2005) en envoyant un questionnaire aux Cours constitutionnelles concernées. Trois Cours ont répondu (France, Allemagne, Espagne); un article a été écrit sur la question à propos de la Cour constitutionnelle d'Italie et nous avons pu nous entretenir avec son auteur, Paolo Passaglia (PASSAGLIA 2017); seule la Cour constitutionnelle du Portugal n'a pas été joignable. Les données récoltées ont permis de mieux comprendre l'histoire de la traduction dans ces Cours : comment elle est née, de quelle manière elle s'est développée ; quelles sont les pratiques passées et actuelles. Ce travail empirique a pour ambition de porter à la connaissance les usages de traduction au sein des Cours constitutionnelles de France, d'Allemagne, d'Espagne et d'Italie, tout en réfléchissant à leurs transformations présentes et à venir.

Introduction

Retour sur la notion de traduction cognitive. Dans certains Etats où il n'y a qu'une seule langue officielle à l'échelle nationale, les Cours constitutionnelles font parfois le choix de traduire leurs décisions. Celles-ci n'ont pas, en tout cas pas directement, d'effet normatif (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023b)¹. Elles sont là pour permettre à un auditoire de prendre connaissance de telle ou telle décision. Pour cette raison, je les ai dénommées en français² « *traductions cognitives* » par opposition aux traductions normatives des Etats multilingues (KAMAL-GIRARD 2021 ; PASSAGLIA 2017).

¹ Cela dit, il est possible d'admettre que les traductions sont des textes qui « *transportent, en quelque sorte, le droit qu'ils n'ont pas vocation à créer et, ce faisant, assurent son déploiement dans l'espace et dans le temps* » (FORRAY / PIMONT 2017: 25).

² En anglais, je les dénomme "disseminative translations" (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023b: 102): « *One thing very important for us, lawyers and law scholars, is to know what is normative and what is not. In the expression 'traduction cognitive,' I use 'cognitive' as the opposite of 'normative,' as something made to give the audience knowledge related to the courts' rulings, thanks to translation. I must admit that a literal translation of the adjective 'cognitive' was not the right way to make my point. From now on, when I will present the subject of my research in English, I will use the expression 'disseminative translations.'* ».

Les particularités des traductions cognitives. Dans la zone géographique étudiée, l'Europe de l'Ouest, ces traductions cognitives présentent plusieurs particularités (KAMAL-GIRARD 2021).

Premièrement, elles ne concernent qu'une *partie* des décisions rendues par les Cours constitutionnelles. Un choix est ainsi effectué en amont, concernant ce qui vaut la peine d'être porté à la connaissance des lecteurs, et ce qui ne le mérite pas.

Deuxièmement, et c'est une caractéristique très surprenante lorsque l'on parle de « traduction », certaines d'entre elles ne sont pas intégrales. Sous le terme de « traductions », les Cours constitutionnelles publient parfois de simples résumés. En conséquence, c'est finalement moins le contenu que le sens d'une décision que les Cours constitutionnelles souhaitent mettre en avant (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023b).

Troisièmement, dans la plupart des pays, ces traductions ont l'anglais pour langue-cible. Mais quelquefois, de manière non systématique, ponctuelle, apparaissent des traductions dans une autre langue-cible. La problématique de la langue-cible amène à deux séries de remarques. Tout d'abord et quant à l'usage de l'anglais, celui-ci ne peut être un anglais « britannique » ou « américain » : il est un anglais standardisé, conçu pour un auditoire globalisé³. Ensuite, quand apparaît une traduction dans une autre langue-cible, cette traduction « hors anglais » s'ajoute, sans jamais se substituer, à la traduction en anglais. Cette autre langue-cible est donc utilisée pour que la Cour constitutionnelle qui émet la traduction s'adresse à un auditoire plus spécifique. C'est ce qui ressort du croisement des données relatives à la « langue-cible », d'une part, et à la thématique abordée dans la décision traduite, d'autre part.

Ainsi, et pour résumer l'apport d'une précédente étude (KAMAL-GIRARD 2021), l'essentiel des décisions traduites – et donc des décisions traduites *en anglais* – portent sur les droits et libertés, le juge constitutionnel souhaitant apparaître comme un, sinon « le », pilier de l'État de droit. Son rôle ne se réduit pourtant pas à cela – et les traductions « hors anglais » donnent un indice quant aux fonctions que peuvent faire endosser les Cours constitutionnelles à la traduction de leurs décisions. Les décisions traduites « hors anglais » établissent un dialogue qui peut prendre deux formes. Si la décision n'est traduite que dans une seule langue à côté de l'anglais, elle sert alors un dialogue transfrontalier, sur une question politique qui concerne les deux États en question. On pense par exemple à la décision de la Cour constitutionnelle espagnole à propos de Batasuna⁴. Les revendications de l'ETA concernant le pays basque s'étendant aussi bien Espagne qu'en France, la décision a également été traduite vers le français. En revanche, lorsque les langues-cibles « hors anglais » sont multiples pour une décision donnée, c'est pour traiter d'une thématique européenne ou internationale, comme

³ Il n'est pas certain, cependant, qu'il s'agisse du même anglais que celui employé dans le cadre d'organisations internationales et d'organisations régionales. Pour se rendre compte de la particularité de cet anglais utilisé par les Cours constitutionnelles, il faudrait pouvoir le comparer avec l'anglais utilisé dans le cadre de l'Union européenne (Eurolects) ou du Conseil de l'Europe.

⁴ Cour constitutionnelle d'Espagne, Arrêt 62/2011, du 5 Mai 2011, Coalition électorale « Bildu »: absence de preuves suffisantes pour prouver la manipulation des candidatures de la coalition par l'ETA et le parti politique illégalisé « Batasuna », traduit en anglais et en français, disponible sur <https://www.tribunalconstitucional.es/fr/jurisprudencia/Paginas/resoluciones-traducidas.aspx>, consulté le 4 octobre 2022.

par exemple celle qui a trait au droit de sécession soit vis-à-vis de l'Union européenne (Brexit⁵), soit vis-à-vis d'un Etat-membre (Catalogne⁶).

L'ensemble de ces particularités a permis de mettre en évidence que les traductions cognitives remplissaient un rôle stratégique⁷, en ce qu'elles sont un moyen développé par les Cours constitutionnelles d'influencer leurs homologues lorsqu'elles doivent prendre une décision concernant un sujet similaire ou proche (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023a).

Limites à l'approche théorique des traductions cognitives. Une fois mises en évidence l'existence, la typologie et les principaux caractères des « traductions cognitives » surgissent de nouvelles questions. Pourquoi telle décision a-t-elle été traduite et non telle autre ? Qui a effectué ce choix ? Qui réalise la traduction ? Cette traduction est-elle effectuée par des traducteurs au sein de l'institution ?

La perspective théorique, tout à la fois nécessaire et insuffisante, doit alors être complétée par une démarche socio-historique. Selon cette approche, l'histoire et la sociologie deviennent épistémologiquement indiscernables (PAYRE / POLLET 2005), rendant possible « *un renouvellement des questionnements et du regard méthodologique sur des objets historiques* » (GARDON / GAUTIER / LE NAOUR 2020 : 61). L'intérêt réside dans le fait qu'« *à partir du croisement des sources et de l'attention portée sur certains projets avortés que l'histoire institutionnelle n'a pas mis en avant, elles offrent une nouvelle lecture de l'histoire* » (GARDON / GAUTIER / LE NAOUR 2020 : 61). L'histoire est ici celle de la traduction et, puisqu'il s'agit de l'histoire de la traduction, elle doit être comprise « *non comme une pratique ni comme une discipline, mais comme un point de vue spécifique appliqué à la variété des objets matériels qui partagent l'étiquette de « traduction » (ou de « traduire », de « traducteur », etc.)* » (D'HULST 2014).

L'utilisation de la méthode sociohistorique se justifie dans le cadre du renouvellement des méthodes en histoire de la traduction, et dans la perspective de l'autonomisation de ce champ disciplinaire (BASTIN / BANDIA 2006). Le futur de l'histoire de la traduction implique que soit développés une méthodologie et des techniques de recherche propres. Si l'on peut penser, par exemple, à la micro-histoire (ADAMO 2006) comme piste pour un renouvellement de la méthode rien n'empêche, d'un point de vue épistémologique, de considérer également l'intégration de la socio-histoire.

5 Cour constitutionnelle fédérale d'Allemagne, Jugement du 30 juin 2009 sur le traité de Lisbonne, 2 BvE 2/08, 2 BvR 182/09, 2 BvR 1259/08, 2 BvR 1022/08, 2 BvR 1010/08, 2 BvE 5/08, traduit en anglais, français et espagnol, disponible sur https://www.bundesverfassungsgericht.de/SharedDocs/Entscheidungen/FR/2009/06/es20090630_2bve000208fr.html;jsessionid=F5DBC3E907811406F485ABC152C59198.2_cid329, consulté le 4 octobre 2022.

6 Cour constitutionnelle d'Espagne, Arrêt 124/2017, du 8 Novembre 2017, Loi relative à la transition juridique et pour la constitution d'une République, du Parlement de Catalogne ; Arrêt 114/2017, du 17 octobre 2017, Loi relative au référendum d'autodétermination du Parlement de Catalogne, traduits en anglais, français et allemand, disponibles sur <https://www.tribunalconstitucional.es/fr/jurisprudencia/Paginas/resoluciones-traducidas.aspx>, consultés le 4 octobre 2022.

⁷ À propos de l'analyse stratégique appliquée au juge, Raphaël Paour explique que « *parce que l'analyse stratégique présuppose la liberté des acteurs et leur prête la volonté de maximiser leurs gains, elle est le plus souvent réservée à l'explication du comportement des justiciables et des pouvoirs publics. Le juge n'est généralement pas conçu comme un stratège* » (PAOUR 2018 : 15).

La méthode employée : la méthode socio-historique. L'approche socio-historique implique un changement de méthode dans la récolte des données, qui « *s'appuie sur une sociologisation des objets, pratiques et méthodes d'enquêtes à partir de terrains historiques et de sources de première main* » (PAYRE 2020 : 45) ce qui, pour faire l'histoire de la traduction des Cours constitutionnelles dans l'Europe de l'Ouest, amène à observer ce qui s'y passe concrètement. Il ne s'agit donc plus de recenser l'ensemble des décisions qui ont été traduites dans les Cours constitutionnelles concernées – la France, l'Allemagne, l'Italie, l'Espagne et le Portugal – et de dessiner, à partir de ces dernières, la politique de traduction qui est mise à l'œuvre (KAMAL-GIRARD 2021, 2023a), mais de comprendre de quelle manière les traductions elles-mêmes ont été produites, en s'intéressant au contexte et aux pratiques. Ainsi, des trois niveaux de recherche historique que dessine Lieven D'hulst – celui de l'*historia rerum gestarum*, de l'historiographie et de la métahistoriographie – c'est au premier, celui des « *res gestae (choses faites), c'est-à-dire à la séquence des faits, des événements, des idées, des discours, etc.* » qu'appartient la présente recherche (D'HULST 2014).

Pour réaliser cette recherche, que l'on pourrait donc qualifier de socio-histoire de la traduction, j'ai réalisé et envoyé un questionnaire aux différentes Cours constitutionnelles étudiées⁸. Cette méthode d'enquête a permis de récolter des données et de les croiser. L'investigation menée présente cependant certaines limites qui, d'un point de vue méthodologique, ne peuvent être passées sous silence.

La première tient à l'accès aux Cours constitutionnelles. La première tentative d'envoi du questionnaire a eu lieu en 2019, aux adresses génériques de contact des différentes Cours constitutionnelles visées par l'étude. Ces adresses sont assez peu efficaces pour joindre les services compétents. Si la Cour constitutionnelle fédérale d'Allemagne a transmis immédiatement la demande à la personne compétente, chargée des relations internationales et des traductions, il a été plus difficile de joindre d'autres Cours constitutionnelles. À ce jour, et alors qu'elle faisait partie du panel des Cours constitutionnelles sur lesquelles se basait le premier volet de cette étude, la Cour constitutionnelle portugaise n'a pas répondu aux sollicitations. Se renseigner pour savoir quelle est la personne à contacter directement, pour éviter que la demande ne se perde en cours de route, est une enquête à part entière⁹ ! Cela, ajouté à la pandémie qui a, pendant un temps, ralenti les échanges, explique que le recueil des résultats s'étale sur trois années.

Or, pendant trois années, la manière d'aborder la traduction et, plus généralement, la communication au sein des Cours constitutionnelles a considérablement changé. Preuve en est : le site de la Cour constitutionnelle italienne a subi une refonte profonde entre les débuts de cette recherche et les résultats qu'il est possible de présenter aujourd'hui. Plus encore, le 29 avril 2022, a été publiée sur le site de la Cour une offre d'emploi pour la « *selezione di esperti in lingue straniere* », dont l'une des missions sera la traduction, ce qui témoigne de la

⁸ Le questionnaire, dans sa version française, se trouve en annexe, à la fin de l'article.

⁹ Nous remercions sincèrement les personnes qui nous ont aidé dans cette quête du « contact » au sein des Cours constitutionnelles. Que soient remerciés Damien Connil, pour le Portugal, et Hubert Alcaraz, pour l'Espagne, Isabelle Boucobza et Eleonora Bottini, pour l'Italie.

nouvelle place accordée à cette activité au sein de la Cour¹⁰. Il y a donc un biais dans le croisement des données, qui est imputable au temps nécessaire à cette phase d'investigation.

Un autre biais provient de ce que les réponses au questionnaire n'ont pas été toutes remplies par l'ensemble des Cours constitutionnelles, soit qu'elles n'avaient pas les données, soit que la question posée n'était pas nécessairement pertinente dans leur cas précis. Il n'est donc pas forcément possible, pour chaque question posée, de croiser plusieurs réponses.

Malgré ces atténuations, l'ensemble des éléments obtenus de la part des Cours constitutionnelles constitue une manne, et il faut remercier les Cours qui se sont prêtées au jeu de cette investigation, et particulièrement les services concernés¹¹. C'est grâce à leur collaboration qu'il est possible de rendre compte de l'histoire de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest.

Dernier élément à propos de la méthode : pour la Cour constitutionnelle d'Italie, les services de la Cour n'ont pas apporté de réponses officielles. En revanche, j'ai tiré profit de l'article écrit par le Professeur Paolo Passaglia (PASSAGLIA 2017) et de l'entretien que celui-ci a bien voulu m'accorder pour discuter de cette expérience. Enfin, j'ai pu également m'appuyer sur ma propre expérience au sein d'une juridiction suprême, le Conseil constitutionnel français. Durant le doctorat, de mai à août 2015, j'ai effectué un stage au Conseil constitutionnel au sein du service documentaire. Ce passage au Palais Montpensier a été pour beaucoup dans les questionnements qui sont à l'origine de mes recherches sur les traductions cognitives.

Problématique et plan. La question qui a animé cette recherche est, tout compte fait, très simple : comment est née et a évolué la traduction au sein des Cours constitutionnelles situées dans des Etats unilingues ? Pour le comprendre, un questionnaire a été envoyé aux Cours constitutionnelles concernées. Ce questionnaire comportait trois parties : l'une sur l'histoire de la traduction, l'autre sur la politique de traduction et la dernière sur la portée conférée aux traductions produites. Pour le présent article, je m'en tiendrai à la présentation des résultats concernant l'histoire de la traduction¹². L'exposé suit le plan du questionnaire et de ses principaux axes et sous-parties. Il est apparu toutefois que la manière dont nous avons posé les questions ont conduit les Cours constitutionnelles à répondre de manière groupée à deux questions que nous avons séparées. En conséquence, si les thèmes sont abordés dans l'ordre du questionnaire, la restitution des résultats ne suit pas nécessairement celui des questions au sein d'un même thème. À ce propos, et de manière exceptionnelle, il peut arriver que des réponses dans une partie puissent présenter une pertinence pour une réponse d'une autre partie et sera ainsi mobilisée hors du plan initial. Pour étudier l'histoire de la

¹⁰ Cour constitutionnelle italienne, Ufficio comunicazione e stampa della Corte costituzionale, *Comunicato del 29 aprile 2022. Selezione di esperti in lingue straniere*, 29 avril 2022, en ligne : https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/documenti/comunicatistampa/CC_CS_20220429080629.pdf, dernière consultation : 11 mai 2022.

¹¹ J'adresse mes remerciements aux personnes qui, au sein des Cours constitutionnelles, ont bien voulu transmettre le questionnaire aux services compétents, et aux personnes qui au sein de ces mêmes services, ont apporté les réponses et, particulièrement à Claudia Baumann, Valérie Gourrier et Maria José Mendiola.

¹² Ces résultats ont été exposés, en partie, lors du colloque *History and Translation: Multidisciplinary Perspectives* qui s'est tenu à l'Université de Tallinn du 25 au 28 mai 2022, <https://konverentsikeskus.tlu.ee/en/htn-conference-2022>, consulté le 3 mars 2022.

traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles d'Europe de l'Ouest, il a fallu remonter le cours du temps à la recherche de la première traduction de décision (1.) avant de comprendre de quelle manière s'était opéré le processus de systématisation de la traduction des décisions (2.).

A la recherche de la première décision traduite

Plan. « *L'étude historique ne se laisse réduire à l'analyse des objets du passé : une part importante de son activité consiste à rendre compte de l'évolution, en l'occurrence des idées, des techniques, des normes ou des positionnements de la traduction et de ses agents* » (D'HULST 2014 : 40). Pour retracer cette évolution, il faut d'abord en discerner le point de départ. Or, les origines de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest sont incertaines (1.1.). La mise en place d'une politique de traduction a répondu à des considérations très pragmatiques, ce qui explique que, bien souvent, la pratique de la traduction y reste artisanale (1.2.).

Des origines incertaines

Un accès aux sources tronqué. L'histoire de la traduction reste difficile à établir pour l'ensemble des Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest. Dans certaines Cours constitutionnelles, les données sont manquantes quant à la première traduction d'une décision (Espagne) ou incomplètes (France, Allemagne, Italie). Cela dit, dans la « recherche des origines » de la ou des première(s) décision(s) traduite(s) et de la reconstruction des débuts de la traduction au sein des Cours, trois éléments reviennent de manière récurrente.

Une reconstitution par faisceau d'indices. Cette reconstitution, qui s'inscrit dans l'étude des causalités générales de la traduction (D'HULST 2014), permet de comprendre pourquoi les Cours constitutionnelles traduisent ou ne traduisent pas, que ce choix concerne l'initiative de la traduction ou le corpus destiné à la traduction d'ailleurs. Une telle reconstitution s'appuie sur un faisceau d'indices, articulés autour de trois grandes caractéristiques.

Premièrement, la traduction au sein des Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest *présente un rapport* avec l'élaboration d'un recueil pour la Commission de Venise¹³. Ce rapport n'est pas nécessairement un lien de causalité, mais il semble que le fait de traduire *au profit de* la Commission de Venise ait pu suggérer l'idée ou insuffler la volonté de traduire *au profit de*

¹³ La Commission de Venise du Conseil de l'Europe, appelée également Commission européenne pour la démocratie par le droit, est un organe consultatif du Conseil de l'Europe sur les questions constitutionnelles. Selon le site officiel de la Commission de Venise.

La mission de la Commission de Venise du Conseil de l'Europe est de procurer des conseils juridiques à ses États membres et, en particulier, d'aider ceux qui souhaitent mettre leurs structures juridiques et institutionnelles en conformité avec les normes et l'expérience internationales en matière de démocratie, de droits de l'homme et de prééminence du droit [...]. Elle contribue également à la diffusion et au développement d'un patrimoine constitutionnel commun, joue un rôle unique dans la gestion des conflits et fournit une « aide constitutionnelle d'urgence » aux États en transition.

(Commission de Venise, site officiel, « A propos de nous », URL : https://www.venice.coe.int/WebForms/pages/?p=01_Presentation&lang=FR, consulté le 4 octobre 2022).

la Cour constitutionnelle elle-même (France, Allemagne, Italie). D'ailleurs, le fait que telle ou telle décision soit choisie pour figurer aux CODICES¹⁴, la base de jurisprudence constitutionnelle de la Commission de Venise, peut favoriser une traduction « hors anglais » de décisions pour une Cour constitutionnelle (France).

Cette traduction, deuxième élément, est mise au service de la communication internationale des Cours. Cela ressort très clairement de la réponse de la Cour constitutionnelle fédérale d'Allemagne : traduire les décisions en anglais avait « *pour but de réaliser au mieux la visibilité et l'accessibilité sur le plan international* »¹⁵ ; cela est également mis en avant par la Cour constitutionnelle d'Espagne : « *les documents sont habituellement traduits en anglais pour leur conférer une diffusion maximale* »¹⁶.

Ce lien avec la stratégie de communication globale de la Cour n'est pas toujours clairement explicité, tout en étant présent en filigrane. Ainsi, le Conseil constitutionnel français associe immédiatement à la question de la première traduction une explication portant sur la mise en place du site internet du Conseil constitutionnel en 1996 et à la présentation du site en anglais, en allemand et en italien, alors même qu'à cette époque les versions « étrangères » ne contenaient pas de décisions traduites¹⁷. Cette logique paraît d'autant plus transposable que la langue de travail d'une Cour constitutionnelle donnée est rare. L'enjeu de la traduction semble inversement proportionnel à la diffusion d'une langue-source. Pour le dire plus frontalement, l'allemand ou l'italien étant des langues peu parlées à l'échelle régionale ou internationale, il est d'autant plus crucial pour la Cour constitutionnelle fédérale allemande ou pour la Cour constitutionnelle italienne de traduire leurs décisions pour exister au sein du réseau des cours constitutionnelles européennes.

Enfin, et c'est là le troisième élément, la volonté de porter les décisions à la connaissance d'un auditoire international a été amplifiée par l'usage d'internet. Ainsi, le processus à l'œuvre a démarré *via* des formes de publication traditionnelles au début des années 1990 (France¹⁸,

14 La page des CODICES est la suivante : <http://www.codices.coe.int/NXT/gateway.dll?f=templates&fn=default.htm>, consultée le 4 octobre 2022.

15 Cour constitutionnelle fédérale d'Allemagne, réponse au questionnaire : *History of translation within your Court. First translation of the decision* : « *How was the choice of the language of translation made ? The Federal Constitutional Court decided to translate decisions into English in order to best achieve visibility and accessibility on an international level.*

16 Cour constitutionnelle d'Espagne, réponse au questionnaire.

17 En revanche, et selon la réponse fournie, il contenait des « *traductions de la Constitution, des textes d'organisation et une présentation rapide* » (Conseil constitutionnel, réponse au questionnaire).

18 Conseil constitutionnel, réponse au questionnaire : *Les abstracts (résumés analytiques) du Conseil constitutionnel ont été proposés dans les recueils papier en version anglaise de 1990 à 2016 (date du dernier recueil papier), à l'initiative du Secrétaire général Bruno Genevois, ainsi qu'en espagnol pour les recueils 1999 et 2000, à l'initiative du Secrétaire général Jean-Eric Schoettl.*

Allemagne¹⁹), avant que le processus ne soit intensifié grâce au numérique (France²⁰, Allemagne, Italie²¹).

Une pratique souvent artisanale

Des prémices artisanales. Si « *l'histoire des techniques qui gouvernent les traductions est de loin la partie la plus richement documentée des recherches historiques dites descriptives* » (D'HULST 2014 : 38), force est de constater que tel n'est pas le cas des activités transnationales de traduction au sein des Cours constitutionnelles²². Peut-être que l'une des explications à ce « blanc » (SANTOYO 2006) réside en ce que, au départ, il n'y a pas, justement, de technique particulière. Les prémices de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles présentent souvent un caractère assez sommaire, que retranscrit l'adjectif « artisanal ». Le qualificatif « *artisanal* » renvoie en effet à ce qui « *est fait avec des moyens rudimentaires, quelquefois des moyens de fortune* »²³. Les pratiques diffèrent assez largement sur ce point.

Le cas français. C'est en France que la pratique initiale fut la plus fruste. Au départ, les textes intégraux ne sont pas traduits ; quand il y a une traduction, elle concerne des résumés. En outre, les traductions ne sont pas effectuées au sein de l'institution, mais sont externalisées à la Commission de Venise. Dans un deuxième temps, les traductions sont internalisées, mais confiées à des personnes qui ne sont pas des traducteurs certifiés. Ce sont des stagiaires, dont

¹⁹ Cour constitutionnelle fédérale d'Allemagne, réponse au questionnaire :

In the 1980s, the members of the Federal Constitutional Court decided to publish the "Decisions of the Bundesverfassungsgericht". This is a series of books containing a collection of translated decisions of the Federal Constitutional Court; its first volume was published in 1992. Each volume focuses on a specific topic: International Law and the Law of the European Communities, Freedom of Speech, Questions of Law Arising from German Unification, The Law of Freedom of Faith and the Law of the Churches, Family-related Decisions.

²⁰ Conseil constitutionnel français, réponse au questionnaire :

Il est probable que les premières décisions (par extraits) traduites et présentes sur le site l'aient été sur cette page : <https://web.archive.org/web/20030301124855/http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/langues/anglais/essential.htm> ouverte au moins avant mars 2003, à l'occasion de l'élaboration avec la Commission de Venise d'un numéro spécial du Bulletin de Jurisprudence constitutionnelle, mais seuls les résumés étaient alors traduits en anglais, pas les textes intégraux.

²¹ Ici, nous nous reportons à l'étude du site internet de la Cour. A partir de 2006, on remarque que plusieurs décisions sont traduites par an, ce qui marque le début d'un véritable processus de traduction. Il faut noter toutefois la présence de deux décisions, l'une de 1995 et l'autre de 1989. Ces traductions n'ont pas été faites en 1989 ou en 1995, mais après que la traduction ait été mise en place au sein de la Cour.

²² À la question « Est-il possible de remarquer une influence des décisions de la Cour constitutionnelle [espagnole] sur la jurisprudence des tribunaux constitutionnels étrangers ? », la Cour de Madrid répondait laconiquement : « Il n'existe pas d'études à ce sujet » (Conferencia Europea de Tribunales Constitucionales (Conference of European Constitutional Courts), *Ponencias españolas* (2008-2017), www.tribunalconstitucional.es/fr/publicaciones/Publicaciones/Coedicion-TCEuropeos-II.pdf). L'hypothèse que j'ai défendue est que pour que cette influence puisse avoir lieu, il faut encore que les décisions soient portées à la connaissance de la Cour constitutionnelle, ce qui passe par la traduction des décisions (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023a).

²³ « Artisanal », *Dictionnaire Larousse*, en ligne : <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/artisanal/5580>, consulté le 4 octobre 2022.

la langue maternelle n'est pas le français, et qui possèdent une excellente connaissance d'au moins deux systèmes juridiques, celui de leur pays d'origine et celui de leur pays d'accueil. Depuis peu, une nouvelle phase s'est enclenchée : la traduction est externalisée en faisant appel à des traducteurs. Désormais :

Le SRE [service des relations extérieures] est chargé de l'identification des traducteurs. Ceux-ci sont désignés au regard de leur compétence dans le domaine juridique et de leur bonne connaissance de l'institution. Il s'agit de traducteurs travaillant libéralement ou pour une société de traduction²⁴.

Aujourd'hui encore, il n'y a pas de service de traduction propre au Conseil constitutionnel.

La situation italienne. L'Italie présente un système intermédiaire. La traduction n'est pas organisée au sein d'un service spécifiquement dédiée à cet exercice. Pour les traductions destinées à être diffusées dans l'institution, et permettant notamment l'instruction des affaires grâce au droit comparé, elle se fait au sein de la Section de droit comparé, par des juristes étrangers (PASSAGLIA 2017).

La traduction des décisions pour diffusion à un auditoire externe à la Cour – les traductions cognitives de la Cour constitutionnelle italienne – s'opère grâce à des traducteurs externes. La traduction externalisée est cependant « supervisée » par la Section de droit comparé « *et plus particulièrement de son chercheur anglophone, qui, avec l'aide du juriste italien vérifie la correspondance de sens entre le texte italien et le texte traduit* » (PASSAGLIA 2017). On peut imaginer que la supervision du traducteur externe n'est arrivée qu'après-coup, notamment s'il est apparu un manque de communication entre le traducteur et les services de la Cour. Cette hypothèse signifie que la Cour aurait fait le choix d'internaliser de nouveau en partie la traduction, ce qui semble plausible au regard de deux informations. En premier lieu, Paolo Passaglia relate que « *les arrêts de la Cour sont parfois traduits directement par la Section de droit comparé, lorsque l'urgence l'impose* » (Passaglia 2017). En second lieu, et de manière très récente, la publication d'une offre d'emploi pour la « *selezione di esperti in lingue straniere* », dont l'une des missions sera la traduction, semble annoncer la mise en place d'un véritable service de traduction au sein de la Cour italienne²⁵.

L'expérience allemande. C'est en Allemagne où la traduction s'est le plus ancrée dans les habitudes et dans le fonctionnement de la Cour. Au début des années 1990, pour lancer la publication des « *Decisions of the Bundesverfassungsgericht* », la Cour confie à un greffier en poste la tâche d'en superviser la publication. Le premier volume paraîtra dès 1992 ; le second en 1998²⁶. Les relations avec la Commission de Venise ont intensifié les nécessités de

²⁴ Conseil constitutionnel français, réponse au questionnaire.

²⁵ Cour constitutionnelle italienne, Ufficio comunicazione e stampa della Corte costituzionale, *Comunicato del 29 aprile 2022. Selezione di esperti in lingue straniere*, 29 avril 2022, en ligne : https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/documenti/comunicatistampa/CC_CS_20220429080629.pdf, dernière consultation : 11 mai 2022.

²⁶ Chaque volume se concentre sur un sujet spécifique – il s'agit donc d'une présentation thématique des décisions : International Law and the Law of the European Communities, Freedom of Speech, Questions of Law Arising from German Unification, the Law of Freedom of Faith and the Law of the Churches, Family-related decisions.

traduction tout au long des années 1990 et, en 2000, un service de traduction fut mis en place. L'exemple de l'Allemagne témoigne de la professionnalisation de la traduction au sein de la Cour.

Mais, pour l'heure, dans la plupart des cas, la systématisation des traductions dans les juridictions suprêmes des Etats apparaît inachevée.

