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Historiography and translation

KATARÍNA BEDNÁROVÁ – IGOR TYŠŠ

Even though the first major and thorough synthetic works on translation in the European cultural space were published only at the beginning of the 21st century, their conceptions and principal ideas had been developed and discussed much earlier. Interestingly enough, it seems that in recent years translation history and historiography have become some of the most recurrent topics in translation studies in Europe and throughout the world. The interest is due to the still relevant sociological turn in translation studies and attempts to closely study the work of individual figures of translators. It only follows that such issues call for historical contextualization and explanation. The growing number of existing and pending research initiatives which cover histories of translations into several world languages allows us to compare various forms and means of translation in different cultural environments, influenced by different geopolitical factors and with different cultural and literary traditions. When examining historical research and its most current findings, we see much common ground and similarities in significant phenomena, which leads us to question clear-cut models of center-periphery relations in culture. Reading various individual translation histories published in this issue of WORLD LITERATURE STUDIES in a comparative manner also reminds us that external factors have affected literature at all times and regardless of political regimes. The fact of translation is without any doubt one of the foundational features of culture around the globe.

This issue focuses on translation history. It aims to bring together research and views from different sociocultural environments and historical backgrounds and shed light on the tasks of translators and the methods they employed throughout history. In the studies several recurring themes offering specific insights into translation history can be found. Examples of such include the person of the translator as agent of history, the always pressing issue of translating literary classics, translation as literary transfer in time and space, the relevance of area studies for translation history, or non-translation and non-acceptance of concrete literary works in the target culture. A number of studies also discuss new methods of researching translation in history, namely those from digital humanities which bring to the fore tools for collecting and analyzing large amounts of historical data.

Historiographie et traduction ou l'histoire en plus d'une langue

ISABELLE POULIN

Le présent volume des *World Literature Studies* est consacré aux différentes façons d'écrire l'histoire du traduire. L'historiographie est devenue un objet d'étude majeur de la traductologie, donnant lieu à des publications diverses, attachées à des objets concrets (histoires *des* traductions) ou à un geste (histoires *de la* traduction), faisant la part belle aux traducteurs et traductrices, à la façon dont ils ou elles ont contribué à la constitution des cultures.

Sont rassemblées ici des contributions de spécialistes de différents pays européens et du Canada invités à poursuivre l'exploration du lien entre traduction et histoire. La multiplicité des langues (dans le monde, en Europe), la diversité des acteurs ayant contribué aux transferts et/ou brassages culturels, les enjeux de pouvoir liés à l'expérience de l'altérité (« la traduction est mise en rapport, ou elle n'est *rien* » aimait à rappeler Antoine Berman), la masse des données disponibles sont autant d'éléments justifiant une approche internationale et comparative de l'histoire culturelle.

Les deux premières contributions privilégient une approche théorique. **Judith Woodsworth** s'inscrit dans la continuité des travaux de Jean Delisle et propose un portrait de traducteur en historien à partir de l'exemple de Pierre Anctil (né en 1952), chercheur québécois traducteur du yiddish, dont l'œuvre a mis en évidence l'apport considérable de toute entreprise de traduction à d'autres disciplines, parmi lesquelles l'histoire. Travaillant sur l'émigration il s'est en effet trouvé confronté à un matériau dont il ne soupçonnait pas l'ampleur, devenant « traducteur par hasard » d'une somme considérable de textes écrits en yiddish, captivé par une « culture spectrale » qu'il a exhumée pendant quarante ans, éprouvant le lien profond entre traduire et écrire l'histoire. L'exemple de Pierre Anctil fait écho à la plus brulante actualité (des traductions de la poétesse noire Amanda Gorman) en apportant une réponse négative à la question : faut-il être juif pour traduire le yiddish ? Traduire est bien plutôt une histoire de fonds commun suggère l'historien traducteur, qui se définit tout autant comme anthropologue. **Ludovica Maggi** s'intéresse pour sa part à une certaine catégorie de textes littéraires, les « classiques » (elle a elle-même travaillé sur des traductions italiennes du *Phèdre* de Racine). Le statut singulier de l'art est d'être à la fois transitoire et éternel disait Charles Baudelaire. Si la constitution d'un canon

européen est loin d'être acquise (voir infra le texte de Jörn Albrecht) et sans doute une tâche illusoire, le classique est pris dans une temporalité particulière que rencontre à son tour l'auteur d'une traduction, qui peut choisir entre différentes approches : historiciste (soucieuse des traits du passé dans le texte à traduire), métahistorique (privilégiant le caractère éternel de ce texte) ou transhistorique (attentive aux liens entre passé et présent). Plus encore : le fait de traduire impliquant la mise au point d'une écriture, c'est la dimension de *graphein* qui intéresse ici l'historio*graphie*. Traduire est historique, comme ne manquait pas de le rappeler Henri Meschonnic dont la poétique du rythme est précisément convoquée pour éclairer l'écriture de l'histoire par le traducteur de classiques.

Ces premières approches théoriques reposent sur l'apport de théoriciens dont **Ivana Kupková** montre qu'ils n'ont pas tous la même notoriété partout en Europe. À l'ouest on ne connaît pas bien, voire on n'estime guère, les penseurs de l'est, longtemps soupçonnés d'idéologie communiste. C'est le cas du russe Andreï Fedorov (1906–1997), dont la théorie a été mal comprise à cause de problèmes d'édition et de contextualisation : la censure imposait de savoir lire entre les lignes, pour apercevoir par exemple le caractère subversif du recours à des termes étrangers, bannis par le régime de Staline, dans une théorie de la traduction (*adequate/adekvatnyi*, par exemple). « Chaque traduction est une fenêtre ouverte sur un autre monde » écrivait Fedorov.

Les deux contributions suivantes attestent cette dimension émancipatrice du traduire. Elles donnent des exemples de pratiques traductives commandées par l'histoire et soumises à la censure des autorités en place ; mais le détour du traduire suffit à donner du jeu aux rapports de pouvoir. **Wilken Engelbrecht** a épluché les comptes rendus du comité éditorial d'une maison d'édition tchèque (Družstevní práce) pendant l'Occupation, et montre la fonction subversive des traductions : publier des auteurs hollandais aura permis de ne pas diffuser les œuvres nazies. Le culte de la patrie et de la ruralité a pu être satisfait par la mise à disposition d'œuvres hollandaises jusqu'alors inconnues. **Gaëtan Regniers** propose un travail de dépouillement proche dans l'esprit, mais attaché aux périodiques, c'est-à-dire à des espaces de publication dans lesquels les pratiques de traduction sont contextuelles. L'exemple des textes historiques de Tolstoï (*Sevastopol'skie rasskazy*) met en évidence les enjeux politiques forts des transferts culturels : plusieurs traductions françaises ont été faites en temps de guerre ou de paix avec la Russie, de 1855 à 1876, et procèdent à des ajustements de l'original en conséquence. Leur comparaison éclaire au passage l'esprit de complexité (comme dirait Milan Kundera) du texte littéraire, sa difficile assignation à un camp de l'histoire.

Marián Andričík étend la réflexion et suggère une possible approche traductive d'un ensemble aussi vaste que « le monde slave ». L'étude des différentes (re)traductions du *Paradise Lost* de John Milton, depuis la première en 1745 en Russie, jusqu'à la plus récente en 2020 en Slovaquie, en passant par la Pologne, la Tchéquie, la Bulgarie, la Macédoine, la Slovénie et l'Ukraine, confronte à un plan en coupe impressionnant des littératures et des langues au point de contact avec l'étranger. Une singulière histoire du religieux affleure dans le détail des mètres poétiques et des images, soigneusement reconduites ou censurées.

D'autres perspectives sont ouvertes par la mise en évidence des absents de l'histoire. **Jörn Albrecht** s'intéresse aux « taches blanches » dans la cartographie de la traduction, essayant de comprendre pourquoi certains classiques ne parviennent pas à exister dans d'autres langues. Il met en évidence des façons d'être dans la langue (du corps, dès l'enfance, par l'inscription dans un réseau intertextuel et des pratiques génériques spécifiques) qui rendent très concrète la notion de « classique » (théâtre français, prose narrative allemande), mais non moins délicate son exportation. **Olga Sidorova** s'intéresse quant à elle aux traductions manquées de la littérature anglophone en Russie, et tout particulièrement à l'absence de Jane Austen qu'éclairent différents facteurs relevant cette fois de la grande Histoire : liés au mouvement révolutionnaire au XIXᵉ siècle, puis à l'édification du citoyen soviétique au XXᵉ, les choix de traductions n'étaient guère favorables à la transplantation d'une prose intimiste.

La grande disparité des corpus étudiés dans ce volume suggère une abondance de matière qui fait surgir la notion de *big datas,* dont l'appréhension est au cœur des deux dernières contributions. **Laura Fólica** entend croiser les Humanités Digitales et les Études de traduction pour appréhender une aire linguistique spécifique, celle du « Grand Sud » hispanophone. Si les bases de données ne manquent pas, force est de constater qu'elles sont majoritairement anglophones et imposent un premier travail terminologique (7000 langues constituent en vérité le « Grand Sud ») avant que l'usage des moteurs de recherche puisse intéresser une histoire des traductions, dont l'écueil majeur serait de renforcer les aires linguistiques et idéologiques dominantes. **Ştefan Baghiu** se lance concrètement dans l'exploitation des inventaires existants, reprenant à un historien français du XIXᵉ siècle l'idée de « nécropoles littéraires » à explorer. L'exemple de la Roumanie et des traductions de romans soviétiques, français et américains donne lieu à la composition de différents paysages de traductions, quantitatifs, dont la chronologie éclaire les modalités de lecture spécifiques à l'espace culturel étudié. L'un des enjeux de ce travail est de chercher à comprendre ce que peut bien être une littérature mondiale.

Dans sa discussion, qui clôt le volume, d'une récente histoire européenne de la traduction, **Yves Chevrel** rend hommage aux entreprises existantes, tout en rappelant les épineuses questions qui traversent tout le volume et laissent entrevoir l'ampleur du chantier ouvert : quelles échelles privilégier ? quels domaines retenir ? quelle périodisation arrêter pour écrire une histoire « paneuropéenne » des traductions ? La conscience de l'histoire se trouve assurément exacerbée, dans le miroir de l'autre langue, par la singularité des événements de traduction.

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The translator as historian

JUDITH WOODSWORTH

In 2015, Pierre Anctil gave a keynote address at an event held at Concordia University to mark the publication of the latest edition of *Translators through History*. The title of his talk, "Traduire pour découvrir l'altérité culturelle" (Translating as a means of discovering cultural otherness), was intriguing, and the content even more so. He recounted having translated the first annual report of Montreal's Jewish Public Library, published in 1915.[1] This slim brochure articulated lofty ideas such as "[t]he greatest, the noblest and the most learned among the men of all times and from all places speak to us through books". It added up to a scant 50 pages, including long lists of members and donors along with copious advertisements for such mundane commodities as bread, beer, coal, lumber, and so on. This was, at first glance, a rather inconsequential document. Yet, Anctil spoke with passion about the language in which the report was written – Yiddish – and the abundance of information it contained. Decoding an opaque language, now on the wane, and translating this goldmine of a text revealed so much about the level of culture and literacy among a cohort of newcomers who had arrived in Montreal from the Russian Empire in the early part of the 20th century.

Six years after this first encounter with Pierre Anctil, I find myself at the end of a rather long journey, having just completed my English translation (2021a) of his monumental history of the Jews in Quebec, first published in 2017 (2017a). This project has not only deepened my knowledge of this fascinating slice of Canadian history; it has concurrently allowed me to become familiar with the author's perspectives and methodology and, above all, has provided a glimpse into the links between translating and the writing of history at the hands of this accomplished scholar.

Pierre Anctil's story is set in a specific social, cultural, and political context. It presents a unique example of the translator's ability to enrich other spheres of activity within the humanities and social sciences, and the power of translation to influence mentalities and public opinion. With a background in social anthropology, Pierre Anctil is a prodigious and multitalented researcher. In addition to his scholarly work, he has translated poetry, biography, memoirs and journalistic material into French. He has worked primarily from Yiddish, a Jewish language, at a time when it was being abandoned or forgotten by Jews themselves. In an article pointedly titled "Nothing in My Formative Years Indicated that I Might Become a Translator", Anctil

says that he was drawn to translation by chance, captivated by what he calls "a ghostly culture that beckoned to me from afar" (2013, 57). His is thus an ethnographic, archeological approach to translation. His work as a translator has given him access to a history that would otherwise have remained obscure, untold, and in some respects lost to current scholars who are unfamiliar with the language in which these documents were written. Anctil's labours as a translator have opened a unique window on the past, providing him with previously untapped resources and the tools to construct a more comprehensive and balanced history of Jewish people in Quebec.

In building a case study of this particular translator, following the model initiated in Delisle and Woodsworth (2012), this article makes a contribution to translator studies, focusing on the array of material Anctil has chosen to translate and the use he has made of it in constructing his historical narrative. This study will examine his motivation to translate and, finally, will attempt to trace the wide-ranging impact of his work in literary and scholarly circles, as well as in the public sphere.

PIERRE ANCTIL: FOUR DECADES OF SCHOLARSHIP

Born in Quebec City in 1952, of French Catholic ancestry, Pierre Anctil completed an undergraduate and master's degree at Laval University in his home town. He then left to pursue his studies, as many French Canadians did at the time, and enrolled in a doctoral program in social anthropology at the New School for Social Research in New York City. The subject of his doctoral dissertation was French-Canadian immigration to the U.S. After returning to Canada, he was a researcher from 1980 to 1988 at the Quebec Institute for Cultural Research (Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, IQRC), following which he did a post-doctorate in Jewish studies at McGill University in Montreal from 1988 to 1991. He was employed with the Quebec public service, notably with the ministry of immigration and relations with citizens. Along with a number of high-profile Québécois intellectuals and public figures, he belonged to an organization set up to promote a better understanding between the Jews and the Francophone majority in Quebec. He taught in the department of history of Université du Québec à Montréal for some years before joining the University of Ottawa, where he is currently Professor of History. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, with a long list of publications that have earned him numerous awards and distinctions. His impressive, award-winning *Histoire des Juifs du Québec* (2017; *History of the Jews in Quebec*, 2021a), is a crowning achievement, synthesizing the research and thinking he has done over a long career.

Before delving into Anctil's output as a scholar and translator, let us say a few words about the language and culture that is at the heart of his life's work. The term "Yiddish" itself literally means "Jewish". It is a Germanic language, written in the Hebrew script, which originated in the Rhineland in the 9th century. Yiddish was the language of Ashkenazic Jews (those of German descent), living in central and eastern Europe, and was once widely spoken in Jewish communities throughout the world. During the period of the great Jewish migration to Canada, from the dawn of the 20th century to the beginning of World War I, and continuing during the interwar years until the economic challenges of the 1930s slowed immigration, Yiddish

was the third language spoken in Montreal, after French and English (Anctil 2021b, 69). In 1951, Jews still made up the third largest ethnic and religious community speaking a non-official language in Montreal – the official languages being French and English. This manifested itself in a flourishing Yiddish-language literary movement, Yiddish press, theatre, cultural organizations, and schools.

Yiddish is now in decline, partly because of the decimation of Jewish communities during World War II, partly because the Yiddish language was eclipsed by Hebrew as the national tongue after the State of Israel was founded in 1948, and also because Jews migrating across the world tended to adopt the languages of their new homelands as their primary languages. Yiddish continues to be spoken by Hasidim and other ultra-Orthodox religious groups. It is enjoying somewhat of a revival in secular circles: it is taught in some Canadian and American universities, and music and theatre productions have enjoyed a certain popularity. But the language has ceased to have the same currency, vitality, and stature it once had.

Anctil's publication record – comprising books, contributions to collected volumes and journal articles – includes translations as well as scholarly writing that bridges sociology, anthropology, and history.[2] There was no clear transition from research to translation, or conversely from translating to writing history. That would be too simplistic; instead, the two forms of activity are intertwined. Before Anctil published his first work of translation, he had authored two studies having to do with relations between Jews and the Francophone community in Quebec: in 1988, under the aegis of the IQRC, he published *Le rendez-vous manqué: Les Juifs de Montréal face au Québec de l'entre-deux-guerres* (A missed opportunity: Montreal Jews during the inter-war years in Quebec); later, in collaboration with Jewish scholars Ira Robinson and Mervin Butovsky, he produced the edited volume *An Everyday Miracle: Yiddish Culture in Montreal* (1990).

In parallel with his research, he began taking classes in the Yiddish language in 1984, and made relatively quick progress because of a prior familiarity with the Hebrew alphabet, as he explains in his article "Nothing in My Formative Years…" (Anctil 2013, 58). While conducting research in the archives of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC), he came to know archivist David Rome. Anctil credits Rome with having "converted" him to this new field of study (Anctil 2021b, 4). Rome guided him through the mass of documents held in the archives: a rich and varied cache of letters, posters, photographs, and written reports. Eventually, he discovered the work of Yiddish poets, too. As Anctil puts it, he felt as if he had arrived at the "well-spring, the Yiddish text" (Anctil 2013, 57), although he was not yet able to fully decipher its meaning. Then, supported by a post-doctoral grant, he delved more deeply into the work of poet Jacob Isaac Segal. In 1992, a groundbreaking bilingual edition was published as *Poèmes Yiddish*.[3] When Anctil's former Yiddish instructor, Leib Tencel, received a copy of the book, he was moved to tears (personal conversation with Anctil). Segal had almost never before been translated, even into English (59). More significantly, as we shall see, this was the first time that Yiddish poetry had been translated into French for a Montreal readership, which, as Anctil says, "had never before been able to grasp its meaning or understand its contribution to their literary culture" (2014, 239).

The next book he translated was a memoir by Montreal journalist Israel Medres, titled *Le Montréal juif d'autrefois*.[4] According to its translator, this was the first book in Canada to be translated in its entirety from Yiddish into French (Anctil 2013, 63). This act of translation had a dual purpose and result in that it enabled Anctil to learn about the Jewish community and to improve his knowledge of Yiddish (63). His other works of translation have included an account of the Jewish labour movement by political activist and community leader Simon Belkin (1999), the life story of Hirsch Wolofsky (2000), founder of the Yiddish daily newspaper the *Keneder Adler*, known in English as the Jewish Canadian Eagle and, most recently, an autobiographical piece by artist Marc Chagall (2017).

Other contributions as a literary translator,[5] in addition to his translation of Segal's poetry, include a novel by Yehuda Elberg (2001), a literary memoir by poet Sholem Shtern (2006), and a biographical dictionary of Yiddish writers by Haim Leib Fuks (2005), along with a major monograph on the subject of Segal and his milieu (Anctil 2012, 2017b).

In his exploration of the Jewish community, Anctil focuses on two major themes. He emphasizes, first of all, the immense contribution of Quebec Jewry in a broad spectrum of fields of endeavour: at the political level (the organization of labour unions, for example), in cultural, artistic, and literary production, in the sphere of the law and the defence of basic human rights. He also tackles the thorny issue of anti-Semitism and how it has played out within Quebec society. All of these investigations have come about as a result of his combined skills as a translator and historian. Prominent Quebec poet and essayist Pierre Nepveu was one of the first to draw attention to this blend of translation and fruitful scholarship, specifically in relation to Anctil's *Tur Malka: Flâneries sur les cimes de l'histoire juive montréalaise* (Tur Malka: Strolls on the heights of Montreal's Jewish history, 1998), a relatively early collection of essays about the Jews during the interwar period.[6] Indeed, while pursuing his research, Anctil has continued to mine the resources of the very considerable archives the Jewish community had taken care to build and conserve in Montreal. This has required an ongoing process of translation, of all kinds of records, both individual and institutional. He has also devoted a great deal of attention to the Yiddish press, in particular to the pages of the *Keneder Adler*.[7]

Previous scholars working in the field of Canadian Jewish studies may well have had some expertise in Yiddish, although perhaps not the same depth of knowledge across different fields, but they did not often master French. Anctil has the advantage of combining an ability to read and translate Yiddish with a grasp of the English language and easy access to French historical sources. A perfect mix, in sum, and a solid foundation for constructing his historical narrative of the Jews in Quebec. This has culminated in his most recent accomplishment, a history of four centuries of Jewish presence in Quebec, from the French Regime to modern times. It is a book weaving together the multiple strands of Jewish life and influence, the nuanced story of their integration into Quebec society, as well as their sometimes fraught relations with the Francophone majority.

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THE DRIVE TO TRANSLATE

Antoine Berman has written about the drive to translate (*pulsion traductrice*) in the context of Romantic Germany (1984, 22–23), and in his study of French translations of John Donne, where he also formulates the concept of the translation project (*projet de traduction*) governing acts of translation (1995, 76–77). These concepts apply to this case as well. One may well ask what prompted such a productive scholar and historian to translate in the first place. What motivates any translator? Throughout history there have been numerous examples of writers who have chosen to translate, instead of, or in addition to, their practice as creators of (so-called) original material. Various reasons have been given: translation has been seen as a prelude to writing, as a productive exercise, or rather as the expression of a particular affinity for a specific author, as a tribute to them.[8]

In this case, there is a further complication: the crossing of religious-ethnic lines. In *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City*, Sherry Simon poses the question: "How does a non-Jew come to translate Yiddish?" (2006, 100) The question is perhaps a natural one, but it is also strikingly unusual in the context of contemporary translation practice the world over, which entails the transfer of knowledge and cultural artefacts in multiple directions. Why does this Québécois's engagement with the language, literature, and culture of the Jewish minority in Quebec raise eyebrows? When asked about Simon's question, in a personal conversation, Anctil replied that it was absurd, although he also acknowledged that his work has almost uniformly been met with some surprise.

One might also ask what drew Anctil to the great Jewish migration to Canada. The masses of Yiddish speakers from the Russian Empire who set foot on Canadian soil between 1900 and 1919 were often left-leaning; they were manual workers, mainly in the garment industry, but nonetheless with a high rate of literacy. They were conspicuously Jewish, as opposed to the more discreet British Jews who had settled in Canada earlier. Anctil's patently enthusiastic interest in the challenges and achievements of this cohort of immigrants is apparent throughout his body of work and, in particular, *History of the Jews in Quebec* (2021a). This sparked an "anthropologist's reflex" in him, in the tradition of Claude Lévy-Strauss: learning the language was critical to his investigations (personal conversation).

In his early years hunkered down in the CJC archives under the guidance of David Rome, Anctil discovered material in the Yiddish language that would help shed light on the Jewish newcomers. He evokes these times with some emotion:

> I had at my fingertips the rough texture of the paper and the unreadable letters lined up according to an indecipherable order. The smell of the dust, a bit pungent, that had accumulated on the covers, reached my nostrils. A trace remained of the historic moment when there appeared in Montreal, under circumstances as yet for me obscure, those bearing witness from across the seas. There were pages and pages of Yiddish literature that these immigrants had thought good to leave to posterity, and that had slaked their thirst for writing. Who read these works now? (Anctil 2013, 56)

This startling discovery triggered in Anctil a thirst he needed to slake: a desire, even compulsion, to make sense of this body of inscrutable documentation and lit-

erature. He needed to understand, and he needed to translate. Initially concentrating on the work of poet J.I. Segal, translation was Anctil's "path to understanding" (63). The deeper he went into other forms of writing, the more familiar he became with the story of the Jewish community. Or, to return to the theme of the 2015 talk referred to in the opening paragraph, translating became a tool for discovering cultural otherness.

IMPACT OF ANCTIL'S WORK

Another critical element of this case study is the impact Anctil's work has had on literature, on scholarship in the social sciences and humanities, and, more generally, on the public's attitudes. As the first French translation of Yiddish poetry, Anctil's translation of Segal was a remarkable step in Quebec letters, which he qualifies as an "awakening, as if the veil had been lifted, at least in part, from the identity and the appearance of someone who had vanished, that few really remembered ever having near, but that remained like a haunting memory from the distant past" (Anctil 2014, 240). For Anctil, this awakening would be lasting and irreversible: "A door was opened that would never again be closed […] a radical redefinition of Montreal's literary corpus would eventually emerge, challenging perceptions of a reality that, up to that point, was thought to be shared by only two" (241).

This did not go unnoticed by leading Quebec literary figures such as Pierre Nepveu, who corroborated this signal achievement and hailed it as a turning point that revealed the full range of Montreal's literary resources:

> Yiddish lives in me even though I am not even Jewish. It is an integral part of my cultural universe, a part of that great adventure of languages – an adventure that is at once universal and particular to Montreal – that every writer senses is near, that every writer and intellectual in Montreal experiences in the deepest part of themselves where languages seek life, creating against all odds, warding off those forces of nature that, sooner or later, bend them, deform them, and often utterly destroy them (Nepveu 2007, 75; quoted in Anctil 2014, 240).[9]

Anctil returns the favour, prefacing an article he wrote for a *Festschrift* in Nepveu's honour with a dedication recalling the pleasure he has had teaching Montreal Yiddish literature to Nepveu's students at Université de Montréal (Anctil 2010, 45).[10]

Anctil's work on history has been well received. The release of *Histoire des Juifs du Québec* (2017a), in particular, elicited favourable reactions from both sides of the linguistic divide in Canada. In his review, historian Éric Bédard comments on the translational achievements of Anctil as well as his erudite synthesis of the history of the Jews:

> Thanks to his thorough command of the Yiddish language and culture, which is rare among French-speaking Quebecers, he has translated central Jewish authors, and brought them to the attention of Quebec researchers, who have for too long been unaware of them. […] He has also sought to understand an entire community from the inside. He has synthesized their story in an important work, supported by genuine scholarship and stimulating reflections, with a sense of nuance and balance befitting a history that is both complex and tragic (Bédard 2018, 186; trans. J.W.).[11]

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Jewish studies scholar Ira Robinson, for his part, writes an equally favourable book review:

> Pierre Anctil's *Histoire des Juifs du Québec* represents the culmination of four decades of the author's scholarly work on Jews in Quebec. It is a remarkable book from two perspectives. The first is that it stands as the first comprehensive, single-authored, scholarly history of the Jews in the province of Quebec. The second is that it is written in French and aimed at a francophone audience" (2018, 421).

Robinson goes on to point out how rare it once was for a non-Jewish Francophone scholar like Anctil to be engaged in Jewish studies. Now, however, the situation is changing:

> [T]he academic study of the Jewish presence in Quebec attracts great interest from students regardless of their ethno-religious-linguistic heritage. This welcome process brings to the academic discussion of Jews in Quebec important new voices and perspectives. Anctil's latest book most certainly marks a major milestone in this process. We can and should look forward to further enrichment and cross-pollination from this quarter (423).

Thus, Anctil's contributions, which combine both translation and history, have altered the course of literary and social studies in Quebec. But there has been a broader impact, as well.

Anctil's knowledge of Yiddish, which he has learned by translating and which has yielded translations of the variety of material described above, has enabled the construction of a fresh historical narrative of the ways in which Jews have inserted themselves into Quebec society. This is a unique narrative, and one that has helped alter perceptions and affect a shift in predominant mentalities.

It is also true that many political, cultural, religious events, which have occurred since the mid-20th century, have brought about a paradigm shift in Quebec. The Quiet Revolution (*Révolution tranquille*), from the 1960s on, was a period of intense social and political change, leading to reduced powers of the Church and a corresponding secularization of government. In 1976, a sovereignist government was elected, leading to the enactment of the 1977 "Charter of the French Language", with important implications for schools and the workplace. As a new Quebec began to emerge, attitudes changed and a new openness to difference ensued.

Anctil's work forms an integral part of this movement. At the same time, he contributes to it by shining the spotlight on a group of Others who have given so much to the host society. It could be argued that the work of this particular translator-historian has been instrumental in promoting greater awareness of the unique way in which the Jewish community has become acculturated to Montreal and Quebec, through activism in the garment trade unions, through production in journalism, theatre, poetry, and the visual arts. The achievements he inventories are extensive. In a recent essay, Anctil also draws a striking parallel between the aspirations reflected in Yiddish writing and the Québécois quest for identity (2021b).

Anctil is honest and realistic, though, about fellow Québécois who will read his work:

Ill-informed about the long-standing presence of a Jewish population in Greater Montreal and unaware of the manifold facets of Jewish identity, many Francophones continued to have difficulty grasping the multitude of contributions made by the Jewish community to Quebec society as a whole.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century […] the Francophone majority still had a relatively superficial understanding of the Jewish presence (2021b, 350).

He has sought to rectify the situation through the dissemination of information grounded in solid research, which has included translating source material. With an increasing number of translations – his own as well as that of fellow Yiddishists like Chantal Ringuet – French Canada today is beginning to understand the back story. In addition, more Jewish authors who have written in English are being translated into French. As an example, a leading Montreal publishing house, Éditions du Boréal, have commissioned re-translations of novels by Mordecai Richler.[12]

Anctil's study of the history of the Jewish communities in Quebec concludes on a positive note:

This unequalled heritage, grounded in a peripatetic history yet unwavering resistance to marginalization, has endured in a variety of forms in contemporary Quebec, where it continues to exercise a determining influence. The rising tide of pluralism has affected the very nature of Montreal, resulting in a new society that is still in the process of being imagined and circumscribed. In this new world, Jewish voices will continue to be heard. They will reiterate, as they have in the past, the importance of sustaining a dialogue between cultures and fostering an unrelenting spirit of mutual tolerance (399).

Pierre Anctil sees himself as an anthropologist and historian, whose work would not be possible without the translations that lie at its core. His method has resembled that of an archaeologist, an ethnologist, and also a publicist, as it were, for a Jewish community he claims has an identity like no other in North America. He is the quintessential cultural intermediary, embodying the figure so aptly conveyed by the French term *passeur*. He has written about his urban peregrinations: prowling the streets of New York's Lower East Side and Greenwich Village (2013, 53) and then criss-crossing Montreal some years later (54). Similarly, he has carried messages across boundaries of all kinds – ones that are at once temporal, geographic, linguistic, religious, and cultural.

CONCLUSION

As Québécois poet-translator Michel Garneau has remarked, "je traduis pour étudier / j'étudie pour apprendre" (I translate in order to study / I study in order to learn). These lines are taken from a poem that appears on the back cover of Garneau's translation of Leonard Cohen's poems, published in 2000 as *Étrange musique étrangère*. In this case, the last word is given to the translator rather than the poet. Garneau affirms his role as a translator. He is neither traitor nor drudge: instead, translation is both an honour and a pleasure. Moreover, it leads to knowledge. Michel Garneau's dictum could well be applied to Pierre Anctil. As is often the case in the history of translation, the task of translation had opened new doors. In the process

of translating, he discovered a treasure trove, which has led to numerous studies and, ultimately, a fresh history of the Jewish community and its relationship to the majority in Québécois society.

For Anctil, then, translation has been a path to learning, from his early studies of the Yiddish language, which led to his trailblazing translation of the Segal poems in 1992. His continued work as a translator, in parallel with his prolific output as a historian seeking to elucidate the complex relations Jews have maintained with a Francophone population with shifting values and priorities, has fostered a new mindset among Québécois, based on a deeper sensitivity to otherness. Previously inward looking as they endeavoured to assert their own identity and ensure their survival in a predominantly Anglophone continent, the French speakers of Quebec have begun to look upon Jews and other ethnic minorities in their midst with a more open mind. This has come about, to some extent at least, as a result of the tireless efforts of one translator.

NOTES

[1] *Premier rapport annuel de la Bibliothèque publique juive et de l'Université populaire, ouverte à Montréal le 1er mai 1914.* Trans. by Pierre Anctil. Originally published as *Ershter yerlikher barikht fun der Yidisher Folks Biblyotek un Folks Universitet, erefnt Montreal, 1en may 1914.* Also published in 2013 in English as *First Annual Report of the Jewish Public Library and People's University, opened in Montreal May 1st 1914.* https://www.cjhn.ca/en/viewer?file=%2fmedia%2fJPLA%2f-DOCS%2f1000JPL%2f1000_001_1.pdf#search=Jewish%20public%20library%20annual%20report%201914&phrase=false.

[2] A separate, chronological list of Anctil's principal book-length translations is included in the reference section at the end of this article.

[3] Not only was the edition bilingual, but it was arranged in the Hebrew manner, with the order of pages reversed, to be read from right to left, creating a sense of "surprise" in the reader (Anctil 2014, 239).

[4] Anctil has transcribed the author's name as Israël Medresh, but the latter's granddaughter, Vivian Felsen, spells the name as Israel Medres. Felsen translated the same memoir, the original title of which was *Montreal fun Nekhten* as *Montreal of Yesterday: Jewish Life in Montreal 1900–1920.* Anctil followed up with *Le Montréal juif entre les deux guerres (2001),* a translation of *Tsvishn Tsvey Velt Milkhomes* (1964), translated into English by Felsen as *Between the Wars: Canadian Jews in Transition* (2003).

[5] Anctil has been an active member of the Literary Translators' Association of Canada for many years.

[6] Anctil's *Tur Malka* is considered to have been the first synthesis of Jewish culture and history for a French readership. The original French citation ("ces études sont des passages éclairés et savants (sans ostentation) vers des lieux, des textes, des êtres [...] travail de connaissance, de frayage, de traduction") is taken from the publishers webpage, https://www.septentrion.qc.ca/catalogue/tur-malka.

[7] His current research project involves examining Yiddish-language editorials published in the *Keneder Adler* during the 1930s.

[8] These questions have been pursued in Woodsworth 2017.

[9] The original French reads: "Le yiddish vit en moi qui ne suis même pas Juif ; il fait partie intégrante de mon univers culturel, il s'inscrit dans cette grande aventure des langues, une aventure à la fois montréalaise et universelle, que tout écrivain perçoit comme proche, et que tout écrivain et intellectuel montréalais éprouve au plus profond de lui-même, là où les langues veulent vivre, créer contre vents et marées, conjurer la force du temps qui, tôt ou tard, les infléchit, les déforme et souvent les anéantit" (Nepveu 2007, 75).

10 "En rappel de tout le plaisir que j'ai eu à faire découvrir la littérature yiddish montréalaise dans ses cours dispensés au Département des littératures de langue française de l'Université de Montréal."

11 "Grâce à sa connaissance approfondie de la langue et de la culture yiddish, rare chez les Québécois de langue française, il a traduit et fait connaître des auteurs juifs marquants, trop longtemps ignorés par les chercheurs québécois. [...] Il s'est aussi employé à comprendre de l'intérieur toute une communauté. La synthèse qu'il nous propose est une somme, nourrie par une véritable érudition, des réflexions stimulantes, mais aussi par un art de la nuance et de la mesure qui sert bien une histoire à la fois complexe et tragique."

12 Mordecai Richler grew up in Montreal's Jewish quarter. The grandson of Rabbi Yudel Rosenberg, who translated into Hebrew and wrote folktales in Yiddish (Anctil 2021b, 154), Richler was part of the Canadian-born generation of Jews who forsook Yiddish for English. Several of his novels have been re-translated into French by accomplished, award-winning translators Lori Saint-Martin and her husband Paul Gagné, and more are underway.

PIERRE ANCTIL'S TRANSLATIONS FROM THE YIDDISH (LISTED CHRONOLOGICALLY)

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Medresh, Israël. [1947] 1997. *Le Montréal juif d'autrefois.* Sillery: Éditions du Septentrion.

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This case study of Québécois scholar Pierre Anctil reveals the unusual intellectual trajectory of a social anthropologist who has translated an assortment of material from Yiddish into French: poetry, memoirs, literary history, and archival material. He has drawn on these sources, previously unavailable to scholars unfamiliar with the language in which they were written, and has made use of them to construct a fresh historical narrative. The article examines his motives for translating, along with the wide-ranging impact of his work in literary and scholarly circles, as well as in the public sphere.

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La traduction des classiques comme historiographie : herméneutique, temporalité, « poièsis

LUDOVICA MAGGI

TRADUIRE LES CLASSIQUES : HERMÉNEUTIQUE DE L'ŒUVRE DANS LE TEMPS

Le point de départ de notre réflexion sur la traduction des classiques est l'herméneutique de l'œuvre. En d'autres termes : nous posons que la traduction d'un classique est la manifestation de la compréhension interprétative de ce dernier par le traducteur.

Dans le champ disciplinaire des études sur la traduction, l'herméneutique n'a pas manqué d'être invoquée comme cadre de référence. S'inscrivent notamment dans ce filon, outre la pensée de la motion herméneutique (Steiner 1975), la théorie interprétative de la traduction (Seleskovitch et Lederer 1984, en premier lieu) et l'herméneutique traductive allemande (Stolze 1992, entre autres). Ces constructions théoriques font du texte le terrain de jeu de l'herméneutique et tracent les limites de cette dernière à l'endroit même où ils relèvent sa spécificité – c'est à dire, dans le sujet. En effet, tout en mettant l'accent sur l'action de compréhension réalisée par le sujet traduisant et tout en reconnaissant la nécessaire contribution de ses compétences et de ses connaissances à l'advenir de la compréhension, elles reposent sur l'idée que l'objet même de la compréhension est un sens fondamentalement intersubjectif, avec lequel le sujet traduisant ne saurait – ni, en aucun cas, ne devrait – interférer.

L'herméneutique traductive que nous mettons au centre de notre pensée de la traduction des classiques dépasse ce périmètre en ceci qu'elle a affaire à l'œuvre au-delà du texte et qu'elle assume la pleine subjectivité du sujet traduisant. Dans cette optique, nous nous inscrivons davantage dans le sillon de l'« interprétation herméneutique »[1] de Jean-René Ladmiral (2006, 112) et de l'« inscription interprétative »[2] de Lawrence Venuti (2013, 18).

Reposant sur le sujet, notre herméneutique de l'œuvre ne le relègue pas pour autant dans son individualité. Au contraire, elle l'inscrit dans un tissu culturel commun qui ne manque pas de contribuer à l'exercice de son action interprétative. S'agissant spécifiquement de la traduction des classiques, nous accueillons dans l'herméneutique subjective de l'œuvre l'intuition clé de l'esthétique collective de la réception : l'idée que la compréhension de l'œuvre du passé est également le fruit d'une posture herméneutique partagée, historiquement située et, de ce fait, nécessairement évolutive (Jauss 2015, 43).

C'est sur ces bases que nous allons à la rencontre de l'herméneutique philoso-phique de Hans-Georg Gadamer (1996, 1999a et 1999b). De cette « phénoménologie de l'évènement de la compréhension » (Grondin 2004, 15) nous retenons les concepts fondateurs de cercle herméneutique et de fusion des horizons. Dans l'optique d'une herméneutique subjective de l'œuvre, ces schémas nous livrent l'idée essentielle que toute compréhension se fait à partir d'un point de départ propre au sujet compre-nant : son préjugé d'une part – ce qu'il connaît déjà et qui l'aide à faire la lumière sur la chose à comprendre ; son horizon d'autre part – membrane intellective de contact entre le sujet connaissant et l'objet dont il fait la connaissance.

Dans la perspective spécifique de la traduction des classiques il convient de mettre en exergue, en résonnance avec la leçon de Jauss, le lien de ces interfaces avec le temps du traducteur. Sur ce point, nous retenons les considérations de deux commentateurs du philosophe allemand. Deniau précise notamment qu'au sein du système gadamé-rien, le préjugé est « lié à notre situation historique » : puisqu'« appartenir à une histoire, à une tradition, c'est être situé, avoir un point de vue » (Deniau 2002, 339), « le préjugé, en tant que structure médiatrice, désigne [...] l'historicité de la compré-hension » (336). Michael Pickering rappelle quant à lui, dans un article au titre si-gnificatif de « History as Horizon: Gadamer, Tradition and Critique », à quel point pour Gadamer la vérité est historiquement conditionnée et en cela provisoire : tout acte de recherche est marqué par l'historicité de celui qui l'accomplit, par la tem-poralité de son être dans le monde. Plus précisément, le présent du sujet interpré-tant intervient dans la constitution du préjugé qui constitue l'interface de médiation pour toute connaissance. Le passé du sujet est aussi mobilisé à cet effet (1999, 180). Le temps se définissant ainsi comme horizon herméneutique, Gadamer nous offre les clés pour faire de la traduction des classiques un acte d'herméneutique dans le temps, qui se nourrit du regard présent porté sur l'œuvre par le traducteur tout en recevant le legs interprétatif du passé.

La dépendance entre l'acte traductif et le temps de sa réalisation n'est pas, en tant que telle, une acquisition nouvelle en traductologie. S'inscrivant dans la mouvance gadamérienne et se prononçant, entre autres, sur la question de la traduction dans le temps, Jane Elisabeth Wilhelm (2006, 4) la relie notamment à la théorie des normes (Toury 1980) et rappelle que les pratiques traductives évoluent au fil du temps en fonc-tion des conventions de lecture et d'écriture. Charles Le Blanc s'érige également en porte-parole de l'action interprétative de la traduction dans le temps et de la dé-pendance de cette dernière des normes scripturales propres aux différentes époques. En ce sens, il précise d'une part que l'action fondatrice de la traduction est la lecture de l'œuvre et que celle-ci se renouvelle constamment dans le temps (2019, 2013) ; d'autre part, il signale que « le besoin de retraduire les œuvres correspond à l'évolu-tion naturelle de la langue [...], de ses métamorphoses rhétoriques » (2013, 265).

TRADUIRE LES CLASSIQUES : HERMÉNEUTIQUE DU TEMPS

Notre cadre théorique tente d'apporter un complément à ces bases. En effet, pa-rallèlement à la réflexion sur la traduction comme herméneutique *dans* le temps, il y a lieu, nous semble-t-il, de poser la question spécifique de la traduction des

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classiques en termes d'herméneutique *du* temps. Autrement dit, de définir le temps comme l'objet même de la démarche herméneutique du sujet traduisant. Traduire les classiques serait ainsi, en premier lieu, s'interroger sur la nature de l'œuvre en tant qu'objet du passé, ce qui à son tour impliquerait de prendre position sur le passé et sur sa relation au présent.

