The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul

Translating and interpreting, 1848–1918

Michaela Wolf

Translated by Kate Sturge

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Benjamins Translation Library (BTL)

ISSN 0929-7316

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Volume 116

The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul. Translating and interpreting, 1848–1918
by Michaela Wolf

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Translating and interpreting, 1848–1918

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Introduction

Under the impact of various "turns" – whether interpretive, spatial or postcolonial – in recent decades, interdisciplinarity in the humanities has begun to subvert existing paradigms and assumptions, opening up potentially productive new fields of research in the borderlands and overlaps of scholarly disciplines. For translation studies, this trend is constitutive in a dual sense: both the discipline itself and its research object are located in the contact zones "between cultures" and thus subject to multiple contextual configurations and communicative structures. Despite frequent calls for intradisciplinary coherence, it is precisely the diversity of themes and objects, encompassing a huge array of communicative forms, that characterizes translation studies. Given this, a focus on maintaining disciplinary boundaries would amount to systematically restricting the formulation of vital research questions. Marked as it is by thematic and theoretical multiplicity, translation studies relies on the groundwork supplied by other fields of knowledge, and has long since recognized the importance of impulses from and constructive cooperation with its disciplinary neighbours. The most obvious frames of reference have so far been linguistics and literary studies, though there are efforts to demarcate translation studies from these for reasons of epistemological and disciplinary history. Cultural studies and the social sciences have also taken on increasing relevance for the discipline. It is partly due to these developments that since the 1990s translation studies has experienced a florescence of new lines of inquiry, extending right up to and beyond its own borders.

The most far-reaching impulses for change in translation studies certainly arose from the "cultural turn" of the early 1990s. This paradigm shift in the concepts, models and procedures of the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences as a whole resulted in a lasting expansion of the discipline's scope and the emergence of questions that, especially in the study of translation practices, began to take account of factors such as historical embedment, situational context or translation conventions and displaced the focus of research onto the macro-contexts of translations. Initially, issues around cultural "transfer" tended to be approached as individual culturally specific problems, but attention soon turned to the level of discourse and, as translation studies was redefined as a dimension of the study of culture, to the processes that explicitly critique representation in order to query hierarchies of power and trace the mechanisms by which the "Other" is constructed.

By moving away from translation studies' traditional fixation on texts and its orientation on harmony in the sense of "understanding between nations", it becomes possible on the one hand to break open conventional classifications and reveal the asymmetry of transfer relationships, on the other to address the specific configurations that "give concrete form to translation as an interactive social event" (Fuchs 1997, 319).[1] Approaches of this kind attend to the cultural and social encodings that characterize the phenomenon of translation to a special degree – special because processes of mediation are deeply embedded in cultural and societal structures that entail both the negotiation of cultural difference and the exploitation of all the various forms of translational action. To this extent, the agents of mediation are located between cultures as a kind of connective tissue; in the contexts that gave rise to them, they partake in societal networks as both constructed and constructing subjects.

For translation studies, two broad sets of questions arise from this. Firstly, the cultural turn has important implications for the definition of translation and thus for the research object of translation studies. If we aspire to a concept of translation that counters notions of culture as guarantor of identity and tradition, privileging instead the dynamic changes that shape hybridity out of continual cultural encounters, then it will be necessary to utilize the potential of a more metaphorical concept of translation, such as that evoked by the term "cultural translation". This would highlight the moments of cultural imbrication inherent in the translation process, give a voice to translators as the bearers of cultural dynamics, and draw on postcolonial thinking to open up the issue of cultural representation, thus the nature of translation as a force of construction.

Secondly, the cultural turn feeds into a field of translation research that has gained prominence only in the past ten years and is by no means fully explored: the sociology of translation. Translation sociology focuses on the implications of translation and interpreting as social practices and symbolically mediated interactions. Here, the process of translating is conditioned by the coaction of two levels that encompass the "social" and the "cultural" to different degrees: a structural level, concerning power, governance, state interests, religion, economic interests and so on; and the level of the agents involved in the translation process, who have internalized these structures into their "habitus" and, within their specific scope for action (culturally conditioned interests, resistances, etcetera), both react to and act upon existing structural circumstances in the framework of their own culturally connoted values or worldviews.

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1.   *Translator's note*: Here and throughout, all translations of German sources are my own unless otherwise attributed.

The pluricultural space of the Habsburg Monarchy offers particularly fertile ground to explore these questions. The Habsburg or Danube Monarchy – in later periods of its existence also called the Austro-Hungarian Empire – was a composite state which united cultural and linguistic groups across wide stretches of central, southern and south-eastern Europe under the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. Its complex ethnic composition constantly called for creative solutions to communication problems that ranged from the mundane to the most abstract. My chosen period from 1848 to 1918, furthermore, was one when the various "nationalities" within the Monarchy faced a situation of intense competition and interdependency that put the existing orders of communication to the test and accelerated the process of constructing images of self and other. The phenomenon of translation, understood in the wide sense I have outlined, was more than merely a means of understanding between the cultures of the Habsburg Monarchy and a medium of cultural transfer with "other" cultures. In the multiplicity of its manifestations, it also – and this is the key argument of the present book – contributed importantly to constructing the cultures of the Habsburg space.

Addressing these issues requires a plural methodology. The book proceeds in two analytical steps that are complementary and that partly arise from my choice of corpus. In the first of them, I investigate the factors playing into the cultural constructions generated by "translation" in the widest sense within the communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy. To this end, I propose a typology of translation encompassing the spectrum of translational actions that helped constitute communication inside the Monarchy and across its frontiers and that contributed to these cultural constructions. This undertaking is based on extensive archival research. I categorize the various forms of translation against the backdrop of the "Habsburg Babylon" – practices of language use in the context of emerging conflicts between the nationalities and of the language-related legislation that in part resulted from those conflicts. I look in detail at fields of agency that I characterize as "habitualized translating" (communication on the basis of bilingualism and multilingualism within asymmetrical frames of reference) and "institutionalized translating" (the differential legislative treatment of linguistic diversity, in schools, the army or the civil service). These were domains where translation intervened directly in the construction of cultures. They include the translation of legislative texts (with the editorial office of the Imperial Law Gazette and the Terminology Commission) and translating activity within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (with the Section for Ciphers and Translations) and the Ministry of War (the Evidence Bureau). I also examine literary translation and the training of "dragomans".

However, the precise reconstruction of a translational space of mediation requires a methodology that can relate the individual processes of construction to the particular agents participating in them. This is the aim of my second analytical

step. In it, I apply Pierre Bourdieu's sociology of culture while offering some critical caveats; in particular, I propose the integration of categories from cultural studies to address its lack of instruments specifically tailored to the analysis of what I will call "mediation" (*Vermittlung*).

The translation corpus, in the narrower sense, on which these investigations are based covers texts that appeared with publishers in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918, and contextualizes them on a macro and a micro level. The macro level involves a quantitative analysis of 16 translation bibliographies, revealing a diversification in the conditions of cultural production and reading behaviour in the period. This supplies the framework for a detailed analysis of translations from Italian into German, which are investigated along parameters including genre, place of publication, type of publication, and the gender of authors and translators. Using selected criteria, the Italian–German translations produced in the Habsburg Monarchy are correlated with those published in the German Empire in the same period. The translations studied are by no means only literary texts, but include writing in art history and theology, along with numerous specialist works in science (including medicine, psychology and criminology) and the humanities (primarily philosophy, cultural history and literary studies).

By naming the years 1848 and 1918, I do not intend to lay down a start and finish point of particular developments in the literary or scientific field; in view of the wide range of domains considered here, that would be impossible. Rather, the dates mark historical ruptures. The year 1848 is regarded as a historical watershed in the Habsburg political and social order, while 1918 saw the end of the Habsburg Monarchy and thus of the pluricultural setting of translation activity that I examine here. Revolutionary processes like those of 1848, even if they never quite come to fruition or lose much of their vigour over time, usually result in the rise of new groups of actors and the redistribution of competencies within state and private institutions, which in turn affects translational activity. More specifically, in terms of the relations between Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848 was a turning point in Italian struggles for independence, the effects of which I will consider in detail.

The extended concept of translation used in this study opens up access to a broad field of social and political practice. To do justice to its sociopolitical role, translation studies will need to confront and make fruitful the questions I have sketched, questions addressed here in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy's translational space of mediation. The book's larger aim is to bring broad-based models of translation to the challenges posed by pluriethnic communities such as the European Union, going far beyond the still widespread image of translation and interpreting as a merely service activity. In this sense, the Habsburg Monarchy may be a kind of experimental laboratory for the European Union – from the point of view of language policy, of the status accorded to different languages, and of the

effective handling of complex multilingual situations. If translators in such environments are not expected to work solely "for the market" but instead as transcultural mediators managing communication disputes, new areas of activity arise in which translators can work "for society" and actively contribute their own agendas. With reference to "Kakania" – as Robert Musil sardonically called the Habsburg Monarchy, playing scatologically on the initials "k.k." or "k.&k."[2] – that would mean, among other things, developing a dynamic approach to the Monarchy's cultural legacy and weaving it into the contradictory fabric of new contexts. This may make an effective contribution to the continuing metamorphoses of the field of translation studies.

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2.   Musil explains: "All in all, how many amazing things might be said about this vanished Kakania! Everything and every person in it, for instance, bore the label of *kaiserlich-königlich* (Imperial-Royal) or *kaiserlich* und *königlich* (Imperial *and* Royal), abbreviated as 'k.k.' or 'k.&k.', but to be sure which institutions and which persons were to be designated by 'k.k.' and which by 'k.&k.' required the mastery of a secret science" (Musil 1995, 29). "Imperial-Royal" referred to the Habsburgs' status as simultaneously Holy Roman Emperors and kings of various central European realms; after the 1867 Compromise with Hungary, the designation "Imperial and Royal" indicated the distinction between the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary (see Heilman 2009, 10n14).

Locating translation sociologically

> Yet no translator or institutional initiator
> of a translation can hope to control or even be aware
> of every condition of its production.
> (Venuti 1998, 3)

In his blueprint for an "ethics of difference" to combat the "scandals" that have dogged social perceptions of translation in society past and present, Lawrence Venuti emphasizes translation's entanglement in society and queries the values and institutions that define it. This is a useful reminder of the urgent need to research the social embedment both of translation itself and of agents in the field of translation studies.

1. Scholarship and society in the context of translation

Critiquing science, Hartmut Heuermann notes that scholarly endeavour as practised today has no clearly defined image either of the human being or of society (Heuermann 2000, 12). His implication is that contemporary theories of science do justice neither to the human being as an individual or subject, nor to the category of the human within larger units such as society. Historical research on the relationship between science and society shows that scientific knowledge has always been moulded by a meta-knowledge in which cultural traditions were the instigators or custodians of higher-level "truths" and over long periods of time were the prime sources of inspiration (ibid., 61). The affirmation of faith in a higher category – whether a state, a religion or a philosophical school – was always paramount, and it provided both orientation and legitimation in the academic domain, where the entirety of cultural knowledge was considered the source of science's legitimacy. For the modern period, François Lyotard argues that centrifugal forces, such as decentralization, pluralization or particularization, contributed to a crisis of both knowledge and epistemology. As a result of the "shattering", the increasing fragmentation and pluralism of knowledge, the one-time "grand narratives" have ceased to offer individual and collective legitimation, and indeed "most people have lost the nostalgia for the lost narrative" (Lyotard 1984, 41).

The grand narratives are replaced by the delegitimization of old values, and by the new demarcations and hybridizations arising from ever-changing constructions of identity. This "postmodern condition" is not a phenomenon only of the late twentieth century. As Lyotard stresses, its symptoms were already apparent in Viennese modernism, when starkly differentiated lifeworlds gradually undermined the power of binding interpretations.

Translation studies is not immune to these transformations. For a university discipline that has only recently been established and continues to struggle for visibility in the public sphere, there is on the one hand a danger of constantly reinventing the wheel and thinking up methodologies or models long since tried and tested in other disciplines; on the other, the discipline's battle for recognition itself offers an opportunity – in both philosophical and organizational terms – to stake out a broad experimental field, comparatively free of the constraints imposed by traditional assumptions and long-established conceptual edifices. Taking all due account of existing paradigms in the sociology of knowledge and fundamental concerns in the study of science, this innovative research domain means that new theoretical and methodological models, whether epistemological or heuristic in orientation, can be tested without having to bow to historical considerations deeply rooted in the discipline. In other words, the domain of translation studies is full of potential – but is that potential being fully exploited?

In view of all this, it is probably no coincidence that the theory of science, especially, has recently begun to pay increasing attention to translational phenomena. Philosophy has been perhaps the most important source of this trend (for example Hirsch 1997; Buden and Nowotny 2009), but significant contributions to new and sophisticated models of translation have also come from cultural studies (for example Bhabha 1994; Bronfen, Marius and Steffen 1997), anthropology (Maranhão and Streck 2003; Rubel and Rosman 2003) and feminism (Simon 1996; von Flotow 2011). These developments exemplify the extraordinary dynamism – and the rapid structural transformation of institutions – to which research and theory are exposed in the system of science today. At the same time, they offer an opportunity to resist the rationalization of the academic world, in translation research as everywhere else, that is gaining ground as scholarship becomes defined more and more as a source of economic productivity (Heuermann 2000, 69).

In this context, it is worth asking exactly what translators and translation studies can contribute to the relationships between science and society. The answer might be located on two levels, the first of these being the social structure of action in which translators as subjects and their actions are embedded, and from which the translation product emerges under the influence of numerous factors. On this level, translation studies could address these complex processes through a theoretical framework capable of tracing the functional mechanisms

of social figurations – the systems of relationships and interactions within which translations become products of political relevance for culture and society – and describing them relationally, in their multiple interconnections. Here, the study of translation as a social practice cannot be separated from the study of translation as a cultural construct. On the level of the theory of science, secondly, the focus would be on the positioning of the individual social actor in a field of tension that embraces all the subjects involved in the translation process in the widest sense, and on the conditions under which the translation is produced and circulated. The complex webs of relationships in which the participants are implicated can be most effectively mapped out against a view of the translation scholar or translator as a constructing and constructed subject in society, a subject that crucially shapes the societal structures relevant to translation.

It is not obvious how far translation studies has yet satisfied the task of, on the one hand, critically examining the social dimensions of the translation phenomenon and, on the other, drawing up theories and models capable of registering the influences at work on its research object (an object, in fact, still awaiting precise definition). Despite a general acknowledgement of the need to examine translation as a social practice, and studies of some specific aspects, there have been few attempts to connect with existing theoretical models proposed in other disciplines, or to integrate research findings into a wider context of scholarship. We still lack a sociologically oriented theoretical framework that is tailored to translation and capable of addressing the full complexity of translation as a social phenomenon. One objective of the present book is to offer just such a framework, anchored in a critical approach to "translation" as a research object and from the perspective of translation's constructive role.

2.   Translation studies – "going social"?

Translation's social contingency was an object of interest in translation studies long before the subdiscipline of translation sociology came into being. Looking at the literature, there appear to be four main areas of relevance (see Chesterman 2006; Wolf 2007a). Firstly, a sociology of agents in the translational system analyses the activity of translation from the perspective of its protagonists, as individual figures and as members of particular networks. Anthony Pym, for example, focuses on translators themselves, examining the field of socially conditioned subjectivity as a precondition for writing their history (Pym 1998, ix). In terms of methodology, some scholars in this category draw on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural production in order to scrutinize the status and positioning of agents in the translation field and understand their interaction (examples are Gouanvic 1999; Wolf 1999,

2003a). Another broad thematic area in translation studies, one that has come to the fore with the expansion of ideas of culture as a social practice, is interested in the category of power relationships within the network of translation. A sociology of the translation process looks at the constraints inherent to translation production, applying constructivist approaches to analyse translation as a social discourse and address the institutionalizing function of the translation process (Brisset 1996). In contrast, a sociology of the cultural product prioritizes translation flows and the implications of the international and transnational transfer mechanisms that ultimately construct the translation product. Studies in this third category often work with extensive corpora from the global translation market. They detail the conditions of translation production and distribution by examining the various agencies involved and the mechanisms connecting them (Heilbron and Sapiro 2002; Bachleitner and Wolf 2010a). A fourth strand of translation sociology covers approaches that make explicitly theoretical claims. Most of these draw on the sociological models of Bourdieu (for example Simeoni 1998; Gouanvic 2002; Wolf 2007b), Bernard Lahire (Wolf 2007a), Bruno Latour (Buzelin 2005), Niklas Luhmann (Hermans 2007; Tyulenev 2012) or Anthony Giddens (Tipton 2008).

It is difficult to say whether these projects provide an adequate basis for a sociologically oriented theoretical model capable of capturing the social contingencies that drive the processes of production, distribution and reception and ultimately constitute the texture of the "field of translation" or of the translational "space of mediation". Will they do justice to the complexity of translation's embedment in society and its implications for translators' decisions? What is certain is that variables such as the media industry, the policies of major publishers, the institutional context of professional translation, or censorship – to name but a few – cannot realistically be tackled as isolated phenomena, even if each is studied on the basis of large corpora. Only by researching their interrelationships will it be possible to understand the powerful influence of such societal factors on the production and reception of texts in the narrower sense and, in turn, the repercussions of those texts on particular phases or segments of social action in the wider sense. For this reason, the questions I have outlined here are of special relevance to the discussion of how translation contributes to the construction of cultures – and, specifically, to the culture of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Kakania goes postcolonial

As a pluricultural space, the Habsburg Monarchy faced enormous practical challenges of communication. The complex ethnic composition of its population called for communication strategies that, even in the Monarchy's late phase, were only partially institutionalized – in many cases they consisted in calling on the services of bilingual and multilingual individuals, a method largely unregulated and simply taken for granted by the authorities. In addition, the Monarchy's various "nationalities" saw themselves in growing competition. Their rivalry stretched existing communication policies to the limit and, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, accelerated the process of constructing "selves" and "others". More than in the past, it became an urgent issue to decide "who speaks out, in which language; who holds what post; who can lay claim to political representation, how and where; what cultural 'rankings' regulate the coexistence or conflict of the different civilizations and cultures within the Empire" (Müller-Funk 2002, 19).

1. Locating "Habsburg culture"

In recent years, scholarship on the Habsburg period has moved away from the various myths surrounding the "k.k." and "k.&.k." imperial system and from backward-looking utopias. A view of the Habsburg Monarchy appears to be taking shape that is inspired by Musil's concept of "Kakania".[1] Such analyses put the relationship between power and culture at the heart of their research on Habsburg history, and often argue that the Habsburgs exerted a pseudo-colonial hegemony,[2] politically subduing and economically oppressing the "Other" in the course of

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1. See Musil (1995, 29–31). These approaches have emerged primarily from the Vienna-based network "Kakanien Revisited", a platform for interdisciplinary research on East Central Europe. See www.kakanien.ac.at (accessed 7 July 2014) and Müller-Funk, Plener and Ruthner (2002); also Müller-Funk and Wagner (2005).

2. "Pseudo" in that, as Musil satirically comments, "A ship would now and then be sent off to South America or East Asia, but not too often. There was no ambition for world markets or world power. Here at the very center of Europe, where the world's old axes crossed, words such as 'colony' and 'overseas' sounded like something quite untried and remote" (Musil 1995, 28–9).

their imperialist advance. Certainly, these symbolic forms of ethnically articulated dominance show strong similarities with the case of overseas colonial power.

Research in this mould frequently draws on the description and conceptual analysis of postcolonial relationships. Defining postcolonialism in their *Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (1995), Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin cite, on the one hand, the continuance of asymmetrical regional power relationships after "decolonization"; on the other, the enduring consequences of the colonization process, including migration movements, economic dependencies and shared languages. Another important hallmark of the postcolonial condition is neocolonialism in the era of globalization, with its testimonies to economic, cultural and military-political hegemony (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1995, 2–4). In view of this, the link with Habsburg circumstances seems quite plausible. In his discussion on the relevance of colonial and postcolonial experiences for situations inside Europe, Wolfgang Müller-Funk draws on the work of Hannah Arendt to name the defining elements of colonialism as systematic and violent expansionism, a general denial of rights to the surviving indigenous population, the importation of people from Europe to rule the colony politically and economically, the imposition of the colonists' own culture, and the exploitation of the colony's wealth. As Müller-Funk shows, all these elements require certain behaviours and cultural codes that make the colonial subject's actions seem natural and self-evident, for colonialism involves "the assumption of one's own cultural superiority, just as the conviction that people of a foreign culture are immature and therefore must be represented – for their own benefit – by the colonial power" (Müller-Funk 2005, 41).

The overlap with the power structures of the Habsburg Monarchy is underlined by Arendt's contention in *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Arendt 1958) that the manifestations of modern power politics – nationalism, colonialism and imperialism – must be viewed in terms of their interaction, which gives rise to the symbolic formation of racism. This line of thought casts a special light on the relationship between European nationalism (a crucial element of the Habsburg Monarchy especially in its late phase) and colonialism outside Europe, despite the great differences between the two contexts in terms of space and to some extent time. It is a perspective that may be very helpful in contextualizing Habsburg power logics from a postcolonial perspective.

Yet however tempting it is to bring the thinking of postcolonial studies to contexts that are genuinely "extra-colonial", such as the Habsburg Monarchy, some caveats are in order. There are limits to the applicability of the colonialism debate when discussing symbolic forms of rule, especially because in the Habsburg Monarchy's case the geographical and cultural distance so characteristic of power relations between colonizers and colonized was not given on a "colonial" scale. Clemens Ruthner is one scholar who criticizes uses of the metaphor of colonialism

to describe the Monarchy. Apart from the difference in distance, he points out that a further feature commonly attributed to the relationship between colony and colonial power, the binary opposition of centre versus periphery, is difficult to apply to the Habsburg case due to the disparities in economic development within the crownlands (the Monarchy's Austrian core). Although Galicia, for example, might well be counted as a "poor periphery", in economic terms another land outside the Austrian core, Bohemia, enjoyed higher standards than did the "centre". Also, unlike in classical colonialism, there was more than one metropolis (Ruthner 2003).[3]

From a historical perspective, there are other constitutive components of colonial power that also require research. For example, the historical power structures of the Habsburg Monarchy did not depend on the violent land grabs so fundamental to traditional colonization contexts, but rather on pre-capitalist and feudal relations of dominance that persisted up to 1848 and beyond in the shape of a whole range of mental habits (Müller-Funk and Wagner 2005, 23). Nevertheless, as Catarina Martins shows in her discussion of "intellectual imperialism" in Austrian modernism (Martins 2009), despite all the particularities of the "Habsburg case", historians' widespread insistence on Habsburg specificity risks weakening our sense of the larger theoretical context.[4]

This brings me to the methodological concerns around the application of postcolonial theories to the Habsburg Monarchy. They begin with the question of the added value that may be expected. Methodologies informed by postcolonial studies roundly reject ethnocentrism and the equation of culture with nation, focusing instead on the distinctive and politically invested features of particular power relationships. Even more importantly, for many fields – certainly including translation studies – applying a postcolonial framework means expanding the scope of research and developing transcultural perspectives that include an element of self-reflexion. Yet this area is exactly where deficits are to be found. Although postcolonial studies has impacted profoundly on the perspectives of enquiry and undermined dominant, ethnocentrically coded models, its emancipatory potential for research objects such as translation has not yet been fully explored (see Wolf 2008a): a more thoroughgoing and sustainable application is required. As Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri argue in their critique of globalization, *Empire*,

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3.   Ruthner thus indicates the fundamentally problematic nature of the figures "centre" and "periphery", which cannot be discussed in detail here. For the Habsburg context, see Hárs et al. (2005).

4.   Writing on cultural imperialism in the Habsburg Monarchy, Martins (2009) notes the following special features: the imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers, the close entanglement of imperialism with nationalist discourse, and the growing role of symbolism in the discourse of imperialist legitimation.

"postmodernist and postcolonialist theories may end up in a dead end because they fail to recognize adequately the contemporary object of critique, that is, they mistake today's real enemy" (Hardt and Negri 2000, 137). Scholarship could, Hardt and Negri fear, be concentrating too much on past forms of domination, not realizing that "the dominating powers" under criticism have "mutated in such a way as to depotentialize any such postmodernist challenge" (ibid., 138). A further critical voice is Gábor Gángó's (2007), who notes in his review of a volume on "centres, peripheries and collective identities in Austria-Hungary" (Hárs et al. 2005) that the deconstructive methodology of colonialism studies may be counterproductive in an Austrian context. In spite of these important reservations and qualifications, postcolonial approaches deserve much closer attention, both in general and in their application to the Habsburg context. For one thing, the notion of Kakania's coloniality or postcoloniality promises pragmatic benefits for research (see Müller-Funk 2002, 18; Ruthner 2002, 93): as a heuristic figure, it may not only help to overcome the restrictive concept of national culture, but also open up our view of the multiple cultural imprints and combinations, the play of contradictory identity constructs, the cultural conditions of circulation and exchange, and the processes that produce the dynamism and mutability of cultural configurations in the Habsburg world, revealing the power structures inherent and necessary to that world.

More specifically, how can postcolonial approaches best be made fruitful for the study of translation? Bearing in mind the critical use of postcolonial figures set out above, I assume that the phenomenon of translation, in its various manifestations, plays into these cultural configurations and contributes substantially to the construction of cultures. In the following I will present the concept of culture underlying that assumption, then discuss its application within the "cultural turn" in translation studies.

The notion of culture premised in this book assumes that cultures do not exist as closed systems and cannot be transferred as such, whether in the act of translation or otherwise. Like an act of portrait-taking, they are ephemeral evaluations that cannot be codified once and for all. This understanding counters essentialist ideas of culture as somehow intrinsic, largely immutable and therefore ahistorical, and as operating through dichotomies such as self versus other or ruler versus ruled. It lays bare the "inventedness" of essentialist categories such as childhood, generation, region or biography, revealing the "general cultural constructedness of the modern world" (Sollors 1989, x). Essentialism is what underpins the principle that cultures are separate and can be more or less sharply distinguished; it obscures the multiplicity of discursive events and representations that make up all culture. If, instead, we assume that the reciprocal translation processes in "contact between cultures" have, both historically and in the globalized present, been partially responsible for each particular cultural formation – in other words

that culture takes place in the circulation of symbolic signs – then a provisional or working definition of culture may be as a site of collision between representations of subjects, of history, of world events (see Bronfen and Marius 1997, 11) which, in turn, have emerged out of the coaction of different, multilayered encounters.

This open, processual aspect of cultures is stressed by the cultural and literary scholar Homi Bhabha. Focusing on the production of symbols and meaning ascriptions that constitute culture, he describes cultures as constantly in action: "All cultures are symbol-forming and subject-constituting, interpellative practices" (Bhabha 1990, 210). Full of potential for change, those practices continually bring forth new meanings, and are open to the creation and adoption of new symbols. In search of what is authentic or genuine in cultures, we find subjects who seem to act ahistorically within fixed roles, locked into traditions and social conventions. But that search, argues Bhabha, is anyway doomed to failure. Concerned to avoid immobilizing subjects within ethnic or other positions, he highlights instead the areas of overlap between different ethnic, class and gender affiliations or ascriptions: it is only in their imbrications that these affiliations can constitute the individual subject. As Elisabeth Bronfen adds, the subject is called upon to go beyond the restrictive, because reductive, identity claims placed on it by traditional concepts of culture, yet without denying or repressing their legacy (Bronfen 2000, ix, xi). Culture is no longer, then, an authority that helps to perpetuate traditions and identities, but a confluence of meaning-ascribing processes. It is a more or less densely woven fabric of symbols and significations.

In Homi Bhabha's notion of culture, the encounters arising from migration are a crucial trope. They generate incessant discontinuities, ruptures and differences, and ultimately the hybrid sensibilities that characterize migration cultures. Although today "hybridity" may seem to have become little more than a fashionable slogan, in fact it still has a certain radical potential – since, according to Robert Young, its use raises "questions about the ways in which contemporary thinking has broken absolutely with the racialized formulations of the past" (Young 1995, 6). Hybridity describes the outcome of cultural encounter, of contact between spaces, which changes everyone involved. The notion of hybridity presupposes that even when cultures are thought in the context of "character" or "place", they cannot be regarded as homogeneous or self-contained. Hybridity as the result of every encounter of cultures, as the conjunction of different discursive practices, invests the idea of culture with a new dynamism. As Edward Said argued, acts of invention figure strongly in the constitution of every culture, feeding into the constant creation and re-creation of a culture's images of itself; continual manipulations and falsifications result (Said 1997, 44). Said's analysis highlights firstly the power structures that characterize the constitution of culture, and secondly culture's hybridity: partly because of empire, he writes, all cultures are hybrid, "none is pure or forms a homogeneous fabric"

(ibid.). Bhabha encapsulates these claims, arguing that if "the act of cultural translation (both as representation and as reproduction) denies the essentialism of a prior given original or originary culture, then we see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity" (Bhabha 1990, 211).

However, do these observations stand up to critical scrutiny? Can cultural hybridity really help us "all to understand each other" and "translate each other successfully" (Schirilla 2001, 36)? Or should we even join Jan Nederveen Pieterse in asking "Hybridity: so what?" (Nederveen Pieterse 2001). Not for nothing has the concept of hybridity attracted considerable criticism in recent years. Hybridity, critics complain, is rootless, serves only the elite, fails to reflect deeper social realities (ibid., 221); Nikos Papastergiadis identifies a naïvely celebratory vision of hybridity in which hybrids are "conceived as lubricants in the clashes of culture" or as the "negotiators who would secure a future free of xenophobia" (Papastergiadis 1997, 261). A further concern is that the metaphor of hybridity implies pure origins. This is the question I would like to move to now, in the process returning to the specific case of translation.

Considering Said's view of the hybridity of all cultures, Terry Eagleton points out that "hybridization presupposes purity" and "strictly speaking, one can only hybridize a culture which is pure" – yet, as he reminds us, citing Said, "all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic" (Said 1993, xxix, quoted in Eagleton 2000, 15).[5] Here, it is important to take a historical view, remembering how strongly the assertion of "pure origins" and cultural affiliations based on homogeneity have prevailed for many centuries: patriarchal attitudes have postulated sharply drawn borders between genders, the aristocratic view postulated "blue blood", while the nationalist philologists around Herder saw language as a vessel for the genius of the nations – quite apart from the racial perspective which asserted a clearly delineated hierarchy of "races". The appropriation of language and cultural artefacts for national and nationalist purposes is a familiar feature of the very recent past and our immediate neighbourhood as well (Nederveen Pieterse 2001, 229). The processes of hybridization that are widely evident (and to a great extent acknowledged) today, in contrast, may be interpreted as the result of a new

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5.   Jean Fisher, too, worries that the concept of hybridity carries connotations of "origins" and "redemption" and is thus unable to offer a way out of the self/other binary. She proposes the term "syncretism" instead (Fisher 1996). On the distinction between syncretism and hybridization, see also García Canclini (1990, 14–15). For Thomas Wägenbaur, the concept of hybridity makes it impossible to distinguish between self and other, so that cultural conflict becomes superfluous. This, he says, results in the epistemological problem of a "hybridity of hybridity" (Wägenbaur 1996, 34).

awareness arising from massive change in social and economic structures. This makes it important to pay detailed attention to the power relations defining each specific situation, relations that contribute to the interpretations and selection mechanisms operating within processes of cultural translation.

Given all this, it seems useful to study the impact of processes of hybridity in the Habsburg Monarchy, where the prevalence of migration fostered them to a special degree. That migration occurred in many different spheres. The agents of transfer were, for example, servants or craftsmen migrating mainly to the largest cities in search of work, and government officials relocated from one part of the Monarchy to another; members of the army were also part of the migration phenomenon in the wider sense. Recent work on migration in Habsburg contexts has called for a sophisticated view of migration that emphasizes the great diversity of movements, including intra-regional mobility, circular seasonal migration, or return migration (see especially Steidl 2008). Migration, in this view, involved less a one-way influx of people from rural areas into the cities than a process of constant coming and going.

As in other geographical spaces, cultures in the Monarchy were decentralized in terms of their literary, philosophical, religious and other discourses due to the coexistence of different languages. Polyglossia gave rise to a spectrum of possible contextualizations, differing according to the specific configurations at stake in any one case. An example is the polyphonic situation of Istria (Strutz 1992, 303). In particular, literature written in and about Trieste shows how such hybridity – a knotting together of multiple cultural transfers – finds expression in heterogeneous literary models. The cultural polyphony of Trieste, and of Istria more generally, contradicted unitary notions of universality in world literature, offering ample material for literary experiments that could interweave aesthetic and ideological elements of several different languages and sociolects. In Scipio Slataper's 1912 novel *Il mio Carso*, for instance, the contiguity of traditions, discourses and contexts takes shape as a model of hybridity in which cultural distinctions are not dissolved; multiple viewpoints contribute to a continuous discursive exchange between cultures (see Wolf 2003b, 157). In view of this and other Habsburg cases, György Konrád may be right to claim that "Kakania's greatest energy" was to be found "in its mixed-ness" (quoted in Strutz 1992, 299).

Approaching culture in this way means there can be no permanently established contextualizations. The fluid and polyphonous comes to the fore, with boundaries constantly shifting in multilayered processes. Finally, the dynamic changes and ascriptions of meaning I have sketched here are manifested in cultural transfers that can no longer be regarded as one-dimensional, linear movements between a source and a target language, but are processes of incessant contextual change. Because of that dynamic and complex situation, hybridization is not something

that can be attributed to the Habsburg Monarchy across the board – this would not only contradict historical facts, but culminate in an essentialization of hybridity. Particular social fields or population groups were more profoundly affected by hybridity, others less so or hardly at all; but the fact of difference was maintained in principle even if these segments experienced change at different speeds. In the following, I concentrate on those spheres where "translation processes" in the widest sense take place – primarily where dense concatenations of culture arose from migration or social construction (and generated their own cultural products), while many other territorial and social spaces remained relatively untouched and others constituted "grey" or transitional zones.