Une systématisation inachevée des traductions

Une systématisation des traductions inachevée. A partir du moment où les Cours constitutionnelles débutent la mise en place d'une traduction de leurs décisions, on peut supposer qu'elles ont envisagé également la pérennisation de ce processus et, en conséquence, que de cette traduction primitive, originelle, découleraient d'autres traductions. Traduire une première fois n'est pas un acte isolé, mais la première pierre pour la construction d'un édifice. S'il semble que, dès le départ, les Cours constitutionnelles aient projeté la traduction sur le moyen ou le long terme, il apparaît également que la manière d'organiser la traduction n'a pas fait l'objet d'une réflexion *ab initio*. Opérée de manière pragmatique (2.1.), la systématisation des traductions semble mener les Cours constitutionnelles à opter pour une internationalisation des services de traduction. Mais pour l'heure, l'organisation des services de traduction apparaît bien latitudinaire (2.2.).

Une systématisation opérée de manière pragmatique

Une pérennisation volontariste. La pérennisation de la traduction s'est déroulée de manière très pragmatique et ce, dans tous les pays concernés par l'étude (France, Allemagne, Italie, Espagne). À la base de la mise en place de la traduction se trouve la décision prise par un juge (Allemagne, Italie) ou d'un membre-clef de la juridiction, comme l'est le Secrétaire général (France, Espagne) ; son inscription dans le temps relève d'une volonté assumée par un successeur (Allemagne, Italie, France). Une fois le processus enclenché et installé, il n'est plus remis en cause.

Une absence de réflexion préalable quant aux modalités de la traduction. Le fait que l'on veuille traduire les décisions de la Cour constitutionnelle et les faire connaître d'un auditoire étranger, qui n'est pas celui des sujets de droit de l'État en question, n'implique pas la mise en place de procédés qui soient réfléchis en amont. On ne théorise pas la traduction avant de la mettre en œuvre, on ne conceptualise pas le service de traduction avant de le mettre en place. Le processus est inverse : la traduction est lancée, on laisse s'implanter cet outil de communication et, une fois que celui-ci prend de l'ampleur on entame, le cas échéant, une réflexion sur son perfectionnement. Celui-ci semble passer par la mise en place d'un véritable service de traduction, actée (Allemagne, Espagne) ou en cours (Italie). On peut raisonnablement imaginer qu'à terme le Conseil constitutionnel (France) dispose d'un service de ce type, peut-être rattaché au service des relations extérieures.

Des pratiques de traduction variables. Trois stades peuvent être distingués : la traduction est réalisée par des personnes qui ne sont pas des traducteurs qualifiés, mais qui sont des

juristes ; la traduction est réalisée par des traducteurs qualifiés, mais externes à l'institution ; la traduction est réalisée par des traducteurs qualifiés internes à l'institution. Ces phases peuvent se succéder ou parfois se juxtaposer. En outre, il peut y avoir des évolutions au sein de chaque grande étape. La Cour de Karlsruhe donne la réponse la plus explicite à ce sujet. Lors de la mise en place du service de traduction, en 2000, un seul traducteur a été recruté, à mi-temps et pour une période d'essai d'un an. Concrètement, la plupart des textes étaient traduits par des traducteurs indépendants, externes à l'institution ; le traducteur interne assurait la relecture et la supervision de ces traductions. L'essai fut concluant au point que le poste de traducteur interne devint pérenne et passa à temps plein. Avec une demande de plus en plus forte concernant les traductions, le service s'enrichit de nouveaux traducteurs au fil du temps. En 2019, le service de traduction comptait sept membres, trois à temps complet et quatre à temps partiel²⁷.

Une continuité assurée par le dialogue. Les pratiques de la traduction – choisit-on un traducteur ou un juriste?, le traducteur est-il externe ou interne à la juridiction ? – implique de réfléchir à la continuité de la traduction. Cette continuité est assurée à la fois par un dialogue des traducteurs *dans le temps* et par une discussion avec les autres membres de l'institution *dans l'espace* que constitue la juridiction. Cela semble expliquer que les Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest aient opté / se dirigent vers une internalisation du service de traduction, qui permet à la fois une continuité des échanges entre les traducteurs et une permanence des réflexions avec le reste des services et des membres de la Cour.

L'expérience allemande, la plus aboutie à l'heure actuelle parmi les Cours constitutionnelles étudiées, semble tracer la voie à l'internalisation des services de traduction. Il s'agit d'un processus en cours, qui n'est pas encore abouti.

L'organisation latitudinaire des services de traduction

Une politique latitudinaire dans l'organisation du service de traduction. Le terme latitudinaire dérive du latin *latitudo*, terme qui désigne la largeur, l'ampleur, l'étendue²⁸. Si le mot est généralement employé en matière religieuse, pour désigner la personne qui a une interprétation très large, voire laxiste, des principes de la religion, il s'emploie également pour qualifier ce qui est trop complaisant, trop tolérant²⁹. On constate que l'organisation du service de traduction, parce qu'il n'a pas été pensé dès le départ, parce qu'il a été instauré de

²⁷ Cour constitutionnelle fédérale d'Allemagne, réponse au questionnaire :

At first, in 2000, one translator was hired for a part-time position and for a trial period of one year. Most texts were translated by freelance translators and reviewed by the in-house translator whose position became full-time after the trial period. The in-house translator's tasks also included the coordination of the translation projects of the three following volumes of the "Decisions of the Bundesverfassungsgericht" series. The staffing of the translation department increased over time to accommodate the growing demand for translations, which could not be satisfied by hiring freelance translators alone. Today, the translation department has seven staff members – four in part-time and three in full-time positions.

²⁸ « Latitudinaire », *Dictionnaire Trésor de la Langue française*, en ligne : <http://stella.atilf.fr/Dendien/scripts/tlfiv5/advanced.exe?8;s=785458395>, consulté le 4 octobre 2022.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

manière pragmatique, fonctionne souvent dans un cadre très large et que, très souvent aussi, cet état de fait perdure parce que les Cours constitutionnelles s'en satisfont – au moins durant un temps. Par conséquent, c'est bien la politique menée par l'institution qui est *latitudinaire*, et non pas le service de traduction lui-même. Il est possible, en revanche, qu'au caractère latitudinaire de la politique menée s'ajoute une organisation du service elle-même libérale, dans le sens où elle ne rencontre pas ou ne s'impose pas de limites particulières.

Les raisons d'une politique latitudinaire. Il n'est pas certain que les Cours constitutionnelles des États unilingues de l'Europe de l'Ouest aient considéré avec tout le sérieux nécessaire l'activité de traduction au moment de sa mise en place. Cela peut s'expliquer pour deux grandes raisons. La première est que l'activité de traduction ne débouche pas sur un texte censé produire des effets normatifs, contrairement à ce qui se passe dans les États multilingues. La seconde, qui découle de la première, est que la traduction est purement instrumentale. La traduction est un instrument au service de la communication des Cours constitutionnelles. Cette donnée permet de comprendre l'existence de ces traductions qui « ne font pas foi » : résumées, parcellaires, mixtes³⁰. La visée étant utilitaire – il n'y a pas besoin de la traduction en elle-même et pour elle-même – puisque les enjeux sont réduits à des stratégies de communication – ceux par lesquels les Cours se placent en rapport avec les autres Cours – la nécessité même d'un service de traduction pose question. Si l'on se situe dans perspective où une Cour éprouve le besoin de faire connaître une décision, de manière ponctuelle, avoir recours à des traducteurs non certifiés (des juristes) ou des traducteurs externes (sans formation juridique) peut se comprendre.

Une conception dépassée. Or à partir du moment où la traduction se développe et devient une activité régulière, cette conception devient tout à fait dépassée. Prenons un exemple un peu simpliste, mais évocateur. Imaginons un revirement de jurisprudence dû à un changement de qualification. La traduction de la qualification peut influencer sur la compréhension de l'étendue du revirement de jurisprudence et, par conséquent, au nouveau positionnement de la Cour. En effet, si au fil des années précédant le revirement, la qualification initiale avait fait l'objet de plusieurs traductions différentes – dues notamment à une traduction « déconnectée » des décisions les unes des autres – il est possible que le changement de qualification dans la décision de revirement de jurisprudence passe inaperçu. L'absence de continuité linguistique peut en effet contribuer à cacher l'existence d'une jurisprudence établie sur un point. Le travail de mise en place d'une continuité linguistique fiable et pérenne occupe les Cours constitutionnelles qui disposent d'un service de traduction, que celui-ci constitue une unité en soi (Allemagne, Espagne) ou qu'il soit associé à une unité plus large, comme la section de droit comparé de la Cour constitutionnelle italienne (Italie).

³⁰ Ce point renforce la thèse défendue par Claire-Hélène Lavigne, selon laquelle : « *I will argue that the act of translation is closely bound to the translational goal of the translator, to the period in which the text is translated, and to the legal culture³ to which the text is translated and transferred, not to the authoritative status given to the original text. To support my argument, I will examine the possible origins of the myth of literalness in legal translation and its reformulation in the twentieth century* » (LAVIGNE 2006: 146).

Assurer la fiabilité et la continuité. Comme je l'ai déjà évoqué, les Cours constitutionnelles ne disposent pas nécessairement d'un service de traduction intégré et, quand celui-ci existe, il ne constitue pas forcément une unité autonome (Italie). L'un des enjeux primordiaux de l'internalisation du service de traduction repose sur la nécessité d'assurer la fiabilité de et la continuité dans la traduction. Une fois ce principe posé, l'organisation du service de traduction varie : il n'y a pas de formule « toute faite », quoique certains éléments puissent se répéter.

Tout d'abord, la traduction, qui se fait principalement vers l'anglais, requiert d'avoir d'abord et avant tout un traducteur dans cette langue (Italie, Allemagne, Espagne). Pour autant, les solutions sont très variables d'une Cour à l'autre. A la Cour constitutionnelle espagnole, il y a une seule traductrice et interprète en poste, qui fournit ses services pour l'anglais, mais aussi pour le français, l'italien et le danois ; pour les autres langues, les traductions sont externalisées vers une agence de traduction de confiance. En Italie, deux traducteurs professionnels, l'un britannique, l'autre américain, procèdent aux traductions. En Allemagne, la traduction se fait en interne, à plusieurs et en équipe, ce qui constitue une véritable spécificité. Ainsi, de manière générale, un texte est traduit par un membre de l'équipe de traduction et relu par un autre membre de l'équipe. Les deux membres de l'équipe travaillent en proximité. L'ensemble de l'équipe peut être mobilisé pour réfléchir à des questions plus générale et à la terminologie employée. S'il faut externaliser une traduction, celle-ci sera soumise à un processus de relecture en deux étapes, par deux membres de l'équipe de traduction qui travaillent en binôme.

Ensuite, la traduction des décisions des Cours constitutionnelles implique une double compétence, en langue et en droit. Comme le résume une réponse au questionnaire « *dans ce domaine, la précision terminologique est incontournable et c'est pourquoi il est nécessaire que le traducteur comprenne en profondeur le contenu des textes* »³¹. La double compétence peut être celle d'une seule personne ou répartie au sein d'une équipe. A la Cour constitutionnelle espagnole, où il n'y a qu'une seule traductrice « in-house », celle-ci cumule les diplômes et les certifications. Licenciée en traduction et interprétariat, ainsi qu'en droit, elle est également interprète certifiée en anglais. C'est justement sa formation en droit qui a été déterminante pour sa nomination. En Italie, le processus associe les traducteurs et la Section de droit comparé. Comme le rapporte Paolo Passaglia (PASSAGLIA 2017) :

Le texte traduit est soumis au contrôle de la Section, et plus particulièrement de son chercheur anglophone, qui, avec l'aide du juriste italien, vérifie la correspondance de sens entre le texte italien et le texte traduit. Cette opération est loin d'être une simple formalité, puisque la complexité technique, et souvent même linguistique, des arrêts de la Cour entraîne des risques sérieux de malentendus ou, du moins, d'inexactitudes touchant soit au sens des expressions soit à leur lisibilité correcte pour un juriste étranger.

En Allemagne, la composition de l'équipe est interdisciplinaire, les traducteurs étant formés au droit, et les juristes à la traduction. Dans la mesure du possible, le binôme chargé de la traduction est composé d'un traducteur et d'un juriste. La traduction fait ainsi l'objet d'un

³¹ Cour constitutionnelle espagnole, réponse au questionnaire :

Para su nombramiento, se dio prioridad a su formación jurídica, ya que, en este sector, la precisión terminológica resulta imprescindible y, por lo tanto, es necesario que el traductor comprenda profundamente el contenido de los textos.

processus de supervision. Celui-ci est particulièrement poussé dans les Cours constitutionnelles qui disposent d'un service de traduction, mais il faut souligner qu'il existe tout de même en France, au Conseil constitutionnel, de manière embryonnaire, sous l'égide du Secrétaire général.

Implantation de la traductique. La continuité de la traduction repose sur un processus de « mise en mémoire » qui n'est pas uniquement l'apanage des individus. Les Cours qui ont poussé le plus loin l'intégration des services de traduction ont également développé des outils pour les aider dans leur mission. Cela peut passer par l'établissement de lignes directrices, d'abréviations, de lexiques grâce à un travail en commun entre le service de traduction et les juges (Allemagne), lequel est régulièrement actualisé. La traductique est aujourd'hui bien implantée dans le fonctionnement du service de traduction de la Cour constitutionnelle d'Espagne, avec l'utilisation d'outils de traduction assistée par ordinateur. En Allemagne, la Cour constitutionnelle utilise également un logiciel de traduction depuis septembre 2017. Cette mise en mémoire ne saurait figer de manière définitive les usages linguistiques. Un processus d'actualisation se combine à celui de la recension. En Allemagne, les évolutions sont d'abord discutées au sein de l'équipe des traducteurs. Ensuite, l'équipe présente ses suggestions aux deux juges référents sur les questions de traduction. Une fois que le choix de traduction est effectué, il est alors introduit dans les outils de travail (lignes directrices, lexiques, etc.).

Conclusion

Pour conclure, on retiendra que la naissance de la traduction dans les Cours constitutionnelles de l'Europe de l'Ouest a été l'objet d'une stratégie : leur genèse est liée au développement d'un réseau européen de décisions constitutionnelles, né sous l'impulsion de la Commission de Venise et renforcé par l'intégration au sein de l'Union européenne. Les développements des nouveaux médias et, en particulier, d'internet a permis une plus large diffusion. Si les premières décisions ont été publiées dans des ouvrages spécialisés, souvent édités par les Cours elles-mêmes, aujourd'hui les décisions les plus récentes figurent sur le site web de chacune des Cours. La mise en place d'une telle stratégie a été menée au travers d'une évolution pragmatique. L'implantation des unités de traduction est un processus en cours et par conséquent, inachevé. Elle passe par l'instauration de processus de contrôle, à la fois linguistique et juridique. Ceux-ci semblent d'autant plus importants à mettre en place que si les traductions cognitives ne sont pas supposées produire des effets normatifs (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023b) – en tout cas, de manière directe – la réussite de la stratégie d'influence pourrait finir les doter, à certaines occasions, d'une normativité indirecte (KAMAL-GIRARD 2023a).

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Literary Translations in the Book Production of Estonian Exile Publishers

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Keywords: Estonia; fiction; exile; publishing

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The article treats the activities of Estonian exile publishers in the Soviet Union (1918–1937) and in the West (1944–1991), concentrating on the publications of translated literary works. The analysis includes the study of the motives for publishing literary translations and the functions these publications were supposed to fulfil in these two different contexts of production and reception. The publishing of Estonian-language literary works in the Soviet Union is studied in the framework of national and cultural policies of the 1920s and 1930s, which determined the development of minority publishing. The output of translated literature by Estonian-language publishers is compared with the all-union translation policy and its preferences in the selection of authors for translation. The treatment of the Estonian-language publishing in the West focuses on the activities of Andres Laur and his publishing house Orto that issued most of the literary translations. The translation publications by other publishers (Vaba Eesti, Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv) represent alternative modes of selection, illustrating the variety of motives.¹

Introduction

The Estonian diaspora was formed by two major completed waves of emigration that led to formation of the Eastern and Western sub-diasporas. The first mass emigration started in the mid-nineteenth century and lasted until World War I when Estonia was part of the Russian Empire. Estonians moved to Russia for farmland, for better employment and study opportunities. The majority of them stayed in Soviet Russia after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 and establishment of the Republic of Estonia on February 24, 1918. This was opposed only by Estonian communists (or Bolsheviks), who would have preferred Estonia to be part of Soviet Russia. Wanting to establish Bolshevik power, Soviet Russia invaded Estonia in November 1918. The following armed conflict between Soviet Russia and the Republic of Estonia is known as the Estonian War of Independence that lasted until February 1920. On February 2, 1920 the Tartu Peace Treaty was signed – the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Russia recognised each other and declared the end of the war. Thus, the attempts of the Estonian communists to come to power with the help of the Red Army had failed. As a result, it became impossible to establish Soviet power in Estonia that urged many Estonian communists to move to Soviet Russia, becoming part of the Estonian diaspora.

The Western sub-diaspora was formed mainly towards the end of the World War II. The Republic of Estonia was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940 and the Soviet regime was re-

¹ This work was supported by the Estonian Research Council's grant PRG1206 ("Translation in History, Estonia 1850-2010: Texts, Agents, Institutions and Practices").

established in 1944 after a brief period of German occupation (1941–1944). In order to escape the Soviet rule about 80,000 Estonians, including many intellectuals, fled to the West, settling down mostly in Sweden and in Canada. Both these diasporas were culturally active, establishing, among other institutions, Estonian-language publishing houses. Their production also included a small number of literary translations.

The publishing activities and book production of Estonian émigrés in the Soviet Union in 1918–1937 first attracted the attention of Estonian scholars already in the 1930s (ANTIK 1939). Oskar Urgart (1934) has studied literary works by Estonian writers that were published in Leningrad. During the 1960s–1980s when Estonia was part of the USSR the most comprehensive study of publishing and book production in the Soviet Union in 1918–1937 was authored by book historian Kyra Robert (1975). At that time the topic was treated as the first stage of Soviet-type publishing and book production in the Estonian language. Since Estonia regained independence in 1991, research on the cultural life of Estonian émigrés in the Soviet Union has been modest. Aile Möldre and Tiiu Reimo (2008) have studied the activities of the Estonian publishing houses in Leningrad.²

The Estonian-language publishing activities can be compared with Finnish-language publishing in the Soviet Union in the 1920s–1930s, treated in the study by Pauli Kruhse and Antero Uitto (2008). Their book deals with the history of Finnish publishing bodies in the Soviet Union, especially the leading publishing house Kirja that operated in Leningrad and Petroskoi. It also includes the bibliography of Finnish-language book production issued in the Soviet Union between 1918–1944 where translated literary titles can be identified. The work by Natalia Rudnytska (2022) on the formation of the Soviet canon of world literature enables to study the literary translations into Estonian published in the Soviet Union in the context of Soviet translation policy of the period.

The publishing and book production of the Western diaspora after the World War II has been studied by Anne Valmas (1993; 2003a, 2003b) who has provided data on all the publishers of Estonian-language books in the West as well as characteristics of different publication types. Vallo Kelder (2000) researched the translations of Finnish literature published by the publishing house Orto in Toronto in the 1950s–1970s. The literary scholar Hilve Rebane (1996; 2008) has treated the features of translations from different source literatures, characterising the authors and works selected for publishing.

Like Estonians, nearly 175,000 Latvians fled their homeland during the final year of World War Two, forming the Latvian diaspora in the West (Latvians 2016). They organised several publishing houses issuing literary works both by Latvian authors as well as translations. The literary translations issued during the 1940s–1950s have been studied by Viesturs Zanders (2020). He has also studied the Latvian publishing house Imanta active in Copenhagen in 1946–1971 (ZANDERS 2021).

The article addresses the publishing of literary translations in the framework of book and translation history. It aims to study the publishing of literary translations into the Estonian language in different contexts – the Soviet Union in the 1920s–1930s and the Western countries in the 1940s–1980s, the motives and functions of the publishers of diasporic literature as well as their reception by readers. The study also includes the statistical data on the output of book translations and its analysis by source literatures. In line with the outline for the

² Saint Petersburg was renamed to Petrograd (1914–1924) and later Leningrad (1924–1991).

sociology of translations by Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro (2007), production and reception of literary translations is studied considering the political, social and economic conditions where the Eastern and Western émigré publishing houses operated, characterising the political and economic constraints that affected the output of translations.

Literary translations into Estonian were published in Soviet Russia and in the West both as separate books as well as in periodicals. For example, the literary and political journals *Oras* (1923–1927), *Leegid* (The Flames, 1927–1936), *Klassivõitlus* (Class Struggle, 1919–1936) issued in Petrograd/Leningrad included translations just as the literary journals *Mana* (1957–1999) and *Tulimuld* (1950–1993) issued by Estonian diaspora in the West. In order to illustrate the publishing trends in exile, the present study uses literary translations that were issued as separate books.³

Estonian-language Publishing and Literary Translations in the Soviet Union in 1918–1937

Since the middle of the 19th century the Russian Empire attracted migrants to its new agricultural lands. The emigration potential was high in Estonia and more than 300 Estonian settlements were established all across the empire, mainly in the neighbouring European parts of Russia. Estonian remained the main language for both everyday communication and the schooling of children in the Estonian villages in Russia. Estonians also settled in urban areas, the most important ethnic concentration emerged in the city of St. Petersburg. The Eastern sub-diaspora included about 200,000 Estonians in 1917 (TAMMARU et al. 2010: 1159–1164).

Estonians living in Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine could opt for Estonian citizenship and repatriate to Estonia and about 37,500 people were able to do so (Tammaru et al. 2010: 1164) while the majority of the Estonian population of Russia stayed in their new homeland. 154,666 Estonians were living in the Soviet Union according to the census of 1926. The number of people who declared Estonian to be their mother tongue was 139,500 (Kuddo & Laas 2002: 248). These people formed the potential readership of Estonian-language publications in Russia. The publishers, editors and translators of these publications mainly came from among the émigré communists.

The impact of national and cultural policy on publishing in minority languages

Literature, publishing and book production in minority languages functioned in the context of national and cultural policies of the Soviet Union. At first the Soviet national policy favoured ethnic minority (socialist) cultures and supported publishing in minority languages. According to Jörg Baberowski, in order to secure the success of the revolutionary project,

³ The statistical data has been calculated on the basis of existing research (ROBERT 1975; VALMAS 2003a), bibliography (VALMAS 2003b) and the Estonian national bibliography database (https://www.ester.ee/search~S95*est). Data on the Estonian-language publications issued in the Soviet Union was gathered by the leading libraries of Estonia during the Soviet period. The Tallinn University Academic Library includes the Estonian Expatriate Literature Centre that has carried out bibliographic work based on its rich collections of publications issued by the Western diaspora. All the bibliographic records gathered over the decades have been included in the electronic national bibliography database turning it into a trustworthy source for research.

Lenin considered it inevitable to gain the trust of the oppressed nations of Tsarist Russia by introducing socialism to them in their own languages and cultural forms (БАБЕРОВСКИ 2006: 182). While on the one hand the Bolsheviks sought homogeneous orders, on the other hand the multi-ethnic empire was remodelled into a nation-state where ethnic groups and cultures were ascribed everlasting qualities.

The so-called *korenizatsiia* or indigenization entailed identifying, classifying and bounding ethnically defined administrative units that would be staffed by “natives” (BLITSTEIN 2006: 209). The Twelfth Congress of the Bolshevik Party, held in 1923, hierarchized nationalities based on territory as the primary marker of identity, from federated republics endowed to some nationalities to merely the right to schooling in their national language in regions where they enjoyed high population density (LARUELLE 2021: 18). The populations that had a kinstate outside Soviet borders were referred to as national minorities (ibid. 2021: 22), a category that also Estonians belonged to.

Thus, socialism was to acquire national forms and according to Stalin the Bolshevik programme of modernisation was “socialist in content, national by form” (БАБЕРОВСКИ 2006: 186, 196). Peter A. Blitstein (2006) argues further that the national policy of the new Soviet elite sought to simultaneously create difference and sameness. In order to achieve unity, the Soviet state did not inject content into ethnic categories, for example, the curriculum and organization of non-Russian schools were, from the late 1920s, designed to be as close as possible to those in Russian schools. Language was understood to be merely a transparent medium rather than reflective of cultural “content” (BLITSTEIN 2006: 210).

The cultural revolution was considered an integral component of the Bolshevik conquest of power. Cultural work, spreading of knowledge that was interpreted as the propaganda of the progressive class’ (that is the proletariat’s) ideology was to secure the cultural development (*kulturnost’*) (KHESTANOV 2014: 130). *Kulturnost’* was part of a broader Soviet civilizing mission addressing the Russian peasants, but also native “backward” peoples, including certain educational background, level of literacy, and basic knowledge of communist ideology, but also certain conduct in public and dressing. Political and economic support for ethnic minority culture became an obligation of the Soviet state and the Communist Party (SHNEER 2003: 198).

By the mid-to-late 1930s, however, the practices of Sovietization emerged, designed to crafting the Soviet uniformity, the Soviet People, moulding standardized, culturally-interchangeable individuals suitable for modern politics and economics, based on Russian language and culture (BLITSTEIN 2006: 212). This process coincided with the onset of mass repressions during the 1930s. The Politburo decree from December 14, 1932 had initiated the beginning of ethnic cleansing among the Soviet Union diaspora nationalities with cross-border ethnic ties to a foreign state and abolition of many national institutions (MARTIN 2001: 311). The campaign also led to the arrest and execution of numerous Estonians, including Comintern employees and communist leaders. According to 1939 census the number of Estonians who declared the Estonian language to be their mother tongue had diminished to 91,492 (МУСАЕВ 2009: 191).

Estonian-language publishing houses and book production in the Soviet Union in 1918–1937

Publishing houses occupied a central place in the Soviet cultural production in the 1920s as printing was the most important means of circulating knowledge in the Soviet Union (SHNEER 2003: 199–200). Estonian-language publishing in Soviet Russia concentrated in Petrograd/Leningrad where two Estonian publishing houses Eesti Kirjastuse Ühisus (The Estonian Publishing Community, 1922–1926) and Kõlvaja (The Sower, 1922–1934) were established in the 1920s by two groups of Estonian communists. While Kõlvaja was the publishing house of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, the Estonian Publishing Community was a cooperative publishing house (82 members in 1924) (AGARMAA 1967: 9) the establishment of which was made possible by the New Economic Policy, NEP (1921–1928), marking a turn to mixed-market economy. However, the Estonian Publishing Community was not able to secure the necessary distribution to generate sufficient revenue and went bankrupt, merging with Kõlvaja in 1926 (NIINOJA 1984).

A small number of Estonian-language books were issued in Siberia and by the central publishing houses in Moscow. Kõlvaja in its turn was merged with the Leningrad Department of the Publishing Society of Foreign Workers of the USSR in the beginning of 1934. The Estonian section of this department continued to publish Estonian-language books until the end of 1937 (MÖLDRE & REIMO 2008: 126, 128). By the beginning of 1938 Estonian-language publishing had come to a halt and the majority of Estonian communists active in publishing had been executed.

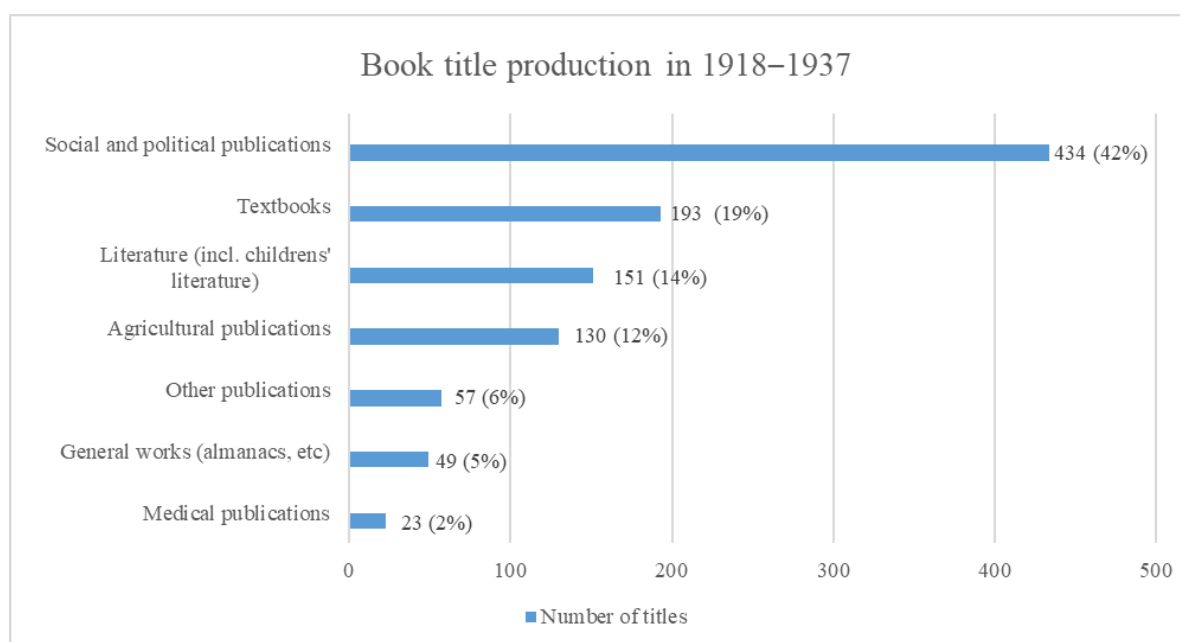


Figure 1. Estonian-language book title production in 1918–1937 (calculated on the basis of Robert 1975)

The quantity of Estonian-language books published in the Soviet Union was rather modest – 1037 book titles issued in 1918–1937. The content of book production in Estonian was a typical selection of a national minority publishing house, dominated by political publications and textbooks for schools (Figure 1). There were 169 Estonian schools in the Soviet Union in 1924 (RAUDSEPP & HIEMAA 2013: 85). Textbooks were also issued for adults participating in political education or agricultural courses. Estonians were mostly farmers and national

collective farms were organised since 1928/1929. Numerous agricultural instructions and handbooks had to guide the work in newly created collective farms, thus also being political in essence.