Un tel développement invite la réflexion sur la traduction des classiques à se rapprocher des théories de l'histoire. Plus spécifiquement, nous ouvrons notre cadre théorique aux régimes de temporalité et osons affirmer leur contribution à la définition de l'horizon herméneutique du traducteur. Nicolas Offenstadt (2011, 14) présente ces catégories de la pensée comme « les modes de rapport au temps, les expériences du temps » ; « la manière avec laquelle les cultures structurent leur représentation du temps » et, plus précisément, comme « la façon dont les contemporains articulent les trois temps, passé présent futur ». François Hartog (2015,13) lui fait écho, précisant la relation réciproque des plans temporaux au sein de ces représentations du temps et suggérant que celle-ci peut se manifester sous forme de concurrence : à ses yeux, « un régime d'historicité n'est ainsi qu'une façon d'engrener passé, présent et futur ou de composer un mixte des trois catégories [...] un des trois composants étant de fait dominant ». Hartog signale aussi l'évolution de l'expérience du temps au fil des siècles – d'un référentiel préhistorique à caractère cyclique, à la fois sans temps et toujours présent ; à la conception ancienne du passé comme source de vérité et d'enseignement ; à l'orientation moderne vers le futur et le progrès ; jusqu'à l'extinction de la foi dans l'avenir au cœur d'une société contemporaine « présentiste » centrée sur l'éphémère et le court-terme.

La réflexion sur le rapport aux temps mérite d'être complétée par la pensée du rapport à l'histoire, en tant qu'enquête sur le passé. De ce point de vue, Jacques Le Goff (1988) nous apprend à entrevoir la présence de ce qui pourrait aisément être identifié comme un horizon herméneutique pour tout regard jeté sur le passé : une grille de lecture qui guide l'historien dans son action de recherche et de mise en relation des informations ; un sens donné à l'histoire qui se déroule et qui s'écrit – de l'historicisme positiviste, qui prive l'histoire de toute fonction éthique pour en faire une science exacte, documentaire, érudite, à la nouvelle histoire, qui remplace « l'histoire-récit par l'histoire-problème » (329–330) s'ouvrant aux méthodes d'enquête des sciences sociales.

L'apport de ces contributions à notre réflexion sur la traduction des classiques comme exercice herméneutique sur le passé est double. D'une part, elles corroborent la thèse que le temps – et plus spécifiquement le temps présent – en tant qu'horizon de départ, est un facteur crucial pour la compréhension du passé. Comme le formule explicitement Le Goff : « toute histoire est bien contemporaine dans la mesure où le passé est saisi dans le présent et répond donc à ses intérêts » (223) ; « l'historien part de son présent pour poser des questions au passé » (190). Le présentisme d'Hartog renforce, quant à lui, en référence à l'époque contemporaine, le constat de la prépondérance du point de vue présent dans l'herméneutique du passé. Sur le plan traductologique, cela implique d'assumer que toute traduction s'accompagne nécessairement d'une projection du présent sur le passé et, partant, d'une attraction

du passé vers le présent. D'autre part, les considérations de ces auteurs nous poussent à interroger qualitativement les démarches herméneutiques des traducteurs des classiques pour saisir les spécificités des régimes de temporalité qui les soutiennent, au-delà de l'empreinte indéniable du présent. Si les postures vis-à-vis du passé sont potentiellement illimitées, il nous semble toutefois raisonnable d'envisager un certain nombre d'attitudes récurrentes.

Dans cette optique, il convient d'évoquer les balises posées par Alexis Nouss (2007, 2008, 2009). À partir d'une intuition qui rejoint la nôtre – les pratiques traductives reflètent, entre autres, les postures chronologiques d'une société donnée (2009) –, ce traductologue procède à une catégorisation binaire des manières traductives en métahistorique et transhistorique, « la première cherchant à édifier un ordre de réalité au-dessus du flux temporel et la seconde visant à établir en son sein une relation entre différentes historicités » (297). Plus particulièrement, dans son schéma conceptuel, « le dialogue (transhistorique) entre des historicités chronologiquement distinctes et distantes » (2008b, 385), « superpose les strates chronologiques », « reprend du passé ce qui lui semble encore actuel » (386), au nom de « l'imprégnation d'une époque par une époque antérieure, au sens premier de fécondation » (384). L'approche métahistorique, en revanche, neutraliserait l'altérité temporelle pour signifier l'universalisme.

Si ces propos suggèrent une vision innovante du traitement de la temporalité en traduction, le développement de ces prémisses ne problématise pas réellement l'expérience du passé et demeure plutôt dans le périmètre connu de l'antinomie formelle sourcisme – ciblisme. Ainsi, affirme-t-il, « le transhistoricisme [...] est étayé par l'attention à la forme tandis que le métahistoricisme la néglige » (Nouss 2009, 298). Plus précisément, Nouss rapproche le transhistoricisme de « l'hyperlittéralisme traductionnel » (298) à la Johann Wolfgang Goethe ou à la Walter Benjamin (2008a) et le métahistoricisme – non sans amalgames – aux belles infidèles de Nicolas Perrot D'Ablancourt (2008b, 385) comme à la « traduction sémantique ou communicative qui se préoccupe du sens en négligeant la forme » (2009, 298).

Et pourtant, l'idée que la traduction puisse véhiculer une approche au passé, voire une philosophie de l'histoire, a un intérêt certain pour l'étude de la gestion de la temporalité en traduction. De ce fait, elle mérite à nos yeux d'être reliée au fil théorique de l'herméneutique pour poser les bases d'un discours sur la traduction des classiques qui dépasse l'alternative formelle archaïsation-modernisation (Steiner 1975, 334–356 ; Holmes 1994 ; Lefere 1994 ; Crisafulli 1999 ; Piletić 1999 ; Rega 2001 ; Roux-Faucard 2001) et contourne l'association de ce couple d'opposés avec l'antithèse culturelle étrangéisation-domestication (Schleiermacher [1813] 1963 ; Venuti 1998 ; Paloposki 2011) et son corollaire idéologique respect-négligence (Berman 1984, 1999 ; Venuti 1995, 1998 ; Aaltonen 1993 notamment ; Laera 2014, 2016). Autrement dit, sur la base de cette idée première, il devrait être possible d'abandonner la logique selon laquelle une traduction archaïsante serait respectueuse de la passéité formelle, et partant, de la passéité tout court de l'œuvre traduite, alors qu'un choix modernisant témoignerait d'une volonté de la profaner au profit d'un rapprochement de facilité de l'œuvre source avec les référentiels formels et conceptuels du public cible.

Offrant une issue de cet *aut aut*, l'herméneutique du temps devrait pouvoir mener en premier lieu à une prise de conscience : toute traduction d'une œuvre d'hier réalisée aujourd'hui s'inscrit, par définition, dans une démarche de « modernisation », en raison du fait qu'elle émane d'un horizon herméneutique présent. Deuxièmement, elle devrait pouvoir nous inviter à lire les choix traductifs, et donc la forme de la traduction, comme des indicateurs d'une relation au passé – subjective et historiquement située – qui ne saurait se réduire à l'alternative respect-négligence du statut de l'œuvre en tant qu'objet du passé.

Prenant en partie appui sur la terminologie de Nouss et tout en redéfinissant ses champs sémantiques dans l'optique herméneutique que nous venons d'esquisser, nous proposons d'envisager au moins trois grandes familles d'approches au temps dans la traduction des classiques. La première serait historiciste, visant à rendre compte du classique en tant qu'objet appartenant au passé et à documenter les traits spécifiques de sa passéité, tels que le traducteur la comprend. La deuxième approche serait métahistorique, visant à désolidariser le classique de son époque propre pour affirmer sa capacité à signifier à toute époque, y compris dans le présent. La troisième approche serait transhistorique, en ceci qu'elle s'inscrirait dans une démarche d'interaction, voire d'interpolation, assumée et affichée entre le présent et le passé.

Ces trois grandes tendances herméneutiques semblent trouver résonnance dans la littérature critique concernant les classiques, qui permet d'identifier plusieurs manières de penser le classique : tel un objet inactif, qui serait à ignorer (classique « oblitéré », dirions-nous – Settis 2004, 8–9 ; Dionigi 2002, 7 ; Mieli 2002, 171), à étudier et conserver comme témoin de son temps (classique « document » – Vegetti 2006, 270–271) ou à respecter et célébrer en tant qu'œuvre remarquable du passé (classique « excellent » – Sainte-Beuve 1850 ; Eliot 1944) ; tel un objet actif : à commémorer pour sa contribution à l'héritage culturel commun (classique « patrimoine » – Dionigi 2002, 9 ; Santagata 2002, 268), à lire et relire pour en tirer un plaisir esthétique et/ou y retrouver des valeurs qui ne sauraient s'épuiser au fil du temps (classique « permanent » – Calvino 1991, 7–12) ; tel un objet interactif, interprétable à volonté et ouvert au palimpseste des poétiques en traduction (classique « réceptionnel » – Kermode 1975 ; Lianeri et Zajko 2008, 4 ; Martindale 1993, 2013 ; Goldhill 2010).

Dans cette construction interprétative et polycentrique – qui pourrait logiquement conduire à envisager la traduction du classique dans son ensemble comme une expérience transhistorique, de traversée et de contamination des temps – la grille de lecture formelle et bipolaire archaïsation-modernisation ne peut être appliquée avec aisance. En effet, chaque regard posé sur le passé suggère une écriture traductive singulière, à étudier à travers un large spectre afin de saisir les modes de sa modernisation incontournable, de préférence en association avec le paratexte, à la recherche d'une éventuelle argumentation de ces choix.

Nous avons mené cet exercice sur quelques traductions italiennes contemporaines de *Phèdre* de Racine (Maggi 2019). Nous avons notamment découvert une volonté documentaire derrière la traduction limpide du metteur en scène Luigi Nazareno Todarello (Racine 2011), qui a souhaité se doter d'une base linguistique neutre et pleinement accessible à l'oreille contemporaine pour mettre davantage en relief,

dans le cadre de la performance, la lecture rythmique du texte, selon un procédé reconstitutif de la déclamation théâtrale baroque (Todarello 2011). La traduction de Roberto Carifi (Racine 1993), épurée, en rime, dans un registre linguistique quelque peu formel, nous a semblé vouloir en même temps évoquer, dans un élan historiciste, l'équilibre imprenable du classicisme tel que Racine le fixe en France au XVIIᵉ siècle, et capturer l'essence intemporelle de l'ouvrage traduit. Giuseppe Ungaretti (1950) et Giovanni Raboni (Racine 1984) nous ont, quant à eux, révélé un travail transhistorique remarquable. Ungaretti évoque, tout en le fractionnant, le rythme syntaxique et métrique de l'alexandrin, tandis qu'il met en place, sur le plan du lexique, une coexistence entre le contemporain concret et le classique évanescent. Il impose ainsi au texte, par la traduction, la marque d'une brisure existentielle et temporelle, faisant de *Phèdre* une œuvre de la douleur intime de fin de vie – qui n'est pas sans évoquer le désarroi avant-gardiste du plus jeune âge du poète – et de la décadence baroque, sorte d'objet poétique survivant aux ruines littéraires du classicisme. Raboni déséquilibre le rythme et suspend la langue, se servant du dispositif de l'étrangement pour signifier paradoxalement, par l'hyper-contemporain, la distance du classique par rapport au temps culturel de sa réception, tout en définissant, d'un regard historiciste, la retenue – le non-dit propre de la société racinienne – en tant que trait saillant de la pièce.[3]

TRADUIRE LES CLASSIQUES : HISTORIOGRAPHIE (OU « HISTORIOPOÉSIE » ?)

Les deux premiers mouvements de notre réflexion nous ont permis d'envisager la traduction des classiques comme un acte herméneutique du temps inscrit dans le temps. Un troisième volet s'impose, pour combler l'écart entre interprétation et écriture, pour contempler la mise en mot de ce qui a été compris.

En ce sens, un rapprochement peut être fait entre la traduction des classiques comme écriture interprétative des œuvres du passé et l'historiographie, au sens d'écriture de et sur l'histoire. Paul Ricœur (2000) nous rappelle à cet effet que l'historiographie est un processus en trois temps, articulé en une phase documentaire, une phase explicative/compréhensive, une phase scripturale/représentative. La première consiste en la collecte des documents à étudier, « l'établissement de la preuve documentaire » (2000, 169) ; la deuxième porte sur la compréhension des faits et des dynamiques du passé et vise à définir le pourquoi du passé ; la troisième correspond à l'écriture historique proprement dite et peut se définir comme « phase littéraire ou scripturale lorsqu'il s'agit du mode d'expression, phase représentative lorsqu'il s'agit de l'exposition, de la monstration, de l'exhibition de l'intention historienne prise dans l'unité de ses phases, à savoir la représentation présente des choses absentes du passé » (171). Ainsi, l'écriture historique peut être entendue « aussi bien comme mise en intrigue, disposition narrative qu'explication à proprement parler » (236). Au sujet de cette troisième phase, Ricœur précise la double connotation portée par le verbe représenter : présenter, illustrer (au sens de *vorstellen*), mais aussi tenir lieu de (au sens de *vertreten*). Dans cette deuxième acception, l'écriture historiographique acquiert une fonction de « représentance », « lieutenance » du passé (Ricœur 1985, 253–254).

Le parallélisme avec la traduction des classiques nous semble évident : en tant que travail concernant un document du passé, elle se fonde, comme l'historiographie, sur l'établissement de la source documentaire (le texte source, mais également tous les paratextes nécessaires à sa compréhension en tant que texte et en tant qu'œuvre) ; puis elle comporte un temps herméneutique de compréhension ; enfin elle impose une écriture.

Au-delà de la ressemblance entre traduction et historiographie en termes de processus, c'est l'écriture traductive qui mérite à nos yeux d'être placée au centre de l'attention comme facteur clé de l'action historio*graphique* de la traduction. Véhicule de l'expérience herméneutique du traducteur, celle-ci façonne en effet l'identité de l'œuvre en tant qu'objet du passé dans le présent de la réception.

Dans notre cadre théorique, l'écriture traductive est poïétique. Dérivé de *poïèsis* – mot aristotélicien, substantif du verbe *poiein,* « faire », « façonner » (Martin 2020) –, ce terme a pour nous une portée multiple. Parce qu'elle affiche l'action créative du traducteur, appelé à se confronter avec un produit artistique et à le reconstruire en tant que tel pour le public de destination, la notion de poïétique le définit premièrement en tant qu'auteur du classique traduit (Berman 1995 ; Bassnett et Bush 2006 viennent ici évidemment à l'esprit). Elle reconnait également au traducteur une *poétique* propre. En ce sens, elle implique la présence, chez le traducteur – en synergie, voire en symbiose, avec son horizon herméneutique – d'un parti pris traductologique en termes d'éthique traductive – quelle fonction pour la traduction, quel rôle et quelle place pour le traducteur d'un classique ? – et de projet de traduction – quelle écriture pour quel public dans quel contexte ? (Berman 1995 plus que Lefevere 1992, chargé d'une nuance idéologique que nous ne souhaitons pas revendiquer.)

Or, dans l'écriture traductive la *poïèsis* est aussi et surtout gestion de la parole, au sens que Henri Meschonnic (1982a) – sans référence au cadre herméneutique – a voulu attribuer à l'objet premier de la traduction : la forme dans son agencement, dans son mouvement, dans sa vocation à la vocalisation. De cette poétique – qui relève du rythme ou, en synonymie, de l'oralité (Meschonnic 1982b) et qui n'est pas sans rappeler la rhétorique de Le Blanc, cette « façon de rythmer, cadencer, diviser, mettre en scène le texte pour la lecture » (Le Blanc 2013, 265) – nous retenons tout particulièrement la référence au champ de l'oralité. Par ce biais, nous élargissons l'espace sémantique du rythme aux choix linguistiques, au potentiel de mise en voix, ainsi qu'au discours porté par la parole traductive (Maggi 2019). Nous mettons la poétique du rythme au centre de notre réflexion traductologique, en attribuant à la gestion de la parole en traduction la fonction de pierre de touche de l'herméneutique du traducteur. Et si Meschonnic nous apprend à prendre en compte cette dimension, nous le faisons non pas avec l'œil « rythmiquement sourcier » de celui qui demande à la traduction de documenter le rythme du classique, mais avec un regard cibliste qui demande au rythme de la traduction de révéler l'herméneutique du temps et du classique propre au traducteur.

Enfin, l'écriture traductive est poïétique car elle « fait » le classique, elle le pétrit en tant qu'objet du passé, elle le place, pour le public cible, dans l'une ou l'autre des catégories de l'herméneutique du temps que nous avons tenté d'explorer plus haut.

En ce sens, nous nous souvenons du message de Michel de Certeau, qui fait de l'*écriture de l'histoire* (1975) une pratique historique présente et conquérante, visant moins à rendre compte du passé qu'à le construire.

Poïétique, l'écriture de la traduction représente donc son objet comme l'écriture de l'histoire à la manière dont l'entend Ricœur : elle produit un classique qui s'érige en lieu et place de l'œuvre source ; et en même temps elle la relate, ou plutôt elle la raconte, en produisant un discours sur elle et sur son temps. Ainsi, elle construit pour les contemporains une image de cette œuvre. En ce sens, il nous semble pertinent de rechercher, dans l'étymologie du terme « histoire », la racine **id* du verbe « voir », qui fait de l'historiographie le récit de ce qui a été vu. Et de nous souvenir, avec Canfora (2000), qu'aux origines de la discipline se trouve justement le témoignage visuel, apprécié plus que le ouï-dire, en tant que source d'informations et gage de fiabilité.

Sur ces bases, il nous serait possible de conclure que la traduction des classiques est bel et bien une écriture de l'histoire, une historiographie, donc. En osant davantage, nous pourrions qualifier l'acte neutre du *graphein* en le chargeant de la force poïétique de l'écriture traductive, pour faire de l'écriture traductive des classiques une « historiopoésie ».

CONCLUSION

Avant de conclure notre réflexion, nous nous octroyons un corollaire, qui ouvre le récit de l'histoire de l'œuvre – déjà désobjectivé par le biais de l'action herméneutique et poïétique de la traduction – à l'univers ouvertement subjectif de la mémoire.

En effet, si dans son travail de construction de l'image du classique, la démarche historiographique de la traduction s'appuie principalement sur les sources – en l'occurrence, le texte de départ – et sur leur interprétation, elle rencontre aussi une autre dimension, à la fois complémentaire et concurrente : la mémoire du passé. Individuelle et/ou collective, celle-ci repose non pas sur le document, mais sur l'image (*sic* !) retenue d'un passé dont on aurait fait l'expérience ou reçu le témoignage, ou bien que l'on aurait appris grâce au récit historiographique. Devenue au XXe siècle un objet d'étude à part entière de l'historiographie (Le Goff 1988) en tant que phénomène anthropologique et social présidant à la réception des faits historiques, à leur élaboration, à la définition des identités et jusqu'à l'expérience du présent et à la vision de l'avenir (Monteforte 2019), la mémoire mérite d'être intégrée dans notre lecture historiographique de la traduction, en raison de son pouvoir de réfraction de l'image du passé.

La mémoire peut ainsi entrer en jeu dans la traduction des classiques à double titre : comme préjugé potentiel de l'interprétation du classique, capable d'orienter la démarche herméneutique, et comme destination possible de la traduction. En effet, dès lors que l'on reconnaît à cette dernière, en vertu de sa phase scripturale, des pouvoirs poïétiques – autrement dit, dès lors qu'on la considère capable d'engendrer des représentations – il est possible d'admettre que la traduction inscrit le classique dans la mémoire en même temps qu'il en écrit l'histoire.

NOTES

1   Se manifestant « au-delà de l'interprétation sémantique des énoncés linguistiques », lorsque « l'interprétation tend [...] à se prolonger en commentaire, dont l'ambition et la pertinence peuvent être d'ordre philosophique, esthétique et littéraire ».

2   Consistant en l'application, de la part du traducteur, de catégories interprétatives formelles (d'ordre linguistique ou discursif) ou thématiques (de l'ordre de valeurs et des représentations) qui exercent une médiation entre la langue-culture de départ et la langue-culture d'arrivée.

3   Pour une étude appliquée de l'herméneutique de la temporalité dans la traduction des classiques, nous renvoyons plus particulièrement à nos analyses ciblées de la traduction de Phèdre réalisée par Ungaretti (Maggi 2020) et de la version de Dom Juan proposée par Sanguineti (Maggi 2021).

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The translation of classics as historiography: Hermeneutics, temporality, "poièsis"

Translation of classics. Classical reception. Hermeneutics. Temporality. Historiography. Representation.

This article aims at establishing a theoretical framework for the translation of classics. Based on hermeneutics, it presents translation as a historiographical undertaking in which the present acts as the horizon in the interpretation of the past. More specifically, translation is envisaged as an act of categorization of the work of the past within the contemporary collective imagination, according to a specific experience of temporality and a given vision of the classic as a cultural object of the past. Translative writing adds to this construction with the function of a poietic instrument, capable of generating a contemporary representation of the classic while writing its history and inscribing it in memory.

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The place of the 1958 edition of Andrei Fedorov's "Introduction to Translation Theory" in the history of translation studies

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It has been 30 years since the communication barriers between Eastern and Western translation studies (TS) scholars caused by political reasons were removed. Or it seemed so. Until that time, information flow in TS had passed more or less in a one-way direction: for Eastern scholars it had been rather difficult to get access to current information in the field, but when they overcame the physical obstacles they could easily read the works of their Western colleagues written in English, German or French, the languages of their professional interest. For Western scholars it had also been rather difficult to get access to the writings of Eastern translation theorists but mostly for different reasons: very few of them were written in Western European languages so they had to be translated, but one would translate only what was worth it. In essence, the main obstacle had been an ideological one: since some sort of ideological foundation, such as the leading role of the Communist Party or a Marxist worldview, had to be mentioned in every Eastern scholarly writing (or even in prefaces or postscripts of literary works) to demonstrate their ideological flawlessness, in the eyes of the uninitiated reader, it cast doubt on the whole work and resulted in rather low interest in translating Eastern reflections on translation. And while in the 1990s a very intensive study of Western TS started in the East, followed by "an interest in and adoption of 'Western' theories at the expense of re-evaluating and responding to our own theories in the light of current trends" (Gromová and Kamenárová 2014, 108), the attitude of Western scholars towards Eastern translation theory has remained skeptical, especially towards the Soviet one, and it "has resulted in the consistent absence of Soviet scholarship in Western TS anthologies and in Western histories of the field, an absence that appears only to confirm and compound their irrelevance" (Baer 2021a, ix).

This is one of the reasons why it is only this year that the principal book of Soviet and Russian translation theory, *Vvedenie v teoriiu perevoda* (Introduction to translation theory), written by Andrei Fedorov in 1953, has become a part of West European translation studies in Brian James Baer's translation (2021c).

ANDREI FEDOROV AND HIS *INTRODUCTION TO TRANSLATION THEORY*

Andrei Fedorov (1906–1997), a man whose "biography is a bit odd"[1] (Mossop 2013/2019) from a West European point of view, was a literary scholar (a specialist on the works of the Russian Symbolists Innokentii Annenskii and Alexander Blok)

and a translator as well as a linguist, and, above all, translation theorist. It should be noted that before the publishing of his *Introduction* in English, Fedorov had not been completely unknown to Western TS, since his work had been introduced in the Western European context in two ways, directly and indirectly. The first way is represented by the only other English translation of his works, the article "The Problem of Verse Translation" (1974) published in the journal *Linguistics*. The second was based on: a) very influential but not very objective sources of information represented by Edmond Cary or Peter Brang[2] (see, e.g., Pym [2016] 2017); b) Fedorov's influence in the theorizing of Otto Kade and Itamar Even-Zohar (see Baer 2021a, x); and c) writings endeavoring to provide an objective view of Fedorov's contribution to TS, authored mainly by Slavonic or Russian studies scholars, such as Susanna Witt (2011), Brian Mossop (2013/2019) or Larisa Schippel (2017). The increasing number of such works in recent years is a good sign of a possible move towards a general translation theory – an ideal TS has been trying to achieve from the very beginning:

> A [...] prerequisite for the development of a full-blown general theory of translation is that we each need to know more about what the other is doing. [...] It is unfortunate that, given the limited knowledge of Russian in the West, so much [...] remains a closed book to so many of us (Holmes [1978] 2005, 102).

The first English translation of *Fedorov's Introduction to Translation Theory* (as its translator Baer entitled it) may help TS get closer to this ideal aim or at least to the "synthesis of opinions in translation theory"[3] (Fedorov 1966), of which Fedorov dreamed, and thus become such a turning point, such "a real revolution in science of translation" (Garbovskiy and Kostikova 2012, 54) as was its original back in 1953.

> The key principle of Fedorov's theory was the principle of translatability [*perevodimost*], that is, the possibility of a full value translation [*polnotsennyi perevod*], which is achievable only when we proceed not on the basis of individual elements separately rendered, but on the basis of the complex whole [*slozhnoe tseloe*] in which those elements are found and which lends them their specific meaning (Fedorov 1953, 100; Baer 2021c, 82),

> for what is important in translation is the correlation [*sootvetstvie*] not of one individual feature or of a simple collection of features, but the correlation of entire systems [*tselaia sistema*], in which everything is mutually conditioned [*vsë vzaimoobuslovleno*] (17; 11).

Fedorov applied a Russian Formalist systems-based approach to the study of literature, an adaptation of Saussurian linguistics, to the study of translation (cf. Baer 2021a), and this Saussurian view of translation enabled him to develop a foundation for general principles that can be applied to all kinds of translation. It was possible only if there was a common denominator "and the most obvious common denominator was language" (Mossop 2013/2019). This was the most revolutionary idea, for "Fedorov was the first to argue that translation theorizing should be based on linguistics, due to the fact that language is the common denominator of all translation" (Baer 2021a, i). For that reason, Fedorov's book is considered the beginning of a linguistics-based translation theory in Russia.

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CONFUSING TERMINOLOGY

When explaining the approach used in his book, Fedorov uses two adjectives that may function as synonyms – *lingvisticheskii* (linguistic; connected with the study of language) and *iazykovoi* (linguistic; connected with language):

> as translation always has to do with language, always involves working with language, translation demands to be studied primarily from a linguistic perspective [*v lingvisticheskom razreze*] related to the nature of the relationship between the two languages involved and their stylistic means of expression. Moreover, the study of translation in literary contexts constantly runs up against the necessity of examining linguistic phenomena [*iazykovye iavleniia*], analysing and evaluating the linguistic resources [*iazykovye sredstva*] used by translators (Fedorov 1953, 13; Baer 2021c, 8–9).

The publication of Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* triggered the famous polemical debate concerning literary translation (cf., e.g., Azov 2013; Witt 2016; Pym [2016] 2017; Baer 2021a) in which literary translation theorists (led by Ivan Kashkin) reproached Fedorov for reducing translation of literature to mere linguistic operations and argued that literary translation cannot be studied from the point of view of linguistics (cf. Kashkin [1954] 1977). But Fedorov understood translation as both a creative activity (*tvorcheskaia deiateľnosť*; 1953, 7; Baer 2021c, 4) and a stylistic operation in its broadest sense. For Fedorov, "the fundamental task for translation theory, as a linguistic discipline, appears most vividly in the context of stylistics [*v stilisticheskom razreze*]" (18; 12).

After the criticism of his *Introduction*, Fedorov revised it and in 1958 the book was published with a subtitle added: *Vvedenie v teoriu perevoda (Lingvisticheskie problemy)* (Introduction to translation theory [Linguistic problems]). After that it was revised and republished two more times (in 1968 and 1983), with the title of the book changed into *Osnovy obshchei teorii perevoda (Lingvisticheskii ocherk)* (Fundamentals of general translation theory [A linguistic essay]) and *Osnovy obshchei teorii perevoda (Lingvisticheskie problemy)* (Fundamentals of general translation theory [Linguistic problems]) respectively (the unaltered 1983 edition was republished again in 2002). In each of the versions of the book Fedorov not only revised the text and updated the information (without substantially changing the book's composition), but also again and again explained his "linguistic" position (except the 1983 edition), trying to support it by adding subheadings to the book, but it did not make things any clearer. The word "linguistic" seemed to cast a spell on the readers, especially the proponents of the literary approach to translation, for many decades.

Fedorov's linguistics, however, seems to differ from the linguistics in the works of such Russian linguistics-oriented translation theorists as Iakov Retsker, Leonid Barkhudarov, Alexander Shveitser or Vilen Komissarov. The contribution of these theorists' works to the development of Russian TS is indisputable, and yet their view of translation is narrower than Fedorov's – contrary to Fedorov's stylistic (in its broadest possible sense) approach, they all formulated "purely" linguistic specific translation theories. So even though Fedorov himself termed his theory as linguistic, the term "a language-oriented, language-based approach" (Mossop 2013/2019) seems more apt.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE WEST ELIMINATED

So if in Fedorov's native country such misunderstandings concerning his book occurred, how could it have been understood in the West where intermediaries are needed? It is necessary to ask the right questions if something does not make sense. This is what Anthony Pym (Pym and Ayvazyan 2014) did when Brian Mossop drew attention to "the remarkable" (2010) book by Fedorov as probably "the first sustained argument (330 pages!) for a language-based rather than a literary theory of translation" (Mossop 2013/2019). The important thing here is that Pym was the first Western scholar outside Russian or Slavonic studies (i.e. not reading Russian) to not only notice that but also to try to learn more. Together with Nune Ayvazyan, they have done what the Russian literary translation theorists in the 1950s and later should have done: They have thoroughly read what Fedorov wrote to find that his book provides "the complex unitary concept of translation" (Pym and Ayvazyan 2014, 15). Some of the questions that arose while reading the book Pym answered himself (Pym [2016] 2017), some were answered by Baer (2021a; 2021b).

Perhaps the most important here was the question: "Could we have read it so wrongly?" (Pym and Ayvazyan 2014, 14). Pym's research shows us that a scholar may sometimes act as an "unreliable narrator" (like E. Cary), that translation is sometimes the source of the greatest misunderstandings in TS, that one should analyze a scholarly writing as if it was a text to be translated, with all its extra-textual aspects (e.g. that it is crucial to read the source itself, but the source may not be enough when dealing with text from another "ideological world"), and that questions from a person from outside our field of interest (e.g. Russian studies, in this case) or belonging to another generation, however naïve they may seem, should be answered and not be ridiculed as being obvious because they make us reconsider the obviousness.

Today Western TS scholars have the whole text of Fedorov's 1953 *Introduction* at their disposal. The editor's and translator's commentary in the book, as well as a number of writings on the topic, may help in better understanding the text that was written in the country and in the times where and when people knew how to read between the lines. Moreover, there is one more source that is worth reading in this context – the second, 1958 edition of Fedorov's book.

WHY SHOULD WE READ THE 1958 EDITION OF FEDOROV'S *INTRODUCTION TO TRANSLATION THEORY*?

First, the 1958 edition is less ideological. Although it still contains chapters on Marx's, Engels's and Lenin's views on translation, the chapter "Vital issues concerning translation theory in light of Joseph Stalin's teaching on linguistics" (or, to be more precise, all references to Stalin in it), which may deter a Western reader from reading the book, was omitted. While Mossop (2013/2019) and Pym (Pym and Ayvazyan 2014) are willing to admit that it was a thing that had to be said at the time, Baer argues that "Fedorov was genuinely elated when in 1950 Stalin definitively refuted the theories of Nikolai Marr, who had dominated Soviet linguistics since the 1930s" (2021a, xxiv), but this does not mean he was elated to cite "the brilliant work [*genial'nyi trud*] of Stalin" (2021c, 80; Fedorov 1953, 97). The omission

of the chapter could be explained as warranted by favorable political circumstances – after Stalin's cult of personality was condemned in 1956, all references to him had to be removed from books. But Fedorov's attitude in this respect is revealed by his style – in all the passages reflecting official Soviet ideology, there is no emotional involvement, Fedorov just uses typical ideological clichés (e.g. "decadent works of bourgeois authors") and sometimes even "just switches to the dumb language of purges and public scolding [*tupoi iazyk chistok i prorabotok*]" (Fokin 2016, 171) that first occurred in his 1941 work *O khudozhestvennom perevode* (On artistic translation). Concerning the chapters on Marx, Engels and Lenin, one would certainly not refer to them as to translation theorists, but the material provided in the chapter is relevant to the topic of the book and shows Fedorov's professional interest in it.

In the "Introduction to the second edition" Fedorov explains why a substantial revision of the book was necessary. There were several reasons: a lasting interest in the problems of translation, a high number of works on translation that had occurred after the publication of the first edition and the critical comments on the first edition. The main objections to the first edition concerned the undue broadening of the competences of linguistics. Fedorov admits that in the first edition some of his formulations regarding the role of linguistics in translation may have been too radical. "The categorical nature of these formulations, apparently, overshadowed everything that was said [...] about the multifacetedness [*mnogostoronnost'*] of study translation requires and about the possibility of different ways of studying it, not mutually exclusive"[4] (1958, 4). He points out that much more research in the field of linguistic aspects of translation is necessary so that translation theory as a philological discipline could be formed.

Most of the text of the "Introduction to the second edition" is a response to the objections or accusations of Ivan Kashkin (expressed in Kashkin [1954] 1977, [1955] 1977). More clearly than in the first edition, Fedorov formulates the core ideas of his theory.

> In any translation (including literary translation) language is in no way a mere auxiliary means [*vspomogatel'noe sredstvo raboty*]. Any problem solved in translation (ideological and cognitive – in relation to scientific writing or ideological and aesthetic – in relation to literature) is solved only by the means of language [*iazykovye sredstva*]. Of course, the ideologically correct interpretation of the original, penetration into its artistic uniqueness and high qualities of the translator – all these are necessary prerequisites for solving the problem, but the means of solving it (certainly not an end in itself) is language (1958, 5).

In order to prevent misunderstandings concerning literary translation Fedorov is more specific about it:

> [S]ince in translation, compared to the original literary work, such tasks as the search for a theme and for a hero, the creation of a plot, its composition etc. do not arise, it is language that becomes the main and only area of the *creative activity* [*tvorchestvo*] of the translator as the one who interprets [*istolkovatel'*] and expresses [*vyrazitel'*] the author's intention. Images of the original, expressed by certain means of language, can be rendered, "re-expressed" [*perevyrazheny*] in translation only by certain means (in very many cases formally distant) of the other language (6).

In the introduction to the second edition of the book Fedorov also explains that the two main areas of translation issues are the same as in the first edition: first, general problems related to language that are common to all types of translation are discussed, and second, the specific features of the translation of various types of textual material are examined. He once again emphasizes that

> it is not a book on literary translation as such [...], that literary translation, being the highest form of translation activity [*vysshaia forma perevodcheskoi deiatel'nosti*], is discussed only as a part of the general problem of translation, but the most principal and complex part [*printsipial'neishaia i slozhneishaia*] [...], and that from all the vast problem of literary translation there are highlighted some special linguistic problems that are crucial from the point of view of translatability [*perevodimost'*] (8).

The 1958 edition is more elaborate than the first edition and its arrangement is more logical. Especially in the first chapter, in which the aims of the theoretical study of translation are discussed, new definitions were added. For example, the foundation of the book is defined here as linguistic in the broad sense of the word, "i.e. including the stylistic issues of language in literary works"[5] (16). And the aims of a language-based translation theory are given as follows:

> Translation theory in its linguistic aspect should analyze, explain and summarize the facts of translation experience, it should establish correspondences and differences [*sootvetstvia i raskhozhdenia*] between languages. It should serve as a scientific foundation for translation practice. On the basis of the general regularities [*obshchie zakonomernosti*] revealed by translation theory, specific conclusions can further be drawn in relation to individual special cases. At the same time, it is, of course, necessary to avoid any kind of stereotypes in resolving translation issues. The development of normative principles or "rules" [*normativnye printsipy ili "pravila"*] of translation is possible only to a limited extent and always in a relatively general form. [...] A decisive role is always played by the context, the specific case (19).

The 1958 edition, of course, contains all the fundamental information of the first edition, the most fundamental being this definition of the act of translation, with a slight but significant change compared to the first edition: "The act of translation [...] signifies the faithful [1953: accurate] and complete expression through the means available in one language that which was already expressed by the means available in another language in an inseparable unity of content and form"[6] (11; 1953, 7; Baer 2021c, 4). The translator's task therefore lies

> in the constant search for the linguistic means to express the unity of content and form represented by the original, and in the selection of linguistic means from among the various options. This process of searching and selection is in all cases [*v liubom sluchae*] a *creative* one [*tvorcheskii kharakter*] (14; 12; 7–8; Fedorov's emphasis missing in Baer's translation added).

It should be noted, however, that for Fedorov *any* translation is a creative process (creative *in all cases*), "a form of creative activity in the field of language [*forma tvorcheskoi deiatel'nosti v oblasti iazyka*]" (11; 7; 4) so the creative aspect of translation is not reduced to only literary translation.

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Another fundamental element of Fedorov's theory is the term "full-value [adequate, *polnotsennyi*] translation": "A full value translation entails exhaustive [*accuracy in*] rendering the semantic content of the original and full value functional-stylistic correspondence with it"[7] (132; 111; 92; the words in brackets were left out in the 1958 edition). Fedorov uses the term "*adekvatnyi* [adequate]"[8], already existing in the Russian translation theory (Azov 2013; Ayvazyan and Pym 2017; Baer 2021a), together with the Russian word "*polnotsennyi*". It again can be explained by the political circumstances. "Protecting the integrity of the Russian language became a leitmotif in late Stalinist Russia, where the use of foreign words would be increasingly associated not only with aestheticism and small-f formalism but also with a fawning attitude toward the West" (Baer 2021a, xxiii). It is interesting, however, that Fedorov never gave up on the loan word. In the later editions of his *Introduction* (1968, 1983) he uses both words as synonyms and in his 1966 article he writes that it was Aleksandr Smirnov and himself who defined the term *adekvatnost'* or *polnotsennost'* as "concerning all types of translation [...] and therefore being a concept of the general theory of translation [*iavliaetsia kategoriei obshchei teorii perevoda*]" (Fedorov 1966, 56).

One might ask: Why read the 1958 edition and not, for example, the latest one ([1983] 2002) in which Fedorov updated the information about the newest trends (1980s) in TS and the translation examples? On one hand, the last edition still contains the chapters on Marx, Engels and Lenin; on the other hand, the chapters on documentary business and technical material are omitted, so it does not contain all the basic genres of the translated material. But what is most important, in the definition of the act of translation the formulation about *inseparable unity of content and form* is missing.

CONCLUSION

According to Andrei Fedorov, "every translation is a window in another world [*okno v drugoi mir*]" (1988, 137). Brian Baer's translation of *Fedorov's Introduction to Translation Theory* opened such a window to another world, to "Europe's *internal* other" (Baer 2011, 1) that, let us hope, may after that become part of *us*.

The 1953 edition of Fedorov's book is a classic, a milestone, because "without the unified approach to translation made possible first by Fedorov and then by others, the translation schools might never have given birth to Translation Studies" (Mossop 2013/2019). But there is another version of this book, its 1958 edition, that maintained all the qualities of the classic while its deficiencies were reduced. It is by no means a "hopelessly outdated" book (Azov 2012, 136); on the contrary, its reader, just like the reader of the first edition, "is likely to be astonished at the high level of sophistication and erudition of Fedorov's work" (Baer 2021, x). Fedorov himself appreciated clarity of expression and in contemporary (1980s) linguistics-based translation theory he pointed out to "the tendency to the greatest possible accuracy and rigor of explanation, to the maximum terminological differentiation of concepts, in fact leading to certain (sometimes large) complexity, 'encodedness', not always justified by the degree of complexity of the subject" ([1983] 2002, 133). In his writings he sometimes used light irony, but, as the translator Levon Mkrtch'ian, Fedorov's student, wrote, he "argues well, respectfully, and the unhurried softness of his tone conveys the firmness of his positions"[9] (1984).

Moreover, in Fedorov's work, way of thinking, and writing we can see not only his scholarly qualities, but also his qualities as a person – his key concepts in terms of translation: objectivity and responsibility seemed to be the values he aspired to in his life. "There are a hundred petty nationalisms operative in translation theory: every tradition invented its most valuable concepts first; every nation deserves better international recognition of its contribution" (Ayvazyan and Pym 2017, 240). Perhaps they are not nationalisms, but it is just personal ambition hiding behind them, as we could see in the case of Kashkin (or in Pym 2015) and his attitude to Fedorov – Kashkin, as a literary translator himself, must have known that Fedorov's approach to describing translation, including literary translation, was right (while he himself not being able to define his own term "realist translation" [*realisticheskii perevod*], see Kashkin [1955] 1977, cf. also Azov 2012), but he simply could not allow anyone and anything to threaten his position and status of the founder of a translation school (see Kashkin [1954] 1977). This is what Fedorov would never have done. His students remember him as "a genuinely principled [*po nastoiashchemu printsipial'nyi*], good and honest man" (phoenix-germani [Maiboroda] 2006) with "impeccable aristocratic manners [*bezuprechnaia aristokraticheskaia manera*]" (Kalashnikova 2013). Maurice Friedberg compares Fedorov with Roman Jakobson:

> Jakobson's range of scholarly interests was exceptionally broad, so it was natural for him to write that a linguist should be sensitive to the poetic function of language and *vice versa.* Andrei Fedorov [...] was a linguist of that kind. However, Jakobson and Fedorov were exceptions among scholars (1997, 72).

Fedorov's Introduction to Translation Theory is an exceptional text, a proof that "manuscripts don't burn" and that it is worth turning "to the text, to the written word that survives across history" (Pym and Ayvazyan 2014, 14).

NOTES

[1] For more on A. Fedorov's work and/or life see, e.g., Schippel (2017), Mossop (2013/2019), Baer (2021c), Pym ([2016] 2017), Shakhova (2021), Friedberg (1997), Azov (2013), Fokin (2016).

[2] Apart from the case referred to by A. Pym, P. Brang's essay was the only source of information about Fedorov's *Introduction to Translation Theory* for Katharina Reiss (2014) "because the Russian original was not available" (19) in 1971 when the German original of her book was published.

[3] Certain moves in this direction have already been made, e.g., in Pym ([2016] 2017).

[4] If not mentioned otherwise, all quotations from Fedorov (1958) are translated by author, with the terms or phrases that are similar or the same as in 1953 edition borrowed from B.J. Baer's translation.