2.   The "cultural turn" and its consequences

In the history of translating and translation studies, attention to cultural configurations as such has been minimal until very recently. However, especially since Romanticism, Germanophone theoretical discourse on the treatment of alterity in literary translation has referenced political practices through the use of metaphors around "alienation", "assimilation" or "Germanization". Friedrich Schleiermacher's essay (1813/1997) is an interesting example of such thinking about the Other in translation. Schleiermacher describes the two principles regulating the relationship between the familiar and the foreign in translation as *verfremden* and *eingemeinden*, concepts that have gained currency outside German as "foreignization" and "domestication". Every translation, Schleiermacher argues, is located somewhere between these two poles. He gives preference to the "foreignizing" mode, which accepts the intrinsic value of alterity and aims to communicate the translator's experience of the foreign to the translation's readership.

This dichotomizing view of translation dominated well into the twentieth century, and persisted in the debate about "equivalence" in the linguistics-oriented translation theory of the 1960s and 1970s. For a long time, such linguistic approaches depended on a concept of equivalence that prioritized the correlations between linguistic units in the source and target text, initially with a focus on the invariance of text segments or the unchanged identity of the message transferred (see Kade 1968, 90). In other cases, account was taken of situational context in the sense that replacing textual material in one language with "equivalent" textual material in another language was considered possible only in a specified situation (see Catford 1965, 35). In his elaboration of the equivalence concept, Werner Koller described translation as "the *result of a linguistic-textual operation* that leads from a source-language text to a target-language text, with *a translation (or equivalence) relationship* produced between target-language text and source-language text"

(Koller 1979/2001, 16; original emphasis). Thus, Koller defines as translation only that which, as he says, "satisfies particular equivalence requirements of a normative kind" (ibid., 200). The requirement of equivalence is not intended to be something absolute; it exists only in combination with a translational relationship. In German, the problems of "equivalence" begin with the word itself: the German specialist term Koller uses, *Äquivalenz*, refers only to an unambiguous logical correlation, yet outside of machine translation it has been identified almost automatically with the more general word *Gleichwertigkeit*, "having the same value". Remaining loyal to his concept of equivalence, Koller later added the factor of "cultural features and elements in texts", which he discussed in the context of "communicative-cultural conditions on the recipient side". This did not detract from his basic view that an "original textual production" – and this for him included the translatum in Hans J. Vermeer's sense[6] – was not a translation (Koller 2002, 115–17).

Developing his "skopos theory" from its beginnings in *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (Reiß and Vermeer 1984), Vermeer proposed an understanding of translation as "cultural transfer". Translation in this view is "a complex action in which somebody reports on a text under new functional and cultural and linguistic conditions in a new situation" (Vermeer 1986, 33), and because the resulting translatum is an element of the target culture, a translation is "always also a transcultural transfer, as far as possible dissolving a phenomenon from its old cultural linkages and implanting it into target-culture linkages" (ibid., 34). Vermeer was one of the first translation theorists to call for attention to the cultural conditions of the translation process, and to account for translation's cultural contingency in his theoretical model.

But despite Vermeer and Reiß's significant contribution to understanding the translation process, the concept of culture that they assume deserves critical scrutiny, especially given that in the German-speaking world Vermeer is often regarded as the most important instigator of the "cultural orientation" (Dizdar 1998, 107). If we begin from the notion of culture discussed in the previous section – briefly, one that sees culture as a processual phenomenon of meaning ascription – then Vermeer's idea of culture seems inadequate because it implies that cultural elements are fixed, that objective realities and cultures are unitary and transferable. This is all the more contradictory in that Vermeer applies a very open concept of text and original, which he describes as an "offer of information" and says must be interpreted specifically in each particular case. Implicitly, this suggests that in transfer, "foreign" elements are not simply transmitted one-to-one, but are taken out of their context and built afresh in a new one. In this sense, Vermeer does not

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6. Vermeer's (1986) understanding of the "translatum" focuses more on its life as a text in the target-language world than on its relationship with a source text.

insist on immutable, context-independent meaning per se. However, he argues that a text's culturally specific elements are detached from their original setting and implanted in the target culture in such a way as to fulfil the new text's *skopos*. This presupposes that cultural elements do have a fixed meaning, out of which they are, so to speak, liberated – by the translation and in obeisance to its particular *skopos* – through the application of particular translation strategies. My argument, in contrast, is that cultural elements attain meaning only in the process of transfer itself, through their change of setting. It is this that embeds them into a cultural context. Elements of culture are always open to interpretation; otherwise they could not be transferred in the first place (Celestini 2003, 47). In other words, we do not need Vermeer's postulate of "functional change" to explain the reemplacement of cultural elements: such reemplacement is inevitable in the course of any transfer.

In the 1980s, views of the translation process expanded rapidly, but it was the "cultural turn" in the humanities and sciences more generally that brought about a really profound transformation in concepts, models and methods. Today, translation studies, just like other disciplines, is debating approaches drawn from cultural studies that find the prime sources for understanding a culture not in texts, but in discursive practices within historical lifeworlds. Culture is now no longer seen in the Marxist mould as a superstructural phenomenon, secondary to the underlying economic and political relations, but – as set out by Raymond Williams – with a focus on the interaction between the various subsystems of a society (for a detailed account in German, see Hárs et al. 2005).

In a seminal volume edited by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), Mary Snell-Hornby struck a blow for the introduction of the cultural turn into translation studies by calling for the framework of translation research to be expanded to include cultural contexts. Offering a detailed critique of the linguistic orientation still prevalent throughout the 1980s, she welcomed the cultural orientation of the functionalist translation scholars (Snell-Hornby 1990, 81–2). Just as Snell-Hornby had proposed, translation studies responded to the wider "cultural turn" by enlarging its frame of observation and increasingly gearing its research towards translation's macro context. In the early days, cultural "transfer problems" mainly featured as isolated issues of cultural specificity; that is, cultural perspectives were applied primarily to lexical translation problems (see, for example, Bödeker and Freese 1987). However, more comprehensive approaches soon came to the fore. On the text level, research in this vein has asked how far particular images of the world and different practices (conflict cultures, models of time, and so on) are transferable. On the macro level, it looks at textual strategies and thus issues, such as representations of culture or patterns in the perception of alterity, that illuminate the constructive character of translation (see, among many examples, Niranjana 1992).

It was a short step from registering the cultural dimension of the translation process to addressing the underlying power relations. The asymmetries inherent to translation processes lend themselves to analysis in a framework of postcolonial cultural theory like the one outlined earlier in this chapter. André Lefevere laid some important groundwork for that task. One of the proponents of the "Manipulation School", with its focus on manipulation as a crucial component of all translatorial action, Lefevere coined the term "rewriting" to describe a practice that includes not only manipulative interventions on the text level but also (or especially) the cultural and literary agencies that guide and control the production process in conjunction with societal forces.[7] Lefevere's interest in these mechanisms is indicated by his programmatic title *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (Lefevere 1992). His term "rewriting" covers all the forms of writing that "manipulate" an original in one way or another. Translation is prime among these, but they also include literary history, literary criticism, anthologies, critical editions, historiography and much more.

For the present purposes, a particularly interesting aspect of Lefevere's work is the role of social implications, which he discusses chiefly under the heading of the "patronage system" – the interplay of the individuals, collectives or institutions that steer the production of rewritings. Looking at these elements, it becomes obvious how much Lefevere contributed to a "sociology of translation" despite never having proposed a fully fledged theoretical model.[8] In particular, he names the ideological component that presides over both the selection criteria for translations and the ensuing representations of culture and society. To be sure, his model of ideology remains rather general: "the conceptual grid that consists of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach texts" (Lefevere 1998, 48). This action-oriented view of the concept focuses on ideology's entanglement in society. Lefevere enriches it with an explicit reference to Pierre Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital: translation, he argues, serves among other things to preserve and increase cultural capital.

The two other elements steering translation production in Lefevere's account, the economic component and the status of patrons and rewriters in society, can also be found in Bourdieusian field theory. Economic capital critically influences the production of translations in the guise of payment for rewriters, including

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7.   In principle, the notion of "manipulation" conditioning every translation (see Hermans 1985) implies the existence of a "reality" inherent in the text that the translator can, consciously or not, "manipulate". These apparently inherent realities are deconstructed and originary meanings queried by poststructuralist approaches.

8.   Lefevere died in 1996.

translators; social capital positions patrons and rewriters within the "field", in Bourdieu's terms, or within the "literary polysystem" in Lefevere's.

As well as his emphasis on translation's social implications, Lefevere's cultural orientation is relevant here. Again, this orientation is to be found on two interdependent levels: firstly on the text level, in his attention to the various cultural factors that impact upon a translation, and secondly on the meta level, in translation's constructive role. It is here that Lefevere can analyse the forces and mechanisms which make translation a substantial factor in the construction of cultures. The title of Lefevere and Bassnett's last collaborative book, *Constructing Cultures* (Bassnett and Lefevere 1998), tells its own story.

3.   Translation as a contribution to the construction of cultures

The concept of culture proposed in this chapter focuses not on culture's role in securing identities, but on the dynamic changes that arise from every "cultural contact" and on the discontinuities and ruptures of cultural reference that result. From this perspective, highlighting the constructed and constructive character of cultures, there is little to be gained from cultural descriptions that aim to enable comparisons between cultures through a "neutral" *tertium comparationis*; instead, global power structures and the interwovenness of cultural knowledge take centre stage. A milestone in the emergence of this kind of view, Said's *Orientalism* (1978) examines the workings of colonialism on the level of textual and discursive meaning-making. Said reveals the centuries-long dichotomy of "Orient" and "Occident" that culminated in the construction of the West, or Europe, out of the projection of its Other. In such construction processes, the Other is defined by the principle of inclusion and exclusion. This viewpoint has far-reaching implications, showing traditions and cultures to be constructions inasmuch as they are negotiated in moments of cultural encounter (in this case under colonialism) and depend upon the prevailing political and economic conditions surrounding that contact. In this sense, there can be no such thing as "original" culture.

This insight has borne fruit in different disciplines at different times. The "radical constructivism" pioneered by Ernst von Glasersfeld and filled out in interdisciplinary dialogue was one of the first, and remains among the most ambitious, ventures into explicitly constructivist thinking. Siegfried J. Schmidt has called it a "new paradigm in interdisciplinary discourse", and explores its possible application in such research domains as management studies, psychology or general communication science. One of Schmidt's arguments holds immediate interest for translation studies: it is only through their interaction, he suggests, that communicating subjects generate "information" and thus assign meaning to the medium

of communication, for example a text. The same communicative content (that is, cognitive constructs or meanings) cannot necessarily be ascribed to two different recipients, since neither the communicating subjects nor their life situations are identical (Schmidt 1987, 64–5). Once again, this undermines the essentialist assumption that meanings can be packaged and transported and – in the translation context – that exchange between cultures can be symmetrical and neutral, assured by the application of universally accepted translation laws.

Another important work in this respect is Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), examining the ways in which modern cultural symbols were invented and disseminated in the name of ancient national or ethnic traditions. The influential notion of "invention" has been applied to numerous phenomena, such as the "invention of the self", "invention of the other", "invention of the nation" and more, powerfully articulating a particular understanding of societies and lifeworlds. Invention has also taken on a heuristic dimension, reflected most clearly in Benedict Anderson's concept of the nation as "an imagined political community – … imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson 1991, 6). The act of imagination takes place in the minds of the members of the community: since they can never meet or know everyone even in small-scale settings, they have almost free rein to create images of other people. Writing on nationalism, Ernest Gellner made a similar point even more forcefully: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist" (quoted in Anderson 1991, 6; Anderson's emphasis). Both of these formulations imply the dimension of construction in the sense I use it here, since communities, and as yet "uninvented" nations, have to be perpetually imagined or reimagined on the basis of perpetual recontextualizations.[9] Ethnicity may be regarded as another, similar fiction. As Werner Sollors argues in *The Invention of Ethnicity* (1989), it is generally used to portray "ethnic groups" as real, external, stable and static entities. It thus defines them as ahistorical and, more broadly, propagates the principle of authenticity, a principle that contributes to essentialization and the fossilization of meanings. The purpose of defining cultural elements as authentic is obvious – it furthers hegemonic claims that use exclusion and the imposition of particular patterns of perception and interpretation to propound an apparently universal consensus within society as the basis for a pursuit of power. The theorem of cultural difference is not always helpful in finding ways out of such rigid ascriptions. As Sollors notes, citing the Chinese American laundryman whose profession cannot be explained by looking

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9. A particularly fertile debate has arisen around the "invention of the Balkans"; see, for example, Todorova (1997) or, more specifically on images of the Balkans in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Habsburg Monarchy, Rathberger (2009).

at Chinese history, "it is not any a priori cultural *difference* that makes ethnicity" (Sollors 1989, xvi). Rather, the act of invention comes about within the power relations of the particular time and space at stake. In terms of this power-inflected embedment, Sollors is justified in equating "invention" and "cultural construction".

From the Kakanian perspective, this means that the pseudo-colonial, ethnically and culturally diverse space of the Habsburg Monarchy becomes a kind of "experimental station" (Schuchardt 1884, 131). It is a laboratory of processes which, determined on the micro level by the heterogeneity of the cultural lifeworld and on the macro level by a migration-driven layering and mixing, undermine the idea of a geographical and ethnic continuum. Instead, they seem to demand a transnational notion of culture, dominated by "translation" in the widest sense:

> Culture takes shape beyond the geopolitical and ethnic code; it is created by members of a community that transcends the boundaries of geography, ethnicity, language, politics, religion, state and nation. Culture is clearly a constantly re-woven network beyond geopolitical and national borders, a labour of *translation* from generation to generation.　　　　(Weibel 1998, 76; emphasis added)

The phenomenon of translation, considered for the moment in its traditional sense, has a substantial part to play in this construction-oriented model of culture. Susan Bassnett observed a trend in translation studies, especially outside Europe in the 1980s, to approach translation within the tension of colonizer and colonized as opposed to primarily within the relations of source and target texts, at best texts as elements of cultures. This new view, driven by historical and political change, disrupts established delimitations: "the post-colonial perspective throws into crisis any notion of fixed boundaries and frontiers become unstable" (Bassnett 1998, 129).

Clearly, translation studies stands to benefit from the efforts of postcolonial studies to work out a heterogeneity-oriented concept of difference as a way of explaining the emergence of cultural identities. Homi Bhabha's contribution to a new concept of translation appears particularly promising. In the context of debates on cultural overlap and "centre" versus "periphery", Bhabha proposes "translational culture" (Bhabha 1994, 212) as a new point of departure for cultural encounter, making cultural boundaries themselves the site of new cultural production. Here he refutes the separation of discrete, internally coherent originals and translations:

> Translation is also a way of imitating, but in a mischievous, displacing sense – imitating an original in such a way that the priority of the original is not reinforced but by the very fact that it *can* be simulated, copied, transferred, transformed, made into a simulacrum and so on: the "original" is never finished or complete in itself. The "originary" is always open to translation so that it can never be said to have a totalised prior moment of being or meaning – an essence.　　(Bhabha 1990, 210)

Since the debates prompted by the cultural turn, this metaphorical view of translation has become indispensable to translation studies as well.

As Bassnett and Lefevere argue, institutional constraints form part of the process of negotiation, the conditions and actions that combine to constitute a translation (Lefevere and Bassnett 1998, 8). Taken alongside postcolonial thinking, this means that only through the engagement of the agents of translation with those institutional constraints do all the factors involved (people, signs, practices) experience changes in meaning – changes that alter their status irreversibly and help to constitute new cultural contextualizations. With regard to their figure of "rewriting", Bassnett and Lefevere put this claim starkly: "Rewriters and translators are the people who really construct cultures on the basic level in our day and age" (ibid., 10).

From the postcolonial point of view, these mediators or translators are located at cultural nodal points that both presuppose and open up the process of exchange between the elements born of such interconnections. Starting from this cultural contact zone, translators take up ever-changing positions, making them, in Bhabha's terms, "the contaminated yet connective tissue between cultures" that contributes to "the impossibility of culture's containedness" (Bhabha 1993, 167). Cultural mediators are bearers of meanings and, as such, provide the crucial stimulus to change in their environments. It is through the process of mediating (here: translating) that the artefacts to be conveyed – whether texts, symbols or any kind of signs – gather multiple meanings; their polysemy is intensified through the "say" of the actors involved (Scherpe 2001). This means that as well as the "original" artefacts themselves, the dynamics of mediation or translation play a crucial role in constructing cultures. There has hitherto been no systematic study of this productive role of mediators that takes full account of their own constructedness as "entangled subjects" (Bronfen and Marius 1997, 4). Certainly, they do not act within homogeneous national cultures, but move in the border zones. It is they who bear the prime responsibility for negotiating the differences of cultural identity.

4.   The concept of "cultural translation"

In this book, I explore the proposition that translation contributes importantly to the construction of cultures, on the basis of a detailed study of translation in the Habsburg Monarchy. Fundamental to the concept of translation I will apply are a model of culture drawn from postcolonial studies and a focus on the processual dimension of cultural crossings.

With its multiple configurations of overlap and complex interconnections, the postcolonial notion of culture I have presented highlights the relational: confronting heterogeneous regional, ethnic or social formations evokes a view of culture

for which the process of translation (considered metaphorically) is virtually constitutive, and thus reveals the "invention" of the Other, of that which is to be represented. The idea that the self requires the other in order to recognize itself ("culture is always an idea of the Other", argues Frederic Jameson, quoted in Eagleton 2000, 26) assumes that cultural linkages are generated by unceasing reciprocal projections. With respect to the praxis of pluricultural communicative spaces like the Habsburg Monarchy, this means that the everyday cultural encounters between people, symbols or cultural products bring about "inventions" or constructions that are negotiated on the basis of the particular political or economic circumstances prevailing at that moment.

To regard cultures as inherently dynamic formations of multiple codings and traditions (see Celestini and Mitterbauer 2003, 12) is to prioritize, on the one hand, the ascriptions and changes of meaning that arise from constant processes of transmission, and on the other the resulting tensions, which call for the negotiation of misunderstandings and culturally generated barriers. In this context, Bhabha's "translational culture" offers a basis for dialogue and confrontation in culturally diverse societies. Culture, he argues,

> is both transnational and translational. … The transnational dimension of cultural transformation – migration, diaspora, displacement, relocation – makes the process of cultural translation a complex form of signification. The natural(ized), unifying discourse of "nation", "peoples", or authentic "folk" tradition, those embedded myths of culture's particularity, cannot be readily referenced. The great, though unsettling, advantage of this position is that it makes you increasingly aware of the construction of culture and the invention of tradition.
>
> (Bhabha 1994, 172)

In the Habsburg context, the multipolarity of cultures that this implies offers a particularly useful approach in cases where the personal interactions arising from migration reveal the alterities within society and introduce new systems of reference (see Wolf 2012). For Moritz Csáky, one of the key findings of research on modernism in Vienna, and Central Europe more generally, around 1900 concerns the construction of collective identities in an increasingly differentiated lifeworld (Csáky 2002). The plurality of much of the Monarchy – reflected in and resulting from ethnic and religious diversity, multilingualism and rich cultural proliferation – may be regarded as the outcome of tense and conflictual translation processes that drive on ever new cultural configurations.

This framework has far-reaching repercussions for the concept and process of translation in the narrower sense. The processes of representation that are entailed by all translation, and that the "cultural turn" views in terms of cultural difference and power relationships, turn out to be provisional and ambiguous. They leave space

for multiple encodings and new interpretations, albeit always under the constraints of context. For translation strategy, this implies a translation that does not dissolve the distinctions between discourses but allows cultural difference and multiple perspectives to stand. Such strategies will bring to light the constant processes of reinterpretation underlying every translation and thus translation's meaning-making processes, again set about with the constraints of space and time.[10]

But what exactly is the culture-constructing potential of translation? Following Bhabha, cultures are constructions to the extent that, under the impact of cultural encounter and ideological or economic factors, they are inscribed with the usually agonistic dynamics of negotiation. The special importance of negotiation is emphasized in Bhabha's notion of the role of hybridity, which means that the cultures between which translation takes place are themselves never "pure". This becomes particularly clear in postcolonial literature's representation of pluricultural worlds by means of characteristic stylistic discontinuities, tropes and neologisms, as in the work of the Martiniquan poet Aimé Césaire:

> Césaire still sends readers to dictionaries in several tongues, to encyclopedias, to botanical reference works, histories, and atlases. … He makes readers confront the limits of their language, or of any single language. He forces them to *construct* readings from a debris of historical and future possibilities.
>
> (Clifford 1988, 175; original emphasis)

However, the Habsburg Monarchy too featured "thick" cultures of this kind, processed in literature and marked by similar pluricultural tensions. One frequent area of study is the literature of the metropolises (for example Budapest; see Reber 2002) or of important cultural centres (for example Trieste; see Wolf 2000 and especially Simon 2012). The translation of such already "translated" literature casts light on translation's reciprocal, dialogical, polyphonous and interactive character. As such, a translation always plays a part in constructing its own "receiving" culture, the contaminated and heterogeneous state of which supplies contexts of reception enabling change, renewal and re-transformation.

Rejecting the idea of cultural impermeability, Said notes that "the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowings" (Said 1994, 261). The role of translation in that historical process has been crucial. This applies not only to sacred texts such as the Bible or the Koran, but also to numerous works in all different genres

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10. Doris Bachmann-Medick has also frequently discussed the links between culture and translation. For her, the processes of interpermeation alone are enough to justify describing the "overlaps of cultures" as a site of translation – which implies that culture itself is already translation (Bachmann-Medick 1997, 16; 2009, 2). We might, however, ask whether that does not overstretch the term "translation", tending to pin down or immobilize the ceaseless process of translation.

that, in past and present, have helped produce an "other" culture. Lefevere's notion of "rewriting" makes it particularly clear how importantly translations, film adaptations and other forms of rewriting feed into cultural constructions. As a result, an examination of translation's contribution to the construction of cultures will need to focus on questions such as the reasons for selecting texts (texts in the widest sense), the conditions surrounding their production, and the mechanisms by which they are interconnected. These issues are at the heart of Bassnett and Lefevere's *Constructing Cultures*:

> The more the socialisation process depends on rewritings, the more the image of one culture is constructed for another by translations, the more important it becomes to know how the process of rewriting develops, and what kinds of rewritings/translations are produced. (Lefevere and Bassnett 1998, 10)

The power relations in which these processes are embedded have been analysed by translation scholars for several different contexts (see, among many others, Cronin 1996; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002). A study of the factors that decelerate, curb, reject or promote them illuminates the status of translation in a given cultural setting and the manipulations that surround it – all of which could be subsumed under the label of translation policy.

These features are also key to the concept of "cultural translation", which Kate Sturge describes as

> a metaphor that radically questions translation's traditional parameters, [though] a somewhat narrower use of the term refers to those practices of literary translation that mediate cultural difference …. "[C]ultural translation" does not usually denote a particular kind of translation strategy, but rather a *perspective* on translations that focuses on their emergence and impact as components in the ideological traffic between language groups. (Sturge 2009, 66; original emphasis)

Cultural translation appears to have attained the status of a key word in postmodern reflections, and, as Boris Buden observes, is "absolutely at home" in "so-called postcolonial discourse" (Buden 2003, 59). Translation studies has, then, drawn models of cultural translation from postcolonial studies, but another source is cultural anthropology. As early as the 1930s, anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski remarked on the reciprocal translation carried out between observer and observed in ethnography, and queried the authority of the ethnographer-translator (Berg and Fuchs 1993, 31–2). The resulting discussions culminated in the "Writing Culture" debate (Clifford and Marcus 1986) and in calls for increased attention to the asymmetrical circumstances within which cultural translation takes place. Closer scrutiny of the imbrications and internal conflicts effected by such translation was necessary, argued the Writing Culture theorists; ignoring these had created the widespread "crisis of representation".

More recently, the figure of cultural translation has attracted growing theoretical interest within translation studies itself (see, for example, Sturge 2007; Wolf and Pichler 2007; Wolf 2008a; Conway 2012). However, it is here that some of the most vehement objections have been raised. Critics regard statements such as "all forms of transfer are more or less a translation" (Espagne 2003, 8) as inflammatory, threatening to rob translation studies of its claim on its own research object. Michael Cronin, for example, observes that many critical theorists apply metaphorical senses of translation (including "cultural translation") without acknowledging the existence of a discipline specializing in that very subject (Cronin 2000, 103). Similarly, in her study of women's translation and travel writing in the eighteenth century, Mirella Agorni warns that proponents of a metaphorical notion of translation within anthropology, such as Geertz or Clifford, display a "pervasive poststructuralist tendency to deprive translation of its materialist grounding" (Agorni 2002, 96). A particularly vigorous critic of the term "cultural translation" is Harish Trivedi: "Meanwhile, instead of a cultural turn in translation studies, we have on our hands a beast of similar name but very different fur and fibre – something called Cultural Translation" (Trivedi 2007, 282).

Trivedi's main argument is that the metaphorical and expanded sense of this term undervalues, and indeed will gradually completely blank out, actual linguistic difference and the coexistence of languages – the foundation of translation in the traditional sense. Rejecting the use of the term translation for phenomena for which there are already "perfectly good and theoretically sanctioned" terms such as migration, exile or diaspora, he calls on translation scholars "to unite and take out a patent on the word 'translation', if it is not already too late to do so" (ibid., 285). Sherry Simon concedes Trivedi's point to the extent that through the concept of cultural translation, theorists in cultural studies are appropriating "translation" more generally, and doing so without learning any foreign languages. Simon sympathizes with the fear that an uncontrolled expansion of "translation", incorporating every conceivable aspect, could place the relatively new discipline of translation studies under duress. Nevertheless, she sees a virtue in cultural translation as a "platform of analysis", and concludes that "such a broad array of entry-points into the issues cannot help but contribute to the institutional strength of the field at large, proving its appeal to contemporary thought and social action" (Simon 2009, 210).[11]

Translation scholar Lieven D'hulst is no less sceptical than Trivedi, but he brings a historical dimension to the debate, arguing that "in scholarly discourse

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11. On this debate, see the article and responses collected in the forum on "Cultural Translation", *Translation Studies* 2 (2009), no. 2, and 3 (2010), nos 1 and 3, with contributors including Ashok Bery, Andrew Chesterman, Kien Nghi Ha, Mary Louise Pratt and Robert Young.

metaphors can only serve as provisional substitutes for concepts and models to be developed on their basis" (D'hulst 2008, 222). D'hulst traces the different options posed by a realization that no single discipline has yet succeeded in covering all the possible theoretical dimensions of translation: either translation becomes a partial research object for several disciplines, or it becomes a comprehensive research object for a discipline that can genuinely define itself as an "interdiscipline". The latter alternative would require increased openness to the migration of theoretical concepts (ibid., 224).

These hesitant or hostile attitudes to absorbing the concept of cultural translation into the scope of translation studies, which ultimately amount to a rejection of interdisciplinarity, seem surprising in view of the numerous translation-related studies that deploy the model, especially in the English-speaking world. Agorni herself is a prime example, describing translation on the one hand quite traditionally as linguistic and cultural transfer between a source and a target text, but on the other as "the complex process of transformation foreign images are subject to when they are transported across different cultures" (Agorni 2002, 2). This attributes a far greater radius of action to translation than is the case in traditional models, as becomes explicit in her association of the two cultural techniques of translating and travel writing. For Agorni, these are both marked by the impossibility of producing definitive representations, and as a result are both subject to a "potentially never-ending process of re-translation" (ibid., 3). Further recent publications similarly propounding a broad notion of translation, one frequently equated with "cultural translation", and using it to explore translation's contribution to the construction of cultures are *Translating Travel* (Polezzi 2001) and *Representing Others: Translation, Ethnography and the Museum* (Sturge 2007), to name but a few. In different contexts, they all approach the problems of translation through the encounter with alterity and the production of identities through cultural transfer, regarding translation as a process of cultural representation.

In the investigation of intercultural spaces, of the "between-cultures" generated by translation, it becomes even more urgent to ask whether "cultural translation", with its metaphorical quality, can really be strictly bracketed off from other dimensions of translation. What are the limits of the impact of translations emerging from that space; who, or which discipline, defines those limits; and what is the methodological basis for such definitions? Erich Prunč argues that the primary criterion for including a translational phenomenon in the purview of translation studies is its "mediatedness" (*Mittelbarkeit*), in other words the participation of a mediating entity. Only when this criterion is fulfilled is it possible and useful to develop "a unified and self-contained system of terms and methods" (Prunč 2004, 264). Yet these "mediators", walking the edges of cultural interstices, are themselves translated and

can intervene in the conditions of their own translatedness – something that implies a notion of translation with no real place in such a "system of terms".

This point highlights the nomadic character of translation, and indeed of translation studies. For Cronin, translators like travellers are "nomadic figures inhabiting spaces between cultures", and "the disciplinary journeying from subject area to subject area" is partly responsible for translation studies' failure to achieve the recognition it deserves (Cronin 2000, 104). Else Vieira's essay on "Cultural Contacts and Literary Translation" also addresses translation's nomadic aspect, though with a more positive connotation: "'Nomadology' as an umbrella term subsumes translation and such cultural contacts as migration, colonization, education, the media, telecommunications, and the globalized economy" (Vieira 2000, 319). The linkage of *translation* and *translation* is both inevitable and irreversible, and in the end it should be viewed less as a threat to the discipline than as a valuable invitation to dynamic and productive interdisciplinary collaboration.[12]

Prunč assumes there is a "core area" within translation studies, where the defining features (thus, the translational phenomena generally agreed by a scholarly community to fall within the discipline's scope) can be found in their most pronounced form, whereas other phenomena are located further away, in the grey zones that border on neighbouring domains. He proposes organizing the objects of research along this continuum between centre and periphery (Prunč 2004, 263–4) – yet it might be more useful to investigate precisely the relational character of translation phenomena, which would not simply expand the "core area" but dynamize and ultimately dissolve it. Once a particular research phenomenon, such as that of "cultural translation", is no longer regarded as an insurmountable problem that threatens to burst the boundaries of one's own discipline if it exceeds a "unified and self-contained system of terms and methods", more comprehensive complexes of phenomena may come into view. These might include the strategies of communication that depend on negotiating cultural difference, or the fault lines between the cultural encodings produced by the translation process (see, for example, Bachmann-Medick 2004, 449 *et passim*). A first step in this direction could, answering Martin Fuchs's challenge, be to set out – for example through case studies – the widest possible spectrum of translation configurations giving concrete shape to translation as an interactive cultural and social event (Fuchs 1997, 319). The cultural turn must be taken seriously, not limiting it to the solution

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12. In this sense, Maria Tymoczko's (2007, 59) distinction between *translation*, standing for traditional notions of translation, and **translation*, "the cross-cultural understanding that translation studies must move toward", is not helpful, since it perpetuates sharp boundaries between the various aspects of translation.

of immediate "cultural translation problems" but exploring its specific challenges, which range from the analysis of "other" ways of thinking about the world to the discussion of translation's extratextual factors, and revealing the power relationships on which translation is based. In this way, dynamic representations of culture become part of the translation process, opening up opportunities to investigate cultural translation with the tools of translation studies.[13]

5.   A tentative typology of translations

My study of translation practices in the Habsburg Monarchy focuses primarily on one crucial feature of translation, its constructed and constructive character. The typology of forms of translation proposed here aims to account for that feature – specifically, the contribution of a particular translation practice to constructing "Habsburg culture" – and for the immense diversity of translation's manifestations.[14]

Polycultural communication and polycultural translation

The dynamics upon which this typology is based can best be explained using Moritz Csáky's notions of "endogenous" and "exogenous plurality". Csáky describes the densely woven ethnic, linguistic and cultural fabric of the whole of Central Europe, and thus also of the Monarchy, as "endogenous plurality", while "exogenous plurality" is the sum of the elements arriving from outside the region which "became active and contributed to the region's specific cultural and linguistic configurations" (Csáky 1996, 50–2).

Endogenous plurality refers to the continual processes of reciprocal influence and exchange that emerged over the centuries with different degrees of intensity and led to the formation of multilayered cultural codes. These codes were identified as such and "decoded" by the majority of the Monarchy's inhabitants, a process culminating in the phenomenon of multilingualism. The evidently vital processes that Csáky refers to as "decoding" are forms of mediation, and their communicative character is what defines the workings (in whatever form) of the multiethnic state. In terms of the model presented in this chapter, these perpetual processes of

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13. It remains to be seen how substantial a contribution will be made by the "translational turn" propagated by cultural studies (see *Translation Studies* 2, no. 1, 2009).

14. In the form presented here, this typology is designed to describe the forms of translation practised in the Habsburg Monarchy, but its fundamental features can be expanded or differentiated as required.

decoding may be described as translation processes in the widest sense, as typified by the constant switching of contexts that was an everyday reality for so many of the Monarchy's inhabitants. This notion of endogenous plurality informs my category of translation types associated with the mediation of cultural elements inside the Habsburg monarchy, which I call "polycultural communication" and "polycultural translation". Counting translation as an act of "transfer", we may adopt Celestini's distinction between communication and transfer or translation: transfer usually concerns elements that were not, in their original contexts, designed to be transferred. Their transfer would not occur on their own initiative, so that a mediating entity is required for transfer or translation between cultures to take place. The same is not true for an act of communication, because statements, texts or other messages to be communicated are produced specifically with their recipients in mind (Celestini 2003, 46). As mentioned above, Prunč considers "mediatedness" the defining feature for any research object of translation studies and its sub-fields (Prunč 2004, 280).