Literary translations for the Estonian Diaspora in the Soviet Union in 1918–1937

Beside political literature a cultured Soviet citizen was also supposed to read literature. The book production of the Estonian-language publishers included 126 titles of literary works for adult readers. The proportion of books by Estonian authors formed 42% (53 titles) including mostly works by the authors living in the Soviet Union while 58% of the titles (73 titles) were translations (Figure 2). Although publications of prose were represented by the largest number of titles, the figure draws attention to a notable position of plays among the publications of literary works.

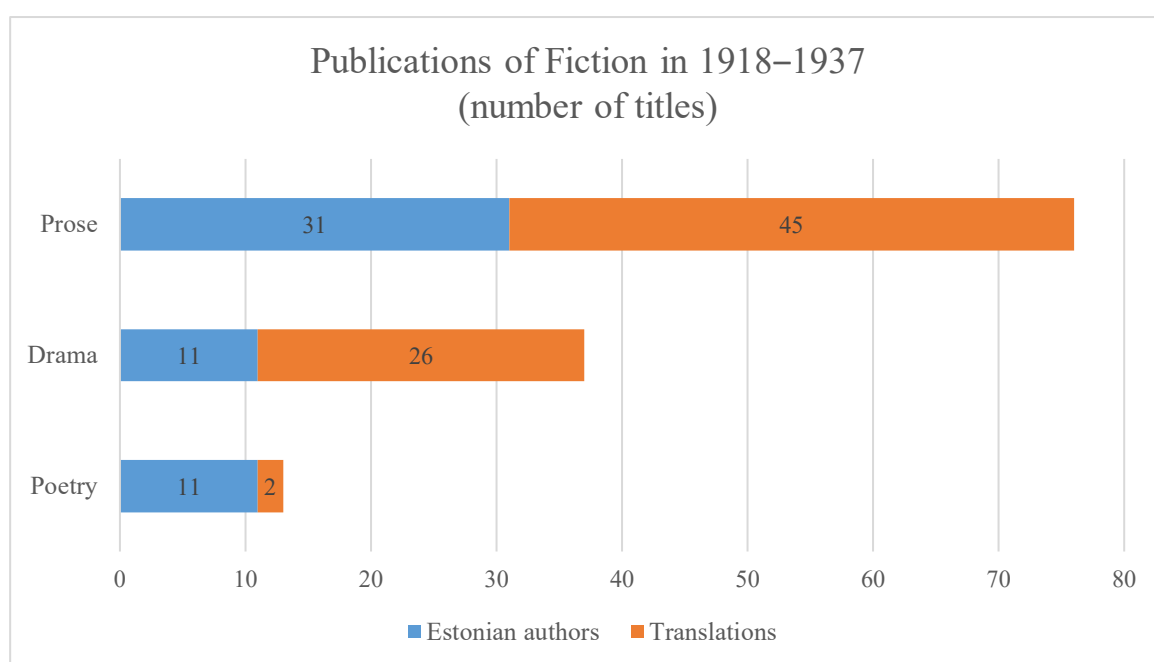


Figure 2. Literary works by Estonian authors and translations of literature for adult readers in 1918–1937 (calculated on the basis of the Estonian national bibliography database)

Theatrical activity had attracted Estonians already since the rise of Estonian nationalism in the second half of the 19th century, when numerous song and drama societies were established. Amateur theatrical associations as well as choirs and orchestras were also organised in St. Petersburg and in the Estonian villages in Russia. During the Soviet period, clubs became the most massive form of cultural work among the population that operated in different directions – political education, sports activities, libraries and reading rooms as well as traditional theatrical associations and choirs, although now used for Soviet propaganda and agitation. In addition, a professional Estonian theatre was active in Petrograd/Leningrad in 1921–1936 (MYCAEB 2009: 138–140, 142).

These theatre troupes were in need of ideologically suitable repertoire which the publishers obtained primarily from Soviet Russian, but also from some foreign authors. The largest number of titles of translated plays was issued in the years 1923–1925 when the Estonian Publishing Community published the series *Töörahma näitekirjandus* (Plays for Workpeople). The drama translations by other than Russian writers include, for example, works by

Danish (*Folkene på Dangården* by Martin Andersen Nexø), Irish (*The Playboy of the Western World* by John M. Synge), Latvian (*Balss un atbalss* by Andrejs Upīts) or French (*Les mauvais bergers* by Octave Mirbeau) authors. The selection holds plays by acknowledged authors containing social critique, depicting hard life of working men and women, thus being ideologically appropriate for the working masses.

An anonymous reviewer evaluated the plays issued in the series in the Estonian-language communist daily newspaper *Edasi* (Forward), describing their topic and suitability for staging by amateur theatrical associations in the villages (Töörahva näitekirjandus 1924). Commenting on Georg Engel's drama *Sturmglöcken* that treats the revolution of 1848 the reviewer recommends starting the performance with a historical introduction and comments on the petit-bourgeois character of this revolution. Clara Viebig's play *Fräulein Freschbolzen* has been characterized as a comedy about petit-bourgeois love that includes no revolutionary element, but as it does not overtly glorify bourgeois society, it could be acceptable for staging alongside more serious repertoire. That kind of leniency towards entertainment was, however, rather exceptional.

The translations of prose included predominantly Soviet Russian literature and the list of authors includes the popular and most translated writers of the day (RUDNYTSKA 2022: 50) topped by Maxim Gorky with the largest number of translations into Estonian (six book titles), followed by Mikhail Sholokhov, Dmitry Furmanov, Alexander Serafimovich, Alexander Fadeyev, Alexey Novikov-Priboy, Fyodor Panfyorov, etc. The few publications by pre-revolutionary authors were represented by Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and Alexander Pushkin, whose novella *Дубровский* and fairytales were published in the centennial year of Pushkin's death, 1937. While the authorities had paid quite modest attention to Pushkin in the 1920s, the centennial of his death was celebrated on a wide scale. By the 1930s, when the Soviet-Russian identity was no longer submerged, he had become a bearer of Russian ideas, culture and language within the framework of the Soviet state, expected to bolster the regime's legitimacy, used as an ideological tool to cement the role of Russia as the "ethnic glue" of the Soviet state (FELCHER 2012: 780–781).

The majority of literary translations from literatures other than Russian were published during the 1920s (Table 1). The translation trends into Estonian were similar to the general Soviet translation policy. Up to 1928, the number of translated literary works increased considerably due to the favourable cultural and economic policy. Since the end of NEP in 1928/29 the sphere of literary translation experienced severe reduction (RUDNYTSKA 2022: 43). The activities of the publishing houses were taken under strict control by the communist party and special administrative bodies. The role of planning grew and the role of market demand decreased as publishers became more dependent on state subsidies.

Natalia Rudnytska (2022: 42) has listed several topics of appropriate works from world literature for the Soviet mass reader and some of them can be detected among the translations into Estonian, e.g. lives of ordinary people (Octave Mirbeau, Clara Viebig, Herman Heijermans) and fight for freedom (Georg Engel, Robert Schweichel). Literary translations into Estonian also treated the emancipation of women (Victor Margueritte) as well as publications of science fiction and utopia (Herbert Wells, Soviet Russian authors Jakov Okunev,

Nikolai Mukhanov). Many of the foreign authors chosen for translation held socialist or communist views (Martin Andersen Nexø, Kurt Eisner, Herbert Wells etc.).⁴

In the 1930s, the translation policy was defined by the establishment of a new Soviet identity (RUDNYTSKA 2022: 48). In reality, it led to cultural homogeneity and the Russification of different “Soviet peoples” (MONTICELLI & LANGE 2014). As a result, the majority of literary works translated into the languages of non-Russian Soviet peoples were by Russian authors. For example, they made up 74.8% of all the translations into the languages of non-Russian Soviet peoples in 1935, while the proportion of translations from foreign languages was 16.7% and that from the other languages of the Soviet peoples was 8.5% (RUDNYTSKA 2022: 49). The turn from a relatively diverse selection of source literatures in the 1920s to the dominance of translations from Russian literature can be also followed in the literary translations into Estonian. While in 1920–1929, the proportion of literary translations from Russian literature was 52% of all translations (24 titles) and other source literatures were represented with 48% (22 titles), the literary translations published from 1930 to 1937 included 22 titles of Russian literature (92% of all literary translations) and only two titles (8%) from foreign literatures – Hungarian (*Ég a Tisza* by Béla Illés) and French (*Tartarin de Tarascon* by Alphonse Daudet).

Source literature	Prose	Drama	Poetry	In all
Russian	30	17	2	49
German	4	4		8
French	4	1		5
American	3			3
Danish	1	1		2
Hungarian	1			1
English	1			1
Altai	1			1
Dutch		1		1
Irish		1		1
Latvian		1		1
In all	45	26	2	73

Table 1. Literary translations into Estonian (excl. children’s literature) published in the Soviet Union in 1918–1937 by source literatures

The editors of the Estonian publishing houses were Estonian communists, faithful to the Marxist-Leninist world view and loyal to the party line whose publishing activities followed the instructions and requirements of the bodies governing publishing. One of the top-ranked communists, author and translator of political writings and, editor of the literary journal

⁴ Among the more prolific translators of literature were the stage manager Valter Rätsepp, writers Karl Treufeldt, Eduard Päll (pen-name Hugo Angervaks) and Karl Trein who had fled to Soviet Russia after the War of Independence. They had participated in labor movement in tsarist Russia and were members of the communist party. However, about a quarter (27%) of all the translated books do not provide any information about the translator in their paratexts.

Oras and poet Hans Pöögelmann (1933: 3) stated in the preface to his book *Kirjanduslikult rindelt* (From the Literary Front), that every creative work is inevitably part of class struggle, functioning as a combat unit on the ideological front. Pöögelmann (1933: 9) admits that some art works, some ideas from the earlier eras are acceptable for the proletariat, but the new proletarian literature adopts only works which serve the interests of the revolution. Thus, at least by the beginning of the 1930s, the expectations for literature were driven primarily by the needs of communist propaganda.

That was hardly the content that most Estonians living in the Soviet Union were interested in. According to the report for the communist party bodies of the Leningrad region dating from 1927, Estonians were moderately loyal to the Soviet power, but indifferent towards politics (МУСАЕВ 2009: 143). Other documents demonstrate the dominance of a petit-bourgeois mentality among Estonian peasants. During the political literacy lectures they were primarily interested in economic issues (МУСАЕВ 2009: 145–146), hence the weak dissemination of political publications that were distributed mainly to organisations and institutions (MÖLDRE & REIMO 2008: 23). However, fiction could attract wider audiences, for example 2,500 copies of the translation of Pushkin's *Дубровский* were sold in a couple of days (МУСАЕВ 2009: 182). Books were meant for ideological education of the readers, they had to be affordable to everyone and were sold for a cheap price guaranteed by state subsidies. After the New Economic Policy ended in the late 1920s, buyer demand no longer played a notable role in book publishing.

The translations of literary works that were published in the Soviet Union in the Finnish language provide another example of the general trends in translation policy (KRUHSE & UITTO 2008). The similarities with the literary translations into Estonian lie both in the proportion of source literatures as well as the selection of writers and works for translation. Like the translations into Estonian, the translations into Finnish included predominantly (more than 70%) translations of Russian literature. Among the Russian authors issued both in Finnish and Estonian were classics like Alexander Pushkin, Leo Tolstoi and Anton Chekhov, but the recurrences in the list of the Soviet Russian authors were much more numerous. Although the choice of specific works by many authors (e.g. Fyodor Gladkov, Lidiia Seifullina, Aleksey Novikov-Priboy) could have differed, the main works of socialist realism were published in both languages (e.g. *Мать* by Maxim Gorky, *Против течения* by Alexander Fadeev, *Железный поток* by Alexander Serafimovich, *Поднятая целина* by Mikhail Sholokhov, etc.). Among foreign writers translated both into Estonian and Finnish were Jack London and Upton Sinclair, who were among the most popular foreign authors in the Soviet Union at that time as well as Martin Andersen Nexø and Béla Illés. In general, the number of literary translations issued in Finnish for adult readers (more than 180 titles) exceeded the number of translations into Estonian about two times and included a more varied selection of authors and works than in Estonian. Although the publishing activities in Finnish and Estonian were carried out in similar political and cultural conditions, within the same constraints, there was some space for the selection of texts and agency of editors and translators. A comparison of literary translations into Estonian in the Republic of Estonia 1918–1940 and in the Soviet Union enables us to identify some coincidences in the list of writers and works. For example, Alphonse Daudet was also popular in Estonia and is represented with numerous translations. The novel *Tartarin de Tarascon* was published both in Estonia and

in Leningrad in two different translations by Johannes Semper and Eduard Päll. Likewise, the novel *A Captain of Industry* by Upton Sinclair was translated both in Leningrad by Karl Treufeldt as well as in Estonia by Erna Normann.

In the case of several Western authors, different works were selected for translation in Estonia and in Leningrad. Many works by Herbert Wells were translated in Estonia, but his novel *Men like Gods* was issued only in Leningrad. The same applies to Jack London, whose works, especially the Klondike and South Sea stories, were issued in Estonia in numerous editions (28 book titles in all) while his political fiction (the stories *The Apostate*, *South of the Slot*) were published in Leningrad. However, translations by some Western writers, for example Martin Andersen Nexø, Kurt Eisner, Clara Viebig and Robert Schweichel were published only by the Estonian-language publishers in Leningrad during the years 1918–1940.

The situation was similar with Russian and Soviet Russian authors. Authors like Pushkin, Anton Chekhov and Maksim Gorky were translated in both in Estonia and in Leningrad, but the selection of works was different. For example, the translations of *Дубровский* and fairytales by Pushkin were published in Leningrad while poetry and *Капитанская дочка* were translated in Estonia. Translations of Russian classical authors like Nikolai Gogol, Ivan Turgenev and Fyodor Dostoevsky were published only in Estonia. Especially the attitude towards Dostoevsky differed in the two political and cultural spaces, his works being out of favour in the Soviet Union at that time. The publishing houses in Estonia also published the translations of several contemporary Russian exile authors, for example, Aleksandr Kuprin, Evgenii Chirikov, Mikhail Artsybashev and Ivan Bunin who were not issued by Estonian-language publishers in the Soviet Union. The selection of Soviet Russian writers in Estonia preferred works that dealt with moral issues of the Soviet society (e.g. Panteleimon Romanov, Lev Gumilevskii, Nikolai Nikitin) rather than the politicized texts which were translated into Estonian in the Soviet Union.

Thus, although the most popular contemporary as well as classic authors were translated into Estonian both in the Republic of Estonia and in the Soviet Union, the selection of works for translations was mainly different. Outside of these top authors the preferences of homeland and exile publishers diverged considerably, eventually resulting in a more varied, complementary corpus of texts. However, during the 1920s–1930s the exchange of literature published in the Republic of Estonia and the Soviet Union was limited. After the war, in Soviet Estonia a large part of the translations that had been issued in independent Estonia were placed in closed special collections, unavailable to ordinary readers. The canonical works translated into Estonian in the Soviet Union were already retranslated in Soviet Estonia during the 1940s, thus the translations published in exile disappeared from circulation.

The publishing of Soviet books in the Estonian language continued during World War II. The Republic of Estonia was occupied by the Red Army and incorporated into the Soviet Union as a union republic in the summer of 1940. The German Army conquered Estonia by October 1941 and the country was subjected to civilian occupation power. The German occupation lasted until September 1944 when Estonia was again occupied by the Red Army.

After war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union in June 1941, the staff of the communist party bodies and Soviet institutions as well as pro-Soviet intellectuals were evacuated to the rear areas of the Soviet Union. Together with the men mobilised by the Soviet government, their number reached about 60,000 people (Nõmm 1992: 229). The publishing

of Estonian-language publications was concentrated in Leningrad and Moscow where 241 book titles were issued in 1941–1944. Literary works were represented by 45 titles including 12 collections, 17 titles by Estonian authors and 16 translations of Soviet, predominantly Soviet Russian authors (13 titles). These were mostly stories about the ongoing war by authors like Boris Gorbатов, Vadim Kozhevnikov, Leonid Sobolev, Mikhail Sholokhov.

Literary translations published by Estonian diaspora in the West

The formation of the Western sub-diaspora took place during World War II when about 80,000 Estonians (about 7% of the whole population) left for the West, fleeing from the Soviet occupation forces (KUMER-HAUKANÖMM 2014: 53; VAIK 2014: 69). At first, they moved to Finland, Sweden and Germany, where they settled in the displaced persons' (DP) camps (VALMAS 2003a: 21). The camps were closed down in the early 1950s, when a considerable number of refugees resettled in the USA, Canada, Australia and Great Britain. Most of the refugees who had reached Sweden stayed there (22,000), but there was also some onward migration, mainly to Canada (TAMMARU et al. 2010: 1167). Larger Estonian communities developed in Sweden, the USA (about 30,000 in the end of the 1950s), Canada (18,500 in 1961), Australia (6,549 in 1954) and Great Britain (3,418 in 1951) (VALMAS 2003a: 21–24).

Among the refugees were numerous cultural figures – writers, artists, musicians as well as politicians, healthcare professionals and educators. There were also many ambitious and talented young authors who made their literary debuts in exile. However, more than a half of all the émigrés were farmers, fishermen or unskilled labourers (KUMER-HAUKANÖMM 2014: 55–56; VAIK 2014: 69). The writing and publishing of Estonian texts already started in the temporary stopovers in Finland and in the refugee camps in Sweden and Germany (VAIK 2014: 69). The largest publishing house Kultuur (Culture) started to operate in Geislingen in 1946. The publications primarily included periodicals, textbooks for Estonian schools, works by Estonian authors, dictionaries and practical handbooks (VALMAS 2003a: 128). Later publishing activities were concentrated in Sweden and Canada, although publishing houses were established in all the countries with bigger Estonian communities. The largest number of Estonian-language publications was issued in Sweden, which is where many intellectuals and writers were located. Canada, a destination for business-minded Estonians with practical skills, followed with half the number of book titles (VALMAS 2003a: 29). Creative and publishing activities were enormously important and popular for exiled Estonians as in their understanding, the fate of real Estonian culture and language was in their hands, since the people at home were oppressed and Estonian culture was believed to be destroyed and replaced by the Soviet culture (VAIK 2014: 72). This attitude prevailed until the 1970s.

The total number of book titles issued by Estonian publishing houses, organisations and individuals in the West in 1944–2000 amounts to 4,040 titles, 3,567 (88%) of which were in Estonian and 473 (12%) in foreign languages (VALMAS 2003a: 151–152). Table 2 demonstrates its composition by types and topics. Literature (including 117 books for children) accounted for a significant proportion of the total book production with 1,188 titles (29% of the total book production), the majority of which were works by Estonian authors (1,018 titles, 86%). The most fertile period for publishing original literature were the 1950s and 1960s, the time of the greatest creative activity of different generations of exiled authors and numerous reprints of Estonian classics, including the authors who were banned or

disfavoured in Soviet Estonia. Since the 1970s, the older Estonian-language writers started to disappear and few young authors entered the literary field (VALMAS 2003a: 156).

Types and topics of publications	Number of titles
Literary works (incl. children's literature)	1,188 (29%)
Publications of various organisations (societies, student organisations, scout and guide organisations)	581 (14%)
Textbooks	314 (8%)
Memoirs	301 (8%)
Political publications	299 (7%)
Scholarly and popular-science publications	276 (7%)
Religious publications	255 (6%)
Thematic collections, albums	244 (6%)
Applied publications	225 (6%)
Reference books	157 (4%)
Other	200 (5%)
In all	4,040 (100%)

Table 2. Book title production by Estonian publishers in the West in 1944–2000. Calculated on the basis of VALMAS 2003a: 175–176.

Literary translations were represented with only 170 titles (16% of all adult literature). The majority (144 titles) of these translations were issued by the publishing house Orto (calculated on the basis of Valmas 1993 and the Estonian national bibliography database). The idea to establish the publishing house Orto dates back to July 1944, when the Estonian writers Karl Ristikivi, Valev Uibopuu and entrepreneur Andres Laur discussed the need for Estonian-language books in exile in Helsinki. That led to a decision to reprint a novel by Ristikivi (VALMAS 1993: 548). The publishing activities of Andres Laur (1909–1973) continued successfully in Sweden as there was a high demand for Estonian-language books in European refugee camps, amplified by weak foreign languages skills among the Estonian émigrés at that time. Publishing and distribution of books was handled in a book club manner, operating according to the pre-orders made by Estonian émigrés all over the world (VAIK 2014: 72). Orto operated in Sweden until 1951; then the company moved to Toronto, Canada where the activities continued until the death of the owner in 1973.

During the first post-war years, Orto practically had the monopoly of publishing works by Estonian writers. Andres Laur has been characterised as a controversial and complicated personality whose pursuit of economic success, combined with a somewhat arrogant attitude towards writers, led to very small sums allocated for authors' fees. In response, Estonian writers established their own joint-stock association called Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv (Estonian Writers' Cooperative) in Lund in 1951 (KRONBERG 2002: 22–24). Henceforth, numerous authors started to publish their works in this cooperative publishing house which became known for high standards in manuscript quality and significantly higher fees for authors and translators compared to what Orto used to pay. Still, the publishing house set an aim to

publish primarily Estonian authors and almost completely excluded the publication of translations (KRONBERG 2002: 208), issuing only seven titles of translated literary works.

These include translations by the outstanding Estonian literary scholar and translator Ants Oras (1900–1982) who was living in the USA: *Faust* by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1955; 1962) and *Aenēis* by Virgil (1975), both among his top translations. His translation of Virgil's *Eclogae* was published by the Estonian Learned Society in America in 1970. Oras dreamt about the creation of the Estonian-language library of the classics. By the translation of *Aenēis* he aimed to introduce to the Estonian readers the really great works, the heritage of the “Father of the West”, also having in mind the Estonians living in Soviet Estonia. Indeed, some copies of the translation reached recipients in the translator's homeland (LANGE 2004: 378–379).

Thus, the shrinking of the ranks of writers willing to publish their works as well as the shortage of manuscripts was among the factors contributing to Orto's turn towards the publication of translated literature and reprints of Estonian classics. The foreign language skills of many Estonian émigrés were often insufficient for reading literature in English, German or other languages during the 1940s–1950s, thus securing demand for translations. By the 1970s they had already started to read books in English, Swedish or other languages of the host countries (KELDER 2000: 152). Statistical data (Figure 3) shows that the publication of fiction translations reached its peak during 1955–1964, but since 1965 the number of translated books started to decline, coming almost to a halt at the beginning of the 1980s.

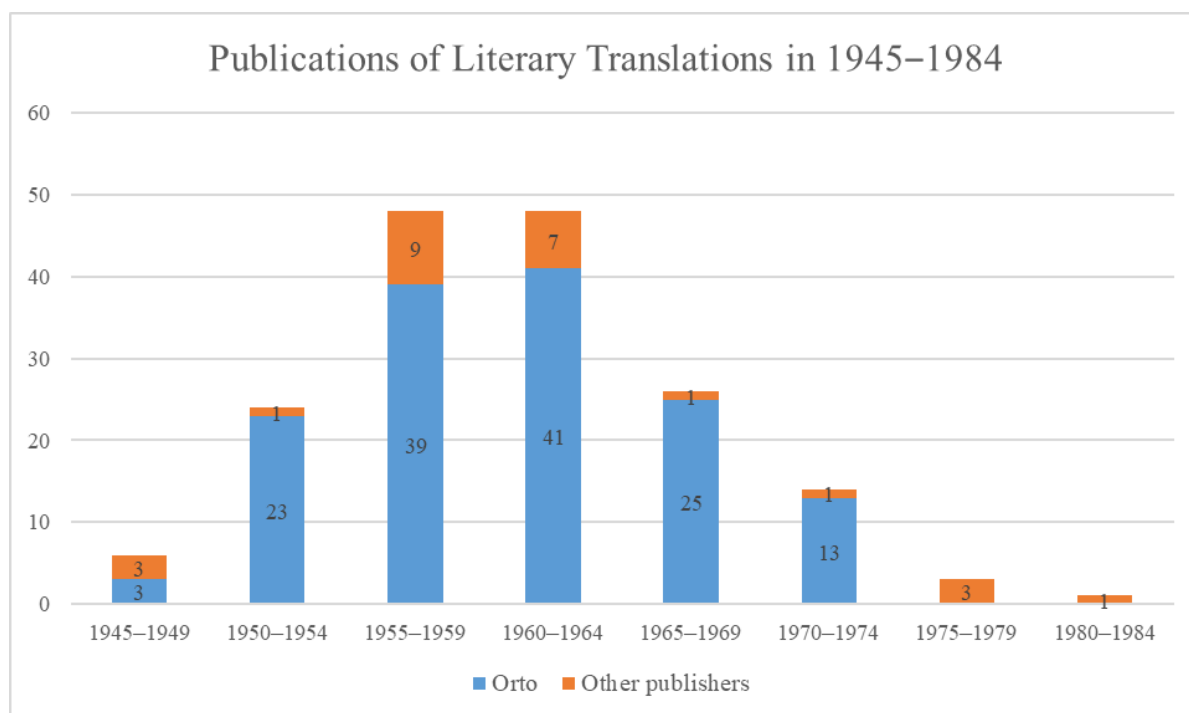


Figure 3. Publications of Literary Translations in 1945–1984. Calculated on the basis of Valmas (2003b) and the Estonian national bibliography database

Orto published both new translations as well as reprints of books which had been first translated into Estonian before 1940. The latter accounted for almost a third of all translations (Figure 4). Laur obtained many of these translations from Finnish libraries with the help of Finnish translator Kerttu Mustonen-Hukki (1899–1992) (KELDER 2000: 141, 148). Laur's

close ties with Mustonen-Hukki as well as his interest in Finnish culture, the feeling of tribal brotherhood with Finns led to a large number of translations of Finnish literature published by Orto – 43 titles were issued in 1945–1973 (30% of all literary translations by Orto). The most popular author was Mika Waltari with 18 titles. This interest in Finnish literature was also shared by Estonian readers and they were willing to buy translations of Finnish books, as the knowledge of the Finnish language was not common among émigrés (KELDER 2000: 152). The saleability of a book was always a very important argument for Laur. Preference was given to lighter readings which could appeal to a wide readership.

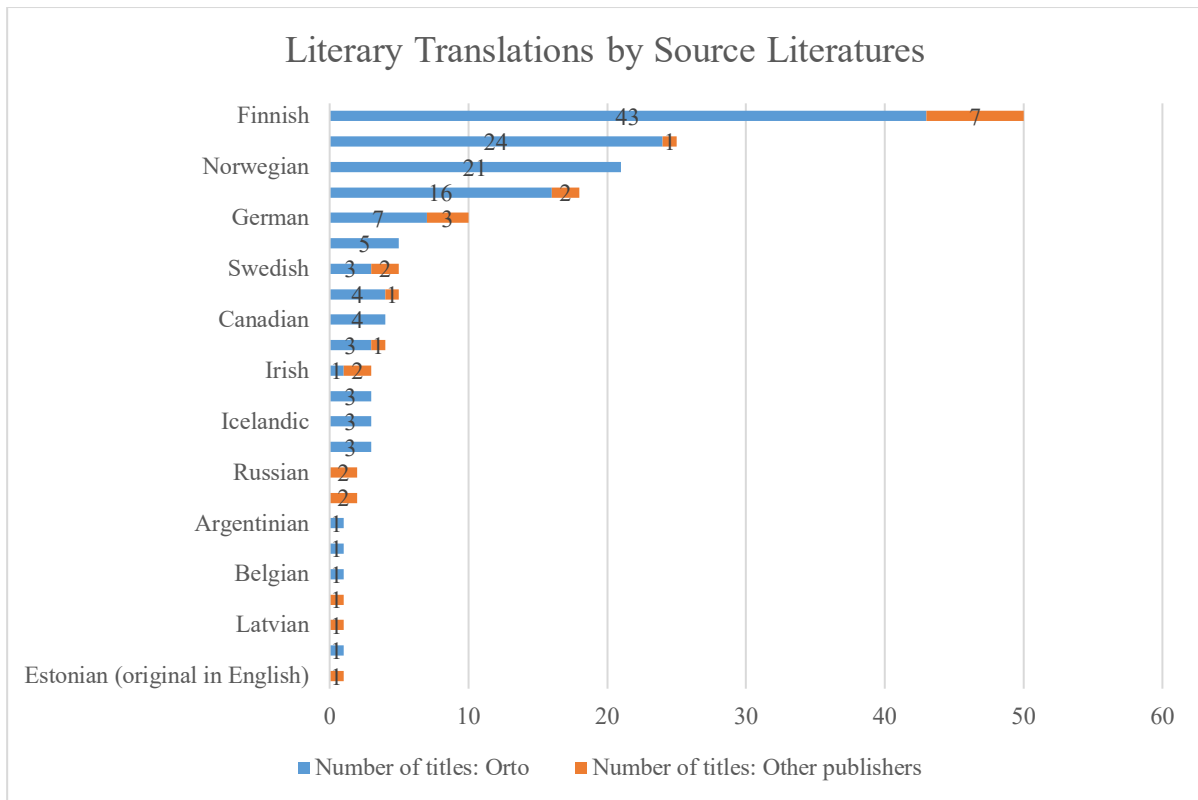


Figure 4. Literary translations published by Orto and other publishers by source literatures. Calculated on the basis of Valmas (2003b) and the Estonian national bibliography database

Research about the home interiors of Estonian émigrés in Canada found out that books by the publishing house Orto were very popular, nearly all the Estonian families in Canada bought them (KALAJÄRV 2012: 33). The production of Orto in Canada consisting largely of translations, the success of its publications demonstrates the favourable reception of literature by foreign authors among readers. Of course, buying Estonian-language literature was motivated both by literary interest as well as the desire to preserve Estonian identity.

According to literary scholar Hilve Rebane (1996: 69), the selection of works for translation was based on the fact that the readers were Estonian refugees who had to find their place in the societies of the receiving countries as well as to preserve their ethnic identity. Several translated novels depict the life of refugees in different countries, for example *Homo novus* by Anšlavs Eglītis, *An Answer from Limbo* and *The Luck of Ginger Coffey* by Brian Moore, *Kenen on syy* by Tuuli Reijonen, *Neiti talonmies* by Hilja Valtonen. Translations enabled readers to apprehend contemporary spiritual and social movements, as well as universal human issues. They provided readers with a sense of psychological security and fulcrum in the

world (REBANE 2008: 557). For example, many works by Mika Waltari (e.g. *Sinuhe*, *Turms*, *kuolematon*, *Mikael Karvajalka*, *Mikael Hakim*) issued by Orto treat the issues of human destiny against historical background.