[5] "т. е. включая и вопросы стилистики художественной речи"

[6] "перевести – значит выразить верно [1953: точно] и полно средствами одного языка то, что уже выражено средствами другого языка в неразрывном единстве содержания и формы"

[7] "Полноценность перевода означает исчерпывающую передачу [1953: точность в передаче] смыслового содержания подлинника и полноценное функционально-стилистическое соответствие ему."

[8] On using the term *adequate* in English see Baer 2021b.

[9] "Полемизирует А. Федоров хорошо, уважительно, а в неторопливой мягкости тона – твёрдость его позиций."

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The place of the 1958 edition of Andrei Fedorov's "Introduction to Translation Theory" in the history of translation studies

Andrei Fedorov. "Introduction to Translation Theory." Russian translation studies. Saussurian views of translation.

It is usually the first edition of a book that takes a significant place in the history of a particular area of knowledge. In the case of the translation studies classic, Andrei Fedorov's *Introduction in Translation Theory* (1953), its second, revised 1958 edition is no less significant. Free from references to Stalin's ideas on translation (compared to the first edition), being more elaborate and still containing all the exhaustive definitions of the first edition, it can not only be read as a basis for a general translation theory, but also used as a handbook of translation practice.

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Literature translated from Dutch in the Czech publishing house Družstevní práce during the Nazi occupation

WILKEN ENGELBRECHT

Družstevní práce (Cooperative Labour, hereafter DP) was among the most important Czech publishing houses. As it was a joint venture of readers, editors and publishers, it survived even after the communist law on the publishing and distribution of books liquidated most private publishers.[1] Nevertheless, DP was gradually suppressed until the publishing concession was cancelled in 1952. Fortunately, a considerable part of its archive is preserved in the National Literary Archive in Prague (Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví, LA PNP). Among these are the minutes of DP's editorial board, plans, and correspondence with Czech authorities (Knap 1971, 2, 197), giving us insight into discussions about foreign literary works proposed for publication. This article demonstrates how proposed translations from Dutch were treated by the board depending on the current political situation.

After a survey of DP's history and a sketch of the political situation in the 1930s and 1940s, a short survey of the development of Czech translations from Dutch will be provided. Dutch and Flemish literary works served as a literary "escape route" for publishers unwilling to publish Nazi-friendly literature during the World War II. Usually DP returned rejected materials to the writers or foreign publishers, but some complete translations are preserved in the archives, which were postponed for publication until after the liberation of Czechoslovakia or were never published at all. The attack on the Deputy Reich Protector Reinhard Heydrich in May 1942 and the consequent Nazi retaliation on the Czech population (the so-called *Heydrichiade*) were also a turning point for Czech translations of foreign literature.

THE PUBLISHING HOUSE DRUŽSTEVNÍ PRÁCE

The idea behind Družstevní práce was that books could be cheaper if financially supported jointly by readers, writers and designers. Members of DP were supposed to purchase at least four publications annually. Conversely, they had the right to propose book titles, to recommend illustrators, and to vote on books to be published. Prior to the occupation, DP had 25,000 members, their numbers increased to 45,000 during the war, and just before the closure of DP in 1951 there were 100,000 members. The general trend of the house was pacifistic and humanistic, with a left-wing tendency (Havel 1985). DP originally had two main series: the first, and largest, Živé knihy A (Living books A), was aimed at the average DP reader, being middle class

people, offering both Czech and translated literary works, while the second, *Živé knihy B*, aimed at more discerning readers.

Since the middle of the 19th century, it had become a Czech tradition that "high literature" was to be translated directly from the source language (Engelbrecht 2021, 47–52). This was the reason why, in the case of translations of Dutch-language literature, DP cooperated with specialised literary translators Lída Faltová (1890–1944) and Rudolf J. Vonka (1877–1964), both of whom had contacts with the Dutch literary scene.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AND CENSORSHIP

After 1933, Czechoslovakia was gradually becoming an isolated island of democracy on the changing map of East Central Europe. With the Munich Agreement of 30 September 1938, Hitler annexed all its German-speaking peripheral regions and a fascist regime was installed in what remained of the country. A consequence of this was the establishment of a Central Censorship Commission (Ústřední cenzorní komise, ÚCK) subordinate to the Press Office of the Presidium of the Ministerial Council (tiskový odbor Předsednictva ministerské rady, TO PMR) and of a National Cultural Council. The latter declared a new cultural policy on 20 December 1938 in its manifesto *O novou národní kulturu* (For a new national culture):

> The blow dealt to our nation and state was caused both by political reasons and by the internal confusion in our spiritual life. […] Let us cast out all creative destructiveness, moral coarseness, villainy, cowardice; let us also arouse in art a sense of honour, heroism, discipline and order. It was not our people who were defeated, but the erring ideas. The basis of all creative life must be sovereign values: fatherland, land, nation, God (Malý 1938, 233).[2]

This practically meant elimination of such "erring ideas". When Slovakia declared its independence on 14 March 1939, Hitler occupied the remainder of the Czech Lands, turning them into the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. In April 1939, the Association of Czech Booksellers and Publishers (Svaz českých knihkupců a nakladatelů) edited a list of 744 titles to be excluded from public libraries and bookshops (Poláček 2004, 78). This list was reworked several times until the final *Liste des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren* of 31 March 1944 comprised about 2,400 entries concerning some 10,000 titles (138–141). This was a Czech version of the German index published in 1935 that was regularly updated until 1943 (Sturge 2004, 28–29). Like the German index, the Czech one was also strictly confidential and for internal use by the censors.

In Bohemia, 1942 was a turning point. Initially, the Nazis believed that it would be enough to eliminate the left-wing elite and lead the population gently into submission. As resistance grew, in September 1941 Hitler appointed Reinhard Heydrich as Deputy Reich Protector to suppress disobedience. When Heydrich began to liquidate the Czech resistance, the government in exile decided to assassinate him. The attack took place on 27 May 1942 and the severely wounded Heydrich died several days later. The Nazis' retribution included the execution of 539 Czech intellectuals held as hostages.

In 1942, responsibility for censorship was transferred to the Ministry of Public Information (Ministerstvo lidové osvěty, MLO), and it became harsher.[3] The head of the ÚCK,[4] August von Hoop (1899–1946), a German-speaking Czech who was before 1939 editor of the daily *Prager Presse*,[5] tried to change the orientation of Czech publications towards "useful themes" like "the apotheosis of motherhood". It was also decreed that literature in translation, but not of German works, should be limited. Thus while the overall number of translations fell sharply, the share of translations from German increased to 70% in 1944 (Janáček 2015, 948–953). Of course, this had repercussions on the production of translations of Dutch-language literature. Several books for which royalties had already been paid or of which translations were ready, could not be published, officially due to a "paper shortage" or because preference was being given to translations from German. For instance, the non-fiction book *Geheimen van ruimte en tijd* (Secrets of space and time), by Herko Groot (1890–1974), for which permission was applied in October 1942, was not allowed with a delay of two years, the reason being: "The submission of non-German foreign-language literature is to be restricted significantly, taking into account the measures in paper management."[6]

Towards 1945, the total number of publications decreased significantly. DP's archives contain the reports that had to be submitted to the MLO every half year, and as of June 1942, monthly. As the end of the war approached, its effect could be seen in the last brief report: "We did not publish a single book in the month of April 1945."[7]

DUTCH-LANGUAGE LITERATURE IN CZECH TRANSLATION

Although Dutch is a rather peripheral language, its literature has been translated into many languages since the middle of the 19th century. Between 1846 and 1938, some 275 works were translated into Czech, including nearly all important titles of that period. From the Dutch point of view, these are rather large numbers, surpassing the number of Dutch books rendered into Hungarian (some 30 titles) and Polish (85). From the Czech point of view, however, Dutch was a niche literature: only some 0.65% of all translations in this period were from Dutch.

As nearly from all other source languages, Czech translations from Dutch began in the 1840s, in this case with the novels by Hendrik Conscience (1812–1883), the main author of the Flemish Movement struggling for equality with the French in Belgium. Since the Czechs had a similar language struggle with German-speakers, Conscience's social novels were of interest to them. At the fin de siècle, several writers such as Louis Couperus (1863–1923), the dramatist Herman Heijermans (1864–1924) and the anti-colonial writer Multatuli [Eduard Douwes Dekker] (1820–1887) received attention in serious periodicals. At the beginning of the 20th century, contemporary authors like the late Romantic Modernist Frederik van Eeden (1860–1932) and the internationally popular Flemish writer of regional novels Felix Timmermans (1886–1947) were translated. Czech publication trends generally followed the tendencies of the German book market.

In the 1930s, when Faltová and Vonka began translating, direct connections between Czech publishers and their Dutch and Flemish counterparts were established. This resulted in a boom in translations from Dutch, which appeared in various literary series, like Rudolf Škeřík's Symposium, the European book club (Evropský literární klub, ELK) of the liberal house Sfinx or DP's Živé knihy. Czech writers and Dutch and Flemish authors began to meet each other through the PEN club. As rural literature was a popular Czech genre during the 1930s, works by Flemish writers such as Ernest Claes (1885–1968) and Timmermans or Dutch authors such as Antoon Coolen (1897–1961) were often translated and their work was discussed extensively by the theorist of rural literature, Antonín Matula (1885–1953), in his *Hlasy země v evropských literaturách* (The voices of earth in European literatures, 1933). The literary agent Vincy Schwarz (1902–1942) negotiated most of the contracts for Dutch and Flemish works to be translated into Czech in the 1930s and 1940s.[8]

DUTCH TRANSLATIONS DURING THE 1940s

The average number of Dutch titles translated into Czech up until 1930 was about three per year. This number doubled in the 1930s, while 61 translations were published during the German occupation, two-thirds of them being new translations, followed by 42 translations (incl. eight reprints) in 1946–1948. This meant a significant increase to nearly nine translations per year during the occupation,[9] and up to 14 per year in the three post-war years. This was due to the growing number of "enemy" languages banned by the Nazi regime: in September 1939, all British and French literature was forbidden except classics like Shakespeare, in July 1941 all Russian and Polish authors, and in December 1941 all American writers (Janáček 2015, 945). The literature of minor occupied nations, such as Belgian, Danish, Dutch, Norwegian, Serbian and Slovenian, was allowed. Translations from these languages filled in the gaps previously held by major languages in many series (Poláček 2004, 117). The Czech situation was similar to that in Germany (Sturge 2004, 62–66; Van Uffelen 1993, 275–276), which is no surprise as the Protectorate was treated as a more or less autonomous part of the Reich.

An increase in Dutch translated works was visible in all of the major publishing houses that offered such authors before the war: the liberal houses Albert, ELK and Sfinx, the literary series Symposium, the Catholic house Vyšehrad, the social-democrat Melantrich and the cooperative DP. Due to its middle-class orientation, DP had authors cherished by Dutch and Flemish readers: in addition to Multatuli, they included the popular Flemish writer Felix Timmermans, the Dutch historical novelist Johan Fabricius (1899–1981), and the Dutch novelist and journalist Madelon Lulofs (1899–1958), who criticized the colonial system in the Dutch East Indies. Before the war, Timmermans, Fabricius and Lulofs were quite popular with Czech readers as well.

DRUŽSTEVNÍ PRÁCE AND DUTCH AND FLEMISH LITERATURE DURING THE OCCUPATION

After 1939, an increasing number of Dutch-language works were mentioned in the minutes of DP's editorial board, culminating in April 1942, when such works were one-third of all books discussed. The others were mostly works by Scandina-

vian authors or original Czech literature. In those years, DP published seven novels of Dutch or Flemish origin (Appendix I, A). The two which came out in 1939 were planned before the occupation, all titles published in 1940 and 1941 were reprints of pre-war publications, and just the Czech edition of *De Vlaschaard* (The Flaxfield) by Stijn Streuvels (1871–1969) was a new one. Eight prepared titles were forbidden (Appendix I, B) and six works were discussed but not translated during the occupation (Appendix I, C).

That Streuvels's novel was published is no coincidence. As Kate Sturge (2004, 63, 110) remarks, Flemish rural literature was officially favoured because it was a politically "kindred" literature, and Streuvels was one of two favorites, the other being Timmermans. They were ideologically interpreted as representatives of *Blut-und-Boden-Literatur*. Both received the Nazi Rembrandt-Preis, Streuvels in 1936 and Timmermans in 1942.[10] Their work, however, did not really propagate Nazi ideology, and, from a Czech point of view, it was important that Streuvels was among the few writers who participated in the 1938 PEN congress in Prague, explicitly supporting the Czech case (Engelbrecht 2021, 203–205). Thus, his novel was acceptable from an anti-Nazi view as well.

The re-edition of Fabricius's *De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe* (The cabin boys of Bontekoe) was allowed because the novel was seen as youth literature. Nevertheless, Fabricius, an outspoken anti-Nazi, fled to England in 1940, where he became one of the voices of the Free Dutch radio aimed at the occupied Netherlands. This fact must have become clear to the ÚCK, and DP's request for permission of a third edition of his successful novel *De leeuwen hongeren in Napels* (The lions starve in Naples) was rejected without mentioning a reason.

The editorial board discussed 24 works in Dutch between April 1939 and April 1942 (Appendix II) but after May 1942, the ÚCK restricted all translations other than those from German, and no further Dutch-language work was mentioned. This was due to the *Heydrichiade*, the Nazi retaliations for the attack on Heydrich, in which many Czech intellectuals became victims of Nazi atrocities. Among them was the main literary agent Vincy Schwarz, whom the Gestapo had arrested in March 1942, and was executed by a firing squad on 30 June 1942. Schwarz's archives, containing agreements and correspondence with dozens of authors from about 40 countries, were seized by the Gestapo and have never been found (Václavek 1966, 8).

The minutes of the editorial board after 1942 limit themselves mostly to decisions. For this reason, it is not impossible that Dutch-language literature was discussed, but this fact was not registered in the minutes. The works discussed during the said period were similar to those during the interwar period. The main portion consisted of books by middlebrow authors like Fabricius, several of whose novels already published before the war were suggested for republication, and Godfried Bomans, a Catholic writer of humorous works (1913–1971), whose 1941 novel *Eric of het klein insectenboek* (Eric in the land of the insects) was proposed for translation. Faltová signed a translator's contract but due to her deteriorating health was not able to translate it; she died on 8 December 1944.

Before the war, DP published several left-wing writers, including the Socialist Jef Last (1898–1972) and the Flemish journalist Lode Zielens (1901–1944), a writer of social realist novels.[11] Regarding the latter, in 1937 DP had acquired the rights to his popular 1932 novel *Moeder, waarom leven wij?* (Mother, why do we live?), a Marxist-leaning work about a worker's family in Antwerp. The house planned to publish it in autumn 1939, but, after the occupation, it was clear that the book would have no chance of getting the permission of the ÚCK. Thus, DP postponed publication, but the novel was even not published after the war. Interestingly, DP tried to publish the novel *Stiefmoeder Aarde* (Stepmother Earth) by the communist Dutch writer Theun de Vries (1907–2005). Faltová corresponded in July 1937 on behalf of DP with his publisher Van Loghum Slaterus, and an agreement was signed in October 1937. The translation was ready in June 1939 but the publication planned for November 1939 was stopped by DP's directors due to the fact that Bohemia was already under German occupation. The editors were requested to reconsider whether the novel's publication would be convenient, as it was a rural novel about the Frisian countryside, but the author was left-leaning.[12] For this reason, board member Vladimír Procházka (1895–1968) promised in December 1940 to assess the "suitability" of the book.[13] His report must have been negative, as DP communicated on 15 October 1942 to Van Loghum Slaterus: "The Czech edition of your work by Theun de Vries, 'Stiefmoeder Aarde' has not yet been realized because of obstacles that are not under our control. We have this matter on record and will notify you as soon as we can continue with the same."[14]

Exactly half of the works discussed belonged to the regional genre and most of the authors were Catholic. In the interwar period, DP considered such writers less useful for its mostly left-wing readers. Thus, rural novels were often published by the liberal house Sfinx and its partner ELK: the Flemish writers Ernest Claes, Valère Depauw (1912–1994), Streuvels and Gerard Walschap (1898–1989) and the Dutch Coolen. Felix Timmermans, the most important Flemish regional author, was, however, a "DP author". It can be seen from the minutes of the editorial board that DP tried to take over promising rural authors from competing publishers during the war.

In June 1940, the board discussed the possibility of publishing a new edition of Timmerman's *Boerenpsalm* (Farmer's psalm), his only major work being not in DP collections. This did not work out and, moreover, two other works by Timmermans were published in 1942 and 1943 by Škeřík.[15] In the case of Streuvels and Walschap, DP succeeded. The fact that the board was aware of encroaching on the domain of Sfinx is clear from the discussion in the board meeting of 3 December 1941, when the secretary Vojtěch Hanč (1906–1997) remarked that Sfinx/ELK had an option on Walschap's oeuvre. DP succeeded in the acquisition of two novels by Walschap, the children's story *De vierde koning* (The fourth king) and his novel *Adelaïde*. Due to wartime conditions, however, neither was published. Of the first book, a complete translation is present in the archive but DP did not try to gain the permission of the MLO, and *Adelaïde* came out in 1947 from another publisher.

The ÚCK recommended to publish more non-fiction. This is reflected in the minutes. In the case of "a colonial novel by Multatuli" (his *Max Havelaar*, published in 1947 in a translation by Vonka), *Rumeiland* (Rum island) by the very productive and prolific author Simon Vestdijk (1898–1971) and Streuvels' *Prutske*, the board recalled that too many novels had been accepted. In order to have more non-fiction books, the board recommended the books *Vangen en jagen in Sumatra's wildernis* (Catch and hunt in Sumatra's wilderness) by Abraham C. van der Valk (1898–after 1939), and Groot's *Geheimen van ruimte en tijd* (Secrets of space and time). Both were translated, publication permission was requested but not obtained.

Due to wartime circumstances and the growing number of unpermitted books, DP's economic situation became precarious. This was often explicitly mentioned in 1943 and 1944 by DP's directors in requests for publication permission. Nevertheless, DP tried to maintain its standards. Thus, the novel *De vos en zijn staart* (The fox and his tail) by the Dutch novelist Cees Kelk (1901–1981), *De afrekening* (The settlement) by the Flemish Catholic regional author André Demedts (1906–1992), and Streuvels' *Prutske* were rejected as not interesting enough. Flemish writers openly collaborating with the Nazis, such as Cyriel Verschaeve (1874–1949), Filip De Pillecyn (1891–1962), and Ferdinand Vercnocke (1906–1989), were never translated into Czech.

CONCLUSION

After the war, DP could proudly state that it did not publish any Nazi work during the occupation (Cerman 1945, 109; Havel 1985, 604). Just as Catholic publishers had acted in Germany (van Uffelen 1993, 260–261), DP used the position of Flemish regional authors as a "kindred" literature to fill the gaps in its book series caused by the bans on "enemy" literatures. Their works were acceptable, yet it was not Nazi literature.

The fact that the index of banned works was confidential caused uncertainty as which authors were allowed and which banned, and as in Germany, this led to self-censorship. A clear example was *De vierde koning* by Walschap. Notwithstanding the fact that royalties were paid, the translation was made and the publication planned, DP decided not to ask for publication permission.

In the end, just one of the ten books recommended by DP's editorial board and accepted by the directors for publication – *Lniště*, the translation of *De Vlaschaard* by the popular Flemish author and Belgian PEN member Streuvels – was among the seven books published by DP during the war, while several planned and translated works were published after the liberation, either by DP or by other publishers.

ARCHIVAL FONDS

Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví, Prague, Fond 70/57, Družstevní práce.
Letterenmuseum, The Hague, fund Van Loghem Slaterus/Družstevní práce.

Appendix I – Translations of Dutch literature planned by DP during World War II

A.   Published books

Year	Writer (Translator)	Original Title (Czech Title)	Remarks
1939	Nienke van Hichtum (Lída Faltová)	Oehoehoe (Uhuhu)	writer's agreement 11-11-1937; translation agreement 18-2-1938; 4-6-1939 print; 3,300 copies
1939	Madelon Lulofs (Lída Faltová)	De hongertocht (Hladová výprava)	agreement 1936, translated 1939; 7,700 copies
1940	Johan Fabricius (Lída Faltová)	De scheepsjongens van Bontekoe (Plavčíci kapitána Bontekoea)	2nd edition; request to TO PMR 30-10-1940; permission 4-8-1941; 3,300 copies
1940	Felix Timmermans (Rudolf Vonka)	Pallieter (Pallieter)	2nd edition; 4,400 copies
1940	Felix Timmermans (Rudolf Vonka)	Pieter Breughel (Petr Breugel)	2nd edition; 4,400 copies
1941	Johan Fabricius (Lída Faltová)	Trilogie. I. De komedianten trokken voorbij. II. Melodie der verten. III. De dans rond de galg (Trilogie. I. Jeli tudy komedianti. II. Melodie dálek. III. Tanec kolem šibenice)	2nd edition; request to TO PMR 8-6-1940; agreement revision 21-4-1941; permission 4-8-1941; 7,700 copies
1942	Stijn Streuvels (Lída Faltová)	De Vlaschaard (Lniště)	agreement 30-1-1941; permission TO PMR 18-6-1941; permission MLO 28-2-1942[16]; permission MLO 10-6-1942; 8,800 copies

B. Books prepared but not published

Year	Writer (Translator)	Original Title (Czech Title)	Remarks
1939	Lode Zielens (Lída Faltová)	Moeder, waarom leven wij? (Matko, proč žijeme?)	agreement 3-7-1935; royalties 15-3-1937; translated 1937; planned for autumn 1939
1939	Theun de Vries (Lída Faltová)	Stiefmoeder Aarde (Macecha země)	30-6-1937 readers' reviews; 6-7-1937 letter to Van Loghum Slaterus; 14-9-1937 translation agreement; 1-10-1937 agreement; translation ready June 1939; publication planned Nov. 1939; 11-12-1940 new review; 15-10-1942 edition not yet possible
1941	Gerard Walschap (Lída Faltová)	De vierde koning (Čtvrtý král)	21-5-1941 recommendation; readers' reviews Nov. 1941; translation ready 1942
1942	Johan Fabricius (Lída Faltová)	Leeuwen hongeren in Napels (Lvi hladovějí v Neapoli)	3rd edition; request to MLO 21-2-1942; MLO 31-7-1942 rejected (no reason)
1942	A.C. van der Valk (Rudolf Vonka)	Vangen en jagen in de wildernis van Sumatra (Lov a honby na Sumatře v divočině)	request to MLO 19-3-1942; repeated request 1-5-1942
1943	Jo van Ammers-Küller	De opstandigen (Povstalkyně) De vrouwenkruistocht (Křižácké tažení)	Both novels were supposed to be published by the Legionary House Čin in 1943.[17]
1944	Herko Groot (Rudolf Vonka)	Geheimen van ruimte en tijd (Záhady prostoru a času)	reader's report 8-4-1942; agreement with Meulenhoff 5-6-1942; request to MLO 2-11-1942; prohibited by MLO 3-6-1944 (paper shortage)

C. Titles reviewed and discussed but not translated during the World War II

Year	Writer (Translator)	Original Title (Czech Title)	Remarks
1941	Arthur van Schendel (Lída Faltová)	Het fregatschip Johanna Maria (Plachetnice Johana Maria) De waterman (Vodák)	15-10-1941 proposed by Jan Mil; 16-12-1941 readers' reviews
1942	Ferdinand Bordewijk (Rudolf Vonka) Gerard Walschap (Lída Faltová?)	Apollyon (Appollyon) Adelaïde	30-6-1942 reader's review 3-12-1941 discussed, fate uncertain[18]
1943	Simon Vestdijk (Lída Faltová)	Rumeiland	11-2-1942 book discussed; 24-6-1942 royalties agreement; 23-7-1943 final agreement
1944	Godfried Bomans (Lída Faltová) (Ella Kazdová)	Eric of het klein insectenboek (Erik aneb kniha o hmyzu)	request to TO PMR 5-1-1942; 27-11-1942 Bomans sends a new preface for the translation; June 1943 two reviews; 21-2-1944 translation agreement with Faltová; 9-11-1947 translation agreement with Kazdová; 1948 ready

Appendix II – Works discussed by the DP editorial board 1939–1945

Date	Work and author discussed	Decision
06/04 1939	Charles De Coster, Uhlenspiegel	Proposed by Vančura. Original work required.
13/04 1939	Charles De Coster, Vlámské legendy	To be read by Šnobr.
27/04 1939	Charles De Coster, Vlámské legendy	Šnobr read the German translation. The book is appropriate for translation.
23/06 1939	Charles De Coster, Vlámské legendy	Original to be requested from France.
06/10 1939	E. Claes, Kiki	Proposed by Kostýřová. Further information will be asked for.
20/12 1939	Huizinga, Le déclin du Moyen Âge	Proposed by Charvát in a new series of historical monographs.

10/01 1940	Huizinga, Le déclin du Moyen Âge	The director has given consent.
14/02 1940	Huizinga, Le déclin du Moyen Âge	Due to circumstances, the series will be postponed.
12/06 1940	F. Timmermans, Selský žalm	Proposed by Vonka. The book is out of print at Skeřík, recommended.
09/10 1940	Van Wijk, Hlavní postavy ruské literatury do světové války	Recommended by Vonka. The board is not interested.
11/12 1940	Stijn Streuvels, De vlaschaard Theun de Vries, Macocha země	Procházka. Discussed among 5 "Nordic" novels. Procházka will review this novel, considering "present suitability".
14/05 1941	Gerard Walschap, De vierde koning A.C. van der Valk, Vangen en jagen in Sumatra's Wildernis	Both books recommended in Faltová's reviews.
10/09 1941	C.J. Kelk, De Vos en zijn staart	Recommended by Schwarz. Positive review by Faltová; rejected after reading. Published in 1946 in Faltová's translation by Chvojka in Prague.[19]
24/09 1941	H. Teirlinck, Maria Speermaliová	Proposed by Faltová. Recommended for publication by the board.[20]
05/11 1941	Godfried Bomans, Erik nebo malá kniha o hmyzech	Proposed by Faltová, recommended by the board.
12/11 1941	Bomans, Erik Arthur van Schendel, Fregata Johana Maria; Vodák	Among 3 books accepted for publication. Proposed by a DP member. Reviewed by Faltová. Recommended for publication.
26/11 1941	Arthur van Schendel, Fregata Johana Maria; Vodák	Both accepted for publication.
3/12 1941	G. Walschap, Adelaïde Demedts, Abrechnung	Procházka remarks that the book has a high literary quality. Secretary Hanč believes that Sfinx has an option. Will be checked. Procházka has read the book. The first two thirds are good, the last part not. Rejected.
07/01 1942	Strevels Stijn, Prutske	Kakos remarks that it is an interesting book, well written, but it does not fit into any series. He will give the book to his family to read.
04/02 1942	Streuwels, Prütske	Kakos' wife has found the beginning of the book beautiful, but not the latter part. The narration is too protracted for DP readers.

28/01 1942	Colonial novel by Multatuli Eeden, Radostný svět	Both proposed by DP member Vodrážka, not accepted, because of the number of books permitted to be published.
11/02 1942	Simon Vestdijk, Rumeiland	Engaging book. Kakos gives the reminder that too many novels have been accepted, asks whether the book in its category is unique. Procházka: very interesting exotic novel. Recommended for publication.
25/02 1942	Simon Vestdijk, Rumeiland	The directors decide to publish the novel.
01/04 1942	Stijn Streuvels, Prutske Herman Teirlinck, De nieuwe Uilenspiegel Herman Teirlinck, Het ivoren aapje Dr H. Groot, Geheimen van ruimte en tijd	Procházka has read the book and recommends it. Enthusiastic review by Faltová. Good review by Faltová. After discussion, the board decides to recommend Nový Uilenspiegel. Good reviews by Faltová and Vonka. Nebesář will ask Bělehrádek for a review.
15/04 1942	Dr H. Groot, Geheimen van ruimte en tijd	Bělehrádek wrote a positive review. The book is recommended for publication.
22/04 1942	Dr H. Groot, Geheimen van ruimte en tijd	The directors decide to publish the book.[21, 22]

NOTES

1 Zákon o vydávání a rozšiřování knih, hudebnin a jiných neperiodických publikací, č. 94/1949 Sb., https://www. zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1949-94.

2 "Rána, která stihla náš národ a stát, byla způsobena jako příčinami politickými, tak i vnitřním zmatkem v životě duchovním. […] Vymítejme ze vší tvorby rozkladnost, mravní otrlost, nízkost, zbabělost; veďme i v umění k smyslu pro čest, hrdinnost, kázeň, řád. Nebyl poražen národ, ale bludné ideje. Základem všeho tvořivého života buď též svrchované hodnoty: vlast, země, národ, Bůh." All translations below are by the present author.

3 A similar shift took place in the Reich in 1938 where the responsibility for the index of forbidden books was transferred from the Reichsschrifttumskammer to the Propaganda Ministry (Sturge 2004, 28–29).

4 As of 1942, Ministerium für Volksaufklärung – Sektion Schrifttum.

5 The Prager Presse was founded in 1921 as a pro-Czechoslovak German daily. Von Hoop was its editor from 1926 until 1939. In April 1939, he joined the NSDAP and became main press censor. In September 1940, he replaced the former head of the ÚCK.

6 Bilingual in the original text: "Das Vorlegen der nichtdeutschen fremdsprachlichen Literatur ist mit Rücksicht auf die Massnahmen in der Papierbewirtschaftung wesentlich einzuschränken. / Předkládání neněmecké cizojazyčné literatury jest s ohledem na směrnice pro obhospodařování papírem podstatně omeziti." (LA PNP, fond 70/57, 220/13 Korespondence DP s ostatními úřady 1939–1945; letter of 3 June 1944).

7 "V měsíci dubnu 1945 jsme nevydali žádnou knihu." (LA PNP, fond 70/57, 220/13 Korespondence DP s ostatními úřady 1939–1945; letter of 27 April 1945, no. 40137).

8 Schwarz was an employee of the agency Centrum from 1933 to 1936, moved to Universum in 1936 and founded his own agency in 1937. In all cases, he signed the royalty agreements with Dutch publishing houses.

9 With only a few books published in the period between 1943 and 1945, the average from 1939 to 1942 was 13 books per year. The total number of translations of Dutch-written works in Germany in the same period was 174 titles, i.e. 43.5 per year (Sturge 2004, 60).

10 Herbert van Uffelen (1993) devotes a major section to Streuvels' double position as a *Blut-und-Boden* writer and as a, less preferred, Catholic writer (263–276). He warns (262–263) that the popularity of Flemish writers should not only be ascribed to an interpretation as *Blut-und-Boden* literature.

11 Last was one of the five authors of Dutch or Flemish origin indexed in the *Liste des schädlichen und unerwünschten Schrifttums* (1944, 124). The others were the anarchist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846–1919), the Calvinist writer Johannes de Heer (1866–1961), the Belgian socialist politician Hendrik de Man (1885–1953), and the pacifist painter and writer Frans Masereel (1889–1972), whose works were burnt in Nuremberg in 1933 (*Liste* 1944, 53, 79, 132 and 135).

12 It is clear that nobody at DP knew that De Vries joined the Communist Party in 1936.

13 Vladimír Procházka joined the Communist Party in 1924 and was foreign correspondent for TASS. He was a literary translator of English prose. After the World War II, he was a Communist MP and one of the authors of the 1948 Communist constitution (Strohsová 2000).

14 "Die tschechische Ausgabe Ihres Verlagswerkes von Theun de Vries 'Stiefmoeder Aarde' könnten wir bisher, wegen an unserem Willen nicht abhängigen Hindernissen, nicht verwirklichen. Wir haben diese Angelegenheit stets in Evidenz und werden Sie gleich benachrichtigen, sobald wir in derselben fortsetzen werden können." (VLS/Družstevní práce, no. 1078/76, Letterenmuseum, The Hague).

15 *De harp van St. Franciscus* (St. Francis' harp), translated by Jaroslav Toman as *Prostáček Boží*, and his new novel *De familie Hernat* (The Hernat family), translated as *Rodinná kronika* by Vonka, both for Škeřík.

16 This permission concerned the dust jacket.

17 In the archive, a complete post-war translation (1946) of *De vrouwenkruistocht* by Marie Polívková -Jensen (1902–1989) is present, as well as an agreement signed on 22 January 1946. The rights were acquired from Čin which was closed in 1942. The first part was published in 1947 by the publishing house Za svobodu (For Freedom), Čin's post-war successor.

18 The novel was published by the small press Varhaníková in Prague.

19 As Faltová died on 8 December 1944, this means that the translation was finished earlier. The publisher Chvojka started after the liberation, and presumably took over this translation from DP.

20 As the novel was published in 1947 by DP in Faltová's translation, it must have been commissioned to her in 1941 or 1942.

21 In 1942, the editorial board had 13 other meetings. The board met 19 times in 1943, 22 times in 1944 and twice in 1945 before the liberation. In those years, practically only Czech books were discussed due to instructions from the Ministry of Public Information.

22 In the tables the author followed the spelling of the names and titles in the archival material (with minor editorial changes).

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Literature translated from Dutch in the Czech publishing house Družstevní práce during the Nazi occupation

Czech translations. Dutch and Flemish literature. Publishing house Družstevní práce. Censorship. Archives.

This article uses the archives of the Czech publishing house Družstevní práce during World War II, which give insight into how certain works were selected as DP struggled to maintain its identity. Between the World Wars, DP published several Dutch and Flemish authors, but the number of translated works from Dutch grew considerably in the 1940s since Dutch-language literature was one of the few literatures allowed during the Nazi occupation. Despite the fact that the Nazi authorities exerted great pressure to publish Nazi-friendly literature, DP managed to avoid publishing such books by using officially acceptable Dutch, Flemish and Scandinavian works as a political compromise.

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War, peace and Franco-Russian relations: French translations of Tolstoy's "Sebastopol Sketches" in periodicals (1855–1885)

GAËTAN REGNIERS

Examining literary translation in periodicals can enrich the body of knowledge of both translation and periodical studies.* As products of different actors (editors, publishers, etc.) at intersecting times and places, periodicals struggle to make their worlds meaningful through the content they provide (articles, advertisements, columns, illustrations, etc.), and literary installments are but one of those different types of content (Beetham 1990). How they relate to the social and political contexts is therefore crucial to the process. This article examines French translations of Tolstoy's early war prose.[1] A significant number of early Tolstoy translations were published in periodicals, a translation locus hitherto largely neglected. In three stories, known as the *Sebastopol Sketches*, Tolstoy portrays the "Franco-Russian" Crimean War of 1853–1856. Showing how literature and contemporary politics interact in French translations of Tolstoy's war prose is compelling, not only as a way to probe how translation deals with potentially "explosive" content, but also as a way to explore the purposes these translations served and how this related to the context of their publication.

Periodicals harvest large amounts of translated literary content (e.g., 49 Turgenev translations in periodicals outweigh 17 book volumes in the 1854–1885 timeframe; Waddington 1980, 77–96). To disclose these *terrae incognitae*, scholarship needs to develop a sound understanding of the periodical as a locus of translation. Several topics are yet to be covered by translation historians, e.g. the extent to which periodicals employed translators remains an open question and provokes a series of new questions, not only topical ones (who was being translated, which texts were preferred) but especially those concerning the features of literary translation in periodicals and the way they contributed to the creation of meaning. As every issue of a periodical belongs to a series stretched over time, topics should be examined within a wider timeframe in order to grasp the dominant discourse of the era, and the periodical's contribution to these discussions.

Only in the last decade has the field of translation studies started to explore translations in periodicals. This "medial turn" sets forth the investigation of the role that media forms have played in the history of translation. Pointing out the importance of both discursive techniques and the mediating of cultural transfer, Anne O'Connor (2019) calls for comprehensive research on translation in periodicals as even the scope of these translations remains guesswork. In their recent volume on translations in periodicals, Laura Fólica, Diana Roig-Sanz and Stefania Caristia conceive of "literary translation as a historical product that serves a specific function within the target culture" (2020, 5), a definition that applies to translation *in globo* and is too broad to be operable. The praxis of translation in periodicals is highly contextual and needs to be read accordingly. This article, therefore, proposes a context-driven approach to disclose the – often implied – discourse in periodicals. Cast against the socio-political reality of the target text's audience, I defend the hypothesis that topicality guides both the selection and translation strategies of literature in periodicals.

First, this article gives a concise overview of the conception and early publishing history of Tolstoy's *Sebastopol Sketches*. Next, every translation is examined with regards to its publishing context, translator/editor, and the medium in which it was featured. The content analysis focuses on shifts in translation, primarily at the level of macro-structural equivalence.

THE *SEBASTOPOL SKETCHES*

In 1854, Lev Tolstoy was a 26-year-old artillery officer at the Crimean port of Sebastopol, besieged by French, British, and Ottoman troops as the Crimean War unfolded. A dispute over access to Palestine's holy places that triggered the conflict was cast against geopolitical powerplay (Figes 2011, 2–48). At the time, Tolstoy was unknown as a writer, having published a few short stories anonymously. The Crimean campaign resulted in three stories published in 1855 and 1856 in *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary), now known as *Sevastopol'skie rasskazy* (Sebastopol Sketches, 1855, 1932). "Sevastopol' v dekabre mesjace" ("Sebastopol in the Month of December") takes the form of a tour around the besieged town with a narrator guiding the reader in the second person. The narrator travels to the city by boat, visits a lazaret, and finally makes his way to the core of the town's defenses. "Sevastopol' v mae" ("Sebastopol in May") depicts the wartime lives of a group of officers. The patriotism of the first story switches to an overt cynical voice, which mocks the needless carnage and the officers' vanity. "Sevastopol' v avguste 1855" ("Sebastopol in August 1855")[2] is the most action-packed story and features the final battle, culminating in Russian defeat. Facing censorship from both military and civil authorities, the *Sovremennik* publications differ considerably from Tolstoy's manuscripts. In 1856 Tolstoy published a less censored version in the booklet *Voennye rasskazy* (War Stories; Burnaševa 2002, 387–404, 460–470; Layton 2008, 15–18). Written and published as the war was unfolding, the *Sebastopol Sketches* are closely tied to the topicality of the day. Lydia Ginzburg astutely remarked, "Tolstoi was a veteran of the Sevastopol' campaign, yet he did not write memoirs about it. He –

the creator of worlds – transformed his military experience into the artistic revelations of the *Sevastopol' Stories*" (1991, 24). Even though the plot is subordinate to the descriptive approach in "December", one needs to bear in mind that Tolstoy was not a war correspondent.

Five translations fall within the scope of this paper: "Une journée à Sévastopol en décembre 1854" (Tolstoy 1855, orig. "Sevastopol' v dekabre mesjace"), "La littérature et la vie militaire en Russie" (Tolstoï 1856, orig. "Sevastopol' v dekabre mesjace" and "Sevastopol' v avguste"), "Sébastopol – mai 1855" (Tolstoï 1876, orig. "Sevastopol' v mae"), "Souvenirs de Sébastopol" (Tolstoï 1885a, orig. "Sevastopol' v mae"), and "Scènes du siège de Sébastopol" (Tolstoï 1885b, orig. "Sevastopol' v mae")[3].

WARTIME PROPAGANDA (1855)

Barely a week after publishing the *Sovremennik* edition on July 1, 1855, "Une journée à Sévastopol en décembre 1854" was published in the Brussels newspaper *Le Nord*. According to Nikolai Gusev (1954, 562) Czar Alexander II inspired the French translation of "December". Founded by the Russian Foreign Department during the Crimean War, *Le Nord* was designed to uphold Russia's interests in the West, and operated from Belgium, a neutral state with a conveniently liberal press regime. As the Crimean War was the first war to be covered by news correspondents, the emerging mass press left its mark. Political leadership was forced to take public opinion into account; this explains the displeased reaction to the "hostile" paper by British and, in particular, French authorities. In France, newspapers faced restrictions, and the regime of Napoleon III was on its guard for any signs of public dismay (Case 1954, 25). Belgian officials referred to the constitutional freedom of the press, but according to the French envoy Adolphe Barrot, this could hardly apply to a newspaper sponsored by its adversary Russia, and he pleaded outright for the prohibition of the paper. Violating international laws would not go unpunished, he warned the Belgian home secretary. Belgian's king Leopold I agreed with Barrot, even though the freedom of the press was a sensitive issue in domestic politics, and the proposed ban on the newspaper lacked any legal basis. The authorities however were vigilant not to provoke the French and questioned the Russian ambassador, who was quick to deny Russia's involvement. Shortly before the maiden edition was published in June 1855, the home secretary took action after a previous warning did not have much effect. Taking advantage of immigration laws, three collaborators with *Le Nord* were expelled (Lademacher 1971, 189–192; Anckaer 2014, 93–94; Ronin 1991, 2–14). Against this troublesome background, "Une journeé" appeared in *Le Nord*.

The version in *Le Nord* is 40% shorter than the *Sovremennik* publication. Most of the cuts are editorial: some paragraphs are summarized, and others are erased. This raises the question as to the extent to which those interventions are deliberately altering the text's message. When the narrator at the onset of the story travels by boat across the bay into the city, he passes by the sunken ships in the Sebastopol roadstead. These sunken vessels are a part of the Rus-

sian defenses, obstructing the entrance to the port. A sailor notices that one of the vessels is still equipped with cannons. In the translation, there is no sign of the barrier of sunken boats. Other geographical indications are purposefully altered:

> На Северной стороне денная деятельность понемногу начинает заменять спокойствие ночи (L.N.T. [Tolstoy] 1855, 333).

> [In the northern part of the city daytime activities slowly begin to replace the tranquility of the night.][4]

This becomes:

> Dans la Tchernaia l'animation du jour commence peu à peu à remplacer le repos de la nuit ([Tolstoy] 1855, 1).

> [In the Tchernaia daytime activities gradually replace the tranquility of the night.]

The northern part of Sebastopol, the Russian stronghold, does not equal the Tchernaia, which is located in the eastern part of the town. When the narrator climbs up to the fortifications surrounding the city from the south the description is consistent with Tolstoy's account, but not when distances are involved: 200 steps become 300 steps. This is an error perhaps, but in the following paragraph, Tolstoy's narrator takes "another 300 steps further", making a mistake unlikely. Sizing down the text does not necessarily mean that its message is deliberately altered and could be due to a desire to make it fit the newspaper's format. However, when the source text is replaced by new content or paragraphs are added, these are more likely to reflect *Le Nord*'s intentions. The siege was still going on when the newspaper printed the translation, and Sebastopol's geography was quintessential to a successful siege of the town. This may explain why details providing information about the defense and the military situation are left out or deliberately blurred.