My term "polycultural" is chosen for pragmatic reasons. The most important of these is the need to distinguish it from other, similar terms frequently used to label cultural configurations or relations of cultural exchange, all too often in sweeping or inflationary ways. A prime example is "multicultural", which addresses the coexistence of different cultures within a particular society and is frequently deployed by the media in debates on migration and globalization. The inherent difficulty of the multiculturalism idea becomes especially clear when we consider the notion of culture upon which it depends: cultures here are internally coherent, clearly distinguishable entities, with no place for hybrid conditions. Furthermore, "multiculturalism" often claims a special potential for promoting understanding and conflict resolution. In view of the power-ridden cultural setting, this would clearly be desirable, yet it seems condemned to failure by the underlying, rigid notion of culture, which is unlikely to sustain any such solutions in the long term.

The other concept of interest here is "interculturality". Gerhard Maletzke describes as "intercultural" all the relationships "in which the participants do not rely exclusively on their own codes, conventions, attitudes and behaviours, but experience different codes, conventions, attitudes and everyday behaviour" (Maletzke 1996, 37). Bi- or multilingualism in the Habsburg Monarchy – regarded as part of translational practice in the widest sense – might certainly be subsumed in that definition of the intercultural; for example the communication of *Tauschkinder* (see Chapter 4). However, it largely ignores the multiple conflict situations that arise from such encounters, thus failing to account for an important dimension of all communication.

In the German-speaking world, the notion of interculturality has gained ground especially in the research field entitled "intercultural German studies". Alois Wierlacher emphasizes that the term goes beyond the abstract description

of communication *between* cultures and premises "a keen awareness of one's own culture" (Wierlacher 2003, 258). In this respect, interculturality seems to imply an interest in understanding and equal partnership:

> In a deeper sense, the expression *interculturality* describes the state and process of overcoming ethnocentrism through mutual "distancing"…, which creates a cultural bridge or a "dual perspective", thus not only taking account of others or strangers and alternatives more strongly than before, but also to a certain extent even perceiving with different eyes. This makes it conceivable to understand together, and creates the conditions for a dialogue in which nobody is accorded the last word from the outset.   (Ibid., 259; original emphasis)

This statement is laudable in regarding interculturality as a bridge between cultures, and the participants in a dialogical process of understanding and exchange as parts of an egalitarian communicative relationship. However, it neglects the power relations that, to differing degrees, mark all cultural contact. This is probably one of the reasons for the concept's successful career in some areas of business communication and management research: it disingenuously affects to be based on symmetrical cultural relationships.

Neither does the concept of interculturality quite avoid positing a model of culture as homogeneous. Wierlacher does not ignore areas of cultural intersection, and describes cultural differences not merely as "antitheses that must be resolved … but also as the conditions of possibility for networking, overlap and embedment, or the prerequisites for an assertive form of cooperation" (ibid., 261). Certainly, this movement of interconnection is implicitly part of negotiation, given that Wierlacher's ideal is "cooperation", but once again it disregards or minimizes the element of power that by definition inheres in cultural contrasts. In addition, these high expectations of interculturality's benefits contradict the "keen awareness of one's own culture" postulated earlier in the text, which itself presupposes an "own" and an "other" culture standing in opposition – yet again an essentialist move.

Given all this, "polyculturality" seems to be a relatively neutral, or at least not completely overused, term. It highlights the tensions of commerce between cultures, the interactive dimensions of cultural exchange and, as translator Susanne Weingarten has noted for postcolonial literature, the crossings, ambivalences and shifts of meaning that are generated by cultural superimpositions (Weingarten 1994, 169). In the case of the Habsburg Monarchy, my category "polycultural communication" will cover the communicative techniques that I classify as "habitualized translation" and some of those classified as "institutionalized translation". These are the domains in the Monarchy where everyday communication relied on bilingualism and multilingualism and did not generally require a special "mediator" – primarily in the working lives of servants, craftspeople and bilingual or multilingual schools.

As for "polycultural translation", this includes all the forms of translation between the Monarchy's languages that did require an explicit act of mediation, in most cases involving a text. All activities around translating and interpreting in the narrower sense fall into this category. The most important of these was the translating needed (and legally required) for efficient communication among government authorities and the public, then the interpreting and written translation carried out by sworn court translators, and the legal translation activities of those working for the Imperial Law Gazette (*Reichsgesetzblatt*). In the area of literary translating, all the translations effecting transfer between the languages spoken in the Monarchy can be counted as polycultural translation. There were also many mixed forms. Chief among these were the techniques used for communication in the army: bi- and multilingualism for communication in the "language of service" (see Chapter 4), but at times translating and interpreting for communication in the "language of command" and especially the "regimental language", used for personal dealings with the rank and file. Another intermediate category is the production of original texts that required their authors (not necessarily translators in the narrower sense) to be familiar with a certain area of knowledge in at least one other language, usually German. The importance of this kind of practice grew as the conflicts between nationalities intensified, and especially after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867.[15] It did not usually require mediator figures specifically designated as such.

Transcultural translation

What Csáky calls "exogenous plurality" refers to elements coming into the region "from outside" and becoming effective as part of the endogenous mix. They are the "processes of cultural diffusion emanating from all over Europe that, due to very specific political or socio-economic conditions, influenced the Habsburg Monarchy" (Csáky 1996, 52). Csáky mentions the many centuries of influences from Spain, France, Italy or the Ottoman Empire, representing different points of connection in society, politics, art, music, literature, gastronomy and so on. One might criticize the restriction to Europe, in that cultural elements from the various overseas colonies of European nations, passed on at second or third hand, also became established in the Monarchy's metropolises. An example is the image of the "Moor", initially a positive one, which illustrates many of the links and displacements discussed above (see Sauer 2007); another would be the Aztec feathered headdress of Moctezuma,

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15. The Compromise of 1867 established the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hungary, separating it from the Austrian Empire and codifying the "Dual Monarchy".

still kept at Vienna's Museum of Ethnology in the face of much recent controversy (see Müller 2007, in a discussion of looted art more generally).

For the present context, exogenous plurality is relevant as the basis of the translation type I call "transcultural translation". The notion of transculturality rests on a view of cultures as highly differentiated and complex structures of relationships, encompassing a large number of different ways of life. Cultures are marked by the interweaving of many possible identities and a large degree of contamination, and by mechanisms that link and mix many different interaction processes. These linkages are the product both of migratory movements and of increasing globalization, as articulated in international transportation networks and communications systems. Wolfgang Welsch is among the prominent proponents of a concept of transculturality based on a "densely woven and inclusive, not separatist and exclusive" vision of culture (Welsch 2002) that is capable of doing justice to the cultural overlaps caused by migration and assimilation processes. Welsch stresses that this concept of culture is a "temporary diagnosis", a transition phase in which older notions of discrete cultures remain a point of departure but are increasingly hollowed out by the recognition that they no longer accurately describe present-day cultural realities. As Welsch argues, the shift to transcultural culture is already under way, especially as it becomes clear that the reference cultures themselves are "already transcultural", seedbeds for the formation of complex cultural networks (Welsch 2000, 341).

This portrait shows obvious points of contact with Bhabha's conception of culture – the hybridity increasingly ingrained in every culture, the open and processual qualities of cultures, the possibility of states of transition that do not negate "cultural legacy". A further striking point is the multipolarity of cultures, something particularly characteristic of the Habsburg setting because of its myriad cultural contacts between everyday lifeworlds. Welsch writes of globalizing cultures today: "Ways of life no longer end at the boundaries of national cultures, but transcend them and can be found to the same degree in other cultures" (ibid., 337). Despite the differences of historical context, the same could be said of the Habsburg Monarchy, especially in the period between 1848 and 1918. Both cases underline once again that the idea of separate cultures is a construct contradicted by factors such as internal differentiation, the density of linguistic and cultural difference, and especially the impact of multiple collectivities and identities upon social actors.

In the category of "transcultural translation", I include those translational activities that participate in cultural contacts across frontiers, in this case the frontiers of the Habsburg Monarchy. The most obvious candidate for this is literary translation: transfer activities with languages that were not spoken within the Monarchy but in most cases maintained contact with it, more or less intensively – primarily translations from English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish and Dutch. Their

key features are their textual nature and their dependence on the agency of a mediator. In that sense, this type of translation incontrovertibly falls within translation studies' disciplinary purview. The category also includes other translational activities carried out between the languages spoken in the Habsburg Monarchy and those outside, mainly in commercial settings or diplomacy. Because much of that translation and interpreting was performed by people working in several languages, and their workplaces also handled more general transfer beyond the Monarchy's borders, this type of translation overlaps with an intermediate category covering translation both between the Habsburg languages and from "external" languages. This is the activity of the Section for Ciphers and Translating, which provided translation services in European languages; another agency within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Literary Bureau, which assembled a daily newspaper review for the Emperor with excerpts from the most important European publications; and the Evidence Bureau in the Ministry of War, which mainly supplied interpreting services (for periods of time as an institutionalized translation operation). Another intermediate category covers literary translations from languages, such as Italian, that were spoken both inside and outside the Monarchy. The common feature of these mixed types is their multiple interconnection of forces endogenous and exogenous to the Habsburg Monarchy. They epitomize the inadequacy of imagining cultural spaces as clearly defined, discrete entities.

The most important distinction between "polycultural communication" on the one hand and "polycultural translation" or "transcultural translation" on the other is, therefore, the factor of mediation. The act of mediation is the *sine qua non* only of translation, not of communication as such. In conjunction with the reference to a text ("text" here understood in the wide, Kristevan sense), the mediating figure is ultimately the key to locating a particular type within the scope of translation studies research. But my typology itself is based on a notion of culture that precludes sharp distinctions between the various fields. It is for this reason that so many of the translation practices at work in the Habsburg Monarchy must be defined as "mixed forms".

The Habsburg Babylon

Translation as a ubiquitous phenomenon of transfer between the various cultures of the Monarchy, or between these and other European cultures, has so far been addressed at most through studies of isolated aspects of translation practice. However, it is impossible to reconstruct translation in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918 without understanding the complex setting of ethnic and cultural relationships in the Habsburg communicative space. This chapter investigates some of those relationships. After examining key aspects of the "nationalities conflicts" that began to arise in the second half of the nineteenth century and their implications for everyday language use, I trace how census surveys of "languages of common communication" and the language policy measures encoded in language-related ordinances impacted on the fortunes of language, and thus of translation, in the long term. The chapter closes with a study of trends on the book market in the Habsburg monarchy throughout the period.[1]

1.   The multiculturalism debate, Kakania style

What may at first sight seem a kaleidoscopically "colourful" cultural environment in this plurinational space (Gottas 1993, 11) has been an object of research on the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy for more than 150 years, and the range of interpretations and representations is accordingly wide. Early on, the repressive tendencies of the hegemonic German-speaking part of the Monarchy were highlighted, with terms such as the Austrian "prison of the nationalities"; in a second phase, these perspectives were replaced by sometimes nostalgic idealizations of the Habsburg Monarchy as a "Pan-Europe in miniature" or even the "model for a future united Europe", emphasizing the shared ground between the nationalities rather than their divisions (Wandruszka 1980, xvi). More recent research has moved away from polarizations

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1.   For reasons of space, I focus here only on those developments and dynamics with the greatest impact on translation between 1848 and 1918. This is not to understate the importance of the associated economic, political, religious and, especially, societal issues, which I address only in individual cases.

and towards an interest in the actual workings of the coexistence of nationalities, thereby raising some searching questions around the politics of everyday life.

The label "multiculturalism" has frequently been applied to the Habsburg Monarchy's population, so large and so complex in cultural and social terms.[2] This is probably not surprising, given that multiculturalism – provisionally defined as the "togetherness" of cultures – was a constitutive feature of the culturally diverse Monarchy. If, though, we take multiculturality to be more than the "competent deployment of a range of different linguistic and cultural codes in a plural communicative situation" (Strutz and Zima 1996, 89, who also find this definition overly restrictive), it becomes clear that the mutual openness of multiculturalism is often overstated, and that the everyday reality is something more akin to a mere "coexistence" of heterogeneous cultural practices. Such ambivalences are perhaps inherent to the concept of multiculturalism, given its historical background:

> In one sense, … multiculturalism is simply a later ironic turn of the same history [of the Romantic-nationalist nation state]. Secure in their singular cultural identity, nation-states created colonial subjects whose descendants then joined them as immigrants, thus jeopardizing the cultural unity which had helped to make empire possible in the first place.   (Eagleton 2000, 61)

This history may explain the "double bind" attached to expectations of multicultural behaviour: it is not possible simultaneously to assimilate and to preserve one's identity, nor is it possible simultaneously to enrich oneself and to leave others unimpoverished, as Dieter Lenzen perceptively writes (1991, 148). To acknowledge the multiculturality of societies like the Habsburg Monarchy, therefore, implies thinking the cultural Other in terms of asymmetrical relations of dominance between the participating cultures. Research on migration, testing existing notions of culture and unmasking "the exoticism of multiculturalism" (Bhabha 1994, 56), has brought the issue of multicultural tolerance right to the heart of debates in both politics and cultural studies. Given the close-range encounters with the Other that were generated by migration in the Habsburg Monarchy and contributed to myths of multiculturality, the question is whether these confrontations did not in fact lead to the very opposite of mutual acceptance. After all, it is in the course of such encounters that constructions of others are produced – and in some cases reinforced by legal regulations – which, at least on the face of it, give permission to be different. And if, in the philosophy of multiculturalism, such permission means an acknowledgement of difference,

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2.   When Crown Prince Rudolf instigated work on the ambitious encyclopedia known as the *Kronprinzenwerk* (1885–1902), his aim was partly to create a sense of supranational affiliation to serve what would today be called multiculturalism; see Zintzen (1999).

it also entails a denial of parity. Undeniably, then, the right to alterity intrinsic to the multiculturalist model does not in itself secure the fundamental right that is really at stake, equality – "unfortunately, the logic of multiculturalism does not overcome the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion" (Weibel 1997, 12). However, if the acknowledgement of difference is embedded in an understanding that alterity is never something "natural" but the product of the very social constructions that draw symbolic and territorial borders, then the subjects involved in these border-making processes will also be seen as resistant to fixed and immutable definition. Culture in this view is no longer a medium of exclusion, but serves the crossing of borders that makes "multicultural societies" possible in the first place.

A glance at the table of contents in the two-volume study *Die Völker des Reichs* (Wandruszka and Urbanitsch 1980, v–x), part of the monumental survey *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, gives an initial impression of the Habsburg Monarchy's cultural and linguistic diversity. After German speakers and Magyars, accounting for the largest part of the population in numerical terms, come Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians (Ukrainians), Romanians, Croats, Serbs, Slovaks and Slovenes, followed by Italians and Jews; in 1910, this added up to a total population of 51,356,465 in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy including Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Österreichische Statistik* 1912, 34*). For comparison, the population of the German Empire in 1910 was 64,903,423. It is little wonder that the Monarchy has been described as a "hothouse" for endeavours to accommodate and arbitrate between nationalities (Brix 1986, 176).

After the revolution of 1848, the constitution drafted by the Kremsier parliament[3] set out parity between all the Monarchy's nationalities, but – as Karl Renner wrote in 1902 – the ideal of equality, articulated in the "struggle of the Austrian nations for [and not against] the state" (quoted in Wandruszka 1980, xvi), proved unsustainable. The conflicts among nationalities in the second half of the nineteenth century took place along a wide and fractious spectrum between the legally anchored claim to equal rights and the immense regional diversity of conditions for its realization. The social and economic "realities" so meticulously documented by the Habsburg administration reflected discrepancies between the nationalities and thus, inevitably, between different perceptions of the nationalities conflict and different approaches to pursuing the nationalities' respective demands.

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3. The first elected parliament was the Austrian Reichstag or Imperial Council, which relocated to Kremsier (Kroměříž) after the October Revolution of 1848. It drew up a draft constitution that would have replaced the crownlands by "federal lands" of the Habsburg Monarchy's individual peoples. The draft was an attempt to mould the Monarchy into a kind of federalist "league of nations". To forestall definitive negotiations on the draft, on 7 March 1849 Emperor Franz Joseph and Prince Felix zu Schwarzenberg dissolved the Kremsier parliament (AEIOU 2010).

One of the instruments of the "struggle of the nationalities" was, without doubt, the language regarded as constitutive of each ethnic group. The drafting of Article 19 of the 1867 constitution,[4] which aimed to secure each group's basic right to the "preservation and cultivation of its nationality and language" and remained the foundation of nationalities legislation in the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy until 1918, was accompanied by much discussion on language philosophy, educational theory and nationalist politics. The historical context of these debates may be sought in Herder's concept of the "peculiarity" of a nation's language, in nationalist models of education, and especially in the foundational statements of important statesmen such as František Palacký or Baron József Eötvös.[5] When Herder wrote that "*jedes* Volk ist Volk; es hat *seine* National Bildung wie *seine* Sprache" ("every people is a people; it has its own national development and its language"; quoted in Anderson 1991, 67–8; Anderson's emphasis), he was articulating an idea already widespread in the late eighteenth century: that nationhood was dependent on a single and exclusive language. This notion would later impact significantly upon the various European models of nationalism (see ibid., 67–82). Whereas Eötvös, writing in 1850, saw equal rights for the nationalities as nothing but a mask for hegemonic ambitions, in 1866 Palacký adduced principles of natural law to support his call for "complete equality of rights". Eötvös also pointed out the contradiction between the structure of a constitutional, centralized state and the full equality of all languages in legislation and public administration. For each people, he argued, language was not simply a means of communication, but the symbol of its entitlement (quoted in Stourzh 1980, 995–6). During debates on the nationalities conflict in the nineteenth-century multiethnic state, language use gradually came to be fully identified with national affiliation. As Eötvös showed, this development arose from the fact that, in practice, the battle for language was always a weapon in the battle for political power.

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4. Article 19 of the 1867 constitution, valid in the western, Austrian part of the Dual Monarchy, corresponded to Article 44 of the Nationalities Law of 1868 in the eastern, Hungarian-dominated part. Whereas Article 19 assumed that all the Monarchy's peoples enjoy equal rights, and thus also the right to use their own mother tongue, Article 44 in the Hungarian half of the Empire followed the Jacobin tradition of a unified nation state, and gave Hungarian the status of an official language. More will be said below on German as the official language of state in the Austrian lands.

5. František Palacký (1798–1876), a historian and politician, led the Czech nation in the Kremsier parliament in 1848/49, and drew up plans for a federalist reorganization of the Austrian imperial state. The Hungarian writer and politician Baron József Eötvös (1813–1871) was the liberal intellectual leader of the nationalist, centralist Hungarian reform movement. He served as Minister of Education in 1848 and from 1867 to 1871.

This conjunction can be observed in the efforts of various private associations, such as the German School Association (DSV), the Verein Südmark (which aimed to "protect" the Monarchy's Germans), the Slovene-nationalist Cyril and Methodius Association and many more, which presented themselves as "guardians of the nation" (Judson 2006). Such associations arose in response to census results from 1880 to 1910 that revealed a widespread indifference to nation-based identification among people living along "language frontiers", borders that in fact themselves now seemed to be imaginary. The organizations were driven by activists – whether teachers, civil servants or telegraph operators – who set out to counter "indifference to or ignorance of the idea of nation" (ibid., 3) and to strengthen national identification by arranging school activities, promoting Protestant settlement in the German–Slovene "language frontier" area or encouraging tourism, for example in southern Bohemia. However, their success was modest, limited mostly to contexts where nationalist discourses were backed by the prospect of economic development. Nationalist rhetoric and agitation appears to have had only a minor impact, and national self-identification to have been a "fragile and contingent phenomenon" (ibid., 176) – not a moral or historical choice but a form of affiliation that operated primarily through occupation, locality, religion or very specific social networks.[6]

2.   Does the state count heads or tongues?

The "overemphasis on language as a national differentiator" (Brix 1982, 14) made itself felt in the Cisleithanian[7] census of 1880, the first one to be held after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. The census included a language survey in the shape of a question on "language of common communication" (*Umgangssprache*), a term derived from early nineteenth-century statistics (see Goebl 1997, 108). Both the census respondents and the statisticians responsible evidently took it to mean the language that predominantly defined an ethnicity, a conclusion favoured by the fact that the rules allowed each respondent to name

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6.   Judson's analysis thus casts doubt on the close link often posited between nationalism and modernization, and on the idea that the emergence of nation states is an inevitable process (see also Deak 2008).

7.   After 1867, the name Cisleithania was colloquially given to the western half of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (officially called "The Kingdoms and Lands Represented in the Imperial Council"). Literally it means "on this side" of the River Leitha, as opposed to Transleithania, on the "other side".

only one *Umgangssprache*.[8] As a result, the data collected could easily be used to draw conclusions regarding the ethnic composition of the Cisleithanian half of the Dual Monarchy. Indeed, the objective of the language surveys between 1880 and 1910 had been to gather information on the distribution of nationalities within the population that would be at least approximately reliable for administrative purposes. The census question's de facto identification of language with nationality matched "the equation of language of common use and national affiliation that had already become established in the minds of parts of the population" (Brix 1982, 14–15).[9] This is strikingly illustrated by the reaction of Vienna's Christian Social municipal government to the 1910 census: it threatened sanctions against those Czech citizens who had entered Czech rather than German as their language of common communication on the census form (John and Lichtblau 1993, 278).

An "invention of nation" is clearly at stake here, given that not all the Habsburg inhabitants who had to state their "language of common communication" will necessarily have identified with the nation-based form of categorization on offer. Such surveys called for unambiguous statements that were rarely likely to correspond to local realities. As Anderson notes, this was the source of the census authorities' "intolerance of multiple, politically 'transvestite', blurred, or changing identifications" which revealed "the fiction of the census": that "everyone is in it, and that everyone has one – and only one – extremely clear place. No fractions" (Anderson 1991, 166). The request to state a single language of common communication is one indication that the practice of censuses generally, and of the Habsburg census around the turn of the twentieth century in particular, is deeply imbued with the constitution of cultural difference and thus the constructedness of ethnic classification as such. Censuses have contributed significantly to the process of cementing identities and promoting national ascriptions.

However this may be, large segments of the population in practice equated their language of common communication with their nationality. In this sense, the results of the 1910 census, the last to be carried out by the central administration of the multiethnic state, reflect the complexity of the Monarchy's ethnic make-up, as shown in Table 1.

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8.   Discussing the 1910 census, Heidemarie Uhl (2010, 14) speculates that "the Monarchy was destroyed by a form: the census form".

9.   However, various supreme court judgements show that in legal practice the identity of language use and nationality was far from being accepted (see Stachel 2001, 21).

Table 1. The nationalities of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1910, percentages (Rumpler 1997, 557)*

	German speakers	Magyars	Czechs / Slovaks	Poles	Ruthenians	Slovenes	Croats / Serbs	Bosniacs	Romanians	Italians, Latins
Austria-Cisleithania	35.58	(–)	23.02	17.77	12.58	4.48	2.80	0	(–)	2.75
Lower Austria	95.91	(–)	3.75	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	0	0	(–)
Upper Austria	99.70	0	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	0	0	0	(–)
Salzburg	99.73	0	(–)	(–)	0	(–)	(–)	0	0	(–)
Tyrol	57.31	0	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	0	0	42.10
Vorarlberg	95.37	0	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	0	0	0	4.41
Styria	70.50	0	(–)	(–)	0	29.38	(–)	0	0	(–)
Carinthia	78.61	0	(–)	(–)	0	21.24	(–)	0	0	(–)
Carniola	5.36	0	(–)	(–)	0	94.40	(–)	0	0	(–)
Trieste	6.21	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	29.80	1.26	0	(–)	62.30
Gorizia and Gradisca	1.80	0	(–)	(–)	(–)	61.85	(–)	0	0	36.00
Istria	3.30	0	(–)	(–)	(–)	14.26	43.52	0	(–)	38.20
Dalmatia	(–)	0	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	96.19	0	0	2.84
Bohemia	36.76	0	63.19	(–)	(–)	(–)	0	0	0	0
Moravia	27.62	0	71.75	(–)	(–)	(–)	(–)	0	0	0
Silesia	43.90	0	24.33	31.72	(–)	(–)	0	0	0	(–)
Galicia	1.13	0	(–)	58.55	40.20	0	0	0	(–)	0
Bukovina	21.24	1.31	(–)	4.55	38.38	(–)	0	0	34.38	0
Kingdom of Hungary	10.40	54.50	0 10.70	(–)	2.50	(–)	1.10 2.50	0	16.10	0
Croatia-Slavonia	5.10	4.10	0 (–)	0	0	(–)	62.50 24.60	0	(–)	(–)
Bosnia-Herzegovina	1.22	(–)	(–)	0	(–)	0	43.49 22.87	32.25	0	0
Austria-Hungary	23.90	20.20	12.60 3.80	10.00	7.90	2.60	5.30 3.80	1.20	6.40	2.00

* The table excludes minorities making up less than 1 per cent of the population. On the distribution of languages in the individual parts of the Monarchy, see Wandruszka and Urbanitsch (1980, III.1 and III.2). Jews were not regarded as a separate nationality, so that Yiddish does not appear in the list of possible "languages of common communication". In the census of 1910, Yiddish was subsumed under German as a German "dialect", so that Yiddish-speaking Jews were counted as Germans (Janik and Toulmin 1973, 59).

Although language was accorded a crucial differentiating role in the multiethnic state, the emergence of a linguistic consciousness ran counter to the Monarchy's implicit self-image, which sought to preserve ethnolinguistic or ethnocultural diversity within a single empire. The process of national classification inscribed in linguistic practice was therefore highly charged politically, and soon became a *sine qua non* for the assertion of national rights. In the final decades of the Monarchy's existence, the social and cultural practices of individuals and societal groups increasingly acquired a politically motivated, identity-defining role, up to the point that "virtually every action could be interpreted as a 'political statement'" in the densely woven ethnic and cultural tapestry of the Habsburg state (Stachel 2001, 20).

The instructions appended to the question of language in the census form insisted that only one language must be named – "the" language of common communication – without distinguishing between the different shares of communication within, for example, the family or workplace (*Österreichische Statistik* 1912, 13*). In fact, however, plurilingualism was part of everyday life in much of the Monarchy, an actually practised sociocultural reality (Stachel 2001, 20).[10] Then as now, the notion of plurilingualism was treated with great ambivalence, on the one hand as something to be aspired to, often a source of prestige to be achieved by deliberately learning a second language; on the other as a principle enshrined in constitutional law, often pitting minority language against national language. The richly varied forms of multilingualism, traced by Mario Wandruszka in perhaps somewhat idealistic terms (Wandruszka 1981), cannot hide the fact that language use is usually inextricable from questions of power and status: what counts most is social success. Multilingualism in the Habsburg context cannot be captured in statistics because of the highly heterogeneous and sometimes overlapping settings in which it appeared, as exemplified by the existence of multilingual regions within the Monarchy or the polyglossic situations resulting from migration, especially in the larger conurbations. The functional differences in use of the various languages show a hierarchy that reflects power relations within the individual domains of society and raises the question of each language's social prestige in its own context of use. Assuming that speakers' language choices – if "choices" they were – were determined by social interaction and the "market value" of the varieties (Helfrich and Riehl 1994, 1), then the analysis of such interactions may uncover the power structures of the Habsburg Monarchy's societal and cultural macrosystem. In this sense, the phenomenon of multilingualism bears a potential for conflict that arises,

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10. Examples of this are documented for all areas of life. For instance, a ceremony to swear in recruits at a Viennese barracks, shortly before the First World War, was held in ten languages and attended by military chaplains from seven religious communities (Wandruszka 1985, xi).

on the one hand, from language use in contexts of social distinction (see Bourdieu 1984, 459–65) and, on the other, from the historically and sociopolitically defined antitheses and ambiguities of the Monarchy's cultural or ethnic composition.[11]

This is the backdrop of a campaign launched against the "multi- and polylingualism" – *Mehr- und Vielsprecherei* – anchored in Article 19 of the constitution, on the grounds that multilingualism threatened national identity. Leading educationists, additionally, cited Rousseau's *Émile* to assert that the parallel acquisition of more than one language in childhood overburdened the child's memory and caused emotional damage. The education encyclopedia *Encyklopädie des gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens* (1881, quoted in Burger 1997, 38) sets out the unequivocal position of educational theory in the closing years of the nineteenth century: "the foreign language remains foreign to the child, and so it should". The father of German gymnastics, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, even argued that bi- or plurilingualism amounted to a "rape of the memory and castration of the language faculty" (1884, quoted in Burger 1997, 38). Yet despite these and many other critical or admonitory voices, the principle of equality between the languages was one of the unassailable foundations of the Monarchy. Indeed, it apparently harmonized so well with public ideas of justice that it was able, time and again, to prevail over the immediate interests of the most powerful nationalities (Burger 1997, 40). Multilingualism seems, then, to have been relatively well regarded in the historical context of the Habsburg Monarchy, though it must be viewed as part of the interplay of multiple socially and politically motivated interests, and their instrumentalization by nationalist forces.

3.   Language policy promoting ethnic rapprochement[12]

The linguistic diversity I have sketched, a distinguishing feature of the Habsburg Monarchy's everyday social and political life, was regulated by a complex body of central and provincial laws. The major staging points of this legislation map out the landscape within which translation took place, showing how closely the "language question" in the multiethnic state was associated with translation activity of many different kinds.

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11. The problems of multilingualism were exacerbated by the Monarchy's religious plurality. For detail on this, see Wandruszka and Urbanitsch (1985).

12. An application to introduce obligatory teaching of a second national language, presented in 1913 by the Bukovina education authority, cited the need for rapprochement between the various nationalities or ethnic groups (*Volksstämme*); see Stourzh (1980, 1147).

Article 19 of the constitution enacted on 21 December 1867 remained the foundation of nationalities legislation until the end of the Monarchy. The controversy surrounding the article in routine legal practice stemmed in part from the vagueness of its formulation:

> All the state's ethnic groups [*Volksstämme*] are equal, and each has an inviolable right to preserve and cultivate its nationality and language.
> The state recognizes the equality of all languages current in a region [*landesübliche Sprachen*] within schools, administration and public life.
> In those lands which are home to various ethnic groups, the institutions of public education shall be organized in such a way that each of these groups receives the means to be educated in its own language, without being forced to learn a second regional language. (Article 19, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, hereafter cited as *RGBl,* 142/1867)

The law thus gave primacy to no single language, yet value judgements were constantly made, especially as to the relationship between German and the other languages of the Monarchy. Partly on the basis of an assumption of German speakers' cultural superiority, German in effect took priority over all the other languages. In the decades that followed, repeated attempts were made to challenge this preeminence of German, resulting in bitter disputes in parliament; in 1880, the conflict prompted the German-nationalist liberals to call for German to be enshrined as the state language. In 1887 a further foray of this kind claimed that German, as the language of administration, enjoyed a customary right which should carry the same force as a statutory right. None of these or similar plans bore fruit,[13] and Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand, too, failed to achieve his goal of having German codified as the "state language" (*Staatssprache*) (see Stourzh 1980, 1041–43).

In these discussions, a distinction was made between an "external" and an "internal" official language (*Amtssprache*). The "external official language" was that used between government authorities and the public, in other words for everyday communication in the state's offices both orally (for interviews, hearings, and so on) and in writing (lawsuits, official decrees, judgements). The "internal official language" was used for communication within the administration, for example in correspondence, file notes, or minutes not designed for public circulation (Rumpler 1997, 505). For the use of both types of official language, the definition of the "language in common use in a land" (*landesübliche Sprache*) or "language of a land" (*Landessprache*) was pivotal. Opinions differed on the precise distinction between these two terms; they were not explained in the relevant laws, and were

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13. The German nationalist delegate Georg von Schönerer submitted several questions to parliament on this matter, including one during the session of 12 February 1901, when he called for a "new bill to safeguard the *German official language* as the necessary foundation for all economic reform" (AVA, carton 3, no. 7938/01; emphasis added; see also Hugelmann (1934, 152).

thus interpreted differently from case to case. Gerald Stourzh (1980, 983) concedes that even today there appears to be no agreed distinction, while Karl Megner (1985, 256) simply takes the problem as given and makes no further comment. Robert Kann (1964a, 190) draws on legal interpretations of Article 19 according to which the term *Landessprache* referred to a language used by at least 20 per cent of the population of a crownland, in other words by recognized nationalities, whereas *landesübliche Sprache* meant the language used to communicate with the authorities, in the schoolroom and for cultural events. Dieter Kolonovits (1999, 96–7), in contrast, points out that in the Imperial Court's judgements, a language was considered *landesüblich* if "it is in common use in the respective land at all – even in just particular towns, villages or districts of that land". In this sense, *landesüblich* means something like "in common use in a court, district or parish".

The stipulations of language policy (see also Sutter 1960; Rindler-Schjerve 2003) affected translation in many different ways. The place of translation activities in the domain of the Habsburg administration was therefore exposed to the meandering course of language-related legislation. As soon as bilingual official business was permitted, to whatever degree, a drop in demand for translation was likely to result. In some cases this was probably, at best, accompanied by increased verbal communication between speakers of different languages for the sake of optimizing everyday work processes. So far we have no evidence to support or contradict any of these assumptions. However, it can safely be assumed that the bi- or plurilingualism of civil servants themselves[14] will have buffered, at least to a certain extent, the problems arising from the fluctuations in translation activity as it tracked the changing legal situation. Apart from some narrowly delimited fields within the ministries, of which more will be said in Chapter 4, neither the courts nor the public or autonomous administrations maintained their own professional translation or interpreting departments.

4.   The polylingual book market

Multilingualism gave rise to many layers of intersection between ethnic groups, and this was reflected not only in everyday language use, but also in the cultural products generated by such interactions. A study of the site where these cultural

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14. A decree issued by Alexander Bach upon his appointment as Minister of the Interior appeals to civil servants to "watchfully ensure that in those parts of the crownlands that include several nationalities, every civil servant acquire knowledge of the languages commonly used there" (*RGBl.*, Ergänzungsband 1849, Section 4, 644). Whether that was actually put into practice is a question I return to throughout the present book.

products were traded – the book market in the Habsburg Monarchy – and the collation of detailed statistics on literary production reveals how strongly the foundations of literature were influenced by language policy measures.