Especially during the first years of exile, translations also served a practical function as an aid to learn the foreign language, for example, two books by Oscar Wilde (*Lord Arthur Savile's Crime* and *The Canterville Ghost*) were issued with parallel texts in English and Estonian by the publishing house Kultuur in Germany. These also remained the only book translations published in the DP camps during the post-war years.⁵

Anne Valmas, researcher of Estonian publishing activities in the West, has listed the goals of émigré publishing as follows (VALMAS 2003a: 27):

- Preservation and development of culture
- Estonian-language education for Estonians
- Creating opportunities for self-expression for Estonians
- Introducing the problems of the Estonians to the world
- Mercantile motives

Most of these aims also apply to the publication of literary translations that contributed to the development of culture and education as well as served mercantile interests as the activities of the publishing house Orto demonstrate.

Political aspects also played a role in the selection of books for translation. Estonian researchers Anne Lange and Daniele Monticelli (2014: 98) have argued that authors in the Estonian exile community translated books that were banned in the Soviet Union and could not be published in Soviet Estonia; examples include Giovanni Guareschi's stories *Mondo piccolo*. *Don Camillo* (translation published by Estonian publishing house EMP in Stockholm in 1957) as well as Boris Pasternak's novel *Доктор Живаго* in 1960. They note that although the books produced by émigré publishers were banned in the Soviet Union, the material existence of a translation made it possible, in principle, to smuggle it into Soviet Estonia. It is interesting to observe that Andres Laur declined to publish the translation of the novel by Boris Pasternak due to it being "a communist propaganda work", clearly not having read the book. The right to its translation was obtained by another Estonian émigré publishing house, Vaba Eesti (Free Estonia). The translator of this novel into Estonian Artur Adson has claimed that Laur's criticism was motivated by disappointment as he had planned to publish the novel himself (VALMAS 2003a: 94).

Still, ideological considerations also emerged in the selection of works by Finnish authors. Laur was going to discard the novel *Hyvä on elämä* by the Finnish author Jussi Talvi because of its left-wing approach, stating that the attitude of Finns and Estonians towards socialism was totally different and Estonians hated it as communism in disguise (KELDER 2000: 149). Indeed, especially Estonians of the older generations in exile held anti-communist views.

⁵ There were many people, writers and representatives of other occupations who translated literature for Orto and other Estonian publishers in exile. Among the more prolific translators were Harry Ingelman (1925–1976) who worked as a journalist in Australia and Valve-Saretok Ristkok (1911–2004), an author of light novels. The most prominent translator among the permanent collaborators of Orto was Johannes Aavik (1880–1973), a philologist who played a notable role in the modernisation of the Estonian language. They all translated from English and Finnish.

Nevertheless, the translation was published by Orto in 1963. But Laur never published the novel *Neito kulkee vetten päällä* of Finnish author Eeva Joenpelto that Mustonen-Hukki had recommended to him in 1955 (KELDER 2000: 149). Obviously, the story of unmarried mothers in a grim working-class environment did not correspond to Laur's taste.

The comparison of source literatures of translations published in exile in Latvian and in Estonian demonstrates a common interest in Scandinavian writers. This was a characteristic feature of Latvian and Estonian literary translations already before the World War II, when Knut Hamsun was among the most popular foreign authors in both countries. Apart from that, the proportions of source literatures of translations into Estonian and Latvian in exile were rather different. The Latvian-language publishers issued 265 titles of literary translations in the 1940s–1950s including numerous translations of German (30 titles) and French (27 titles), literature that was rare in Estonian (ZANDERS 2020: 21).

The publishing houses of both Latvian and Estonian diasporas published a notable number of translations from the literatures of their neighbouring countries – Finnish literature in the case of Estonia and Estonian literature for Latvians. Latvian exile publishers issued a large number of translations of Estonian literature, mainly reprints of pre-war editions, but also some new books by émigré writers (26 titles in all) (ZANDERS 2020: 21, 27). The differences in source literatures between translations into Estonian and Latvian demonstrate, beside cultural factors, the role of personal agents, publishers and translators, their preferences and interests.

The works of numerous writers were translated only in exile but not in Soviet Estonia, for example, Axel Munthe, Trygve Gulbrandsen, Sigrid Undset, Kelvin Lindemann, Brian Moore, Herman Buller, Hilja Valtonen, Jussi Talvi, Esko Koivu, Kalle Päätalo etc. At the same time there were many authors (e.g. William Faulkner, John Steinbeck, Evelyn Waugh, Gerhart Hauptmann, Hermann Hesse, J. B. Priestly, Pär Lagerkvist, Frans Eemil Sillanpää, Mika Waltari, Eeva Kilpi, Pentti Holappa etc.) who were translated into Estonian both in exile as well as in Soviet Estonia, but the works selected for translation were different.

Still, as the two publishing contexts existed separately, there were some exceptions and different translations of the same work were published both in exile and in Soviet Estonia. For example, the novel *Don Segundo Sombra* by Ricardo Güiraldes was translated by Woldemar Mettus and published by Orto in Canada in 1961. In Soviet Estonia it was published in 1963 in translation of Tatjana Hallap. Other examples include a couple of translations from Finnish (Väino Linna, Mauri Sariola) and, most importantly, the translation of J. W. von Goethe's *Faust*. In exile it was translated by Ants Oras (mentioned above) and in Soviet Estonia by poet and translator of high-quality literature August Sang (1914–1969). The latter translation was first published in Tallinn in 1946 (I part) and 1967 (II part), reprinted in 1972 and 1983.⁶ It is noteworthy that both these translations were reprinted in Estonia after it had regained independence in 1991 – the version by Sang in 2005 by the publishing house Tänapäev and

⁶ Sang and Oras were both outstanding translators, who made a great contribution to the development of Estonian poetry translation. They had belonged to the same literary circle in the pre-war Republic of Estonia (SUMBERG 2006: 31). Oras emigrated in 1943, Sang stayed in Estonia. The translation by Sang was issued in the series of literature for schools and belonged to the list of required literature, thus it was widely known in Estonia. The sales of the translation by Oras in the limited Estonian diaspora market were rather low (SUMBERG 2006: 37–38).

by Oras in 2007 and 2016 by the University of Tartu Press. Both, though very different in style and approach, are critically acclaimed.

There were some other reprints of exile translations, especially in the early 1990s, but generally publishers were more interested in Estonian émigré authors whose works were largely unknown to readers. The works still considered valuable and attractive to readers have since been retranslated, for example the novels by Mika Waltari, John Steinbeck and Daphne du Maurier. In case of Mika Waltari's *Sinuhe* the publisher of Waltari in Finland and his heirs did not allow the old translation by Johannes Aavik to be published in Estonia (as was planned to celebrate the centenary of Waltari's birth (2008)). Thus, a new translation was made by Piret Saluri and published by the publishing house Varrak in 2009 (PEEGEL 2010). Same as the translations published in the Republic of Estonia and in the Soviet Union in 1918–1940, the translations published in exile and in Soviet Estonia in 1944–1991 are complementary, including translations of different authors and works. In the exceptional case of the parallel translations of *Faust*, the isolation of homeland and exile cultures led to the emergence of two masterful interpretations of the masterpiece of world literature.

Conclusions

The Soviet Union with the domination of political dimension and state-run institutions governing cultural production is an example of a communist country where the production and circulation of books and periodicals was highly politicized from the outset. Here, the cultural role of translations was intertwined with political functions, creating a specific value system of writers acceptable for translation. The agents involved in this process – the publishers, editors and translators of Estonian publishing houses in the Soviet Union were true communists who acted in harmony with the party line. This also applied to publishing of literature including translations. The selection of authors and works corresponded to the all-union translation policy and hierarchy of source literatures, giving priority, especially during the 1930s, to Russian literature.

That cannot be said about the readers – Estonian farmers and workers – who, according to historical data from the 1920s, were indifferent towards politics. Considering their cultural activity, literature, including translations, was the part of book production which could interest them the most. This is illustrated, for example, by the numerous publications of plays that could be staged by amateur theatre groups as well as read silently.

In the democratic West, there was no political pressure, although ideological aspects were present in the selection of texts, combined with commercial considerations. The leading publisher of translations Andres Laur strongly strived for the profitability of the company and primarily attempted to issue bestsellers. Operating in exile, on the small market of the Estonian community, non-market forces, notably state institutions, were not involved in the construction of supply and demand here (as described by Bourdieu).

However, not all the agents participating in the publishing of literary translations were oriented primarily towards commercial success, but selected texts based on their literary or intellectual value, as in the case of Ants Oras' translations of ancient literature or *Faust* by Goethe. The literary translations, along with the works by Estonian authors, played a notable role in maintaining the collective identity of the Estonian minority both in the Soviet Union and

in the West. Although the number of translations was small, their availability offered an opportunity to read world literature not only in Russian, English or in another foreign language, but also in their mother tongue. Language being the central characteristic of the Estonians' identity, its role cannot be overestimated. The literary translations issued by and for the Eastern and Western sub-diasporas thus performed both similar (e.g. cultural, preserving the mother tongue) and dissimilar functions (e.g. political, economic).

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Bernd Kulawik

Das erste wissenschaftliche Übersetzungsprojekt? Die Vitruv-Übersetzung der römischen Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura (ca. 1531–1555)

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Abstract

Während es Übersetzungen der De Architectura Libri Decem des antiken Autors Vitruv bereits zuvor gab, entwickelte ein erst jüngst als Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura identifizierter Kreis vieler Gelehrter und Architekten ab ca. 1531 in Rom ein umfassendes Programm zur wissenschaftlichen Begründung der Architektur und insbesondere zur Erforschung der als vorbildlich angesehenen Architektur der römischen Antike. Für dieses Programm war Vitruvs Text der Ausgangspunkt und von zentraler Bedeutung, weshalb er neu ediert und übersetzt werden sollte. Dieses bisher als unrealisiert und sogar als unrealisierbar angesehene Programm – 1531 erstmals skizziert, 1542 schriftlich fixiert und 1547 publiziert – stellt einen bemerkenswerten und vermutlich sogar den ersten wissenschaftlich zu nennenden Versuch dar, einen antiken Text nicht nur zu emendieren, zu edieren und zu übersetzen, sondern mit Hilfe zusätzlicher Quellen, die ebenfalls systematisch erfasst, dokumentiert und analysiert werden sollten, zu verstehen bzw. zu interpretieren und für Gegenwart und Zukunft nutzbar zu machen. Aus diesen Arbeiten gingen zahlreiche Manuskripte, Zeichnungen, Einzeldrucke und Bücher hervor, die heute zu den Grundlagen verschiedener historischer Wissenschaften gezählt werden und deshalb – wie das trotzdem weitgehend vergessene Projekt selbst – besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen. Der Artikel erläutert das Programm und seine Ergebnisse vorrangig unter dem Aspekt ihrer translationshistorischen Relevanz.

Schlagnote: Vitruvius, Architektur, Archäologie, Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Architekturtheorie

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Bernd Kulawik

Das erste wissenschaftliche Übersetzungsprojekt?

Die Vitruv-Übersetzung der römischen *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* (ca. 1531–1555)

Abstract

Während es Übersetzungen der *De Architectura Libri Decem* des antiken Autors Vitruv bereits zuvor gab, entwickelte ein erst jüngst als *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* identifizierter Kreis vieler Gelehrter und Architekten ab ca. 1531 in Rom ein umfassendes Programm zur wissenschaftlichen Begründung der Architektur und insbesondere zur Erforschung der als vorbildlich angesehenen Architektur der römischen Antike. Für dieses Programm war Vitruvs Text der Ausgangspunkt und von zentraler Bedeutung, weshalb er neu ediert und übersetzt werden sollte. Dieses bisher als unrealisiert und sogar als unrealisierbar angesehene Programm – 1531 erstmals skizziert, 1542 schriftlich fixiert und 1547 publiziert – stellt einen bemerkenswerten und vermutlich sogar den ersten wissenschaftlich zu nennenden Versuch dar, einen antiken Text nicht nur zu emendieren, zu edieren und zu übersetzen, sondern mit Hilfe zusätzlicher Quellen, die ebenfalls systematisch erfasst, dokumentiert und analysiert werden sollten, zu verstehen bzw. zu interpretieren und für Gegenwart und Zukunft nutzbar zu machen. Aus diesen Arbeiten gingen zahlreiche Manuskripte, Zeichnungen, Einzeldrucke und Bücher hervor, die heute zu den Grundlagen verschiedener historischer Wissenschaften gezählt werden und deshalb – wie das trotzdem weitgehend vergessene Projekt selbst – besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdienen. Der Artikel erläutert das Programm und seine Ergebnisse vorrangig unter dem Aspekt ihrer translationshistorischen Relevanz.

Für Edith und Horst († 2018) Heintze

Einleitung: Vitruvs *De architectura libri decem* in der Renaissance

Der einzige erhaltene antike Traktat über alle Aspekte der Architektur wurde von seinem Autor Vitruv für Kaiser Augustus geschrieben. In seinen *De architectura libri decem* fasst Vitruv die Kenntnisse aus seiner langen Dienstzeit als Militäringenieur und Architekt unter Caesar zusammen und ergänzte diese mit den als damaliges Standardwissen anzunehmenden Kenntnissen aus älterer Literatur und Architektur. Die über 100 erhaltenen Manuskripte entstanden überwiegend im Mittelalter und scheinen alle auf eine einzige karolingische Handschrift zurück zu gehen.¹ Spätestens im 15. Jahrhundert fand das Werk das Interesse der Architekten und Theoretiker, unter denen an erster Stelle Leon Battista Alberti zu

¹ Vgl. SCHULER (1999).

nennen ist: Sein ebenfalls zehnbändiges Werk *De re aedificatoria* stellt jedoch keine Übersetzung und modernisierte Nachahmung der zehn Bücher Vitruvs dar, welche Alberti wegen ihres mit griechischen Fachbegriffen durchsetzten und von der Sprache der antiken und modernen Gelehrten abweichenden Lateins als „so dunkel“ erschienen, dass es seiner Meinung nach besser gewesen wäre, Vitruv hätte gar nicht geschrieben als so unverständlich ... Vielmehr ist Albertis Werk ein Versuch einer eigenständigen Architekturtheorie, die auch seine Kenntnisse als praktischer Baumeister sowie als Philologe, Politiker und Ökonom mit einbezog.

Architekten wie der Sieneser Francesco di Giorgio Martini versuchten sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts an Übersetzungen Vitruvs für den eigenen Gebrauch. Inwiefern der geplante Traktat des Martini-Schülers Baldassarre Peruzzi einer Übersetzung Vitruvs oder Martinis bzw. Peruzzis eigenen Neufassung entsprechen sollte, ist nicht bekannt. Das ab 1537 gedruckte mehrbändige Werk des Peruzzi-Schülers Sebastiano Serlio, in dem man eine Fortsetzung oder Realisierung des Peruzzischen Vorhabens sehen könnte, spricht für einen eher eigenständigen, also von Vitruv weitgehend unabhängigen Charakter.²

Nach Publikationen lateinischer Vitruv-Ausgaben durch Giovanni Sulpizio (1487)³ in Rom für die damalige *Accademia Romana* und durch den als Ingenieur und Architekten ebenso wie als Philologe und Epigraphiker hervorgetretenen Fra Giovanni Giocondo (1511) aus Verona (mehrere Nachauflagen),⁴ erschien die erste Übersetzung Vitruvs ins Italienische durch Cesare Cesariano 1521.⁵ Diese wurde aber sowohl von Philologen als auch Architekten aufgrund zahlloser Fehler und Missverständnisse kritisiert.

Dagegen scheint die italienische Übersetzung Francesco Durantinos (1524 und 1535 in Venedig erschienen)⁶ kaum rezipiert worden zu sein. Da seine Illustrationen zumindest teilweise aus Giocondos Ausgabe stammen, wird man annehmen dürfen, dass sich seine Übersetzung ebenfalls am einzigen vorhandenen Vorbild, demjenigen Cesarianos, orientierte. Ein Vergleich beider früher Übersetzungen kann für den Zweck dieses Artikels nicht geleistet werden und wäre auch nicht dienlich: Denn natürlich ist anzunehmen, dass alle diese Ausgaben und Übersetzungen nicht nur auf der alleinigen Arbeit der Autoren beruhten, sondern auch andere, meist befreundete Spezialisten zu Rate gezogen wurden, jedoch ist über ihr gegebenenfalls planmäßiges, koordiniertes Vorgehen dabei bisher nichts bekannt: Cesarianos gebildeter Freundeskreis in Mailand bspw. dürfte kaum ein so umfassendes Programm entwickelt haben wie derjenige Claudio Tolomeis in Rom, der im Zentrum dieses Artikels steht. Wenn doch, so ist dieses Programm nicht nur nicht erhalten, sondern es ist auch nichts darüber aus sekundären Quellen bekannt.

² Vgl. SERLIO (1537), (1540), (1545). Weitere Bände erschienen teilweise erst Jahrzehnte später, zuletzt das 7. Buch, herausgegeben von Jacopo Strada (SERLIO / STRADA 1575) in Mainz.

³ VITRUVIUS / SULPIZIO (1487).

⁴ VITRUVIUS / GIOCONDO (1511), (1513) und öfter.

⁵ VITRUVIUS / CESARIANO (1521).

⁶ VITRUVIUS / DURANTINO (1524) und (1535).

Das Programm der *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura*

1547 publizierte der Sieneser Philologe, Dichter, Politiker und spätere Bischof Claudio Tolomei in der mehr als 20 mal nachgedruckten Sammlung seiner eigenen Briefe⁷ – einer der ersten dieser Art – einen 1542 verfassten Brief⁸ an Agostino de' Landi, in welchem er ein umfassendes Publikationsprogramm zur „[Neu-]Erweckung dieses edlen Studiums [der Architektur]“ darlegte und erläuterte.⁹ Trotz seiner Hinweise auf eine Vielzahl Beteiligter galt Tolomei bisher weitgehend als alleiniger Autor des Projektentwurfs und die von ihm gegründete *Accademia della Virtù* als die zu seiner Realisierung geschaffene Institution.¹⁰

Beides muss nun korrigiert werden: Das Projekt geht in seinen Kernpunkten auf einen bereits 1531 verfassten und 1539 aktualisierten, nur als titellostes Manuskript erhaltenen Textentwurf des damals führenden römischen Architekten, Antonio da Sangallo des Jüngeren, zurück, welcher wegen seiner Fokussierung auf Vitruv von der Forschung bisher als Vorwort zu einer Vitruv-Edition und/oder -Übersetzung missverstanden und deshalb als „*Proemio*“ bezeichnet wurde.¹¹

Und bei der an der Realisierung arbeitenden Akademie handelt es sich nicht um die vorrangig mit der Reform der italienischen Sprache und mit (neu)lateinischer Dichtung befasste, vom Philologen Tolomei hierzu gegründete *Accademia della Virtù*,¹² sondern um die bis heute vergessene *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* (in der Schreibweise des Zeitgenossen Dionigi Atanagi),¹³ deren Mitglied sowohl Tolomei als auch Sangallo waren¹⁴ und die sich als vermutlich erste und vorerst einzige nach der Plünderung Roms, dem *Sacco di Roma* 1527 (wieder) gegründete Akademie zuerst wohl in bewusster Anlehnung an die 1464 von Pomponio Leto gegründete *Accademia Romana* – auch dank personeller Kontinuitäten – als die (einzige) *Accademia Romana* bezeichnete und verstand.¹⁵ Eine Spezifizierung ihres Charakters durch den Zusatz ihres Zwecks wurde offensichtlich erst später notwendig, als in Rom zahlreiche ähnliche, aber i. d. R. kleinere Gesellschaften entstanden, deren Mitgliederkreise sich zudem vielfach überschneiden.

⁷ TOLOMEI (1547).

⁸ TOLOMEI (1547), fol. 81 *recto* – 85 *recto*.

⁹ TOLOMEI (1547), fol. 81 *recto*: „suegliare nvoouamente questo nobile stvdio“.

¹⁰ Vgl. bspw. PAGLIARA (1983) oder – mit einer verdienstvollen ersten Übersicht des Gesamtprogramms – DALY DAVIS (1994). Zu weiteren, zumeist nur kurzen und von früheren – auch in den Fehlern und Irrtümern – abhängigen Erwähnungen des Programms vgl. KULAWIK (2019).

¹¹ Eine moderne Edition mit kurzen Anmerkungen von Sandro Benedetti: SANGALLO (1531/1539 [1977]). Diese Interpretation muss inzwischen als überholt angesehen werden, da der Text eindeutig nicht die Charakteristika eines Vorworts zu einem geplanten oder gar abgeschlossenen Buch trägt, sondern den einer Projektskizze, die aufgrund zahlreicher Parallelen als Vorgänger derjenigen Tolomeis gelten muss.

¹² Auch der Verf. verließ sich früher auf diese Zuschreibung der älteren Forschung, z. B. KULAWIK (2014).

¹³ ATANAGI (1565), fol. LI2 *verso*-LI3 *recto*.

¹⁴ Ein besonders gutes Beispiel für die Unternehmungen der Akademiker beschreibt Girolamo Garimberto in seiner einleitenden Wiedergabe eines Gesprächs über die Rekonstruierbarkeit antiker Bauten: GARIMBERTO (1544: fol. I *recto*-III *verso*).

¹⁵ Darauf deutet z. B. die Selbstbezeichnung der Brüder Valerio und Luigi Dorico als „*Academiae Romanae Impreforum*“ in MARLIANO (1544) hin, ohne dies weiter einzuschränken. Die originale *Accademia Romana* existierte damals jedoch bereits seit 17 Jahren nicht mehr.

Tolomeis Programm beschreibt jeweils kurz, aber sehr präzise, 24 geplante Bücher („*libri*“), deren beabsichtigte Publikation 1542 zum Zeitpunkt der Abfassung des Briefes – und erst recht um 1547 bei seiner Veröffentlichung – anscheinend durch zahlreiche Vorarbeiten bereits absehbar erschien. So konnte Tolomei gegen Ende seines Briefes bspw. behaupten, dank der Mitwirkung zahlreicher Gelehrter und Künstler bzw. Architekten – die er mit den über einhundert Werkstätten verglich, welche zeitgleich in einer großen Stadt tätig seien – könnten alle Aufgaben („*fatiche*“) „in weniger als drei Jahren“¹⁶ zum Abschluss gebracht werden!

Aufbau des Programms

Das von Tolomei beschriebene Publikationsprogramm ist erkennbar in zwei Gruppen unterteilt:

- a) ‚Theorie‘ = Vitruv-Edition, -Übersetzung, -Kommentierung und Auszüge
1. lateinische Kommentierung der schwierigen Stellen in Vitruvs *De architectura* [+]
 2. *philologisch-kritischer Vergleich aller erhaltenen Textversionen Vitruvs [×]
 3. *darauf basierende lateinische Neuedition Vitruvs inkl. rekonstruierter Darstellungen [+]
 4. *kommentiertes lateinisches Wörterbuch der lateinischen Fachbegriffe Vitruvs [×]
 5. *kommentiertes lateinisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Fachbegriffe Vitruvs [×]
 6. philologischer Kommentar zu Vitruvs Latein im Vergleich mit anderen antiken Autoren [Ø]
 7. Neuübersetzung Vitruvs in ein ‚korrekte[re]s‘ Latein [Ø]
 8. Neuübersetzung Vitruvs in das moderne (toskanische) Italienisch [+]
 9. *kommentiertes italienisches Wörterbuch der architektonischen Fachbegriffe Vitruvs [×]
 10. *kommentiertes italienisches Wörterbuch architektonischer Werkzeuge und Details [×]
 11. übersichtliche Zusammenstellung der architektonischen Regeln Vitruvs für die Praxis [+]
- b) ‚Praxis‘ = Kommentierte Dokumentation relevanter Kontexte, Artefakte und Quellen
12. kommentierte und illustrierte Chronologie der Stadtentwicklung Roms in der Antike [+]
 13. *kommentierte und illustrierte Dokumentation *aller* erhaltenen Bauten in Rom u.U. [+]
 14. dass. für Grabsteine und Sarkophage [+]
 15. dass. mit kunsthistorisch-kritischem bzw. stilistischem Kommentar für Statuen [+]
 16. dass. für Friese, Reliefs u. ä. [+]
 17. dass. für vereinzelt erhaltene architektonische Elemente wie Basen, Kapitelle etc. [+]
 18. dass. für Vasen und andere Objekte, die zur Dekoration von Bauwerken dienten [+]
 19. dass. für Werkzeuge und Geräte («Instrumente» im weitesten Sinne) [+]
 20. dass. für Inschriften [+]
 21. Übersicht der bekannten (d. h. nicht nur der erhaltenen) Malereien (und Dekorationen) [×]
 22. kommentierte und illustrierte Dokumentation aller Münzen und Medaillen [+]
 23. Rekonstruktionen der von antiken Autoren beschriebenen (Bau-) Maschinen [+]
 24. Rekonstruktion der Aquädukte in Rom u. U. [+]

¹⁶ TOLOMEI (1547: 84 verso): „non è d'vbbio che' manco di tre anni si condvrran tvtte [fatiche] a fine“.

Die mit * gekennzeichneten Programmteile erschienen bereits als für eine Neuausgabe und Übersetzung erforderliche Vorarbeiten im erwähnten sog. *Proemio Sangallos*.¹⁷ Für die mit [+] gekennzeichneten Programmteile sind – z. T. sehr umfangreiche – Vorarbeiten erhalten oder es können ihnen sogar entsprechende Publikationen aus dem Kreis der Akademiker zugeordnet werden. Für die Existenz der mit [×] gekennzeichneten Programmteile lassen sich zumindest Spuren z. B. durch Verweise darauf nachweisen, oder aber ihre frühere Existenz ist aufgrund der kooperativen Arbeitsorganisation zumindest sehr plausibel.¹⁸ Es ist natürlich nicht auszuschließen, dass sich noch entsprechende Vorarbeiten erhalten haben, diese aber bisher nicht gefunden oder identifiziert werden konnten, zumal inzwischen zahlreiche Beispiele für falsche Datierungen oder Attribuierungen der zumeist anonymen Quellen bekannt sind.

Es fällt auf, dass der erste Teil des Publikationsprogramms nicht mit der neuen, emendierten Edition Vitruvs eröffnet wird und ihr die dazu notwendigen Vorarbeiten aus den ersten beiden Programmpunkten als ergänzende Anhänge folgen, wie man dies heute vielleicht machen oder erwarten würde, sondern dass das Programm mit dem eher unscheinbaren Kommentar zu den schwierigen oder ‚dunklen‘ Stellen Vitruvs beginnt. Der Grund hierfür dürfte darin gelegen haben, dass bereits diverse gedruckte Editionen existierten und so deren Besitzern eine erklärende Handreichung günstig angeboten werden sollte.

Ein weiterer Grund aber dürfte gewesen sein, dass das entsprechende Buch bereits 1544 erschienen war¹⁹ – und auch wenn Tolomei 1542 in die Vorbereitungen zweifellos involviert war, wollte er 1457 vielleicht auf diesen Umstand durch die prominente Positionierung in seiner Aufstellung hinweisen, ohne für 1542 bereits ein entsprechendes Vorwissen zu behaupten.

Ähnlich verhält es sich vermutlich mit dem ersten Band des zweiten Teils, der mit Bartolomeo Marlianos *Topographia Urbis Romae*²⁰ identifiziert werden kann. Diese war zwar bereits in einer ersten Ausgabe im Frühjahr 1534 erschienen und in einer korrigierten Fassung schon im September desselben Jahres in Lyon durch den aus Rom zurückkehrenden Rabelais publiziert worden,²¹ aber die Ausgabe von 1544 enthielt erstmals Illustrationen, darunter die drei ersten als topographisch zu charakterisierenden Rompläne, welche die *Urbs* in den drei verschiedenen bekannten Stadien ihrer Geschichte zeigten und so als die Anfänge der *Urbanistik* verstanden werden können: die mythische *Roma quadrata*, die republikanische Stadt innerhalb der damals und heute teilweise noch erhaltenen Servianischen und das kaiserliche Rom innerhalb der fast vollständig erhaltenen Aurelianischen Mauern. Trotz ihrer Schematik zeigt insbesondere diese dritte Karte bereits erstaunlich präzise Kenntnisse über die Topographie des antiken Rom, welche für die Identifikation der Bauten und ihre Lokalisierung unverzichtbar waren.

¹⁷ Eine erste Übersicht hierzu findet sich in KULAWIK (2021); eine ausführlichere Darstellung ist z. Z. im Druck und erscheint voraussichtlich 2024 = KULAWIK (2024).

¹⁸ Eine durch neuere Forschung bereits wieder erweiterbare und insofern überholte Übersicht zum Programm und seinen Ergebnissen findet sich in KULAWIK (2018).

¹⁹ PHILANDRIER (1544).

²⁰ MARLIANO (1544).

²¹ MARLIANO (1534a) und (1534b). 1548 brachte der eng mit der *Accademia* kooperierende Antonio Blado in Rom auch die erste italienische Übersetzung der *Topographia* durch Ercole BARBARASA heraus.

Translationshistorische Aspekte des Programms

Natürlich konzentrieren sich die translationshistorisch interessanten Aspekte des Programms auf dessen ersten Teil, also die Emendation, Edition und die erst darauf basierende Übersetzung der *Zehn Bücher* Vitruvs. Man wird allerdings auch Elemente des zweiten Teils zu diesen Aspekten zählen dürfen bzw. müssen, denn das Studium der Bauten, der Topographie, der Skulpturen, Münzen und Inschriften usw. verfolgte den Zweck, die historischen, kulturellen, sozialen, religiösen und sogar stilgeschichtlichen Kontexte der von Vitruv beschriebenen Architektur besser zu verstehen. Hilfreich war dabei zweifellos auch die Auffindung des römischen Festkalenders, der *Fasti Capitolini*, 1546 auf dem *Forum Romanum*, deren Bergung durch zahlreiche Akademiker aufmerksam verfolgt und die von diesen zuerst ediert und kommentiert wurden.²²

Bereits im sog. *Proemio* hatte Sangallo betont, dass die Angaben Vitruvs nur im Vergleich mit den erhaltenen Bauwerken verstanden werden könnten: Ihre genaue Kenntnis durch Vermessungen war also als notwendige Voraussetzung einer möglichst korrekten Übersetzung, Kommentierung und Interpretation Vitruvs im akademischen Umkreis Sangallos und Tolomeis bekannt und akzeptiert.