The content of *Le Nord* is the result of an elaborate editorial process, stretching the limits of domestic censorship at the time. A comparison of the *Sovremennik* and *Voennye rasskazy* texts shows that censors were primarily vigilant to uphold the military's image, excluding, for example, seemingly trite remarks about the "clumsy rowing" of some sailors. One week after the publication of "Une journée", the Parisian *La Presse* exposed the involvement of the highest political levels in the newspaper's editorial board:

> It is at the chancellery of M. de Nesselrode, Minister of Foreign Affairs, where not only the correspondence but also the substantive articles published by the Brussels Russian newspaper *Le Nord* are drafted. Several attachés of the chancellery are responsible for this work […]. These articles are not sent directly to the editors of *Le Nord* but are sent through the Russian Legation in Brussels (*La Presse* 1855, July 21).

Although *Le Nord* disavowed the allegations ("completely false"), the details and the fact that the report came from the newspaper's correspondent in St. Petersburg add to their credibility and Belgian newspapers were eager to republish the disclosing information (*Le Bien Public* 1855, July 24; *Journal De Charleroi* 1855, July 23).

The message the Foreign Department presents in *Le Nord* is not one of Russian victimhood. Leaving out the horrible details of a lazaret where surgery is performed attests to this. At that point the narrative is interrupted and – as if it were a staged play – the following is added: "[B]ut it is time to draw a curtain on these dismal scenes that have perhaps already shocked the delicate eyes of peace's happy children." In this addition the translator (or editor) reveals himself. He directly addresses the readership ("heureux enfants de la paix") and is not using the expected second person "you" ("вы" in Russian), leaving the phrase out of sync with the rest of the story. In the penultimate paragraph, the translator/editor adds another remark. In the original, the narrator contemplates the patriotism that allows the defenders of Sebastopol to endure the hardships of the siege. The paragraph ends with the quote of admiral Kornilov who, during an inspection of the bulwarks, roared "If we have to, we'll die, but we won't surrender Sebastopol." Soldiers allegedly called out "We'll die, hurrah!" In *Sovremennik* the narrator subsequently comments:

> только теперь рассказы про эти времена перестали быть для вас прекрасным историческим преданием, но сделались достоверностью, фактом. Вы ясно поймете, вообразите себе тех людей, которых вы сейчас видели, теми героями, которые в те тяжелые времена не упали, а возвышались духом и с наслаждением готовились к смерти, не за город, а за родину. Надолго оставит в России великие следы эта эпопея Севастополя, которой героем был народ русский... (L.N.T. [Tolstoy] 1855, 347–348)

> [Only now have the tales of those days ceased to be just so many beautiful legends for you: they have become authentic, a fact. You will clearly understand, picture to yourself, the people you have just seen, those heroes who in those stern days did not lose heart but became even more exalted in spirit and gladly prepared to die not for the town, but their motherland. This epic of Sebastopol, the hero of which was the Russian people, will leave its deep impress on Russia for a long time to come...]

In "Une journée" this becomes:

> Et ces deux mots vous les avez traduits en fait à la face de l'Europe; et si la grande épopée de Sévastopol est destiné (sic) à vivre éternellement dans la mémoire du monde, c'est que vous en avez été les héros! ([Tolstoy] 1855, 2)

> [And those two words (i.e., in Russian: we'll die, hurrah!), you have translated them in the face of Europe; and if the grand epic tale of Sebastopol is destined to live forever in the memory of the world, it's because you have been its heroes!]

Vladimir Ronin (1991, 15) and Caryl Emerson (2009, 1855) read the translation in *Le Nord* as a showcase of the patriotism of Sebastopol's defenders but there is more nuance to the picture. The paragraph that is particularly seething with patriotism ("prepared to die for their motherland") is toned down drastically and the events at Sebastopol are extrapolated to a European and global scale: the epic of Sebastopol and the heroic Russian people defending it now belong to the entirety of world history. This adaptation acquaints the readers of *Le Nord* with the war stage where the belligerent parties had realized that a total victory was unlikely.

During the first months of 1855, there had been negotiations in Vienna, while at the battleground each side tried to consolidate a strong position. By June 1855 Russian officials knew that Sebastopol could not be held and were worried that Austria might enter the war. Given the circumstances, a diplomatic way out was conceivable (Figes 2011, 395–448). The translation not only aligns with the newspaper's mission, but suggests the deployment of soft diplomacy as well. In the very same edition that features "Une journée", there is a remarkable appeal to the Belgian king Leopold to mediate in the conflict. "No monarch would certainly be more dignified and more capable than H.M. Leopold I to fulfill this delicate and supreme mission" (*Le Nord* 1855, 1), the newspaper claimed. Having served as general of the Russian armies that faced Napoleon and being Queen Victoria's uncle, Leopold was well-placed for an intermediary role and had mediated between France, England, and Russia in the run-up to the Crimean War. By 1855, Leopold was particularly focused on good relationships with neighboring France, which was trying to recruit Belgium to the allied camp (Deneckere 2011, 500–527). France and Britain's pressure in the case of *Le Nord* had put the paper under scrutiny. When he was visiting Queen Victoria in July 1855, Leopold told the British foreign secretary Clarendon that he personally would rather have the press silenced, but the constitution was in his way. It is doubtful that the publication of "Une journée" had any significant influence; with the exposing of *Le Nord* as a tool of Russian propaganda its potential to sway public opinion had evaporated. In the eyes of the authorities, the paper had already discredited itself, and later in July, the Belgian state tightened the screws, imposing an interdiction on the sale of *Le Nord* in railway stations.

LITERATURE AND MILITARY LIFE (1856)

The Crimean War sparked interest in Russia and (consequently) its literature in both the United Kingdom and France (Figes 2019, 205–206). In Paris the leading *Revue des Deux Mondes* paved the way in its 1856 summer issue with "La littérature et la vie militaire en Russie". The article merges the recently-ended war with the literature deriving from it and is built on the premise that novels are valuable historical documents "which neither flatter nor systematically belittle the Russian soldier and whose authors write under the influence of the events they have seen, retracing the customs of which by experience they know the great and the small sides" (Delaveau 1856, 775).

The article contains large excerpts from Tolstoy's "December" and "August" stories. Its author, Henri-Hippolyte Delaveau (1808–1862), was a Moscow-born French journalist and translator (see Baer and Olshanskaya 2013, 57). Delaveau's article is built around the central question "How are the czar's soldiers portrayed?" He believes that "the qualities and faults of the fierce fighters that France has encountered twice" match with "the gradual march of Russian literature along the path of severe analysis and the faithful reproduction of national mores" (776). Assuming that literature is a solid indicator of Russia's military physiognomy, he brings out the mindset of soldiers at the beginning and during the final days of the siege. Characteristic of Delaveau's text is a mixture of translation and paraphrase, the latter acting as a narrator summarizing

the intermediary actions. Both sets of text are visually distinctive as the translation is printed in a smaller font and quotation marks are used. An outline of the stories shows that the translation (78%) is predominant. Notwithstanding the paragraphs linking up the translated chapters, Delaveau also inserts his own interjections. These suggest an interval in time ("some moments later", 794–795) or explain the change of scene ("hardly had we set foot on the platform when the fierceness of the struggle was revealed in all its horror", 790) and smooth the transitions in the fragmented text. As Delaveau wants to portray the Russian military for his readers, the text is selected accordingly, but selectively. The soldiers in the translation are brave, even in the face of death. Comments suggesting otherwise have been removed. In chapter 23, for instance, Vlang, a minor character, takes shelter when shells are falling and repeatedly urges his officer to do the same. The translation omits both. On the other hand, Delaveau avoids all paragraphs that are potentially offensive to French readers. Considering how well informed Delaveau is, it is remarkable that the second war story is not even mentioned. He must have realized that the authoritarian press regime of the Second Empire would not accept the harsh comments about Napoleon III in Sebastopol in "May". When, at the end of the "August" story, the Russian army withdraws, soldiers cross the Sebastopol roadstead by boat. Tolstoy's story ends as follows:

Почти каждый солдат, взглянув с Северной стороны на оставленный Севастополь, с невыразимою горечью в сердце вздыхал и грозился врагам (Tolstoy 1932, 119).

[When looking back at the abandoned Sebastopol from the North Side, almost every soldier heaved an inexpressibly bitter sigh and waved his fist at the enemy.]

The *Revue* ends with Tolstoy's penultimate paragraph:

Personne ne sifflait mot sur le tillac, mais aux sifflemens de la vapeur et aux piétinemens des chevaux se mélaient parfois les ordres du commandant et les gémissemens des blessés (Delaveau 1856, 802).

[On the deck no word was whispered, but the whistles of steam and the trampling of horses from time to time mixed with the commander's orders and the moans of the wounded.]

This is followed by Delaveau's comment:

Ici s'arrête le récit de M. Tolstoï. Ce que l'auteur y met surtout en lumière, c'est l'influence exercée par une grande responsabilité sur l'homme de guerre (802).

[Here ends Mr. Tolstoy's story. Above all, the author highlights the grave responsibility that weighs on men of war.]

The vengeful exclamations by the retreating soldiers in the original story contrast with the defeated soldiers in Delaveau's translation. In the translation, the vindictive voice has been silenced.

SELF-CRITICISM (1876)
Between March 29 and April 6, 1876, *Le Temps* published "Sebastopol in May" as a *feuilleton*, a serialized story. Translator Charles Rollinat (1810–1877) was a washed-up musician who had spent years in Russia. Upon his return to France in 1874, he approached his old friend, the writer George Sand, and she was able to get him a position

at the *Revue des Deux Mondes* where Rollinat was "to translate, extract or summarize" from Russian (Genevray 2011, 160–161). The job at the *Revue* was a disappointment, however: Rollinat ended up compiling bibliographies. Sand now turned to *Le Temps*, one of the leading newspapers in Paris, where Rollinat published both articles and translations, including "Sébastopol – mai 1855", which he translated in 1875.

Rollinat's source-text was the *Voennye rasskazy*. With only one macrostructural change (chapter 4 begins halfway through Tolstoy's 3rd chapter) the translation does not stray from the source text and taboos are absent. The translation contains harsh criticism that the authoritarian regime of Napoleon III would not have tolerated (cf. de Broglie 1979, 123), both of the French: "But at least it is consoling to know that it is not we (i.e., the Russians) who have started the war, that we are only defending our country" (Tolstoï 1876, April 6, 1) and its leader: "You'll find that each one of us is a little Napoleon, in short, a monster, asking only wounds and bumps, always ready to fight and kill hundreds" (Tolstoï 1876, April 5, 1). The French 1870 defeat against Prussia had not only put an end to the Second Empire but left the nation in a state of collective defeatism, out of which was born, in Parisian salons, the idea of a Franco-Russian alliance. The concept was still premature, but the conditions were conducive to a more reflective approach to the Crimean War. Later that decade, hostility grew against the newly-formed German Empire in Russia as well. At the Berlin conference, settling the Russian-Turkish War of 1877, Russia was frustrated for not having gained more influence in the Balkans (Kennan 1979, 36–39). In both countries, grievances were focused on a common enemy: Germany.

THE RUSSIAN ARMY THROUGH A CRIMEAN LENS

In April 1885, *Le Figaro* published, in its literary supplement, "Souvenirs de Sébastopol" (Memories of Sebastopol). Presenting the "May" story as an 1885 memoir of the Crimean War was a shift in the perception of the story that testifies to the gap in time. Mikhail Ackinasi (Michail Aškinazi, 1851–1914) prompted the translation: "One of our Russian friends sends us the following pages, unpublished [sic] in France, by count Tolstoy." Aškinazi's translation drifts away from the source text, condensing it from 16 down to six chapters (chapter 1 is followed by 11, then 7, 8 and 14–16). The omission of major plotlines leads to inconsistencies: in chapter 16 the character Praskuchin suddenly appears to be dead while the omitted chapters 11 and 12 describe his death in close detail. In 1902 Aškinazi (by then he had adopted the "French" nom de plume Michel Delines) published a complete translation (*Souvenirs du comte Léon Tolstoi*) which suggests that the jumbled translation in *Le Figaro* had been an editorial choice. The newspaper introduced the translation as a "most strikingly realistic account" of the siege of Sebastopol which "will be read with all the more interest as at this moment the Russian army has just come to the fore of public curiosity" (Tolstoï 1885a, 57). The fashionable and conservative *Le Figaro* echoes the debate on the Franco-Russian alliance, which by 1885 had outgrown the salons and was a daily topic in the press, promoted by the influential socialite Juliette Adam and her sympathizers. Later on, the Adam circle had embraced antisemitism and grew intolerant towards Russian emigrants (largely revo-

lutionaries in exile), denouncing them to the Russian political police (Hillis 2017, 55–72). When the military alliance was finally signed, Delines published the book *Russie: nos alliés chez eux* (Russia: Our allies at home, 1893). The theme suited him well. Previously he had written *Les influences françaises en Russie* (French influences in Russia, 1884), *La France jugée par la Russie* (France judged by Russia, 1887), and *Nos amis les russes* (The Russians, our friends, 1887). Before emigrating in 1878 he got involved in the revolutionary movement in Odessa, and throughout his life, he was an advocate for the Jewish cause. His novels about revolutionaries (*Les victimes du tzar* – The Czar's victims, 1881) and the persecution of Jews (*La chasse aux juifs!* – The hunt for Jews!, 1887) both seem to be autobiographical. In the light of his biography, the extent to which he supported the uneasy marriage between Russian autocracy and French revanchism remains questionable.

Only months later, the *Revue des Deux Mondes* published another translation of the "May" story. The translator of these "Scènes du siège de Sébastopol" (Scenes from the siege of Sebastopol) is "une Russe" (a Russian woman), in reality the noblewoman Irina Paskevič (1835–1925). Together with translations of the two other stories the Paskevič translation was published as *Memories of Sebastopol* in book volume by Hachette the following year. The translation in the *Revue* is the only one without macrostructural interventions. As a magazine with a layout similar to a book, the *Revue* was less prone to the constraints faced by other periodicals. The translation is introduced by Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé (1848–1910), whose articles on Russian literature in the *Revue* had been drawing a lot of attention. Tolstoy, de Vogüé emphasizes, was an officer during the war and wrote the sketches "from his recollections (*memoires*)" (481) which implicitly vouches for their accuracy as an autobiographical rendering but distorts the simultaneousness of the sketches, written at the time of the war. In his articles on Russian literature and the collected volume, the seminal *Le roman russe* (Russian novel, 1886), de Vogüé makes a strong case for Russian literature as a much-needed rejuvenation of French culture. A veteran of the disastrous 1870 campaign and a former Russia-based French diplomat, de Vogüé received hardly any attention for his para-literary motives, although he did not hide them and merely left his purposes implicit. "For literary reasons […] – and for reasons of another order that I will pass over in silence because everybody knows what I mean – I am convinced that we should try to bring the two countries together" (1886, vii). Needless to say, that de Vogüé refers to the ongoing courtship dance between the two nations.

In 1892, the French and Russian governments became allies. The next year, *Le Nord* moved from Brussels to the French capital (Sergeeva 2001). Adopting the baseline "Organe de la politique et des intérêts franco-russes" (Tribune of Franco-Russian politics and interests), *Le Nord* became one of the most ardent champions of the alliance.

CONCLUSION

The French translations of the *Sebastopol Sketches* reveal a pattern of engaging with the topicality of the era, ranging from an act of soft diplomacy targeted at public opinion and/or policymakers during the Crimean War to attempts to amplify the Russophile noise of the 1880s. As the context was explicit for contemporary read-

ers, the intertextuality is often subtle and limits itself to paratextual references: an introductory note or a title fitting to the interests of the day, for example.

Abridged translations are not uncommon in periodicals, inadvertently helping to reconstruct the context. Not only is the choice of what is selected for translation revealing, but perhaps even more essential and telling are the deliberate choices to deselect certain texts. In 1855, diplomatic and military motives constrain *Le Nord*. Delaveau in 1856 aims to show Russian soldiers "in real life" but the image is distorted and limited to heroism, implicitly acknowledging France's military success as a glorious victory over fierce enemies. By omitting the "May" story, Delaveau avoids criticism of France and its emperor, Napoleon III. In 1876, a change of regime and the softening distance of time made a confrontation with the Crimean War's unsettling truths no longer impossible, creating the possibility of catharsis. In the 1885 translations in *Le Figaro* and the *Revue des Deux Mondes* the military conflict of the past is cast in a time of increasing rapprochement. The (de)selection mechanisms applied are far-reaching at first sight. One could argue that Delaveau wrote a review article, rather than crafting a translation. Adding sentences to smooth transitions (or, more delicately, using paraphrase or interjections), restructuring plot elements, and highlighting distinct features all belong to the cut-and-pasting connected with media processes but are nevertheless not alien to the periodical translator's toolbox. These practices of *transediting* relate to contemporary translation of news items (Schäffner 2012, 866–869). Identifying text-surgical methods such as addition, substitution or deletion can help to understand the functionality of a translation at a given time and place.

Its subject, the Crimean War, made Tolstoy's text relevant to editors, at certain times. Therefore, as the examples show, the selection works at two interdependent levels: the text is selected as a function of its topicality and the translation is carefully groomed to match the prevailing discourse. One could argue that Tolstoy's hyperrealist war prose was primarily conceived as non-fictional content and managed likewise. Delaveau (791) described the "August" story as "meticulous as a diary" and by 1885 the stories are perceived as memoirs. The *Sebastopol Sketches*, however, are by no means an exception to the shifting labels: Turgenev's *Zapiski ochotnika* (A huntsman's sketches) were presented as *Mémoires d'un seigneur russe* (Recollections of a Russian lord, 1854).

The results of this case study suggest that source texts are predominantly treated as journalistic content, which is adapted to fit the format, the readerships' sensitivities, and (covert) purposes in alignment with the dominant discourse.

NOTES

[1] For the transliteration of Russian names, the ISO R-9 standard is used, except for Tolstoy (instead of *Tolstoj*).
[2] Henceforth I use the abbreviations "May", "August", "December", "Une journée".
[3] Unless otherwise stated, all translations from French are my own.
[4] Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Russian are my own.

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War, peace and Franco-Russian relations: French translations of Tolstoy's "Sebastopol Sketches" in periodicals (1855–1885)

Fiction in periodicals. Russian-French translation. Leo Tolstoy. "Sebastopol Sketches". Crimean War. Franco-Russian alliance.

French translations of Tolstoy's Crimean war prose (published in periodicals between 1855 and 1885) were designed to reflect the dominant discourse of the era. These translations of the *Sebastopol Sketches* reveal a pattern of engaging with the topicality in this period, ranging from an act of soft diplomacy to the amplification of the Russophile noise of the 1880s. This article proposes a context-driven approach to reconstruct the discourse (often only implied). An analysis of macrostructural equivalence shows a pattern of (de)selecting practices similar to processes used in contemporary mass-media: adding sentences, using paraphrases or interjections to smoothen transitions, restructuring plot elements, and highlighting distinct features.

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The long journey of Milton's "Paradise Lost" into the Slavic world

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> The biggest language in the world is not
> English, Mandarin, or Spanish
> but translation.
>
> Jon Fosse, 2016, 136

This statement by Jon Fosse, a Norwegian playwright and writer, indicates the role of translation in intercultural communication. While we may assume that larger language cultures usually have the core of the canon translated, we can still find gaps in such translations in smaller ones. The reasons may be subjective (e.g. a lack of skilled translators) or objective ones (the developmental level of the language; the impact of ideology in a country). This paper stems from the personal experience of its author with translating John Milton's epic *Paradise Lost* into Slovak. It has led me to posing a logical question: What was the journey of *Paradise Lost* into other Slavic languages? *

RUSSIAN

Unsurprisingly, the first translations of *Paradise Lost* into Slavic languages were Russian, despite the fact, as Clarence A. Manning states,

> [u]ntil the early part of the 18th century, Russia was not interested in the artistic production of the West, and when the new literature was established after the reforms of Peter the Great, most of the translations that appeared from English were hack work, incorrect translations of French and German translations of the English authors (1934, 173).

In the 18th century, three complete Russian translations of *Paradise Lost* were done, all of them in prose. The earliest was the unpublished 1745 version by the Russian baron **Aleksandr Grigorevich Stroganov** (1698–1754) under the title *Погубленный рай* (Paradise destroyed). Stroganov translated the French edition of Nicolas Dupré de Saint-Maur and his effort came during times of discussion about literary language in Russia. Šárka Kühnová (2012, 369) states that Stroganov "blends Church Slavonic with the vernacular to match Milton's sublimity". Stroganov also wrote the "Foreword

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to the Well Disposed Reader" to "disarm hostile critics among his countrymen" (Boss 1983, 28) and for that purpose, he insists in it that there are no "pagan elements" in *Paradise Lost*.

The first complete published Russian translation of *Paradise Lost* (*Потерянный рай* – adopted by all other Russian translations) was made by the Prefect of the Moscow Academy and later Archbishop of Ekaterinoslav **Amvrosiy Serebrennikov** (1745–1792). Published in its first edition in 1780, followed by a second in 1785, it was also in prose and based on Dupré's French translation (1729). In accordance with his position as a high official of the Russian Orthodox Church, Serebrennikov criticized Milton for his radical religious views, especially his Arianism. Certainly, with its reductions, explanations and corrections of Milton, Serebrennikov's version does not meet contemporary standards for translation.

During the period of Romanticism, Milton found ardent supporters amongst the leading Russian poets of the time, Aleksandr Pushkin and Mikhail Lermontov. One of Pushkin's teachers, **Efim Liutsenko** (1776–1864), who translated both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* from French translations in 1824, may have contributed to the fact that Pushkin was often called a very Miltonic poet. Lermontov's tutor in the late 1820s, and professor of Moscow University, **Aleksej Zinoviev** (1801–1884), undertook the first translation of both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* into Russian directly from the original and his rendering is still considered one of the best Russian prose translations.

The first complete poetic translation of *Paradise Lost* (and also *Paradise Regained*) into Russian can be attributed to **Sergey Pisarev** (c. 1819–?), who published it in 1871 in St. Petersburg. Pisarev used a quite common type of verse – the 12-syllable alexandrine (unrhymed) – but within the less common, amphibrachic metre. By blending English elements (an unstressed initial syllable and unrhymed verse) with French ones (12-syllable verse, feminine endings), Pisarev placed himself somewhere between the poetic tradition of both nations.

The late 19th and the early 20th centuries brought several translations in verse by **Olga Chiumina** (1858–1909) in 1899, **Elikonida Kudasheva** (1868–?) in 1910, and **Nikolay Kholodkovski** (1858–1921) in 1911. By that time, Nikolay Dobrolyubov's requirement to translate only from the original had taken root in Russian translational practice, so all three renderings were done from the English original and used regular iambic verse.

Since the first Soviet edition of *Paradise Lost* translated by **Sergey Protasyev** (1890–1940) in the mid-1930s remained unpublished, Milton's epic had to wait for a new version until 1976 when **Akradiy Shteinberg** (1907–1984) published his poetic and acclaimed translation of *Paradise Lost*. Shteinberg, influenced by Chiumina, did most of his work during his eight-year stay in a gulag in 1944–1952. It remains the last completed Russian translation of the poem and was republished in 1999 and 2006.

Shteinberg's translational method shows his effort to save as much meaning as possible while retaining iambic blank verse that led to a substantial extension of the whole poem from 10,565 to more than 14,000 lines. While the presence

of a movable stress in Russian enabled him to use two-syllable words with the stress on the last syllable at the end of the line, he can hardly be blamed for the overall extension. The considerably higher semantic density[1] of Russian (average word length of 3.0 syllables) than English (1.4 syllables) left him no other choice if he did not want to reduce the poem in meaning.[2]

POLISH

Polish was the second Slavic language and the first Western Slavic one into which *Paradise Lost* was translated: as early as 1791, **Jacek Przybylski** (1756–1819) published his translation in Krakow with the title *Raj utracony*, later adopted by all other Polish translators. In the same year the Sejm of the Kingdom of Poland passed the Polish Constitution recognizing the Roman Catholic religion as dominant but guaranteeing tolerance to other religions. It is most likely that religious differences and the fact that Milton was a Puritan caused that he was not well-known in Poland before the end of the 18th century.

Unlike the early Russian translations, Przybylski translated directly from English and in verse. He used a traditional verse of the Polish heroic epic, a syllabic verse of 13 syllables in rhymed couplets with the constant word stress falling on the penultimate syllable. As Stanislas Helsztyński (1929, 146) states, he "succeeded in faithfully conveying the very spirit of the original poem". This rendering was often quoted but also criticized for frequent neologisms, few of which found their way into usage, "provincialisms, bad rhymes as well as encroachments on the rules of flexion and syntax" (146). Like Shteinberg, Przybylski coped with the higher semantic density of the Slavic language by enlarging the text, his version running to 13,132 lines. Zofia Sinko (1992, 13) claims that "Przybylski undertook a task that was beyond his abilities as a poet".[3] On the other hand, she highlights his rich vocabulary as an effort to emulate the original.

The next Polish version is that of **Władysław Bartkiewicz** (1829–1910) published in 1902. Bartkiewicz, who was a great admirer of Milton (he later also translated *Samson Agonistes*), produced a version that "strives to imitate in style and outward form the original" (Helsztyński 1929, 153) by using blank verse with an added syllable at the end of the line, making it feminine. In his Preface, Bartkiewicz also deals with previous translations by Przybylski and **Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski** (1762–1808; his incomplete translation was published in 1803)[4], rejecting their option of a 13-syllable verse which he finds too different from the 10-syllable original, and rhyme, arguing that Milton preferred rhythm to rhyme as being responsible for beauty in poetry. Bartkiewicz also extended the epic to 11,792 lines.

However, his rendering was highly influenced by his ardent Catholicism that led him to "correct" Milton, and to omit or distort some parts of the text. One of Milton's sharpest attacks on the Roman Catholic Church comes in Book III when Satan, coming from hell to earth, "in his way lights on the barren plaines / of *Sericana*" (PL, III, 437–438). Here, Milton introduced his vision of limbo where "from the earth / up hither like aereal vapours flew / of all things transitorie and vain" (PL, III, 444–446). Among them, Satan sees "Idiots, Eremits and Friers / White, Black, and

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Grey, with all Thir Trumperie" (PL, III, 474–475), clearly suggesting Catholic orders and the colors of their robes. Later, Milton is wry about the opinion that putting on a friar's habit at the time of death helps a person get to heaven: "And they who to be sure of Paradise / Dying put on the weeds of Dominic, garments / Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd" (PL, III, 478–480). Finally, this passage culminates in Milton's mocking of both dresses of Catholic orders and various grants the Church used to enable sinners to redeem themselves from their punishment: "then might ye see / Cowles, Hoods and Habits with thir wearers tost / And flutterd into Raggs, then Reliques, Beads, / Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls, / The sport of Winds" (PL, III, 490–493). We can find nothing of this in Bartkiewicz's translation. The colors as synecdoches for Catholic orders are replaced by "gymnosophists, augurs or bonzes" ("Gimnosofiści, augurzy, bonzowie", 104), and the names of orders are changed to the general "those who count on apotheosis at the hour of death" ("tych, co licząc na apoteozę / W godzinie śmierci", 104). We cannot find any indulgences, dispensations, pardons, or Bulls, only "loads of talismans, amulets, idols and their eulogisers swarming" (Tłum talizmanów różnych, amuletów, / Bałwanów i ich wielbicieli roje", 104). Bartkiewicz's translation still plays a role in Polish culture, however – in 2020, it was published in a new edition, both in printed form and as an e-book.

The third and most recent complete Polish translation of *Paradise Lost* by **Maciej Słomczyński** (1920–1998) was published in 1974 and, according to Joanna Rzepa, (2017, 360), "it won him the Polish PEN Club's Award". A bilingual native speaker of both Polish and English, Słomczyński was the first man in the world to translate the complete works of Shakespeare. Like Bartkiewicz, Słomczyński opted for a Polish variation of blank verse, an 11-syllable unrhymed line with feminine endings, often using a run-on line like Milton in the original. In total, his translation is nearly 13,000 lines in length.

Even though Słomczyński met with some criticism for inaccuracies related to religious matters (Philips, 2012), he is far from correcting Milton in the manner of Bartkiewicz or omitting passages for religious reasons. For instance, he translated the abovementioned passage from Book III accurately and with no loss of meaning. Despite reservations about religious inaccuracies in Słomczyński's translation, his rendering has proved respected and popular in Poland with new editions appearing in 1986, 2002, and 2006.

CZECH

Both complete Czech translations of *Paradise Lost* have a special standing in our survey, since Czech is the closest Slavic language to Slovak and has thus played an important role in Slovak cultural history.

The first one was made by the prime representative of the Czech National Revival, **Josef Jungmann** (1773–1847). It was published under the title *Ztracený ráj* in 1811, the second edition coming out in 1843. His work falls into the broader context of language creativity in the formation of the modern Czech language. For Jungmann, it was a hard struggle not only to find an equivalent to Milton's sublime style but also to find equivalents to particular terminology from various spheres of life not

yet developed in the Czech language. One of the achievements of his translation was that the terms from philosophy which he coined were later helpful in creating Czech philosophical terminology. On the other hand, he did not hesitate to omit passages he could not translate. Owing to non-existent astronomical terminology, for example, he left out the six-line passage in Book X. Jungmann did not omit parts of *Paradise Lost* for subjective reasons of faith like Bartkiewicz but for more objective ones – corresponding terminological equivalents simply did not exist in Czech at that time. Even though Jungmann was born Roman Catholic and was educated in a Piaristic school to become a priest, his private opinions, influenced by the Enlightenment and especially by Voltaire, were close to deism and remained hidden from the public. Emanuel Chalupný (1912, 392) claims that he praised *Paradise Lost* more for its aesthetic qualities than for its religious aspect. One of the issues scholars have shown different opinions on is to what extent Jungmann translated *Paradise Lost* from the original, since he also used German and Polish translations. Chalupný (388) speaks of his "thorough command of both English and Czech". Felix Vodička (1960, 242–243) argues that Jungmann "did not have a reliable command of English and he used German translations and the Polish one by Przybylski as intermediary". Later analyses (i.e. Cejp 1958) clearly showed that Vodička was closer to the truth. They proved that Jungmann's English was far from perfect, and probably poorer than his German or Polish. Today we know which translations he had at his disposal: the German by Samuel Gottlieb Bürde (1793) and Justus Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä (1765), and the Polish by Przybylski (1791). Scholars have identified many places in his translation where he misinterpreted the original or was inspired by Przybylski. The latter is visible in the Argument of every Book – these are shortened and translated from Polish. However, translating from foreign languages by way of Polish translations was not uncommon at that time in Czech literature.

Jungmann chose an 11-syllable verse of trochaic meter (occasionally varying from 9 to 12 syllables), adding one syllable at the beginning of the line. Thus, he gained more space (although his translation still has 11,826 lines) and adapted the rhythm to Czech prosody. By leaving the end of the line masculine, Jungmann achieved a kind of compromise between the natural tendency of Czech rhythm, which is trochaic and descending, and Milton's ascending blank verse.

With his translation of *Paradise Lost*, Jungmann laid the foundations of modern Czech literary translation and brought many new words into the Czech language. But the influence of Jungmann's translation upon Czech literature was far greater. Firstly, it inspired a whole generation of poets in their writings; secondly, it led to further translations of English literature. Jungmann's translation also had an impact on Slovak poets of the time, such as Bohuslav Tablic and Pavol Jozef Šafárik. The latter chose lines 23 and 24 from Book VII in Jungmann's translation[5] as a motto for his only book of verse *Tatranská múza s lýrou slovanskou* (The Tatra Muse with the Slavic Lyre, 1814).

One century after Jungmann, in 1911, *Paradise Lost* returned to Czech literature in a new translation. Its author, a teacher of English at a business school, **Josef Julius David** (1871–1941), proudly announced in the title that the poem was trans-

lated "in the form and exact extent of the original" (1911, 5). According to Šárka Tobrmanová (2017, 323), David translated it as early as in the 1890s and "completely revised his rendition" for publication in 1911. Even though his translation came one century after Jungmann's, it did not meet with the same attention. One of the reasons for this could lie in his decision to keep the verse form of the original, which put enormous pressure on the translator to reduce the number of words due to the different semantic density of the two languages. David often reduced words and syntax to the brink of understandability in an effort to retain the form of the source text. This makes his rendering very faithful to the original semantically but also very difficult to read due to its archaic words and phrases, shortened forms, and frequent inversions.

An interesting fact about David is that as early as 1893, he published his translation of *Paradise Regained* (under the pseudonym of A. Zvičínský), and this version has remained its only Czech translation until now.

During the existence of Czechoslovakia (1919–1992), there appeared to be no attempt to translate *Paradise Lost* or even parts of it either into Czech or Slovak. Tobrmanová (2017, 324) explains the lower interest of contemporary Czech translators in Milton by a "loss of interest in religious poetry in our secular times and the difficulties posed by his epic".

As dated as both Czech translations of *Paradise Lost* may seem, they are still read and have both come out in new editions very recently, David's in 2015 and Jungmann's in 2018. Yet a need for a new Czech version in the language of the 21st century is evident.

BULGARIAN

Paradise Lost has also been translated twice into Bulgarian. The first Bulgarian rendering, undertaken and published by former Metropolitan Bishop **Theodosius of Skopje** (1846–1926), an ethnic Macedonian, in 1898, was translated from French into prose with the title *Изгубений рай*. However, it had to wait for its modern translation in verse until the late 20th century: in 1981, a university teacher of English philology in Sofia, **Aleksandar Shurbanov** (1941–), published his *Изгубеният рай*, later reprinted in 2008. In 2018, he added his translation of *Samson Agonistes*.

Aware of the fact that retaining the original blank verse and overall number of lines would lead to significant reductions in meaning and style, Shurbanov rejected reducing the word count and instead decided to extend the iambic verse from five to seven feet, alternating masculine line endings and feminine (with an added syllable).

Shurbanov also justified his decision not to extend the line count of the whole poem by referring to the many numeric symbols in its structure that could otherwise be lost. One example he supported his argument with comes in line 631 in Book XI where Adam speaks about fainting. The line is exactly in the middle of the passage from line 423 and 839 where Raphael shows Adam the story of the human race from its beginning to the flood. The decision of whether to keep or dismiss this feature of *Paradise Lost* in its translation lies solely with the translator and the character of the given target language.

SERBO-CROATIAN, SERBIAN, CROATIAN

There have been several attempts to translate *Paradise Lost* into the South Slavic languages since the early 19th century, but most of them were only extracts. The first complete one – *Raj zgubljen* – is credited to the parish priest of Marija Bistrica, **John Krizmanić** (1766–1852), who finished his prosaic translation into the Kajkavian dialect (one of the Croatian dialects) in 1827, using German and French translations.[6] The only complete Serbo-Croatian translation of *Paradise Lost* in verse was done by **Milovan Đilas** (1911–1995), the former Yugoslav communist politician who fell into disgrace for his criticism of Tito's regime and was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. It was during his next stay in prison between 1962 and 1966 that he translated *Paradise Lost* using just a pencil and toilet paper. Managing to sneak out his translation, he had it published in 1969 in New York as *Izgubljeni raj*, a revised version coming out in Belgrade in 1989. Đilas, aware of the differences between inflected Serbian with its mainly polysyllabic words and English, decided to replace the blank verse of the original with a more traditional, 12-syllable trochaic verse with a caesura after the sixth syllable ("dvanaesterac"). While this traditional Serbian meter is usually rhymed, Đilas approached the original by using its unrhymed version. Even though he added two syllables to each line, however, it was not enough to convey the whole meaning without adding extra lines. This is why his translation comprises 13,041 lines.[7]

Whether we take the decision of Đilas as an act of rebellion against the totalitarian system, as Jelena Gavrilović did in her commentary (2019), or ascribe to him other motives, he deserves credit for the first complete artistic translation of *Paradise Lost* in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

In the same year as the revised Đilas translation, a new Serbian version of *Paradise Lost* was published in Belgrade. Translated by **Darko Bolfan** and **Dušan Kosanović**, it came out in two volumes together with *Paradise Regained* under the title *Izgubljeni raj* and *Raj ponovo stečen* and was reprinted in 2002, 2013, and 2017. Its basis was a translation into prose first done by Bolfan, which Kosanović then transformed into verse. Unlike Đilas, his verse is looser metrically and uses more syllables per line (14 rather than 10). This rendering was criticized for its many semantic deviations from the original and mistakes in elementary words. Veselin Kostić (1998, 220) calls their translations of both epics "very poor".

In 2013, the first complete Croatian translation of *Paradise Lost* (*Izgubljeni raj*) by **Mate Maras** (1939–) was published in Zagreb. Maras, a teacher of mathematics, also deserves to be mentioned for another unique achievement: he was the first person to translate the complete works of Shakespeare into Croatian. In translating *Paradise Lost*, he had to deal with a similar dilemma to that of many other translators into Slavic languages, one related to the semantic density of the original and the limited confines of blank verse in conveying all meaning in translation. He thus opted to compromise: he kept an iambic meter with accents falling on even syllables and at the same time added from one to five syllables. On the one hand, he avoided artificial shortening of words and distortion of syntax; on the other hand, blank verse, a typical trait of English poetry – is less visible. Maras's translation was highly acclaimed in Croatia and he won the Kiklop Award for translator of the year in 2014.

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MACEDONIAN

The first Macedonian translation with the title *Загубениот Рај* appeared in 1996 (reprinted in 2007) thanks to the work of the writer and educator **Dragi Mihajlovski** (1951–). He opted for a similar method to the Croatian Mate Maras but goes even further – his lines sometimes include up to 20 syllables, which gives him comfortable space to transfer the meaning.[8] Naturally, this solution represents a marked shift away from the blank verse of the original, however; the principle of domestication very much prevails here.

SLOVENIAN

Even though Slovenian was one of the official languages in the former Yugoslavia and widely used in many areas, *Paradise Lost* had to wait for its translation till the era of independence. It ranks among the great translational achievements of the poet and translator **Marjan Strojan** (1949–). Published as *Izgubljeni raj* in 2003, it was reprinted in 2011. Strojan retains the meter and overall number of lines, but the prosody of the target language does not allow him to use solely masculine line endings, which is why he often adds one syllable to change them to feminine. He described his translational method as follows:

> Like all South Slavic languages, Slovenian is a synthetic language, and a translation of verse forms of more isolating languages like modern English can present difficulties. But I was fortunate in that, by the time I came to Milton, the corpus of translated English works of poetry was already substantial and most of the metrical difficulties resolved, some of them by the best Slavic poets, in my case, the great Slovenian France Prešeren (1800–1849) who, following the initial efforts of the previous generation, brought the syllabo-tonic system of versification to its technical perfection and artistic maturity (Strojan 2017b, 389).[9]

For his translation that Irena Samide (2009, 19) called "similarly ingenious" to the original, Strojan was awarded the highest Slovenian annual prize for the best book translation "Sovretova nagrada" in 2004.

UKRAINIAN

It can seem surprising at first sight that such a populous nation did not see its first translation of *Paradise Lost* until the 21st century. One of the reasons may have been the dominant position of the Russian language in the Soviet Union, where Russian translations often served as a substitute for national ones.

The independence that came with the break-up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s also brought a need for Ukrainian translations of previously untranslated works. One of them was *Paradise Lost*, which came out as *Утрачений рай* in 2019. Unfortunately, its translator, the literary critic and educator **Oleksandr Zhomnir** (1927–2018), did not live to see its publication, having passed away one year before. As Taras Shmiher (2020, 933) writes in his review, "[t]he regained religiosity after the fall of communism opens the door wide for guessing and acquiring the emotional overtones of Christian associations by ordinary Ukrainian readers". The reviewer's point that by "translating this literary piece into Ukrainian, the translator contributes

to the Ukrainian linguistic culture by stimulating searches for highly formal vocabulary" (935) also holds for other Slavic languages.

In his version, Zhomnir keeps a blank verse including its iambic rhythm, but the masculine endings of the lines are often changed to feminine with an added syllable at the end of the line. With its movable stress, the Ukrainian has no problem in keeping an iambic rhythm of the poem; however, with substantially longer words at his disposal, Zhomnir had no other choice than to increase the overall number of lines. The translation combines "haughty lexis and everyday vocabulary" and "has absorbed a great amount of that of the Ukrainian recension of Church Slavonic (*'муж', 'небеса', 'всевидящий', 'вражий'*)" (Shmiher 2020, 934), coming closer to the symphony of Baroque tonalities and associations, as Zhomnir himself called Milton's epic in his Introduction.

SLOVAK

It would certainly be inappropriate for a translator to comment on his own translation in any axiological terms, therefore these few notes on the latest Slavic translation of *Paradise Lost* in 2020 under the title *Stratený raj* will mostly touch on its context and translational method. Perhaps the first question that comes to mind is why there had been no noticeable attempts to translate it into Slovak before. A part of the answer is that the Slovak language was only codified in the 1840s and leading figures of the Slovak National Revival usually became acquainted with *Paradise Lost* by way of Jungmann's Czech translation. Also, the fact that until 1900, the book had been prohibited by the Roman Catholic Church may have held sway in a country whose population mostly professes the Catholic faith.

Like other Slavic languages, Slovak has a higher semantic density than English, therefore the translation of *Paradise Lost* is a constant fight for space if we decide to retain the original meter and length of the poem. The translator is also greatly challenged by Milton's sublime style: since some means of expression like inversion do not conform with modern Slovak well, it was necessary to look for others on various levels of the text. A contemporary reader expects a text that is easy to read with most Latin-influenced structures filtered out. On the other hand, Milton's expression should retain the grandeur that goes hand-in-hand with the poem's sublime theme.