Anyone investigating the history of the Monarchy's book trade is bound to encounter Carl Junker, probably the most erudite authority on bookselling and publishing in the Habsburg Monarchy around the turn of the twentieth century. Junker was a trained lawyer, legal adviser to the Austro-Hungarian book-trade association, editor of the association's paper *Österreichisch-Ungarische Buchhändler-Correspondenz*, and a leading contributor to the cultural magazine *Österreichische Rundschau*. Remarkably, the findings presented in his essays and monographs have in many cases still not been superseded (Hall 2001, 9; Junker 2001). Junker frequently notes the lack of a comprehensive statistical record of literary publications in the Monarchy. This was lamented as early as 1886 by statistician Ernst Mischler: "The statistical study of the intellectual and moral development of the peoples is far less advanced than that of their material development" (Mischler 1886, 1).[15] Alexander von Oettingen, too, the author of a book on "moral statistics" containing valuable statistical material, identifies an "impenetrable darkness" in this respect (Oettingen 1882, 547), and in 1897 Junker complained that the situation in Austria was worse than "in any other European country" (Junker 1897, 5). In the present day, the scarcity of information on the book market has received little remedy, though a useful beginning has been made by recent efforts such as the study *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Österreich* (Bachleitner, Eybl and Fischer 2000) and various individual publications by Norbert Bachleitner (for example Bachleitner 2002). Probably the most serious obstacle to retracing book production in the period is posed by the changing frontiers of the Habsburg Monarchy and the effects of the 1867 Compromise, which make it difficult to identify trends and almost impossible to draw up the comparable data that would be necessary for firm conclusions to be drawn.

The problem, then, is not a dearth of data but (as in all statistical records) their dubious quality. The starting point for a systematic documentation of book production is the imperial patent of 27 May 1852 which required publishers to submit a deposit copy of their new titles. The relatively large number of deposit copies required – one each had to be sent to the Interior Ministry, the Imperial Library in

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15. Mischler's comment appears to allude to a complaint by Alexander von Oettingen: "It is a sad sign of our era's materialism that the official organs and statistical bureaus are more interested in discovering how many pigs and sheep, oxen and calves are eaten per head of the population than how much substantial intellectual nourishment is consumed by the collectivity or by all individuals" (Oettingen 1882, 553).

Vienna, and the regional university or research library – caused resentment in the book trade, especially since the expense did not seem likely to be compensated by any new and effective book production statistics. Soon after legal deposit was introduced, the ambitious overview *Bibliographisch-statistische Übersicht der Literatur des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates* appeared (Wurzbach 1854–57), covering the years 1853, 1854 and 1855 and edited by Constant Wurzbach von Tannenberg, well known as the author of a standard dictionary of Austrian biography. Further important motors in the creation of publication statistics were international statistical congresses. Wurzbach, in particular, was anxious to present as impressive as possible a body of data to the Third International Statistical Congress, held in Vienna in 1857 (Wurzbach 1857, viii).

Tables 2 and 3, showing book production by number of titles and by language, draw on a range of sources (Wurzbach 1854–57; Gerold 1861; Schimmer 1877; Mischler 1886; Junker 1897, 6; Junker 1900, 87–92; Goldfriedrich 1913, 577–8; Drahn 1923; Schneider 1923, 273; Charle 1996, 166; Bachleitner 2002, 9). Regarding the individual entries, it should be noted that shifts in the Monarchy's borders, due to territorial losses or gains, entailed dramatic changes in book production. This becomes particularly clear in the case of Italian book production, which in 1853 is almost identical to German production (German being the largest language in every year studied here) but fades into insignificance after Italian independence. Book production in the Slavic languages appears – as far as can be established from the very patchy records – to have taken a diametrically opposite course, growing continually as nationalism gathered strength and new printing technology spread to the crownlands. Information on Hungarian book production is sparse, making it difficult or impossible to compare production before and after the Compromise of 1867. As commentators on the various statistical sources have observed again and again, the book trade often suffered severely from war and economic crises (see, for example, Mühlbrecht 1867).

The publication statistics for the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918, reconstructed as fully as possible here, reflect the close links between historical events and cultural production (especially evident in the growth of publications in Slavic languages). One of the most important connections is the profusion of language-policy regulations designed to steer the complex workings of the Habsburg multiethnic state in a direction that all parties would find reasonable and acceptable. This enterprise was put to the test every day by routine communication, and in the end actually contributed to exacerbating the conflicts. For the domain of translating and interpreting, as fundamental tools of communication, that situation posed very particular challenges.

Table 2. Total book production in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848–1918, and relative to Germany and Switzerland

Year	Area	Number of titles	Area	Number of titles	Area	Number of titles
1848			HM + D + CH	9,942	France (1850)	9,891
					Britain (1850)	2,600
1853	HM	6,824	HM + D + CH	8,750		
1855	HM	4,673	HM + D + CH	8,794		
1860	HM	2,688	HM + D + CH	9,496		
1865	HM	3,183	HM + D + CH	9,661		
1870	HM	2,906	HM + D + CH	10,108	France (1875)	19,068
					Italy (1878)	5,096
					Russia (1878)	7,366
1883	HM	3,521	HM + D + CH	14,802		
1896	HM	5,200			Italy (1898)	7,993
					Britain (1901)	6,000
					Russia (1901)	10,318
1908	HM	2,876	HM + D + CH	28,225		
1910			HM + D + CH	31,281	Britain (1911)	12,379
					Russia (1912)	27,400
					France (1913)	32,834
1918			HM + D + CH	14,743		

HM = Habsburg Monarchy
D = German territories/from 1871 German Empire
CH = Switzerland

Table 3. Book production in the Habsburg Monarchy by language, 1853–99

Language	1853	1855	1860	1865	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1883	1889	1895	1896	1898	1899
Croatian		29	59	187								144					300
Czech		208	274	511	781	490	645	637	571	496	369	864		1,439			
German	2,787	1,806	1,447	1,401	1,413	1,584	1,491	1,679	1,614	1,704	1,902	2,035			3,200		2,100
Hungarian	428	640	465	486	454											1,650	
Italian	2,723	1,497	287	404	11	16	10	8	9	12	19	33					200
Polish		116	132	162	199	291	317	198	192	224	323	329					1,850
Romanian		25													104		
Ruthenian		13	24	32									263				450
Serbian		31	12									41					250
Slovakian			2		59												
Slovenian		41	11									14					106
Other*	227	267	1									61					
Total	6,165	4,673	2,714	3,183	2,917	2,381	2,463	2,522	2,386	2,436	2,613	3,521	263	1,439	3,304	1,650	5,256

* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, French, English

Translation practices in the Habsburg Monarchy's "great laboratory"*

In this book, translation is defined along a spectrum from the narrowest to the widest sense, primarily from the perspective of its construction of cultures, and under the categories of "polycultural communication", "polycultural translation" and "transcultural translation". Seen in this framework, the activities of translators and interpreters in the Habsburg Monarchy take place on various levels – levels not in the sense of hierarchically ordered strata, but as laminations of agency that generate different societal meanings at different moments and in different situations. Translators are located at the intersections between social and cultural spaces within the relevant fields of action. They are subject to the constraints prevailing there, and themselves contribute to the composition and character of their fields of agency. In the specific context of the Habsburg Monarchy, this means that the multiple formations of translation activity range from incessant switching between different linguistic registers right up to translating and interpreting *sensu strictu*.

1. Polycultural communication

This first section addresses translating in the widest sense, which I here call "polycultural communication". This encompasses the bilingualism or multilingualism – constitutive elements of the Habsburg communicative space – that caused the speakers of the various languages within the Monarchy to switch their linguistic variety and thus their cultural context in order to perform the daily labour of communication arising from their class-specific, professional and personal situations.

In the typology of bilingualism, the criterion of symmetry is clearly relevant to the Habsburg context. Summarizing the literature, Georg Kremnitz distinguishes between symmetrical bilingualism, which involves an equal or balanced written and spoken competence in two languages (in practice virtually impossible), and the far more frequent asymmetrical bilingualism, in which one language is less fully mastered than the other with regard to all the linguistic skills (comprehension,

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* On the Habsburg Monarchy as a "great laboratory" or "experimental station", see Schuchardt (1884, 131).

speaking, reading, writing). The distinction between instrumental (or functional) and integrative bilingualism is also of interest here. The former serves mainly to expand an individual's options for practical communication and expression, whereas the latter promises to improve the speaker's integration into a new society or societal group. For the study of bilingual practices, a further distinction is useful: uncontrolled versus controlled second language acquisition – the question of whether a second language is acquired through everyday communicative practice or in an educational institution. The term "multilingualism" is used when more than two languages are in contact within a society; however, there is little or no difference between the multilingual and the bilingual situation, except that in multilingual situations the hierarchical relationships between the languages are likely to be more complex (see Kremnitz 1994, 24–5, 38). Thomas Krefeld distinguishes between diglossia and dilalia in multilingual contexts, with diglossia characterizing the differentiated use of languages or language varieties within "higher" domains such as schools, the army or the administration, and dilalia that in the "lower" domains of orality, in more intimate environments where no institutional stipulations apply (Krefeld 2004, 34). In the present context, diglossia forms the basis for "institutionalized translation", dilalia for "habitualized translation".

Bi- and multilingualism within the Habsburg Monarchy meant that people in many areas, especially in the cities, frequently used two or more languages for the purposes of day-to-day communication (other parts of the Monarchy, in contrast, were unaffected by such plurilingual or even bilingual practices). The second or third language was generally acquired on the "uncontrolled" pattern: the learners, usually migrant workers, gained their knowledge of the language or languages chiefly through daily communication and often had no choice in the matter – there was no other way for them to communicate (hence "instrumental" bilingualism). This is the kind of situation that prevailed in what I call habitualized translation. At the same time, mastery of the second or third language ensured faster and fuller integration into the urban society of work (hence "integrative" bilingualism), something often furthered by the efforts of migrants to acquire the basics of the second language from family members before beginning work. In general, the Habsburg Monarchy's multilingualism belongs to the asymmetrical type, with second or third languages acquired by servants, craftsmen and others in a clearly hierarchized setting. These speakers mostly used one of the Monarchy's less prestigious languages, while the new language (usually German) was regarded, if implicitly, as the "state language". Rosita Rindler-Schjerve describes this linguistic situation as a "functional asymmetry" (1997, 18) that mirrored the structures of dominance between the societal groups involved. In this sense, access to dominance and power was articulated partly – or perhaps especially – through the choice and use of language.

Habitualized translation

In this form of translation, the dominant forces in society demand assistance, as opposed to asking for it, in order to manage problems of everyday communication. The mediation is to be carried out (whether they like it or not) by individuals who are generally occupied in areas regarded as secondary or lower in the social hierarchy and are accordingly likely to be speakers of other languages than the dominant one. This is not translatorial practice in the narrower sense, but such activities involve constant processes of linguistic and cultural transfer that rely on bilingual or plurilingual agents and are essential to these people's working lives, or in many cases even survival. A distinguishing feature of habitualized translation is that it tends to be unilaterally oriented on the target culture, and mainly occurs within more or less starkly asymmetrical communicative relationships. In contrast to institutionalized translation, it is usually limited to oral communication. As a communicative act that substantively shapes the processes of understanding, habitualized translation is part of the typical cultural configurations of multiethnic spaces. The perpetual recontextualizations brought about by these configurations and the diversity of their cultural imprints are vital factors in the characteristic concentration of cultural circulation in such spaces. In turn, these communication processes, for the most part firmly anchored in the practices of everyday life, favour or promote the potential for conflict that permeates multiethnic situations – all the tensions which arise from the desire for identification and the concomitant acts of inclusion and exclusion, and which typified the cultural hybrid condition of society in the Habsburg Monarchy.

Habitualized translation was practised by large numbers of people in the Monarchy, especially maidservants, cooks, laundresses, seamstresses, prostitutes (Staudacher 1990; Rath 1996; Pollack 2010), menservants, craftsmen, coachmen, private tutors and governesses, wet nurses, grooms, and so on. Most of these had been drawn to the big cities in the hope of finding prosperity or at least higher earnings, during the wave of migration that gathered pace in the 1860s. Although other large cities such as Prague were also important, the residential capital Vienna was bound to be the main destination for such migration. Between 1880 and 1900, Vienna's population grew by 130.8 per cent; the growth rate a mere 20 years earlier had been only 35.5 per cent (Glettler 1972, 25–6).

The women and men immigrating to the city, mostly from the Czech areas of Bohemia and Moravia, all found themselves occupying low social positions. They left deep marks on the everyday life of the cities where they worked, as the following description by Otto Friedländer vividly shows:

> For the Viennese to lead his dreamy, unpunctual life, so rich in little joys and pleasures, a piece of precision machinery has to work quietly and discreetly. Its indefatigably industrious arms are the Czechs. They are our tailors and make our most beautiful clothes; they are our cobblers and make our beautiful shoes; they play our beautiful music; they cook our good, healthy food; they build and polish our beautiful furniture; they drive our beautiful carriages …, and the milk-filled breasts of the Bohemian nurses nourish Viennese children.
>
> (Quoted in John and Lichtblau 1993, 419)

In the following, I focus first on urban servants born outside the German-speaking areas. This occupational group is chosen not only because it was the largest, but also because servants were often required to work night and day, and were thus exposed with particular intensity to the exigencies of habitualized translation, as well as leaving their own imprint upon it. Later in the chapter, I also analyse the role of craftsmen in habitualized translation, and look at cultural mediation in the system of *Tauschkinder* or "exchange children".

Servants

Domestic servants were an important factor in the network of family relationships. They lived in the household of their "masters" – in wealthier bourgeois households alongside the cook, parlour maid, laundress, boot cleaner and others – and became familiar with their employers' habits and social reference points, if only because of their continual proximity. Employers, in turn, came into contact with their servants' lifeworld at least to a certain extent. These interactions in the household took place not only through verbal translation, but also through processes of symbolic translation that, in a context of social hierarchy, usually followed the lines of existing power relationships: from above to below.

In Vienna, domestic service was almost exclusively a female domain. In 1890, according to census figures there were 424,387 maidservants in the Habsburg Monarchy, of whom one third, 32.3 per cent, were younger than 20; the 1910 census showed similar figures. In the 1910 census's language survey, 81 per cent of Viennese servants (male and female) named German as their language of common communication, just 5.9 per cent Bohemian[1] or Moravian, 0.8 per cent other languages of the Monarchy, and 12.3 per cent a language from outside the Monarchy (Tichy 1984, 24–5).

The plurilingualism of housemaids and other servants was mainly function-based. The degree to which German was used depended on the employers' demands and presumably also on their attitudes to questions of nationality. A maidservant

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1. The language labelled "Bohemian" is Czech. Here and throughout, my use of the two terms follows that in the source concerned.

might act as an interpreter when her employer's family relocated within the Monarchy and faced new language difficulties. This is documented for the case of Mrs Eleonora Fanta, whose major-general husband was transferred from Vienna to Mostar; Mrs Fanta tried to resolve her everyday communication problems through the linguistic mediation of Mariza, the Bohemian maidservant she had brought with her from Vienna (Fanta 1947–53, 41). A similar situation is described by Marie Konheisner, a cook from Steyr in Upper Austria whose employer, a lieutenant field marshal, was transferred to Hermannstadt/Sibiu in Transylvania. In Konheisner's portrayal, Romanian–German communication between the domestic staff and the "outside world" was channelled through the interpreting of a Transylvanian Saxon "second servant" (Konheisner 1898–1929, 45). The intermediary role of female servants and nursemaids as the immediate providers of care for the family's children should not be underestimated: in many cases, these children learned at least the rudiments of another language thanks to their close relationship with female servants (Schroubek 1982, 68).

The famous figure of the Bohemian cook also played an important role in the communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy. Not only were these cooks the source of gastronomic delights, but they often mediated between the family and other domestics, because the cook was at the top of the household's hierarchy of servants. This gave her prestige and a higher income, and accordingly greater responsibility in matters of social behaviour. If the Bohemian cook was central to Vienna's "culinary syncretism" (ibid., 63), then, she also embodied the principle of syncretism in her own person.

Craftspeople
A second group whose language skills arose from migration was far smaller, but likewise carried out habitualized translation in the course of everyday work. This is the group of skilled craftsmen and, much more rarely, craftswomen. Of greatest relevance to the present context are those young craftsmen who, having completed their apprenticeship, set off on their travels as journeymen to seek work and gather experience, as part of the mobility and dynamism of their societies. The acts of communication that were demanded of these craftsmen as a matter of course – metaphorically speaking, a form of translation – were typical of the various practical formations of life in the multicultural Monarchy, especially those defined by non-sedentary ways of life. The "wandering" was a tradition going back many centuries, and was often additionally motivated by the young craftsman's desire to improve his own situation and accumulate life experience or cultural knowledge, or by a wish to acquire new skills in his trade (Vošahlíková 1994, 9). As a phenomenon of geographical mobility, the migration of craftspeople was usually embedded in complex social networks of kin, occupational, religious and,

especially, neighbourly relations. The processes of communication within these networks may be regarded as constitutive elements of migratory movements, and they make up the context of the various formations of habitualized translation.

Autobiographical testimonies are particularly rich sources for the extent and nature of "translational" aspects of migration as a cultural practice. In some of these portrayals, for example, the "wandering years" are explicitly described as having expanded the writer's perspectives: the journey "gave us a wider horizon, we gained valuable experience and got to know many countries and their ways of life" (Leden 1994, 262). Thus, when the young Jan Kotal, born in Moravia in 1892, applied for an apprenticeship in Lower Austria, his aim was not only to learn a trade (which precise trade was of secondary importance), but also to learn German. His father had told him: "If only I had been able to speak German, what an easy life I would have had" (Kotal 1994, 280). Many travelling journeymen were eager to improve their knowledge of languages, such as Josef Mlch, who set off on his "vandr" (from the German *Wanderschaft*) as a young man in 1886: "Because there was nothing more [in my craft] for me to learn here, I made an effort to speak at least broken German. For a long time I kept a notebook where I recorded words I knew 'in Czech and in German'" (Mlch 1994, 90). In some cases these efforts were rewarded with professional success; Emil Dvořáček's hard-earned knowledge of German, for example, enabled him to work as a Czech–German interpreter at the labour exchange in Jihlava, southern Moravia, during the Second World War (Dvořáček 1994, 272).

Most of the statements quoted here are from craftsmen, wandering journeymen who were "on the road" and not – like many domestic servants – moving away from their home parish (usually in Bohemia or Moravia) into the big city, where they sought long-term integration into the employment market. A higher degree of communicative flexibility was required of these travelling craftsmen than from people undertaking a process of social integration in one location. As we have seen, language acquisition itself was in many cases an important motivation for leaving home. For these reasons, Annemarie Steidl's claim (2003, 48) that craftsmen who had immigrated to Vienna mainly used their mother tongue in the workshop does not hold, or at least is not as relevant to the migration-dependent type of skilled trades described here; the results of the various censuses, furthermore, show that the situation she describes can only have been a temporary phenomenon.[2]

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2.   To support her observation, Steidl cites an expert who made the following remark at a Viennese public enquiry on the state of small businesses in 1873 and 1874: "The apprentice who speaks German today must, over time, learn Bohemian, for when he arrives in the workshop he will hear no other language. Even the master craftsman has to learn Bohemian in order to communicate with his labourers" (Steidl 2003, 48–9).

Alongside these various forms of habitualized translation, we also find sub-forms that cannot be unambiguously classified as "habitualized" because in most cases they lacked the most important defining feature: being a routine and taken-for-granted obligation. Because their everyday work brought them into contact with different social ranks, servants and craftspeople (exemplifying many other occupational groups) were forced to speak the language of the "other", acting within social relationships that were often starkly unequal. They represented a fragmented social and cultural identity, and contributed on an unprecedented scale to the emergence of hybrid conditions. In contrast, the sub-forms of habitualized translation to which I will now turn were generally voluntary, and thus participated in less starkly obvious imbalances of power. One of them, communication in the *Tauschkinder* system, will illustrate that difference.

Tauschkinder

The system of "exchange children", *Tauschkinder*, consisted in a temporary exchange of children between families who spoke different languages. In multilingual areas or along language frontiers, children aged between 6 and 14 were sent to a neighbouring village or further away in order to learn the other language, in an exchange with the children of their hosts. The purpose was to improve interethnic communication in working relationships between the language "minorities" and thus – ideally – to improve employment opportunities; whatever the precise motivation, the system offered an opportunity to develop tolerance towards ethnic "others" (Kósa 1987, 92). The functional aspect was thus primary. However, the system was not regulated by law or even by convention within the village communities, but left to the discretion of the individual head of a household. As Bertalán Andrásfalvy (1978, 306) stresses, being a *Tauschkind* meant not merely having to speak the foreign language at work or in the schoolroom, but being completely immersed in the life of the other culture. The exchange was usually arranged among long-standing acquaintances, and children often went to a farmstead where one of their parents had learned the other language in the past. Contacts from army days could also lead to exchange arrangements. In most cases, the exchange of children was practised over several generations, and remnants of the *Tauschkinder* system survived well into the 1960s (Liszka 1996, 64).

There is a substantial amount of documentation on the exchange of children. For example, Maria Gremel, born in 1901, describes how an 11-year-old Hungarian boy arrived at the farm where she had gone into service, aged just nine, to tend the cows. He spent the entire summer at this farm in the Bucklige Welt area of Lower Austria and worked hard to learn German. A short time later he died of pneumonia, back home in his Hungarian village. Gremel commented:

"Now he would not have to leave home a second time …, and all his hard-learned German was for nothing" (Gremel 1991, 164–5). Multilingualism in the villages of the Mecsek mountains north of Pécs, south-western Hungary, also gave rise to the exchange of children, who moved between German-speaking and Hungarian-speaking villages and often spent many years there, as did children in the Buda mountains, where children were exchanged between Slovak, Hungarian, German and Serbian villages. There is also evidence that very young girls lived in the villages for the purposes of language learning. Often they arrived at such a young age that their foster mothers had to dress them and braid their hair (Meiners 1982, 274).

Along the Morava and Thaya rivers, which formed an "ethnic" frontier, the situation was similar, with cooperation between the Slovakian-speaking and German-speaking populations. There, it was the German-speaking children (most of them the heirs to their farms) who were sent away. They spent anything from three months to two years staying with Slovakian-speaking families, went to school in the Slovak village, and performed light farming duties to prepare them for their future lives, when as farmers themselves they would need to negotiate with servants and seasonal labourers who did not speak German. The aim of sending the children of the Slovak farmers to learn German with the exchange child's family was to ease future business dealings in the cattle and timber trade (see Gehl 2009, 109). The memoirs of Karl Renner, born in 1870 in the Moravian village of Untertannowitz/Dolní Dunajovice, recount that until he was 12 years old "a stranger sat at our table almost every day during school time", but the stranger "was not strange to us" – he was a *Tauschkind* (Renner 1946, 45).

The exchange system can be considered part of the category of habitualized translation in the sense that its language use was not regulated by legislation like institutionalized translation, discussed below, but was based on more or less voluntarily chosen functions. The distinction from the more clear-cut examples of habitualized translation discussed above lies in the fact that here the "translation" situation was not (or at least not obviously) located within asymmetrical communicative relationships. This was due to the reciprocity underlying the *Tauschkinder* model, even if the exchange sometimes took place between groups of different social classes. Additionally, in none of the cases documented was the translation unilaterally target-culture oriented – its inherent principle of mutuality means it may be described as multiperspectival. The cultural repercussions of these exchanges on both sides have not yet been adequately researched. However, we may assume that the children's brief or lengthy stays in a foreign environment left enough of a mark for them to sense the pluriculturality of their home region more intensely, or with a deeper awareness of its difficulties. Certainly, the *Tauschkinder* system contributed substantially to the dense complexity of communication in the parts

of the Monarchy where it was practised, and for a long time it also subverted the goal of official nationalities policy, namely to keep cultures separate.

The cases of cultural exchange and cultural transfer I have categorized as habitualized translation are inscribed with power relationships of differing degrees of asymmetry. In the multiplicity of their formations, they all exemplify a model of culture as determined by the complex play of identity constructions. They show that within the shifting identities that arise from migration processes, nationality does not offer a viable frame for classification; neither does the postulation of clear-cut boundaries more generally. When they migrated out of what in many cases were already hybrid spaces, social agents helped to further fragment social and cultural identity, not least through the bi- or plurilingualism that they acquired later in life or through their early socialization in multilingual villages.

Institutionalized translation

What I call "institutionalized translation" was carried out as part of the differentiated legal regulation of linguistic diversity within the Monarchy, primarily in the areas of schools, the army, and the civil service[3] – the fields of agency where the requirements of the multiethnic state were addressed in an institutionalized form. In this section, I examine the extent of such institutionalization in the domain of translation, assuming that the level of institutionalization will indicate the status of translation activity in these pivotal domains of the Habsburg state. The cultural formations surrounding the practices of translating were, as I have shown, themselves embedded in national and ethnic ascriptions and identity constructions, which contributed crucially to the heterogeneous texture of the Monarchy's pluricultural communicative space and were the outcome of concrete negotiation processes. Such negotiation usually proceeded via translation – in this case including both written translation and interpreting – and was marked by more or less strongly hegemonic relations depending on its particular setting.

Whereas some participants advocated a static notion of culture with regulative intent and an implicit claim to normativity, others acted within the horizon of the hybridity that resulted from their interwoven lifeworlds and cultural contact zones.

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3. The civil service included both men and women, but women never held senior positions. They were mainly employed in junior roles as shorthand typists or telephonists or with the railways or post office. Regarding other employment options for women in public service, see Scherer (1900); Moll and Pivl (1903). Married women were prohibited from working for the state. On women's work as public servants, see Huch (2006) and Heindl (2010); both of these include useful bibliographies.

It was through their interplay that these different groups of agents contributed to the multilayered cultural formations of the Habsburg Monarchy. The role of many different translation processes and their contexts – whether in the classroom, the army, legislation and the administration, or the training of interpreters – casts an especially important light on the hypothesis of the construction of cultures through translation.

The ban on compulsory second language use in the classroom

Equal ethnic and linguistic rights in the context of education were discussed in Chapter 3. Here, I address only those aspects relevant for institutional translation, to which schooling was rather marginal – translation occurred in the schoolroom only in the figurative sense, through the constant language- and code-switching by teachers and pupils in a range of different situations. However, this form of translation cannot be categorized as habitualized, since it was regulated by legislation. Article 19 of the constitution, Paragraph 3 (*RGBl.* 142/1867) prohibited the imposition of any obligation to speak a second language at school:

> In those lands which are home to various ethnic groups, the institutions of public education shall be organized in such a way that each of these groups receives the means to be educated in its own language, without being forced to learn a second regional language.

The consequences of this passage were momentous. In just a few years, its implementation reversed the trend towards institutional bilingualism that had begun to take shape in some provinces. Soon after Article 19 came into force, a tug of war over the establishment of separate schools for national minorities began. In many communities, the national majorities baulked at the additional financial burden of creating new schools and, even more importantly, regarded the accreditation of schools for minorities as a threat that could weaken their own majority status.

Particularly relevant for the present context is the multilingual institution of the "utraquist school", in which teaching was carried out in at least two languages. This long-standing school type gradually became marginalized with the advance of Article 19 and its promise of a basic right to the "preservation and cultivation of nationality and language". In the school year 1870/71, 9 per cent of the Monarchy's elementary and practical secondary schools taught in two or more languages (up to four languages were permitted); in 1912/13 that proportion had dropped to 1.1 per cent (Burger 1997, 42). Because the utraquist system was not about teaching language as a subject, but about alternative languages of instruction for all subjects, in an utraquist school ceaseless switching between the various languages was a daily routine for both teachers and students. The continual drop in the number of utraquist schools, and the associated decline in language switching at school, may therefore be directly correlated with a general reduction in bi- and plurilingualism across large areas of the Monarchy.

The Habsburg Monarchy's schools policy indicates how strongly certain conditions imposed by legislation affected people's subjective lifeworlds and cultural codings. The continuum between forces demanding homogeneity and those demanding heterogeneity passed directly through the potential they offered for bilingually and plurilingually oriented communication. The formation of thinking-in-translation was steered by mechanisms of ethnic distinction that – in the context of schools – addressed pluralist tensions by means of schools legislation in general and the ban on "linguistic coercion" in particular. In this period, identity configurations resting on plurilinguality and thus on cultural transfer were curbed in favour of apparently unambiguous ascriptions of nationality. Evidently, potent political disputes over nationhood were involved in these developments.

The army as the "great school of multilingualism"[4]

As one might expect, the plural composition of the Habsburg Monarchy was also reflected in its army. Accordingly, the question of languages – and implicitly the question of their relevance to translation – is an extremely complex one throughout the Habsburg military; for example, language use among the highest military leadership was very different from that between officers and the rank and file, or that used to give commands. The impressive statistics on the distribution of nationalities within the k.&.k. (Imperial and Royal) Army in Table 4 hint at the myriad of problems posed by this plurality.

Table 4. Nationality of career officers and enlisted men in the Joint Army, 1897 and 1910 (percentages) (Deák 1990, 183)

Nationality	1897		1910	
	Career officers	Rank and file	Career officers	Rank and file
Croats and Serbs	3.6	7.0	2.4	9.0
Czechs	5.5	14.4	4.8	12.9
Germans	77.7	28.3	78.7	25.2
Italians	0.7	1.4	0.7	1.3
Magyars	8.0	18.4	9.3	23.1
Poles	3.0	9.5	2.5	7.9
Romanians	0.6	5.8	0.9	7.0
Ruthenians	0.2	7.9	0.2	7.6
Slovaks	0.1	4.3	–	3.6
Slovenes	0.6	3.0	0.5	2.4
Number	**15,650**	**1,309,127**	**17,808**	**1,490,459**

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4. The "große Schule der Vielsprachigkeit", Hammer-Purgstall (1852, 98).

Particularly striking is the distribution of German speakers: more than three quarters of the career officers in both years were German speakers, whereas only around a quarter of the rank and file were German-speaking in origin. The overwhelming majority of the army's units were multilingual. In summer 1914, for example, only 142 regiments and independent battalions were considered to be monolingual (just 31 of them monolingual in German), while 162 were bilingual, 24 trilingual, and a handful even quadrilingual. This meant that more than 90 per cent of officers were "obliged to communicate in at least one language other than German" (Deák 1990, 99). Languages made up a correspondingly important part of military training. Trainees at the military academies were expected to be familiar with the Monarchy's most significant languages, which were often taught by officers who were poets or writers in private life. The language of instruction and general communication in the Joint Army academies was German, though in 1904 the Hungarian government succeeded in making Hungarian a compulsory language at the Wiener Neustadt Military Academy (ibid., 89); French was taught on all courses, and additionally Czech, Hungarian and Italian from the third or sixth year of study. Following the loss of the Italian provinces, Italian language teaching was dropped, and trainees could now choose between Hungarian and Czech (Wagner 1987, 245, 497). Teaching appears to have been restricted to the purely linguistic aspect, with no intention of including a cultural dimension, for officer trainees were to be taught "to lead masses of men, not to be concerned with the peculiarities of their individualism" (Deák 1990, 68). This doubtlessly contributed in no small part to communication breakdowns within the army. Many officers found themselves out of their depth when they had to address a class full of new recruits in the soldiers' mother tongue, explaining the features of particular weapons or the correct form for addressing superiors. Officers were under great pressure to perform, since if they did not acquire the language or languages of their regiment within three years they could be passed over for promotion.

The diversity of translation processes underlying the army's institutionally prescribed multilingualism becomes particularly obvious in communicative situations where constant switching was required between the "language of command" (*Kommandosprache*), the "language of service" (*Dienstsprache*) and the "regimental language" (*Regimentssprache*). Especially in the higher ranks, members of the army had to work with all three registers in order to deliver a reasonably satisfactory level of internal communication. Regarding the language of command, around 80 key agreed orders were issued in German; for all other commands, the use of a national language was obligatory if it was spoken by at least 20 per cent of the unit's rank and file. Thus, an officer would shout his order first in German, then have to repeat it in one, two, three or even four other languages (Deák 1990, 99).

The case was different for the "language of service", which was to be used for communication with the various duty stations. Here, the objective was the highest possible degree of standardization in order to ensure smooth operations. The language of service in the k.&k. Army and the k.k. Landwehr was German, in the Royal Hungarian Honvéd it was Hungarian (Allmayer-Beck 1987, 98). A particularly complex area was the regimental language, used for personal dealings with the men. The large number of mixed-nationality regiments posed very special challenges to regimental communication within the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. The problem of such pluriethnic configurations was recognized even before the split introduced by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise: in 1862, an article in the *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* argued that the manuals used by the regiments should be translated into all the Monarchy's languages ("Über die Truppensprachen unserer Armee" 1862, 367).[5] Although this proposal was never implemented in full, some remedy for the difficulties of mutual comprehension was supplied by booklets such as *Böhmische Militärsprache* (Bauer 1898) on Bohemian or *Rumänische Militärsprache* (Sangeorzanu 1883) on Romanian, which contained the most important grammatical rules and a list of essential phrases for everyday use in the army.

If the Habsburg central government required its army to match the multilingual reality of the ranks by imposing numerous regulations on language use and the provision of materials to aid translation, this arose from the desire to portray the army as a "supranational" institution. In the army, the phenomenon of institutionalized translation as polycultural communication (that is, communication based on bi- and plurilingualism), and in part also as polycultural translation (exemplified in the translation aids), therefore played an important part in the invention or construction of a "supranational Austria".