Erstellung einer verlässlichen Edition in der Ausgangssprache als Voraussetzung der Übersetzung

Eine notwendige Voraussetzung für die Übersetzung Vitruvs stellte natürlich eine solide lateinische Textgrundlage dar. Bereits Sangallo hatte beklagt, dass die erhaltenen Manuskripte und die wenigen modernen Editionen offensichtlich voller Fehler und Missverständnisse waren, die von früheren Kopisten unabsichtlich verursacht worden sein konnten oder aber auf – vermeintlich in guter Absicht erfolgte – Korrekturen der Schreiber und Herausgeber zurück gingen, die entweder als Philologen nicht über ausreichende Kenntnisse der architektonischen Praxis verfügten oder als Architekten nicht über die notwendigen Latein- und auch Griechisch-Kenntnisse. Deshalb betont schon Sangallo, wie später Tolomei, dass eine neue Edition nur das Ergebnis einer *gemeinsamen* arbeitsteiligen und kollaborativen Anstrengung von Gelehrten und Architekten sein könne.

Eine zweite, der ‚Urtext‘-Erstellung vorausgehende und schon bei Sangallo genannte Voraussetzung für eine verlässliche Edition war demnach, dass die Bearbeiter alle verfügbaren Manuskripte und Editionen sammelten, dabei vor allem auf die ältesten Exemplare abzielend, und diese miteinander verglichen, um die Überlieferungsfehler zu korrigieren.

Guillaume Philandrier, der 1544 in Rom als Mitglied der *Accademia* die oben bereits erwähnten *Annotationes* publiziert hatte – in denen auch Sangallo mehrfach als Gewährsmann architekturbezogener Informationen genannt wird –, veröffentlichte nach seiner Rückkehr nach Frankreich 1552 – vermutlich etwas überhastet²³ – eine Kombination aus dem Text Vitruvs und seinen umfangreich – allerdings nicht vollständig – überarbeiteten Kommenta-

²² Aktuell lassen sich folgende Ausgaben der *Fasti* dem Umkreis der *Accademia* zuschreiben: MARLIANO (1549), SIGONIO (1550), PANVINIO / STRADA (1557) bzw. als korrigierte Neuauflage: PANVINIO (1558).

²³ 1550 hatte der Strasburger Verleger Knobloch eine vermutlich unautorisierte Edition aus Vitruvs Text (nach Giocondo) und Philandriers *Annotationes* herausgebracht, was letzteren veranlasst haben dürfte, seine eigene Version dieser naheliegenden Kombination zu erstellen und zu publizieren. Allerdings hat er nicht mehr alle seine älteren Kommentare aktualisiert, was auf eine gewisse Eile schließen lässt.

ren aus dem früheren Buch. Diese Ausgabe von 1552²⁴ trägt den bisher von der Forschung weitgehend ignorierten Untertitel „*omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis*“ [etwa: „verbessert nach allen Textquellen auf der Grundlage der ältesten Manuskripte“] und erfüllt damit sehr genau die von Tolomei für den zweiten Band des Programms vorgesehene Charakteristik.²⁵

In Rom hatte Philandrier auf mehrere Vitruv-Manuskripte Zugriff, von denen sich allein vier im Besitz des Kardinals Marcello Cervini befanden, der als *Spiritus rector* der *Accademia* angesehen werden muss und mehrfach als ihr Anführer genannt wird.²⁶ Als erster Kardinal-Bibliothekar der *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* verfolgte er eine sehr erfolg- und bis heute folgenreiche Ankaufpolitik, und mit dem zum Akademikerkreis gehörenden Antonio Blado schloss er einen Vertrag über die Gründung eines Verlags für altgriechische Texte.²⁷ Er verstarb nur drei Wochen nach seiner Wahl zum Papst als Marcellus II. im April 1555. Sein früher Tod dürfte die Hoffnungen der Akademiker, ihr Programm durch die kostspielige Publikation der bereits geleisteten Vorarbeiten abschließen zu können, zunichte gemacht haben. Die ideologische Wendung zur sog. ‚Gegenreformation‘ in Rom dürfte zusätzlich dazu beigetragen haben, dass viele Akademiker die Stadt ab 1555 verließen. Nur wenigen gelang es später, ihre zweifellos im Umkreis der *Accademia* entstandenen Vorarbeiten zusammenzufassen und zu publizieren oder durch ihre Nachfahren und Schüler publizieren zu lassen.

Bereits an diesem Punkt wird man aber konstatieren dürfen, dass das Programm der *Accademia* nicht nur als durchdacht und folgerichtig anzusehen ist, sondern als selbst im modernen Sinne ‚wissenschaftlich‘ bezeichnet werden kann oder gar bezeichnet werden muss.

Erstellung lateinischer bzw. italienischer Kommentare

Dass sowohl der zu emendierende lateinische als auch der zu erstellende italienische Text der geplanten Vitruv-Ausgaben umfangreich kommentiert werden sollten, kann man zwar dem Programm selbst nicht direkt entnehmen; solche Kommentare stellen aber unabdingbare Voraussetzungen für das Verständnis beider Textfassungen dar: Zum einen wären darin die Emendations- und Übersetzungsentscheidungen zu erläutern gewesen – wie dies Philandrier in seiner Edition von 1552 teilweise und Daniele Barbaro in seiner 1556 zuerst erschienenen, aber zeitgleich mit seiner lateinischen Edition erarbeiteten Übersetzung ins Italienische sehr umfassend taten.²⁸ Im 1542 formulierten Programm selbst waren diese Kommentare noch vor allem für die geplanten Wörterbücher, die *Vokabularien*, vorgesehen, die nicht – wie von der modernen Forschung gelegentlich behauptet²⁹ – nur aus Wortlisten mit

²⁴ VITRUVIUS / PHILANDRIER (1552).

²⁵ Dieser Untertitel wird von der ansonsten verdienstvollen Edition der Vitruv-Ausgabe Philandriers von 1552 durch Frédérique Lemerle – die bisher in zwei Bänden die ersten sieben Bücher Vitruvs umfassend kommentiert hat, vgl. LEMERLE (2000) und (2011) – kommentarlos übergangen, und auch Philandriers Beziehungen zur *Accademia* werden in ihren Kommentaren kaum erwähnt.

²⁶ DE L'ORME (1567: 131 *recto*), VASARI (1568: 700); BAROZZI / DANTI (1583: ungezählte 1./2. Seite der *Vita* Vignolas von Danti).

²⁷ Dazu jüngst ausführlich SACHET (2020).

²⁸ VITRUVIUS / PHILANDRIER (1552) und VITRUVIUS / BARBARO (1556), (1567a), (1567b).

²⁹ Vgl. z. B. LINGSØ CHRISTENSEN (2014) *passim*.

Index-Charakter bestehen, sondern umfangreiche Erläuterungen zu den einzelnen Begriffen – inklusive ihrer Etymologie im Falle der aus dem Griechischen stammenden Termini Vitruvs – enthalten sollten. Der Übergang zur typographischen Anordnung der Kommentare neben dem Text selbst wie bei Barbaro dürfte weniger einer entsprechenden mittelalterlichen Tradition geschuldet sein – diese eher als formales Vorbild nehmend –, als vielmehr dem Umstand, dass die Erläuterung einzelner Wörter in den geplanten *Vokabularien* nicht als aus- bzw. hinreichend für ein bestmögliches Verständnis ganzer, gelegentlich umfangreicher aber Kommentierung benötigender Passagen angesehen werden konnte.

Erstellung kommentierter Vokabularien

Die bereits erwähnten *Vokabularien*,³⁰ denen laut Tolomei unter den ersten elf Büchern vier Bände gewidmet sein sollten, erscheinen nicht nur aufgrund dieser Anzahl bemerkenswert, sondern auch hinsichtlich ihres Gehalts und Zwecks: Während die lateinischen Wörterbücher (Nr. 4, 5) den Philologen und gebildeten Lesern der Edition dienen sollten, unterscheiden sich die italienischen Wörterbücher (Nr. 9, 10) dadurch, dass sie sich dezidiert an ein praktisch orientiertes Publikum wandten: Sie waren also nicht einfach als Übersetzungen der lateinischen Wörterbücher gedacht, sondern sollten durch ihre Betonung praktischer Aspekte – zusammen mit dem ‚Handbuch-Auszug‘ der wichtigsten architektonischen Regeln Vitruvs in Band 11 des Programms – den Nutzern die ständige Konsultation des nicht immer stringent und leicht überschaubar strukturierten vitruvianischen Textes ersparen, insbesondere, wenn es darum ging, einzelne Stellen zu verstehen oder einzelne praktische Baufragen zu klären, indem die entsprechenden Erkenntnisse zusammengefasst und konzentriert präsentiert wurden.

Auch in diesem Punkt lässt sich also das Programm der *Accademia* als durchaus sehr modernen wissenschaftlichen Ansprüchen genügend charakterisieren: Denn die jede wissenschaftliche Edition erschwerende Trennung von – im weitesten Sinne – philologisch-editorischen Kommentaren und Erläuterungen für die praktische Nutzung war hier nicht nur in der Wahl der Themenstellung und der Aufteilung auf verschiedene Bände, sondern schon in der Wahl der jeweiligen Sprache zumindest programmatisch gelöst.

Obwohl sich bisher keine Vorarbeiten direkt identifizieren lassen, die diesen *Vokabularien* zuzuordnen wären, so darf doch angenommen werden, dass sie in Manuskriptform existierten: Anders wäre die sich über Jahre erstreckende konstante und konzentrierte Arbeit am Text in den häufigen, regelmäßigen Treffen der zahlreichen, für diese Teile des Programms zuständigen Akademiker kaum möglich gewesen: Man kann sich nur sehr schwer vorstellen, wie man bspw. die verschiedenen Erläuterungen Vitruvs zur Konstruktion einer Volute oder zur Proportionierung einer – später so genannten – Säulenordnung diskutieren wollte, wenn man diese nicht zusammengefasst zur Hand hätte, sondern stattdessen ständig in verschiedenen Manuskripten und Editionen des antiken Textes hin und her blättern müsste.

Auch zum Austausch mit Akademikern, die zumindest zeitweilig aus Berufsgründen nicht in Rom weilten, oder mit den Druckern, die überwiegend in Venedig ansässig waren, dürften solche Wörterbuch-Manuskripte von Nutzen gewesen sein. Ob sie in die gedruckten Ausgaben Philandriers und Barbaros sowie andere, der *Accademia* verbundene Publikationen

³⁰ TOLOMEI (1547: 82 *recto* + *verso*) mehrmals: „uocabolario“.

Eingang gefunden haben, könnte wohl nur eine umfassende philologische Untersuchung – bspw. auf gleichlautende Textstellen, die nicht auf Vitruv zurück gehen – klären helfen.

Erstellung eines ‚Handbuchs‘ der wichtigsten ‚Regeln‘ Vitruvs

Auch der bereits erwähnte elfte Band des Programms lässt sich als Teil des Übersetzungsprozesses verstehen: Nicht nur erforderte seine Erstellung eine Übersetzung zumindest knappster Kommentare zu den zitierten und zu illustrierenden Stellen Vitruvs, die sich ggf. aus der Gesamtübersetzung ent- bzw. übernehmen ließen, sondern auch die Rekonstruktion der verstreuten Angaben Vitruvs zu einem möglichen *System* von Regeln und zugehörigen Illustrationen stellte gewissermaßen eine Übersetzungstätigkeit vom Text in die kommentierte Abbildung dar, die nicht mit derjenigen des Ausgangstextes identisch sein konnte, weil sie sich wiederum ausdrücklich an die Praktiker wenden und für diese nicht nur verständlich, sondern auch leicht konsultier- und – z. B. für Steinmetze – nachvollziehbar sein sollte: Als übersichtliche, verstärkt auf Illustrationen setzende Zusammenfassung wäre diese zweifellos eben leichter nutzbar als die vollständige Übersetzung oder auch die Vokabularien.

Tatsächlich sollte sich aber herausstellen – und war einigen Architekten, die wie Sangallo die antike Architektur umfassend studiert hatten, auch zuvor bereits aufgefallen –, dass sich weder Vitruvs eigene Angaben in ein kohärentes System bringen ließen, noch die einzelnen bereits untersuchten erhaltenen Bauten seinen Angaben entsprachen. Und diese selbst wiederum lieferten auch kein in sich stimmiges Bild eines möglicherweise rekonstruierbaren Regelsystems, welches neben oder nach dem vermeintlichen Vitruvs existiert haben könnte.

Iacomo – heute meist modernisiert zu Jacopo – Barozzi da Vignola, der laut seinen Biographen Vasari und Danti in jungen Jahren im Auftrag der *Accademia Cervinis* „alle Antiken Roms vermessen“³¹ hatte, zog daraus offensichtlich die Schlussfolgerung, ein solches System selbst schaffen zu müssen: Seine *Regola delli cinque Ordini d'Architettura*³² beruhte zwar auf den besten Beispielen der ihm sehr gut bekannten römischen Antike, unterwarf deren ‚Säulenordnungen‘ aber einem vereinheitlichenden, *modularen* System – daher *Regola* im Singular –, welches nicht nur für die Architektur hinsichtlich dieser vor allem als Schmuckformen genutzten statischen Elemente umfangreichste Folgen zeitigte, sondern zur *Idee* einer durch *systematisches* Denken regulierbaren und regulierten Architektur allgemein führte, die weit über die späteren Stile hinausreichte, welche sich der klassi(zisti)schen Formensprache bedienten: So wurde Vignolas Handbuch nicht nur hundertfach nachgedruckt und zum Fixpunkt, zu dem die Architektur nach allen ‚manieristischen‘ Phasen wieder zurück kehrte, sondern es wird bis heute in der Lehre verwendet, selbst noch wenn es nicht nur um den Entwurf ‚postmoderner‘ Bauten geht, die mit diesen Elementen ironisch spielen.³³

³¹ Vgl. die o. g. Stellen VASARI (1568: 700): „*tutte l'anticaglie di Roma*“; in BAROZZI / DANTI (1583: ungezählte 1./2. Seite der *Vita Barozzis* von Danti): „*tutte l'antichità di Roma*“.

³² BAROZZI (1562). Das genaue Publikationsdatum ist nicht bekannt, aber Vignolas Sohn sandte 1562 eines der vermutlich ersten Exemplare an den langjährigen Förderer seines Vaters und Widmungsträger des Werkes, Kardinal Alessandro Farnese.

³³ Trotz dieser kaum zu überschätzenden, immensen Bedeutung Vignolas für die Geschichte der Architektur und ihrer Theorie in und seit der Renaissance ist ein Zeichnungsband in der vatikanischen Bibliothek, der offensichtlich (Kopien nach?) Vorarbeiten Vignolas mit weit mehr Details als sein Stichwerk enthält, bis

Erstellung der Übersetzung(en)

Bis zum Tode Marcello Cervinis 1555 war noch keine Vitruv-Übersetzung aus dem Umkreis der *Accademia* erschienen oder – nach bisherigem Wissensstand – handschriftlich vorbereitet worden. Immerhin lag mit Philandriers Ausgabe von 1552 aber eine lateinische Edition vor, die sogar Illustrationen enthielt, wenn auch sicher nicht auf dem von den Akademikern ursprünglich angestrebten Niveau, welches sich an den Beschreibungen Vitruvs selbst orientierte: Dieser hatte zwar immer wieder auf seinem Manuskript angefügte Illustrationen verwiesen, aber sie waren nicht erhalten. Die bis 1542 erschienen Vitruvausgaben konnten ebenfalls nicht alle verlorenen Illustrationen ersetzen oder in für die Zwecke der Akademiker ausreichender Qualität rekonstruieren. Philandrier selbst dürfte in Frankreich für seine Publikation keine entsprechend qualifizierten Stecher zur Verfügung oder keine Mittel für deren Bezahlung gehabt haben.

Die Bereitstellung dieser Illustrationen als wichtigem Teil von Edition und Übersetzung leistete erst die bereits 1556 erschienene italienische Übersetzung Daniele Barbaros, zu der der (später) bedeutende Architekt Andrea Palladio die meisten, oft hochpräzisen Illustrationen lieferte oder an deren Herstellung er beratend mitgewirkt haben dürfte. Die umfangreiche Palladio- und Barbaro-Forschung hat sich anscheinend bzw. m. W. bisher nicht gefragt, warum sich der aus einer Gelehrtenfamilie stammende Barbaro, der zuvor mit philosophischen und theologischen Arbeiten vorgetreten war, nun scheinbar überraschend dem eher praktischen Werk des Handwerkers und Ingenieurs Vitruvs überhaupt zugewandt hat.³⁴ Auslöser könnte ein gemeinsamer Besuch Roms mit Palladio in den frühen 1550er Jahren gewesen sein. Aber schon zuvor muss Barbaro von den dortigen Aktivitäten erfahren haben, denn er war mit mehreren Akademikern persönlich bekannt, und auch deren – nicht immer direkt dem Projekt zuzurechnenden – Publikationen, dürften ihm, soweit sie in Venedig erschienen waren, bekannt geworden sein. Auch die Widmung seiner 1556 erschienenen Vitruv-Übersetzung an Kardinal Ippolito d'Este, einen der wichtigsten Förderer der *Accademia* und antiquarischer Bestrebungen in Rom, sowie diejenige der lateinischen Ausgabe von 1567 an Kardinal Granvelle, der mehrere Akademiker beschäftigte oder mit Aufträgen versorgte, weisen darauf hin, dass Barbaro mit dem römischen Kreis in enger Verbindung stand – zumal Palladio an den Vermessungen antiker Bauten im Auftrag der *Accademia* in den 1540er Jahren in Rom mitgewirkt haben muss, wie erst neuere Forschungen nahelegen.³⁵

Zudem ist es bemerkenswert, dass Barbaro in relativ kurzer Zeit und im Alleingang nicht nur die Übersetzung samt Kommentar fertig gestellt hatte, sondern zeitgleich die – dieser systematisch-methodisch vorausgehenden – lateinische Edition samt Kommentar erarbeitet haben musste. In beiden zitiert er am häufigsten Philandriers Ausgabe. Es scheint daher

heute nicht ediert oder erforscht. (Den Hinweis auf diesen Band (BAV, Codex Ross. 618) verdanke ich Dirk J. Jansen.)

³⁴ Zuletzt sehr umfassend zum geistigen Umfeld Barbaros, seinen Interessen und Aktivitäten: SANVITO (2016), aber auch dort werden Cervini oder Tolomei nicht einmal erwähnt.

³⁵ Mündliche Mitteilung von David Hemsoll (März 2018). Zuvor war schon Heinz SPIELMANN (1966) auf die enge Verwandtschaft der Antikenzeichnungen Palladios mit denen des nun dem *Accademia*-Projekt zuzurechnenden *Codex Destailleur D* (Hdz 4151) der Berliner Kunstbibliothek gestoßen, die auch durch vergleichende, noch unpublizierte Forschungen des Verf. 2015 in London bestätigt und zur nachweislichen Kooperation Palladios mit den Zeichnern der *Accademia* erweitert werden konnte.

nicht abwegig anzunehmen, dass Barbaros italienische Übersetzung als Realisierung des achten Buchs im *Accademia*-Programm anzusehen ist, während die Publikation der lateinischen Edition als dritter Programmpunkt wegen der bereits auf dem Markt befindlichen Philandriers aufgeschoben wurde: Erst der Erfolg der im Vergleich zu dieser opulent illustrierten italienischen Ausgabe, die 1567 ebenfalls eine Neuauflage im kleineren und günstigeren Format – also für einen größeren Käuferkreis – erfuhr, dürfte Verleger und Autor überzeugt haben, nun auch die lateinische Edition zu publizieren.

Beide Ausgaben Barbaros zählen auch noch heute zu den besten bzw. werden von Spezialisten als solche angesehen. Trotzdem hat sich die Forschung bspw. mit den Textquellen Barbaros – also den von ihm möglicherweise genutzten Manuskripten oder älteren Drucken – m. W. bisher nicht eigens beschäftigt – ebensowenig wie mit dem Grund seiner Beschäftigung mit Vitruv überhaupt. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass Barbaro sich hierfür vor allem auf die Vorarbeiten Philandriers gestützt haben dürfte, die – wie erwähnt – in der Ausgabe von 1552 das Programm Tolomeis zumindest bzgl. des Textes umgesetzt zu haben scheinen. Diese heuristische Hypothese könnte erst durch einen umfassenden Textvergleich beider lateinischer Fassungen und ggf. zusätzlicher Quellen bestätigt werden, was hier nicht geleistet werden kann.

Festzuhalten bleibt, dass sowohl der Umstand der vergleichsweise schnellen Erstellung und Kommentierung der Vitruv-Übersetzung durch Barbaro – immerhin im ‚handwerklichen‘ Gebiet der Architektur, in dem er durchaus kein Spezialist war –, als auch die eher überraschende Hinwendung des gelehrten Kirchenmannes und Kommentators antiker theologischer und philosophischer Schriften, der zum Nachfolger des Patriarchen von Aquileia ernannt worden war, zu der Thematik überhaupt eine Erklärung in seinen Kontakten zur römischen *Accademia* finden dürften – aber auch dies bedarf erst noch weiterer Forschung.

Zur Frage der Zielsprache: Welches ‚Italienisch‘?

Tolomei erwähnt im Programm als Zielsprache der Übersetzung das toskanische Italienisch. Dies beruht weniger auf einem denkbaren ‚Lokalpatriotismus‘ des Sienesen, sondern dürfte seine Begründung darin finden, dass das Toskanische seit Dantes *Divina Commedia* und Boccaccios *Decamerone* zunehmend als das beste gesprochene und geschriebene bzw. gedruckte Italienisch galt und vermutlich auch die Grundlage für die Versuche seiner Standardisierung durch Tolomeis *Accademia della Virtù* bilden sollte, an denen auch Palladios Mentor Giangiorgio Trissino maßgeblich beteiligt war. Dieses modernisierte und standardisierte Italienisch sollte das Lateinische als internationale Wissenschaftssprache ersetzen.

Inwieweit die Übersetzung des Venezianers Barbaro dem damaligen Toskanischen (mehr) entspricht als seinem eigenen venezianischen Dialekt jener Zeit kann vom Verfasser philologisch nicht beurteilt werden und bedarf zweifellos einer genaueren Untersuchung. Zumindest fallen typisch venezianischen Wendungen und insbesondere Wortendungen in Barbaros italienischer Übersetzung Vitruvs nicht auf, so dass zu vermuten ist, sie stelle den Versuch eines ‚Mittelweg‘ dar, indem sie ein allgemeinverständliches Italienisch nutzt. Auch hier wäre eine vergleichende philologische Arbeit als Desiderat anzusehen. Zumindest ist Barbaros Italienisch heute noch weitestgehend ohne Probleme verständlich – etwas, das man von Tolomeis Versuchen, die Typographie der Schriftsprache zu prägen, nicht unbedingt behaupten kann: Allein schon seine konsequente Schreibung nicht nur des heute als U

geschriebenen Lauts als V, die er aus dem Lateinischen übernahm, sowie die umgekehrte Schreibung des gesprochenen V als U erschweren die Lektüre bis heute. Zur Transkription der gesprochenen Laute lieferte er sich mit Trissino einen akademischen Streit, in dem beide sowohl Positionen vertraten, die sich später durchsetzten, als auch andere, die keine Akzeptanz fanden – wie bspw. Trissinos Vorschlag, den langen O-Laut des Italienischen durch das griechische Omega (ω) auszudrücken!

Obwohl es also um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts noch kein ‚Standard-Italienisch‘ gab, welches als Zielsprache der geplanten Vitruv-Übersetzung problemlos hätte genutzt werden können, dürften die Bemühungen darum im selben Gelehrtenkreis in Rom, dem Tolomei und Trissino angehörten und zu dem Barbaro Kontakt hatte – woher er vielleicht überhaupt erst seine Anregung zur Beschäftigung mit Vitruv bezog –, sich auf Barbaros Übersetzung ausgewirkt haben, was ebenfalls einer genaueren Untersuchung wert erscheint.

Übersetzung vom Lateinischen ins Lateinische

Die von Tolomei als Teil des Programms genannte Übersetzung Vitruvs in ein besseres, korrekteres Latein (Buch 7) erscheint aus heutiger Sicht als Kuriosum, denn auch die Nutzer einer solchen Ausgabe hätten im Zweifelsfall immer wieder auf das Original, also den emendierten lateinischen Text Vitruvs trotz aller seiner Mängel zurückgreifen müssen. Da sich keine Spuren einer solchen ‚Übersetzung‘ oder auch nur Informationen über die Arbeit daran erhalten haben – z. B. in den Briefen, die über Treffen der Akademiker berichten –, ist es nicht nur zweifelhaft, ob daran überhaupt je gearbeitet wurde, sondern es lässt sich sogar vermuten, dass die höchstens unter latein-philologischen Gesichtspunkten interessante Aufgabe nie ernsthaft in Erwägung gezogen wurde. Wenn überhaupt, so wäre der für Buch 6 geplante Vergleich des Lateins Vitruvs mit dem vermeintlich besseren Latein anderer Autoren für die lateinische Edition und ihre anschließende Übersetzung ins Italienische möglicherweise hilfreich gewesen.

Grundsätzlich wäre so ein Vergleich aus philologischer Sicht zweifellos deshalb interessant, weil er Einblicke in die Unterschiede zwischen geschriebenem Hochlatein und der Alltags- und Handwerkersprache geben könnte, auch wenn das Latein Vitruvs allein schon aufgrund seines Adressaten Augustus sich sicherlich dem sozial höher gewichteten Sprachtyp anzunähern versuchte und also nur indirekte Spuren der Alltagssprache aufweisen dürfte. Die Handwerkersprache selbst wiederum dürfte sich weniger in Formulierungen oder Sprachduktus als vielmehr in Fachbegriffen niedergeschlagen haben – weshalb diesen im Programm der *Accademia* auch besondere Aufmerksamkeit zuteilwerden sollte; ein Umstand, der darauf hindeuten könnte, dass die hier geäußerten Vermutungen auch bereits von den Akademikern angestellt wurden und also aufgrund des frühen Zeitpunkts als philologiehistorisch bemerkenswert anzusehen sein könnten. Auch hier besteht also noch Forschungsbedarf.

Ergebnisse und Folgen des Programms der *Accademia*

Es wurden bereits einzelne, für die hier behandelte Thematik interessante Arbeitsergebnisse genannt, die sich dem von Tolomei beschriebenen Projekt der *Accademia* zuordnen lassen:

- Philandriers *Annotationes* von 1544, die als Realisation von Buch 1 gelten dürfen;

- Marlianos *Topographia* von 1544, die als (vorläufige) Realisation von Buch 12 gelten darf;
- Philandriers Vitruv-Edition von 1552, die Buch 3 und die im nicht erschienenen Buch 2 dokumentierten Vorarbeiten dazu zusammenfasst;
- Barbaros Vitruv-Übersetzung von 1556;
- Barbaros Vitruv-Edition von 1567.

Den anderen Programmpunkten lassen sich zudem folgende Publikationen und Vorarbeiten zurechnen:

- Vignolas *Regola* = Barozzi (1562) als Realisierung von bzw. eher Ersatz für Buch 11, da sich in Vignolas Buch die Erkenntnis niedergeschlagen hat, dass es in der Antike kein als in diesem Buch zu rekonstruierendes ‚Regelsystem‘ der antiken Architektur gab – weder bei Vitruv noch in den erhaltenen Bauten.
- vermutlich: Jean Bullants *Reigle generale* = Bullant (1564), die zwar im Titel als Parallele zu Vignola erscheint, aber den vorgeschlagenen *neuen* bzw. systematisierten Säulenordnungen Vergleiche mit antiken Beispielen gegenüberstellt, die Bullant selbst vermessen zu haben behauptet. Allerdings gibt es bis heute keine verlässlichen externen Quellen, die seinen Romaufenthalt und Kontakte dort belegen. *Dass* er dort mit den Akademikern in Kontakt gekommen sein *müsste*, ist bereits aus dem Umstand ableitbar, dass ‚eigenmächtige‘ Vermessungen antiker Bauten kaum deren Aufmerksamkeit entgangen sein dürften, wie schon Philibert De L’Orme (1567: 131 *recto*) für seinen Aufenthalt dort vor 1537 berichtet. Auch erscheint es angesichts des Umstandes, dass Vermessungen immer ein Team von mehreren Personen erfordern und daher auch eine finanzielle Anstrengung bedeuten, kaum denkbar, dass ein junger, noch nicht etablierter Architekt dies zu leisten imstande gewesen wäre.
- Steuco (1547) = Agostino Steuco, der Freund und Amtsvorgänger Cervinis als päpstlicher Bibliothekar, untersuchte im Sommer 1545 den Verlauf der römischen Aquädukte: Zwar erschienen nur kleinere Schriften als Ergebnis dieser Arbeiten, sie dürfen aber zweifellos als Vorarbeiten für das geplante 24. Buch des Programms gelten, zumal sie auch Ergebnisse zeitigten: Die umfassende Rekonstruktion der *Aqua Vergine* um 1570 geht anscheinend auf Steucos Vorarbeiten³⁶ zurück und ermöglichte später überhaupt erst den Ausbau der weltberühmten *Fontana di Trevi* sowie – nach Verlängerung der Wasserleitung – den Bau des *Vierströmebrunnens* und der begleitenden zwei Brunnen Berninis auf der *Piazza Navona*.
- Als Vorarbeiten zum geplanten (und zentralen) Buch 13 mit der Darstellung aller erhaltenen antiken Bauwerke mit Grundrissen, Aufrissen, Schnitten, Details sowie historischem und architektonischem Kommentar sind die über 1.400 erhaltenen Blätter mit über 4.100 Einzelzeichnungen anzusehen, die auf die vermutlich *größte* Vermessungskampagne zurück gehen, welche (nicht nur) in Rom jemals stattgefunden hat: diejenige der *Accademia*. Aus ihr ging vermutlich das *Libro [...] appartenente a l’architettura* = Labacco (1552) des engen Sangallo-Mitarbeiters Antonio Labacco hervor, das ab 1552 erschien und wohl in ähnlicher Weise als Sammlung fortlaufend zu publizierender Stiche

³⁶ STEUCO (1547).

angelegt war wie das spätere, berühmtere und umfangreichere *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* Antonio Lafreris = LAFRERI (1575ff.), der u.a. die Druckplatten von Labaccos Verleger Salamanca übernommen hatte.