CONCLUSION

As our research shows, *Paradise Lost* has undergone a long and diverse journey into Slavic literatures from the mid-18th century until today. Its first translations appeared in major cultures such as Russian and Polish. Certainly, they bore the stamp of their times and their translational paradigm. The most visible features of the earliest Slavic renderings are the usage of an intermediary language (mostly French), their prosaic form, and adding elements not present in the original in translations in verse (such as the rhyme used by Przybylski). Milton's controversial religious opinions that meant the ban of the work by the Catholic Church for more than one and a half centuries also had a certain impact on the character of some earlier translations

of *Paradise Lost* and led to omissions, corrections and explanations of the text (Sere-brennikov in Russia; Bartkiewicz in Poland).

Also, the circumstances under which particular translations came into existence were not always ideal, as the example of Serbian Milovan Đilas shows. In some Slavic cultures, translations of *Paradise Lost* helped create the modern national language – this is mainly the case of Jungmann's translation and its importance in the development of the Czech language. In comparison with earlier efforts, modern translations are characterized by the fact that they are usually done directly from the original, and by applying contemporary translation theory, they try to convey all aspects of the original, including the retention of the meter and the overall number of lines (depending on the prosodic qualities of the particular language). In modern translations, there is certainly no place for omissions or corrections by the author. The translator is obliged to ensure the reader receives the text in its complete form.

However, the journey is not over yet. There are Slavic languages (like Belarusian) that are still waiting for their own translation of *Paradise Lost*, whereas in some others (such as Czech), a need for a new version is becoming urgent due to the fact that the last one is now more than a century old.

NOTES

[1] The term adopted by Jiří Levý in *Umění překladu* (*The Art of Translation*, 1963; Eng. trans. 2011) into translation studies indicates the number of semantic nuclei the given type of verse contains in various languages, i.e. while an English ten-syllable line usually contains four semantic nuclei, German, Czech and Russian ones have only three. That is why "German, Czech and Russian translators have considerable difficulty in accommodating the content of an English poem within the bounds of its original metre" (Levý 2011, 196).

[2] Surprisingly, there is no chapter about Russian translations of *Paradise Lost* in the book *Milton in Translation* (Duran, Issa, and Olson 2017) summarizing translations of *Paradise Lost* all over the world. There are only small references to some Russian renderings as an inspiration for translation into other languages (i.e. Bulgarian).

[3] All translations from the Polish, Czech and other languages were made by the author of the study unless stated otherwise.

[4] Fragments of *Paradise Lost* were also translated into Polish by Antoni Lange and Czesław Miłosz.

[5] Original: "Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole, / More safe I Sing with mortal voice, unchang'd." Jungmann: "Stoje na zemi, ni nad os znešen jsa, / zpívám bezpečněji hlasem smrtedlným."

[6] However, it did not come out until 2005 in Zagreb.

[7] Major credit for the final shape of the translation, as Đilas conceded himself, goes to Professor Jelica Marković (Strojan 2017a, 366).

[8] Strojan (2017b, 388) claims that "Mihajlovski's translation is essentially a rhythmically ordered prose poem that is modern in its aspect and true to the original".

[9] Much of what Strojan wrote about the circumstances of his translation holds true in relation to my situation in translating *Paradise Lost*.

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The paper attempts to map translations of Milton's *Paradise Lost* into Slavic languages and its place in their cultures from the first Russian and Polish editions to the latest Ukrainian and Slovak ones. The survey shows the shift in the translation method from the earliest prose renderings, usually from other translations, to newer editions with translations in verse. Due to typological differences between languages, especially in semantic density, some translations were substantially longer in comparison with the original. Various types of verse as a replacement of Milton's blank verse were adopted, depending on the tradition of the target language. From the point of view of contemporary translation studies, corrections of Milton or omissions from the text due to the personal denomination of the translator, as we can see in some earlier Russian or Polish editions, are unacceptable. Attention is also paid to two Czech translations by Josef Jungmann (1811) and Josef Julius David (1911) that have served as a substitution for the non-existing Slovak translation up to the present. Stemming from a typological difference between English and Slavic languages, the paper raises prosodic, semantic, and semiotic problems of translation.

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Les « taches blanches » dans la cartographie de la traduction : œuvres jamais ou peu traduites, traductions sans succès d'œuvres prestigieuses

JÖRN ALBRECHT

> Ci sono dei confini al di là dei quali non è permesso andare.
> Dio ha voluto che su certe carte fosse scritto. Hic sunt leones.
>
> Umberto Eco (1980, 482)

Jorge da Burgos, un des protagonistes du roman *Le nom de la rose* d'Umberto Eco, est convaincu qu'il y a des phénomènes qui échappent à toute investigation légitime. L'inscription *hic sunt leones* à laquelle il se réfère se lit sur quelques anciennes cartes géographiques d'Afrique, marquant des zones laissées en blanc, zones inexplorées et considérées comme dangereuses. Le but de la présente contribution est précisément l'exploration de zones de ce genre dans un autre domaine. Les historiographes de la traduction ont fait de grands efforts pour identifier les traductions d'œuvres plus ou moins célèbres, les passer au crible et en donner des descriptions précises qui impliquent assez souvent des jugements de valeur. L'histoire de la traduction est – à quelques exceptions près – une histoire des succès, une histoire des traductions qui ont eu un certain écho dans le monde du livre. Ce qui nous intéresse ici, ce sont, au contraire, les échecs et les lacunes qu'on peut constater dans ce domaine, sujet d'investigation dangereux dans la mesure où il se prête à des spéculations hasardeuses.

Pourquoi certaines œuvres, considérées comme partie intégrante de la littérature d'origine, ont-elles trouvé un écho modeste ou pratiquement nul auprès des lecteurs d'autres langues ? Est-ce dû à des caractéristiques intrinsèques des œuvres en question ou, du moins partiellement, à des réactions imprévisibles du marché de la traduction ? Y a-t-il une production littéraire qui se prête moins à la traduction qu'une autre, ou est-ce que les traducteurs, avec leurs prédilections et aptitudes spécifiques, ont une influence, assez souvent sans le vouloir, sur le bilan des échanges entre les différentes littératures ? Au centre de cet exposé se trouveront la tragédie classique française et quelques auteurs allemands, appréciés par les germanophones mais peu connus ailleurs.[1]

LA TRAGÉDIE FRANÇAISE CLASSIQUE ET SA RÉCEPTION DANS D'AUTRES PAYS, NOTAMMENT DANS LE MONDE GERMANOPHONE

> To an educated Frenchman it is a self-evident truth that Corneille and Racine are among the master poets of the world. [...] Outside France the enjoyment of Corneille and Racine is generally reserved to individual poets and scholars. […] No body of work of comparable importance and intrinsic splendor has been so parochial in its field of action. This cannot be a matter only of poor translation.
>
> George Steiner (1996, 45–46)

Dans le cas de la tragédie française classique il ne s'agit pas d'un manque de traductions, mais plutôt d'un « transfert culturel » imparfait. Une chercheuse allemande a identifié dans sa thèse une centaine de traductions allemandes des œuvres de Racine (Fingerhut 1970). Mais il n'y a pas de « Racine allemand ». Le recueil Georg Büchmann, qui contient l'inventaire des citations plus ou moins courantes dans les milieux germanophones cultivés, reproduites dans les langues originales, cite des phrases célèbres d'un grand nombre d'auteurs français de François Villon jusqu'à Paul Verlaine ; pourtant, en ce qui concerne le « siècle classique », on n'y trouve qu'un certain nombre de citations de Molière, mais pas une seule de Corneille ou de Racine (1961).

Devant un tel constat, il faut distinguer deux sortes de raisons : celles qui tiennent à des caractéristiques intrinsèques des œuvres en question, et celles qui sont en rapport avec le monde de la traduction, plus précisément avec les mécanismes du transfert culturel par voie de traduction.

Les caractéristiques des tragédies du siècle classique ont été décrites très souvent, il suffit de rappeler ici quelques-uns des stéréotypes les plus utilisés par la critique :

1. Poèmes sur scène, le caractère déclamatoire de l'élocution des protagonistes :

O rage ! ô désespoir ! ô vieillesse ennemie !
N'ai-je donc tant vécu que pour cette infamie ?
Et ne suis-je blanchi dans les travaux guerriers
Que pour voir en un jour flétrir tant de lauriers ? (Corneille 1974, *Le Cid*, I, 4)

Un vieillard, qui réagit avec tant d'ornements rhétoriques à une gifle reçue par un adversaire plus jeune, ne laisse aucun doute aux spectateurs : on est bien « au théâtre ». C'est un « effet d'aliénation » plus subtil que ceux préconisés par Bertold Brecht. Seulement, il n'est pas sûr que les spectateurs d'autres pays avec une tradition théâtrale différente apprécient des déclamations ostentatoires de ce genre sur scène. Un traducteur qui veut maintenir le caractère oratoire de la pièce devrait, éventuellement, se résigner à produire une traduction pour lecteurs au lieu d'une traduction théâtrale proprement dite.

2. Style décoloré, vocabulaire abstrait :

On a souvent attiré l'attention sur le caractère extrêmement restreint du vocabulaire de Racine : une femme occupant un rang plus haut dans la généalogie du protagoniste est appelée « mère », qu'il s'agisse d'une tante ou d'une grand-mère – désignations « indignes » d'apparaître dans une tragédie. Dans une de ses lettres Racine s'étonne de la richesse du vocabulaire d'Homère : « [I]l [i. e. Homère] est exact

à décrire les moindres particularités [...] ; le latin est plus réservé, et ne s'amuse pas à de si petites choses [...], encore plus la langue française, car elle fuit extrêmement de s'abaisser aux particularités. »[2]

C'est une confusion typique entre la notion de « langue » et celle de « tradition discursive », comme on dirait aujourd'hui. La « langue française » dont parle Racine est le style français qu'il préfère. Et ce n'est même pas le style des autres auteurs du siècle classique, comme l'a très bien vu Gustave Lanson : « Le *Dictionnaire* académique vaut pour Racine : il est trop pauvre pour Molière et pour La Fontaine, qui ont besoin de signes moins éloignés et moins dépouillés des sensations naturelles » ([1894] 1964, 410).

Le « caractère abstrait » des vers raciniens conduit assez souvent à un manque de compréhension immédiate, leur confère un caractère cryptique :

> Assez dans les forêts mon oisive jeunesse
> Sur des vils ennemis a montré son adresse (Racine 1960, *Phèdre*, v. 933).

De quoi s'agit-il ? Dans un cours donné par l'auteur de ces lignes, même les étudiants français avaient des difficultés à donner une explication. Depuis toujours, les traducteurs ont tendance à « éclaircir » des passages « obscurs ». Friedrich Schiller, dans sa traduction de *Phèdre*, ne laisse aucun doute sur le fait qu'Hippolyte se plaint d'avoir gaspillé son temps à la chasse pendant sa jeunesse :

> Zu lange schon hat meine müß'ge Jugend
> Sich an dem scheuen Wild versucht (1992).

Certains théoriciens de la traduction sont d'avis que l'éclaircissement de passages obscurs est un mérite, voire un devoir du traducteur. Cela vaut sûrement pour les textes d'ordre pratique. Mais quand il s'agit d'un texte littéraire, le vrai mérite du traducteur est celui de maintenir l'« obscurité », de reproduire le caractère cryptique d'un passage dans une traduction. Wilhelm Willige, un professeur de lycée peu connu, a trouvé une solution qui reproduit l'obscurité :

> In den Wäldern erwies meine müßige Jugend
> An niedrigen Feinden genug ihre Tugend (1956).

Simon Werle, l'auteur des traductions les plus récentes de Racine, évite également de s'exprimer de façon trop explicite :

> Lange genug hat meine Jugend in den Wäldern
> An zu gemeinen Feinden ihre Kraft erprobt (1986).

Même si l'on ne partage pas les opinions des maîtres « poststructuralistes » en matière de littérature, on va tout de même approuver Roland Barthes quand il constate que pour Racine, surtout dans le cas de Phèdre, l'acte de parole en lui-même est beaucoup plus important que le « sens » communiqué : « *Phèdre* : Dire ou ne pas dire. Telle est la question. C'est ici même l'être de la parole qui est porté sur le théâtre : la plus profonde des tragédies raciniennes est aussi la plus formelle ; car l'enjeu tragique est ici beaucoup moins le sens de la parole que son apparition, beaucoup moins l'amour de Phèdre que son aveu » (1963, 109).

Quant aux problèmes extrinsèques, problèmes en rapport avec le monde de la traduction, ils commencent avec des questions de métrique. Le vers de la tragédie classique, l'alexandrin, est plus qu'un ornement dont on pourrait se passer au besoin, c'est une partie intégrante des œuvres. Les traducteurs qui suivent l'ancienne règle selon laquelle il faudrait substituer le vers national de l'original par les vers nationaux des langues cibles respectives produisent plus qu'un simple « déguisement » ; une opération de ce genre entraîne une perte presque totale. Un seul exemple :

Que ces vains ornements, que ces voiles me pèsent !
Quelle importune main, en formant tous ces nœuds
A pris soin sur mon front d'assembler mes cheveux ? (Racine 1960, *Phèdre*, v. 157–160)

Wie diese schweren Hüllen auf mir lasten,
Der eitle Prunk. Welche ungebetne Hand
Hat diese Zöpfe künstlich mir geflochten,
Mit undankbarer Mühe mir das Haar
Um meine Stirn geordnet? (1992)

Questi vani ornamenti, Questi veli mi pesano!
Quale mano importuna, Con tutti questi nodi,
M'ha ammuchiato i cappelli sulla fronte ? ([1950] 1990)

Faudrait-il donc traduire les classiques français en recourant à des alexandrins allemands ou italiens ? Entreprise ingrate, car l'accent tonique des deux langues, en combinaison avec un vers si fortement structuré, génère une surdétermination métrique qui fait rire au lieu d'émouvoir.

La raison décisive de l'échec de la canonisation de la tragédie classique française dans les pays germanophones est pourtant complètement extérieure aux caractéristiques des œuvres elles-mêmes. Elle est due à une « politique de traduction » ciblée, organisée par nul autre que Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *magister elegantiarum* de la scène littéraire allemande dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIᵉ siècle. Selon lui, pour développer la littérature allemande, on devait recourir à Shakespeare plutôt que de suivre le modèle des classiques français : « Si les chefs-d'œuvre de Shakespeare avaient été traduits, avec quelques légères modifications, à nos Allemands, je sais avec certitude que cela aurait été de meilleure conséquence que de leur avoir fait connaître si bien Corneille et Racine » (Lessing [1799] 1996, Vol. V, 72).[3]

Ce conseil de Lessing a été largement suivi ; le modèle français fut rejeté en faveur du théâtre élisabéthain. C'est seulement vers la fin de l'époque classique, en plein cœur du romantisme, que les traducteurs, et parmi eux des auteurs remarquables, retrouvèrent de l'intérêt pour les œuvres de Racine. C'était trop tard pour une canonisation de l'auteur ou pour la genèse d'une traduction « canonique » comme celle de Shakespeare par Friedrich Schlegel et Ludwig Tieck.

Bien que la renommée des auteurs classiques soit également un peu fanée dans la France actuelle, on en trouve des traces de vitalité à des endroits inattendus :

Et pour ces mots, Seigneur, je vous ai vu pâlir,
Vous qui naguère encore dominiez votre Empire,
Le parcourant vainqueur d'une mine sereine
Sans jeter un regard au soldat dans la peine (Vargas 2006, 149).

Non, ce n'est pas Racine. Ce sont les mots que Frédérique Audouin-Rouzeau alias Fred Vargas met dans la bouche du héros d'un de ces romans policiers ; un commissaire originaire des Pyrénées, qui se révolte, dans un monologue intérieur, contre un chef désagréable. Il est vrai que, pendant toute son enfance, sa grand-mère l'avait martyrisé en lui récitant des vers de Racine.

LA LITTÉRATURE ALLEMANDE : CENDRILLON PARMI LES LITTÉRATURES EUROPÉENNES ?

> He [i.e. George Steiner] is, for example, always interesting on the subject of translation into German, but says little or nothing about translations *out of* German, which, with interesting exceptions, are generally as unsuccessful as the first group are successful.
>
> Robert M. Adams (1976, 834)

Pour le Moyen Âge et le début de l'ère moderne, les historiens de la traduction distinguent deux types de traduction : la traduction « verticale », c'est-à-dire faite à partir des langues classiques vers les langues vernaculaires et vice versa, d'un côté, et la traduction « horizontale », c'est-à-dire entre deux langues vernaculaires, de l'autre. Comme en témoigne Cervantès dans un passage célèbre de son *Don Quichotte*, la traduction horizontale était considérée comme une sorte d'enfantillage qui n'exigeait aucune préparation particulière :

> [L]a traduction de langues faciles, ne fait pas preuve d'ingéniosité ou d'éloquence, tout comme celui qui traduit ou celui qui copie un papier d'un autre papier. Mais de ce fait je ne veux pas déduire que cette activité de traduction ne soit pas louable, car l'homme pourrait s'occuper de choses pires (2004, *Don Quijote*, II, 62).[4]

À partir du XVIᵉ siècle, les langues vernaculaires vont gagner du prestige. On assiste à une ascension successive des grandes langues européennes au rang de langues « prestigieuses » qui ont produit des œuvres dignes d'être traduites. En tête de cette procession lente vers le Parnasse se trouve le toscan (identifié plus tard avec l'italien) avec Pétrarque et Boccace – Dante n'était connu que par quelques spécialistes. Par la suite ce sont les grands auteurs castillans du *Siglo de Oro* qui ont pu prétendre à une place au panthéon, suivis des classiques français du XVIIᵉ siècle. Du fait de la médiation française et surtout celle de Voltaire, la littérature anglaise – pas seulement dans le domaine des belles lettres – attire l'attention des gens cultivés en Europe. On a même parlé d'anglomanie – un phénomène que Voltaire qui, contrairement à ses confrères, avait une bonne connaissance de l'anglais, essayait d'endiguer à la fin de sa vie. À partir du succès considérable du *Werther* de Goethe, la littérature allemande se prépare, timidement, dans la première moitié du XIXᵉ siècle, à trouver sa place parmi les grandes littératures européennes. Elle est vite rattrapée par les littératures scandinaves et surtout par la littérature russe, qui envahit littéralement l'Europe entière, parfois même à l'aide de traductions médiocres. À l'exception d'auteurs comme Thomas Mann et Franz Kafka, des cas spécifiques qui mériteraient une étude à part (v. par ex. Albrecht 2020), beaucoup d'auteurs, très appréciés par les germanophones cultivés, ont trouvé un écho modeste en dehors des pays de langue allemande : Jean Paul (Johann Paul Friedrich Richter), Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg), Adalbert Stifter, Eduard Mörike, Theodor Storm, Wilhelm Raabe, pour ne citer que quelques

noms ont été très peu traduits (cf. Albrecht et Plack 2018, 371 sq.). On ne peut pas se défendre de l'impression que certains auteurs de langue allemande se plaisent à servir aux lecteurs une « cuisine maison » qui se révèle indigeste pour la plupart des étrangers. Il semble indiqué de réfléchir un peu sur la question de savoir si tout ce qui est difficile à digérer est nécessairement « intraduisible ».

LE FAIT D'ÊTRE « INTRADUISIBLE » – UN CRITÈRE DE VALEUR LITTÉRAIRE ?

> Es ist ein böses Zeichen, wenn ein Autor ganz zu übersetzen ist, und ein Franzose könnt'
> es so ausdrücken: ein Kunstwerk, das einer Übersetzung fähig ist, ist keiner wert.
>
> Jean Paul ([1813] 1975, vol. 9, 352 – 353)[5]

Johann Paul Friedrich Richter alias Jean Paul, qui, malgré sa distance critique vis-à-vis de la culture française, a choisi un pseudonyme qui, du moins en Allemagne, fait vaguement penser à un auteur français, possédait toutes les qualités pour surprendre non seulement les étrangers, mais également ses contemporains allemands : « Je l'ai trouvé à peu près comme je m'y attendais : étrange comme quelqu'un qui est tombé de la lune, plein de bonne volonté, et vivement enclin à voir les choses en dehors de lui, mais pas avec l'organe avec lequel on voit. »[6] Ainsi le décrit Schiller à son ami Goethe, après avoir rendu visite à Jean Paul en Franconie. Dans son roman *Siebenkäs* (sept fromages)[7], auquel celui-ci travaillait à cette époque, il décrit effectivement des visions qu'on ne perçoit qu'avec des yeux intérieurs :

> Wenn man in der Kindheit erzählen hört, daß die Toten um Mitternacht, wo unser Schlaf nah an die Seele reicht und selber die Träume verfinstert, sich aus ihrem aufrichten, und daß sie in den Kirchen den Gottesdienst der Lebendigen nachäffen: so schaudert man der Toten wegen vor dem Tode; und wendet in der nächtlichen Einsamkeit den Blick von den langen Fenstern der stillen Kirche weg [und fürchtet sich, ihrem Schillern nachzuforschen, ob es wohl vom Monde niederfalle] (Jean Paul 1975b, 271).

> Lorsque, dans l'enfance, on nous raconte que vers minuit, à l'heure où le sommeil atteint notre âme de si près, les songes deviennent plus sinistres, les morts se relèvent, et, dans les églises solitaires, contrefont les pieuses pratiques des vivants, la mort nous effraie à cause des morts. Quand l'obscurité s'approche, nous détournons nos regards de l'église et de ses noirs vitraux [...][8].

Avec ces mots commence le premier « Blumenstück » (morceau fleuri) du roman qui a rendu célèbre son auteur :

> Rede des toten Christus vom Weltengebäude herab, daß kein Gott sei

> Discours du Christ mort proclamant du haut de l'univers qu'il n'y aurait pas de Dieu

La traduction française assez libre est celle de Charles de Villers (1765–1815). Mme de Staël l'a intégrée, avec des petites modifications, sous le titre *Un songe* dans le deuxième volume de son livre *De l'Allemagne*. Chez Jean Paul le songe du protagoniste, dans lequel il est licite de reconnaître l'*alter ego* de l'auteur, trouve un *happy ending* : le rêveur se réveille, le soleil brille, les oiseaux chantent, et peu à peu il retrouve sa croyance en Dieu. Mme de Staël a supprimé cette fin conciliante, transformant

ainsi le récit d'une crise de foi en manifeste d'athéisme. L'omission d'un passage est le moyen le plus simple pour manipuler le sens d'un texte. Dans le cas présent, l'omission de la fin transforme le récit d'une crise de foi en manifeste de l'athéisme.

La traduction française du titre du « morceau fleuri » est plus récente. Elle évite, théologiquement correcte comme le titre original, de parler de l'« existence » de Dieu. Le Dieu chrétien est un Dieu créateur qui est à l'origine de l'existence. S'il existait, il ne serait plus créateur mais créature.

Passons maintenant à un autre ouvrage qui est peut-être « trop allemand » pour trouver des lecteurs en dehors du monde germanophone : le roman, ou plus précisément, le long récit *Die Akten des Vogelsangs* de Wilhelm Raabe. Le seul titre, *Les dossiers du Vogelsang*, n'est pas susceptible d'attirer l'attention du lecteur moyen. « Vogelsang » est le nom d'un lotissement situé à la périphérie d'une ville du nord de l'Allemagne, dans une région où une colline de cinquante mètres de haut est appelée « montagne ». L'un des protagonistes, le seul à avoir « réussi » selon les normes bourgeoises, est un fonctionnaire expérimenté qui « archive les dossiers », c.-à-d. l'histoire du Vogelsang, comme il s'en explique ironiquement :

> So bringe ich es zu den Akten, wie der Vogelsang sprach, indem ich hundert Worte in eines ziehe, während der Schnee der heutigen Winternacht unablässig weiter herabrieselt. Und ich muss dabei die linke Hand übers Auge legen, während ich schreibe; als ob mir die Sonne zu hell und blendend drauf läge. Es ist nicht das und ist es doch. Was trübt das Auge mehr als der Blick in verblichenen Sonnen- und Jugendglanz? (Raabe [1895] 1976, 110)]

> Ainsi j'enregistre dans mes dossiers, comment le Vogelsang (chant des oiseaux) s'est fait entendre, en rassemblant cent mots en un seul, tandis que la neige de la nuit d'hiver continue à tomber sans cesse. Et je dois mettre ma main gauche sur mon œil lorsque j'écris, comme si le soleil y était trop fort et aveuglant. Ce n'est pas ça, et pourtant ça l'est. Qu'est-ce qui trouble plus l'œil que la vue de l'éclat terni du soleil et de la jeunesse ?

C'est précisément de cela qu'il s'agit, l'évocation de la jeunesse irrémédiablement perdue de trois personnes très différentes. L'histoire commence par la mort du personnage principal, mais ne se développe pas ensuite sous la forme d'un flash-back chronologique, mais est reconstituée à l'aide d'une technique de mosaïque qui nous est aujourd'hui familière grâce aux films, mais qui exigeait beaucoup des capacités de compréhension des lecteurs contemporains.

Deux particularités rendent le texte particulièrement difficile à manier pour les traducteurs : les multiples références intertextuelles au sens large du terme et les réflexions constantes sur la langue dans laquelle le texte est écrit. Un exemple de chacun des deux cas suffira :

> Mit allen den Vorzügen und Tugenden begabt, die Ophelia aufzählt und von denen der dänische Prinz so schlechten Gebrauch machte, ging er [der Protagonist] wahrlich nicht von « Wittenberg » nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und später seines Weges weiter (Raabe [1895] 1976, 111).

> Doté de tous les avantages et de toutes les vertus qu'Ophélie énumère et dont le prince danois fait un si mauvais usage, il [c'est-à-dire le protagoniste] n'est vraiment pas allé de « Wittenberg » aux États-Unis d'Amérique du Nord et plus tard a continué son chemin.

« Es ist unheimlich warm bei dir, Velten! »
« Gemütlich! ... Deutsch gemütlich, was? Ihr habt ja den Ausdruck, macht den Anspruch darauf, ihn in der Welt allein zu haben, also bleib auch du ganz ruhig bei ihm [...] » (Raabe [1895] 1976, 164)

« Il fait incroyablement chaud chez vous, Velten ! »
« Gemütlich » ! ... l'allemand gemütlich, hein ? Vous avez l'expression, après tout, vous réclamez de l'avoir seul dans le monde, donc toi aussi, tu peux bien rester avec lui [...] »

La chaleur dont il est question ici n'est pas le fruit du hasard. Le héros de l'histoire est en train de brûler progressivement tout le mobilier de la maison de ses parents dans le four et de faire ainsi oublier définitivement cette jeunesse inoubliable.

Deux poèmes de Goethe jouent un rôle important dans le déroulement de l'intrigue. Le premier, une œuvre juvénile adressée à son ami Berisch, est cité et commenté à maintes reprises. Il recommande l'équanimité comme garantie contre une sensibilité excessive:

Sei gefühllos! / Ein leichtbewegtes Herz / Ist ein elend Gut / Auf der wankenden Erde

Sois insensible ! / Un cœur trop facilement ému est un bien misérable sur la terre chancelante.

Le second est tiré des « Theatergedichte », qui datent d'une époque tardive de la vie de son auteur ; il décrit sur un ton mesuré que le destin nous confronte avec des faits immuables et définitifs, après lesquels il ne peut plus y avoir de « Life must go on ».

Hier ist der Abschluß! Alles ist getan, / Und nichts kann mehr geschehn! Das Land, das Meer, / Das Reich, die Kirche, das Gericht, das Heer, / Sie sind verschwunden, alles ist nicht mehr!

Voici l'achèvement ! Tout est fait, / Et rien ne peut plus arriver ! La terre, la mer, / L'empire, l'église, la cour, l'armée, / Ils sont partis, tout est fini !

Le bourgeois réaliste Raabe, qui ne voulait nullement se considérer comme un « auteur classique », ne peut s'empêcher de rendre hommage au « prince des poètes » de Weimar. Bien que la citation soit prise très au sérieux par Raabe ou par l'auteur, citation que seul un bon connaisseur des œuvres de Goethe était capable de trouver, il reste également l'humoriste mordant que l'on connaît de ses romans. Après la citation, le narrateur affirme, que le destin réduit tous les efforts pour le bonheur et la gloire au niveau des sentiments d'un dentiste « qui a lui-même mal aux dents » (Raabe [1895] 1976, 120).

Les historiens de la littérature et de la traduction ont souvent commenté l'impact limité qu'un certain nombre d'auteurs estimés dans le monde germanophone ont eu sur les littératures européennes voisines. Parfois, des raisons linguistiques sont invoquées pour expliquer les difficultés à surmonter les frontières culturelles :

Ce sont précisément des poètes d'une profondeur et d'une idiosyncrasie incomparables, tels que Hölderlin, Eichendorff ou Stifter, qui n'ont pas réussi à susciter des interactions avec les pays non germanophones parce que leurs liens avec la sonorité et la richesse de relations de la langue allemande sont trop importants pour permettre une traduction satisfaisante (Weber 1996, 7).[9]

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Ici, la modestie résignée entre dans une alliance peut-être « typiquement alleman-de » avec l'arrogance : « Lorsque la littérature allemande est lue avec intérêt en dehors de l'Allemagne, il y a généralement un malentendu et l'essentiel n'est pas vu ou pris en compte. Stifter, Eichendorff, Mörike sont impensables traduits en anglais » (10).[10] On se demande ce que l'auteur attend d'une traduction (Albrecht 1998, 329).

CONCLUSIONS

Ailleurs, l'auteur de ces lignes a présenté son idée de la traductologie comme un bâtiment à trois étages : technique de traduction, stratégie de traduction, marché de la traduction. La technique de traduction concerne le domaine purement linguis-tique, la stratégie de traduction concerne les choix linguistiques que le traducteur doit faire dans les limites de ce qui est linguistiquement possible par rapport à ce qui doit être atteint par la traduction, et le marché de traduction comprend tout ce qui est lié à la traduction en tant qu'activité organisée (Albrecht 2020, 136).

Ces trois niveaux sont responsables de l'absence presque totale et de l'échec de certaines traductions, et pas seulement le niveau purement linguistique, comme l'entend Horst Weber. La stratégie de traduction est au moins aussi importante. Ain-si, quelques années avant que Schiller ne se lance dans la traduction de *Phèdre*, il écrit à Goethe au sujet de la traduction des classiques français : « Si l'on détruit la manière dans la traduction [c'est-à-dire les tragédies classiques françaises], il reste trop peu d'humanité poétique, et si l'on conserve la manière et cherche à affirmer les mérites de celle-ci dans la traduction, on effraie le public. »[11]

Dans ce cas, une traduction dans le langage de la traductologie moderne est suffi-sante : si l'on traduit de manière trop rapprochante, on obtient un résultat dénué d'in-térêt, mais si l'on traduit de manière artistiquement aliénante, on obtient un résultat « illisible » – du moins pour le grand public.

Les coïncidences du marché de la traduction sont peut-être encore plus impor-tantes. Certaines œuvres manquent de traductions non parce qu'aucun traducteur n'était disponible, mais parce qu'aucun éditeur ne s'est intéressé à elles. Un connais-seur du marché l'a bien vu :

> Mais comme les esclaves salariés du tiers-monde, il [scil. le traducteur] se trouve dans une dépendance pré-industrielle vis-à-vis de son éditeur, dont le pouvoir sur le marché déter-mine souvent le succès d'une traduction plus que l'argument linguistique le plus abouti. Et une fois que le traducteur a cédé son produit, celui-ci circule de manière presque arbitraire à travers les marchés et les époques ; à ce jour, les éditeurs se livrent à un commerce de recyclage des traductions, souvent sans verser de droits de recyclage pour celles-ci (Utz 2007, 26).[12]

Nous espérons que cette brève contribution encouragera d'autres personnes à en-treprendre des recherches plus approfondies sur les lacunes dans le domaine des tra-ductions. Il reste encore de nombreux « taches blanches » qui mériteraient d'être explorés.

NOTES

1 Pour plus de détails v. Albrecht et Plack 2018.

2 Cité d'après Vossler 1948, 150.

3 « Wenn man die Meisterstücke des Shakespeare, mit einigen bescheidenen Veränderungen, unsern Deutschen übersetzt hätte ich weiß gewiß, es würde von bessern Folgen gewesen sein, als daß man sie mit dem Corneille und dem Racine so bekannt gemacht hat. »

4 « [E]l traducir de lenguas fáciles, ni arguye ingenio ni elocución, como no le arguye el que traslada ni el que copia un papel de otro papel. Y no por esto quiero inferir que no sea loable este ejercicio de traducir, porque en otras cosas peores se podría ocupar el hombre. »

5 « C'est un mauvais signe lorsqu'un auteur peut être entièrement traduit, et un Français pourrait l'exprimer de la même façon : une œuvre d'art qui peut être traduite ne mérite pas de l'être. »

6 Lettre de Schiller à son ami Goethe du 28 juin 1796 cité d'après Schweikert 1986, 315 : « Ich habe ihn ziemlich gefunden wie ich ihn erwartete: fremd wie einer der aus dem Mond gefallen ist, voll guten Willens und herzlich geneigt, die Dinge außer sich zu sehen, nur nicht mit dem Organ, mit dem man sieht. »

7 Le titre complet suffit à caractériser le genre : *Blumen-, Frucht-, und Dornenstücke oder Ehestand, Tod und Hochzeit des Armenadvokaten F. St. Siebenkäs* (Fleurs, fruits et épines ou vie conjugale, mort et mariage de l'avocat des pauvres F. St. Siebenkäs).

8 Le passage entre crochets a été coupé par le traducteur français Charles de Villers (Staël 1968, 70).

9 « Gerade Dichter von unvergleichlicher Tiefe und Eigenart der Aussage wie Hölderlin, Eichendorff oder Stifter haben im außerdeutschen Sprachraum keine Wechselwirkungen hervorgerufen, da ihre Bindungen an Klanglichkeit und Beziehungsreichtum der deutschen Sprache zu groß sind, um eine befriedigende Übersetzung zu erlauben. »

10 « Wenn deutsche Literatur außerlandes mit Interesse gelesen wird, dann ist meistens ein Mißverständnis dabei und das Wesentliche wird nicht gesehen oder beachtet. Stifter, Eichendorff, Mörike sind ins Englische übersetzt undenkbar. »

11 « Wenn man in der Übersetzung [i.e. des tragédies classiques françaises] die Manier zerstört, so bleibt zu wenig poetisch Menschliches übrig, und behält man die Manier bei und sucht die Vorzüge derselben auch in der Übersetzung geltend zu machen, so wird man das Publikum verscheuchen. » Lettre du 15 octobre 1799, cité d'après Ott 1962, 201 sq.

12 « Doch wie die Lohnsklaven der dritten Welt findet er [scil. le traducteur] sich in einer vorindustriellen Abhängigkeit von seinem Verleger, dessen Marktmacht häufig mehr über den Erfolg einer Übersetzung entscheidet als das gelungenere sprachliche Argument. Und hat der Übersetzer sein Produkt einmal aus der Hand gegeben; dann zirkuliert es beinahe beliebig durch Märkte und Zeiten; bis heute betreiben die Verlage mit Übersetzungen ein Recyclinggeschäft, häufig ohne dafür Pfandgebühren zu entrichten. »

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The "blank spaces" in the cartography of translation: Never or rarely translated works, unsuccessful translations of prestigious works

Historiography of translation. Failures and shortcomings in the field of translation. Classical French tragedy. German literature.

Historiographers of translation have made great efforts to identify translations of more or less famous works, to sift through them and to give precise descriptions, which quite often involve value judgements. The history of translation is – with a few exceptions – a history of success. What interests us here, on the other hand, are the failures and shortcomings that can be observed in this field, a dangerous subject of investigation insofar as it leads to risky speculations. Why have certain works, considered to be an integral part of the original literature, found little or no response from readers of other languages? Is this due to intrinsic characteristics of the works in question or, at least partly, to unpredictable reactions of the translation market? Is there a literary production that is less suitable for translation than another, or do translators, with their specific predilections and skills, influence the balance of exchange between different literatures, often unintentionally? The focus of this article is on classical French tragedy and a few German authors who are appreciated by German speakers but little known elsewhere.

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Lost, found, and omitted: Remarks on Russian translations of West European literature

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There is little doubt that a body of texts of fiction translated from different languages makes an inseparable and influential part of every national literary and cultural background. It is also obvious that this body is not invariable since, new translations constantly appear – their interrelations with other translations, as well as with national texts of fiction become complicated and interwoven.

In his *L'Épreuve de l'étranger* (1984; *The Experience of the Foreign*, 1992) Antoine Berman claims that the first aim of contemporary translation theory is to write translation history. What is more, he stresses that in every historic period translation practice influences the target literature and culture, though differently in any particular case. However, as Itamar Even-Zohar has emphasized, "there is no awareness of the possible existence of translated literature as a particular literary system" ([1990] 2004, 199).

The objective of this article is to suggest a perspective on the history of foreign, mainly West European literary translations into Russian where not only translated works of literature, but first and foremost, those which remained untranslated due to different reasons are also taken into consideration. The history of translation of West European literature into Russian is long, and it has been studied in detail. However, we claim that translation history embraces not only translated books, but also the ones that were omitted from translation, thus creating "gaps" which are significant factors of cultural discord. Translation history in its broader sense can be said to embrace both translated and not-translated books and authors, since the presence and/or absence of a foreign book in a target literature can be equally significant. The reasons and the consequences of translation/non-translation are various, as examples from Russian translation history will show. The analysis presented is mainly based on translation of Anglophone literatures, though references to different authors are also made.

LITERARY TRANSPLANTATION: GENERAL INSIGHTS

Foreign literature in Russian translation has always been and is still popular with publishers and the reading public. Even today, when English has become the language of global communication, and books in English are easily available around the world, Russian is still the fourth language engaged in translation globally (Bellos

2011, 246). The history of Russian literature and the role translations have played in it have been studied by a number of scholars. Academician Dmitry Likhachev writes about "literary transplantation" in *Razvitiye russkoi literatury X–XVII vekov* (Development of Russian literature in the 10th–17th centuries, 1973). Speculating about the Old Russian literature, which during its early period was almost fully constructed of different Byzantine texts in translation, he states that literary texts "were transferred, transplanted onto a new ground, where they started living independently in a new surrounding [...]. A new cycle of their development started in a new historic environment, [they] changed, adapted, acquired local features, were filled with new contents and developed new forms" (78).[1] The result of the specific influence was productive development of the Old Russian literature along its own path.

The idea of literary transplantation was further developed by Yuri Lotman in several works mostly in the late 1970s–1980s. In his articles on the typology of cultures (1992a) and on the theory of interaction between cultures (1992b), Lotman mentions different periods in the history of European literature when numerous unidirectional translations made powerful impacts onto recipient literature and made it develop in its own specific way. That was the case with the Ancient Roman literature that was inspired by the Ancient Greek literature. Similar cases can be seen in histories of other national literatures, for example, in some "small" literatures of the former Soviet republics. Lotman outlines two periods in Russian literary history when translated texts of fiction were productively transplanted on a mass scale onto the local soil – the first one was described by the already mentioned Likhachev and related to the Byzantine books translated into Russian. The second period is related to the West European impact on life in Russia in the 18th century. The openness-to-the-West policy proclaimed by Peter I and followed by his successors resulted in huge transformations in many spheres. At the beginning of the period, texts of fiction in translation were viewed as models not only for a newly developing secular literature (as opposed to the previously central religious literature), but its modes and characters were often viewed as modes to follow in real life. Having analyzed the role of translated literature in the Russian life of the period, Lotman shows that problems of meaning were often problems of translatability.

One of the most interesting examples of translated books of the period was a free translation of Paul Tallemant's novel *Le voyage à l'île d'Amour* made by Vasily Trediakovsky in 1730 that became the first contemporary Western novel translated into Russian. As Lotman stated, although a book of modest merits and only one of many novels in French literature, it became unique in Russian: "Being transplanted from its French cultural context and put into Russian, it [...] changed both its meaning and cultural function [...]. It was torn apart from its natural cultural context [...] and became an isolated text, closed in itself" (1992c, 225).[1] At the same time, both Trediakovsky himself and his Russian readers took it as an instruction, since it described "normative behavior of a person in love, [...] lovers' roles" (222), and presented the language of feelings. The French gallant culture was a form of art, artificial in many ways – having been transplanted into Russian life, it made a powerful impetus to develop new culture. Lotman makes the following conclusion: "In the original

situation of the French gallantry, the very cultural environment gave rise to novels of a certain type, while in translation the novel's text was expected to create adequate cultural environment" (227). The reading public eagerly appropriated Western modes – in the middle of the 18th century Russian readers were happily reading many European novels in translation, and by the end of the 18th century, the first Russian books of fiction became popular. Not long afterward, in the early 19th century, Russian literature reached its heights.

Yuri Lotman also showed that such "transplantation periods" were usually comparatively short – they were fast followed by the rise of national literatures. At the initial stage, center-periphery literary relations were mostly unilateral, but they clearly changed when the recipient literature (Russian in our case) reached a certain level of development. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Russian and later on Soviet culture, literature, public and the state itself (in different forms) were actively involved in making decisions on what books were to be translated. The direct or indirect state interference in translation choices is not infrequent in translation history. More subtle cases are more interesting, revealing much about the state of the society and culture, that are ready to accept or reject new values, forms and ideas. As Berman points out, each culture is in resistance to translation, since cultures are ethnocentric (1984, 92–93). The very aim of translation is to meet the Other, to disclose inherent links with a different culture, and to enrich one's native literature with the help of the alien one.

LITERARY TRANSLATION/NON-TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN IN THE 19TH CENTURY: THE JANE AUSTEN IN RUSSIAN CASE

According to Ljudmila Volodarskaya (2003), a literary interaction is impossible without two factors that are to coincide at a certain historic moment: one nation creates some literary text of value that another nation is predisposed to accept or to reject. The famous Russian poet and translator Boris Pasternak has supported the point, claiming translation to be not just rendering of separate books or texts into a foreign culture, but rather nations and cultures encountering (2004, 52). If this is the case, then translation/non-translation is vastly determined by the fact of the target culture interest in a particular author or work of literature, not just in its plot, but rather in its existential and metaphorical meaning. Alternatively, "the degree to which the foreign writer is accepted into the native system will [...] be determined by the need of the native system in a certain phase of its evolution" (Lefevere [1982] 2004, 243).