Despite the numerous obstacles to communication that confronted the Habsburg Army as a result of its multiethnic composition, in many cases such problems could be brought under control with at least partial success. This was due not least to the remarkable willingness of most participants to work towards resolving them. Important factors were probably the numerous plurilingual recruits, increasingly effective language teaching in the military academies, and above all the "linguistic inventiveness" of the officers (Deák 1990, 102). By these means, the "special culture-historical mission of the k.k. Austrian Army", as set out by a commentator in 1860, could be "manfully fulfilled" (Streuffleur 1860, 63).

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5.   An 1868 article in the *Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift* also mentions the necessity of improving officers' language skills. The anonymous writer argues, rather dramatically, that officers must "make themselves the master of their [i.e., the men's] soul", because officers must "dominate, rule the men in every situation – they must work magic, they must electrify" ("Der Officier" 1868, 67).

The administration – the Monarchy's "hall of languages" [6]

A third area of institutionalized translation is to be found in the Habsburg civil service, responsible for the more or less well-oiled functioning of the administration. Like the army, the Habsburg administration can be classified as a mixed form, combining elements of both polycultural communication and polycultural translation. The "language question" – gaining momentum as the nationalities conflict intensified – was an urgent one in this field of work, if only because of the large number of situations that required the use of other languages, whether in transfer contexts as translation or in the production of original texts in different languages. This is well illustrated by the case of language use in the Reichsrat, or Imperial Council, in Vienna. The Council's handling of languages implicitly prescribed particular conventions in the immediate application of its laws, while also (again, implicitly) reflecting developments in the relevant legislation. Against this background, it is not surprising that none of the written norms regulating the work of the Imperial Council included provisions relating to the choice of language. The language used for parliamentary proceedings was decided on the basis of habitual practice – another case at the interface of habitualized and institutionalized translation.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, partly as a result of Article 19, the dominance of the German language gradually weakened while other languages gained strength. There were increasing calls for a codification of equal language rights, with vehement interventions in speeches made by the parliamentary delegates in Vienna. Before 1861 speeches in the House of Deputies were held exclusively in German, but in September of that year the convention was broken for the first time when a Dalmatian deputy spoke in Serbian and presented the presidium with a German translation of his words, which was duly inserted into the official record. This became common practice, until in 1873 German translations ceased to be provided and the speeches were no longer taken into the stenographic record. After numerous protests and a rapid hardening of the lines, in 1874 the president of the House of Deputies, Karl Rechbauer, conceded that the German language should not be considered the "sole language of state" and that other languages might also be used in parliament. From the late 1870s, the Czechs in particular increasingly exercised this right, and the president of the House could offer no objection except the "many years of custom" (that is, the convention of using German) and the technical problems to be expected from having to take stenographic records in eight languages at once. Not until 1917 did the non-German deputies succeed in their

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6. *Die Sprachenhalle* (1847), "The Hall of Languages", by the director of the Court and State Printers (k.k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei) Alois Auer von Welsbach, contains the Lord's Prayer in a total of 608 languages and dialects.

petitions for all speeches to be adopted into the official record "verbatim" – in other words, in the respective original languages (see Stourzh 1980, 1049–51).

This situation was mirrored in the Habsburg bureaucracy, though in a far more complex form. Along with other areas of public life, public administration is an especially sensitive barometer of the communication requirements of the state, society and private individuals, calling for a wide range of communicative instruments to satisfy such divergent needs. In the case of the Habsburg Monarchy and its administrative routine, the need for mediation was fulfilled chiefly by the selection of a language to match the particular situation. The choice of language followed various principles ranging from practical considerations (laws had to be intelligible to all the state's citizens), to the formulation of laws concerning language, to ideological and political models of language use. Because some of these principles relied on a specifically appointed mediator and some did not, it is in the area of administration that we chiefly find the interface between polycultural communication and the forms of translation I call "polycultural translation", in other words translating and interpreting in the narrower sense.

To understand the complexity of the communicative situation in the Monarchy's bureaucracy, it is useful to glance at the spectrum of official language use in Austria (as influenced by the legal changes mentioned above). In 1910, the language of the offices attached to central government and of the highest-level courts was German. In Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Salzburg and Vorarlberg, the regional language (*Landessprache*) was German, as it was in Styria and Carinthia, although in the south of these two crownlands Slovenian was the language in common use (*landesübliche Sprache*). In Carniola, German and Slovenian shared the status of both *Landessprache* and *landesübliche Sprache*; in Tyrol, the *Landessprachen* were German and Italian. In the Austrian Littoral, German, Italian and Slovenian – and in Istria also Croatian – were valid *Landessprachen*, but the provincial diet held its proceedings in Italian. The situation in Bohemia was even more complicated. There, German and Czech enjoyed equal rights both as *Landessprache* and *landesübliche Sprache*, but the courts used German, deviating from the principle of language equality and taking German to be the *landesübliche Sprache* throughout the province; this caused considerable conflict. The same provisions applied to Moravia, but there Czech was fully recognized as a language of the courts. In Silesia, the prevailing *Landessprache* was German, while Polish and Czech were recognized in some districts as *landesübliche Sprachen*. In Galicia, the *Landessprachen* were Polish and Ruthenian and, in theory, also German; in Bukovina they were German, Romanian and Ruthenian. Dalmatia's *Landessprachen* were Croatian and Italian, and provincial legislation was published in both languages (Kann 1964b, 394–406).

In such a complex field – and given that the bureaucracy had been German in its cultural orientation since the 1830s if not even longer (Heindl 1991, 198) – the

mediating function could hardly be a simple one, and it occasioned numerous disputes. The resolution of these conflicts was the objective of a whole series of official language-related ordinances. The situation often faced civil servants with very substantial challenges in regard to language learning. The Gautsch language ordinance of 1898, for example, decreed that every civil servant must "possess such language knowledge as is actually required" for service in the relevant authority (Hellbling 1975, 245). Accordingly, the selection process for appointing civil servants was sometimes based on competitions including language tests (Fischel 1910, 160–1), and in 1887 compulsory language examinations were introduced for civil servants already employed in all government departments. By the end of the century, the nationalities conflict had spread to the civil service, and civil servants' linguistic qualifications became weapons in the battle to expand or limit the participation of particular nationalities in the Empire's bureaucracy. This problem could sometimes, but by no means always, be contained by means of targeted relocations.

An example from Dalmatia illustrates the career and daily routine of a plurilingual civil servant. The autobiography of the retired judge Antonio Martecchini (1906), held in the Dubrovnik state archives, testifies to the intricacy of the linguistic situation of, in this case, the Monarchy's southernmost reaches. Antonio (1832–1913) was the son of the publisher and printer Pier Francesco Martecchini, whose parents had immigrated from Venice in the late eighteenth century, and Maria Stulli. The entire family, on both the Martecchini and the Stulli side, was of Italian descent. Nevertheless, as Antonio recounts, at the age of four he asked his Venetian grandfather for a piece of fish in Serbo-Croat: "Nonno, da mi ribice" (Martecchini 1906, 2). A further indication that Serbo-Croat rather than Italian was spoken in the family is the scolding that Antonio's mother gave her naughty 12-year-old son: "Sinko moj ti ćeš bit ili velik javo ili veliki čovijek" (ibid., 14).[7] Partly because of his bad behaviour, a year later Antonio was sent to boarding school in Loreto, where he reports weeping bitter tears when his schoolmates mocked him for his deficient Italian. In 1848, aged 16, he was forced by the revolution to leave Loreto. He returned to Dubrovnik by a hazardous route, and there completed his schooling at a high school where the language of instruction was Italian, also taking private lessons in French and German. He later translated a short novel, *Antonio ou l'orfeline de Florence*, into Italian and had it printed in his father's workshop.

After finishing school, Antonio studied law at the universities of Vienna and Graz; his German must have been very good at this point because he completed his studies unusually fast, in only four years. His memoirs show that in both Vienna and Graz his friends included German speakers, Italian speakers and Serbian or

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7.   "My son, you will become either a great devil or a great man." Around 1872, aged approximately 40 and suffering from a serious illness, Antonio received a letter from his mother in which she consoled him in Serbo-Croat (Trančik 2002, 33–4).

Croatian speakers. On graduating, Antonio sat his professional examinations in Zadar/Zara in the Italian language, and was sworn in as a senior Austrian civil servant. A few years later, tensions around the language question were rising, but as a conscientious public servant and evidently not ruled by nationalist sentiment – in fact, it would be hard to say which nationality he would have defended, his cultural entanglement being very advanced by this point – Antonio Martecchini tried to satisfy the demands placed upon him in the everyday life of the court, which was increasingly influenced by Slavic contacts. He decided to undertake deeper study of Serbo-Croat, despite the fact that, as he insists, this was in fact his mother tongue. Martecchini seems to have used Italian and Serbo-Croat to an equal degree, yet in neither language did he reach the level of competence that he desired. The value he places on this is indicated by the autobiography's repeated references to his defective bilingualism, especially in the context of the growing conflict of nationalities. He justifies his efforts to remain neutral as follows:

> Due to the well-known political parties which had been active in Dalmatia for quite some time – the autonomous one which prioritized the Italian language and the national one which demanded that commitment to the Slavs be manifested in the use of Serbo-Croat – some of the more fanatic autonomous members, having observed that I also used the Serbo-Croat language at the Tribunal, began to show me hostility. Yet I also very much loved the Italian language …, the language in which I was educated and which I continued to use in high school in Ragusa [Dubrovnik] as a language of instruction; and I wanted to live in friendship with several autonomous families …. As [over time] I was able to convince them all that I was not a fanatic partisan of the Serbo-Croats, but handled my professional activities without bias, they began to feel a real fondness for me, and I began to live quietly and contentedly.   (Martecchini 1906, 57–8)

Decades later, in the 1890s, Antonio Martecchini would place his plurilingualism – apparently now perfected, after great efforts – in the service of constructive mediation. Following the principle of the "internal official language" within the civil service, he translated a large number of legal texts from German into Italian to ease the study of the new laws by those carrying out legal business in Dalmatia. His autobiography observes, not without pride, that these works were subsequently distributed all across Dalmatia. In the end, the Supreme Court in Zadar made good use of Martecchini's interest in the dissemination of new legislation by having him translate the most important laws concerning parish-level affairs from Italian into Serbo-Croat. The printed texts were to be distributed to all the province's judges. Martecchini's most important translation endeavour was without doubt the Italian translation of the civil code for Montenegro, drawn up in Serbian by Montenegrin Minister of Justice Baldasar Bogišić. In recognition of this work, he was honoured with the Order of the Crown of Italy and the title *Commendatore*.

This brief glimpse of an Austrian civil servant's biography may stand for many other public servants who, while struggling for recognition of their bi- or plurilingualism, contributed importantly to the Monarchy's functioning through their activities – in part freely chosen, in part imposed upon them – as mediators between its various nationalities. Due not least to the intensifying conflict of the nationalities, institutionalized translation depended to a growing degree on individual activities, but at the same time it was set about by increasingly detailed regulation.

2.   Polycultural translation

If translation in the narrower sense is taken to mean those translating and interpreting processes that, in contrast to both "habitualized" and "institutionalized" translation, enable transfer through explicit mediating actions, then the various forms of polycultural translation were just as constitutive of the Monarchy as was polycultural communication – for, "logically enough …, all over old Austria translation was happening day and night" (Petioky 1998, 351).

Considering the large number of translators and interpreters required in a multiethnic state, the institutionalization of translating activity was rather rudimentary throughout the Habsburg Monarchy. This is reflected in the sparsity of terminology describing the profession: the only three designations to be found are *Hofdolmetscher* (interpreters at the royal court), *Translatoren* (translators or interpreters) and *Gerichtsdolmetscher* (court or legal interpreters). Early documents, dating from the sixteenth century, attest the presence of *Hofdolmetscher* at royal courts to assist the Habsburg ruler during proceedings at the Bohemian diet. The registers of such interpreters at the court of Rudolph II for the years 1599–1606 testify to brisk interpreting activity (Bůžek 1993, 588). As for *Translatoren*, their professional status was not standardized. They might translate in a full-time capacity at a government authority, or civil servants might translate in addition to their main duties; other *Translatoren* were employed externally and paid for their translations on a piece-by-piece basis. The *Translatoren* included several distinguished writers and scholars, such as the linguist Alois Šembera (1807–1882), the official "Translator of the Land of Moravia", the renowned poet Karel Jaromír Erben (1811–1870), "Governmental Translator" in Prague, or the writer Antonín Rybička (1812–1899), translator at the Ministry of the Interior, Vienna. The "Hungarian Office for Translations and Notarizations" (Ungarische Amtsstelle für Übersetzungen und Beglaubigungen), created through the merger of two offices in the wake of the 1867 Compromise (Petioky 1998, 366–7), may be regarded as a further stage in the institutionalization of translating and interpreting activity.

As the previous sections have shown, however, to a very large extent translating and interpreting was in the hands of bi- or plurilingual civil servants, private individuals and others who were requested to carry out such activities, often without pay. The institutionalization of translating and interpreting was therefore probably never as great as the pluricultural Monarchy's gigantic administrative apparatus might lead one to expect. It is to this issue that I now turn, through a detailed analysis of "polycultural translation" activities in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918.

Contact between government offices and the public

The sites where the citizens of the Habsburg Monarchy sought or were supposed to seek contact with government agencies were highly diverse, ranging from the town hall, to the district commission and governor's office, to government ministries. Institutions such as the railway or the post office were also important to everyday communication between the authorities and outside parties, whether individual citizens or interest groups. This placed enormous demands on linguistic and cultural mediation, and there were often not enough qualified personnel to satisfy them.

Communication between interested parties and the Monarchy's government authorities required the work of translators – or of individuals described as such, whatever their precise job description – in numerous areas of work. As conflicts between the multiethnic state's nationalities began to spiral, translators and interpreters sometimes played a more important role than the authorities were prepared to admit. One of the battlefields of such conflict was Galicia. There, language disputes were exacerbated by the failure to carry through the 1869 language ordinance that required all civil servants to have knowledge of Polish. The nationalist press called on the ministerial offices in Vienna immediately to appoint translators so that all official documents not translated in Galicia (as they should have been by law) could be handled correctly in Vienna (Megner 1985, 280). This indicates the urgency attributed to translation activities by the parties involved, even if in this case the issue was probably magnified by the press.

The question of which language was to be used for written submissions to a government agency was a complex one, and numerous disputes on the matter are documented in the archives of the Interior Ministry. With the implementation of Article 19, the decision depended first and foremost on which language or languages were officially regarded as *landesüblich* in the particular municipality or district concerned. A case in Klagenfurt, where the municipality had refused to accept a petition from the "Catholic-political agricultural association

for Slovenes in Carinthia" because it was written in Slovenian without a German translation, kept the authorities busy for three years (1890–92), filling countless pages of official files and fuelling fierce political confrontations. The municipality's argument was that if forced to accept petitions in Slovenian, it would have to employ an interpreter or at least to require several of its legally trained officials to offer expertise in written and spoken Slovenian. For this reason, the municipality "has a justified and substantial interest in ensuring that we resolutely confront this first attempt to cast the Slovenian apple of discord into our town". In its decision, the Interior Ministry assumed that Slovenian was a *landesübliche* language in Carinthia as a whole and specifically in Klagenfurt, since it was the language of common communication for 3.5 per cent of Klagenfurt's indigenous population. However, Klagenfurt's municipal administration held an entirely different view of the linguistic knowledge and practices of its residents, claiming "that in Klagenfurt only the German language is used as a language of common communication, not only in public but also in private, indeed even in the family". It even went so far as to assert that nobody in Carinthia spoke Slovenian – "only immigrants from Lower Styria and Carniola try to speak it, but they are neither understood nor respected by their own co-nationals". An interesting detail in the records on this case is the addition of pencilled marginal notes throughout the files, evidently by the officials assigned to the case. Next to a passage giving the Klagenfurt municipality's argument that if petitions in Slovenian were permitted "this would open the gates to agitation" and allow "nationalist rabble-rousers from neighbouring lands" to import "endless disputes", an official has commented in faint handwriting: "Precisely the opposite" (AVA, 3, ct. 327, no. 25881/90).

A similar quarrel arose in the market town of Sachsenfeld/Žalec near Cilli/ Celje in 1895, when the mayor refused to issue a certificate of residence in German to kindergarten teacher Emma Fartschnigg. Mrs Fartschnigg submitted that having a certificate in Slovenian would put her at a disadvantage "in the German lands of the Monarchy"; her complaint was upheld by the governor's office in Graz. However, the Sachsenfeld/Žalec municipality persisted in refusing to give her the certificate in German or in German translation, remarking that Slovenian was the sole official language of the municipality. The regional court in Graz subsequently ruled that, based on Article 19, the residence certificate must be issued in German (or in translation), since both Slovenian and German were *Landessprachen* in Styria (AVA, 3, ct. 327, no. 11005/95).

Another thorny area in the use of *landesübliche* languages was the physical fitness test for recruits to Habsburg army. A parliamentary interpellation of 23 May 1901 shows that in several localities under the district commission of Luttenberg/Ljutomer, Styria, conflicts frequently arose when the notices summoning potential conscripts to their physical test were issued only in German.

A deputy from the Styrian diet intervened with the district commission, which responded by arguing that it was impossible to send out the notices in Slovenian because the commission did not have the relevant forms in Slovenian translation (AVA, 3, ct. 51, no. 20488/01). In a similar case, recorded in a House of Deputies interpellation of 15 April 1902, the district commission of Koper/Capodistria summoned young men in the Slovenian-speaking municipality of Dolina to their military physical in Italian. On its own initiative, the Dolina municipality translated the notices into Slovenian before sending them on to the recipients. However, it wished to have the case discussed at a political level – not only because it had incurred expenses as a result of the district commission's procedure, but also because "the citizens at the forefront of our municipality" considered themselves "insulted" by the incident (AVA, 3, ct. 51, no. 15623/02).

In February 1910, the welter of objections by Slovenian speakers in Styria prompted an association of Slovenian lawyers based in Ljubljana to apply to the Ministry of the Interior with a protest against the Lower Styrian political authorities' treatment of Slovenian parties regarding language use. This complaint is interesting as a succinct outline of the most virulent language-related problems faced by those trying to deal with government agencies. The association accused the authorities of continuing to record Slovenian parties' interventions solely in German, generally using only German-language forms and official seals when communicating with Slovenian speakers, and writing the attestations on bilingual certificates of poverty only in German. The association's request for remediation of these "unlawful" circumstances was rejected by the Ministry, on the grounds that this was merely a petition for administrative review, and the association of Slovenian lawyers was not entitled to receive a response to any such petition. In the end the document – which, incidentally, was officially translated from Slovenian into German for the benefit of the authorities in Vienna – was simply marked "For filing!" (AVA, 3, ct. 53, no. 6040/10).

Many applications to the authorities never reached the civil servant responsible. There were numerous complaints about envelopes being marked "Not acceptable as such. Translation [into German] requested." In one case, a high school in Bukovina – the Radautz/Rădăuți State Gymnasium – refused even to open an envelope addressed in Ruthenian, and had to be forced to do so by the Ministry of Education, on the grounds firstly that Ruthenian was a *landesübliche* language in Bukovina, and secondly that the school could easily have "found ways and means to acquire knowledge of its content", in other words have had the documents translated (AVA, 3, ct. 328, no. 18863/96). Some envelopes were returned to their senders marked with notes such as "If you want something, write in German", and eventually landed on the desk of the arbitration office.

A sector of the administration where the language problem, and thus the phenomenon of translation, arose with particular force was the railway system. Because this domain has been investigated in some detail (see, for example, Mechtler 1962), here I will merely point out that the imbalance of nationalities among railway employees was a crucial bone of contention, and was partly due to a failure to provide the necessary documentation in all languages. Thus Ruthenian applicants for watchman posts, for example, had little chance of success because there was no Ukrainian translation of the service regulations (ibid., 435). A particular source of vexation in many parts of the Monarchy was the wording of tickets and the destination indicators on trains. Especially in the Monarchy's southern areas, the opening of a new railway line regularly generated outrage over the "language fitments" of signage, official stamps and tickets. On the lines from Split/Spalato to Sinj/Signo and from Gruž/Gravosa to Kotor/Cattaro, for instance, the authorities' decision to use three languages (German, Croatian and Italian) was described on the Croatian side as a violation of constitutionally guaranteed equality; the press urged leading politicians to boycott the opening ceremonies and the population was encouraged to organize public protests along the line. Resentment was further stoked by the administration's plans to add a fourth set of signs in Serbian, using Cyrillic script (see Mechtler 1962, 446–7, and for more detail AVA, 3, ct. 51, no. 14348/01, 40027/03). The numerous conflicts engendered by such cases often went to court, but they never resulted in legal decisions applicable across the Monarchy.

One curious case shows the breadth of tasks required of translators. In many parts of the Monarchy, legal disputes repeatedly arose over the choice of language in gravestone inscriptions. The municipality of Trieste, for example, refused to permit Slovenian inscriptions, Trento banned German inscriptions, and the Bohemian parish of Klostergrab/Hrob even passed a resolution that "as far as possible, epitaphs are to be written only in German, and if an inscription is made in another language, then it must also be made in German" (Lehne 1975, 710). In terms of categories, the translation of epitaphs is probably at the interface between polycultural translation and institutionalized translation.[8]

In 1905, in the course of the Moravian Compromise (Stourzh 1980, 1171), a Moravian law was passed that may be described as model legislation due to its broad impact. It prescribed that municipalities in which 20 per cent of the population spoke the other *Landessprache* must also respond to submissions made in that

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8.   Interpreters were also deployed in the sphere of medical care, for example in the Military Frontier region, where quarantine facilities under military control were established from the eighteenth century on to prevent the plague and other diseases crossing the border. Management of the quarantine stations was carried out by doctors with a staff that included an interpreter (Wagner 1987, 199).

language. For communities in which there was no linguistic minority of at least 20 per cent, submissions in the other *Landessprache* must be sent to the Moravian diet for translation, which would be carried out free of charge (see Stourzh 1980, 1080). It seems that the diet was responsible for the costs of translation; there is no further comment on who was to make the translations, but quite likely the translators were once again recruited from within the ranks of the civil service.

These two aspects are eminently important in view of the large number of records in the archives where either a direct request for translation is made or general matters associated with translation by the authorities are mentioned in one form or another: who exactly made the numerous translations, and how was the work paid for? As I have mentioned, these matters were not legally regulated in a form applicable across the whole of the Monarchy, so that we must turn to the few documented cases that include specific reference to the practicalities of commissioning or carrying out translations. They make up just a tiny minority; we can only speculate on the identity of the translators in the remaining, great majority of cases. As well as translations (especially of minor or more important legal texts) made free of charge by willing civil servants, the other key provider was the Editorial Office of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* within the Ministry of the Interior, of which more will be said below. Its officials were frequently asked – or in many cases obliged – to translate official documents. Civil servants working in this bureau were required by law to translate legislative texts for proclamation in the gazette in the Monarchy's different languages, but not to cater to requests for translation of any and every document that reached the Ministry of the Interior from various authorities across the Monarchy. The Interior Administration section of the Austrian State Archives holds countless files containing such requests addressed to the members of the Editorial Office, especially during the last 20 years of the Monarchy's existence. In most cases, the translations were made by the civil servants without charge, though sometimes there was a small payment (see, for example, AVA, 3, ct. 51, no. 52369/98). In the innumerable cases where documents had to be produced "in the *landesübliche* languages", it was probably industrious civil servants working in the immediate domain of administration involved who carried out the translation for little or no charge. This was certainly not conducive to raising the prestige of translation, an activity that, as has already become clear, was indispensable to the daily functioning of the multiethnic state.

The multiple contacts between government offices and the public bore enormous potential for conflict, so that translating and interpreting were explosive issues. The mutual ascriptions and dissociations that marked such confrontations gave rise to misunderstandings and made negotiation an acute necessity. This is reflected in the continual requests for translators and interpreters seen in the archival records I have discussed, and it shows how deeply cultural mediation is rooted

in processes of identity-building. The complex pluricultural tensions confronting Habsburg citizens as they interacted with the administrative apparatus contributed to cultural distinction and demarcation, yet also to the assimilation of alterity.

Interpreting and translating in court

Court translating and interpreting is strikingly well documented. This may be due to the pivotal role of the court system, both generally and for pluriethnic Austria in particular: since legislation is, clearly, realized in the form of language, the courts are a sensitive indicator of linguistic tolerance and of a state's commitment to implementing its language policies. Especially in the final decades of the Habsburg Monarchy, language questions became increasingly important in judicial contexts. This was a factor partly of progress in developing legal terminologies in languages other than German, and partly of the growing importance of oral and public procedures. These oral procedures resulted in direct contact between the population and the courts, bringing issues of communication to the fore. Here, again, the nationalities conflict played an important part.

In this setting, the deployment of interpreters and translators in court took on a certain urgency. The Criminal Code of 1803 had already mentioned "sworn" (*beeidete*) interpreters, stating that these must be made available in judicial hearings of defendants who could not speak German. The legal basis for the sworn status of court interpreters was the court decree of 1835, which regulated the production of certified translations and the appointment of permanently sworn translators (Bernardini 1996, 20). In his overview of Austrian court interpreting, Ernst Bernardini accords this decree little importance, arguing that it only set down in writing, as a generally valid legal norm, something that had long been common legal practice. However that may be, these provisions did not change fundamentally in the period up to the end of the Monarchy, although they became increasingly specific. Thus, in 1852 an ordinance laid down that an official stamp was required for "legalizations and confirmations of the date or accuracy of a translation" (*RGBl.* 86/1852). The 1853 Code of Criminal Procedure reaffirmed the need to appoint sworn interpreters for court cases, explicitly stressing that "each question and answer" must be "recorded both in the language in which the witness testifies and in translation into the language of the court" (*RGBl.* 151/1853). The additional note "the interpreter himself may also be used to take these records" (ibid.) also seems relevant.

Little is known about the qualifications of the sworn court interpreters and translators. The instructions given in the 1835 decree remain very general:

> Every appellate court shall, after consulting the land laws subject to it and the higher collegiate courts, establish the number of such interpreters; have them proposed by the lowest level courts, which is where they shall be appointed; *and seek to ascertain to its fullest possible conviction the knowledge and good moral conduct of the interpreters proposed.*   (Court decree of 22 December 1835, quoted in Bernardini 1996, 20; emphasis added)

An ordinance on "Examinations in the modern languages" issued on 27 December 1849 by the Minister of Education (*RGBl.* 15/1850) introduced a university-based examination open to everyone, the *Dekanatsprüfung*, which could be carried out by any state-appointed teacher of modern languages and was held in the presence of the dean of the faculty of arts. This amounted to a significant liberalization of the 1835 norms. Success in the open examination did not guarantee that a candidate would attain sworn status as a court interpreter, but certainly smoothed his path. We may also assume that court interpreters were able to gather extensive practical experience in their profession. Various documents in the "Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv" (HHStA) section of the Austrian State Archives refer to the search for qualified sworn interpreters, suggesting that despite the large number of sworn court interpreters, people capable of delivering the requisite quality were not always available in adequate numbers (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 441, no. 10527/11). Legal trainees were often called upon instead, which apart from anything else sometimes led to errors of law (Petioky 1998, 366). Cases are also recorded in which a general assumption of adequate linguistic skill was enough for an interpreter to be appointed (Megner 1985, 146).

The fees for court interpreters were regulated by law. A Ministry of Justice ordinance issued on 16 August 1851 required expert witnesses and interpreters to give adequate notice of their fees; if not, they would lose their right to remuneration. The ordinance expressly states that the same arrangement applies to "interpreters who are not state employees" (*RGBl.* 189/1851). In the Code of Criminal Procedure of 1853, however, it is said that "the interpreters permanently sworn in at a court, or civil servants" are not to be paid for their courtroom translation and interpreting services (*RGBl.* 151/1853, §336). The Criminal Procedure Law of 23 May 1873 (*RGBl.* 119/1873), as well, states that public servants employed by the court and interpreters sworn in on a permanent basis must carry out their interpreting work without charge. For those interpreters who were paid separately, the level of fees depended on whether the work was oral or written: according to §385, an interpreter must receive 50 kreutzers for the oral translation of a document written in a foreign language, but 2 guilders per sheet for a written translation. Court hearings were paid at the rate of 2 guilders per half day, with an additional guilder if the interpreter wrote the protocol himself. Comparing these fees to the

monthly salary of a translator in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* Editorial Office, the following picture emerges: in the budget for 1870, the annual salary of a translator-editor in the Office, including the accommodation supplement, is set at 1,650 guilders (1,400 guilders basic pay + 250 guilders for accommodation) (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 10546/911, supplement VII). This makes a monthly salary of 137.50 guilders, so that a *Reichsgesetzblatt* translator's monthly salary corresponded to the written translation of 68 sheets for the court – or around 300 A4 pages in today's format.

These figures suggest some interesting points. If we assume that the payment of a service is always correlated with recognition of its worth, and that unpaid work is therefore accorded a lower value, then the provisions of the new Criminal Procedure Law of 1873 may be read as indicating an improvement of the linguistic qualifications of civil servants (their specifically translatorial qualifications are never mentioned) vis-à-vis the past, when numerous errors of law had arisen from defective translations or interpreting. This improvement, or the enhancement of the providers' professional ethos, meant that the courts could safely rely on receiving satisfactory services from civil servants despite the lack of payment. Conversely, however, there is no reason to suppose that the payment of court translation and interpreting was immune to the problem of the Monarchy's notoriously empty coffers and the resulting incessant money-saving drives within the administration. The discrepancy between oral and written translation services is also striking – the fee for translating one sheet of text was the same as half a day's work at a court hearing. Apparently, the prestige of oral translational services was far lower than that of written translation, the diametrical reverse of the present day.

Sworn court interpreters

In this section, a study of the sworn court interpreters working in Vienna will give detailed insight into their work and their contribution to the functioning of the multiethnic state. Lists of sworn court interpreters in Vienna (all men – there is no documentary evidence of women working in this field) were provided from 1864 onwards in *Lehmanns Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger*, a directory of the city's addresses. Here, I analyse the data for all the sworn interpreters listed for the years from 1864 to 1918.

In that period, 7,031 sworn interpreters are listed as providing interpreting and translation services (the number includes multiple mentions of the same person, in those cases where an interpreter continued working for many years). The interpreters offered a total of 29 languages. Because, for clarity, I include all the languages named in these lists, including overlapping entries, some trends could not be analysed – for example the separation of "Serbo-Croat" into "Serbian" and "Croatian" starting in 1879 and 1882 respectively, or the merging of language labels for sworn

interpreters who in 1864, 1867 and 1868 were separately listed under "Jewish script" with the languages "Hebrew" (from 1870) or "Spanish Hebrew" (from 1871). The two latter categories are clearly a continuation of the category "Jewish script". Table 5 shows the composition of languages offered in absolute numbers.

Table 5. Languages offered by sworn interpreters in Vienna between 1864 and 1918 (absolute numbers). Alphabetically by language (col. 1) and by number of court interpreters per language (col. 2)

Language (1)	Number of court interpreters (1)	Language (2)	Number of court interpreters (2)
Armenian	2	Hungarian	1,033
Bohemian	662	French	828
Bulgarian	120	English	763
Croatian	221	Italian	684
Danish	35	Bohemian	662
Dutch	64	Polish	661
English	763	Russian	275
Flemish	16	Serbian	241
French	828	Croatian	221
Hebrew	109	Romanian	221
Hungarian	1,033	Ruthenian	183
Italian	684	Serbo-Croat	177
"Jewish script"	3	Oriental languages	123
Modern Greek	99	Spanish	123
Norwegian	33	Bulgarian	120
Oriental languages	123	Slovenian	113
Polish	661	Hebrew	109
Portuguese	56	Modern Greek	99
Romanian	221	Spanish Hebrew	79
Russian	275	Dutch	64
Ruthenian	183	Sign language	62
Serbian	241	Portuguese	56
Serbo-Croat	177	Swedish	41
Sign language	62	Danish	35
Slovenian	113	Norwegian	33
Spanish	123	Flemish	16
Spanish Hebrew	79	Turkish	4
Swedish	41	"Jewish script"	3
Turkish	4	Armenian	2
Total	**7,031**	**Total**	**7,031**

The ten languages most frequently offered by sworn interpreters in this period are given in Figure 1. As the chart shows, the languages of the Habsburg Monarchy predominated among those for which interpreting was offered, especially Hungarian (with 18.5 per cent or 1,033 sworn interpreters). Italy's independence in 1866, and the Compromise with Hungary in 1867, are not reflected in the figures because of the generally small number of court interpreters during those early years of documentation. French, English and, quite some distance behind, Russian were all important languages for foreign trade, and thus for interpreting and certified translating activities.
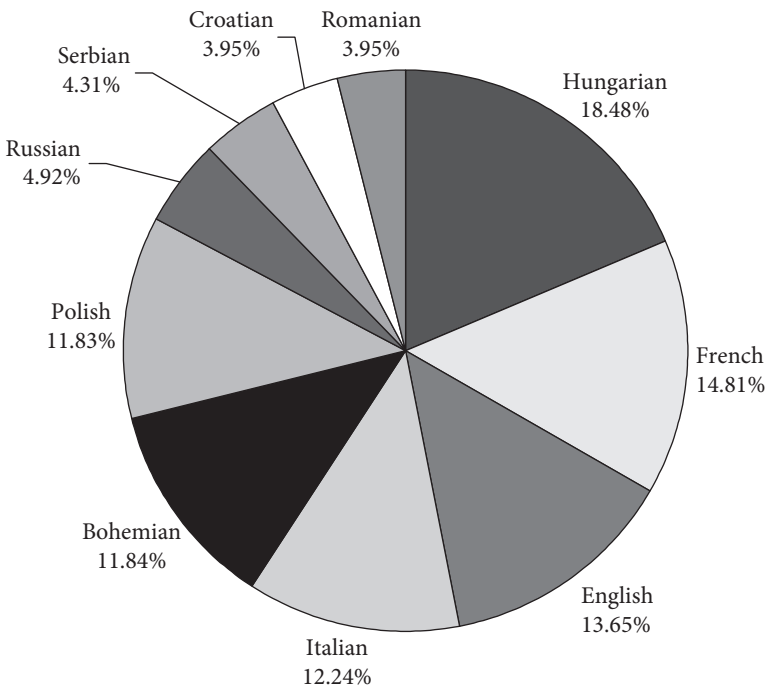
Figure 1. The ten most frequently named languages offered by sworn interpreters

Table 6 shows the number of sworn interpreters for only the languages of the Habsburg Monarchy. The high numbers of sworn interpreters for Hungarian, especially in the nineteenth century's last decades, may be attributed to the restructuring of communication between the two halves of the Empire following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. This necessitated a large quantity of court interpreting and certified translation. As for Bohemian, the increase in demand for sworn translators in the first decade of the twentieth century probably resulted from the Moravian Compromise of 1905.