- Bisher nicht im Zusammenhang mit Tolomeis Programm wurde das vierte der 1570 erschienen *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* Andrea Palladios = PALLADIO (1570) gesehen, obwohl es Tolomeis Beschreibung für Buch 13 wortwörtlich umsetzt!
- Die *Codices Coburgensis* (Sammlungen der Veste Coburg) und *Pighianus* (Staatsbibliothek Berlin) wurden schon früher als mögliche Vorarbeiten für die Bücher über antike Skulptur (14, 15, 16, evtl. 18) identifiziert³⁷ und könnten sich in den später publizierten Stichwerken niedergeschlagen haben, da deren Stecher und Herausgeber in jungen Jahren Kontakt mit der *Accademia* in Rom gehabt haben müssen bzw. für diese tätig waren.
- Dasselbe gilt für Ulisse Aldrovandis berühmte, aber nicht illustrierte Beschreibung der antiken Statuen in römischen Sammlungen = ALDROVANDI (1556), deren Besitzer auch den Akademikern Zugang zu diesen sowie ihren Bibliotheken gewährten und einige von ihnen auch bezahlten. Wie im Falle Bullants ist es kaum vorstellbar, dass Aldrovandi sein Werk in Rom während der frühen 1550er Jahre allein und unabhängig von der *Accademia* erarbeitet haben könnte.
- *Last but not least* ist unbedingt die Inschriftensammlung Jean Matals in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek zu erwähnen: An ihr waren über 30 Personen in Italien, Frankreich und Spanien beteiligt, deren Ergebnisse Matal sorgfältig zusammenstellte, dokumentierte und – präzise vom genau dokumentierten Erhaltungszustand getrennt – kommentierte, erläuterte und ggf. ergänzte. Diese Sammlung kann bzw. muss nicht nur als Vorbild des *Inscriptionum antiquarum [...] Liber* des Matal-Freundes und -Mitarbeiters Martin de Smet angesehen werden = SMETIUS / LIPSIUS (1588), welches erst nach Smets Tod von Lipsius abgeschlossen und publiziert werden konnte, sondern noch für viele ähnliche Publikationen bis hin zu Theodor Mommsens *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, das Mommsen nach seinem Studium der Manuskripte Matals in Rom initiierte und das seit den 1850er Jahren an der ehemaligen *Preußischen* und heutigen *Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* verfolgt wird, aber demnächst eingestellt werden soll. Matals Sammlung ist definitiv als Vorstufe zu Buch 20 des *Accademia*-Programms anzusehen.
- Ebenso dürfte das riesige *Magnus ac Novum Opus* Jacopo Stradas mit seinen einst 30, heute noch 29 Bänden mit über zehntausend Zeichnungen nach antiken Münzen in Gotha, teilweise begleitet durch einen in zwei Exemplaren in Wien und Prag erhaltenen und zwischen 1553 und 1555 in Rom entstandenen elfbändigen Kommentar, zumindest in Teilen als mögliche Vorarbeit für Buch 22 angesehen werden, auch wenn die Sammlung ursprünglich für Hans Jakob Fugger entstand, der aber nicht nur durch seine beruflichen Kontakte als Bankier, sondern bereits durch sein Studium bei Andrea Alciato führende Mitglieder und Förderer der *Accademia* persönlich kannte und mit ihnen im Austausch stand.³⁸

³⁷ Vgl. HARPRATH / WREDE (1986) und DALY DAVIS (1989).

³⁸ Zu Strada, der 1553 bis 1555 in Rom an den Sitzungen der *Accademia* teilnahm, vgl. JANSEN (2019). Bemerkenswert ist, dass Fugger nach seinem (durch ausbleibende Kredittilgungen der Habsburger verursachten) Privatbankrott von Albrecht V. von Bayern als Antiquar und nicht als Finanzberater angestellt wurde.

Daneben publizierten Personen aus dem Umkreis der *Accademia* noch zahlreiche weitere antiquarisch-archäologische sowie systematische Werke, die zwar keine Entsprechung im Programm Tolomeis haben, dieses aber flankieren. Zu nennen wäre bspw. Benedetto Egios, seinem Freund Matal gewidmete, griechische Ausgabe und lateinische Übersetzung der *Bibliothéké* des (Pseudo-)Apollodorus von Athen = APOLLODORUS / EGIO (1555): Sie dürfte die Grundlage für die Ordnung der antiken Skulpturen nach der ‚Geschichte‘ ihrer mythologischen Abfolge gebildet haben, die Harprath und Wrede unter anderem veranlasste, den erwähnten *Codex Coburgensis* als „das erste systematischen Archäologiebuch“ zu bezeichnen.³⁹ Auch die von Matal's Freund und Dienstherrn Antonio Agustín verfassten, später äußerst einflussreichen *Dialoge* über antike Münzen und Inschriften⁴⁰ dokumentieren offensichtlich sein in Rom erworbenes Wissen, das er dort, ebenso wie seine riesige Münzsammlung, Gelehrten wie Onofrio Panvinio und Fulvio Orsini oder Künstlern wie Pirro Ligorio zur Verfügung stellte. Agustín's Haus fungierte häufig als Treffpunkt der *Accademia* und ihr nahestehender Personen.

Der jung verstorbene, trotzdem schon von Zeitgenossen als ‚Vater der Geschichtsschreibung‘ bezeichnete Panvinio war übrigens von Cervini und Matal in Rom in die wissenschaftliche Arbeit mit historischen Quellen zur Antike und zur Kirchengeschichte eingeführt worden.⁴¹ Auch seine – aufgrund seines frühen Todes zumeist postum erschienenen bzw. bis heute nicht publizierten – Schriften (z. B. eine auf 100 Bände angelegte vollständige Darstellung der römischen Kultur) dürften also im weiteren Sinne der *Accademia* zuzurechnen sein. Und der heute vor allem für sein Buch über antike Münzen bekannte Venezianer Sebastiano Erizzo widmete seine Abhandlung über die wissenschaftliche Methodik der Antike = Erizzo (1554) niemand anderem als Marcello Cervini.

Erwähnt werden sollte hier auch, dass ein beachtlicher Teil des umfangreichen Briefwechsels der Akademiker und anderer gelehrter oder aus anderen Gründen interessanter Personen – der natürlich nicht nur bzw. nicht einmal zentral den Antikenstudien galt –, in den vielen Briefsammlungen erschien, die seit den 1530er Jahren in Italien immer wieder in erweiterten Auflagen gedruckt wurden: Hier darf man vermutlich eine von der Forschung bisher kaum als solche identifizierte *res publica literaria* avant la lettre vermuten, auch wenn die Publikationen naturgemäß noch nicht den Charakter regelmäßiger, akademisch orientierter Schriften(reihen) haben konnten. Ihre Dokumentation, Erschließung und Erforschung wurde erst kürzlich im Projekt ATRA begonnen.⁴²

In entsprechender Weise lassen sich inzwischen insgesamt gut 100 Publikationen direkt oder indirekt der *Accademia*, ihrem Programm oder dessen Umfeld von insgesamt gut 200 namentlich bekannten Personen sowie über 35 anonymen Zeichnern zurechnen – neben tausenden Zeichnungen antiker Bau- und Kunstwerke, Vasen und Ornamente sowie sonstiger Artefakte wie Werkzeuge und Maschinen. Nahezu das gesamte Material ist bisher entweder noch gar nicht oder nur in Ansätzen bearbeitet, und auch eine systematische Untersuchung

³⁹ HARPRATH / WREDE (1986).

⁴⁰ AGUSTÍN (1587), (1592a), (1592b).

⁴¹ Zu Panvinios kirchenhistorischen Studien: BAUER (2020), zu den Antikenstudien: FERRARY (1996).

⁴² Das von Damiano ACCIARINO initiierte Datenbankprojekt ATRA (<http://mizar.unive.it/atra>) erschließt bisher nur die gedruckte Korrespondenz der Renaissance-Gelehrten und verzeichnet darin bereits über 5.000 Stellen zu archäologischen Themen.

der Publikationen zur Bestätigung (oder Widerlegung) der Hypothesen über ihre Zurechenbarkeit zur *Accademia* steht noch aus.⁴³

Es sollte deutlich geworden sein, dass die philologisch-translationshistorische Untersuchung der lateinischen Ausgaben und der italienischen Übersetzung Vitruvs aus dem Umkreis der *Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura* nur einen, wenngleich durchaus zentralen Aspekt der Arbeit dieser *Accademia* und womöglich zugleich der Translationsgeschichte beleuchten kann: Denn die Systematik, mit der bei ihrer Planung und – mutmaßlichen – Ausführung vorgegangen wurde, sowie die umfassende Berücksichtigung externer Quellen, die – entgegen vorherrschender Forschungsmeinungen durchaus mit ebensolcher Systematik und Gründlichkeit in riesiger Zahl erstellt und bearbeitet wurden – könnten als wissenschaftshistorische Meilensteine wenn nicht sogar Grundsteine (nicht nur) der Übersetzungswissenschaft gelten.

Aber ebenso sollte deutlich geworden sein, dass ihre vereinzelte Behandlung kaum ausreichen dürfte, sie in ihrem komplexen Entstehungskontext zu analysieren und zu verstehen. Hierzu wäre ein Großforschungsprojekt zur Wiedergewinnung, -erschließung und Auswertung des Nachlasses der *Accademia* notwendig, das sich in seiner Interdisziplinarität und Internationalität – wenn auch vielleicht nicht in Mitarbeiterzahl und Dauer – demjenigen der *Accademia* selbst anzunähern hätte. Obwohl bisher keine entsprechende Förderung abzusehen ist, erscheint der gewaltige Aufwand bereits jetzt gerechtfertigt, weil er nicht nur unser Wissen über die Antikenrezeption der Renaissance, sondern auch das über die römische Antike selbst grundlegend zu erweitern geeignet erscheint: Viele der von den Akademikern dokumentierten antiken Objekte – Bauwerke, Skulpturen, Inschriften, Münzen u.v.a.m. – konnten von der modernen Archäologie nicht mehr oder nicht mehr im selben Umfang erforscht werden, da sie seit der Mitte des 16. Jahrhundert weiter beschädigt oder gar ganz zerstört worden sind.

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⁴³ Zur den diesbezüglichen Forschungen des Verf. vgl. die laufend erweiterte Online-Datenbank <http://www.accademia-vitruviana.net>.

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Philosophical Tradition in Translation Poetics of Tradition and Heuristics of its Dis/Continuation on the Basis of Paratextual Evidence

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Abstract

While reflecting upon the intrinsically multilingual and translational history of philosophy, philosophers and philosophy scholars frequently argue metaphorically in terms of a tradition. The perspectives vary in emphasizing either the tradition's continuance or its transition, whereas translation is perceived of as the central or an auxiliary force in both processes. Four approaches where a philosophical tradition is differently poeticized are discussed in the paper. They reveal specific operations of transfer and transformation which are claimed to be supported or accelerated by/in translation. Such tradition-related operations appear to qualify for being traced and pinned down in a given philosophical translation. The paper seeks to work out this heuristic potential within the selected poetics of tradition and draws upon the paratextual comments on the first Russian translation of Heidegger's "Being and Time" to eventually illustrate the translation-induced shifts of whatever might be called a philosophical tradition.

Keywords: tradition of thought, history of philosophy, poetics, paratext, philosopher-translator, Heidegger, Bibikhin, translator's afterword

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Abstract

While reflecting upon the intrinsically multilingual and translational history of philosophy, philosophers and philosophy scholars frequently argue metaphorically in terms of a tradition. The perspectives vary in emphasizing either the tradition's continuance or its transition, whereas translation is perceived of as the central or an auxiliary force in both processes. Four approaches where a philosophical tradition is differently poeticized are discussed in the paper. They reveal specific operations of transfer and transformation which are claimed to be supported or accelerated by/in translation. Such tradition-related operations appear to qualify for being traced and pinned down in a given philosophical translation. The paper seeks to work out this heuristic potential within the selected poetics of tradition and draws upon the paratextual comments on the first Russian translation of Heidegger's "Being and Time" to eventually illustrate the translation-induced shifts of whatever might be called a philosophical tradition.

Introduction

Philosophical reflection advances by integrating and taking into account previous philosophical thoughts. It has historically done so by crossing language barriers and being intrinsically cosmopolitan: "*Philosophy* was originally an ancient Greek word, passed down to us through Latinized and Arabized forms, and it can be treated as the name of a tradition which has followed the same path [...]" (RÉE 2001: 230)¹. Philosophy is thus claimed to be significantly shaped by dialogicity as well as linguistic discord and diversity (cf. RÉE 2001: 227–28; 1996), where the latter is called "philosophical multilingualism" (RÉE 2001: 237) and is supposed to capture the fact that the European philosophy, its language and vocabulary are creations of translation. These circumstances make philosophy to a process in which qualities of tradition and continuation are equally inherent as phenomena of translation and transformation. As Anthony Pym puts it, "[t]ranslation becomes a condition of philosophy's own iterability, placing its legacy in foreign hands [...], as carrying on a lost tradition" (PYM 2007: 40–41).

A number of philosophers and philosophy scholars from different countries and different fields of expertise have made conclusive observations at the nexus of tradition and/in translation in the context of philosophy's history. As a matter of fact, they approached both terms and the relation between them differently. Respective essays by four philosophers and philosophy

¹ All current and following emphases in in-text quotations are original, unless otherwise stated.

scholars (Angelica Nuzzo, Andrej Smirnov, Alasdair MacIntyre, Andrew Benjamin) will be closely analyzed in the first chapter as to the way tradition and translation are framed and interrelated in each case. It will become evident during this contextual analysis that tradition is used as a metaphor or an umbrella term to indicate diverse processes and operations which oscillate between two forces or tendencies implied by the very word *tradition*, i.e. consistency and conservation on the one side, change and re-/transformation on the other. Although tradition's metaphoric framings will allow for terming the authors' approaches poetics, they will be admitted to simultaneously refer to tangible processes and operations which are assisted, disclosed or accelerated by translation. This will take on contours in the second chapter where interlingual, intertextual, intersemiotic, and interpretive processes and operations, since translation-aided, will be assumed to be trackable in paratexts. As such they will subsequently be elicited within a heuristic attempt in the paratext of the first Russian translation of Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* by Vladimir Bibihin. This will eventually touch upon one peculiar case of the work of a philosopher-translator who moves from within a certain tradition and transforms the tradition of the original text (cf. LARGE 2014).

In this manner, the paper seeks to boil down the evasive term "tradition" to more solid text-analytical entities and, by following the idea that paratextual clues (e.g. glossaries) can reveal hermeneutic processes (cf. HELLER 2020: 243–247), to grasp these tradition-bearing entities in paratextual evidence of a given philosophical translation within a target-oriented descriptive approach (cf. TOURY 2012). By shedding light on the quite intricate interface of "tradition" in/and translation, it is my hope to contribute as a translation scholar to what has been envisioned as "translation theorists [performing] as mediators between philosophical discourse and translation practice" (PYM 2007: 44) where philosophy can benefit from "the many techniques by which translators themselves constantly reduce complexity" (ibid.).

Poetics of Tradition in Translation

How is tradition referred to in the scholarly reflection upon philosophy and its history? And what function is granted to translation in these reflections? The discourse represented in the following essays reveals different patterns of interpretation of tradition and/in translation as well as their interplay in the context of philosophy's history. The reflections are undoubtedly anchored in broader philosophical and theoretical schools, systems, and worldviews of the authors. But in dealing particularly with tradition and/in translation, their nature is more poetological rather than theoretical. This is due to the fact that their respective application is often highly metaphoric, substitutive and representative of more complex and perhaps elusive contiguities. Confronted with the difficulty to define "tradition", we may thus follow Jacques Derrida's *sous rature* and apply the term "under erasure" since it is inaccurate yet (apparently) necessary (cf. DERRIDA / SPIVAK 1997: xiv-xv). For this reason, I prefer calling each framework *poetics*. As such, however, each framework has its pivot points and cornerstones and is therefore far from lacking theoretical underpinning.

In the following, four poetics by four different authors will be introduced and provided with a subsequent comment on their theoretical plausibility and explicability.

Poetics of Dis/Continuation

Angelica Nuzzo (2000) argues that no thinking is absolute, i.e. without context and without references, hence philosophical thinking cannot but be imbedded into “traditions of thought” (*Traditionen des Denkens*) (ibid.: 30) or a “historical continuum” (*geschichtliches Kontinuum*) (ibid.: 31).² Languages, texts, questions, and concepts are all regarded as bearing a tradition which in this manner acquires linguistic, etymologic or epistemological connotations. Translation’s role here is consequently to ensure tradition’s cultural, historical, linguistic, textual and conceptual continuity and renewal. Translation is supposed to mediate the process of a “historical sedimentation of different cultural elements” (ibid.: 37) and to move reference points beyond one’s linguistic and cultural horizon so that to rearrange them in a new one (ibid.: 33–34).

However, translation is even more than that: As a communicative relationship of otherness, it is claimed to constitute the initial principle of the intellectual history (*in principium fuit interpretis*, ibid.: 33) and is conceptualized as tradition’s *modus essendi*, i.e. the very modality which is capable of bringing tradition to the surface, uncovering and maintaining it, but also transmitting and transforming it (cf. ibid.: 30–37). Tradition’s change over time is backed up by translation, translation is an element of transformation, a *transmutazione*, and represent a “dialectics of continuity and discontinuity” (ibid.: 46). And as a temporal and transformative force it eventually contributes to the very historical communicability of a language, a culture or a tradition. The argument culminates thus in a highly metaphorical vision in which translation becomes the mainstay or the crux of traditions’ existence, revival and evolution, whereas (and this is the essay’s central thesis) the history of philosophy presents itself as a translation process.

Nuzzo suggests that the history of philosophy is equally its translation history. She applies the terms tradition and translation to denote transfer and transformation processes in the (translation) history of philosophy. Her elaborations on the deep correlation between tradition and translation seems to be greatly induced by both terms’ etymological proximity. Indeed, tradition stems from *trādere*, itself originating from *trans + dare*, and signifies the act of handing over and delivering, i.e. tradition is “that which is handed down as belief or practice” (THE CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY). As to translation, it refers back to *translātāre*, originally related to *transferre*, and means “to convey from place to place” (ibid.). The proximity is striking.

Furthermore, Nuzzo argues now and then in terms of a continuum and a dis/continuity. It should be acknowledged that tradition implies temporality, and, as a result, tradition, history, and continuation are mutually highly suggestive. As a matter of fact, there is a revealing proximity between *tradition* and *continuation*, too. This further Latin root, namely *continuāre*, means to continue, to carry on, to persist, to last (ibid.). Its derivative *continuus* stands for “uninterrupted” (ibid.) and together with its prefixed antonym indicates the tense interplay between continuity and discontinuity, conservative and progressive poles that generates transformative powers within a philosophical tradition (cf. NUZZO 2000: 46).

Dis/continuation is thus as much a metaphor in the reported context as tradition or translation in seeking to capture the complexity of philosophy’s history and development over space and time as well as across languages. What they all presumably attempt to express is that

² All current and following translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

tradition represents a “continuity of cognition” (*Kontinuität der Erkenntnis*) (DEMANDT 1978: 203) which nevertheless is subject to renewals and transformations. If this continuity resembles a relay race or a torch run (*ibid.*), then a philosophical text or a concept would be passed on in translation as a baton undergoing natural changes during each transition. A crucial point is, however, that according to the principle of *in principium fuit interpretas* a starting point of such an epistemic torch run was itself a transition or a translation.

In this point, Nuzzo’s standpoint is highly evocative of Jacques Derrida’s elaborations on textuality, dissemination and iterability, although her essay lacks any references to him. Positing that the history of philosophy represents a translation process with translation as its initial principle seems to be another way of saying in a deconstructivist spirit that the metaphysical notion of an origin should be replaced by the immanence of traces and thus translation itself can be conceived of as iterability (cf. DIZDAR 2006: 183–184). Note furthermore that Derrida’s gesture of interpreting the origin myth of the tower of Babel as a narrative of deconstruction, dissemination and translation (cf. DERRIDA / GRAHAM 1985) puts the latter in a similar position of epistemic centrality.

With Derrida in mind, I propose the metaphor of a fabric (cf. *text-ure*) with different (semantic, cultural, epistemic etc.) strands (or traces) that obtain in translation new shades, pattern or threads and can get one of the components cut off or ‘interrupted.’ Since it will be the very aspect of continuation and discontinuation within the fabric of a tradition that underlines its transmutations, I call Nuzzo’s framework poetics of dis/continuation.

Poetics of Systemic Coherency

Russian philosopher Andrej Smirnov, himself a translator of the Islamic philosophy into Russian, applies the term “tradition of thought” (*мыслительная традиция*) (SMIRNOV 2012b: 205) to describe philosophical cultures in terms of their mutual hermeneutic otherness (*герменевтическая чужеродность*), incomprehensible without special translation procedures (*трансляционная процедура*). The central question he pursues is the problem of the definition of “world philosophy” (*всемирная философия*) and of the reciprocal comprehension between “philosophical continents” (*материки философии*) represented by Europe, Islam, India, China, and Russia³. A “philosophical tradition” (*философская традиция*) is carried by epistemological subjects whose thinking it imprints with certain “philosophical colors” (*окрашено в философские цвета*) *ibid.*: 204). It can be described as a “unity of problematics” (*проблемное единство*) (*ibid.*: 207) focused on a “monolithic problem area” (*единое проблемное поле*) (*ibid.*: 208). And it is manifested in culture-specific “principles of meaning creation” (*принципы смыслоформирования*) (*ibid.*: 210). It may be assumed that epistemic interests are what is implied by problematics and that they are seen as culturally embedded. Translation’s task in this view is the bridging of the hermeneutic, but also the cultural alterity of foreign philosophical traditions.

It is interesting to note that this notion of translation is in a peculiar contrast to the author’s same-year contribution on the translation of philosophy, where both philosophy and its translation are characterized in quite traditional, linguistic terms: Philosophy is depicted as

³ “[...] что она [всемирная философия] есть? Конгломерат тех философских массивов, которые представлены огромными «материками» философии: Европой, арабским (мусульманским) миром, Индией, Китаем, Россией?” (SMIRNOV 2012b: 203).

a highly cohesive and consistent system, macro-text or thesaurus of philosophical terminology which exhibits “high-level systematicity and cohesiveness” (SMIRNOV 2012a: 58). The translation of philosophy is therefore called for to dissolve or unwrap this cohesiveness, i.e. its challenge is the “de-cohesion” or, literally, “the untying of the tiedness” (*развязывание связности*) (ibid.: 55). Smirnov’s more pragmatic notion of translation seeks to decrypt the tangled philosophical system rather textually, lexically and terminologically.

The aspect of continuation which was formative for Nuzzo’s poetics is not uncharacteristic for Smirnov’s poetics either. The crucial difference is that it builds upon one specific meaning of the word which shimmers through the phrase “philosophical continents”. For *continent* as well originates from *continuāre* or, more precisely, from its further derivative *continēre*, meaning to hang together (THE CONCISE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF ENGLISH ETYMOLOGY). A key facet of Smirnov’s considerations in his second essay, i.e. his thinking about philosophy and philosophical tradition in term of a system and coherency, naturally fits to this perspective. Handing over and delivering (*trādere*) a philosophical text entails accordingly not only conveying (*transferre*) it and carrying it, with or without interruptions, on (*continuāre*) but also ensuring its coherent integrity (*continēre*).

Smirnov’s notions of homogenous problematics that constitutes a philosophical tradition goes in line with the notion of coherency, too, and, it must be noted, is not unaffected by his expertise in Islamic philosophy inasmuch as it is posited in a direct reference to it (cf. SMIRNOV 2012b: 207-208). Needless to say, a problematic or epistemic unity is suggested by the very way philosophy and its history are usually depicted, namely in smaller or larger coherent units (cf. ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA), e.g. as major systems (e.g. Western and Eastern philosophies) and subsystems within (e.g. Scholasticism, Deconstruction, Confucianism); movements, whether person-inspired (e.g. Aristotelianism, Kantianism) or religion-based (Islamic or Jewish philosophy); and areas or branches (e.g. aesthetics, logic, philosophy of language). Sometimes, popular overview literature (cf. e.g. WEEKS 2014), certain thinkers (cf. HEIDEGGER / ROJEWICZ / SCHUWER 1994; KANT / YOUNG 1992: 538) and philosophical discourses (cf. EWING 2013) portray philosophy and its history also in terms of fundamental questions or problems. Hence, speaking in terms of Islamic, deconstructivist, post-Kantian or the-question-of-what-is-mind tradition will probably meet Smirnov’s point.

It must further be noted that Smirnov’s vision of philosophy and its texts as a complicated conceptual or terminological system and of translation as its disentanglement mechanism is not unparalleled in the discourse on translation of philosophy. Quite in this vein, for example, a “systemic comprehension” (*systematisches Verständnis*) SCHNEIDER 1999: 142) of philosophy is recommended within which i.a. central concepts’ “external correlations” (*externe Zusammenhänge*) and “internal distinctions” (*interne Differenzierungen*) (ibid.: 145), along with the correlations among previous translations and those with other target-language texts (cf. ibid.: 147), should be consistently respected. Otherwise, the translation of philosophy threatens to result in undesirable intellectual shifts as it was criticized, for example, in the case of Spinoza’s translations or translators (cf. ibid.: 135-137, 146). Translation scholars also underline the “conceptual density of philosophical discourse” (VENUTI 1998: 108) and the necessity of exploring the terms’ discursive values (*valeur*) out of their mutual intricate cross-references (cf. ALBERT 2001: 211).

I regard Smirnov's reflections as poetics of systemic coherence because of the fact that he strongly builds upon similar notions of cohesiveness and system, whether it be terminological (as that of a philosophical text) or epistemic (as that of a philosophical school).

Poetics of Multisemiotic Entrenchment

While pursuing the question of a tradition, Alasdair MacIntyre touches upon the history and the translation of philosophy within the general, verbal and nonverbal social practice (cf. MACINTYRE 1988: 371–388). He demonstrates in particular that tradition entails an ethical dimension of values and beliefs attached to its linguistic appearance: Tradition is embodied in linguistic and behavioral forms which are in their turn informed by communities' value and belief systems (cf. *ibid.*: 371–374). People and institutions are bearing and engendering the tradition, yet they are initiated into the tradition via language learning in the first place (cf. *ibid.*: 382). According to MacIntyre, the fact that language and speech are tradition-informed can be observed in the system of naming and classificatory schemes, in the lexical polysemy, and in a referential set of authoritative texts (cf. *ibid.*: 382–383). Tradition is thus manifest linguistically and intertextually on the surface, performed and exercised on the social stage and rooted deeply in ethics or ideology.

Which function is ascribed to translation in this context? Translation is highlighted as means of linguistic and conceptual transformation and innovation. MacIntyre's main concern is about the rootless modernity and its emancipation "from social, cultural, and linguistic particularity and so from tradition" (*ibid.*: 388). Accordingly, translations of/from historically anchored, tradition-informed languages-in-use into languages of our traditionless modernity are claimed to be potentially neutralized, distorted and decontextualized (cf. *ibid.*: 384–286). Despite of the seemingly linguistic emphasis, the issue of translation raised in this light encompasses the cultural and the social as well as ethics and ideology, hereby suggesting an understanding of translation as not only linguistic, but also cultural and social transfer.

In his later work MacIntyre speaks of "a tradition of practice or practices" (MACINTYRE 2007: 222) which again is virtue- or value-oriented and embodies the pursuit of certain goods. Such tradition lives or is exercised as long as its narrative is unaccomplished (cf. *ibid.*: 223). Thus, tradition can also be conceived of as a (value) narrative. Reminiscent of Nuzzo's and Smirnov's traditions of thought is furthermore the observation that "all reasoning takes place within the context of some traditional mode of thought transcending through criticism and invention the limitations of what had hitherto been reasoned in that tradition; this is as true of modern physics as of medieval logic" (*ibid.*: 222).

What has been envisaged as philosophical tradition's cultural conditioning in Smirnov's poetics, is expanded in MacIntyre's approach to cover the entire sociocultural, sociolinguistic and socioethical practice behind philosophy's history. It has been acknowledged that an interlingual transfer is at the same time a cultural or intercultural one (cf. REIB & VERMEER 1991; BACHMANN-MEDICK 2014). This is to say that what is latent and is being covertly transported alongside linguistic signs are historically grown social, political, ideological and ethical symbols and values. Of such nature is e.g. the translation of the human rights framework that bears the entire complexity of its cultural and historical conditioning, the whole body of thought sustaining its philosophical footing in legal ethics and the enterprise of its individual visionaries and pioneers (cf. BACHMANN-MEDICK 2012). Typical in this context, as

MacIntyre himself suggests, are the backlinks to multisemiotic tradition-bearers, i.e. sociocultural realities and expectations, words and namings with their conceptual, semantic, and etymological histories, normative/authoritative texts, and influential persons. For this reason, I refer to this approach as to the poetics of multisemiotic entrenchment that, importantly enough, applies to philosophical translations, too:

Philosophical translation between different European languages [...] is hemmed in not only by a generally acknowledged tradition of paradigmatic philosophical texts, but also by a deep sediment of past linguistic interactions, which authors will have expected their readers to recognize. (RÉE 2001: 245–246).