The case of 19th-century Russian literary translation presents numerous examples proving this point. First, the leading writers of the period – Nikolay Karamzin, Vasily Zhukovsky, Alexander Pushkin, Ivan Turgenev, Leo Tolstoy and others – were multilingual (sometimes we can observe it in their works – see Tolstoy's French inclusions into his *War and Peace*) and translated books of fiction from many languages. Starting from the late 18th century, Russian periodicals were constantly publishing West European literature in translation. By the mid-19th century, the tendency reached its peak – almost every prominent French, German or English author was well-known to Russian readers; their new works were reviewed and translated. The leading jour-

nals of the period – *Sovremennik*, *Otechestvennyje zapisky* and others – used to publish lengthy reviews devoted to different national literatures. For example, a series of reviews entitled "Letters from a distant subscriber about English literature and journalism" by Alexander Druzhinin recurrently appeared in *Sovremennik* from 1852 to 1856. Chapters from various novels by Charles Dickens were immediately translated into Russian and published only months after their English release. Irinarkh Vvedensky, a well-known Dickens translator, was in correspondence with the English author himself. The contemporary critic Henry Gifford claims that in Russia, from the very beginning Dickens enjoyed "the same phenomenal success as at home or in the United States" (2015, 47). According to Gifford, "no foreign writer of that time (or since) ever became so thoroughly domiciled in the Russian imagination" (51).

Though Dickens was the most popular English writer with Russian readers, other writers were also widely translated, loved, and respected – with some exceptions, though. It might sound strange, but Jane Austen was totally absent from the English literary map of the Russian 19th century. The translation and reception history of Jane Austen's novels in Russia is a very special case. As Catharine Nepomnyashchy states, "the posthumous response to Austen's works across Europe has followed a rough pattern of discovery and appreciation by an educated elite and later adoption by a popular audience. This has made Austen's reception a bellwether for rival claims both by keepers of high culture and devotees of mass culture" (2007, 345). Yet the pattern was different in Russia – mostly due to the late translation of the author's works into Russian in the late 20th century.

In the early 19th century, Austen's works were obviously known to Russian critics. In 1816, for example, an article appeared in *Vestnik Evropy* journal. A release of the writer's new book *Emma* was advertised in the article: "*Emma*, a novel by the author of *Sense and Sensibility*; *Pride and Prejudice*, 3 vols. [...]. An anonymous lady-writer beautifully depicts quiet family life" (Anonymous 1816, quoted in Nepomnyashchy 2007, 322). Several points are of interest here: the Russian article was published immediately after the book appeared in English; besides, the reviewer was clearly acquainted with Austen's earlier novels. Interestingly enough, the title page of the first edition of *Emma* mentions that it is "by the author of *Pride and Prejudice*" (319). The other novel *Sense and Sensibility* is not mentioned there. Thus, the reviewer definitely knew Austen's books and recommended them to Russian readers. In the article, Austen's works were mentioned in the context of women's writing – other women authors were named, the most outstanding of whom, according to the critic, was Mary Edgeworth. No doubt, Edgeworth's novels were popular with readers; they appeared in Russian journals in different translations, some of them being made by a famous Russian poet and translator Vasily Zhukovsky. But Austen's works did not attract any attention from translators.

The next time Austen's name appeared in a Russian journal was forty years later, in *Otechestvennyie zapiski* in 1854. The eminent critic and translator, Aleksandr Druzhinin, mentions her name among the names of other English women-writers and calls "Miss Austen" an example to be followed (quoted in Nepomnyashchy 2007, 337). The author's name was mentioned in the same journal and in the same context

of women's literature in 1871, for the last time in the 19th century. The prominent literary critic Maria Tsebrikova was also a well-known political activist. She supported opposition to the Tsarist regime and fought for women's emancipation. In her article about English women writers Tsebrikova voiced her disapproval of Jane Austen's works: "An endless string of superbly long, morally instructive and dignified novels with very moderate romance turns appeared [...]" (quoted in Nepomnyashchy 2007, 337). In this description a reader could recognize a hidden quotation from Pushkin's "Count Nulin" poem, where the heroine is reading "a sentimental novel / Love of Eliza and Arman, / the correspondence of two families [...] the novel classical and old / wonderfully long, a long, a long / peachy and sedate / without romantic turns" (1963, 242), but gets bored and is distracted by a fight between a goat and a watchdog. As early as 1828, Pushkin ridiculed novels of that kind as obsolete – but Tsebrikova applied his critical description to Jane Austen's works in the 1870s. Why was she so critical towards the works of the English author? Presumably, Austen's novels did not coincide with the reviewer's position of a fighter for women's rights; what is more, they did not fit into the mainstream literary trends of the period in Russia. They did not present a broad panorama of life or sharp social conflicts. Compared to other novels of the period, they had little action, were not so straightforward and pathetic, full of irony and free indirect speech. Presumably the reason why Russian translators of the 19th century skipped Austen's novels is because their preferences were different.

Overall, starting from the 1840s onward, literary translation in Russia was increasingly involved in the democratic revolutionary movement, as shown in Yuri Levin's *Russkiye perevodchiki XIX veka* (Russian literary translators of the 19th century, 1985). The very choice of books for translation was significant. At the beginning of his career one of the leading poetry translators of the mid-19th century, Mikhail Mikhailov considered translation the means of cultural exchange, but later he fully dedicated his work to revolutionary propaganda. Mikhailov's translations of the early 1860s included many poems containing sharp social critique ("Enfant perdu", "Weltlauf", "Jammerrthal" and others by Heinrich Heine; "Peace to the Slumberers" by Thomas Moore); poems where slavery, imprisonment and exile were sympathetically described, e.g. *Poems on Slavery* by Henry W. Longfellow, "The exile" by Thomas Hood, "The Song of a Felon's Wife" by Barry Cornwall, etc. Mikhailov's favorite German poet was Heine, and he introduced the German author to Russian readers. However, his translation strategy towards Heine's originals underwent a certain change by the end of his life, as it has been pointed out by Levin: "Sometimes Mikhailov made digressions from the original and 'reworked' it according to his aims, [...] he introduced the translated book into the mainstream of the Russian civil poetry, making it weapon of revolutionary struggle" (1985, 212). Literary translation in the mid-19th century in Russia acquired a dissident function, when the choice of books for translation was mostly determined by their critical pathos. Not surprisingly, Austen's novels did not meet the requirements, or, as Nepomnyashchy wrote, they were "not in the spirit of contemporary Russian literature: that is, of the novels that adopt strong social and political stances" (2007, 343). For the most part of the 20th century, the situation with Jane Austen in Russia remained unchanged. *Pride and Prejudice*

was first translated into Russian by Immanuil Marshak in 1967, but the print run of the volume was 20,000 (not a very large one by late-Soviet standards), and it was published by an academic publishing house (the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), leaving the impression that "Austen remained largely the property of the hide-bound Soviet scholarly establishment; very much, that is, in the realm of the academic" (Nepomnyashchy 2007, 346).

Undoubtedly, there is a strong temptation to explain the case of Austen's absence in the Soviet Union by political reasons, namely, the oppressive domineering of the so-called socialist realism as the state-approved literary movement. Theresa M. Kenney has stated that "socialist realism was the only accepted artistic style in most communist countries: abstract impressionism, the bourgeois novel, love stories, domestic comedy – all were considered decadent if not counter-revolutionary" (2011, 117). From our point of view, this is only partly true – although Soviet literary history is full of real drama when the ideology suppressed creativity, the officialdom with its socialist realism theory did not fully subdue the real literary development. Austen's novels were not just disapproved of by the Soviet censors; they were generally overlooked by 19th-century Russian critics and translators. This attitude can be called public censorship and said to have originated in the 19th century. Therefore, the Soviet neglect can be logically viewed as a long-lasting reception tradition, a sort of belated inertia.

The neglect is visible not only in the absence of Austen's books in Russian, but also in the absence of her name in the Soviet textbooks on English literature, a situation that lasted almost to the end of the 20th century. When all her novels were finally translated into Russian in the 1980s, their appearance coincided with the global popularity of the film adaptation of the author's novels, so their reception history in Russia did not fully follow the route suggested by Nepomnyachshy: Austen's novels were appropriated by the mass culture almost immediately after their translation into Russian. Thus, Austen fell out of the Russian history of the English novel, which is clearly evidenced by the shortage, almost absence of scholarly research of her works in Russian (with a few exceptions). True, her works have found their way into contemporary Russian textbooks of English literature, but the process is far from being complete. Significantly, Austen's first biography in Russian was released only in 2013, when Colibry Publishers in Moscow released a translation of Claire Tomalin's *Jane Austen: A Life*, an acclaimed biography that had appeared in English in 1997. Thus, Jane Austen's belated translation played a curious trick on her prose reception in Russia.

NON-TRANSLATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The case of Austen in Russia can vividly demonstrate that the non-translation of an important author or texts of fiction results in different consequences. First, the original national canon (English in this case) is distorted in the target (Russian) culture. Besides, the belatedly translated books of fiction are often displaced as compared with the place they occupy in the original canon, Jane Austen in Russian translation making a good example of the phenomenon.

Jane Austen was not the only leading English author of the 19th century whose books in translation were omitted by Russian translators – Emily Brontë's novel

Wuthering Heights (1847) appeared in Russian only in 1956. A similar absence, not only of individual English authors but of entire literary movements, can be clearly seen in 20th-century English literature in Russian translation. Translation/non-translation could be regarded as a canon-forming activity, as suggested by the contents of the textbook *English Literature* for high-school students by Martsella Hecker, Tatyana Volosova, and Alexander Doroshevich that reads in the following way (no omissions or changes):

Periods in English 20th century Literature
William Somerset Maugham. *The Luncheon* (the text of the short story is given unabridged)
Katherine Mansfield. *A Cup of Tea* (the text of the short story is given unabridged)
Richard Aldington. *Death of a Hero*
Archibald Joseph Cronin. *The Citadel*
Graham Greene. Life of Graham Greene. Literary work. *The Quiet American*
James Aldridge (1975, 175).

There are several points that attract the reader's attention: first, the names of all the English Modernists (Virginia Woolf, D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce) are left out and never mentioned in the book. Minor books by Lawrence and Joyce were first translated in the 1920s and 1930s, but then almost forgotten till the late 20th century, while Woolf's books came to Russian readers in the late 1980s and 1990s. What is more, in the textbook the names of the best-known authors (Graham Greene, who was much published and widely read in the USSR) go side by side with authors of modest achievement. Though James Aldridge was approved by the Soviet officialdom due to his political views, widely published, and awarded with the Lenin Prize in 1972, his books, probably except for *The Last Inch*, were never extremely popular with readers.

Sometimes the absence of translation that has long-lasting consequences can be explained, first and foremost, by political reasons. We will suggest some examples from American literature in Russian translation. The Civil War of 1861–1865 in the United States is considered one of the central events in the country's collective memory, where both sides, the Unionists and the Confederates, are present and reflected by their own images. During the American Civil War and immediately afterwards, the Russian intelligentsia and the public opinion ardently supported the Unionists (the North). The support applied to different spheres, including literature and translation, when books written from the Northern perspective were immediately translated and culturally appropriated, while the Southern perspective was rarely, if ever, mentioned. The famous anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, which was first published in 1852, became immediately popular with Russian readers, first in the English original, and later in the Russian translation that followed in 1858. The translation was not easily published, since Russian censors found too many correlations between the novel's plot and the Russian peasant's revolts and disturbances – the 1850s were turbulent years, when the Russian serfdom was much debated, which resulted in the abolition of serfdom in 1861. During the second half of the 19th and the 20th century, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was translated into Russian several times, and its popularity constantly grew. By the late Soviet period, it reached the status of a his-

torical novel that was well-known to the vast majority of Soviet young adult readers. Conversely, the Southern perspective was crystallized in the myth of the "Lost Cause", shaped Southern regional identity and was subsequently reflected in a number of works of fiction. The most famous, *Gone with the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell, appeared in print in 1936 and was an immediate and enormous success. Despite the worldwide fame, the novel did not appear in Russian translation by Tatiana Ozerskaya until 1991, a year after the release of the famous Hollywood adaptation *Gone with the Wind* dubbed into Russian. In the preface to the first Russian edition, the critic Peter Palievsky stated: "Scarlett O'Hara [...] has finally come to us dressed up in a new attire, which she liked so much – in the Russian language" (1991,7).[2] Thus, both the book and the film translation were delayed for more than half of a century after their creation. The delay can be explained by political preferences – e.g., the support of the North – and reasoning, but the result was obvious: the picture of the American literary development was distorted in the Russian perception.

WHEN STATE INTERFERENCE INTO TRANSLATION CAN BE FRUITFUL: THE CASE OF WORLD LITERATURE PUBLISHERS

At the same time, the state interference into translation policy was not always restrictive, as it is commonly thought. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, the famous writer and Lenin's close acquaintance Maxim Gorky put forward an idea of publishing a book series called Vsemirnaja literatura (World literature). For this large-scale undertaking a specialized publishing house was established in 1918 in Petrograd, with Lenin's approval and state financial support. According to the publishers' ideas, the new socialist world demanded new translations of the best books of the New Era – from 1789 (the French Revolution). Books of earlier periods were excluded from the list. The first catalog showcased books from almost all European countries, as well as from the USA, Canada, India, Argentina, Peru, etc. From these nations, almost 1,200 authors were represented. The leading Russian writers, literary critics, and translators worked under Gorky's leadership – new translations appeared and the first scholarly research on literary translation was produced. A number of theoretical articles on poetry translation were written by Nikolay Gumilev, a famous poet and translator, and Korney Chukovsky, a well-known critic, translator and children writer, published the first edition of his book on the theory of literary translation that was further reworked to become one of the most influential Russian books in the field, *Vysokoe iskusstvo* (*The Art of Translation: Kornei Chukovsky's A High Art*, 1964; Eng. trans. 1984).

Gorky's mass translation and publishing project got the following assessment from H.G. Wells, who visited the Soviet Union in 1920 and published his book *Russia in the Shadows* in 1921:

> the bulk of the writers and artists have been found employment upon a grandiose scheme for the publication of a sort of Russian encyclopaedia of the literature of the world. In this strange Russia of conflict, cold, famine and pitiful privations there is actually going on now a literary task that would be inconceivable in the rich England and the rich America of today [...]. In starving Russia hundreds of people are working upon translations,

and the books they translate are being set up and printed, work which may presently give a new Russia such a knowledge of world thought as no other people will possess. I have seen some of the books and the work going on (5).

By 1924, the publishing house was closed and Gorky left the country for Italy, 220 books and 11 journal issues had been published (see Khomitsky 2013). The Vsemirnaja literatura project was renewed in the late Soviet period, when the 200-volume series of world literature was published by the Khudozhestvennaya literatura publishing house (Moscow, 1967–1977, print run 300,000). The new series comprised translations of literary works from the ancient world to the 20th century. Though ideological approaches sometimes applied to the choice of books for translation, generally the project made an outstanding contribution to the Soviet and Russian history of translation. The role of the state was great and generally fruitful, though the very tradition of non-selection of certain books and authors could be seen in the choice of book titles.

CONCLUSION

The Russian history of translation underwent different stages and was much affected by factors of an external and internal character. Both selection and non-selection of books for translation have played an important role in In its early stages, the so-called literary transplantation played a fruitful role in the national literature development. Being transplanted into the Old Russian literature, Byzantine texts quickly formed models for further development of national literature. A typologically similar model of development was repeated in the 18th century, when secular translations of West European, particularly French books, contributed to laying the foundation for the New Russian literature. Starting from the late 18th and especially in the 19th century, the choice of books for translation played an increasingly significant role in the European canon-forming for Russian, and in many ways Soviet, readers as well. Translation demonstrated both politically affirmative and dissident functions, depending upon a combination of factors, where selection or non-selection of books for translation was essential. Social factors played an important role in Russian translation history; state interference into literary translation was not always negative, while public censorship had an ambivalent effect, as in the case of Austen in Russian. The results of the study show how non-translation of literary texts can distort the original literary canon of the source culture in the target culture reception. The case of translation of West European literature into Russian can demonstrate how the seemingly pure aesthetic field is involved into social (historic, political, ideological) life and determined by it. Hopefully, the further development of translation history will become more balanced if the correlation of what was translated and what was not will be properly taken into account.

NOTES

[1] Unless otherwise stated, all translations from Russian are by the present author.
[2] The critic was right: the novel became immensely popular.

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Lost, found, and omitted: Remarks on Russian translations of West European literature

Literary transplantation. Selection/non-selection. Jane Austen. Canon-forming function. World literature translation project.

Russian and Soviet history of translation has undergone different stages of its development. Western literature in Russian translation played a significant role in forming the national literature (the so-called literary transplantation of the 18th century). Later, not only selection, but also non-selection of books/authors for translation played a canon-forming function. Social (historical, political, ideological) influence on translation was of a shifting nature, as it is shown by examples (such as Jane Austen). It also affected the process of selection/non-selection of books for translation.

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Digital humanities and big translation history in the Global South: A Latin American perspective

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Big translation history (BTH) is a translation history that can be analyzed computationally, using digital tools to study massive data, from a transnational, relational, and large-scale perspective (Roig-Sanz and Fólica 2021; Fólica, Roig-Sanz, and Caristia 2020).* This article reflects upon the metahistoriography of constructing a BTH by integrating two areas of knowledge in the humanities – digital humanities and translation history – in the transcontinental Spanish-speaking geographic space of Latin America and also Spain. It is divided in three sections: the first describes the emergence and singularity of the digital humanities (DH) in the Spanish-speaking space; the second studies how translation history has been developed as a subfield of translation studies in Latin America and Spain, and the third one discusses the contributions that DH have made to the history of translation regarding a BTH approach. This point will be illustrated with my current research on the circulation of literature translated in the Ibero-American press from 1898 to 1959. From a BTH perspective, we can complicate methodological nationalism and move toward transnational studies that take linguistic diversity within nations into account, as well as the transnational character of languages such as Spanish and Portuguese. General categories such as "Ibero-America" and "Latin America" do not necessarily imply the existence of a homogenous or monolingual identity. Quite the contrary, BTH works with the tension between the general space and the historical-political circumstances traced to each of the national case studies, while refraining from generalizing about each specific, national editorial field. Rather, the goal of my research is to construct a transnational pattern of translation flows by comparing metadata from various national libraries' catalogs.

DIGITAL HUMANITIES IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: THE LATIN AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The Global South is a concept that was first used in the 1990s but has been more frequently employed in the social sciences and humanities as of 2004 to refer to the "other" geographic space encompassing areas such as Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, as well as Latin America. For the purposes of this article, the so-called Global South

will be used to reflect on the Latin American experience within this framework and understood as a relative and relational term that transcends geographical boundaries, which allows for the inclusion of the former colonial power, Spain, despite its location in the so-called Global North. It is a well-known fact that the DH developed as a discipline in European and US academies, with a heavy Anglophone bias, both in the research technology and in terms of the publications presenting the research findings – mostly journals housed within publishing groups from the Global North. When it comes to DH's leading publications, English not only prevails as a dominant language, but also as the only one, rendering scientific production from other linguistic areas invisible. The following table published by Anna Svensson (2014, 15) in a bibliometrics study on periodicals in the field shows Latin America's scarce presence in DH journals.

Journal	Number of selected articles	Latin American subject	Author with Latin American affiliation	Latin American subject/ Author with Latin American affiliation
Caracteres 2012	42	7	4	2
Computers and the Humanities 1966–2004	918	10	0	0
Language Resources and Evaluation 2005–	230	2	5	1
Digital Humanities Quarterly 2007–	133	4	1	1
Digital Studies/Le champ numérique 2009–	47	0	0	0
Literary and Linguistic Computing 1986–	815+4	11+4	2+4	0+2
Total	**2189**	**38**	**13**	**5**

Total journal articles including a Latin American subject matter, an author affiliated to a Latin American institution, or both, from the first year of publication to 2013 (Svensson 2014, 15).

While the dominance of English in the DH field limits the potential for contributions from other languages or cultures, some researchers (del Rio Riande and Medeiros Pimenta 2019; Fiormonte and Sordi 2019) argue that the DH's restrictive character simultaneously opens a space for new prospects in the "Humanidades Digitales" and "Humanidades Digitais" of the Latin American countries. These researchers seek to study the specific contributions of the DH written in Spanish, Portuguese, and peripheral languages in general, developing at the margins of the centers controlling the DH discipline.[1]

According to Gimena del Rio Riande and Ricardo Medeiros Pimenta (2019, 3), the DH of the Global South champion linguistic and biocultural diversity, yielding the stage to languages beyond English and, as an extension, to different realities, methods, and cultural traditions. In this respect, I can cite projects protecting indigenous languages through digital tools, such as "7000 Languages".[2] The term

Global South, which was coined by the North, has been resignified from these Souths as a geographically, politically, and imaginatively diverse space. The Global South functions as a metaphor, epistemological orientation (de Sousa Santos 2017; Mignolo 2018), and critical space for the localization of certain discussions (Mota 2017, 2).

Notably, the DH of the Global South aim to counter data pillaging. Rather than viewing the South as a mere provider of raw data, the DH champion the sovereignty of data. As such, the DH of the South's localization in a specific territory and their critical position regarding the creative, public use of open-source programs, open data, open access to findings, and the possibility of reusing and transforming the data, are the sine qua non of their existence.

While recognizing that most technology comes from the Global North, the DH researchers of the South advocate for its transculturated use (Rama 1984), with the creative reappropriation of technology. For instance, DH could be used for the Spanish translation and adaptation of the Taxonomy of Digital Research Activities in the Humanities,[3] which originated in the Anglophone world. Furthermore, DH of the Global South seek to use the smallest number of digital tools needed to answer their research questions – namely, "minimal computing".[4]

Many in the DH publish their research in Hispanic journals such as *Revista de Humanidades Digitales* and *Artnodes*, or in more general ones on communications, technology, and the humanities, such as *Revista Digital Universitaria*, *Caracteres*, *El Profesional de la Información*, and *ARTyHUM*. These generally multilingual publications question English's monolingual paradigm.

In terms of the issues addressed in such journals, a review of the tables of contents of two specialized DH magazines from 2017 to 2021 shows that language and literature account for eight articles in *Artnodes* and 23 in *Revista de Humanidades Digitales*. In both magazines, only three articles address translation history (TH) from a DH perspective: Dolores Romero (2018a) presents the digital-libraries project known as Mnemosine,[5] emphasizing women translators, while the other two articles address the building of databases on translation. María Remedios Fernández Ruiz, Gloria Corpas Pastor, and Miriam Seghiri (2018) study translations of African literature to the English using BDÁFRICA, a bibliographical database, while Alejandro Bia Platas and Jesús Javier Rodríguez Sala (2016) explain how a database and research-document repository were built for the TRACE project (Translation and Censorship). Though TH is far from dominant in Spanish-language DH publications, the digital turn is currently changing the study and constitution of TH archives (Algee-Hewitt et al. 2016).

TRANSLATION HISTORY IN THE SPANISH-SPEAKING WORLD

In the field of translation studies, the expanding digitization of texts has broadened the archive, posing new challenges to TH research. In this section, I will review Spanish-language TH literature in relation to the type of sources these works are currently using so that, in the next section, I am able to examine the potential contribution of BTH to the field. According to Luis Pegenaute's taxonomy (2010), research in

the Spanish-speaking TH field can base itself upon: (1) translation cataloging studies; (2) bibliographical repertoires on TH studies; (3) anthologies of translation thought throughout history; (4) compiling and editing translations; and (5) reference works. Two other useful categories are: (6) academic journals on TH; and (7) linked-data platforms allowing for relational and large-scale analyses of the aforementioned data sources.

1. Translation cataloguing studies

Information can be traced to general bibliographic sources (such as the monumental *Manual del librero hispano-americano* by Palau Dulcet, 1923–1945); specific translation catalogs such as the UNESCO's *Index Translationum*, which registers translations published worldwide according to the data provided by each country since 1932; and the Mexican index of translations *Índice de las traducciones impresas en México*, launched by the exiled Spaniard José Ignacio Mantecón Navasal in 1964. Other relevant reference works include "libraries" with information on translators, such as Menéndez Pelayo's pioneering *Biblioteca de traductores españoles* (1952–1953), and Latin American ones such as the *Biblioteca chilena de traductores*, compiled by Toribio Medina (1925).

2. Bibliographical repertoires on translation history studies

Systematic, digital-access reference lists would include *Trades: Base de Datos de Estudios de Traducción* (Palomares Perrault 1999), with 1,800 references on research published in Spain from 1960 to 1994; *BITRES: Biblioteca de Traducciones Españolas* (Lafarga 2015), whose bibliographic list on TH in Spain includes around 1,200 references; and *BITRA: Bibliografía de traducción e interpretación* (Franco Aixelá 2001–2020) with 83,000 references on the field. In contrast to the first two, *BITRA* is updated regularly, making it the most complete database on Spanish-language translation studies. However, a thematic consultation on "Humanidades digitales" yields only one result: an article on the BDÁFRICA translation database cited above.

3. Anthologies on translation thought throughout history

Leaving works on specific authors aside, Luis Pegenaute (2010) compiles five anthologies published in Spain between 1987 and 2000, though he also mentions anthologies published for both Latin America and Spain (Catelli and Gargatagli 1998). More recent anthologies include the Latin American ones led by Gabriela Ádamo (2012), Nayelli Castro Ramírez, Ana María D'Amore, and Paula Andrea Montoya (2018), and Juan Arnau, Marina Bornas, Paula Caballero et al. (2013).[6]

4. Compiling and editing translations

In terms of translation publishing and compiling, certain platforms offer digital versions of translations, such as *Biblioteca Virtual da Literatura Universal en Galego*; *Traducciones y traductores de literatura y ensayo*, on 19th century Ibero-America, coordinated by Juan Jesús Zaro; and the *Bibliotecas de Traducciones Españolas* (2015) and *Biblioteca de traducciones hispanoamericanas* directed by Francisco Lafarga and Luis Pegenaute at *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. While these platforms tend to include few translations (under 50), their materials might prove

interesting when compiling a corpus of translated literary texts upon which DH tools could be deployed – such as automatic word-frequency searches, stylometry, and topic modeling.

5. Reference works

Lastly, Pegenaute (2010) mentions reference works compiling general information on translators and authors, in terms of translations: Pegenaute's coproductions alongside Lafarga, *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en España* (2009) and *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en Hispanoamerica* (2013), as well as the Catalan *Diccionari de la traducció catalana* (Bacardí and Godayol 2011). Dictionary formats aside, when it comes to Latin America, works such as *Traductores y traducciones en la historia cultural de América Latina* (Pagni, Payàs, and Willson 2011) are worth mentioning as well.

6. Academic journals specializing in translation history or having published a special issue on translation history

In general, as Francisco Javier Vargas Gómez (2017) shows in his bibliometric study on 72 translation-studies journals in Latin America, research on literary translation tends to dominate the scene and is usually conducted within the limits of national literature, overshadowing other current topics, such as automated translation. This would explain the scarcity of research intermingling the contributions of DH and TH. To determine whether TH studies deploying DH methodologies even exist, I have reviewed the indexes of 12 Spanish and Latin American journals that have housed translation studies, over their last five years (2017–2021) of publication.[7] While I found that the translation-studies perspective is by no means dominant, I could mention five articles whose interests could align with DH, either because of their large-scale, quantitative perspective, or because they use digital tools for data processing. I found quantitative studies with statistical information on the publishing market (Szpilbarg 2017), two lexicometric studies on *The Origin of Species* (Vandaele 2019; Acuña-Partal 2020), one relational database analysis on translations of *Little Women* (Hernández Socas and Giugliano 2019), and the digital publishing of a translation by Edith Nesbit (Romero 2018b). While the digital surge has irrevocably changed our practice as researchers, methodological frameworks are lagging – in fact, publications employing DH tools remain scarce in translation-studies publications.

7. Linked-data platforms

Lastly, I believe that linked data may prove a worthwhile resource for TH. These *meta* sources link data from different databases and repositories to generate knowledge from the connectivity among various sets of information that remain scattered to date, allowing us to better exploit said information. For instance, *Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes* houses 270,000 entries created using the standard MARC21 exchange.[8]

DIGITAL HUMANITIES CONTRIBUTIONS TO A SPANISH-LANGUAGE BIG TRANSLATION HISTORY

To organize discourse on translation history, Lieven D'Hulst (2010) proposes three distinct levels: history (based on factual events), historiography (which focuses on discourse in history, that is, on the ways history has been created over time),

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and metahistoriography, namely "the explicit reflection on the concepts and methods to write history and also on epistemological and methodological problems that are related to the use of these concepts and methods" (2010, 398). The following section argues that DH can help to discuss TH's metahistoriography, or its methodological and epistemological problems.

An emergent "community of practices" (del Rio Riande 2018) is currently exploring different historical aspects of translation history through a DH approach. In her project *DigiPhiLit*,[9] Rocío Ortuño Casanova (2020) describes the challenges of exploring translation in the digital repository of Filipino periodicals (1880–1935) using Optical Character Recognition (OCR). Meanwhile, Joana Malta, Luís Crespo de Andrade, and Pedro Lisboa (2020) explore how foreign authors are cited in the Portuguese cultural magazines digitized by the project *Revistas de Ideias e Cultura*, applying a statistical model.[10] Also notably, Ceyda Elgül (2019) uses a quantitative and relational perspective to study biographies translated into Turkish and published in books (1800–2020).

In what follows, I will examine the main features of current TH in order to determine which contributions DH could make to the development of a BTH in the Spanish-speaking world – especially in my current research framed into the project, "Social Networks of the Past: Mapping Hispanic and Lusophone Literary Modernity," which I will briefly touch upon throughout this subsection, as well as in other similar research projects.

Looking back on descriptions of the field (Vega and Pulido 2013; Ordóñez López and Sabio Pinilla 2015), Spanish language TH is characterized by the following:

1. The monograph prevails over general publications, especially monographs on a certain translator, set of works, or specific period. In this sense, BTH can draw from information scattered across these monographs, tying them together with linked data by feeding data from non-homogenous sources into a single database, allowing for relational analysis. The database built by Hanno Ehrlicher, director of the Tübingen University portal *Revistas Culturales 2.0* on Hispanic-modernist and avant-garde periodicals, stands as a good example of a single database of numerous sources in which translation appears as a research category.[11]

2. The study of translations (which generally involves comparisons to the original) has recently turned toward "Translator Studies" (Chesterman 2009), deploying a sociological and historical perspective. Using large-scale Social Network Analysis tools, BTH can create visuals for social networks among translators, understood as "cultural mediators" (Roig-Sanz 2018), alongside other agents, institutions in the editorial and cultural fields, and published translations. In terms of the network, this relational study can help visualize collective biographies instead of emphasizing a single agent, identifying actors who have been made anonymous by literary and cultural history. The *BIESES* project,[12] on writing by pre-1800 Spanish women, shows how these tools can be used in the literary field (not specific to translation studies) from the Social Network Analysis perspective. In Spain, I can also mention the work by Dolores Romero, from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, whose citizen-science proj-

ect[13] aims to highlight women translators' trajectories as a way of enriching the data in the National Library of Spain's catalog.

Likewise, BTH can apply Name Entity Recognition (NER) processes to automatically detect persons or places on a large scale. In the Social Networks of the Past project, I use NER to locate authors and translators in periodical publications. Additionally, I apply several methods to group names that may refer to the same person based on graphical or phonetic similarity to reconcile these names against authority files like the Virtual Internet Authority File,[14] in order to provide a unique identifier for each person, linking names to open databases so that they can be easily identified when reusing the data in other projects.

3. Tracing and consulting translator and translation archives is key to TH research. BTH can massively exploit these sources, which tend to be scattered, through the digitization of materials, image processing of digital objects, metadata extraction, text cleaning, and OCR for subsequent large-scale analysis. One of the goals of our project is to find translations and information about translators within the cultural Ibero-American press that have already been digitized by various print-media libraries and digital repositories. To this end, I aim to create a meta-catalog of digitized magazines and a text database to search for and process the texts printed in these magazines. More specifically, I aim to apply NER and other Natural Language Processing techniques to the texts to identify and link translators, authors, and work titles, as well as other relevant data, and to perform various analyses, including network analysis or topic modelling. Other similar projects using OCR for periodicals in the Hispanic area include *America Lee*,[15] from Argentina, and the aforementioned *DigiPhiLit*.

4. In terms of research on TH as a whole, (mostly canonical) literature tends to prevail. However, given that BTH has no scale limitations, it can deal with broader archives and address various kinds of translations within a given catalog, including scientific, general-dissemination, and literary-translation texts, as well as texts by non-canonical authors. This could yield new kinds of analyses while decentering the literary canon and valuing authors and works that have been forgotten. In the project, I have studied the 15 most translated foreign authors with the greatest presence in the National Library of Spain catalog,[16] as seen in Fig. 1. Though this graph focuses on globally renowned canonical authors, this relational image helps unveil a myriad of publishing houses and translators associated with said authors that were part and parcel of the editorial field from 1900 to 1945. In this case, I have identified the library's most-translated authors, as well as the nodes of their translators, and the publishing houses that printed their works.[17]

5. In TH, periodization is key to defining a corpus. Which criteria should we use? Historical and cultural criteria, or criteria specific to the work being studied or to data accessibility? BTH casts light on this problem and, when data is available, allows for broader periodizations than ever before. BTH also allows us to work in the *longue durée* from a transnational or global perspective. In the project, which includes both the Spanish-speaking and Lusophone areas, we have chosen two historical events
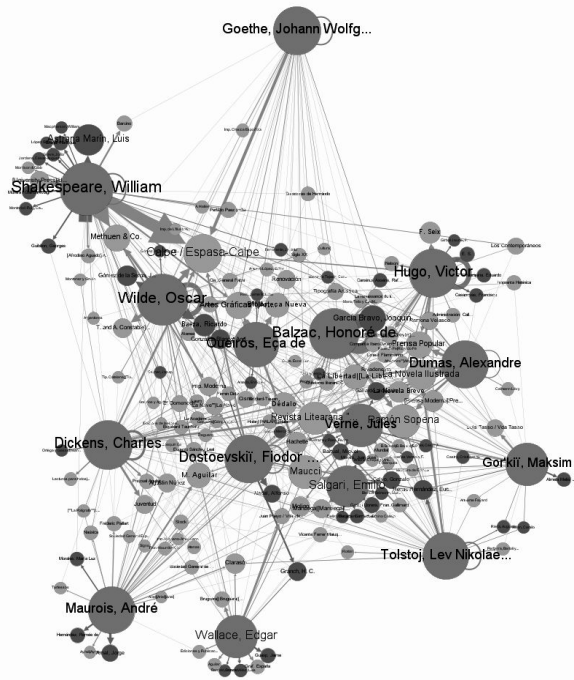
LAURA FÓLICA

Fig. 1: Graph of the National Library of Spain's 15 most-translated authors
(generated by V. Ikoff for our ERC project)

that proved key in forging the region's historical reality in relation to the Spanish empire and the loss of the colonies: Cuba's independence from Spain in 1898 and the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The latter has also been associated with the beginning of the Latin American boom in literature, which gave Spanish-language writing new international visibility.

6. Spatial demarcations are also key to keeping TH research coherent – this research is usually limited to the national or to a specific language within a nation. Regarding the Hispanic field, some researchers restrict their investigations to the Iberian Peninsula (Ordóñez López and Sabio Pinilla 2015; Pegenaute 2010), whereas others also address Latin America, given the shared language (Vega and Pulido 2013; Bastin 2008; Valdeón and Vidal 2019). Nonetheless, as mentioned in the introduction, there is a risk of having our research become too generalized while losing sight of the wealth of each specific context. From a relational perspective, I combine metadata from myriad sources: beyond digital national libraries, it includes transnational repositories such as the Iberoamerican Institute of Berlin and the Biblioteca del Patrimonio Iberoamericano.

7. When TH employs databases, it often uses databases designed for human consultation rather than for massive or relational automated consultations. For instance, the 19th-century translation catalog that Juan Jesús Zaro (2007) published in Andalucía offers relevant print-media documents as pdfs, but, unfortunately, this format

precludes the metadata extraction and reuse required for comparisons with other databases (csv is the most common format for data exchange, while the most common for ease of reading is txt). In my research, I propose building an interoperable database that can be openly shared with the community. Examples can be found in the sample of databases on Iberoamerican periodicals that my colleagues and I have previously published,[18] as well as the finished project database *Revistas Culturales 2.0*.

8. Lastly, TH is also characterized by its interdisciplinarity – with links to the humanities, philology, literary criticism, sociology, cultural studies, and even the histories of science and religion – depending on the kinds of translations being analyzed. BTH reinforces interdisciplinarity in a more obvious way, incorporating technical know-how from the computational and information-systems fields. This reinforces the collaborative aspect of such research, with experts from different fields joining forces. Our research group includes members with training in philology, communications, engineering, data analytics, and complex systems.

CONCLUSION

In sum, big translation history aims to revise epistemological posits on how knowledge is generated and valued in the translation history field in the Spanish-speaking space, focusing on how to share, transform, and preserve knowledge as openly and interoperably as possible. In this crossing between big translation history and the digital humanities, we should avoid a certain naivete when understanding data as objects lacking interpretation (Moretti 2005), as we should be aware that interpretation is already present in data access, selection, and registry in digital humanities datasets. Interpretation is not merely relegated to the moment when the data is analyzed, but affects the entire research process, from its incipience. For analysts adopting the big translation history approach, data is both object of study and reference, which underscores the importance of managing a curated dataset (Bode 2017). In other words, we may either keep the conservative model that transposes the translator's alleged neutrality to the technological terrain, or, as Pym (2016) would advocate, we may choose to stop reinforcing dominant ideological spaces and open the discipline to new areas, objects, and methods guided by new epistemologies and paradigm changes as well as by new academic practices based on the constitution of interdisciplinary teams, data exchanges among research groups from various research centers, and the open publication of research findings. There is still plenty of interdisciplinary work ahead in translation studies. Projects crossing translation history with digital humanities in the Global South and, specifically, in Latin America remain scarce, not because the field is uninteresting, but because the field has only recently emerged. This nascent approach's potential could not only prove fruitful to work on digital archives, but also to research employing the transnational and large-scale perspective. Thus, we believe in the urgent need to train ourselves as big translation humanities researchers in order to exploit new research objects from a fresh methodological perspective.

NOTES

1 For a study of DH research groups in Ibero-America, see Ortega and Gutiérrez 2014; Toscano et al. 2020.

2 See https://7000.org/.

3 See https://linhd.uned.es/uso-de-la-taxonomia-en-hd-de-tadirah-en-espanol/.

4 This originated within a subgroup of Global Outlook: Digital Humanities within the Alliance of Digital Humanities Organizations, https://go-dh-github.io/mincomp/.

5 See https://www.ucm.es/proyectomnemosine/rescate.

6 For further development on research in the Latin American field, see Pagni (2014).

7 Namely, *1611: Revista de Historia de la Traducción*, *El Taco en la Brea*, *Estudios de Traducción*, *Ex-Libris*, *Hermeneus: Revista de Traducción e Interpretación*, *Lenguas Vivas*, *MonTI*, *Mutatis Mutandis*, *Quaderns*, *Sendebar*, *TRANS: Revista de Traductología*, *Transfer*.

8 See http://data.cervantesvirtual.com/blog/2020/01/23/datos-enlazados/; http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/traducciones_hispanoamericanas/.

9 See https://digiphilit.uantwerpen.be/.

10 See http://ric.slhi.pt/Seara_Nova/ficha_tecnica.

11 See https://www.revistas-culturales.de/es.

12 See www.bieses.net.

13 See https://comunidad.bne.es/proyectos/traduccion-de/.

14 See Viaf.org.

15 See http://americalee.cedinci.org/.

16 The data may be accessed at www.datos.gob.es.

17 In the original full-color graph, these are marked in red (authors), green (translators), and purple (publishers), respectively. For further details on the graph, see Roig-Sanz and Fólica (2021 forthcoming).

18 See http://hdl.handle.net/10609/86485; DOI: 10.23728/b2share.eb5c468d3dc3401c8b2fb4605d868a00.

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Digital humanities and big translation history in the Global South: A Latin American perspective

Digital humanities. Translation studies. Big translation history. Spanish-speaking space.

Drawing from big translation history (BTH), which uses digital-humanities tools for the study of translation history from a transnational, relational, and large-scale perspective, this article develops a metahistoriographic reflection upon the ways translation history can be rebuilt in the Spanish-speaking space, using computational tools. To this end, I review how the sub-field of translation history has been constituted in Latin America and Spain, and I conclude by pointing toward the contributions that big translation history can make to the future development of translation history in a region that is framed in the so-called Global South. I will illustrate this point with my current research on the circulation of translated literature in Ibero-America (Spain, Latin America) between 1898 and 1959.

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Quantitative translationscapes and chronological constellations: French, Soviet, and American novels in communist Romania

ŞTEFAN BAGHIU

In 1842, a rather odd text was published by a French historian, Charles Léopold Louandre, titled "Statistique littéraire: La Poésie depuis 1830", which has remained obscure for literary historians and literary theorists, including distant reading experts.* The text can be seen as peculiar because, although it may seem like a typical statistical account of books put forward during the decade when statistics institutions were emerging in Europe, its metaphors and reflections are not ordinary at all. Louandre writes about a *literary necropolis* ("nécropole littéraire", 971) as he browses through the legal book depository in Rue de Grenelle and laments the disappearance of specific titles from its bibliography:

> I browsed with interest and sadness through so many volumes, which had left behind, as a testimony to their existence but a serial number and a title in the catalog of the library, and I gazed at the poets for a long while, overwhelmed by their number and quite surprised that I only with great difficulty found, among them, a few vaguely familiar names (972, trans. by S.B).[1]

Historians could have easily forgotten Louandre for this text (which, of course, happened), and literary theorists could have fairly neglected him, if it were not for his distinction between the "royalty of poetry, the masters we love to read time and again, who are constantly republished and sold" and the "obscure satellites [...] which form a genuine Milky Way on our firmament" (972, trans. by S.B.).[2] Louandre theorizes here about "the great unread", a century and a half before the concept gained momentum within world literature studies and long before distant reading and macroanalysis rethought the quantitative analysis of literature (Cohen 1999; Moretti 2000a, 2000b, 2013; Jockers 2013). This great unread is of interest in the present article, mainly through "constellations" of translations within a given space and time, defined by the chronological distance between the original publication of a novel and the release of its first translation in a given target culture. "The great unread" and "the constellation", both useful metaphors in literary studies, primarily convey one central idea: one must understand the workings of the vast literary mass in equal measure to the workings of the canon, and not by extrapolating the canon to the mass, but by deploying various *distances* (i.e. measures), from which I will

hereby select and address the chronological ones. The main observation here is that in the exact way distances between stars are calculated through observing them against other stars (against the background of other stars), distance in literature could be seen as reachable through a connection set between the translation and the year of the original publication. This is an example of what Jordan A.Y. Smith convincingly argues to be a useful model in translation studies and world literature, namely translationscapes (2017), or "the sum total of texts of a given literary set visible in another" (2017, 751).