Table 6. Sworn interpreters in the languages of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1864–1918

Language	1864–1870	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1918
Bohemian	14	66	78	113	209	182
Croatian	0	2	54	67	62	36
Hebrew	5	31	27	20	11	15
Hungarian	23	111	209	262	265	163
Italian	23	96	107	141	168	149
Polish	15	77	129	154	155	131
Romanian	8	13	24	41	82	53
Ruthenian	0	16	29	51	52	35
Serbian	0	0	64	77	63	37
Serbo-Croat	8	44	6	26	46	47
Sign language	4	10	10	18	12	8
Slovenian	2	14	23	29	29	16
Spanish Hebrew	1	11	4	13	26	24
Total	**103**	**491**	**764**	**1,012**	**1,180**	**896**

In order to achieve a reasonably realistic picture of the position of the various languages, this analysis includes all different descriptions of the languages "Serbian" and "Croatian", in other words also "Serbian-Croatian" and "Serbo-Croat". The people listed as sworn interpreters for the individual languages only offer one of these, and do not switch between different descriptions. The directory's use of the labels shows a clear trend: the list for "Serbian-Croatian" exists between 1864 and 1881; from 1882 there is also a list headed "Serbian", which remains in place until 1918. "Croatian" is listed separately from 1879 until the end of the Monarchy, although with only one interpreter in the first three years; from 1882, when the directory adds a list for "Serbian", the number of Croatian and Serbian interpreters is more or less equal. From 1892 to 1918 there is also a list for "Serbo-Croat". The duplication of the lists for Serbian and Croatian and Serbo-Croat from 1892 may have arisen on the one hand from Austria-Hungary's policy on nationalities, which – at least superficially – was concerned to conciliate and therefore admitted several variants; on the other hand, in many parts of the Monarchy the distinction actually reflected the realities of communicative practice.

Table 7 shows that for contacts with countries outside the Monarchy, the most-used language is French, the language of diplomacy (828 sworn interpreters between 1864 and 1918), closely followed by English (763 interpreters). Lagging far behind are Russian (275), along with Spanish and the group listed in the directories as "Oriental languages" (each with 123 sworn interpreters). From 1889, the languages formerly described as "Oriental languages" were divided into Persian and Arabic, but the earlier description has been retained here for the sake of clarity.

Table 7. Sworn interpreters in languages from outside the Habsburg Monarchy, 1864–1918

Language	1864–1870	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1918
Armenian	0	0	0	0	1	1
Bulgarian	2	10	10	35	34	28
Danish	4	7	7	10	3	1
Dutch	1	15	15	13	8	8
English	15	102	102	164	171	174
Flemish	0	4	4	3	0	0
French	20	104	104	160	208	196
Modern Greek	3	14	14	22	28	9
Norwegian	3	7	7	10	3	0
Oriental languages	8	10	10	26	39	17
Portuguese	0	6	6	10	13	22
Russian	3	24	24	70	63	60
Spanish	5	24	24	28	26	20
Swedish	2	7	7	10	4	8
Turkish	2	0	0	0	1	1
Total	**68**	**334**	**334**	**561**	**602**	**545**

Table 8. Professions of sworn interpreters, 1864–1918

Profession	1864–1870	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1918
Consul	0	3	19	57	36	9
Editor	1	27	38	34	6	0
General civil servant	45	173	234	254	208	190
High-school teacher	11	40	44	89	89	61
Judge	10	41	79	60	27	9
Lawyer	57	265	424	677	795	590
Legal adviser	0	15	38	59	53	18
Notary	5	33	36	28	40	37
Private scholar	9	29	42	14	0	0
Other	12	65	49	57	62	37
None named	24	134	233	244	466	490

Assuming that the information included in the *Lehmann* directories is accurate, there are 28 different professions among the sworn interpreters, the largest groups of which are presented in Table 8 and Figure 2. Given the nature of the work, it is not surprising that interpreters with a legal background are particularly well represented, accounting for 3,396 entries or 48.2 per cent. The category "judge" includes trainee judges (most of whom reappear in later directories as "judges"); "general civil servant" includes interpreters designating themselves as "ministerial official"; "consul" includes "envoy". The main designations in the category "other" are archivist (22), businessman (43), engineer (30), librarian (38) and writer (35).

Figure 2 shows that only the lawyers and the general civil servants stand out as professional groups. Interestingly, around the turn of the century there is a sudden increase in the category "no profession named". This can probably be explained by the overall growth in numbers of sworn interpreters in this period (see Tables 6 and 7); in addition, a convention appears to have been emerging for interpreters no longer to name another profession. The continuing rise in the proportion of lawyers among court interpreters might be seen as indicating a professionalization of interpreting, at least in terms of subject qualifications. No particular diversification of professional backgrounds can be identified over the period examined.
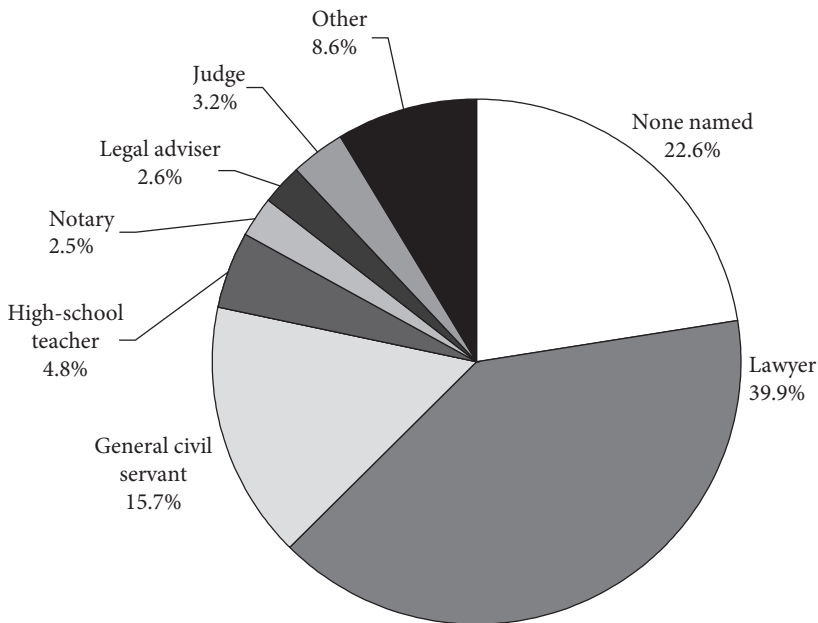
Figure 2. Professions of sworn interpreters

From 1865, Vienna's sworn court interpreters were organized in the "First United Interpreters' Agency for All the Languages of the Austrian Monarchy" (Erste vereinigte Dolmetsch-Kanzlei für sämmtliche Sprachen der österreichischen Monarchie). In 1885, this was replaced by the "Court Interpreters' Agency for the French and Italian Language and Communication Institute for the Provision of Authentic and Simple Translations from All Other Languages" (Gerichts-Dolmetschkanzlei für die französische und italienische Sprache und Vermittlungsanstalt zur Versorgung authentischer und einfacher Uebersetzungen aus allen anderen Sprachen), an institution licensed by the Lower Austrian governor's office. Starting that year, the address of the agency was given as "at the house of Carl Virgilius Rupnik".

Rupnik appears under the list of interpreters for French and Italian, and appears to have headed the interpreters' agency.

From 1881 the *Lehmann* directory (overlapping with the *Niederösterreichischer Amtskalender* from 1888) followed the list of sworn interpreters by a list of "translation bureaus", which in 1889 carried a footnote explaining that "these bureaus are not authorized to produce authentic translations that are valid in court" (*Niederösterreichischer Amtskalender* 1889, 399). From 1887, the city of Graz address directory also included the category "court interpreters", with 15 interpreters for 12 languages; by 1906 this had risen to 24 interpreters for 13 languages. From 1891 an interpreter for "the sign language of the deaf-mute" is included in the list. It is noteworthy that, unlike in Vienna, in Graz the majority of interpreters were not lawyers but high-school teachers, law students, librarians and other civil servants; sign-language interpreting was provided by "teachers of the deaf-mute" (*Grazer Geschäfts- und Adreß-Kalender* 1887, 130; *Adressenbuch der Landeshauptstadt Graz* 1906, 187).

A Prague directory of 1884 also lists "sworn interpreters" ("Přísežní tlumočníci"), with 16 names covering 12 languages (Lešer 1884, III, 91). For 1914, a different directory of Prague addresses lists a total of 46 sworn interpreters covering 18 languages (including "deaf-mute"), under the heading "sworn experts of the commercial and regional court". The list includes the interpreters' names, addresses and professions, chief among which, just as in Vienna, are notaries, lawyers and high-school teachers (Singer 1914, 83–4). For Ljubljana, in 1904 three sworn interpreters (for French, Italian and Serbo-Croat) are listed (*Fischers Allgemeiner Wohnungsanzeiger* 1904, 31).

Translating in court

Regarding the production of certified translations in court, a law of 9 August 1854 on "court procedures in legal matters excepting litigation" determined that written petitions must be "submitted in one of the languages generally used in court …. In the case of papers not written in one of these languages, certified translations must be enclosed" (*RGBl.* 208/1854).

Nonetheless, the deployment of interpreters during court proceedings involving several different nationalities was by no means taken for granted despite all the legal provisions. This is indicated by an example from the Silesian city of Troppau/Opava, where non-German-speaking Bohemian jurors based their verdict on an "unreliable" translation, made by the court itself, of a legal point relevant to the proceedings. Although they had been "expressly asked to do so by the presiding judge", they did not request a translation carried out by a sworn interpreter to help them make their decision (Entscheidung 1885, 13).

On issues around the use of language in court, numerous documented cases reveal the lack of standardization in the court authorities' procedures, giving a glimpse of the hybridity that typifies the practice of translation in its various configurations. One vivid example of the disunified treatment of languages comes from courtroom practice in Trieste/Trst: the records of a trial in 1898 include an interview report in Slovenian with a German file note and an Italian receipt stamp; the investigating judge writes to the Trieste police administration in Italian, but to the Sežana county court in German (Czeitschner 1997, 45–6). A similarly patchy realization of the equality of national languages can be found in a case dealt with at the Higher Regional Court in Graz, also in 1898. The dispute involved only Slovenian parties and lawyers, yet the proceedings were held in German. Complaints by the Slovenian speakers were disregarded. Another striking example is from Carinthia. Whereas Slovene litigants in Carniola and Lower Styria received their court of appeal decisions in Slovenian translation, in Carinthia no Slovenian translations were ever commissioned. When a translation request was issued by mistake, it was immediately retracted (Stourzh 1980, 1111).

On the other hand, the judicial authorities also found it necessary to "restrict to a minimum the very numerous translations of Higher Court rulings" (Pražák 1886, 174), as in the case of translations between Czech and German at the Higher Regional Court in Prague. In 1886, as part of improved consideration for the Czech language, Minister of Justice Alois Pražák issued a decree for Praha/Prag and Brno/Brünn stating that in cases where the Higher Regional Court's rulings would only be sent out in Czech, the documents should be drafted in Czech from the outset. This amounted to introducing Czech as an internal official language. The consequences of the decision were far-reaching, not least because it led to a rapid drop in the number of translations. Before Pražák's decree the volume of translation was large: in 1865 alone, around 9,000 court-related translations from German into Czech had been made. The fact that this torrent of translation work had mainly been carried out by civil servants based within the Ministry, most of whom were not qualified for the work, led – as in many other similar contexts – to frequent legal errors. In 1887, during a debate in the upper chamber of the Imperial Council, Pražák argued that any ethnic group with which "one speaks only through an interpreter in its own homeland" was being treated as an ethnic group "of second or third rank" (Stourzh 1980, 1118–19). Pražák's complaint was certainly justified in terms of the requirement for equal treatment of the Monarchy's ethnicities, but it also articulated a language policy that tended to promote segregation rather than communication between groups – quite apart from the derogatory connotation attached to interpreters in his words.

At least in those cases involving translation and interpreting between the languages spoken in the Habsburg Monarchy, the practices of court translating and interpreting mirror the multiple disparities associated with the nationalities conflict. Just as in contacts between government offices and the public, the myriad cultural encounters inside the courtrooms of the Monarchy sparked complex transfer processes that, although superficially regulated by a legal framework, in fact left open much room for negotiation. Such negotiation is fundamental to courtroom communication (at least in the area of interpreting), but it has to be explicitly initiated by the interpreter. An evaluation of each specific interpreting situation would thus be necessary in order to fully trace the contribution of court interpreting, in all its asymmetries of power, to the weaving of the Habsburg Monarchy's cultural fabric.

Translating legislative texts

In the multiethnic setting of the Monarchy, the translation of legislative texts was another extensive area of work. As early as 1787, it was ordered that patents and decrees issued in Vienna must be translated into the respective *Landessprache* and printed in two columns, with the relevant *Landessprache* on the left and German on the right. "Governmental Translators" (*Gubernialtranslatoren*) were appointed to handle these translations (court decree of 22 February 1787; Slapnicka 1973, 64). The renowned Austrian jurist Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732?–1817) early on raised the problem of harmonizing legislative texts, and his textbook of written style for civil servants, *Über den Geschäftsstil* (1784), presented a terminology for this purpose, which he had drawn up in a previous work (*Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanz*, 1767–68) by translating terms mainly from French specialist literature (see Bodi 1996). Translations of lengthy legislative texts, commissioned with the aim of improving the dissemination of laws, often exceeded the capacity of individual translators and were handled by translation teams including a main translator, sub-translators and copyists. This is how the *Codex Theresianus*, published in 1766, was translated into Czech and Italian – an enormous undertaking given the large number of people involved in the project (see Petioky 1998, 359–60).

The translation of the Austrian Civil Code, the *Allgemeines Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, presents a similar case. The patent of 1 June 1811 declared the German text to be the original, but also announced that it would be translated into several other languages. Subsequently, official translations into Latin, Italian, Czech, Polish and Romanian were made. The decades that followed saw many other translations of the Civil Code, including those into Serbian, Slovenian, Croatian, Hungarian and Hebrew, and some retranslations (for example into Polish) (Slapnicka 1973, 69),

all of which document the development of legal terminology in the languages of the Monarchy and, of course, also contributed to that development. In view of the enormous challenges posed by the translation of large-scale legal texts, and more generally by the large quantity of written legislation, sound legal terminology was (and remains) crucial to the rule of law.

The Terminology Commission

The pressing need for a reliable legal terminology was very evident to the Habsburg rulers. It became even more compelling when the principle of equal treatment was enshrined in the Stadion Constitution of 4 March 1849, for alongside the constitution, an imperial patent had introduced an imperial legal gazette: the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. The preamble to this patent emphasized that the gazette would put into practice the principles of the Monarchy's unity, the equal treatment of the nations living within it, and the equality of all citizens before the law. The *Reichsgesetzblatt* was to appear in ten editions for ten *landesübliche* languages, as follows:

1. in German,
2. in Italian,
3. in Magyar,
4. in Bohemian (simultaneously the Moravian and Slovakian written language),
5. in Polish,
6. in Ruthenian,
7. in Slovenian (simultaneously the Windish and Carniolan written language),
8. in the Serbian-Illyrian language using Serbian civil [i.e., Cyrillic] script,
9. in the Serbian-Illyrian (simultaneously Croatian) language using Latin script,
10. in the Romanic (Moldovan-Wallachian) language.

(*RGBl.* 153/1849, Einleitung I, VI)

The contentious issue of authenticity was resolved by declaring the texts in all ten editions to be equally authenticated. The introduction of a legal gazette in all the languages commonly used in the Monarchy was an exemplary attempt to tackle the languages question in matters of law, but it also raised a multitude of difficulties. The first of these to attract public attention was the problem of establishing the term "written language" in a Slavic context and of choosing an alphabet.

In response, plans were made to draw up a German–Slavic dictionary of "juridical and political terminology for the Slavic languages of Austria". The Ministry of Justice headed by Alexander von Bach appointed a commission that met for the first time on 1 August 1849, composed of outstanding specialist philologists and jurists along with respected experts in the Slavic languages: Vuk Karadžić, a writer, folklorist and the author of a grammar of the Serbian language; Ján Kollár, renowned for his manifesto on "literary reciprocity"; Franjo Miklošič, professor

of Slavic philology; Jakiv Holovackyj, professor of the Ruthenian language; Ivan Mažuranić, a Croatian poet and politician whose seat on the commission was later taken by the Croatian playwright Dimitrije Demeter; Karol Kuzmány, professor at the Protestant theological faculty in Vienna; Hryhorij Šaškevyč, a senior Education Ministry official; Matija Dolenc, a high-level lawyer; Feliks Slotwiński and Ignaz Strojnowski, legal scholars and civil servants; Karel Jaromír Erben, Governmental Translator in Bohemia; and Alois Šembera, the Moravian *Landes-Translator*. The Terminology Commission also included six *Reichsgesetzblatt* translators: Anton Beck (Czech), Marcell Kawecki (Polish), Julius Wysłobocki (Ruthenian), Matej Cigale (Slovenian), Božidar Petranović and Stepan Car (Croatian and Serbian-Illyrian). The respected professor of Slavic philology Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795–1861) was appointed as chair (Slapnicka 1974, 444–5).

The Commission was divided into five sections, for Bohemian (i.e., Czech), Polish, Rusyn (i.e., Ruthenian), Slovenian, and Illyrian-Serbian, to which the relevant material was allocated after review by a preparatory group recruited from the Commission members. The first volume of the Commission's results, on Bohemian, appeared as early as 1850, under the title *Deutsch-böhmische Separat-Ausgabe*. Considering the speed and comprehensive results, this volume testifies to the special intensity of the Bohemian section's efforts: the dictionary encompassed 263 pages and more than 7,150 entries (Petioky 1995, 57). The Ruthenian edition appeared one year later, followed in 1853 by the *Deutsch-kroatische, serbische und slovenische Separat-Ausgabe*. Probably because of the relatively advanced state of Polish legal terminology, the German–Polish edition was never published.

The necessary Slavic technical terminology was to be created partly by drawing on earlier sources from legal history and partly through new coinages (Petioky 1998, 262). It was originally planned to build a joint terminology for all the five Slavic languages based on shared word stems and forms, but this project was quickly discarded as a "pipe dream" (Šafařík 1850, iv). The Commission's most influential members assumed the existence of a single Slavic ethnicity, which may partially explain the incomplete success of the ambitious terminology project. The Ministry of Justice had wisely avoided taking a particular stand on this controversial question, and left decisions on the matter to the Commission.

The order of discussions was governed by detailed by-laws. After the division into five sections and the appointment of a preparatory committee, the individual sections were to work on their translations in the mornings, followed by afternoon consultations on the proposed translations. Every member was free to comment on the suggestions, but the "definitive acceptance or rejection of an expression for a particular dialect [*sic*]" was the prerogative of the section concerned.

Methodologically speaking, the rules required the sections "not to construe the words extracted from the laws in an abstract manner and translate them at random, but always to consider their use in the particular law itself, as the purest and most reliable source, with regard for all the relevant passages" (Šafařík 1850, iv). It was hoped that the resulting rich concordance would significantly enhance the practical utility of the terminological dictionary. In line with the patent of 4 March 1849, the texts initially used as sources were the laws enacted since Emperor Franz Joseph took the throne plus some important older laws. After three months, the constitution of March 1849 had been terminologically reviewed and the terms and thesauri translated, and so had a range of crucial legislative texts such as the 1849 patent on fundamental rights, the press law of 1849 and many more. The vocabulary gathered was recorded on index cards, soon numbering 8,000 cards per "dialect". During revision, the terms were finalized and arranged alphabetically. Finally, an editing committee of the Commission members was appointed to carry out any unfinished business after the Commission was dissolved.

The Commission's work was very positively received. Not only did it incontrovertibly help to consolidate and enrich the young written languages, but it also led to numerous legislative texts being retranslated to reflect the new, more accurate terminologies. In the course of this busy translation activity, many specialist legal dictionaries were also revised to take account of progress in legal terminology, contributing importantly to a terminological unity that endured across much of the Habsburg area even after 1918.

However, the ten-language authenticity of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* texts only lasted for three years. From 1 January 1853, the German text became the sole valid one, and the translations into other languages were now only to appear in the provincial gazettes. Copies of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* weighing thousands of kilos were taken from storage in the state printery and pulped. What was behind this retrograde step? How was the centralist principle of German as the only valid language able to return to the agenda and lay claim to exclusive authenticity for German? The reasons lay in the domain of politics and quite simply in feasibility. The patent of 4 March 1849 required the *Reichsgesetzblatt* to be sent, postage free, to every government agency in Vienna and all the municipalities of the Monarchy. Distribution on this scale meant that 135,000 copies had to be printed, around 100,000 of them with text in two languages and thus double the length. The 1850 volume alone consumed 70 million quarto sheets. After three years, the state printery had spent one million guilders that it was unable to retrieve from the authorities responsible – while the paper industry benefited from these orders on a grand scale, increasing its turnover to the tune of 50–100 per cent (Rogge 1872, 103–4; Slapnicka 1974, 449–50). In combination with the reactionary trend

of the years following the 1848 revolution, therefore, economic factors took their toll on the practical arrangements assuring language equality. A mere three years put paid to the proud words that Ministry of Justice Anton von Schmerling had addressed to his Emperor in 1849: "The *Reichsgesetzblatt* with its texts in ten languages … may serve as living evidence to all the peoples of the Imperial State that Your Majesty's government regards as a sacred duty the implementation of the equality of all nationalities as guaranteed in the constitution" (quoted in Slapnicka 1974, 449).

The Reichsgesetzblatt Editorial Office

Historical overview[9] Another of the provisions in the imperial patent of 4 March 1849 was the establishment of a "k.k. Redaktions-Bureau des Reichs-Gesetz- und Regierungsblattes", an Editorial Office handling the translations of laws and ordinances for publication in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. In a resolution of 14 May that year, the Emperor approved an application by Minister of Justice Bach that set out the workings of this office in detail. Bach wanted one translator-cum-editor to be appointed per language, with good knowledge of the language and a legal background; alongside each editor there should be a second person with legal and linguistic knowledge, the "checking editor". To fulfil this plan, the staff of the Ministry of Justice, to which the Editorial Office was attached until 1863, would be increased by ten legally trained officials and two clerks. In order to minimize strains on the state budget, the remaining editors could be drawn from other ministries and paid separately for their services. A detailed description of the Editorial Office's composition in its first year of existence shows that four editors held "systematized" (that is, effectively permanent) positions. These were Dr Franz Wagner for German, Dr Anton Beck for Czech, Josef von Maffei for Italian and Božidar Petranović for Croatian. A further six were employed as "remunerated editors", on a provisional basis: for Czech (Antonín Rybička), Hungarian (Josef Somossy), Polish (Marcell Kawecki), Ruthenian (Julius Wysłobocki), Slovenian (Franjo Miklošič) and Romanian (Vinzenz Babesch). A total of nine co-editors and checking editors are also listed. Its first decade, or more precisely from 1849 until the reform of 1860, was the heyday of the Editorial Office, especially with respect to staffing. The number of editors later fluctuated considerably, not least because of the shortage of skilled candidates qualified to carry out such complex work.

The translators' workload and time pressure was enormous, and in May 1850 an additional nine posts were created so that each language could be served by two main translator-editors. This double staffing of the main editor roles made

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9. This sketch is based on the Austrian State Archives fascicle on the history of the Editorial Office from 1849 to 1870 (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 10546/911).

the position of checking editor redundant. New incentives were also introduced to combat the personnel shortage and make the editor positions more attractive: a new rank and new salary brackets were created, and editors were accorded the civil-service status of "deputy director" with all its honours, offices and bonuses. For the first time, these posts were now advertised publicly, resulting in 14 definitive appointments and three "remunerated", provisional editing posts. In May 1853, the lowest-grade salaries were raised in the hope of "acquiring capable staff". Probably either an advertisement had attracted no applicants at all, or it had been impossible to appoint well-qualified candidates because their pay expectations were too high; worse, editors taken on at the low starting salary tended to disappear as soon as they could find a better-paid job. The resulting rapid turnover of personnel was seriously detrimental to the Editorial Office's work.

When the imperial patent of 27 December 1852, which came into force on 1 January 1853, made the German text of Habsburg laws the only authentic version, the *Reichsgesetzblatt* began to appear only in German. However, this did not otherwise affect the Editorial Office's work, since translations into the languages of the crownlands were still to be carried out centrally in Vienna. The only difference was that these translations would not appear in the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, but only in the various provincial government gazettes alongside the German texts. The justification given for maintaining the central Editorial Office in Vienna was primarily that the close collaboration between its translators was favourably influencing the development and standardization of the written forms of the various Slavic languages.

The continued translation work in the Vienna bureau meant that staffing levels, at an average of 17 editors, could be sustained for some years. That changed abruptly in 1858: the new Minister of Justice Ferenc Nádasdy halved the number of editors with the curt comment that one editor per language would be ample for the work at hand. By late 1859, therefore, the Office employed only nine translators (see list of personnel and salaries for 1859, AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 10546/911, supplement II). Even more significant was a further imperial patent on the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, issued on 1 January 1860. This made the imperial gazette – in German only – the organ for the binding publication of all laws and abolished the institution of the provincial government gazettes in which the translations had been published since 1853 (*RGBl.* 3/1860). Now only selected laws and ordinances would be translated, as determined by the central authorities on a case-by-case basis. The translations were to be produced by "suitable civil servants from the central authorities". This appeared to mean the end of the Editorial Office.

In fact, the effect was ultimately not quite so drastic, and the bureau did continue to exist, if in a greatly reduced form. Nevertheless, the patent was a huge backwards step, lapsing into the Germanizing aspirations of earlier decades. It also substantially

diminished the value accorded to translation work. The editors had acquired translatorial and subject-specific skills in the course of their work, making them comparatively well-paid experts, and the fact that translation was now to be carried out by "suitable civil servants" devalued not only this expertise but also translation per se – quite apart from its probable effect on the quality of the translated texts.

The beginning of 1860 thus brought an end to the Editorial Office's years of plenty, and the task was now to rescue as much as possible from the ruins. In the course of 1860, four of the remaining nine editors left. In line with the patent, they joined other offices within the central administration and from then on performed their translation work on a fee basis. As for the others, it was "not possible or not desirable" – thus the notes in the archives – to accommodate them elsewhere, and as a result the office was never actually dissolved in practice, even if it now worked on far smaller scale. The new state of affairs quickly proved unsatisfactory in every way. For one thing, the external translators were often unable to complete their work punctually, despite the reduced quantity of text for translation. The main problem, however, was the selection of laws to be translated: this was mainly left to the discretion of the heads of section in the central authorities, making the process highly inconsistent.

In March 1861, an interministerial conference reinstated the principle that in each province where they would apply, all the laws and ordinances published in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* must be proclaimed in all the languages commonly used in that province. This resolved the problem of selecting texts for translation, but not the personnel problem. Senior civil servants in the Ministry of Justice, in particular, continued to insist that the translations must be made centrally in Vienna. If the translation work were decentralized, sent out to "crownlands of the same tongue", they argued, the resulting terminological disparities would endanger the emergence of universally binding legislative texts.

For organizational reasons, in May 1863 the Editorial Office moved from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of State. During its four years there, no serious changes were made – but the debate over the centralization of translation work flared up again. This time, there were calls for "permanently employed experts". In fact, the outsourcing of translation work had not yielded any significant savings: in 1867, the four editors still working for the Office earned an average of 1,150 guilders per year, while 4,800 guilders in fees were paid for four external translators (however, the Editorial Office employees also received an accommodation supplement of 210 guilders each at that time). In 1868, the bureau moved once more, to the Ministry of the Interior. This ended the transitional state it had endured since 1860.

A far-reaching change for the Editorial Office, substantially restoring the status at least of institutionalized translation, came with a law directly related to the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. According to this law, dated 10 June

1869 (*RGBl.* 113/1869), the Ministry of the Interior would henceforth publish the *Reichsgesetzblatt* in all the languages of common use (*landesübliche Sprachen*) in the Empire's lands. The editions in all languages were to appear simultaneously. This was more than a return to the situation of 1852, when all the laws and ordinances were to be translated into the languages of the individual crownlands; by laying down *simultaneous* publication in all languages, the new law also tried to fulfil the principle of equality between the nationalities that had recently been decreed in Article 19 of the 1867 State Constitution.

The Editorial Office could now be rebuilt and new editorial posts advertised. The budget proposal for 1870 envisaged one director's post, seven chief editors and seven checking editors (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 10546/911, supplement VII). That meant two editors per language for eight languages – legislative texts were no longer translated into Hungarian, because after the Compromise the Kingdom of Hungary issued its own laws and only 9,000 Hungarians were still resident in the Austrian half of the Empire. The second editor for Serbo-Croat had left in 1869.

In order to satisfy the law's requirement that "all the editions of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* shall as a rule be published and dispatched simultaneously" (*RGBl.* 113/1869), it was decided that multiple copies of each piece of legislation should be sent to the Office at the draft stage so that the translations could be prepared in time. Even so, there were frequent delays in sending out the gazette, prompting often fierce protests from the crownlands. For example, a 1901 interpellation by parliamentary deputy Ferdinand Pantůček condemned a delay to the publication of the *Reichgesetzblatt*'s Bohemian version. Pantůček claimed that it had recently become common practice not to publish the Bohemian text until several months after the German text had been dispatched. This, he said, violated the interests of every citizen for whom the Bohemian text was the only intelligible one (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2784, no. 16718/901). Large numbers of such complaints can be found in the records. Most of them, like Pantůček's, cite the failure to protect the interests of the various nationalities by dispatching the *Reichsgesetzblatt* late or not at all, and many explicitly invoke Article 19. The important role of translation in protecting the rights and duties of the Monarchy's citizens once more becomes extremely clear.

The events of the First World War impacted dramatically on the production and punctual circulation of the *Reichsgesetzblatt*. Thought was given to introducing a permanent night shift in the state printery so as to accelerate production and dispatch, but this proved unfeasible: under wartime conditions staffing was difficult, specialized printing plant could not be purchased, and the tram service ended early in the evenings, preventing the workforce from reaching the printery at night (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2792, no. 53186/18). As well as delays to dispatch, there were also printing problems caused by the growing difficulty of sourcing paper. In March 1918, printing of the gazette ceased for several weeks – though, significantly,

the hiatus affected only the non-German editions. On 15 April 1918 the Interior Ministry issued a decree designed to remedy these problems by requiring that the paper manufacturers supplying material for "documents necessary to the state" be reliably provided with the quantities of coal they needed (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2792, no. 25194/18). As the war proceeded, requests for replacement copies became more frequent, many copies held by authorities in the crownlands having been destroyed during hostilities.

Administrative and financial outlay   Apart from their *Reichsgesetzblatt* duties, the translators of the Editorial Office also undertook other translation work, for which they were usually paid separately. For example, in 1910 the railway operating regulations, running to 62 print pages, were translated by the editors after their official working hours for a fee of 546 crowns each (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 29756/10). A particularly onerous task was the translation of the ministerial ordinance and census-taking regulations in the run-up to the 1910 census. Despite the holiday period, the editors and their assistants translated all 58 print pages so fast that the ordinance in the seven *Landessprachen* was at the state printery, ready for printing, on the day the German edition appeared (ibid., no. 37901/10).

To an extent, then, the Editorial Office was not just the producer of official translations of laws, but also a general translation bureau for the government, though only for the business of the Ministry of the Interior, to which it was attached. The translation of dealings with countries outside the Monarchy was the responsibility of the Section for Ciphers and Translating, of which more below. Because the editors' legally defined remit was solely to translate the *Reichsgesetzblatt*, they were usually paid separately for their additional translation work, though it is impossible to know exactly whether or how extensively they undertook shorter translations unpaid as part of their other activities. At any rate, this piecemeal arrangement, along with the workings of the ciphers department and especially the numerous translations made free of charge by industrious civil servants, bears witness to the lack of a central facility, dedicated to translation, that could have dealt with the constant stream of translations required by the government and administration.

A further point worth mentioning is the substantial administrative and budgetary outlay necessitated by the production of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* and its distribution across the Empire. The copies delivered every year numbered between 35,000 and 40,000; in 1901 37,553 copies out of a total print run of 44,200 were sent to the other crownlands, and ten years later it was 38,683 out of a total print run of 50,700 (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2784 and ct. 2788, no number). The recipients of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* across the Empire were municipalities (approximately 70 per cent), government offices (approximately 20 per cent) and individual subscribers (approximately 10 per cent). However, almost every day the Ministry received requests from numerous other institutions asking for a copy in one of the gazette's

languages: courts, cooperatives, post offices, gendarmeries, agricultural authorities, libraries, the child protection office, the Danube Canal Inspectorate, foreign governments, embassies and more. The expense of printing and postage regularly exceeded the budget, despite the payments that municipalities had to make to the state for the *Reichsgesetzblatt* and despite the many individual subscribers. In the third quarter of 1899, for example, printing and postage costs ran to 50,892 crowns and in the fourth quarter of 1910 to 53,814 crowns, whereas the price paid in the first decade of the twentieth century for one year's issues was 4 crowns for municipalities and 8 crowns for individual subscribers, rising to 10 crowns from 1917. Before the reform of 1869 the gazette had at times been printed in the various crownlands if lower prices were on offer, but after 1869 the state printery bore sole responsibility for printing in all the different languages.