Poetics of Interpretive Bifurcation

Last but not least, by analyzing Hegel's and Heidegger's different readings of the texts constituting the history of philosophy (e.g. Plato), Andrew Benjamin accentuates the interpretive conflicts as the very essence of a tradition. The immanently plural and conflictual interpretive inscriptions (*implacements*) defines and constitutes philosophical tradition:

Conflicts of interpretation have both a diachronic and synchronic nature. Existing through historical time they form part of the tradition. Existing at a particular point in historical time they enact the plurality of tradition. Tradition in this sense is both plural and conflictual. Its unfolding is the unfolding of the conflicts that constitute it. [...] A text cannot be interpreted outside of tradition, indeed the act of interpretation is the continuance of tradition. [...] [A] philosophical approach to the relationship between philosophy and history should start with an acknowledgement of the centrality of tradition. Tradition becomes therefore the generalized site of interpretive differential plurality. (BENJAMIN 2014: 163–164).

Benjamin's self-critical plea is for acknowledging both the interpretative subject (the interpreter) and its interpretative act as parts of the object of interpretation (cf. *ibid.*: 167). Tradition arises thus out of multiple subject-bound acts of interpretation and is the cumulative legacy of intrinsically conflictual interpretations enwrapped in philosophical texts and discourses. Translation can be said to function here as an interpretive act (cf. *ibid.*: 172–174). Quite similar to Nuzzo's tradition-revealing and -engendering translation, translation in this case is also conflict-revealing and conflict-engendering, it is the very medium or act where semantic and interpretive difference manifests itself.

Highlighting of interpretive conflicts and of translation as their channel, trigger or catalyst reminds strongly of translation's role of bridging hermeneutic otherness in Smirnov's approach. Nuzzo's logic of dis/continuation and transmutation obtains in the light of interpretive conflicts in its turn a causal mechanism. Discontinuation will thus occur whenever an interpretive conflict establishes an interpretive difference.

Benjamin's considerations seem in any case to invite to two perspectives: first, a synchronic, zoomed-in perspective on interpretive conflicts in translation taking place here and now, and second, a diachronic, zoomed-out perspective on philosophy's (translation) history as a polarized, uneven, bumpy journey. To prove the latter true, it will suffice, for instance, to take a look at how the Aristotelian discourse was individualized in the romanticism

translations (cf. VENUTI 1998: 69), or how the “tradition” of the mind–body problem was revolutionized by Descartes (cf. NANNINI 2000: 147–148). Convincing evidence for the relevance of both the synchronic and the diachronic view of interpretive conflicts and interpretive history, respectively, are assertions that for any translation of philosophy it is imperative to know philosophy’s history in general (cf. *ibid.*: 148) as well as the history of a given philosophical text’s translations in particular (cf. GONDEK 2000: 215).

Translation scholars on their part evocate the potentially polarized interpretive dynamics when they speak of the attachment of “a domestic range of reference to the foreign text [...] [and] creation of new interpretive possibilities” (VENUTI 1998: 118) as well as when they regard every newly translated text to be bearing the history of its recompositions and the circumstances thereof (cf. ARROJO 2013: 249). Since Benjamin’s emphasis is on conflict-caused interpretive plurality and i.a. the translation instances when it occurs, his framework can be called a poetics of interpretive bifurcation. Note also that the way the scientific discourse speaks in turns (cf. SNELL-HORNBY 2006; BACHMANN-MEDICK 2016) or in “traditions of scientific research” (KUHN 1996: 10) to signify its progress matches this very logic of theoretical, or interpretive, breaches and breakthroughs.

Heuristics of Tradition’s Dis/Continuation

It has been illustrated so far how differently tradition and/in translation in the context of the history of philosophy can be profiled and poeticized. Smirnov and MacIntyre tend to see tradition as a conservative/preservative potency, whereas Nuzzo and Benjamin gravitate to its progressive and metamorphosing effects. Either way, the notion of tradition appears quite plausible or even intrusive in the general context of the history of philosophy and the role of translation in it.

An interesting question arises at this point as to whether or not these poetics qualify for a descriptive approach to one particular philosophical text, its translation or its translator. It appears quite tempting, for instance, to follow up on Nuzzo’s idea that it is in and through translation that a philosophical tradition is unveiled, passed on and transformed. One of the best-known efforts to apply this as a method has been Jacques Derrida’s analysis of Plato’s Pharmacy (cf. DERRIDA / JOHNSON 1981). Derrida’s claim was that the task of unveiling the issues related to *pharmakon*’s translations addressed “nothing less than the problem of the very passage into philosophy” (*ibid.* 72). And he illustrated how, by obliterating the term’s ambiguity and interrupting its citational play (the “anagram”), the translation of *pharmakon* as “remedy” neutralized and lost the implications of a magical, uncontrollable force within the Greek word’s original connotations and collocations and rationalized it eventually in terms of scientific and therapeutic technicality and causality (cf. *ibid.*: 97–98).

Derrida’s unparalleled contribution allows for incorporating other poetics into it, too. Thus, speaking with Smirnov, Derrida’s analysis of *pharmakon*’s dis/continuation was precisely a process of “untying of the tiedness” or a decohesion of the text’s and the term’s referentiality. MacIntyre’s multiseiotic entrenchments and their disruption in this particular case can consequently be paraphrased in Derrida’s terms of textuality and citationality. Finally, Derrida’s analysis demonstrated the emersion of a different interpretive vein just in Benjamin’s sense.

It must be admitted that Derrida's approach gravitated towards a source-oriented translation criticism rather than a target-oriented semiotic-sociological procedure of Descriptive Translation Studies (cf. TOURY 2012). The paratexts as a specific manifestation of the source text's textuality were not singled out either. Now, given the text-analytical potential of the poetics in question, how can the processes they imply be traced and pinned down a) descriptively, i.e. target-oriented and b) in translations' paratexts?

I will venture a move from poetics of tradition to heuristics of its dis/continuation by adopting Smirnov's notion of decohesion to one particular translation or rather its paratexts. I assume, the decohesion as a linguistic, interpretive etc. processing occurs naturally in the mind of the translator during "the most intimate act of reading" (SPIVAK 1992: 181) the translation process is claimed to be. One of the most expedient approaches in this sense was the call to reevaluate the microstructural linguistic analysis when dealing with philosophical translations, i.e. to address and examine their terminological glossaries in particular (HELLER / PAYNE 2019). The recent analysis of the new collaborative translation of *Sein und Zeit* into Italian (HELLER 2020) has demonstrated several interesting instances of the complex entanglements which are touched upon in this paper, too. Interestingly enough, however, the idea of paratextual clues which are supposed to reveal hermeneutic processes (ibid.: 243–247) suggests that such clues can be found not only in glossaries but also in other paratextual forms, although glossaries might indeed present the densest and the most informative paratextual hypostasis in philosophical translations in this regard.

It is thus my hypothesis that what has been called a "tradition" and its dis/continuation can leave its footprint (or traces) in the philosophical translation's entire paratextual frame. Within this frame, I follow Gerard Genette (GENETTE / LEWIN 1997: 344–403) in differentiating between text-immanent peritexts (forewords, afterwords, footnotes etc.) and collateral, private or public, auto- or allobiographic epitexts (interviews, correspondence, diaries, reviews etc.). The decohesion would consequently encompass the whole range of paratextual reflections upon a translated philosophical text in the target-culture, whether they are authored by the translator or her/his commentators or critics.

However poeticized in the above contexts, tradition was indicated in practical terms by translation-assisted interlingual (Nuzzo, Smirnov), intertextual (Nuzzo, MacIntyre), intercultural (or broader: intersemiotic; Nuzzo, Smirnov, MacIntyre), and interpretative (Smirnov, Benjamin) operations, transfers and transformations. Hence, any signs of respective processes, if documented overtly or covertly in paratexts, could be regarded as tradition-indicative or, speaking with Nuzzo, would shed light on transmutations and dis/continuation taken place via and in translation. For a closer examination I will consult the first Russian translation of Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* (Russian: *Bytie i vremja*). First, I will provide introductory remarks on the translator-philosopher Vladimir Bibihin (1938–2004) and the assessment of his work which partly constitutes the epitextual environment of this particular translation of his. Subsequently, in the absence of a glossary, I will look for peritextual insights into looked-for processes in his afterword.

Dis/Continuing Russian Heidegger – Epitextual Evidence

Single chapters from Martin Heidegger's *Sein und Zeit* were translated into Russian in the late soviet and the early post-soviet Russia. The first and so far the only full translation was

accomplished by Smirnov's college and fellow-countryman Vladimir Bibihin in 1997. For decades Bibihin worked and lectured at the Department of Philosophy at Lomonosov Moscow State University, authored a number of monographs on philological, philosophical and theological issues, and left a small body of selective philosophical translations.

Interestingly enough, embedding Bibihin into a wider academic and sociocultural context will draw upon references that honor him precisely in terms of a tradition. He is named, for example, "the most prominent religious thinker of the new Russia, [who] continued the tradition of the Russian religious thinking of the early twentieth century" (MRÓWCZYŃSKI-VAN ALLEN, OBOLEVITCH & ROJEK 2016: 156). In the obituary he is claimed to have "belonged to the large European tradition while at the same time remaining essentially a Russian thinker" (MIXAJLOVSKIJ n.d.). Whatever a European tradition in opposition to a Russian one might be, these references reveal that Bibihin can be placed into the sociocultural and sociopolitical context of secularized, post-soviet Russia where Orthodox Christian theology was apparently among his active philosophical interests.

Turning to Bibihin's translations, it must be admitted that they are declared an integral and valuable part in the repertory of Russian-language philosophical translations (cf. OZNOBKINA / MOTROŠILOVA 2006: 632). Nevertheless, they were and remain subject to intense controversies which is definitely the case for his translation of *Sein und Zeit*: The range of criticism varies from appreciating it only as "a stand-alone phenomenon, [intrinsically] Bibihin's piece of work" (ibid.; cf. also 2020)⁴, which can admittedly impair the apprehension of that original piece of classics, to the devastating judgment of a "hair-raisingly" distorted image of Heidegger (DUGIN 2010: 13–14)⁵. More specifically, Dugin, for instance, proposes terminological translations different from Bibihin's by keeping e.g. *Zeit* (time) unchanged in his own translation (in the strange bilingual form of *Zeit-время*) (cf. ibid.: 286–287). Another specific phenomenological point of criticism is Bibihin's translation inconsistency in case of *Entsetzen* and *Angst*, both translated as *ужас* (horror) (cf. SALIN 2019: 156), whereas *Angst* is supposed to gravitate much stronger towards *тревога* (alert, anxiety) (cf. ibid.: 158–160).

In any case, according to a retrospective report on the reception of the western philosophy in present-day Russia (cf. BLAUBERG et al. 2014: 292–293), two renditions of phenomenology in Russia can be distinguished: a Husserlian and a Heideggerian one. Between these two Vladimir Bibihin, among others, represents the latter, whereas Nelly Motrošilova, one of the very critics quoted above, – the former (cf. ibid.). Speaking in terms of the above poetics, these circumstances seem to exemplify and testify for an interpretive conflict within one epistemic area, i.e. phenomenology, which apparently split Russian philosophers into two camps. Inasmuch as terminological discrepancies accompany this conflict, decohering applies equally to terminological and interpretive operations. The Russian Heidegger emerges as a dis/continuation of the original on at least interlingual and interpretive levels against the background of quite concrete sociocultural, epistemic and maybe even ideological (religious, value-based) affiliations. And the translator-philosopher's afterword to which I will turn now bears on its part witness to these affiliations.

⁴: " [...] перевод 'Бытия и времени' заслуживает особого разговора. Как самостоятельное явление, как работа Бибихина он весьма интересен и ценен" (OZNOBKINA & MOTROŠILOVA 2006: 632).

⁵ "[Переводы Бибихина] дают такую картину, от которой волосы становятся дыбом" (DUGIN 2010: 13–14).

Dis/Continuating Russian Heidegger – Afterword

Bibihin's four-page afterword to *Bytie i vremja* (cf. HAJDEGGER / BIBIHIN 1997: 448–451) is mostly an informative rather than an apologetic commentary on numerous word choices and is interwoven with references that serve the purpose of underpinning these choices.⁶

Bibihin starts with an extensive quote from Alexander Mikhailov's letter to German philosopher Frithjof Rodi (cf. *ibid.*: 448). Alexander Mikhailov, a Russian scholar of philology, culture and literature, translated a chapter from *Sein und Zeit* in 1993 and shares his thoughts on translation of philosophy in his letter. This first reference seems to testify to Bibihin's and his translator-colleges' translational attitudes and provide a legitimization for the decisions he is going to share. This impression is reinforced as soon as arbitrariness in treating foreign philosophy in Russia is alleged and then opposed in favor of "correct" translation rules of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the inventors of the Cyrillic alphabet (cf. *ibid.*: 449).⁷ Whichever these rules are (they are not specified), it can be held that Bibihin reveals right from the outset in whose "tradition" he seeks to step into and to whose authority he claims his loyalty. A brief overview might demonstrate even more clearly how further credits and references as well as precedent logic back up Bibihin's word choices (cf. HAJDEGGER / BIBIHIN 1997: 449–450):

Translation of *Angst* as *ужас* (horror), rather than *тревога* (alert, anxiety) or *тоска* (yearning, boredom), in the translation anthology *Vremja i bytie* from 1993 justifies it being left unmodified. Religious philosopher Vasily Rozanov's usage of *лежит* (lies, is situated) as copular verb (which is unusual in Russian) in his *O ponimanii* justifies the translation of *liegt* with *лежит*. The poetic, almost Russophile description of the etymological core *собъ* within *собственное* (own) by Russian lexicographer and ethnographer Vladimir Dal ensures the proper translation of *eigene* as *собственное*. Finally, the translation of *Dasein* as *присутствие* (presence; cf. Dugin's *вот-бытие*, (DUGIN 2010: 364)) is warranted by a series of facts: contextual references to Jacques Derrida's and Jean-Paul Sartre's *présence* (and its translations into Russian/German); a case where in Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's lines *Dasein* was translated as *присутствие*; and the usage of *присутствие* by Soviet-Georgian philosopher Merab Mamardashvili. The latter, by the way, equally belongs to the Heideggerian interpretation of phenomenology (cf. BLAUBERG et al. 2014: 293). What is genuinely surprising in this context is that the final decision in favor of *присутствие* was prompted by the words of an anonymous Orthodox priest about "bearing the truth not only by words, but by one's whole presence" (HAJDEGGER / BIBIHIN 1997: 450).

These examples provide convincing evidence of Bibihin's sociocultural, academic and epistemic socializations and their imprint on his translation decisions. Within the latter,

⁶ Cf. the intertwinings between philosophical terms' intercultural, conceptual and argumentative histories in the context of Russian philosophy as exemplified by the term "person" and its translation (PLOTNIKOV 2017).

⁷ "Утомляясь от своеволия, сделавшегося у нас привычным в отношении к 'зарубежной' философии, мы все больше убеждаемся в верности переводческих правил Кирилла и Мефодия" HAJDEGGER / BIBIHIN (1997: 449). Note that there is a palaeoslavistic study of Saints Cyril and Methodius' evangelical translations which is claimed to have assisted the formation of the first Slavic literary language (VEREŠČAGIN 1971). Bibihin's credits could have been granted to this study and to the Saints' rather literal translation principles (cf. *ibid.*: 181).

terminological and etymological considerations go hand in hand with justificatory intertextual references, clues and borrowings. The paratextual environment of Bibihin's translation demonstrates clearly how intertwined interlingual, intertextual, intersemiotic, and interpretative operations, transfers and transformations within the presumed shift of a "tradition" in and through translation can be. Bibihin's decisions have been selectively verified in the translation proper, so that it can be claimed that the multifaceted shifts he reveals in the afterword are concealed across his version of *Sein und Zeit* and represent what we might call a dis/continuation of the original.

What can be illustrated in conclusion as quite emblematic of this shift is the translation of a term related to tradition and dis/continuation through semantics of temporality: Thus, quite on the literal basis of the *time*'s verb formations (*Zeit* – *zeitigen*, время – *временить*), German *zeitigen* (to bring forth/about, to result in) is translated by Bibihin as *временить* (to delay, to temporize) and, despite of the strikingly different meaning of the verb, reasoned as basically the incomplete reverse side of the same process. In this manner, the prospective maturation of *zeitigen* transmutes (in quite perceptible sense of the word) into the lingering flair of *временить*.⁸

Conclusion

The analysis of the selected authors' thoughts on the history of philosophy revealed different patterns of metaphorizing and poeticizing tradition and translation. Etymologically interconnected, both terms were almost unanimously called for to reflect both consistency and change that polarize the evolution of philosophical thinking. At the same time the approaches varied considerably in prioritizing either one or the other pole as well as different associated aspects and processes which have been summarized under dis/continuation, systemic coherency, multisemiotic entrenchment and interpretive bifurcation. Translation's roles within these frameworks were related to linguistic, textual, semiotic and interpretive operations.

The attempt to uncover these operations in the first Russian translation of *Sein und Zeit* by consulting its paratextual environment showed its translators-philosopher in the role of a tradition-bearer, tradition-mediator and tradition-modifier who brought along a unique socialization that testified for his "personal idiosyncrasies, the individual signatures, that are stamped on particular terms or conceptual devices" (RÉE 2001: 230). Indicators of a tradition and its dis/continuation in the analyzed case appeared to be i.a. semantics, etymology and terminology (interlingual aspect); intertextual references, credits and borrowings

⁸ It must be admitted that, although not specified in the afterword, this translation detail applies to particular sections only (§§ 61–68). Cf. in Russian "Временность может себя в различных возможностях и разным способом *временить*" (HAJDEGGER / BIBIHIN 1997: 304) for the original sentence "Zeitlichkeit kann sich in verschiedenen Möglichkeiten und in verschiedener Weise *zeitigen*" (HEIDEGGER 1967: 304) which is translated into English as follows: "Temporality has different possibilities and different ways of *temporalizing* itself" (HEIDEGGER / MACQUARRIE / ROBINSON 2001: 351). In the indicated sections, Heidegger is supposed to play on etymology of *Zeit* and *zeitigen* rather than targeting the meaning of *zeitigen* itself, hence the English translators' opting for *temporalize* (cf. *ibid.*: 351). This circumstance might also have been Bibihin's reason to tolerate the semantic shift caused by *временить*.

(intertextual aspect); sociocultural, ideological or ethical imprints and backgrounds (intersemiotic aspect); epistemic and interpretive affiliations, variations and antagonisms (interpretive aspect).

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Gegenstand

Der hier besprochene Text stammt aus dem Jahr 1987. Die Tatsache, dass sein Autor, Mark Lehmstedt, ihn jetzt erstmalig publiziert, zeugt davon, dass, wie er selbst beobachtete, sein Gegenstand – das Übersetzungswesen im 18. Jahrhundert, die sogenannten Übersetzungsfabriken – weder für die Buchwissenschaft noch für die Translationswissenschaft von besonderem Interesse war. Bis auf Knufmann, Bachleitner (für das 19. Jahrhundert) lässt sich zumindest für den deutschsprachigen Raum kaum Literatur dazu finden (die notwendigen bibliographischen Ergänzungen für den Zeitraum seit 1987 liefert Lehmstedt auf S. 14–15). Daher sieht der Autor gute Gründe, diesen bislang unveröffentlichten Text (seine Dissertation von 1987 an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin) nun doch zu publizieren. Denn obwohl der „Übergang zum modernen kapitalistischen Buchmarkt während des 18. Jahrhunderts [...] den Zeitgenossen auf keinem Gebiet so früh und so deutlich bewusst geworden ist wie auf dem des Übersetzungswesens, haben die sozialgeschichtlich orientierte Literaturwissenschaft ebenso wie die Buchgeschichtsschreibung das Übersetzungswesen aus ihren Untersuchungen fast vollständig ausgeschlossen“ (13). Wie auch die Translationswissenschaft, möchte man hinzufügen.

Bevor er sich dem Leipziger Verlag Weidmanns Erben und Reich zuwendet, werden einige Kennzeichen jener Periode zusammengetragen: Es gibt eine Verschiebung in der translatorischen Buchproduktion mit einem Rückgang der Belletristik hin zu anderen Gebieten wie Geschichtsschreibung, Medizin, Naturwissenschaften. Zunehmender Beliebtheit erfreuen sich Serien mit eher anspruchsloser Literatur, an denen sich eine steigende Kommerzialisierung des literarischen Markts ablesen lässt, sowie eine sich verkürzende Zeitspanne zwischen dem Erscheinen des Originaltexts und publizierter Übersetzung (maximal ein Jahr).

Eine interessante Fragestellung ergibt sich aus seiner Einschätzung der zunehmenden „Internationalisierung“ des Buchmarkts dahingehend, woher die Verleger eigentlich ihre Informationen über neu erschienene Bücher in anderen Ländern und Sprachen bezogen. Dabei zeigt sich, dass diese Informationen in den beiden exemplarisch behandelten Ausgangskulturen – Frankreich und England – auf durchaus unterschiedlichen Wegen zu den deutschen Verlegern gelangten. Interessant wäre in diesem Kontext beispielsweise eine Untersuchung zu weiteren Literaturen und ihren Wegen in die deutsche Sprache.

Im Kontext eines im Entstehen begriffenen Systems grenzüberschreitender Beziehungen zwischen Verlegern, Buchhändlern und Autoren siedelt der Autor auch die Geburt eines neuen Berufs, den des „Lektors“, an: „Zu den bislang in der Forschung unbeachtet gebliebenen Entwicklungen innerhalb der Struktur literarischer Verhältnisse gehört auch die Entstehung solcher im 18. Jahrhundert noch gänzlich unbekannter Berufe wie desjenigen des Lektors. Es muss gefragt werden, ob nicht u.a. in der Vermittlung von Informationen über neue ausländische Bücher, in der Empfehlung (oder Ablehnung) von anzufertigenden Übersetzungen und den oft mitgesandten Gutachten frühe Formen dieses neuen literarischen Berufs zu sehen sind“ (35).

Quellen

In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass die Geschäftsunterlagen der Verlage des 18. Jahrhunderts nicht mehr verfügbar sind, wertet Lehmstedt als wichtigste Quellen für die Konkurrenz der Verleger Prozessakten derjenigen Verfahren aus, die Verleger untereinander wegen illegalen Nachdrucks von Übersetzungen, wegen Streitigkeiten bei der Privilegerteilung für geplante Ausgaben führten. Dabei handelt es sich um den Eintrag in das sog. Leipziger Bücherprotokoll, mit dem ein Verleger anzeigte, dass er vorhat, ein bestimmtes Buch übersetzen zu lassen. Dieses wurde „auf der Grundlage des Regulativs zum Kursächsischen ‚Mandat, den Buchhandel betreffend‘ vom 18. Dezember 1773“ (62) eingerichtet: „Mit bürokratischer Gründlichkeit ist hier jeder Verlegerwunsch verzeichnet, d.h. nicht nur die Eintragung dessen, der sich als erster gemeldet und damit gemäß § III.4. des Regulativs das Recht erworben hat, als einziger eine bestimmte Übersetzung zu verlegen und auf der Leipziger Messe verkaufen zu dürfen, sondern auch die Anträge der konkurrierenden Verlage“ (62). Lehmstedt schildert eine Reihe solcher verlegerischer Streitigkeiten um das Recht auf die Erstübersetzung, woraus man einerseits eine Vorstellung von der Schärfe des Konkurrenzdrucks zwischen den Verlegern bekommt und andererseits auch ableiten kann, unter welchen Zeitdruck die Übersetzer gesetzt wurden. Besonders bewährte sich dabei das vom Verlag Weidmanns Erben und Reich entwickelte Verfahren, bei dem quasi parallel zum Druck der Originalbögen in London die Übersetzung angefertigt wurde.

Diese von Lehmstedt genutzten Quellen, also die „Prozessakten“ als Zeugnis der verlegerischen Konkurrenz, finden sich nach seiner Aussage in „allen Residenzstädten der (...) deutschen Territorialstaaten, in den freien Reichsstädten und oft auch in den Universitätsstädten“ (64). Da der Autor andeutet, derartige Material „nur in Ansätzen benutzt und ausgewertet“ zu haben, lässt sich vermuten, dass übersetzungshistorische Forschung hier auf weiteres interessantes Material zurückgreifen kann. Darüber hinaus ergeben sich Parallelen etwa zur „Übersetzungsfabrik“ von Georg Forster, vermutlich auch zu der von Johann Christoph Gottsched, dessen Übersetzungen vor allem unter dem Aspekt der Leistung von Luise Gottsched betrachtet wurden, weniger aber im Hinblick auf deren Fabrikcharakter. Die Fortsetzung dieser Art „Übersetzung am Band“ findet sich dann bei Norbert Bachleitner für das 19. Jahrhundert.

Die Übersetzer – „proletarische Scribenten“

Die eigentlichen Hauptfiguren dieser Darstellung werden unter verschiedenen Aspekten beleuchtet: Da ist zunächst die Frage nach der „Auswahl des Übersetzers“, die auch unter dem Stichwort der „Übersetzerjagd“ steht, immer wieder wird das schlechte Image der „Tagelöhner“ erwähnt, der Personen selbst und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Reputation (62ff.). Wie es an anderer Stelle heißt, kommen zu dieser Tätigkeit eines „proletarischen Scribenten“ soeben promovierte Magister, Hofmeister, Sprachlehrer, stellenlose Absolventen der Hochschulen, sie bilden also die „unterste Klasse der Gelehrtenrepublik“ (93), die eben zumeist auch anonym bleiben. Daneben wird die Motivation der Übersetzer unter die Lupe genommen, d. h. vor allem das Honorar und die Aushandlungsprozesse um das Honorar. Hier finden sich auch konkrete Anhaltspunkte für die Honorarsätze und die Unterschiede zwischen Verlagen. Und schließlich geht es um die Arbeitsbedingungen der Übersetzer, die hier vor allem unter dem Aspekt des Zeitdrucks diskutiert werden.

Die abschließende Fallstudie zur Übersetzung von William Robertson: *History of the reign of Charles V., Emperor of Germany*. Vol. 1–3. London: William Strahan, 1769. Dabei handelt es sich um ein regelrechtes Windhundrennen um die Rechte an der Übersetzung, zumal eine französische Übersetzung bereits erschienen war (1770), als Friedrich Gotthold Jacobäer, Buchdrucker und Verleger in Leipzig seinen Publikations- d. h. Übersetzungswunsch in das „Bücherprotokoll“ eintragen ließ. Doch er sollte nicht der Einzige bleiben, das Buch versprach reichen Gewinn und Prestige. Und es war zugleich lukrativ für Übersetzer, zumal sich das Gerücht verbreitete, der Übersetzer, der das Buch ins Französische übertragen hatte, Bernard-Joseph Saurin, sei nach und wegen seiner Übersetzung Robertsons Mitglied der Académie Française geworden. Diese Ehre war ihm zwar bereits 1761 zuteilgeworden, doch allein die Existenz des Gerüchts lässt auf die Bedeutung des Werks und die Rolle des Übersetzers schließen. Bis zum Erscheinen des Werks (1777) in deutscher Sprache führt Lehmstedt die juristischen Streitigkeiten vor und zitiert aus den Episteln von Verlegern und Übersetzern. Dass nicht alle Autoren die starke Position der Verleger im Buchmarkt hinnahmen, davon zeugt ein Verweis auf Klopstocks Absicht, ein Selbstverlagsprogramm zu initiieren, mit dem die Autoren von den Verlegern unabhängig werden könnten.

Insgesamt resümiert Lehmstedt für sein Fallbeispiel: „Die Geschichte der Übersetzung von William Robertsons ‚Geschichte von Amerika‘ ist die Geschichte einer allseitigen Konkurrenz – der Konkurrenz zwischen deutschen Verlagen ebenso wie zwischen Verlagen verschiedener Staaten, der Konkurrenz zwischen Übersetzern –, sie ist eine Geschichte der Intrigen, der Unterstellungen, der Anfeindungen, der Lügen und der Unverschämtheiten [...]; sie ist ein Hohelied auf die Macht des Geldes und des Organisationstalentes – kurzum: eine Mär aus der Zwischenzeit zwischen Feudalismus und Kapitalismus in Europa, einer Zeit, die wir uns angewöhnt haben, Aufklärung zu nennen“ (157).

Joanna Sobesto

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Joanna Sobesto

Kita-Huber, Jadwiga & Makarska, Renata (eds.) (2020): *Wyjść tłumaczowi naprzeciw. Miejsce tłumacza w najnowszych badaniach translologicznych* [Meeting the Translator Halfway. The Place of the Translator in Recent Translatological Research]. Kraków: Universitas. 344 pp. ISBN 978-83-242-3625-1.

The volume consists of an introduction written by the editors and seventeen chapters divided into four subsections: 1) the translator and his/her visibility in translology, 2) research on translatorial biographies – case studies to the translators' lexicon, 3) the translator visible in the text and 4) translator and the sociology of translation. Contributors are mainly Polish scholars and/or scholars working in Poland, although several scholars working within the German context were also included (their texts were written in German and translated into Polish).

The idea for the volume was conceived at the international conference held in March 2019 at Jagiellonian University (JU), Kraków. This event was organized by the Institute of German Languages and Literatures at JU, in cooperation with the Department of Polish Studies within the Faculty of Translation, Linguistics and Cultural Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University (JGU) in Mainz, Germany. An open call was held for contributions in Polish or German. The very title of the conference *(Nie)widzialność tłumacza: jak badania nad rolą tłumaczy przyczyniają się do humanizacji translologii* [(In)visibility of the Translator: How the Study of the Role of Translators Contributes to the Humanization of Translatology] problematizes the gap between historical and actual invisibility of translators on the one side, with their postulated and desired visibility on the other.

Released only a year after the conference, the volume celebrates an important paradigm shift in Translation Studies from texts to people, initiated by the cultural turn (BASSNETT & LEFEVERE 1990). Contributors to the conference and the subsequent edited volume demonstrate active and affirming approaches to all varieties of translators within a localised, non-Anglophone setting. The volume was edited by Jadwiga Kita-Huber (JU) and Renata Makarska (JGU). As Literary and Cultural Studies scholars and translators themselves, both work within Polish-German academic contexts and are aware of the niche features of their fields. The introduction to the volume starts with a simple, yet provocative statement: "Szekspir nie pisał po polsku" (5) [Shakespeare did not write in Polish]. This is a direct quotation of a slogan created by the Polish Literary Translators Association (STL), an organisation that has advocated for translators' rights, promoted translators and problematized translation since its founding in 2010.