Although I have previously discussed the utility of *quantitative translationscapes* (Baghiu 2019a; 2019b) for the French novel and also for Latin American, Southeast Asian, and African literatures in translation, I have never before conducted a comparative analysis of given translationscapes within a given literary culture. My aim here is to show the utility of such an approach by visualizing translations of novels in Romania between 1944 and 1989, between the conclusion of World War II and the fall of communism. This was a 45-year period with a state-sponsored literary system, from which I select three translationscapes, each with its specific constellation: the constellations of the French, Russian/Soviet, and American novel.

NATIONAL READINGS OF TRANSLATIONSCAPES FOR WORLD LITERATURE

The novel had its unique way of becoming a cohesive genre through time thanks to imitations and translations, and it continued its life after becoming cohesive through reprints and retranslations. As Donald Sassoon shows in his *The Culture of the Europeans* (2012), by the 1830s, the novel entered a new era, in which it would acquire a central position within the evolution of literary genres in Europe. The new age of the novel started when, by the end of the 18th century, "[i]n twenty years, with a striking rapidity, all the forms [of the novel] that will dominate Western narrative for a century [found] their masterpiece" (Moretti 2013, 19). At the same time, as Robert Escarpit showed in *The Book Revolution*, there are various stages in the large-scale *dissemination* of literature throughout the continent, and certainly equally as many on a planetary scale: "*The Divine Comedy* took more than four centuries to make its way throughout Europe; twenty years were enough for *Don Quixote*, and five for *Werther*" (1966, 22).

Several questions arise: What happened to those masterpieces? Where and when did they *travel*? What is a masterpiece within a constellation of thousands of translated novels from a specific culture into another? In trying to define the inception of the European novel, Franco Moretti thought, along the lines of Fernand Braudel, that a representation of an "evolutionary bush" could serve as a working instrument for visualizing the genre's development. Braudel described this evolution by formulating a very useful metaphor: "its growth will take the form of slower runners catching up with the leader of the race" (Moretti 2013, 19). The conceptual metaphor I hereby put forward is, alongside Charles Louandre's metaphor of constellations, the *chronological translationscape*, in which the distances between works can be observed across time for specific contexts.

The three charts I will present, together with their highlighted versions, show the chronological tendencies of translated novels in a comprehensive account of all the French, Russian (and Soviet), and American novels that were translated in Romania after World War II, using Smith's concept of the translationscape (2017). Smith argues that translations are "ideologically conditioned" (751) and that translated works form *scapes* within the target culture that become marks for the "visibility of power in world literary production" (755). Of course, translations are not "all" the texts "of a given literary set visible in another", since a significant number of readers were and still are reading in the original language, and there are a lot of visible elements that manage to attract interest without necessarily being translated. Indeed, in this sense, world literature is not regarded merely as the entire mass of translations (Terian 2012, 201). But translations are something that can be quantified at a scale that is large enough to *prove* something and nonetheless small enough to still *show* something of use to local literary histories in the age of globalization and transnational academic studies. As Smith claims, "few have managed to forge a research method that negotiates between translation studies and the truly rhizomatic phenomenon of world literature in the modern, transnational world" (2017, 753). I am not claiming to have achieved this here, but I believe that we must turn our attention towards empirical grounds when approaching world literature. However, even if we came into possession of the complete archive of world literature (whatever that might entail), reading this archive would *still* be a local/national/regional matter. Of course, one can claim to read world literature through an abstract and ahistorical mode of reading/interpretative lens. Still, in my understanding, that particular mode of reading simply does not exist outside of the academic consensus that the universal mode of reading is the Western one. This happens, in my view, mainly due to the ideological grounds behind the selection of each translationscape, where many works remain untranslated or are forgotten: the universal mode of reading simple presupposes being unaware of the "obscure satellites". Romanian readerships have a different perception of the French novel than readers in Brazil, for example. And the geographical distance between reading cultures is not the issue here, as readers in Romania also have a different perception of the French or American novel from their neighbors in Bulgaria. Certainly, the recent volumes in Bloomsbury's series of reading national literatures as "world literatures" (Martin, Moraru, and Terian 2018; Coutinho 2019; Harper and Kambourov 2020), are very useful when trying to figure out how the complex matrixes of the transnational can be used in understanding the echoes of national literary production *beyond* national borders. Yet we also need to consider that every literary work translated into another culture is a small part of a complex translationscape that is ultimately transferred, alongside the abstract image of the entire source culture, into the target one. This image is more or less holistic for readers. Nonetheless, the simple fact that a literature is perceived within a target culture through a local lens, and that translationscapes of different national literatures form various patterns, compels us to consider different experiences of what constitutes world literature.

The study aims to show how three national literatures functioned within the Romanian subsystem of novelistic translation during communism. An encyclopedic database – the Romanian dictionary of all the novels translated from 1794 to 1989 (Burlacu, Burlacu, Istrate et al. 2005) – will be used to compare the original publication year of every novel with the year of its translation, and in this way three patterns of novelistic translation from 1944 to 1989 will be described. The accuracy of the original publication year for every dictionary entry has been manually verified. The results will be presented in light of relevant contextual information about novels translated within the state-centralized cultural space of communist Romania. First, there was a short period of a certain postwar status quo (from 1944 to 1948) in literary translation, in which French, North American, English, and German novels were still dominating the field. During the second phase (from 1948 to 1964), the Romanian translation program witnessed a radical change. This is also when the first Global South translations emerged in Romania (Baghiu 2019b). In short, prior to 1948, in Romania there were no translations of novels originating in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and Africa. Between 1948 and 1964, a few dozen new cultures were translated. Novels from Ecuador, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, and other Latin American cultures, novels from China, Korea, Vietnam, and later the Philippines, and novels from Algeria, Egypt, Cameroon, and Senegal were rendered in Romania for the first time in an until then highly Eurocentric translation system (Baghiu 2019b, 500). This can be seen as separated in two distinct periods, one that marks the domination of the Soviet novel in translation (from 1948 to 1955) and a second period of so-called "liberalization" or "thaw", which consisted, in respect to novel translations, of the equal proportion of Eastern (Soviet) novels and Western (Western-European and North-American) novels in translation (from 1955 to 1964; Baghiu 2018). A third phase (from 1964 to 1989) was initiated when socialist realism lost its central position in Romanian culture, and translation programs focused more on translating Western works. This periodization is crucial in relation to what Gisèle Sapiro (2016) defines as the "political (or more broadly ideological)" category of the circulation of world literature in translation, since, as Ioana Popa argues, "far from being limited to a simple operation of translating texts, their transfer from the USSR to its new 'satellites' contributes, under constraint, to modifying writing practices and literary productions there, while supporting the institutional transformations of their cultural worlds" (Popa 2010, 87; see also Popa 2003, 2006).

QUANTITATIVE TRANSLATIONSCAPES: FRENCH, RUSSIAN, AND AMERICAN

First, let us regard the quantitative translationscape of the French novel. Each dot on the scatter plot is an individual translated novel; however, I chose not to highlight the canonical ones but to observe clusters of time. Of course, the scatter plot does not resemble a constellation, since it is well structured on the horizontal axis (which marks the year of the translation) and the vertical axis (which indicates the year of the original publication of every single novel translated), but it is nonetheless compelling. Placing novels within the translationscape can show both its typical and ab-

normal presence. For example, a French novel written during 1900 and 1950 and translated between 1948 and 1964 is an exception, so it must be understood as such when referring to particular authors and movements within the target culture. Take, for example, Romain Rolland's *L'Âme enchantée*, published in 1922 and translated in 1949, only four years after the first translation of Marcel Proust's 1913 *Du côté de chez Swann,* in 1945. These works are so close and so similar on the translation-scape, yet so far apart when considered together. However, my aim here is not necessarily to show how *works* are placed within the constellation, but rather how we can draw models of different translationscapes in order to understand how translations *work* within a given literary polysystem (Even-Zohar 1979).
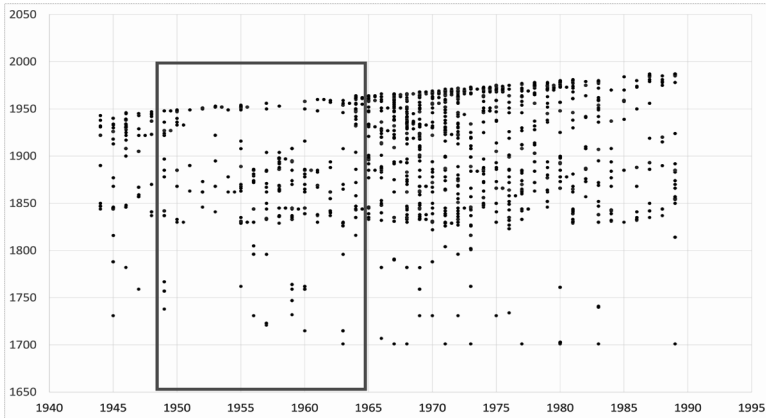

Chart 1: Translationscape 1 – The French novel in Romania with an emphasis on the period of socialist realism (x: 1944–1989; y: 1700–1989)

The French novel has dominated the entire Romanian translation culture since the mid-19th century. From 1800 to 1918 (which can be considered the long 19th century), the French novel covers 70% of all novelistic translations in Romania (Baghiu 2020a). It maintains its dominance between 1919 and 1944, although I have not yet obtained the necessary data to estimate the proportions of this dominance. However, what is certain is that the only period in Romanian culture from 1800 to 1989 in which the French novel does not hold center stage is the socialist realist period (Baghiu 2018). Still, the chronological translationscape reveals quite exciting things: the French novel persists in translation during socialist realism only through its 19th-century writers. Between 1948 and 1964, the French novels make an appearance in Romania almost exclusively through titles initially published during the 19th century, meaning that the French novel is more out-of-date. But in literature, a greater chronological distance to the year of the publication means, in some cases, what David Damrosch (2006) refers to as hypercanon. Here we have Alexandre Dumas, Eugène Sue, Victor Hugo, Honoré de Balzac, etc., and their presence within the constellation is indisputable. A greater distance within the translationscape gives reassurance during socialist realism that its content is "safe" for readers, while a shorter distance cannot vouch for the ideological purity of the novel. Thus, we can extrapolate that, in turbulent political times, the past is

a better literary ally. Yet, something had to fill the gap left behind by this boycott of the contemporary and of these *recent* uncontrollable works of the interwar period. The chronological translationscape of the Russian and Soviet novel can be seen below:

Chart 2: Translationscape 2 – The Russian and Soviet novel in Romania with an emphasis on the socialist realist period (x: 1944–1989; y: 1700–1989)

The Soviet novels translated during the period of socialist realism are authored mainly by contemporary writers, while the French novel only survives through translations of 19th-century authors. While the 19th-century Russian novel goes through a careful selection before appearing in the Romanian translationscape (e.g. authors such as Fyodor Dostoyevsky are not translated or republished during 1944–1955, while Leo Tolstoy is still present), the contemporary Soviet novel fills the gap of contemporaneity itself. Of course, as Katerina Clark shows, there is a visible "Soviet novel" canon within the Russian literary production of the first half of the 20th century, which was exported to the new satellites of the Soviet Union after World War II: "M. Gorky's *Mother* and *Klim Samgin*; D. Furmanov's *Chapaev*; A. Serafimovich's *The Iron Flood*; F. Gladkov's *Cement*; M. Sholokhov's *Quiet Flows the Don* and *Virgin Soil Upturned*; A. Tolstoy's *The Road to Calvary* and *Peter the First*; N. Ostrovsky's *How the Steel Was Tempered*; and A. Fadeev's *The Rout* and *The Young Guard*" (1981, 4). This specific canon, alongside other similar authors, rather uniform in their writing and diverse in their socialist realist topics (Baghiu 2020b), provide the sense of the contemporary. It forms a visible cluster within the first decades of Romanian socialist realism (from 1948 to 1964). As has become clear in two quantitative translationscapes, the political program of socialist realism diminished the influence of the Western novel of the first half of the 20th century. Some Soviet novels had already been translated during the interwar period, such writer as Maxim Gorky having ten translated novels between 1905 and 1933 and no translations between 1933 and 1946, due to Romania's interwar far-right policies, and Fyodor Gladkov, with two translated novels between 1930 and 1933. Other writers such as Alexander Serafimovich, Alexander Fadeev, or Mikhail Sholokhov became part of the Romanian translationscape only after World War II.

Yet this is also the situation with some 19th-century authors such as Ivan Goncharov, whose *Oblomov* (1859) was first translated in Romania after 1949, or Dmitry Mamin-Sibiriak's *The Privalov Fortune* (1883).[3] Starting from 1955, the year of Dostoyevsky's reappearance in translation, the Soviet novel translationscape expands to include genre fiction (science fiction, fantasy, adventure novels, through authors such as Vladimir Obruchev), justifying Brian James Baer's assumption that "the fact that translated literature was, as a general rule, less closely monitored than original writing, made it into a vehicle for expressing alternative, if not openly oppositional, views" (2011, 9). After 1964, the Soviet and Russian novel slowly fades away and disappears. The classics had been translated, and contemporary authors had very few things to say after socialist realism. Of course, this was also because Romania tried to distance itself from Moscow and directed its focus to other areas of translation.
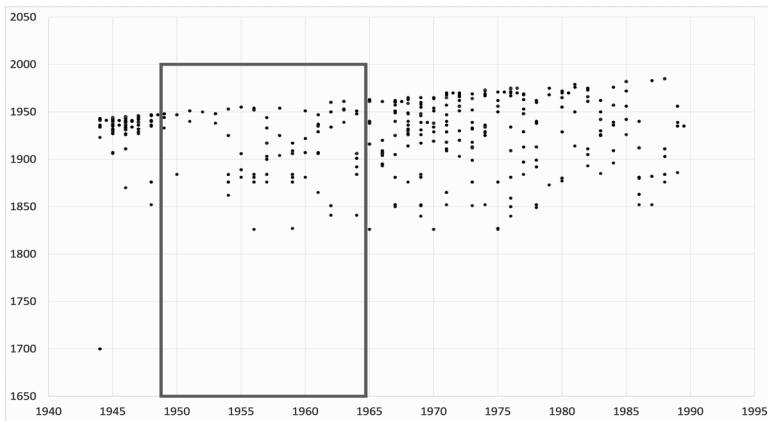

Chart 3: Translationscape 3 – The American novel in Romania
(x: 1944–1989; y: 1700–1989)

The relationship between Romanian literature and the North American novel must be understood in political terms as well, even from its very beginnings during the 19th century (Mihăilă 2005; Baghiu 2020a). Although the American novel is more diffuse, it provides us with a translationscape similar to that of the French novel. First, the significant concentration of contemporary novels between 1944 and 1948 points towards the fascination American literature exerted in Europe right after World War II. In the socialist realist period (from 1948 to 1964), the American novel is translated less but appears more chronologically diverse, thus outweighing the French novel of the era between 1919 and 1939. This means that interwar American novels are safer for the regime than the French ones. Novels authored by political writers such as Howard Fast, a very familiar name in socialist realist times, provided a critique of American capitalism as insiders, so they were essential parts of the translation program. After 1964, the American novel becomes a widely acclaimed part of the Romanian translation market, with authors such as William Faulkner or Ernest Hemingway gaining prominence (Schneider 2008).

To summarize, Soviet literature translated during socialist realism mainly consists of contemporary authors, while the French novel survives in Romanian translation through 19th-century authors only. After 1964, the French novel dominates the field through a *compensation* process (Terian 2013; Baghiu 2019a), while the Soviet and Russian novels diminish in size within the translationscape. The rise of the American novel is visible during the 1940s but stops during socialist realism and dominates the debates of the last decades of the communist period. This calls for an explanation concerning the circulation of the novel from a big data perspective.

HYPERTRANSLATIONSCAPES, COUNTERTRANSLATIONSCAPES, AND SHADOW TRANSLATIONSCAPES

As Franco Moretti famously puts it in *The Atlas of the European Novel 1800–1900* (1998), drawing on the case of the *Dictionary of National Bibliography*, "the smaller a collection [of books] is, the more canonical it is" (1998, 146). We can imagine that the growth of a literary translationscape is not enacted through canonical works but mainly through shadow canon works. But what does "canon" mean within a translation database, be it only a few thousand novels? Indeed, there are many canonical figures within the shown translationscapes, but the main point of discussion here is quite different: the canonical aspect of each translationscape as a whole, i.e. its *amplitude* and its *persistence*. David Damrosch's concepts of hypercanon, countercanon, and shadow canon (2006) can help envision a hypertranslationscape, a countertranslationscape, and a shadow translationscape of novels which can better explain the market and ideological forces shaping the evolution of world literature within a given culture.

These three translationscapes – French, Russian, and American – are illustrated below, with a close-up on the vertical axis for the period between 1800 and 1989. Of course, emphasizing the canonical novels in relation to the number of articles that were written about them might prove a fruitful method for understanding the brighter stars of the three constellations. However, they are not highlighted here, since clusters can better help us to understand the abstract history of translations.

As David Damrosch implies when he proposes his canonical triad, the canonical status of an author is not necessarily tied to geography or time in a deterministic way. In other words, although there are direct geographical and chronological implications in the formation of the hypercanon ("older 'major' authors who have held their own or even gained ground", 2006, 45), the countercanon ("subaltern and 'contestatory' voices of writers in languages less commonly taught and in minor literatures within great-power languages", 2006, 45), and the shadow canon ("old 'minor' authors who fade increasingly into the background", 2006, 45), this does not mean that French authors are hypercanonical, while Soviet authors constitute the shadow canon. It takes more than their national origin or geographical location, and the discussion must include the dynamics of world literature and translations within the world system, from literary classics like Balzac and Dostoyevsky to new classics, such as Marcel Proust, Virginia Woolf, and William Faulkner, as well as works of authors such as Jorge Amado and Bhabani Bhattacharya.

Chart 4: Translationscape 4.a – The French novel in Romania
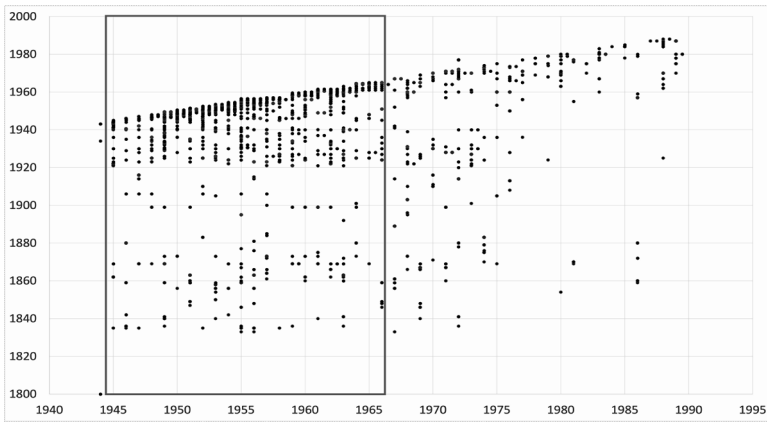(x: 1944–1989; y: 1800–1989)

Chart 5: Translationscape 4.b – The Russian novel in Romania
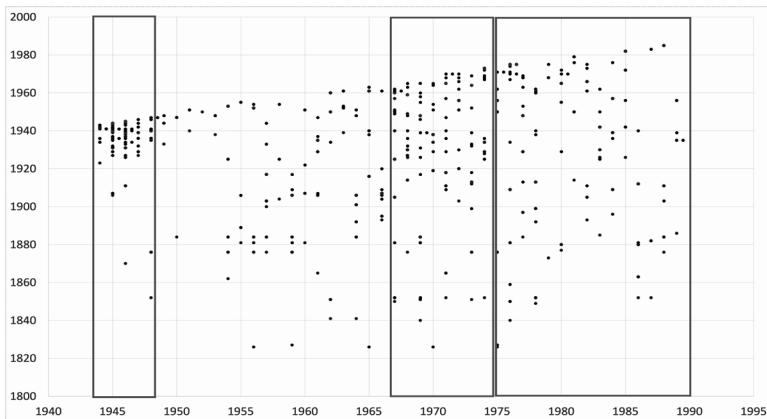(x: 1944–1989; y: 1800–1989)

Chart 6: Translationscape 4.c – The American novel in Romania
(x: 1944–1989; y: 1800–1989)

However, I argue that chronological clusters within a translationscape can be decisive for the understanding of the *role* played by a source literature within a target literature. This perspective on the role of a specific literature is, of course, generated through past and present stereotypes about a particular culture, but is also dependent on the *consistency* of the clusters within translationscapes.

The Russian and Soviet novel provides the communist period with a *shadow translationscape*, since it is politically imposed, at least the most consistent cluster (the highlighted square on Chart 5). Its main feature is that it is very present-oriented during socialist realism and it lacks a coherent approach to translations of novels initially published before 1917. The focus on the contemporary novel in the case of the Soviet novel is driven by the tendency to translate Soviet authors who had achieved a high level of notoriety due to their ties with Moscow's official policy, but most of whom were soon to become part of the shadow canon. In my reading, a *shadow translationscape* is not a translationscape in which all the translated literature is ephemeral, but in which the central cluster is. A translationscape whose main cluster is doomed to perish entirely within a few decades is one that will, unfortunately, follow the cluster. This does not diminish the target-culture relevance of Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Gogol, Gorky and other hypercanonical figures within the *shadow translationscape*, and not even that of Fadeev and Gladkov, for that matter. But it shows the element that makes it ephemeral: the political obsession with contemporary novels. Although socialist realism was truly the first stage in disseminating African, Southeast Asian, and Latin American literature in Romania, which brought about contestatory voices like Jorge Amado, the shakiness of the core cluster of the Soviet novel is visible and easily understandable. And it generated something strange: Within the shadow translationscape, the hypercanonical 19th-century group of Russian authors loses ground along with the socialist realist cluster, becoming nearly extinct during the 1970s and 1980s, barely surviving through contemporary Soviet authors translated for the sake of bilateral political relations between the empire in ruins (the Soviet Union) and its former satellite (Romania). The presence of the Russian novel is – in this interpretation – shadowed by the dissolution of its main chronological cluster, which had consisted of minor authors with huge political capital within the Soviet Union. In relation to the theory of the great unread, it is overwhelming to think about the massive loss of this cluster: most of the hundreds of novels translated within the cluster have vanished forever and were never coherently integrated within the general Romanian discourse on 20th century Russian literature.

The *hypertranslationscape* is represented here by the French novel. I have already discussed the cluster of contemporary authors formed between 1944 and 1948 and its shift towards a cluster of 19th-century authors during socialist realism. After 1964, the cluster that stretches towards 1980 is the core of the translationscape, since hundreds of novels from different historical periods were translated at that time. The 19th-century classics with both a hypercanonical and countercanonical status are joined by the early 20th-century modernist authors, who had by then achieved a hypercanonical standing as well, backed up by numerous genre fiction authors that

have by now been degraded to the status of shadow canon. The *hypertranslation-scape* of the French novel has its core within a much better-disposed cluster of novels, covering chronological distances that had been ignored in the Russian and Soviet translationscape. Above all, the French novel had the capacity to resist the exclusion of the 20th-century novel during socialist realism through its 19th-century works and therefore become the main drive for overcoming the rigid formula of socialist realism. Many modernist or existentialist figures of interwar French literature were redeemed against socialist realism in the sense that they entered Eastern Europe as countercanonical narratives that replaced the Soviet shadow canon.

Last, but not least, is the *countertranslationscape*: contestatory, hard to assimilate, yet so catchy during the 1960s and throughout the 1980s – the forbidden fruit of the American novel. Although vilified by the main socialist realist critics, since William Faulkner as well as Henry Miller were regarded as depraved writers, it was very inspiring for mainstream Romanian authors such as Marin Preda or D.R. Popescu. The American novel, alongside the Latin American experimental novel, constitutes the contestatory translationscape that follows in the footsteps of the French *hyper-translationscape* only to contest its dominance, not through quantity, but through its subversive potential.

CONCLUSIONS

The limitations of this research are quite obvious and derive mainly from the fact that it attempts to analyze the local reception of the novel and limits the novel to three main translationscapes. Also, it avoids the issues of "invisibility" and "untranslability", which are central to translation research and world literature studies alike. Yet time can be a crucial variable in understanding the flows of world literature, especially within its uneven distribution and reception beyond the translation process. Moreover, this is how histories of translations can be conceived with a big data perspective: through quantifiable characteristics that show not only auctorial distribution, but clusters of time within constellations of translations.

NOTES

[1] "Je regardais avec un intérêt mêlé d'une certaine tristesse tant de volumes qui n'ont laissé, pour sauver leur mémoire, qu'un numéro d'ordre et un titre au Journal de la librairie, et je m'arrêtai long-temps devant les poètes, effrayé de leur nombre et tout surpris de trouver à grand'peine dans cette foule quelques noms vaguement connus."

[2] "des royautés poétiques, des maîtres qu'on aime et qu'on relit, qui se réimpriment et qui se vendent [...] mais jamais aussi, par compensation, plus de satellites obscurs n'ont gravité autour de la pléïade, et les étoiles nébuleuses forment dans notre ciel une véritable voie lactée."

[3] The titles are taken from existing English translations.

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Quantitative translationscapes and chronological constellations: French, Soviet, and American novels in communist Romania

This article makes use of quantitative methods to chart the particular morphologies of translated novels in Romania after World War II. The three charts presented show the chronological shift in the preferences for translating novels in a comprehensive account of all the Russian (and Soviet), French, and American novels translated in Romania, demonstrating that the translations can be analyzed through what Jordan A.Y. Smith convincingly argues to be a useful model in translation studies and world literature, namely *translationscapes*. Through use of an extensive database, the article illustrates which periods the novels translated in communist Romania originate from and describes three patterns of translation during communism according to David Damrosch's approach to canon. This points towards a certain need for clarifying the circulation of the novel from a big data perspective, through what this study refers to as quantitative translationscapes.

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À propos d'une récente histoire européenne de la traduction

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« Histoire européenne de la traduction » : un titre prometteur ! Les auteurs d'*Europäische Übersetzungsgeschichte*, Jörn Albrecht et Iris Plack, le savent bien : aussi avertissent-ils d'emblée qu'ils se gardent de toute prétention d'exhaustivité ou de représentativité, et qu'ils proposent, en fait, un « choix de quelques faits et aspects systématiques de l'activité traductive en Europe de l'Antiquité à nos jours » (Albrecht et Plack 2018, 15). Le sommaire de leur ouvrage de 548 pages n'en est pas moins impressionnant : organisé en deux grandes parties (I : historique ; II : systématique), s'achevant par une Bibliographie et un Index commodes, il offre, sur la base de travaux récents, une mise en évidence de repères essentiels dans une enquête qui porte, pour l'essentiel, sur les traductions réalisées en Europe occidentale et en Russie. Cet ouvrage renouvelle largement le travail de pionnier d'Henri Van Hoof *Histoire de la traduction en Occident* (1991), qui n'avait pas été remplacé.

La partie historique rappelle qu'en Europe les débuts de la littérature latine sont liés aux traductions et aux adaptations : c'est l'occasion d'une mise au point sur des interprétations, parfois fallacieuses, de textes célèbres de Cicéron, Horace et Saint Jérôme. Suit, au Moyen Âge, la montée en puissance des langues vernaculaires, qui s'enrichissent grâce aux traductions, lesquelles permettent aussi à des genres littéraires de passer dans de nouveaux domaines linguistiques. Ces premiers chapitres (2 à 4), qui forment un total d'une cinquantaine de pages, sont le prélude à une série d'autres (5 à 8), plus spécifiques, d'une soixantaine de pages, portant sur la complexité (*Vielschichtigkeit*) de la formation de la langue anglaise, la traduction de la Bible, les « belles infidèles » et leur persistance au-delà des XVIIᵉ et XVIIIᵉ siècles, l'importance du tournant de l'époque romantique, particulièrement sensible en Allemagne. Le point d'aboutissement est le chapitre 9, consacré à « L'histoire de la traduction d'œuvres choisies de la littérature universelle (*Die Übersetzungsgeschichte ausgewählter Werke der Weltriteratur*) ». Ce chapitre est le cœur de la partie historique, tant par la quantité des informations qu'il contient et la qualité des commentaires que par son organisation. En effet six espaces linguistiques sont présentés dans l'ordre « chronologique » de leur accession (*Aufstieg*) successive au rang – culturel – de langues de traduction ; d'autre part, chacun d'eux est traité dans une double perspective d'*intraduction*

et d'*extraduction* (les auteurs emploient les termes forgés en français pour désigner les œuvres traduites d'autres langues et les œuvres traduites en d'autres langues). Défilent ainsi, dans l'ordre (sous-chapitres 9.1 à 9.6) : l'italien, fondé sur le dialecte toscan, avec les traductions rapides des *tre corone* : Pétrarque, Boccace, Dante ; puis les langues de « l'Espagne et [de] la péninsule ibérique », quasi-exclusivement le castillan (le portugais étant traité un peu plus loin), le français, l'anglais (Grande Bretagne et Irlande), l'allemand (incluant l'Autriche et la Suisse), et enfin le russe. Le sous-chapitre 9.7 regroupe quelques « autres pays européens » : Portugal, Belgique, pays scandinaves, Pologne. Un dernier sous-chapitre (9.8), consacré aux « Métamorphoses du panthéon », donne aux auteurs l'occasion d'esquisser une typologie des possibles mutations de statut (*Statusverschiebungen*) opérées par la réception d'une traduction dans une communauté linguistique ; ils distinguent trois cas : 1) une œuvre, connue et appréciée de longue date, acquiert finalement une forme *canonique traduite* qui la place à l'égal des œuvres de la langue de cette communauté (La Bible de Luther, la *King James Version*) ; 2) une traduction nouvelle d'une œuvre déjà connue incite à des *interprétations nouvelles* qui peuvent, en retour, exercer une influence sur la culture-source (traduction du *Quijote* par Ludwig Tieck, qui modifie profondément les lectures de cette œuvre en Europe) : ils y voient une « métamorphose », en un sens restreint ; 3) une traduction permet de découvrir une œuvre jusqu'alors inconnue dans une communauté linguistique, ce qui peut entraîner une *réévaluation* des auteurs (ou des écrivains) déjà connus : romanciers russes de la fin du XIXe siècle. Cette dernière situation, qu'ils appellent « métamorphose au sens large », est particulièrement intéressante, et serait d'ailleurs à élargir : les auteurs « canoniques » propres à la culture réceptrice peuvent être aussi concernés par une réévaluation, comme dans le cas de la découverte, assez tardive, des romantiques allemands par les lecteurs français. La partie historique se conclut par un chapitre consacré à dix personnalités traduisant vers l'allemand (à l'exception d'Henri Albert, promoteur de Nietzsche en France) ; on note que cette série de portraits s'ouvre et se ferme sur deux traductrices : Élisabeth de Lorraine, comtesse de Nassau-Sarrebruck, qui traduisit ou fit traduire, au XVe siècle, quatre romans de gestes français, et la « dame aux cinq éléphants », Svetlana Geier (1923–2010), connue pour ses traductions en allemand des cinq grands romans de Dostoïevski, mais aussi de nombreuses œuvres russes.

La seconde grande partie « systématique » comprend six chapitres (11 à 16). Le premier est consacré à la « balance commerciale des traductions en Europe » : les auteurs se déclarent conscients de la nouveauté (relative) d'un tel vocabulaire, qui leur semble devoir exiger une certaine accoutumance (*gewöhnungsbedürftig*) ; beaucoup d'éléments économiques interviennent de fait dans le marché des traductions, mais aussi des traditions relatives à la conception plus ou moins étroite de la « haute » littérature ou, par exemple, de la place reconnue à la littérature pour la jeunesse. Interviennent aussi les tentatives de contrôle (censures, saisies) exercées par le pouvoir politique, et les multiples façons de les contourner : les pseudo-traductions en font partie. Le chapitre 12 recense les voies diverses et indirectes que peuvent prendre les traductions : celles du « détour » (*Umwegübersetzungen*), qui regroupent les traductions de traductions (*Übersetzungen aus zweiter Hand*, *indirect translations*,

traductions au carré), les autotraductions, les rétrotraductions (*Rückübersetzungen*) qui visent à retrouver l'original à partir d'une version traduite, les différents types de *Bearbeitungen*, terme générique qui désigne toute sorte d'interventions sur un texte, jusqu'à l'adaptation très libre, sans oublier la trace (fréquente, semble-t-il) de traductions antérieures. L'examen des différents statuts du traducteur est l'objet du chapitre 13, allant d'une pratique romaine liant loisir et honorabilité (*otium cum dignitate*, suivant la formule cicéronienne), à une activité professionnelle, doublée du cas particulier du traducteur qui est lui-même auteur. La question des niveaux de langues des textes sources est au centre du chapitre 14 : une distinction est à faire entre des nations comme l'Angleterre et la France, dont la centralisation semble avoir facilité l'intégration des niveaux bas dans la « grande littérature » (*Schöne Literatur*), à la différence de l'Allemagne et de l'Italie où l'existence de dialectes la retarderait ; de toute façon, les traducteurs ont fort à faire quand il s'agit de rendre dialectes, sociolectes, patois, etc.

La seconde partie se termine sur des interrogations, autant que des mises au point, sur deux questions centrales pour mesurer le rôle des traductions dans la vie culturelle internationale. L'une concerne les règles concernant la « propriété intellectuelle », notion elle-même sujet à débats récurrents depuis le XVIIIᵉ siècle ; ce domaine complexe est abordé assez rapidement dans le dernier chapitre 16 en partant de la Convention de Berne (1886) et de ses mises à jour successives qui régularisent, difficilement, le marché de la traduction. Le chapitre 15 traite d'une question proprement historiographique : comment les historiens de la langue, d'une part, ceux de la littérature d'autre part, ont-ils tenu compte des traductions dans leurs travaux respectifs ? C'est l'occasion d'un double bilan ; l'évolution de différentes histoires d'une langue montre que ces problèmes, longtemps négligés et traités surtout pour les années de formation, retiennent désormais davantage l'attention. En revanche, le bilan des histoires de la littérature paraît plus mitigé : un aperçu des travaux de ce genre parus en Allemagne, en Angleterre et dans les pays de langues romanes montre que la part accordée aux traductions est variable, mais reste assez faible dans l'ensemble. La dernière phrase de ce chapitre – qui aurait peut-être mieux trouvé sa place en conclusion ? – résonne comme un appel : « Il n'y a pas, jusqu'à présent, de consensus parmi les historiens des langues et des littératures sur l'étendue de la place à faire aux traductions dans les histoires d'une langue ou d'une littérature » (463).

La brève Conclusion qui suit rappelle en tout cas que les traductions sont inséparables de l'histoire de la langue, de la littérature et de la culture. Une Bibliographie substantielle, structurée et facile à consulter, comprend une section « fondamentale » comportant elle-même six rubriques et une section « particulière » qui donne d'une part les références des œuvres citées dans l'ouvrage, d'autre part celles des travaux scientifiques utilisés (avec renvois éventuels à la section fondamentale). Cette Bibliographie présente l'avantage, dans sa partie fondamentale, de souvent préciser, en quelques mots, l'intérêt de l'ouvrage mentionné. L'Index, enfin, regroupe environ 300 noms (ceux des auteurs et traducteurs cités dans l'ouvrage).

Europäische Übersetzungsgeschichte présente un bilan équilibré sur le rôle des échanges littéraires réalisés par les traductions dans les six « grandes » langues du long

chapitre 9. En s'aventurant un peu au-delà de ces langues, les auteurs ont conscience, à juste titre, d'avoir « saisi quelques détails intéressants qui n'ont été jusqu'ici qu'à peine mentionnés dans d'autres exposés d'ensemble » (321). Ce faisant, ils offrent une synthèse malgré tout limitée de l'activité traductive en Europe, car ils sont tributaires de l'état de la documentation et des recherches qui ont, jusqu'à une date récente, privilégié certains domaines linguistiques. Une zone, en particulier, a connu une instabilité linguistique et politique, avec des déplacements de populations, des démembrements et des incorporations dans des ensembles étatiques : de la Bohême à l'Ukraine, de la Finlande à la Bulgarie, on trouve une vingtaine de nations constituées en États plus récemment que dans les pays d'Europe de l'ouest. Dans ces pays aussi dont, pour la plupart, les vestiges linguistiques et historiques sont plus récents, les traductions ont joué un rôle de premier plan.

C'est précisément ce que met en lumière un important ouvrage collectif paru en 2019, soit un an après l'ouvrage d'Albrecht et Plack, *Histoire de la traduction littéraire en Europe médiane. Des origines à 1989.* Ce travail d'un type nouveau, réalisé par une équipe de 25 contributeurs sous la direction d'Antoine Chalvin, Jean-Léon Muller, Katre Talviste et Marie Vrinat-Nikolov, repose sur l'hypothèse que l'Europe « médiane », constituée par 16 zones linguistiques situées entre les régions de langue germanique et celle de langue russe, constitue une « *aire traductionnelle* cohérente » (7). La cohérence de cette aire est forte : rôle fondateur de la Bible, constitution tardive des États nationaux actuels, position périphérique durable par rapport aux courants culturels de l'Europe occidentale, impact politique et culturel d'une puissance extérieure, l'Union soviétique, dans la seconde moitié du XXᵉ siècle. Une de ses principales caractéristiques est que la traduction a joué un rôle capital dans l'évolution de ces pays (7–8). La notion d'Europe médiane elle-même est une notion construite récemment – elle vient s'ajouter à celles, plus anciennes et également discutées, d'Europe centrale ou de *Mitteleuropa* – qui constitue un espace multilingue dont les frontières extérieures et intérieures n'ont cessé d'être mouvantes : l'avant-dernier avatar a été un profond remaniement des frontières, suivi de l'enfermement du « rideau de fer » qui a séparé une partie de ces pays de ceux de l'Europe de l'ouest. Les événements postérieurs à l'année 1989 témoignent d'ailleurs que rien n'est figé dans cette Europe médiane, ni d'ailleurs dans l'ensemble du continent européen.

Europäische Übersetzungsgeschichte et *Histoire de la traduction littéraire en Europe médiane* se complètent, tout en suivant des options méthodologiques différentes, dues à la différence des champs de recherche. Le premier, œuvre de deux romanistes chevronnés, traite de quelques littératures bien ancrées dans la partie européenne du canon de la *Weltliteratur* : il suit la ligne de crête des littératures qui ont joué un rôle central, ou semi-central, dans l'histoire de la littérature européenne. Le second, ouvrage collectif d'un groupe international, est le résultat d'une longue enquête sur des littératures qui n'ont pris qu'assez récemment leur essor en s'insérant, parfois à marches forcées, dans les phénomènes de modernité à la fin du XIXᵉ siècle, voire au début du XXᵉ : encore peu intégrées au canon européen au début du XXIᵉ, ces littératures peuvent effectivement être qualifiées de périphériques. À eux deux, toutefois, ces volumes couvrent l'ensemble de l'espace européen. Celui-ci est hétérogène

à bien des égards : son histoire est largement constituée par des conflits et des guerres meurtrières, ses limites orientales restent floues, et il n'a d'unité ni climatique, ni linguistique, ni religieuse, ni politique ; les populations qui s'y sont peu à peu fixées n'ont d'ailleurs pris que tardivement conscience qu'elles pouvaient appartenir à un même ensemble.

Les deux ouvrages prennent eux-mêmes place dans une suite de travaux consacrés à des histoires partielles de la traduction – ou des traductions – en Europe parues depuis le début du XXIᵉ siècle (entre autres Lafarga et Pegenaute 2004 ; France et Gillespie 2005–2010 ; Chevrel et Masson 2012–2019 ; Bednárová 2013). Leur confrontation permet d'avoir une approche de quelques-uns des problèmes généraux posés par de telles entreprises.

Un premier problème est celui de l'extension du terme *traduction* lui-même. Albrecht et Plack affirment, dans leurs remarques préalables (2018, 15) : « À côté de ce qu'on appelle les Belles Lettres il faut aussi prendre en compte les textes religieux, philosophiques » et , ajoutent-ils « professionnels » (*fachliche*). Leur ouvrage, toutefois, s'intéresse presque exclusivement aux Belles Lettres – surtout la prose fictionnelle, quelques poètes ou hommes de théâtre – et à la Bible (ch. 6), et cite simplement quelques philosophes (Kant, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche), sans aller au-delà. En cela ils suivent une position bien établie chez les historiens de la traduction : privilégier les œuvres proprement littéraires – l'adjectif *littéraire* (ou ses équivalents sémantiques) figure dans plusieurs titres. Outre l'*Histoire de la traduction littéraire en Europe médiane*, citée plus haut, on a par exemple *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* (France et Gillespie 2005–2010), ou *Dejiny umeleckého prekladu na Slovensku* (Histoire de la traduction littéraire en Slovaquie I. Du sacré vers le profane, Bednárová 2013) ; il est vrai que dans ces deux ouvrages il est précisé qu'à l'occasion le corpus traité peut s'étendre au-delà de la littérature au sens strict : les traductions de la Bible font partie du corpus traité. Quand le titre n'inclut pas cet adjectif, il est, en fait, quasi-implicite : suivant la même tradition qu'Albrecht et Plack, Francisco Lafarga et Luis Pegenaute renvoient presque exclusivement à des références littéraires dans leur *Historia de la traducción en España* (2004). Dans *Histoire des traductions en langue française* (Chevrel et Masson 2012–2019), en revanche, on trouve une tentative pour prendre explicitement en considération l'ensemble des domaines de la « vie de l'esprit » au sens large : philosophie, religion, histoire, droit, sciences. En tout état de cause, on doit considérer qu'il y a là matière à débat : dans la constitution d'une culture européenne, quels sont les domaines à prendre à retenir ?