Quality requirements Over the decades, different quality requirements were placed on members of the Editorial Office, and a study of these expectations is particularly interesting in respect to the editors' translatorial skills. As mentioned, at first the translators were selected from the personnel of the Ministry of Justice, so they all had legal training – but this by no means implied that their knowledge of languages was adequate for translation work. It was impossible to find enough employees who were adequately qualified in both aspects, and exceptions had to be made. Starting in 1856, advertisements for the translation posts no longer asked for proof of legal studies, but only "proof of studies". Linguistic knowledge was regarded as crucial, and in the Office's first two years was measured not by language tests but by employment and character references. Equally important was the candidates' "politically impeccable previous life", although in this matter excessive "pettiness" was to be avoided (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 10546/911). As early as 1851, an examination with sample translations was introduced to test candidates' skills in legal language.

The reform of 1869 enabled four new editors to be appointed, for Italian, Polish, Romanian and Ruthenian. The doctoral student Basil Grigorowitza, who had been working as a temporary or "remunerated" translator in Romanian since 1863, was taken on permanently, and the three remaining posts were publicly advertised. Franz Wagner, director of the Editorial Office, had first made his own evaluation of Grigorowitza's performance, concluding that "based on the repeated enquiries I have made, especially among Romanian parliamentarians", his work "may be considered first-rate" (AVA, II. A.5, ct. 14, no. 16796/869). Wagner's arguments for publicly advertising the three posts were as follows:

> Judging by previous experience, I believe that it is not useful to appoint translators without their having presented qualifications in the business of translation, and it is my opinion that as a rule translators should be employed on the basis of their successful completion of competition tasks which are evaluated by trusted legal and linguistic experts. (Ibid.)

Other qualifications were only hinted at, in the requirement that "evidence of studies completed and previous experience" must be presented. The "competition task" consisted in the translation of several difficult laws or passages from the main areas of legislation (justice, political administration, finance and education), each around three printed pages, from German into the other language and vice versa. Depending on the national background of the applicants, the test could be taken in the governor's office in Trieste/Trst, Zara/Zadar, Innsbruck, Lemberg/L'viv, Czernowitz/Tscherniwzi/Czerniowce or Troppau/Opava.

Eight applications were received for Italian, eight for Polish and eleven for Ruthenian. Almost without exception, the applicants already worked in the public service, six of them as teachers; one applicant described himself as a theologian and writer. The only two candidates with proven professional experience in translation were Justus Eisner, a "court interpreter in Vienna" for Italian, and Stanislaus Nowínski, "interpreter in the editorial department of *Gazeta Lwowska*" in Lemberg/L'viv for Polish. Around half the applicants for Ruthenian and Polish claimed also to be capable of translating into Polish and Ruthenian respectively. The applications provide more or less clear insights into the applicants' qualifications: they acquired their linguistic competence either autodidactically or, in a few cases, at school or "through practical use in life" and work – in other words, in the course of both habitualized and institutionalized translation. Their translation skills were based on relevant practice as remunerated editors for the *Reichsgesetzblatt* or assistance in the production of translated legislation. Only nine candidates actually attended the examinations, which were held by "ministerial officials with excellent language skills and experience in translation". In the end, the posts as permanent editorial staff went to Vincenz Bartelme-Schrott (a former district commissioner) for Italian, Stanislaus Nowínski for Polish, and Johann Głowacki (a former government official in the Ministry of War and army doctor) for Ruthenian.

As the 1869 application process indicates, the qualifications expected of *Reichsgesetzblatt* editors were defined very vaguely. This "deplorable situation" was tackled in 1911. A submission from the Editorial Office dated 29 March 1911 proposes three alternative criteria for appointment: (a) proof of having completed a degree in law; (b) proof of a doctorate in the relevant language or language group and in a philological or historical subject, awarded within the Monarchy; or (c) proof of having successfully completed the state teaching examinations for the language concerned. The entry examination system was to be retained. On the question of whether only jurists or also philologists could be appointed, the Editorial Office director at this point, Karl Jékey, presented various arguments. Because of their "previous education and the training of their minds", jurists would find it easier to "penetrate the spirit of the norms to be translated", whereas philologists, although at a disadvantage regarding legal terminology, could be expected to have "a more lively feeling for linguistic subtleties and for the further development of

the language" (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 10546/911). This suggests that the officials directly responsible for the editors' qualifications had a stronger sense of the issues; nevertheless, specifically translatorial skills were still disregarded.

Looking at the translators working in the Editorial Office between 1849 and 1918 (Table 9), it is evident that most had many years of experience in translating. Of the Office's 28 "systematized" editors, ten worked there for more than 20 years, one of these for 40 years and four between 31 and 33 years; the average length of service across the entire period was around 15 years. The main reason for this continuity is the fact that these were civil-service posts and thus predicated on lifelong service, but even so it is remarkable considering the Office's serious difficulties on several different levels. The prior training of the editors and their occupations before appointment shows that only two editors had previous translation experience not acquired in the Editorial Office, although some of their names do appear in the lists of sworn interpreters (for Italian, Croatian, Romanian and Ruthenian). The profile of the state-appointed translators of the *Reichsgesetzblatt* thus corresponds with the practice, current well into the twentieth century, of giving priority to subject competence over translation competence, although of course the particular case of translating laws and ordinances clearly did necessitate a legal background.

However high the bar was set in appointing the translator-editors, there was no guarantee that their work would be completely free of error. The archives include numerous complaints from the authorities, finding fault with the Office's translations in various ways. Thus, in a communication of 13 February 1911, the Ministry of Finance objected to the Italian translation of an addendum to the explanatory notes on the customs tariff. The different lengths of the German and the Italian text meant that citation of paragraphs and lines was inconsistent, it argued; furthermore, certain technical customs-related expressions were unclear, which might impede the efficient application of the tariff (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 64332/10). The work of the Italian translator came under fire again in a note from the Ministry of Trade dated 1 December 1911, complaining that a translation error had resulted in inconsistencies in the enforcement of closing times for commercial enterprises. The German text empowered the provincial-level political authorities to order business "to be commenced at a later hour than the fifth hour of the morning", whereas the Italian text indicated that shops must open at the latest one hour after 5 a.m. This divergence, wrote the Ministry, had already had some irksome consequences (AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, no. 32357/911). Complaints were also made about translations into Slovenian. Concerning the translation of a law of 5 February 1907, the directorate of cooperatives for Carniola and the Littoral collated a whole list of passages demonstrating the contradictions between the German and the Slovenian edition (ibid., no. 22451/910). In most such cases, a note to the Editorial Office informing it of the errors or ambiguities was the end of the matter, but sometimes a written correction of the law and its republication was

Table 9. *Reichsgesetzblatt* translator-editors 1849–1918 (Source: AVA, 40/1, ct. 2788, fol. 10546/911, supplement I, VIII; and *Hof- und Staatshandbuch* 1849–1918)

Edition of the *RGBl.*	Name	Previous training and profession before appointment	Period of service
Bohemian	Alois **Šembera**	Jurist; university teacher; governmental translator	1849–1882 (1849–1859 co-editor)
	Franz **Preissler**	Jurist	1883–1914
Polish	Stanislaus **Nowiński**	Interpreter at the *Gazeta Lwowska*; "qualified auditor in technology"	1870–1902
	Sigismund **Hofmokl**	Court assistant	1903–1906
	Johann **Tokarz**	Deputy public prosecutor	1908–1912
	Bronislaus Ritter von **Krzyzanowski**	Jurist	1914–1918
Ruthenian	Julius Anton **Wysłobocki**	Jurist	1849–1859 (1849–1858 remunerated editor / co-editor)
	Johann **Głowacki**	Army accountant at the Ministry of War; formerly army doctor, university teacher	1867–1896 (1867–1870 remunerated editor)
	Alexander **Kułaczkowskij**	Senior legal official; teacher at the Theresian Academy	1897–1918
Romanian	Basil **Grigorowitza**	Jurist; teacher at the Theresian Academy	1863–1888 (1863–1870 remunerated editor)
	Aurel Ritter von **Onciul**	Senior official, Financial Procurator's office	1890–1893
	Florian **Lupu**	Candidate notary	1895–1897
	Georg **Popovici**	Writer; Imperial Council deputy	1898–1899
	Ernst **Tarangul**	Senior official, provincial government; teacher at the Theresian Academy	1901–1904
	Gregor von **Pantasi**	Senior official, provincial government; teacher at the Theresian Academy	1905–1918

Table 9. (*continued*)

Edition of the *RGBl.*	Name	Previous training and profession before appointment	Period of service
Slovenian	Matej Cigale	Jurist	1849–1889 (1849–1859 co-editor)
	Karl **Štrekelj**	Professor of Slavic philology	1891–1897
	Franz **Vidic**	Teacher at the Theresian Academy	1899–1918
Croatian	Theodor **Petranović**	Court assistant	1849–?
	Jakob **Užarevic**	Physician; journalist; philologist	1849–1881 (1849–1870 co-editor)
	Thomas **Burcar**	Jurist; teacher at the Theresian Academy	1882–1890
	Milan Ritter von **Rešetar**	Professor of Slavic philology	1892–1904
	Thomas **Matić**	Professor, higher technical school	1905–1918
Italian	Josef Ritter von **Maffei**	Council clerk	1849–?
	Vincenz **Chiesa**	Jurist	1853–? (pre-1866) (1853–1859 co-editor)
	Vinzenz **Bartelme-Schrott**	District commissioner	1870–1890
	Luigi **Iseppi**	Jurist	1891–1918
Hungarian	Josef von **Somossy**	Assistant at the Hungarian Chancellery	1849–? (pre-1866) (1849–1859 remunerated editor / co-editor)

imposed. Though probably detrimental to their prestige, these errors – however frequent – did not threaten the editors' jobs. Certainly, no official proceedings on such matters are documented in the archives.

The evidence that translators in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* Editorial Office provided for their qualifications shows that although the requirements for appointment as an editor do not explicitly mention translation qualifications, these were identified at least rudimentarily through the admission examination. The exam translations were intended to ascertain whether the candidate possessed the necessary linguistic skills and subject expertise in legislative texts. Using translations as a means of testing language knowledge is a method familiar from educational settings in the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries, and in this case it cannot be discounted as a factor in assessing the linguistic aptitude of the applicant. As the many Interior Ministry records cited here show, however, the long-standing experience of the civil servants involved and the challenges of everyday practice, not to mention the numerous translation errors committed by editors, culminated in a realization that specific translation skills were an indispensable complement to linguistic and subject knowledge. That emerges on the one hand from the large amount of time invested in the application process, especially as regards the entrance examination, and on the other from the frequent comments doubting the applicants' qualifications – as articulated in the question of whether a legal or a philological background was the better basis for undertaking translation work in the Editorial Office. In the absence of translators specifically trained as such, this was a justified question, yet the complaints about defective translations demonstrate that even a legal training and many years of translation practice (Luigi Iseppi, a law graduate, had worked for the office for 20 years when he was criticized for the errors in the customs tariff notes) were no guarantee of impeccable translations. Despite all this, the selection criteria for state-appointed translators make it clear that the Habsburg administration was very far from accepting that specific skills in mediating languages and culture are a precondition for expert translatorial performance and that only such skills, coupled with subject knowledge, can give rise to professional translation work.

Translation in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of War

I have mentioned that the Habsburg state tried to manage its various translation requirements by setting up a range of different facilities. By its nature, foreign policy entailed a particularly large quantity of translation. This was carried out within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by two departments, the "Section for Ciphers and Translating" (*Sektion für Chiffrewesen und translatorische Arbeiten*)

and the "Literary Bureau" (*Literarisches Bureau*) for work with the press, while a third body, the "Evidence Bureau" (*Evidenzbureau*), was based in the Ministry of War and was responsible for collecting information on foreign armies. With the Compromise of 1867, communication between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Empire in foreign policy matters was reorganized, posing a great challenge for translation activity.

Section for Ciphers and Translating

The establishment of a section dedicated to "matters related to ciphers and translating" was an important step in the institutionalization of translating and interpreting within the Austrian administration. The section's predecessor was the "secret cipher office" (*Geheime Ziffernkanzlei*), most likely founded in 1716 and only dissolved after the revolutionary events of 1848. Its founding year cannot be determined with complete certainty because there is no official certificate instituting the office. Under the chancellorship of Prince Metternich (1773–1859), the office rapidly grew in importance, reaching its zenith during the months of the Vienna Congress. The tasks of the cipher office were to "manipulate" intercepted letters, decipher foreign communications written in code, and set up new secret offices outside Vienna for the surveillance of mail. Particular attention was paid to the post that arrived every two weeks from the Ottoman Empire, for which special translators were on hand. For the sake of professional secrecy, appointments were made mainly among the family relations of the cipher office's existing employees, so that whole dynasties of cipher officials emerged, and "official secrets" often became "family secrets". Very high demands were placed on these civil servants, especially in terms of their language skills. It seems that in the evaluation of language knowledge, quantity was more important than quality: for each new language learned, a separate bonus of 500 guilders was paid. Higher salaries than other civil servants and various special benefits were intended to compensate cipher office employees for the health risks associated with their work. Over half of the decoding personnel had lost much of their sight before reaching pension age (Hubatschke 1975b, 377–87).

On 4 April 1848, the cipher office was closed down in the wake of the March revolution, but only a year later most of its officials had found a new home in the Section for Ciphers and Translating. The agenda of this new institution remained almost unchanged – creating the cipher keys for the Monarchy's correspondence with its diplomats abroad, encryption and decryption of dispatches and reports, and the translation of official documents into or out of less common languages (Hubatschke 1975a, vol. 6, 1383). With various reorganizations of the Ministry over the subsequent decades, the section's name changed several times. Changes in the law also influenced

its activities, though this affected mainly the work of the encryption specialists (for example when the right to secrecy of correspondence was introduced), whereas translation tasks were largely untouched. This changed only in 1909, with a Ministry restructuring exercise that separated the section's remit into "ciphers" (Department 13) and "translating" (Department 14). With the Austrian Armistice and the end of the Habsburg Monarchy in November 1918, the State Council resolved that all the German-speaking Austrian civil servants of Department 13 should be sworn in and their non-German colleagues suspended (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 428, no. 104494/18). It may be assumed that a similar procedure was applied to Department 14, but that some of its officials had to be redeployed elsewhere.

For the present purposes, it is translation activities in the narrower sense that are the most interesting aspect of the Ciphers and Translating department. The work of translation was inextricably linked to that of encryption for 60 years, right up to 1908. This link presumably had a strategic function, given the need to keep the content of telegrams strictly confidential. The encryption department dealt with all the telegraphic communication of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, supplying inbound and outbound dispatches in code. Its most important activity was the decryption and encryption of such telegrams using its own cipher keys, which were constantly modified. Over the years, contact with representations and institutions abroad via encrypted telegrams increased steadily; according to a printed register of "all the agencies with which the k.k. Ministry of Foreign Affairs maintains encrypted correspondence", in January 1891 there was regular telegraphic contact with precisely one hundred cities. They range from Alexandria to Zadar, and the authorities carry the designations "consulate", "governor's office", "police administration" and others. The languages of encryption were German and French (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 428). The department's officials had to master the languages spoken in the various localities, and their chief activity was translating these into German after decryption.

The requirements for appointment to the Ciphers and Translating department were very strict, reflecting the diverse and sensitive tasks that would face the appointees. Candidates had to take several tests, comprising a translation part and a decryption part. When Eugen von Haan – a clerk already working for the Ministry as a trainee *Concipist* – applied for a post as "Court and Ministerial Concipist, First Class" in 1876, for example, his examination included six translations of newspaper and literary excerpts and of commercial correspondence, one text each from Italian, Hungarian, Croatian, Polish and Spanish into German and one from English into French (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 404, no. 4600/II/76). The examination texts were long, running to between two and six manuscript pages each. The candidate also had to decrypt a short text. The director of the department from 1872 to 1887, Johann von Hasslinger-Hassingen, wrote to the Foreign Minister recommending Eugen von Haan's appointment on the grounds of his excellent examination results: "I am

absolutely satisfied with Haan – he has talent, chic and style" (ibid.). Accordingly, von Haan appears in the Court and State Manual (*Hof- und Staatshandbuch*) of 1877 with his desired rank as Court and Ministerial Concipist, First Class.

As regards the training required for civil servants working in the Ciphers and Translating department, they had to be graduates in law or, in exceptional cases, languages and literature (see Hubatschke 1975a, vol. 6, 1391). Further prerequisites were outstanding linguistic ability and excellent skills in decryption. An 1894 "memorandum regarding new recruitment for the Ciphers department" shows how difficult it was to attract young civil servants with the right qualifications, since the department needed candidates who "alongside the four civilized languages [German, French, Italian and English] also have mastery of some further idioms or have acquired enough not to flounder when faced with them". Particularly desirable was knowledge of Hungarian, the Slavic and Scandinavian languages, Romanian and, especially, the "Oriental languages", above all Turkish (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 404, no number, "Geheim", 26.6.1894). Tireless efforts to learn new languages were also expected, and the cost of teaching aids and lessons was reimbursed (Hubatschke 1975a, vol. 5, 1320). Officials in the Ciphers section worked in an average of four to six languages – some in far more, such as Gustav von Ohms, who translated out of and into 13 languages during his career and in 1871 had taken his department examination translating out of 15 languages (see HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 428, 22.2.1896), or Joseph Schneid, who worked in 19 languages (Hubatschke 1975a, vol. 5, 1320). Here, as in other ministries, it is notable that above-average "linguistic" knowledge and sound subject expertise were demanded for work as a translator, but there was never any mention of competence in the mediation of language and culture.

The department's major tasks, the decryption and translation of written material, were also carried out for other offices than the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including some outside Vienna. Prime among these were other government ministries, courts, embassies, city councils and governors' offices. Many requests for translations to be used in communicating between official bodies were backed up with a note that insufficient sworn interpreters were available internally due to illness or vacations. Dozens of such cases can be found in the archives, for example a note from the Ministry of War, dated 18 February 1874, that asked the department to decrypt a letter from Cartagena and then to produce "an authentic translation into the German language" (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 404, no number, 18.2.1874). The district court at Vienna wrote on 26 February 1874 to ask for a translation from Dutch, explaining that two of its interpreters were off work (ibid., no. 3189/II); the Lower Austrian governor's office in Korneuburg sent a request on 13 January 1879 for translation of a Danish letter regarding a prisoner (ibid., no. I 1211/2); and the provincial government in Salzburg wrote on 14 January 1879 asking for a

Romanian communication from the municipality of Galatz/Galați to be translated into German (ibid., no. I 1101/2).

In the course of its history, the Section for Ciphers and Translating made a valuable institutionalized contribution to international and transcultural understanding. The preferential treatment that the authorities gave this department in matters of personnel and funding should, however, be attributed primarily to its politically sensitive mission; there can hardly have been another section in any of the ministries that enjoyed so much continuity.

The status of Vienna as the royal residence and capital, with its concentration of institutions, exerted a powerful momentum in the construction of cultures, which may be regarded as the result of the pluricultural character of Habsburg society and gave rise to complex translational performances.

The Literary Bureau

As well as the Ciphers and Translating section, another department attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was also concerned with translating and interpreting in a somewhat wider sense: the Literary Bureau. This was established in 1868 to deal with press affairs, and remained in existence until the end of the Monarchy (Kammerhofer 1989, 462). The Literary Bureau's main task was to influence public opinion abroad through the press. A second service supplied by the Bureau – one that is more revealing from the point of view of translation – was the newspaper review drawn up by Bureau civil servants and freelancers from the most important European dailies and weeklies and sent to the Emperor every day. The Literary Bureau analysed newspapers in German, Czech, English, French, Hungarian, Italian, Polish and Russian. For each language there were one or more specialists, and the daily report was collated from their translations by the Bureau's director (see Przibram 1910, 208–9). The Bureau was also responsible for supplying the relevant Ministry employees with material from the foreign and domestic press that they needed for their work. No detailed information is available on translation work as such, but the register of Bureau staff in 1878 shows that Court Secretary Cajetan Cerri (1826–1899) was responsible for reviewing the Italian papers – he was a well-known translator of art-historical and literary texts, especially from the sixteenth and seventeenth century, who played an important part in the cultural mediation of his day. Another literary translator on the staff was the French press specialist, Konrad von Zdekauer, whose translations included Ernest Renan's *Dialogues et fragments philosophiques* into German.

When the First World War began, the Literary Bureau's remit was expanded to include the publication and distribution of brochures about the Habsburg Monarchy, in various languages, for the express purpose of "propaganda abroad"

(Rottensteiner 1967, 48). It may be assumed that these brochures were also written and translated within the Bureau. Although the staff did not carry out translations in the narrower sense as their daily work, in the case of the daily newspaper review – just as in all journalism working with foreign sources – it is not quite clear where the boundary should be set between translation as such and the creation of new texts on the basis of material accessed in another language. Given that uncertainty, translation-related work in the Literary Bureau appears to have been located on a continuum between "polycultural communication" and "polycultural translation".

The Evidence Bureau

Unlike the Literary Bureau, for the Evidence Bureau – the Ministry of War's directorate of military intelligence – there is documentary evidence of institutionalized translation work. At least from 1914 onwards, the Evidence Bureau's budget included an item labelled "interpreters' group" (Ronge 1930, 378), although it is hard to know exactly whether this referred to trained interpreters (trained in whatever sense) and whether the group's members were full-time interpreters. The Evidence Bureau's predecessor was a department founded in 1802, the *Evidenthaltungsabteilung*, which was responsible for gathering intelligence on foreign military affairs. It kept the Ministry of War up to date on military forces abroad, created or expanded military monitoring offices in the border provinces, and analysed the information gained for subsequent use. In the 1890s, it added a "defensive monitoring service" or counterintelligence to the existing "offensive monitoring service" – in other words, military espionage (see Pethö 1998, 14–15). Clearly, activities such as these required personnel with excellent linguistic skills, and the Evidence Bureau too seems to have faced persistent problems in finding qualified staff. The shortage of Russian-speaking General Staff officers who could be deployed for intelligence purposes, for example, was so worrying that every year from 1890 two officers were sent to the Russian Empire to learn the language in the Volga city of Kazan. From 1903, Russia responded by sending individual officers to Linz to learn German. In 1912, the Evidence Bureau employed 28 officers; by mid-1914 the number had risen to 42. These men's language skills must have been impressive, given that every day the Evidence Bureau had to read around 70 foreign newspapers and extract the relevant information.

With the outbreak of the First World War, the Evidence Bureau's workload expanded many times over. An enormous demand for interpreters arose as increasing interception of telephone conversations, surveillance of prisoners of war and work in the POW camps called for large numbers of speakers of different languages. Mediocre language skills were not enough; the authorities sought people who could speak the various languages and their dialects to the highest level, including the

transcription of telephone conversations. For the interrogation of prisoners of war and defectors, a particularly delicate task requiring psychological aptitude, intelligence officers were needed who mastered the relevant language well enough not to have to rely on interpreters. It was feared that interpreters would disrupt the immediacy of contact between the two sides of the interrogation (Hutterer 1970, 40).

To give just one example, on the Italian front in April 1918 there were 220 officers and 1,000 soldiers acting as interpreters. This placed high demands on the Evidence Bureau's management in terms of strategic coordination, since special courses in interpreting had to be arranged and suitable people assigned to subject-related groups of interpreters. Wartime conditions revealed the full extent of the shortfall in the Bureau's own interpreting services, and in the course of the war it instituted long-term interpreter training programmes (Ronge 1930, 20, 273). Language teaching for interpreters was arranged in several army commands, for example in the intelligence office at the military command in Graz or a dedicated interpreter training course in Italian, English and French at Army Group Command in Tyrol. In addition, a whole interpreting school was founded in Vienna. Like all the military institutions training interpreters, this was directed by high-ranking officers, who taught various military subjects alongside "French Interpreting" or "Italian Interpreting". Interpreting in Russian presented particular problems, because existing levels of linguistic knowledge were inadequate and within the Monarchy most speakers of Russian were Ruthenes, often considered Russophile and therefore unreliable. In summer 1917, an interpreting course was set up in Lemberg/L'viv in an attempt to remedy the lack of Russian-speaking interpreters (Pethö 1998, 168, 368).

Predicated exclusively on military confrontation, the work of the Evidence Bureau staff and the numerous interpreters deployed for wartime espionage was too rigidly circumscribed to be called a form of "intercultural" communication. Indeed, they were not even carrying out "communication" at all, in the sense of a process of understanding between participants, but rather interception and surveillance. Only once such information in foreign languages (with all its cultural connotation) had been gathered was it processed and passed on, in an intracultural operation that involved interpreters or at least speakers of the foreign language. Despite this, or perhaps precisely because of it, the Evidence Bureau and its numerous external interpreters played an extremely significant role in the construction of the "other" at any one time. Intercepts and espionage worked on the basis of pre-existing images of the enemy, and often went on to confirm and reinforce these stereotypes. In the absence of interaction, in this form of translation the factor of negotiation almost completely fell away.

General correspondence after the Compromise of 1867
After the Compromise with Hungary, the foreign policy of the two halves of the Empire remained under shared administration but was extensively restructured. Because Article 44 of the Nationalities Law of 1868 had made Hungarian the state language in Transleithania, it was now necessary to reorganize the handling of correspondence between the various government ministries or other high-level authorities and the embassies of the Dual Monarchy abroad. A series of circulars set out the regulations for such correspondence. The "Assemblage of the principles with respect to language for the correspondence of the Imperial Ministry of War, the joint Ministry of Finance and the joint Supreme Court of Auditors" (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 428, "Generalia ab 1895"), for example, detailed which authorities must be written to in Hungarian, which in German, and which always in both languages. For written correspondence between the Imperial Ministry of War and those Hungarian government agencies that were not central authorities, and between the Ministry of War and the Hungarian public, all translations had to be notarized.

In the course of time, problems around the choice of language for such correspondence prompted several further ordinances, especially on the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Justice's correspondence with the administration of the Dual Monarchy and with authorities abroad. Apparently in the hope of creating a coherent documentation of the administrative handling of these matters, a collection of the most important ordinances and circular decrees was published, headed "Regulations on the correspondence of the Royal Hungarian courts and authorities with foreign countries" (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 428, "Generalia ab 1895"). The ordinances, from 1871, 1875, 1877, 1879 and 1883, prescribed the usage of Hungarian and the other languages of the Dual Monarchy in correspondence with the courts. They also regulated the translation costs that arose when, for example, Hungarian and Italian courts corresponded. In addition, they set down that during witness interrogations, both the questions and the oath must be presented in certified translation.

As for correspondence between the k.&k. representations abroad and the authorities in Austria, after the Compromise of 1867 increased care was taken to ensure that Hungarian was used in submissions or letters in all matters concerning Hungarian administrative authorities or citizens. However, many (probably even most) civil servants in the representations did not speak Hungarian and were unable to fulfil the stipulation. A circular from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 13 February 1893 therefore decreed that if the representation had an official who could speak Hungarian, he must translate the document into Hungarian, and otherwise efforts must be made to have a translation made locally. If this was impossible, then the representation was to enquire among the nearest consulates asking for the services of a Hungarian-speaking official. If all else failed, the document might be presented to the k.&k. Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a request for translation

(ibid.). In these cases, no attempt was made to find professional translators like the ones employed in the central authorities in Vienna, whether the *Reichsgesetzblatt* Editorial Office (Ministry of the Interior) or the Ciphers and Translating section (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Instead, Hungarian-speaking civil servants were to undertake the translation work. There is no comment on whether those civil servants were native speakers of Hungarian. In this sense, official correspondence was a form of translation with only a slight degree of institutionalization, which we may interpret as a devaluation of the activity of translation.

A dispatch from the Foreign Ministry dated 2 December 1918, finally, reflects the gradual dissolution of the Monarchy and the resulting changes to language requirements:

> Due to the departure of numerous civil servants for Budapest in order to regis-ter for service at the Hungarian Ministry of the Foreign Affairs, the number of Hungarian civil servants has declined to such an extent that correspondence in Hungarian can no longer be sustained. It is therefore ordered that from now on correspondence with Hungarian authorities and interested parties be carried out in German.   (HHStA, AR, 4, ct. 428, no. 106731/18)

Looking at translation activity in the Habsburg Monarchy for the period under study, we find only a low degree of institutionalization apart from a few exceptions. The explanation for this may be sought first and foremost in the widespread bilingual-ism or plurilingualism among civil servants, which – despite frequent quality prob-lems – made professional translating or interpreting dispensable and contributed to a communication system largely founded on improvisation and ad hoc creativity. A further reason may be that the enormous demand for linguistic mediation itself brought forth a tacit view among much of the population that routine, and indeed more complex, situations could usually be tackled without the need for professional support. Perhaps the principle of "muddling through" (*Fortwurschteln*), that cliché so often used by contemporary and present-day commentators to describe the func-tioning of the Habsburg state, helps to explain the incomplete institutionalization of translating and interpreting. When the multiethnic state required such services, it was simply too tempting to knock on the door of a fellow bureaucrat in the next office, however haltingly he spoke the language in question.

3.   The training of dragomans

If we regard translating and interpreting in the Habsburg Monarchy as an activity essential to the functioning of the state, the question arises of how far that central-ity was reflected in the effective training of linguistic mediators. In fact, the only dedicated training institution for which documentary evidence exists, the Oriental

Academy in Vienna, focused mainly on communication associated with diplomatic relations between the Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. The need for linguistically competent officials to work in the Ottoman region had become obvious long before the Oriental Academy was founded in 1754, with the growth of commercial ties, closer relations with the Sublime Porte, and the consequent establishment of a permanent Habsburg representation in Istanbul, the Internuntiatur. Initially, the necessary interpreting services were provided by the "Greeks, Levantines and Italians" living in Pera, Istanbul's embassy district. As Christians, these people were closer to the Habsburg diplomats in social terms than to their Ottoman rulers. Some of the interpreters served both the Ottomans and the Habsburgs (Müller 1976, 258).[10] But the "indispensable hirelings" or "foreign half-castes" were widely mistrusted as the servants of two masters, and there were calls for "native sons of the country" to be appointed instead (Weiß von Starkenfels 1839, 2–3).

Like Paris in approximately the same period, Vienna had been sending *Sprachknaben* or "language lads" (*jeunes de langues*)[11] to Istanbul ever since 1674. The boys were to learn Turkish, Persian and Arabic at a young age under the supervision of the head of the diplomatic mission, who was reimbursed for their bed and board by the Habsburg court chamber (ibid., 243–4).[12] The *Sprachknaben* were instructed by local teachers and encouraged to acquire the necessary language skills through close contact with the population, for example by visiting markets or courtrooms (Gołuchowski 1904, 4). Their training in Istanbul was not limited to strictly linguistic matters, but also embraced "the Turkish laws and maxims of state" along with Ottoman "humour and *modus tractandi negotia*" (Kaunitz referring to Penckler 1753, quoted by Müller 1976, 244). The lives of some such young Austrian interpreters of the eighteenth century are documented. Joseph von Penckler (1700–1774), for example, was sent to Istanbul in 1719 as a *Sprachknabe* to learn the Oriental languages. He completed his studies with such distinction that he was

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10. Interpreters enjoyed a high social status in the Ottoman Empire. In the early eighteenth century, certain families, such as the Köprülüs, made up an influential group of entrepreneurs, scholars and interpreters who are reported to have "stood behind the official dignitaries as interpreters, chuchoteurs, or simply as the greater authorities on the matter at hand" during negotiations (Herm 1993, 225–6).

11. The alternative term *enfants de langues* indicates the tender age at which children or young people were sent abroad; see Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein (1989, 137, n. 49). Venice, too, sent *giovini di lingua* to the Ottoman capital in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were then trained as dragomans. The same applied to the Republic of Dubrovnik, whose trainee dragomans were known as *mladici od jezika* (Pederin 1998, 98).

12. In 1669–70, a "nursery" for future interpreters was instituted in the Collège Louis-le-Grand (Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein 1989, 137). The first school of this kind had been founded in 1622 in Poland, in the city of Choczim (today's Khotyn, Ukraine) (Weiß von Starkenfels 1839, 3).

appointed interpreter to the Sublime Porte in 1726, and after eight years of service in Istanbul was brought back to Vienna as interpreter to the imperial court.[13] In 1745 von Penckler was made Internuntius, and his work in this prestigious role over two decades prompted the Empress to grant him a barony "of her own accord" (Wurzbach 1870, 452–3). Another former *Sprachknabe* appears on the salary list of the Internuntiatur for 1747: the postal official Josef Peitler, who had been "invested with the character of an Imperial-Royal Oriental *Sprachknabe*" (Bernardini 1996, 19).

With the growing importance of diplomatic and commercial links with the Ottoman Empire, recognition spread that linguists needed to be trained on a more professional basis in order to deliver the subject and social skills required by this type of interpreting. In 1754, Maria Theresa founded the Oriental Academy, officially called the "Imperial-Royal Academy for Oriental languages" (k.k. Akademie der morgenländischen Sprachen) in its early phase. Designed to prepare candidates for work as dragomans in the Ottoman Empire, from the very beginning the Academy offered instruction that went far beyond languages alone to cover areas of law, economics and commerce. This was partly due to the fact that most trainees had not yet finished high school when they entered the Academy, but the broad curriculum was also intended as a basis for future service representing the Monarchy in the Orient. Seven languages on average were taught: German as the official language; French as the language of diplomacy; Italian as the language of maritime law and Mediterranean trade; then Turkish, Arabic and Persian for service in the Levant; and finally modern Greek. Students were free to learn further languages, such as Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Serbo-Croat or Hungarian. The methods of language instruction were very diverse, ranging from the retelling of narratives read aloud, to playing games in French, to student performances of Italian comedies. In 1833, the academic curriculum was divided into legal and diplomatic studies on the one hand, language studies on the other. This gave rise for the first time to courses directly concerned with translating: "Translation from Turkish" and "Reading and translating Turkish commercial correspondence" from the first year, and "Translating from Arabic" or "Translating from Persian" starting from the third and fifth year respectively (see Weiß von Starkenfels 1839, 41).