Although the volume takes the form of an academic publication (through the length of texts and the use of footnotes and references), its content is eclectic and is directly related to the practical dimensions of the activity of translators nowadays. The editors overtly state that the contemporary, non-academic contexts of book markets, literary awards, reception by lay readers and the visibility of translators in media are important factors in prestige networks directly linked to translators' working and life conditions. Kita-Huber and Makarska attempt to both present case studies of translators in the Polish-German literary field across different eras, but also suggest how the current situation of translators in Poland could be improved. The editors identify pitfalls within translators' training: traditionally, translators are encouraged to remain in the shadow of their authors. The editors likewise enumerate novel initiatives that support translators on the institutional level, such as festivals, awards, grants, and scholarships which ameliorate working conditions and enhance the translator's visibility.

In this respect, one of the most unique contributions to the volume is a conversation on the specificity and importance of translators' archives, conducted by Renata Makarska, Agnieszka Brockmann (head of the library of Collegium Polonicum at the European University Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) and of the archive of Karl Dedecius in Słubice) and Ilona Czechowska (former assistant of Karl Dedecius (1921-2016)), translation studies scholar and head of the Karl Dedecius Foundation. The impetus for this discussion was the *oeuvre* of Karl Dedecius, a well-known translator of Polish and Russian literature into German who donated his private archive to the European University Viadrina (Germany) in 2001. After more than two decades of operation, the archive houses Dedecius' material legacy, as well as that of other male and female translators operating in the Polish-German context, including Henryk Bereska, Erich Dauzenroth, Rolf Fieguth, Roswitha Matwin-Buschmann, Hubert Schumann, Eugeniusz Wachowiak, and Karin Wolff. It should be emphasised that this conversation on the theoretical and practical dimension of translators' archives was the only text added to the volume after the conference. The methodological challenges of archival research found in the case study of Karl Dedecius archive – alongside various ethical questions related to the research object (i.e. the role of families in preserving and accessibility of translators' papers) – represent brilliant contributions to the discussion on the nature of archival work within Translation Studies (TS) (MUNDAY 2014; PALOPOSKI 2017). Practical remarks within the text, alongside a direct invitation urging active translators to consider donating their papers to the Karl Dedecius archive, will undoubtedly prove beneficial to efforts attempting to increase the visibility of translators. Although the Polish-German context is pervasive within the discussion, the text might be an inspiration for similar initiatives in different cultural contexts.

This potential for widespread applicability can also be detected within the other project discussed at length within the volume: the German Translators' Lexicon (UeLEX) established in 2011 at Johannes Gutenberg University in Gernersheim. One of the editors of the Lexicon, Andreas F. Kelletat presents the operating principle, theoretical basis, and practical dimensions of creating a catalogue of portraits of translators from different historical periods. They are depicted as conscious, self-aware, smart, and sometimes rebellious co-creators working between target and source cultures. The Lexicon is based on the typology proposed by Renata Makarska,

one of the volume's editors; she suggests that each entry should comprise of linguistic biography of an individual, their professional network, the reception history of their work in a form of translation criticism, and the context in which the translator worked. The project attempts to overcome national boundaries and create a transnational setup beyond linguistic distinctions. This highly inclusive, monumental project perceives German literature as a product indebted to numerous levels of intercultural exchange. Again, I believe the mode of operation suggested here might inspire other linguistic and cultural initiatives.

Paradoxically, the potential of implementing localised solutions in other contexts is best detected mainly in case studies of practical initiatives. Although only the last subsection of the book is overtly dedicated to sociological aspects of translation, many of the texts within the volume employ the methodologies of the sociology of translation, rather than the history of translation. Although written by comparative literature scholars, archivists, (literary) historians, translators and translation studies scholars, the texts in this volume are rife with sociological vocabulary, with a particular emphasis on terms associated with the sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu. His 'habitus', 'field' and 'capital' appear multiple times in almost every contribution. Additionally, translation policies and roles/identities of translators are extensively explored with particular attention paid to gender identity and its consequences for (the visibility of) translators. In this edited volume, a sociological toolbox was applied to archival materials (letters, photographs, personal papers, notes, diaries and autobiographies), while approaches grounded in Translator Studies and Translation History proposed i.e. by Andrew Chesterman, Anthony Pym or Lawrence Venuti, are used rarely and obliquely. A dearth of direct references to the context of translation history might stem from a relatively low awareness of the discipline, a result, perhaps, of the specific linguistic and cultural interests shared by the majority of contributors of the book – although the volume is only available in Polish, it comprises four texts translated from German. The potential danger of exclusively sociological approach is the ignorance of seemingly unrepresentative, odd, or incomplete archival materials against the logic of sociological generalization.

Seemingly aware of this trap, the editors invited a contributor from outside the Polish-German context. Magda Heydel – a professor of Polish and English literature a scholar of Translation Studies at JU, and translator herself – wrote a thorough introduction to the theories used and referenced throughout the volume. A comprehensive overview of current trends and tendencies in international research within the framework of Translator Studies, entitled "Kto tłumaczy? Sylwetka tłumacza w najnowszych badaniach przekładoznawczych" [Who translates? The figure of translator in latest TS research] provides the reader with the wider context, as explained by one of the founders of cultural TS in Poland. It is worth noting here that the most recent works within TS theory has not been translated into Polish. Heydel presents the variety of theoretical approaches which forefront the roles of translators and interpreters; Heydel situates Polish researchers in the international context, paying particularly close attention to the fields of Memory and Trauma Studies. Crucially, Heydel attempts to present the integrated approach to Translator Studies, which interweaves the sociological and the historical.

This volume features biographies of translators that lived and worked in different periods: Herman Buddensieg (1893–1976), Jutta Janke (1932–2004), Albert Zipper (1855–1936), Maria Kurecka (1920–1989) are presented in the second section of the volume. The volume also includes textual analysis involving the biographies of contemporary translators: texts about Andrzej Kopacki, Jacek Frühling, Hans Joachim Schädlich, Ryszard Wojnakowski and Friedrich Griese leave ample room for (micro)historical close reading and meticulous archival work.

The contribution written by Ewa Rajewska, a literary and translation scholar at the Institute of Polish Philology at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, as well as an editor and literary translator, is of particular interest. Rajewska not only presents a biography of the fascinating figure of Maria Kurecka, a writer, poet, translator from German, English and French, as well as a literary critic and editor, she likewise familiarizes the reader with Kurecka's theoretical approach to translation. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Kurecka was trained as a translator and translated commercially at the expense of her own artistic and intellectual output. Rajewska cites Kurecka's published papers and essays on translation, in addition to previously unpublished materials from her archives. Thanks to Rajewska's detective work and thorough analysis of collected materials, one can see how self-conscious a translator Kurecka was. Rajewska argues that Kurecka's concept of "wewnętrzna akustyczność" [inner acoustics], a call for transposing harmony and melody within each translated piece of poetry and prose can be seen as a continuation of Roman Ingarden's theory voiced in his treatise *O tłumaczeniach* [On translations] (INGARDEN 1955). Kurecka translated with and for her husband, poet, writer and translator Witold Wirpsza: together they translated Thomas Mann's *Doctor Faustus*. Kurecka wrote an essayistic account of co-translating Mann's oeuvre entitled *Diabelne Tarapaty* [Evil Scrapes], which gives the researcher a luxury of access to translator's direct voice. The study of the collaboration between the well-remembered Wirpsza and forgotten Kurecka might become an interesting example of a translator's workflow and networks, as also the gender imbalance within literary history.

The reader will likely encounter translation regimes and the creativity of individuals, entwined with the serendipity and fluidity of circumstance. Translators, as this volume demonstrates, play varied roles in culture, society, and history; they are at once editors, diplomats, politicians, mediators, writers, and scholars. Intriguing subjects with their own interests, personal lives, agendas, and bodies (PYM 1998), they travel, make plans, change their minds, generate ambitions and fears. They also forge interpersonal relations that alter their translations, as well as their reception and cultural afterlife. In this respect, the study of Józef Wittlin's *oeuvre Sól ziemi* [The Salt of The Earth] reception in Germany, traced back through the correspondence between the author, translator and the editor is of particular importance.

The volume, although methodologically selective, is an important contribution to ongoing discussions on the role played by translators in cultures and societies, beyond texts, literary stereotypes, and national traditions. Edited scholarly volumes such as this can do a great deal to elevate the voices of researchers and translators who advocate for translators. This volume is not a mere collection of ephemeral case studies or a Polish-language handbook of contemporary TS,

but also a historical statement: it is a way to encounter translators (and TS scholars), a step towards recognition.

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Wolfgang Pöckl

Gipper, Andreas; Heller, Lavinia & Lukenda, Robert (Hg.) (2022): *Politiken der Translation in Italien. Wegmarken einer deutsch-italienischen Übersetzungsgeschichte vom Risorgimento bis zum Faschismus*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

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Wolfgang Pöckl

Gipper, Andreas; Heller, Lavinia & Lukenda, Robert (Hg.) (2022): *Politiken der Translation in Italien. Wegmarken einer deutsch-italienischen Übersetzungsgeschichte vom Risorgimento bis zum Faschismus*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. (Studien zur Übersetzungsgeschichte 2). 320 S. ISBN 978-3-515-13093-6.

Übersetzungsgeschichte ist in jüngster Zeit ein beliebtes Thema geworden, was sich vermehrt in den Programmen von Verlagen widerspiegelt. So hat auch der Franz Steiner Verlag eine *Studien zur Übersetzungsgeschichte* betitelte Reihe eröffnet, die bislang zwei Monographien (Engelskircher 2020; Bellini 2022) und den hier vorzustellenden, von den Kurator*innen der Reihe herausgegebenen Sammelband umfasst. In allen drei Publikationen liegt der Fokus auf Italien.

Das Inhaltsverzeichnis von *Politiken der Translation in Italien* weist fünf Sektionen aus. Die erste ist überschrieben mit „Theoretische Vorüberlegungen“ und besteht aus zwei Beiträgen. Im einleitenden Abschnitt („Politiken der Translation in Italien vom Risorgimento bis zum Faschismus im deutsch-italienischen Kontext“, 11–17) skizziert das Herausgeberteam die Intention des Bandes und begründet die Abfolge der Aufsätze. In Summe „will dieser Band einen Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Risorgimento und zur Reflexion über ein gutes Jahrhundert der deutsch-italienischen Kulturbeziehungen leisten“ (12). Die Autor*innen legen dabei Wert auf die Feststellung, dass „[d]as Zusammentragen historischer Daten und Fakten zu Übersetzerinnen und Übersetzern, das Nachzeichnen der (translatorischen) Geschichte einzelner Werke und Autoren oder das Sammeln historischer Metaphern und Konzepte des Übersetzens [...] an sich noch keine Übersetzungsgeschichte [konstituiert]“ (14). Den Leser*innen wird im Zuge der Lektüre bewusst werden, wie viele solcher einschlägiger Daten und Fakten aber schon gesammelt wurden, zum Teil von den Autorinnen und Autoren der Beiträge des Bandes selbst, was die Erfüllung der Ansprüche an die Inhalte der Aufsätze erleichtert.

Was in dem Eröffnungstext nicht offengelegt wird, ist die Geschichte der Entstehung des Bandes. Denn mehrere Aufsätze enthalten Querverweise auf andere Beiträge, und man hätte gerne erfahren, ob der Publikation eine Tagung vorangegangen ist oder sonst ein intensiver Austausch zwischen den Autor*innen stattgefunden hat.

Den programmatischen Rahmen des Bandes liefert Lavinia Heller mit ihrem Beitrag „Theoretische Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Übersetzung(swissenschaft) und Geschichte (19–31). Sie lotet, mehr begriffsgeschichtlich als etymologisch, wie sie selbst betont, das Konzept Translation aus; sie erinnert an die *translatio imperii* und die *translatio studii* (übersieht

allerdings die im Mittelalter eminent bedeutsame Translation im Kontext des Reliquienkults, vgl. Heinzemann 1999, s. v.). Die begrifflichen Inhalte von Translation führen Heller zur Thematisierung eines Aspekts, für den Translationswissenschaftler*innen besonders hellhörig sein müssten, der aber in der immer mehr monoglott anglophon werdenden Disziplin zu verblässen scheint: die sowohl an Einzelsprachen als auch an Fachkulturen gebundenen Denkstile. Ein wichtiges Verdienst dieses Beitrags besteht darin, zu erinnern an das erkenntnistheoretische Defizit, das durch das „methodologische Problem der Einebnung von Besonderheiten durch eine fachspezifische Begrifflichkeit“ (29) zu entstehen droht. In den folgenden Aufsätzen wird dieses Thema allerdings nicht explizit angesprochen.

Die erste der vier Sektionen mit themenspezifischen Beiträgen behandelt „Akteure und Gegenstände risorgimentaler und postrisorgimentaler Übersetzungspolitik“. Robert Lukenda zeigt in „Übersetzungstheorie und Übersetzungspolitik im frühen Risorgimento: Giovanni Berchet“ (35–55), wie schwer es Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts war, die Praxis der Klassizisten zu durchbrechen und „eine neue Übersetzungskultur zu begründen“ (36), die sich an ausländischen Gegenwartsliteraturen, insbesondere denen des nördlichen Europas, ausrichtet. Schon das Erlernen von Fremdsprachen wie Englisch und Deutsch stellte eine Zäsur im Bildungskanon dar; die Übersetzung populärer deutscher Literatur wie der (in zahlreichen europäischen Literaturen erfolgreichen) Ballade „Lenore“ von Gottfried August Bürger (in Prosa) und ihre Propagierung als Orientierungsmaßstab für eine neue Form von „Literatur für das Volk“ (46, kursiv im Original) war eine regelrechte Provokation, die Berchet aber gezielt in der Absicht nährte, das kulturelle Selbstbild Italiens bei der Bevölkerung zu reformieren, also (Übersetzung von) Literatur als Instrument zur politischen Bewusstseinsbildung einzusetzen. Lukenda rundet das Bild von Berchets übersetzerischem Lebenswerk ab, indem er darauf hinweist, dass sich der einstige *traduttore militante* in gesetzterem Alter von seiner eigenen Position distanziert und ästhetische Werte von Texten in den Vordergrund gestellt hat.

Kathrin Engelskircher, deren Dissertation die eingangs vorgestellte Schriftenreihe eröffnet, greift in „Nationsbildung als Übersetzungsprojekt: Giuseppe Mazzinis italienische Translationspolitik“ (57–69) Erkenntnisse aus ihrer Monographie auf. Mazzini, eine Generation jünger als Berchet, setzt dessen translationspolitisches Programm in gewisser Weise fort; er favorisiert jedoch eine andere Gattung: Die von ihm konzipierte *Biblioteca Drammatica* ist gedacht als „Bildungsprojekt mit volkspädagogischem Anspruch“, denn „die *educazione* gilt ihm als der entscheidende Schlüssel zur Lösung der Krise Italiens – in kulturellem wie politischem Sinn“ (59, kursiv im Original). Am Beispiel der Übersetzung des deutschen Schicksalsdramas *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar* von Zacharias Werner und des dazugehörigen Essays Mazzinis demonstriert Engelskircher, wie Mazzini einerseits texttreue Übersetzung propagiert, aber andererseits „seine Dramenreihe zur Platzierung subversiver, revolutionärer Botschaften für den Einigungskampf [verwendet]“ (68).

Eine Art Ehrenrettung unternimmt Christian Rivoletti in „I ‚due volti‘ di Friedrich Schlegel e la cultura italiana“ (71–82). Im Zentrum des Beitrags steht die Ironie in Ariosts *Orlando furioso* und die Frage, wem – von deutscher Seite – das Verdienst zukommt, sie als erster adäquat erfasst zu haben. Traditionell wird dieses ja Hegel zugeschrieben, aber eigentlich wäre es dem jungen

Friedrich Schlegel zuzuerkennen, der in frühen Publikationen die Ansicht vertreten hat, bei Ariost sei die „romantische Ironie“ schon vorgebildet. Weil in der italienischen Rezeption – qua Übersetzung – lange Zeit aber nur der alte, katholisch konservative Schlegel zur Kenntnis genommen worden sei, habe man seine scharfsichtige Interpretation übersehen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird man sich an die Mahnung Lavinia Hellers erinnert fühlen, wonach „die Frage, was *nicht* übersetzt wurde, mindestens so interessant [ist] wie die Frage, was zu welcher Zeit und von wem in welche Sprachen übertragen wurde“ (25, kursiv im Original).

In diese Problematik fügt sich ganz organisch ein von Iris Plack in ihrer Habilitationsschrift (PLACK 2015) vorbildlich akribisch, sonst aber generell wenig behandelter Themenkomplex ein: „Die indirekte Übersetzung deutscher Literatur über das Französische“ (83–96). Die Filterfunktion des Französischen für den literarischen Austausch in weiten Teilen Europas ist generell kaum zu überschätzen und in ihrer Dimension heutzutage auch schwer nachvollziehbar. Aber man darf die Formulierung von Iris Plack tatsächlich wörtlich nehmen: „Was im Italien des 19. Jahrhunderts rezipiert wurde, war in beträchtlichem Maße durch die Verfügbarkeit französischer Übersetzungen vorgegeben“ (85; kursiv im Original). Nun ist ja hinlänglich bekannt, dass sich die französische Übersetzungspraxis dieser Zeit nicht durch pedantische Treue zum Ausgangstext auszeichnet, so dass man sich keinen Illusionen in Bezug auf das hingeben darf, was etwa von den Erzählungen E.T.A. Hoffmanns oder den Schriften Immanuel Kants in Italien angekommen ist, um zwei repräsentative Beispiele zu nennen, denn: „Zwischen Deutschland und Italien trat Frankreich insbesondere auf zwei Gebieten als Mittler auf: hinsichtlich der deutschen ‚romantischen‘ Literatur und der idealistischen Philosophie“ (85). Je mehr sich jedoch der italienische Kulturbetrieb von Übersetzungen aus zweiter Hand emanzipiert, desto mehr ist auch eine „Flexibilisierung der Diskurstraditionen“ (93) im italienischen Schrifttum zu beobachten; soll heißen, dass beispielsweise französische Stilnormen ihre Verbindlichkeit verlieren.

Die Sektion „Institutionelle Agenturen und ihre Übersetzungspolitik (1919–1950)“ ist mit fünf Beiträgen die umfangreichste. Sie beginnt mit Anna Baldinis Vorstellung einer zwischen April 1919 und Dezember 1923 monatlich erscheinenden, einflussreichen Literaturzeitschrift „*La Ronda e la letteratura tedesca in Italia dopo la grande guerra*“ (99–121), deren Herausgeber die Rolle der Kunst mit den vier Adjektiven „libera, inutile, inefficace e indistruttibile“ (114) erfasst sehen wollen. Baldini gibt einen Einblick in die Diskussion um die deutsche Literatur, die in den Nachkriegsjahren besonders kritisch betrachtet wird, und zählt in einem Anhang die publizierten Rezensionen von Übersetzungen sowohl kanonisierter als auch und vor allem neuer (bzw. neu übersetzter) Werke auf. Zum Vergleich enthält die Aufstellung auch die Liste der Besprechungen von Übersetzungen aus anderen Literaturen.

Michele Sisto erläutert, gewissermaßen in Fortsetzung des Aufsatzes von Baldini, in „Heinrich Mann ‚romanziera della rivoluzione‘“ (123–140) an einem konkreten Beispiel, wieso *Il suddito* (also die Übersetzung von *Der Untertan*) keine Chance hatte, zur Höhenkammliteratur (in der Terminologie der Zeit: *produzione ristretta*) gezählt zu werden. Die maßgeblichen Kreise des Literaturbetriebs hatten grundsätzliche Vorbehalte gegenüber dem Roman (der in Bausch und Bogen der *produzione di massa* zugerechnet und entsprechend abgewertet wurde). Ganz

abgesehen davon, dass sozialpolitisches Engagement in den Augen der kulturellen Elite einen Ausschlussgrund darstellte, war der ideologische Enthusiasmus des Übersetzers Mario Mariani entschieden ausgeprägter als sein übersetzerisches Können (wobei der Umstand, dass die Übersetzung anonym und ohne rechtliche Grundlage erschien, nicht geeignet war, ihr Prestige zu erhöhen).

Im Aufsatz „Giovanni Gentile: Verlags- und Übersetzungspolitik im Zeichen des Aktualismus“ (141–163) legt Andreas Gipper sehr detailliert dar, wie der Mastermind des Faschismus, erster Bildungsminister des faschistischen Regimes und ungemein einflussreicher Networker durch den Erwerb des Verlags Sansoni sein kulturelles Programm der Entprovinzialisierung und Internationalisierung mit Hilfe von Übersetzungen – davon viel deutsche Fachliteratur aus den Bereichen Philosophie, Politik, Ästhetik, Geschichte und Wirtschaft – erfolgreich umsetzte, wobei Gentile bei Übersetzer*innen und Mitarbeiter*innen an dem von ihm initiierten Großprojekt der *Enciclopedia Italiana* auf das intellektuelle Potential erkennbar mehr Wert legte als auf die faschistische Gesinnung. Gipper formuliert die These, dass dies keinen Anstoß erregte, weil „sich die Übersetzung als vermeintlich niedrigere intellektuelle Tätigkeit ein Stück weit der staatlichen Kontrolle entziehen“ (160) konnte. Den Beitrag beschließt eine informative, 28 Namen umfassende Liste der Sansoni-Übersetzer aus dem Deutschen (161–163).

Auch die zwei letzten Beiträge der Sektion sind Verlagen gewidmet. Natascia Barrale hebt in ihrem Aufsatz „Die Zäsur von 1938: Das italienische Verlagswesen und die deutsche Literatur in den letzten Jahren des *Fascismo*“ (165–176) hervor, dass Übersetzungen vor 1938 nicht der Zensur unterlagen und die Verlage daher dem Lesepublikum auch gefragte Werke von Autor*innen, die in Deutschland schon aus den Regalen verschwunden waren, anbieten konnten. Barrale referiert anhand verschiedener Beispiele, wie ein Verlag wie Mondadori nach der Bildung der „Achse“ strategisch operierte und „[a]ngesichts einer Zensur, die sich manchmal als nachlässig, nachsichtig, kompromissbereit oder durchsetzungsschwach erwies“ (175), Titel ausgewiesener deutscher Nationalsozialisten, die kaum Absatz fanden, im Angebot auf ein Minimum reduzierte, wobei die Germanistin und Übersetzerin Lavinia Mazzucchetti sich als besonders gewiefte (Hinhalt-)Taktikerin hervortat.

Gisela Schlüter untersucht und kommentiert in „Grenzgänge: Deutsche Titel im Verlagsprogramm Einaudi (1940–1950)“ (177–201), was „der antifaschistische italienische Verlag schlechthin“ (177) an deutscher Literatur im Angebot hatte (Übersicht auf den Seiten 198–200) und welcher Programmatik die bestimmenden Persönlichkeiten (insbesondere Lektoren wie Cesare Pavese, Leone Ginzburg oder Giaime Pintor) folgten, die mit ihren Fremdsprachenkenntnissen ein breites Spektrum an europäischer, russischer und amerikanischer Literatur abdeckten, aber auch schon übersetzungstechnische Probleme auf hohem intellektuellen Niveau diskutieren konnten, wie man den 88 [!] Fußnoten – die in diesem Beitrag mehr Raum einnehmen als der Haupttext und so dokumentieren, wie viel Material es zu dem Thema gibt – entnehmen kann. Schlüter widmet sich auch (ideologisch) „brisanten Fällen“ (191–196), die dank zum Teil erst seit kurzem zugänglicher Dokumente besonderes Interesse wecken. Auf harmlosere Weise ‚brisant‘ sind Lücken in Bezug auf deutsche Autoren, die persönlichen

Antipathien geschuldet sind; so lehnte Pavese Schiller, Hölderlin, Heine und – besonders nachdrücklich – Goethes *Italienische Reise* ab.

Aus drei Beiträgen besteht die Sektion „Sprache und Translation als Gegenstand staatlicher Intervention im italienischen Faschismus“. Sie wird eröffnet durch Joachim Scholtysecks umfangreiche Darstellung des sowohl von historischer als auch von linguistischer Seite mittlerweile sehr gut aufgearbeiteten Südtirolproblems („Un peso determinante? Sprachpolitik im italienischen Faschismus“, 205–227).

In den Aufsätzen der vorangegangenen Sektion war bereits im Zusammenhang mit der Organisation der Programme verschiedener Verlage von der nicht sonderlich rigorosen Haltung der Zensurinstanzen die Rede. Christopher Rundle beleuchtet, gewissermaßen komplementär, in „Eine späte Reaktion: Die Übersetzungspolitiken des faschistischen Regimes in Italien“ (229–243), welche internen Kräfte – auch jenseits der Zensur – Stimmung gegen Übersetzungen machten. Außer auf dem Feld der Kinderliteratur waren die Maßnahmen, die vom Regime veranlasst wurden, lange Zeit eher unkoordiniert und sind daher auch bislang nur mangelhaft dokumentiert; Rundle rollt einige Initiativen auf. Klarere Richtlinien wurden erst nach Einführung der Rassengesetze erlassen.

Mario Rubino legt in „La ricezione della narrativa weimariana nell’Italia fascista“ (245–257) dar, welches Deutschlandbild der italienischen Bevölkerung in der Zwischenkriegszeit mittels populärer Reportagen vermittelt wurde und mit welchen Hintergrundinformationen die Ende der Zwanzigerjahre plötzlich in großer Zahl auf den Markt kommenden Übersetzungen deutschsprachiger Erzählliteratur gelesen wurden. Als Schreckbild wurde allgemein „L’americanizzazione della vita berlinese“ (248) gezeichnet; die zweifelhaften Seiten der Großstadt und der Modernisierung wurden dem weit konservativeren, den Fortschritt nur langsam assimilierenden Lebensstil in Italien gegenübergestellt. Nach 1933 ergibt sich die paradoxe Situation, dass in Deutschland verbotene Bücher in Italien in Übersetzung ohne Schwierigkeiten vertrieben werden konnten. Das Thema hat natürlich eine Differenzierung zwischen Deutschland und Österreich nicht besonders aufgedrängt, aber man darf doch die Frage stellen, ob die Werke Stefan Zweigs oder Jakob Wassermanns mit dem Etikett „narrativa weimariana“ angemessen bezeichnet sind.

Die letzte Sektion ist überschrieben mit „Übersetzungstheorie und Übersetzungspraxis im Zeitalter des italienischen Faschismus“ und umfasst drei Beiträge. Diego Stefanelli beleuchtet in „La traduzione in Benedetto Croce e Karl Vossler fra teoria e pratica“ (261–272) den geistigen Austausch zweier Parade-Intellektueller. Mit dem Einleitungssatz resümiert der Verfasser schon die Substanz seines Aufsatzes: „Il binomio Croce-Vossler è un caso esemplare di *Kulturvermittlung* fra Italia e Germania nella prima metà del Novecento“ (261). Wie schwierig es sein kann, Theorie und Praxis in Einklang zu bringen, erweist sich besonders an Croce, der die Möglichkeit der Übersetzung leugnet, sich aber als produktiver Übersetzer betätigt. Vossler, einer der fleißigsten Übersetzer literarischer Werke aus dem Italienischen (und später, unter der Belastung der politischen Entwicklungen, mehr aus dem Spanischen) hat sich als Übersetzungs-

theoretiker zwar weniger exponiert, liegt aber mit seiner Nähe zur Sprachphilosophie Humboldts nicht so weit von Croce entfernt. Profitieren kann man bis heute vor allem von den Kommentaren beider Autoren zu konkreten Übersetzungen.

Einen traditionellen Vergleich von „Parallel“-Übersetzungen einiger Gedichte Hölderlins – einschließlich eines ziemlich langatmigen Vorspanns darüber, was er *nicht* zu machen gedenkt – bietet Furio Brugnolo in „Tra classicismo ed ermetismo: tradurre Hölderlin in italiano durante il ventennio fascista“ (273–307). Solche Vergleiche laufen naturgemäß auf eine Art Typologie hinaus. Es ist allerdings zu bezweifeln, ob alle Leser*innen dem Ergebnis viel abgewinnen können, das so präsentiert wird: Es gebe drei Ausprägungen, nämlich „1) uno H.[ölderlin] grosso modo ‚carducciano‘ [...]; 2) uno H. ‚foscoliano-leopardiano‘ (in luce moderna); 3) uno H. in senso lato ‚ermetico‘ [...]“ (291), wobei aber alle drei Typen auch Beimengungen von „elementi pascoliano-dannunziani“ (291) enthalten.

Außer für ausgesprochene Gramsci-Spezialist*innen endet der Band vermutlich mit einer kleinen Überraschung. In „*Rumpelstilzchen* & Co. Antonio Gramsci als Übersetzer und die Funktionen des Übersetzens“ (309–320) stellt Birgit Wagner die These auf, dass das Übersetzen im Gefängnis als „Strategie der klugen Selbsttherapie“ (309) zu interpretieren ist und die Entscheidung für Grimm'sche Märchen „dem Interesse des Übersetzers an Popularkultur“ (312) geschuldet sei. Die intendierten Adressat*innen der Märchen-Übersetzungen waren die Kinder seiner Schwester Teresina (314), das Ziel der Texte sei gewesen, „die Vorstellungskraft seiner Nichten und Neffen zu fördern“ (314). Große Wirkung ist von diesen Übersetzungen freilich nicht ausgegangen, durften die Hefte doch nicht einmal die Gefängnismauern verlassen. Die *Rumpelstilzchen*-Übersetzung ist demnach wohl mehr ein Thema der Gramsci-Philologie als der Übersetzungsgeschichte.

Die Gestaltung des Bandes ist sehr ansprechend. Leser*innen wie der Rezensent hätten sich bei Zitaten und Fußnoten allerdings eine etwas größere Schrift gewünscht. Die sehr vereinzelt Druck- und Trennungfehler sind nicht sinnstörend. Da es keine alphabetisch geordneten Literaturverzeichnisse gibt, fallen kleinere Versehen (wie z. B. die Verwechslung von Vor- und Familiennamen auf S. 22, Fußnote 12, bei Albrecht Neubert) kaum auf. Irritierend ist jedoch, dass die Apostrophe oft keinen Raum zugestanden bekommen und auch kein System zu erkennen ist, unter welchen Bedingungen dieser typographische Fehler auftritt.

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