Un second problème est d'ordre proprement historiographique : dans la mesure où toute histoire implique un effort de périodisation, est-il réellement possible d'envisager une histoire « paneuropéenne » de la traduction, quand il est constant que les pays en cause ont évolué à des rythmes différents et avec des rôles différents ? Une réponse claire ne peut pas être préjugée, étant donné les multiples avatars d'un espace européen nullement homogène qui est constitué de zones – pour prendre un terme neutre – qui sont loin d'avoir connu des évolutions semblables. L'exemple de l'*Histoire de la traduction littéraire en Europe médiane* met en évidence les difficultés. Les éditeurs avaient à traiter seize langues, dont les évolutions ne sont pas synchrones. Ils

ont choisi d'organiser leur volume en quatre grandes parties chronologiques, qui sont autant d'« étapes dans l'évolution du paradigme traductionnel » : en fait les deux premières parties, qui s'étendent jusqu'à l'orée du XXe siècle, ne vont pas sans quelques chevauchements, comme ils le reconnaissent d'ailleurs, mais ils s'efforcent, dans les deux dernières (de la « modernité littéraire » à l'époque du totalitarisme), d'établir des évolutions parallèles entre groupes de langues (centre, sud-est, ensemble baltique). Les volumes de *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* forment eux aussi une suite chronologique de périodes délimitées parfois par un repère historique précis (par exemple : 1650 pour le début du tome 3), parfois par une césure apparemment arbitraire (1900 pour la fin du tome 4) ; mais, à l'intérieur des volumes, les grands chapitres sont constitués tantôt par une succession des langues sources traduites, tantôt par des chapitres thématiques regroupant, par exemple, la « popular culture » ou l'ensemble « Philosophy, History and Travel Writing ». *Historia de la traducción en España* reprend simplement, dans le domaine du castillan, la périodisation traditionnelle de la littérature espagnole (ce qui confirme que la littérature est le fil conducteur de l'ouvrage), tandis qu'*Histoire des traductions en langue française*, qui prend son point de départ avec l'invention de l'imprimerie pour s'achever au tournant des XXe-XXIe siècles prend de grands repères à l'échelle de l'histoire européenne (comme 1815, 1914/1918), et s'efforce de proposer des périodisations différentes suivant les grands domaines traités dans les chapitres. Ces choix différents se retrouvent dans ceux qu'Albrecht et Plack avaient suivis successivement : une perspective globale de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge puis de la Renaissance au Romantisme, entrecoupée par trois chapitres thématiques (dont celui consacré à la Bible), avant d'en venir aux importants développements du chapitre 9, dans lequel l'histoire des traductions est alors présentée dans six espaces linguistiques, dont chacun a sa périodisation propre.

L'ensemble des travaux mentionnés contribue incontestablement à faire mieux comprendre la place qu'ont occupée les traductions dans l'histoire de certaines parties de l'Europe. D'autres projets sont actuellement en cours de réalisation.[1] Une question nouvelle peut alors se poser : est-il possible d'aller au-delà et de penser à une histoire « paneuropéenne » de la traduction, c'est-à-dire à une histoire qui prendrait comme objet la *circulation des traductions* sur la totalité du territoire européen ? Les deux grands problèmes évoqués prendraient encore davantage d'acuité, d'autant que la documentation à traiter, de plus en plus aisément accessible grâce aux technologies numériques, serait considérable. Mais, instruits par les expériences déjà menées à bien, le temps semble venu pour les chercheurs de s'intéresser aussi aux trajets des trajets des textes traduits, en analysant les formes sous lesquelles ils ont circulé (parfois à partir de traductions dans d'autres langues), afin de mettre en évidence les circuits de ces échanges, dans lesquels toutes les langues d'Europe ont leur place.

NOTES

[1] Par exemple *Istoria traducerilor în limba română* (Histoire des traductions en langue roumaine), projet dirigé par Muguraş Constantinescu et Rodica-Mărioara Nagy, université Ştefan cel Mare (Suceava, Roumanie).

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About a recent European history of translation

History of translation(s). Peripherical languages. Cultural turn.

Under what conditions is it possible to elaborate a history of translation(s) in the European area? Reading Jörn Albrecht's and Iris Plack's *Europäische Übersetzungsgeschichte* [European Translation History] and some other recent publications, some questions arise, such as: how can one take into account the part of translations in the so-called peripheric languages? Is literature the main (or only) way to investigate and to study the role of translation(s), or would it be better to extend to other fields (religion, history, science)? Can translations lead to cultural turns?

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THEO D'HAEN (ed.): Dutch and Flemish Literature as World Literature
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As part of its special series of English-language publications, *Literatures as World Literature*, Bloomsbury Publishing released the volume *Dutch and Flemish Literature as World Literature* in 2019 under the direction of the comparatist Theo D'haen. In chronological order it collects 20 relatively short contributions by 23 authors, who are mostly literary scholars from various countries. They present their visions of the international or intercultural contexts of Dutch and Flemish literary works and phenomena spanning eight centuries. In this case caution forces me to loosely speak of "international or intercultural contexts" instead of "world literature", which has become a notion, especially in Anglophone comparative literature studies, referring to the global circulation of works coming from national literatures mostly through the medium of English translation. International or intercultural contexts are more appropriate here as a basic concept, because the phenomena discussed in the first half of the book for example, in the section devoted to older literature, were not subject to the global dynamics of circulation in the modern sense. Those literary works which, in the Middle Ages and in the period of early modernity, made an impact outside of their original vernacular framework, can be considered, if anything, "European literature". In fact, the German scholar of Romance literature Ernst Robert Curtius pointed this out on the basis of the origin and reproduction of literary topoi in his now classical study as early as 1948.

Therefore, in the case of the present publication, we must speak of international and intercultural contexts, even though most

of the contributing authors use the term "world literature". They use it as a shibboleth, an agreed sign, sometimes with an obligatory reference to David Damrosch's 2003 book. However, in the brief introduction (1–3), the editor Theo D'haen does not suggest any clear methodological point of departure. In fact, it is not clear from this introduction what phenomena of Dutch and Flemish literature should be considered world literature and why. Instead, D'haen mentions only the names of Dutch painters, who are globally better known than writers, and in the last paragraph vaguely (and unfortunately only superficially) refers to the individual studies of the present volume. What can be considered world literature in Dutch and Flemish literature is probably only to be answered by these individual contributions, and indeed they do so, each in its own way, because the publication lacks a unifying principle. Before our eyes emerges a kaleidoscopic picture, a kind of literary-historical potpourri, a fragmentary and methodologically unclear picture of Dutch literature as "world literature", which arose only on the occasion of this publication and apparently especially for reasons of prestige, i.e. in order to increase the value of particular literary phenomena by making them "world literature", and in some cases perhaps in order to have an article printed in an international academic publication. Fortunately, there are a few obvious exceptions. On closer inspection, it is also striking that despite the reputation of most academics in the present publication, only a few of them have presented the results of personal research which is published here for the first time. More often, these are more

or less successful syntheses of previously published research, sometimes "telephone directories" of works and their translations into foreign languages, sometimes without any or without credible conclusions.

From the historical-chronological point of view, the first part of the publication contains five studies on medieval or late medieval literature: Geert H.M. Claassens on King Arthur and *Reynard the Fox*, Kees Schepers on Jan Ruusbroeck, Anne Reynders on the Brabant version of the *Romance of the Rose,* Bart Besamusca on German and Dutch court literature, Geert Warnar on the variations of the play *Elckerlijc* (*Everyman*). These studies, which could appear in any collection devoted to the comparative aspects of medieval literature, only in a few cases provide a deeper reflection on the problem of worldliness in the sense of global circulation/transfer of motifs/themes and works over the centuries. This is certainly true for the contribution about the Dutch late-medieval morality play *Elckerlijc* written in the 13th century, a glimpse of which is found by Geert Warnar several centuries later in the novel *Everyman* (2006) by Philip Roth. Incidentally, Warnar is also the only one of this group of authors who, in the case of medieval textual culture, is hesitant to use the term "world literature" (63) and in fact relativizes it from the point of view of older literary history. One will not encounter similar skepticism in contributions of other medievalists; their studies are sometimes reminiscent of university textbooks (Besamusca, Reynders). Moreover, Scheppers's words on the mystic Jan Ruusbroeck sound naive: "We are all aware – witness this volume – that in today's world the English language provides almost the sole linguistic entrance to global academic discourse; it is perhaps difficult to imagine that in the Middle Ages the dominance of Latin was even greater" (23–24). We can find other such trivialities in this part of the volume, which are actually an unnecessary submission to less educated readers who will hardly reach for this publication anyway. In connection with the inter-

national dissemination of the mystical writings of Jan Ruusbroeck, and also of the play *Elckerlijc*, which was originally made possible by translations into Latin, one may ask why there are no chapters in D'haen's volume on the international reception of some Latin works of the devotio moderna movement from this cultural region, especially of *De imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis, and also why the publication is silent about the writings of the European humanist and cosmopolitan Erasmus of Rotterdam, whose works were translated into vernacular languages and had an impact across Europe. Even if the editor quietly identifies the original vernacular form of literary works as a starting point for reflections on Dutch and Flemish literature (which apparently is the case), this starting point contradicts the medieval understanding of supraregionalism and cultural overlaps, and remains captive to the traditional notion of Dutch literature as national literature, which this publication opposes programmatically (if it is possible to speak of a program here at all due to the absent concept).

There is certainly no doubt about the literary-historical quality of the contribution by the Italian scholar Marco Prandoni (68–81) on the Baroque playwright Joost van den Vondel (which is, by the way, the only contribution on the literature of the Dutch "Golden Age", i.e. the 17th century). Prandoni shows the intercultural encounters of this classical author on the basis of his oscillation between the then ideological (religious) paradigms as well as on the basis of his interest in Chinese history. Let us add that in this respect Vondel was exceptional in his time also because in the 17th and 18th centuries it was not a Baroque mourning play and a Classicist tragedy, but a European opera that "omnivorously" absorbed a number of exotic motifs, including East Asian ones. Perhaps it was the Dutch 17th century, which gave the world many internationally famous painters, but not writers, in which the contours of the new bourgeois cosmopolitanism crystallized; these contours were not deter-

mined by literary aesthetics, but by trade and colonial expansion. And it is colonial expansion that forms the background against which the "worldliness" of several literary phenomena can be duly appreciated later in the 19th century, in the case of Dutch literature of its first "modern classic author" Multatuli and his political novel *Max Havelaar* (1860) which thematizes Dutch colonial policy in East Indies (now Indonesia). However, the contribution by the expert on Multatuli's work, Jaap Graeve (82–103), is somewhat disappointing because apart from Multatuli's biography and the later impact of his work (all of which can be found on Wikipedia nowadays), it does not focus on new research. It only summarizes the results of his own reception studies, or studies by other scholars of Multatuli's work in translation.

A more productive approach to Dutch colonial literature as "world literature" is taken by Saskia Pieterse (146–160), who examines the literary representations of the historical phenomenon of indentured labor in the first half of the 20th century from the comparative perspective. This study, which hardly elaborates on the concept of "world literature", shows that innovative stimuli for reflection on the international and intercultural contexts of literary production can be based mainly on cultural and socio-historical research.

Reception studies, limited to summaries of published books and their translations, usually bog down in the shallows of trivialized book history, which offers few possibilities for deeper historical and aesthetic understanding and leads to literary-historical positivism, especially to the fetishization of facts and explicative determinism, or even worse, to a large, often confusing amount of material in foreign languages (translations) that cannot be mastered by the authors even at the primary linguistic level. This is the case with the study by Ruud Veen (122–145) about another (partly) colonial writer of the first half of the 20th century, the decadent Louis Couperus: the titles of translations of his works into Slavic languages (Polish, Czech) are beset with typo-graphical errors. As the abovementioned contribution lacks an intellectual synthesis of material that could lead to further reflection (although the author offers an overview of translations in a three-page table), the question remains open how this study contributes to the understanding of Couperus's international reception.

A similar summary of already existing results of reception studies by other authors is provided by the contribution of Elke Brems and Orsoly Réthelyi (183–205) about *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919) by the only internationally known Dutch historian, Johan Huizinga. Although it is attractive that readers learn at second hand about the translations of this classical work into German, English, French, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and Polish, the study does not answer the question of how this work influenced world historiography, how it represented an alternative to historical positivism and Marxism, how it contributed to the revolutionizing of French and international medieval studies especially after 1945. There are several studies that provide partly well-founded, partly hypothetical answers to these questions. The contribution seems to conclude that *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* was an internationally known but basically unread work (if this is partly the case, then it is only an anecdotal truth).

The study by the St. Petersburg scholar of Dutch literature Irina Michajlova and the theater director Sergei Tcherkasski (161–182), on the Moscow production of Herman Heijermans's play *Op hoop van zegen* (1913) and its experimental reconstruction after a hundred years, is completely different, showing the vitality of this realistic drama as well as of the tradition of Stanislawski's principles of psychological work with actors. The study is also interesting because it is not merely theatrological, but provides a brief historical overview of translations of Dutch literature into Russian and of Dutch-Russian cultural relations up to 1917. The authors do not suggest that Heijermans – whose international reputation cannot be compared

to that of Ibsen, Strindberg or Hauptmann – is a phenomenon of "world literature"; already in pre-revolutionary Russia he was known simply for the quality of staging. Unfortunately, the reference to this chapter in Theo D'haen's introduction misleadingly states that Heijermans as "one of its [Dutch-language literature] most popular turn-of-the-twentieth-century dramatists became a favourite in Communist Europe" (3).

One of the best contributions in the volume is the one by Geert Buelens (206–229) about the interwar Flemish experimental poet and novelist Paul van Ostaijen, who absorbed many of the aesthetic stimuli of his time and of the literary past. His influence on the world neo-avantgarde has remained an untied knot in many respects. Buelens shows only a small but a significant part of his influence on the South African poet Wopko Jensma. The study is an example of a subtle poetic analysis that illuminates the intercultural transfer that poetry is capable of across ages and continents and thus becomes truly "world literature". (Buelens himself does not use the term "world literature" but rather assumes that "world literature" is potentially any high-quality poetry).

In comparison with the novels by the Flemish Romantic author of the early 19th century, Hendrik Conscience, whose works were translated into European languages in the 19th century and served as a model of anti-French and anti-German nationalism in the Slavic world, the international reception of Paul van Ostaijen is an example of a spiritual inspiration crossing borders rather than a Romantic xenophobic mobilization caused by Conscience's historical novels and stories of manners, which can hardly be integrated into any model of "world literature", as the study by Lieven D'hulst (104–121) suggests. Unlike Buelens, who works with poetry, D'hulst uses the methods of book history, but proceeds more subtly than most other book historians represented in the volume. He focuses on the rhizomatic structure of the impact of Conscience's translations and is also more cautious in his conclusions as he warns against generalizations.

The volume's editor, Theo D'haen, has contributed a chapter on Dutch interwar poetry and/as world literature (218–229). Of the three Northern Dutch poets he selects (Jan J. Slauerhoff, Martinus Nijhoff and Hendrik Marsman), perhaps only Nijhoff can be considered internationally known, and only thanks to numerous translations of his poem *Awater* (1934). Due to the fact that poetry is a non-commercial matter and limited to a narrow circle of recipients, the classification of poetry as world literature goes beyond quantitative criteria such as the number of copies sold (!), which authors of several other studies in the volume take into account with respect to interwar literature. Thus, when it comes to the "worldliness" of poetry, it makes more sense to think about transcultural inspirations, returning topoi, motifs, poetic images, metaphors and keywords, intertextual references and thematic connections that are present in the works of well-read poets anywhere in the world. It is startling that D'haen generally speaks about the various "influences" on the abovementioned poets but his international contextualizations are unsatisfactory. In the case of Nijhoff's poem *Awater*, Dutch scholarship drew attention to the dialogue with several works of foreign literature years ago. Although the research admits some ideological congruence with T.S. Eliot's *Wasteland*, mentioned also by D'haen, at the same time it shows that of all specifically traceable connections of *Awater* with canonical works of classical and modern world literature, this relationship is perhaps the most vague.

Fortunately, Bart Vervaeck and Dirk de Geest (248–259) proceed in a completely different way in their study of the postwar literary magazine *Barbarber*, which has remained internationally unknown. Its conception and the cultural setting of its authors and creators represented a breakthrough toward the globally-promoted neo-avantgarde aesthetics of the 1960s (new realism, poetics of the mundane partially inspired by Dadaism, pop art). Instead of superficial references to "influences", Vervaeck and de Geest

point out the specific practices of defamiliarization and humor and the departure from political engagement that were witnessed in many countries during the "long 1960s" in the neo-avantgarde generation, whose aesthetic and social experiences were no longer informed by the trauma of war.

The situation of Flemish modernists Louis Paul Boon and Hugo Claus, the focus of Kris Humbeeck's study (230–247), was different: they were both formed by regionalism and marked by the cataclysm of the 20th century, made use of dialect and reached for modernist aesthetic forms present in several literatures. Both are regional and at the same time deserve the attention of the global reading public (they have been translated, although they are often "untranslatable"). The question is how the criterion for their inclusion in "world literature" should be defined.

Hans Bertens's study of post-war (Northern) Dutch prose (260–270) clearly attributes a key role in the global distribution of modern Dutch literature to translation into German (the Frankfurt Book Fair of 1993 was decisive). However, instead of clarifying the socio-cultural factors of this phenomenon, including the reading middle class, the high level of literary discussions in German print, audiovisual and electronic media, etc., the author based his argument on the budget of the Dutch Foundation for Literature for translation of domestic literature abroad and by the "success" of some works translated into German.

Commercial arguments, which in literary studies belong at most in the footnotes (usually giving information about the cost of publications and the number of copies sold), often appear throughout the volume as central arguments. A similar journalistic superficiality is characteristic of the contribution by Frank Albers, devoted to the Flemish author Stefan Hertmans's international bestseller about the World War I, *War and Turpentine* (*Oorlog en terpentijn*, 2013). Hertmans's novel was a brief success that can clearly be included in the canon of modern Flemish literature, but that is hardly a rea-

son for anyone to dedicate a separate chapter to it in a 300-page volume dealing with eight centuries of Dutch literature and its international implications.

Moreover, if this publication lacks a separate chapter on a key work of 20th-century Dutch literature that is truly not a flash in the pan, but is famous throughout the world (and will be for a long time), it is a chapter on *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1947). Furthermore, it fails to mention the second globally most famous Dutch writer of the 20th century, the diplomat and author of detective stories from ancient China, Robert van Gulik. The fact that van Gulik wrote his novels about Judge Dee in English cannot be an obstacle to his inclusion in "world literature", quite the contrary. A certain compensation for the frustrations with the abovementioned shortcomings and superficiality is provided by Hans Demeyer's critical reflection (271–283) on global identities in the contemporary novels of Jeroen Theunissen and Nina Polak. The identities of the literary characters of these two (as well as many other contemporary authors) have their origins in the bourgeois experience which have been internalized by readers in prosperous democracies, and this is exactly what allows for the understanding and positive reception of these works outside the Netherlands and Belgium (especially in the West).

The last article, by Tom van Kalmhout (295–311), is devoted to a somewhat difficult, albeit historically interesting topic of literary and autobiographical works of Dutch emigrants in Australia in the years 1945–1990. With all due respect, one could imagine a perhaps more relevant complementary chapter on literary creative migrants in the Netherlands and Flanders from the end of the World War II to the present. It is a pity that no one has written it for this volume because writers such as Jana Beranová, Jan Stavinoha, Abdelkader Benali, Hafid Bouazza, Kader Abdolah and many others are really those whose experiences co-create the global character of contemporary Dutch and Flem-

ish literature. One could also imagine a chapter on how internationally acclaimed film adaptations contributed to the international promotion of the novels of Harry Mulisch, Ferdinand Bordewijk and Multatuli.

Thus, the volume *Dutch and Flemish Literature as World Literature* leaves us puzzled about what it does not include and what it should have presented more subtly, so that we could speak of a compact volume of comparative studies bringing new knowledge, rather than popular information on selected phenomena. It also leaves us puzzled by the lack of clarity regarding the concept of world literature which could be valid for the development of literary cultures from the Middle Ages to the present.

Translated from Slovak by Róbert Gáfrik

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Over the past several decades, the cultural turn has exerted a powerful influence over translation studies. It is no surprise that the cultural turn has gained wide popularity among Chinese academics as well. What is worth noting is that China has undergone more than a century of translation practice both inward and outward, which has provided a fertile ground for scholars to explore and analyze the various aspects of translation. The outward translation starting from 1949, spanning over 70 years, is a rarity in the history of translation and serves as a valuable resource for understanding the interplay among politics, literature, translation, and culture. There have been several important studies that look into the phenomenon, such as Qiang Geng's (2010) case study of the Panda Books series, the translation of a particular writer, such as the study of Yan Mo by Zhiqin Jiang (2019), or the more comprehensive analysis conducted by Xiuhua Ni (A study on outward translation of Chinese literature [1949–1966], 2021), that focuses only on the first seventeen years; yet it is not hard to notice that these studies, though done in a detailed and focused way, have one serious drawback and that is a lack of systematic view on China's unusual outward translation.

This challenge was taken up by Jiankai Wang more than six years ago. Building on his previous efforts that include research on a history of China's translation of English literature since the May 4th Movement in 1919 and the study of the translation of English literary works in China's modern literary journals, he now presents us with *Zhōngguó dāngdài wénxué zuòpǐn yīng yì de chūbǎn yǔ chuánbō* (A history of publication and traveling of English-translated contemporary Chinese literature, 2020), which represents his endeavor in mapping out the political, social, and translational aspects of China's seven-decade translation practice in a systematic and comprehensive way. The book takes as its research object the 70-year English translation of Chinese contemporary literary works, which is divided into four time periods. Thus, the book contains four parts, in correspondence to the social and economic development of China; each part delves into the four aspects of the social context, the publication of the English-translated contemporary literary works, the role of the translators and

its relationship with the patron, and the reception and effect of the translated texts. Overall, it tries to paint a general picture of the development of the translated works and provide suggestions for further research.

The first part deals with the 17 years (1949–1966) prior to the Cultural Revolution, which marks the beginning of a government-led translation practice. The presence of politics was paramount; it guided China's foreign language education as well as translation in a pro-Soviet and counter-Western direction. Publication-wise, special agencies were founded for large-scale outward translation and publication, such as Foreign Languages Press, China Translation and Publishing Corporation. Translation choices were made based on whether contemporary literary works reflected aspects of China's Land Reform Movement, the Korean War, or the construction of socialism. It is worth noting that *Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung* was the most-printed work and was specially attended by a translation office. The group of translators was a mixture of domestic and foreign ones, with domestic translators taking the major role and foreign translators overseeing revision and editing. The influence of patronage over translators was rather palpable: their subjectivity was greatly undermined, and they faced various criticism and political labeling. The promotion and reception of these translated works varied among different countries, with the Soviet Union and developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America being the most important; the translation was less welcomed in Western countries with only their communist or leftist parties distributing the books.

The ten-year Cultural Revolution brought translation to an even more politicized situation. Translations were drastically reduced, and what remained was mostly about the export of revolution literature and ideologies. Again, translators were put into even worse situations. They went through thought reformation in labor farms, and some were even interrogated or jailed. They were marginalized further compared to that of the "17-Year Period". But the "white-paper book", a translation which was created for political decision-making, stood out as a special case representing the translator's unvoiced accomplishment. As a result of the political situation, the quality of translations in Chinese literature dropped dramatically and met with criticism from foreign readers. During this time, Ran Hao, thought by some to be one of the most important proletarian writers since the Cultural Revolution, was the most translated writer; all of his works on the depiction of "New Socialist Citizen" were translated.

The third part starts from 1977 up to the end of the century. This period could be considered the first truly golden era of China's translation practice both inward and outward. Thanks to the opening up and reform policy, China's literary creation and translation enjoyed a boom like that of its economy, with young and talented writers began taking the stage. They created literary themes that reflected the true reality of Chinese society in the Cultural Revolution, like "scar literature" (also known as "the literature of the wounded", portraying the life of Chinese intellectuals), and "zhiqing literature" (a term that first appeared in 1983, which represents the writings of a group of young intellectuals covering topics from scar literature to nostalgia and reflections of life in this period). Changes were made to the book categories for translation. As a comparison, the number of political works translated between 1949 to 1979 accounted for 62% and that dropped to 0.005% between 1980 to 2009. Instead, many high-quality literary works that described social life after 1978 were translated and promoted. The publication of the Panda Books series was considered the most important post-Cultural Revolution translation practice that excelled in scale and duration. It also acted as a window for understanding Chinese literature. Compared to that of the 17-Year Period, the publication of Chinese classics increased in scale and significance: the project

of the "Chinese-English Library of Chinese Classics" was initiated in 1994, involving more than 15 publishing agencies; the translated works further helped overseas Chinese language education and China's international relations. Works about the society and the common people, like *Hibiscus Town*, were more favored; women writers during this time were able to receive more attention and their works were actively translated and promoted.

In the 21st century, China's translation practice took on a new look. The role of government was strengthened in terms of economic and institutional support. A top-down publication organization was formed, where the state-level agencies and institutions initiated over ten translation projects and a hundred-book translation series and at a local level, public and private publishing agencies were more engaged than before. The role of domestic translators was still dominant only to a stronger degree, and changes were made to incorporate college and university teachers to compensate for the ever-growing need for translation. On the reception side, new forms have emerged such as international book fairs, copyright transfer, and public reading. The last two chapters focus on the overseas influence of China's translated works and the author's suggestions of evaluative aspects for a more objective and detailed analysis of this translation practice.

The challenge to provide a systematic description of China's 70-year translation practice is truly demanding but Wang was able to meet this challenge. Taking China's contemporary literature as his object of research has allowed him to tackle the problem with both depth and breadth. The book's framework is designed in a clear and logical fashion that permits easy access to specific periods and events. Its de-theorization is also worth noting since most of the other studies that focus on this period are done with a guiding theory followed by important case studies, but the book aims at highlighting the facts, materials, and their logical connections while refraining from arriving at certain conclusions or judgments, which serves as a necessary complement to other studies. However, the book is not without faults. The rationale is needed to explain the division of the last two periods of time. To divide the last two periods based on the turn of the century is less persuasive than the first. It would be better to split the timespan based on the year 2001, when China joined the World Trade Organization, or the year 2007, when president Hu Jintao proposed the strengthening of China's cultural soft power. Also, there is not enough discussion about the effects of the translation practice apart from the last two chapters. Overall, this book is a laudable achievement. On the one hand, it is a timely and necessary complement to previous literature in that it not only provides a systematic analysis but pave the way for future studies into the publication and impact of China's translation of contemporary, modern, and classics works. On the other hand, the book provides great resources and insights for scholars in the field of comparative literature and translation studies, especially those working on China's contemporary literary works and its translation, the interactions among literature, translator, and ideology, and the history of translation.

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Often translators have been viewed as little more than text categories or, at most, actors who only translate and do nothing else. However, towards the end of the 20th century, Anthony Pym emerged as a prominent voice calling for translators to be seen as real people who do more than just translate, claiming that viewing them as historical figures would allow historians to truly account for the roles translators can play in history. Other translation studies researchers, such as Andrew Chesterman, have seconded Pym's call and argued that translators themselves should become the focus of research. In the same spirit, one of the core themes of the collected volume *Archívny výskum (textov) v interdisciplinárnych súvislostiach* (Archival research [of texts] in between disciplines) is to humanize the study of translation history. Edited by Edita Gromová, Natália Rondziková, and Igor Tyšš, it originated within the framework of the project "Translation as Part of the Cultural Process History III" realized in cooperation with the Institute of World Literature SAS. The second theme presented in the publication is to emphasize the *history* in translation history, to understand the field as one aspect of history that is connected to other aspects, thus painting a fuller picture of overall history. The collection sees archival resources as highly important in regards to both of these topics. As such, the five studies it contains explore the various ways archives can be used by researches, but they also do not shy away from presenting the challenges along with the advantages of archival research.

The introductory study by Igor Tyšš discusses the background of the collection and presents its aforementioned themes and aims.

Subsequently, it establishes a groundwork for the other studies in regards to the term *archive* itself and it briefly introduces the included studies.

Filip Pavčík's article focuses on the cultural policy in Slovakia after 1948, i.e. after the communist coup in Czechoslovakia. He utilizes non-archival sources, such as contemporary newspapers, as well as archival sources, primarily those centered around Ladislav Novomeský, the communist intellectual, poet, and politician who essentially created the cultural program of the Communist Party of Slovakia between 1945 and 1948. The study follows the development of Novomeský's cultural policy via published archival material and discusses some of the material's shortcomings, such as the fact that much of it was published during the communist era in Czechoslovakia, which calls into question the veracity of the sources, as ideological interference is all but certain.

General recommendations and methods for working with archival material, particularly in literary historical studies, are explored by Martin Navrátil in his chapter. He comments that not all archival research is equal, thus it is difficult to generalize universal research methods. Instead conditions and aims of any archival research dictate its strategies. Navrátil also brings up the fragmentary nature of archival sources, as some information might not be available to the researcher for various reasons. Nevertheless, he notes that in many kinds of research, archives are a valuable tool in the researcher's toolkit.

Mária Kusá reflects on how archival materials were used in compiling the two-volume *Slovník prekladateľov umeleckej literatúry 20. storočia* (Dictionary of Slovak literary translators of the 20th century, ed.

Oľga Kovačičová and Mária Kusá, 2015, 2017). She claims that official sources can prove insufficient due to their institutional nature, i.e., dependence on outside factors, which can lead to fragmenting of information. Private archives, on the other hand, come with their own drawbacks stemming from their inherent non-institutional and disorganized nature, which complicates their cataloguing and general use. Taking examples from the manuscript materials found in the archives of the former Institute of Literary Studies of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, Kusá points out that the space between the public and the private can turn out to be highly useful and fruitful. To combat the aforementioned fragmentation of information, she suggests supplementing archives with oral histories to help paint the fullest picture possible.

Katarína Bednárová discusses the use of archives in researching the history of translation of French texts in the Slovak cultural context from 1750 to 1918. She explains how focusing only on printed translations would be reductive, thus necessitating the inclusion of manuscript materials found predominantly in archives of the Slovak National Library in Martin. Bednárová explores how, as a result of the geopolitical history of Slovakia, it can be difficult to locate relevant material, if such material has even survived to the present day. She also comments on how archival material can hold little informational value in and of itself, if various information about it is unknown or cannot be verified.

Last but not least, Libuša Vajdová is concerned with correspondence as a means of research. She reflects not only on how to define correspondence in terms of text types (record, documentary, testimony, etc.) but also on changes connected with the transition to electronic correspondence. She then explores how correspondence, e.g., between translators and authors, provides a fuller picture of the complex interactions that ultimately result into major events, such as translations and critiques.

Overall, this publication about the roles of archives in translation history research represents an enriching read, especially given that the subject is explored from various points of view. The studies included discuss how different types of archival materials can be used in research, ponder their nature, but also bring attention to pitfalls or shortcomings of such sources, such as their often fragmentary and incomplete nature.

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MÁRIA KUSÁ – NATÁLIA RONDZIKOVÁ (eds.): Preklad vo vedách o človeku a dialóg kultúr [Translation of humanities texts and cultural dialogue]
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La publication *Preklad vo vedách o človeku a dialóg kultúr* (La traduction en sciences humaines et le dialogue des cultures) consacrée à la traduction des textes de sciences sociales est l'une des rares contributions à la réflexion traductologique en Slovaquie de ces dernières décennies dans ce domaine. Sous la direction de Mária Kusá et Natália Rondziková, elle examine, au moins partiellement, le terrain peu exploré de l'histoire de la traduction des textes de sciences sociales et humaines en Slovaquie.

Composée de quatre contributions exhaustives, cette publication s'oriente principalement vers la réception de textes d'origine française. Dans l'introduction intitulée « Traduction de textes de sciences sociales ?

En guise d'introduction », les éditrices justifient leur décision d'exclure la réception de textes d'autres provenances par la volonté d'assurer la cohérence des contributions présentées et d'indiquer les points de départ de la réflexion sur l'histoire de la traductologie dans un domaine qui manque encore d'un traitement systématique. Le point d'interrogation présent dans le titre de ce texte de M. Kusá et N. Rondziková suggère l'appréhension problématique du terme de « traduction de textes de sciences sociales » qu'elles définissent au préalable comme une sorte de traduction spécialisée de textes majoritairement de qualité littéraire liés aux sciences humaines et/ou sociales. Les difficultés de traduction de ce genre de textes découlent de l'évolution de la pensée traductologique où ce type de traduction est abordé comme étant spécialisée et non littéraire. Le traducteur de ce « texte limite » (à la fois stylistiquement et thématiquement) se confronte à une tâche difficile – il doit tenir compte de son caractère spécialisé, d'une terminologie particulière, et en même temps du caractère figuratif du langage. Les nombreux écueils qu'implique dans ce cas le processus de traduction sont illustrés par des exemples spécifiques dans les contributions en question.

La contribution d'Edita Gromová, « Genèse de la réflexion sur la traduction des textes de sciences sociales à la lumière de l'École de Nitra » présente un aperçu de l'histoire de la pensée traductologique en Slovaquie qui souligne l'importance de la recherche scientifique et des activités éducatives de l'École de Nitra, fondée au début des années 1970 sous le nom de Cabinet de communication littéraire et de méthodologie expérimentale, à la Faculté pédagogique de Nitra et dirigée par Anton Popovič, traductologue éminent de renommée mondiale. Les événements organisés dans le cadre des activités de recherche scientifique de cette institution, ainsi que les publications des chercheurs affiliés, sont considérés par l'auteure comme les bases théoriques pour la traduction spécialisée en général et des facteurs importants ayant influencé la systématisation de la traductologie en Slovaquie.

Dans sa contribution « L'âge d'or de la traduction de la littérature de sciences sociales en Slovaquie : la nouvelle critique française et ses successeurs – collection Anthropos », Jana Truhlářová saisit la problématique de la traduction du point de vue de la réception slovaque de la théorie littéraire et esthétique française connue sous le nom de Nouvelle critique française. Après l'éclaircissement du caractère et de l'approche de cette théorie dans la pensée littéraire et philosophique dans les années 1960 et 1970, l'auteure décrit la situation traductionnelle en Slovaquie pour les périodes 1960–1994 et 2004–2010. On pourrait résumer ses conclusions comme suit : à partir des années 1960, et pratiquement jusqu'à la fin des années 1980, des articles de revues et des traductions d'extraits ont été publiés épisodiquement ; seules les traductions tchèques de deux textes de Roland Barthes, trois livres en slovaque de Gaston Bachelard et un ouvrage de Michel Foucault ont paru en volume. Dans les années 1990, une seule traduction d'un ouvrage de R. Barthes a été publiée en slovaque, alors que dans les années 2004–2006, que J. Truhlářová appelle « l'âge d'or » de la traduction de la littérature de sciences sociales en Slovaquie, six traductions de livres ont été publiées, dont une dans les éditions Iris (P. Ricœur, *Temps et récit II.*) et cinq dans la nouvelle collection Anthropos des éditions Kalligram (G. Genette, *Métalepse*, F. Susini-Anastopoulos, *L'Écriture fragmentaire*, G. Didi-Huberman, *Devant le temps*, J. Leduc, *Les historiens et le temps*, A. Compagnon, *Le démon de la théorie*), ayant prévu un programme éditorial important dans ce domaine. Selon l'auteure, la traduction de ces œuvres a représenté une tentative importante de systématiser la traduction de la littérature de sciences sociales en Slovaquie, et a été accompagnée d'un intérêt sans précédent d'une large communauté culturelle. Cependant, cette entreprise de traduction majeure ne s'est pas poursuivie et le projet ambitieux des éditions Kalligram est resté inachevé. L'auteure précise que l'intérêt pour ces travaux révèle que ce genre de réflexion théorique

fait encore défaut en Slovaquie, qu'il existe encore de grandes lacunes dans la réception des travaux de base de provenance française et la nécessité de les traduire en slovaque.

J. Truhlářová s'interroge aussi sur la traduction de termes littéraires de base dont les équivalents disponibles en slovaque s'avèrent problématiques, voire paraissent intraduisibles, car sur fond de l'évolution des disciplines en question, c'est particulièrement la tradition allemande, ainsi que l'orientation vers des textes russes, qui ont influencé l'appréhension des contenus. C'est pourquoi les termes existants ont, selon l'auteure, un sens différent ou, pour le moins, des nuances sémantiques différentes. À titre d'exemple, l'auteure cite des termes sémantiquement transparents et à la forme presque identiques dans les deux langues, entre autres, théorie littéraire [teória literatúry], critique littéraire [literárna kritika], mais aussi [teória literatúry] désignant les domaines essentiels de la recherche littéraire et qui ont parfois une appréhension différente dans les systèmes terminologiques slovaque et français. Selon le contexte, la notion française de « critique » a un équivalent slovaque dans le champ sémantique des recherches littéraires qui peut être celui de « critique [kritika] » ou de « théorie [teória] ». Ainsi « critique des variantes » se traduira en slovaque par « théorie des variantes [teória variantov] ».

Dans sa contribution « Notes et observations sur la théorie et la pratique de la traduction de la philosophie (en Slovaquie) », Katarína Bednárová ouvre la problématique en se référant à la récente polémique des philosophes et des représentants de la scientométrie sur le statut de la traduction d'un texte philosophique. Étant donné que la traductologie slovaque ne recense aucune théorie particulière de la traduction de textes philosophiques ni l'histoire de la traduction des textes en question, comme le constate l'auteure, pas même dans le cadre des théories de la traduction spécialisée ou littéraire, la contribution vise à indiquer au moins les points de départ et l'orientation de la recherche traductologique dans ce domaine.

K. Bednárová met en contexte l'évolution de la traduction de la philosophie dans l'espace culturel slovaque : les débuts marqués par la situation d'hétérolinguisme du XVIᵉ au XVIIIᵉ siècles et de lecture dans le texte, les tentatives de traduction intensifiées au tournant des XIXᵉ et XXᵉ siècles, le critère idéologique dans les années 1950. Ce n'est que depuis les années 1960, après le dégel politique, qu'on observe, comme l'affirme l'auteure, l'intensification de l'activité traduisante et que d'importantes traductions ont paru, telles que l'ambitieux projet d'édition en 10 volumes *Antológia z diel filozofov* (Anthologie des œuvres de philosophes) suivant la chronologie et les aires de la pensée, ou bien la collection Filozofické odkazy (Postérité philosophique) avec la traduction systématique d'œuvres canoniques de philosophes au fil des siècles. Après le tournant de 1989, on recense, entre autres, deux anthologies *Za zrkadlom moderny* (Derrière le miroir de la modernité, 1991) et *Filozofia prirodzeného jazyka* (La philosophie du langage, 1992) publiées chez les nouvelles éditions Archa, la collection Filozofia do vrecka (Philosophie dans la poche), auxquelles se joignent plus tard les activités d'autres éditeurs qui essaient de combler les lacunes dans le domaine de la pensée contemporaine.

K. Bednárová réfléchit aussi à la tradition littéraire, qui est, pour le dire simplement, une expression de la préservation des valeurs à travers le temps, et elle explique l'absence d'une tradition qui aurait durablement façonné la traduction de la philosophie en Slovaquie. Selon l'auteure, la nature lacunaire de la tradition, le corpus de textes (non) traduits, l'absence de métalangage, ainsi que de certains concepts de philosophie dans l'espace slovaque représentent des défis potentiels pour le traducteur.

La contribution de Libuša Vajdová « Traduction des sciences sociales françaises dans les revues slovaques au tournant du XXᵉ et XXIᵉ siècles » examine la traduction des textes de sciences sociales et humaines et leur réception dans les revues en Slovaquie de la fin des années 1980 jusqu'au

début du XXIᵉ siècle. L'auteure justifie le choix de la période donnée principalement par le changement de valeurs et l'ouverture de la littérature aux sciences sociales. Les années 1990 sont associées au renouveau de la vie culturelle dans le milieu slovaque, largement fondé par l'influence intense de la pensée française sur la société. L. Vajdová se propose de donner un aperçu détaillé des traductions des textes issus du domaine des sciences sociales françaises, publiées, comme elle l'indique, principalement dans des périodiques philosophiques, littéraires et culturels. L. Vajdová souligne la capacité des revues à réagir avec souplesse aux événements de leur époque, à promouvoir efficacement de nouvelles idées et à stimuler les processus créatifs de réflexion dans le milieu slovaque. L'influence de certaines revues sur la réception du féminisme ou sur l'appropriation des idées du structuralisme en sont des exemples.

Pour terminer, on peut constater que la réflexion dans le domaine de l'histoire de la traduction des textes de sciences sociales est encore peu systématique et fragmentaire, ce qui est dû aux contextes politique et idéolo-gique avant 1989 engendrant les lacunes dans le domaine de la traduction, sans omettre les problèmes sur le plan de la terminologie manquante. Il est évident que le terme même de « texte de sciences sociales » ne peut être clairement défini, car la classification des sciences a varié dans le temps. En faisant référence dans le titre de la publication au dialogue des cultures, les éditrices pointent l'influence d'autres cultures, en l'occurrence la présence permanente de la culture française sur la formation de la pensée en Slovaquie. Cependant, il ne s'agit pas d'un flux d'idées à sens unique. La réception de la traduction présuppose la capacité d'y réagir, soit en accord, soit en désaccord, et de transformer les connaissances existantes, ainsi que l'affirme L. Vajdová qui rappelle l'importance de comprendre le texte à partir des contextes socio-culturels. Avec leurs réflexions approfondies et stimulantes sur le sujet traité, les auteures ouvrent de nouvelles possibilités de recherche sur l'histoire de la traduction tout en approfondissant les connaissances actuelles.

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