The state's concern to measure up to the high demands placed on dragomans in the diplomatic service is evidenced by the increasing social permeability of the Academy. Candidates were chosen on the basis not of their family's social status, but of their linguistic talent and aptitude for learning, "so that the palate and throat can master the Turkish language" (Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein 1989, 129). If a student lacked the necessary financial resources, subsidized places were available. For youngsters who did not come from the hereditary aristocracy, attending and

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13. On the office of *Hofdolmetscher*, interpreter to the royal or imperial court, from the sixteenth to eighteenth century, see Reiter 2013a, 2013b.

graduating from the Oriental Academy offered excellent opportunities for upward social mobility, because successful completion of the course led seamlessly into a civil-service appointment as a dragoman, and in many cases this was followed after some years by the first steps in an ambassadorial career (see ibid., 129–31). Anton von Hammer-Nemesbány (1809–1889), for example, who translated the dress code of Sultan Mahmud II from Turkish in 1829 and published various translations in the learned journal *Archiv für Geschichte und Geographie*, graduated from the Oriental Academy in 1834 and was appointed adjunct interpreter at the Internuntiatur in Istanbul, where he lived in the embassy's "dragomans building". Because of personal differences with the Internuntius, he soon asked to be transferred, and became "Oriental interpreter and field concipist" with the General Border Command in Timişoara. He translated correspondence with the pashas of the Ottoman frontier provinces and interpreted for various army commands, thus taking part in many different forms of mediation between the administrations of the two empires. Von Hammer-Nemesbány later became a section head in the Oriental Department and interpreter to the Viennese royal court (see Srbik 1944, 46).

Another successful Academy alumnus was Anton von Steindl-Plessenet (1811–1864), whose father Ignaz Johann Franz was one of the Oriental Academy's first graduates and later worked as a dragoman and postmaster at the Internuntiatur. At the age of 12, Anton was sent to the Academy in Vienna with a request for a free place, and he returned to Istanbul in 1832 as an "interpreter assistant". Steindl proved a skilful mediator in various extremely delicate political conflicts, and was later promoted to the post of third interpreter at the Internuntiatur, ultimately reaching the prestigious position of Consul General in Smyrna in 1854 (Wandruszka 1972, 452–3).

These examples show that trained dragomans could hope to rise into the ambassadorial ranks, but the career benefit must be regarded as a kind of compensation or camouflage for the deep-seated problems of prestige associated with the interpreting profession:

> That this course of training was *not one for low-level civil servants or interpreters* was also confirmed by outsiders, when students of jurisprudence at the University of Vienna referred to their Academy colleagues as "apprentice diplomats".
> (Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein 1989, 141; emphasis added)[14]

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14. At the Seminar for Oriental Languages in Berlin, established in 1887 on the initiative of Bismarck, the issue of status appears to have played an important role. In 1894 the Seminar's director, Eduard Sachau, described the appellation "dragoman" as problematic because its Levantine origin might suggest subalternity; the designation "secretary-interpreter" was suggested instead (Wilss 2000, 61). That the term "dragoman" did not refer exclusively to work within the diplomatic service is shown by a report in which the daughter of the former head of the Austrian Levant Post in Istanbul speaks of a dragoman who was assigned to her father as a "personal office servant" to help him with translating and interpreting during his spell in Istanbul (Schinnerer-Kamler 1987, 117).

The Academy's rivalry with the University often became apparent, in terms not only of funding but also of the University's confident self-image as a place of study that rested on firm academic foundations under public scrutiny. Towards the end of the century, there were also accusations that the Academy was failing to adapt adequately to the growing complexity of commerce. However, although the Oriental Academy did not regard itself as an academic research institution, and was not expected to be one, it did aspire to produce scholarly work that went beyond the language instruction alone. This included the editing of orientalist works such as the *Anthologia persica* and the careful revision of Johann Franz Mesgnien von Meninski's out-of-print dictionary of Oriental languages, originally created in the second half of the seventeenth century, which was completed with the help of numerous Academy students (see Pidoll-Quintenbach 1898, 4).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Oriental Academy was gradually taking on the role of the consular service's main preparatory institution. Calls arose for its training to be rethought in view of changed economic and political circumstances – the Ottoman Empire's influence was in decline, international relationships had intensified, and the diplomatic missions were expanding to embrace commercial matters. The Oriental Academy was radically restructured, and in 1898 became the "k.&.k. Consular Academy". The reorganization entailed increased attention to basic training in business and a division into two separate branches of study. Language training was reviewed with particular rigour, transforming the Academy from a training institution for interpreters, primarily oriented on linguistic mediation, to a training programme for diplomats, primarily oriented on language learning. The aim was not to provide a philological education but to enable mastery of the relevant languages through tailored conversation classes. German-speaking trainees could spend a state-funded summer vacation with a Hungarian family to perfect their knowledge of the Hungarian language and become "more familiar with the Hungarian milieu, in most cases previously unknown to them" (Wildner 1961, 36). The department of Western languages increased the hours devoted to English and drastically reduced teaching in Italian, while Turkish, Persian and Arabic were cut completely. Hungarian classes were compulsory for non-Hungarians, and German for "non-Germans". In the Oriental department, instruction in Turkish, Persian and Arabic was maintained in full, but English was eliminated and Italian greatly reduced. Russian was no longer taught at all in either department (ibid., 194–5).

The goal of the Academy's language instruction was "complete spoken and written mastery of the idiom". To this end, the "analytical method" was applied, first introducing students to the necessary vocabulary and only then providing basic knowledge of grammar. The rationale was that the "idiom" should spring "directly from the mouth of the teacher to the ear of the pupil" with no detour via the

mother tongue. In a second phase, texts in the foreign language, of various degrees of difficulty, were analysed and reconstructed by the students step by step in the foreign language. The written and textual competence this gave them was supposed to facilitate an ability to think in the foreign language and a continued expansion of vocabulary. All this was accompanied by the "theoretical and practical study of grammatical questions". Translation finally began to appear at the next stage of language teaching, but could only be tackled when the students were already able to express themselves reasonably competently in the foreign language. Just as in eighteenth-century methods based on translations from Latin, here translating was evidently designed to serve not the development of skill in linguistic or cultural mediation, but solely language acquisition in the narrowest sense. Translation was to train the students in precision and subtlety of expression and allow them to enrich their vocabulary. The fourth phase of training was the independent writing of essays on complex topics (ibid., 44–5).

This model of language teaching shows many modern features, and it was certainly innovative in its emphasis on autonomous learning and on independent text production. However, it almost completely lacked any dimension of cultural mediation, even though skills in mediation could easily have been taught, given that the architect of the new curriculum, Michael von Pidoll-Quintenbach, had accorded translation an important role in his deliberations. In terms of methodology, this deficit may be explained by a model that reduced translation to its purely philological aspect and failed to take any account of the mediating roles of the future ambassadors. In terms of function, skills in cultural mediation were downgraded in favour of business skills or neglected altogether. Despite genuine efforts to provide appropriate training for its students, the Academy did not recognize the inevitable link between these two components of an ambassador's work on the ground. The case in Germany was very different: the Seminar for Oriental Languages in Berlin was well aware of the importance of cultural competence for trainee interpreters, and addressed it through instruction using real-life situations (see Sachau 1912, 19–20). The Berlin training programme also paid particular attention to the textual features of different genres, working with charters, legislative texts, commercial certificates and so on (Salevsky 1996, 22–3). Classes were offered in topics such as "exercises in the explanation and writing of public and private certificates" (Sachau 1912, 58), whereas the Oriental Academy attached no value to either cultural competence or text typology in its teaching of writing.

As regards the social origins of the students, the social mobility that had begun to emerge in the preceding 150 years – and indeed had been an explicit policy of the Oriental Academy more or less from the start – appears to have gathered force towards the end of the nineteenth century. The majority of students now came from the middle classes, especially from the families of civil servants, officers and

mid-level white-collar employees. Table 10 shows that German speakers domi-
nated, as is perhaps to be expected, but the composition of the students neverthe-
less offered "a miniature portrait" of the Monarchy's characteristic kaleidoscope
of nationalities (Csáky 1954–57/1994, 67).

Table 10. Nationality of students at the "k.&k. Consular Academy"
(Pfusterschmid-Hardtenstein 1989, 179)

Nationality	1901	1902	1908	1912
Czechoslovaks	4	3	1	6
Germans	12	14	23	23
Italians	–	1	–	–
Magyars	8	7	13	17
Poles	4	4	3	1
Ruthenians	1	1	–	–
South Slavs	4	3	–	1
Total	33	33	40	48

After the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy, State Chancellor Karl Renner kept the
Oriental Academy going, from 1920 as an "international university for the state for-
eign service" (Internationale Hochschule für den Staatlichen Außendienst). Today
it survives as the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, though without the Oriental
Academy's old motto, "For God and the sovereign", once vaunted in German
and Persian in the stairwell of the Boltzmanngasse building (Pfusterschmid-
Hardtenstein 1989, 185).

4.   The contribution of translation practices to the construction of cultures

The construction of Habsburg culture by means of translational practices can be
observed on the basis of two parameters: the type of translation, revealing different
nuances of this constructive momentum; and the type of involvement of agents in
the translation process, with different gradations of visibility. For large segments of
Habsburg society, the daily work of communication demanded frequent switches
of cultural contexts, ranging from the routine transfer between mother tongue and
working language up to translation or interpreting activities in the strict sense.

Relations of cultural exchange, and their manifestations, become particularly
obvious in those translation types where cultural "translation" takes place directly
between individuals, without the intervention of texts. The key agents of these
long-term processes of acculturation were people who, as migrants over many
generations, had left accepted certainties behind them and, usually of necessity,

sought new ways to locate themselves. The servants, craftsmen and (to a degree) *Tauschkinder* – exemplifying many other social or occupational groups – discussed here under the heading of habitualized translation acted within complex social networks, and as "translated subjects" they contributed crucially to the composition of those networks. They thus played an important role in the invention of the pluricultural Monarchy.

As part of the translation types polycultural translation and transcultural translation, oral translational activities such as interpreting in the courtroom or other domains also participate importantly in processes of cultural construction, due to their inherent dimension of negotiation. Negotiation in this sense should not be understood only narrowly, as the production of a translation through a process of consensus, but also in Bhabha's sense: as the starting point to create new contextual links that cannot be reduced to what preceded them and yet are assembled out of its elements. It is partly this characteristic that makes the factor of negotiation such a vital aspect of oral forms of translating. The identity constructions necessary to the invention of a multiethnic state proceed mainly via these verbal acts of translation, in which direct cultural encounters enforce a continual recontextualization of each side's "other". In contrast, the forms of translation that produce mainly texts in the narrower sense construct their "other" through the filter of textual production. They create representations in which the multifarious cultural factors of the translation process take effect in different ways according to the domain within which that translation is embedded. Thus, in the translation of legislative texts (discussed in the section on the *Reichsgesetzblatt* Editorial Office), a situation strongly marked by normativity, the culture-constructing aspect is less evident than in those configurations which tend to leave open a broader spectrum of translation strategies, such as the work of translators in the Ciphers and Translating section or, even more clearly, in the production of translations within specific fields of language conflict, putting into practice the provisions of language-related law. The case of courtroom interpreting is mixed in this sense: although the centrality of negotiation gave the mediators some room for manoeuvre, this was restricted by the postulate of "authenticity" so important to translating law (including the area of notarized translations). As a result, cultural exchange took place only to a limited extent.

In terms of its implications for the construction of cultures, four features are especially characteristic of translation and interpreting work in the Habsburg Monarchy; the interplay between them reflects both the complexity of the pluricultural communicative space and its potential for conflict. These are the tensions arising from the nationalities conflict, the centrality of plurilingualism, the unsystematic training of translators, and the mediating role of institutions.

The friction between the Monarchy's nationalities permeated all translation types (especially from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards) and influenced translating and interpreting activities to varying degrees, in some cases critically. To understand that influence, special attention must be paid to language-related legislation. By gradually implementing the principle of equality between the nationalities that had been laid down in Article 19 of the constitution, new laws and ordinances reduced the prevalence of bilingual and multilingual communicative situations within the Monarchy. This reduction in routine plurilingual contacts ("polycultural communication") necessitated an increase in explicitly mediated translation work ("polycultural translation"). That, in turn, was often co-opted by the nationalists – as in the 1869 Galician case where the authorities' reluctance to implement an ordinance requiring all civil servants to know Polish led to nationalist demands that Vienna immediately employ translators to deal with all the official documents not yet translated. The increasing recourse to sworn interpreters towards the end of the century also indicates the impact of language law on translation practice – and of translation practice on language law, since monolingualism would not have been a feasible option without the availability of interpreters. To this extent, Reine Meylaerts's comment on the equivocal role of translation in polylingual situations is highly relevant: "as an institutional phenomenon, translation has a very ambivalent function in multilingual societies: it both allows and annihilates multilingualism" (Meylaerts 2006, 3).

The Habsburg Monarchy's bilingualism and multilingualism formed the basis of many translation processes, as this chapter has shown. Indeed, we may regard it as a constitutive feature of translation and interpreting in the Monarchy – while bearing in mind that multilingualism did not affect every territory or every social field, and depended on specific contexts and requirements. However, the bi- and plurilingualism of many of the Monarchy's inhabitants in those locations where translation was needed meant that acts of translation and interpreting seemed a routine matter of course, not the preserve of a particular profession. This hampered the emergence of high-quality, professional translating. It was directly and indirectly reinforced by a reluctance within much of the bureaucracy to acknowledge deficits around translation.

This touches on the third feature: the linguistic, cultural and translatorial competence of people carrying out translation work in the Habsburg Monarchy – or rather, at least at first sight, the lack of such competence. Apart from an early phase of interpreter training with the "language lads" of Istanbul, the historical records show little or no reference to such competence. Apparently it was simply taken for granted in those settings where translating and interpreting was considered especially important, whereas in other cases we may assume that the need for such skills was not recognized and could therefore not be addressed. As I have shown, the formulation of

quality criteria – for example in appointing translators to the Editorial Office – only very gradually began to show an acceptance that sophisticated linguistic abilities were necessary for such work. However, the beginnings of this acceptance indicate at least some awareness of the need for translational skills in the widest sense, or rather that a certain sense of the problem was starting to take shape.

The fourth point is the mediating role of institutions. The law and the institutions charged with implementing its stipulations are the "relay stations" between the citizens and the central power of the state. These institutions are inscribed with two factors that may appear antithetical: the dynamic of mediation or communication, and the dynamic of blockage or restriction. If we follow Stephen Greenblatt, the pre-eminent representative of New Historicism, the unrestricted "circulation" – which includes "mediation" more widely – of cultural elements can result in the disintegration of cultural identities. The phenomenon of blockage thus has a pivotal role:

> Cultures are inherently unstable, mediatory modes of fashioning experience. Only as a result of the social imposition of an imaginary order of exclusion – through the operation of what in the discussion that follows I will call "blockage" – can culture be invoked as a stable entity…. Such blockage occurs constantly – an infinite, unrestricted, undifferentiated circulation would lead to the collapse of cultural identity altogether – but it is never absolute.   (Greenblatt 1991, 121)

Within the model of culture I present in this book, a dynamic network of social codings that undermines the notion of culture's stability and reveals its fictitious character, it is fair to say that a genuine transfer is effected when cultural elements are set in motion by translation – whether polycultural or transcultural. Equally, however, obstructive factors (usually initiated by institutions) can come into play, halting such circulation or preventing it from arising in the first place. For the constructive nature of translation, that has implications on two different levels: quantitatively, the degree to which the activity of translating or interpreting, or of mediating in the wider sense, is nurtured, hindered or forestalled; and qualitatively, the simultaneous application of different, already-hybrid cultural configurations that enable various and not necessarily contradictory drives towards "tradition" or "innovation". Institutions play a central role in steering such processes. In terms of translation practices in the Habsburg administration, they made available translators and interpreters in an institutionalized form (such as the Editorial Office or the Section for Ciphers and Translating) who were also deployed in domains outside their immediate workplace. To this extent, Habsburg institutions fulfilled Greenblatt's definition of the circulation of cultural elements as a factor promoting the construction of the Monarchy's culture. On the other hand, the phenomenon of blockage can be observed when, for whatever reason, the institutions admitted

only minimal translation work or prevented it altogether (for example the arrangements for court interpreting or the call for bilingual skills among civil servants as a way of blocking the emergence of professional translation activity).

The trope of "negotiation" is crucial to all these features. The point of negotiation in this sense is neither to reach understanding on content, nor to iron out differences through dialogue. The outcome of a negotiation is "neither assimilation nor collaboration" (Bhabha 1993, 212); rather, as the participants' experiences and backgrounds are explored, cultural definitions take shape. For translation practices in the Habsburg Monarchy, this could be read as meaning that the various institutions responded to the central authorities' implicit and explicit demand for a flawlessly efficient multiethnic state in two different ways: either by anchoring translation institutionally and sustainably, or by promoting bi- and plurilingualism among the institutions' own employees (a strategy that lost some ground with the regulations implementing Article 19). Key to the formation of the polycultural Habsburg space were public servants who, like the Dubrovnik judge Antonio Martecchini, promoted the cultural techniques of negotiation as translating subjects and as part of their struggle to perfect their own plurilingualism. They did so on their own initiative, yet in the context of particular institutions. As this chapter has shown, individual initiatives of this kind were subject to increasing regulation, especially through legislation.

Theoretical sketch of a Habsburg translational space

For a more detailed examination of the agents of mediation in the Habsburg setting, we need a sociological model that can reveal the social implications of translatorial action in all its multifarious forms. Bourdieu's sociology of culture lends itself excellently to this task.

To describe the social world as a chessboard would be the most succinct summary of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. From his analysis of the social, Bourdieu derives "reasons for action" – the "raisons d'agir" that became the programmatic title of the political and sociological series he edited from 1996 until his death in 2002. In the course of his career, Bourdieu built up a toolbox of concepts that permitted him to analyse sociocultural webs of meaning in the tension between the actions of individual agents and the constraints imposed by society. He insisted that productive scholarship requires empirical studies to precede theory formation. Bourdieu was also, or especially, someone "qui dérangeait" (Bouveresse 2002, 15), a "troublemaker" (Baier 2002, 1): his public stand against neoliberalism and for the *res publica* made him an exceptional figure among intellectuals in France and beyond.

Bourdieu's sociology of culture provides a sophisticated contextualization of cultural products. Its starting point is the concept of modern society as a "social space" that has differentiated into many fields. Each of these fields, as a relatively autonomous "microcosm" (Bourdieu 1998, 58), is defined by relational structures, and each obeys its own functional logics. Thus individual processes of socialization or identity formation, for example, can only be understood in terms of the structures of the field that sculpts them, and not as linear developments. The dynamism of the social space is determined by the maintenance or modification of power relationships, so that Bourdieu speaks of a "field of forces" or "field of struggles" (Bourdieu 1993a, 30); the driving force of actions in the field is the field's own structural properties.

Several constitutive features of a Bourdieusian "field", then, distinguish it (sometimes substantially) from the more general "translational space of mediation" discussed so far (see also Wolf 2007b). These are, firstly, its definition as a field of forces; secondly, and even more importantly, the central role of agents. As

long as the various agents invest in the field on the basis of their own resources and interests, they contribute to the preservation or transformation of the field structure, in some cases including a growth in its autonomy (Bourdieu 1991b, 242). Consequently, a third feature of the social field is that its structure is not internally homogeneous but always diversified. In the field of literature or art, that heterogeneity is manifested in the relevance of at least two axes: production for a mass public (aiming primarily for commercial success; the principle of "heteronomy") and production for an avant-garde audience (aiming primarily for prestige; the principle of "autonomy"). These hierarchizing principles exert their effects not only within each field, but also between agents who may be acting in different fields. The fourth feature is the struggle of agents to secure their presence in the field, their participation in the "game", by investing particular stakes (*enjeux*) – the game is activated only through the practices of the players. In Bourdieu's terms, the competition between agents is based on the *illusio* or "collective belief in the game" (Bourdieu 1995, 230), the tacit acceptance of the conditions under which a literary or translational enterprise, for example, is worth the effort of being taken seriously and "played".

The social field can be thought of as a multidimensional space of positions,[1] and the key questions of field theory cluster around the criteria for achieving these positions. If we follow Bourdieu in regarding the field as a system of social relationships, it is clear that in terms of the role of agents, position-taking within the field is a process of adaptation propelled by various determinants internal to the field. These include the individual's success or failure as a writer or artist, the growth of readerships or audiences, and so on.[2]

In a "science of cultural works", writes Bourdieu (ibid., 214), three steps are necessary to analyse a particular field. The researcher must analyse firstly the position of the literary or other field within the larger field of political and economic power; secondly the specific field's internal structure – the "structure of objective relations between positions occupied by individuals or groups placed in a situation of competition for legitimacy"; and thirdly the socially constructed and constructing dispositions ("habitus") of the agents occupying these positions.

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1.   One shortcoming of the Bourdieusian field is its conceptualization (at least implicitly) as a "national" field.

2.   As this makes clear, Bourdieu starts from a model of the social world that seems to be almost exclusively arranged vertically, neglecting horizontal structures even in subcategories. The principle of hierarchy that underlies this theory, its dominant category of structure and differentiation, has often led to criticism of Bourdieu's work as being inadequate to the complexity of real-life relationships (see, especially, Bohn 1991, 136).

When studying the individual as a socialized subject, the insight that a field only becomes a field when the "game" taking place within it is acknowledged as such by the agents involved is an important one. It necessitates several sets of instruments for investigating the logic and mechanisms of the field. We may assume that the particular position of individual agents or groups of agents in the field – a conjunction of their habitus and their staking of their own "capitals" – is what defines their social status. As well as the notion of habitus, therefore, the examination of this capital's volume and composition is a further crucial epistemological tool.

Bourdieu draws on Marx's notion of capital, but extends it to all aspects of society, which he understands to be "accumulated history" (Bourdieu 1986, 241). To do full justice to the structure and workings of society, a concept of capital must embrace many different manifestations, rather than being reduced to its use in economic theory. Certainly, economic capital is the most significant form of capital for societies with highly differentiated, self-regulating markets; economic capital is "immediately and directly convertible into money" (ibid., 243) and thus holds a pivotal position. However, other forms of capital – cultural, social and symbolic – gain in importance if we accept Bourdieu's central hypothesis that, in post-industrial Western societies, the decisive factors in the reproduction of power are no longer economic class but dimensions such as culture, education or taste. Cultural capital is manifested in educational qualifications and the ownership of cultural goods, and appears mainly in combination with other forms of capital, especially social and symbolic capital. As a form of cultural capital, linguistic capital is of particular relevance to the phenomenon of translation. Linguistic capital consists in "power over the mechanisms of linguistic price formation, the power to make the laws of price formation operate to one's advantage and to extract the specific surplus value". In this sense, "all linguistic interactions" are "micro-markets which always remain dominated by the overall structures" (Bourdieu 1993b, 80). The discourses circulating on the market of language only acquire value through their relationship to that market; in other words, their value depends on the capacity of the social agents involved to assert themselves within the power relations obtaining on the market (Bourdieu 1991a, 67). As for the work of translators, their translation of discourses is clearly not simply a transmission of value-neutral information. The discourses they work with are necessarily "signs of wealth" and "signs of authority" (ibid., 66), which must be believed and obeyed in line with the laws of the market. Translations therefore on the one hand are constructed by the laws of the market, on the other participate in constructing them.

Equally important for our understanding of translation is social capital, the "aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu 1986, 248). The degree of social capital depends partly

on the density of the network of relationships it generates, partly on the intensity of its interaction with other forms of capital. In terms of translation, this form of capital operates mainly on two levels: in the networks of mediation that underlie every translation initiative and determine the texture of the translation product; and more narrowly in the translation-related institutions that supply their members with social relationships – social relationships which sooner or later yield direct benefits.

It is usually as a crystallization of these other forms of capital that symbolic capital arises. Symbolic capital has a cognitive basis, resting on both "cognition and recognition" of a principle of distinction. Only when distinctions are perceived and ascribed particular values can this form of capital be articulated (Bourdieu 1998, 85). It is often acquired through the mechanisms of legitimation or consecration, and in the translation context is manifested in the award of translation prizes or grants or the successful placement of a translation with a prestigious publisher.

As a whole, social agents as possessors of capital are the structural elements that systematically influence practice. This is how, within the various fields of forces, concentrations of power arise around the agents who possess most capital. Such nodes of power impact crucially on the translation market, where translation clients or initiators with high concentrations of capital use their power to invest in the field. That translators themselves are the least likely to gather such power in their hands can be seen by analysing their habitus – another of Bourdieu's most important and multilayered concepts.

Bourdieu argues that the actions of agents in the field are socially determined, and calls the system of dispositions within which they act their habitus. This "product of history", generating "individual and collective practices", ensures "the active presence of past experiences, which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the 'correctness' of practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms" (Bourdieu 1990, 55). For Bourdieu, habitus is not a category that enables planned and deliberate action, and therefore it is not expressed by the actions of the agents, but is "inscribed in the present of the game" (Bourdieu 1998, 80) and is an inseparable part of that game. The habitus's capacity to generate actions, perceptions and judgements is due above all to its being inscribed in the body – though a body that is already prepared, so to speak, by history and society, in other words is the outcome of multiple processes of learning and conditioning. On the one hand, the habitus is already structured (in its embodiment); on the other, it is itself a structuring principle (in its generation of actions and judgements) (ibid., 81).

The notion of habitus proposed by Bourdieu constitutes a paradigm change in sociological thinking: a retreat from the concept of "social action" that regards action as a result of conscious decisions or of compliance with particular rules. Apart

from the principle of embodiment, it is the historicity of Bourdieu's habitus that most importantly counters "social action" with its ahistorical rules, for the concept of habitus implies constant transformation. The habitus is a socially constructed system, as is also articulated in its creative capacity to generate new behaviours in new situations. Finally, habitus is a highly productive figure of thought capable of registering socially constituted dispositions (Krais and Gebauer 2002, 5).

The translator's habitus may be regarded as a secondary habitus that takes shape only gradually in the course of a professional lifetime, building on and in dialogue with a primary habitus that has been evolving since childhood. Here, certain criticisms of Bourdieu's concept of habitus arise. One is that it pays too little attention to the theory of socialization and neglects learning processes that begin only later in life (Schwengel 1993, 146). Another is that by overemphasizing primary socialization, Bourdieu posits a problematic analogy between the psychological and the social. Not only does he fail to defend this analogy adequately, but it seems to assume a unified psyche, a notion jettisoned by sociologists long ago and certainly since Simmel's discussion of fragmentation (Bohn 1991, 140). This objection is fair in the case of the generation of translators' social practice, since the "secondary" translator's habitus is marked strongly by the conditions of the respective field and impacts upon that field perhaps more strongly than his or her "primary" habitus.

A claim of particular interest for translation research is that the habitus can be identified through the activities to which it gives rise – that the habitus of a person or collective can be reconstructed by studying their actions (Krais and Gebauer 2002, 26). This offers a way of bringing together social and textual analysis of translation. For example, the criteria underlying particular translation decisions could be correlated with the habitus of translators at a particular historical moment, and it might be possible to explain why in a certain time-space certain translation strategies were applied (perhaps strategies that see the translated text as textual production rather than reproduction, or as the outcome of an intensive process of negotiation). In other words, this assumption allows us to identify which conditions are more likely, which less likely, to facilitate negotiation. Evidently, while the translatorial habitus emerges from practical action, it is also capable of creating values and producing knowledge that is tied to practice (ibid., 30). This reveals the constructive character of translation and its manipulative potential.

Applying the notion of symbolic goods to the process of translation underlines once more the power relationships within which translation is constituted. As we build the foundations of a translation sociology, the goal will be to discover the social implications of translation and anchor them in a complex model for analysing translation as moulded by ideological, political and economic factors. The following chapters offer some first steps in such an undertaking, looking at several translation-related fields in the Habsburg Monarchy. My aim is to address

translation phenomena and their agents not as discrete items, but in their dynamic relationships within a social field of tension. As far as possible, I will take account of Bourdieu's characteristically unceasing revision of his concepts, his frequent interrogation of his own hypotheses, his perpetual switching of perspectives in order to resituate himself. Bourdieu's thinking as a "never-ending construction site" (Schultheis 2002, 136) will guide my arguments in what follows.

"Promptly, any time of day"

The private translation sector

No research has hitherto been carried out on the translation business that took place in the Habsburg Monarchy outside the influence of state institutions. The "United Interpreters' Agency for All the Languages of the Austrian Monarchy" mentioned in Chapter 4 supplied court interpreters and notarized translations; its successor, the "Court Interpreters' Agency for the French and Italian Language and Communication Institute for the Provision of Authentic and Simple Translations from All Other Languages", also handled translations in the area of general commerce and those not requiring notarization. Starting in the 1870s, the number of commercially run translation bureaus and individual translators began to grow considerably. In the address and advertising registers of Vienna and Prague, the cities' "yellow pages", the interpreting section covered both "sworn court interpreters" and "translation bureaus". An investigation of this fledgling economic sector reveals the importance of private commercial enterprise in satisfying the Habsburg Monarchy's communication needs within its multilingual space and across its frontiers. The everyday work of translation made a vital contribution to building "Habsburg culture" as a communicative space of polyphony and hybridity.

1. Commercial translation and its institutionalization

This chapter's study of the advertisements placed by translation bureaus and individual translators is based on the Viennese directory already discussed in Chapter 4, *Lehmanns Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger nebst Handels- und Gewerbe-Adreßbuch für die k.k. Reichs-Haupt- und Residenzstadt Wien* (see also Wolf 2008b, 2013). A total of 718 advertisements were analysed, the first of which appeared in the directory's 1876 edition.

Figure 3 shows a steady growth in the number of advertisements over the period, indicating a rising demand for private-sector translations (interpreting is offered in just 4 per cent of all the advertisements). In 1876 the directory includes just one relevant advertisement, but there are six in 1883, and 1913 sees a peak of 37. With these growing numbers, greater diversity also emerges, initially in the advertisements' layout and size: in the early decades they run to a mere two or three

lines, but from the mid-1890s more and more entries are 12 to 25 lines long (occasionally up to 60 lines towards the end of the period) and have their own distinctive layout. At first it is mainly single individuals who offer their translating services; later on they are increasingly, although never completely, displaced by bureaus.
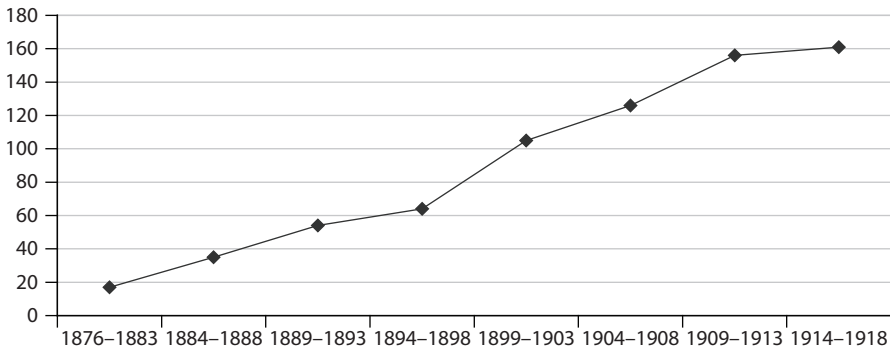
Figure 3. Number of advertisements, 1876–1918, Vienna

This rise in the number of Viennese translation bureaus is a further indication of the sector's growing professionalization. Between 1876 and 1918, a total of 475 individuals and 243 translation bureaus placed advertisements. From the turn of the century the number of bureaus rises, offering services in both central offices and subsidiaries. Interestingly, different kinds of institutions also begin to advertise translation services from around this point. For ten years starting in 1899, the Invalidenbank, a charitable institution supporting injured soldiers, offers translations of commercial correspondence and documents; from 1909 until the end of the Monarchy, the Berlitz School advertises translation work alongside its core business, language courses.

Looking at the gender of the translators named in the advertisements, we find a contrast with the field of translation institutionalized by the state. Women were absent from that field, but in the commercial translation sector there are at least some traces of their existence. Of the 718 entries advertising bureaus or individual translators between 1876 and 1918, 603 (84 per cent) mention a male name, with 59 different names in total; for 85 names (12 per cent) only an initial is given so that gender is invisible (this includes the Invalidenbank and the Berlitz School). Only 30 advertisements mention female names (4 per cent, a total of eight different women), most of them recurring over several years.

All the advertisements include certain items of information for potential clients, though not always in the same form. These are the name and address (in later years also telephone number), source or target languages, and the subject areas in which translations can be commissioned. Regarding the languages, it is only during

the first years of the period that the languages spoken in the Habsburg Monarchy predominate – very soon, the range of languages offered widens to cover most of the western European languages. Around a third of all the advertisements claim to serve "all languages", a tendency that rises over the years. It cannot be ascertained which languages this actually included, but at the very least the phrase signals a wish to claim breadth of coverage.

Altogether, translation from 23 individual languages was offered in the period, along with some groups of languages: "Romance", "Slavic", "Germanic" and "East Asian". Table 11 lists the individual languages, but cannot be regarded as representative because almost half of the advertisements make no mention of the source languages on offer. There is no indication of source language in 326 of the 718 advertisements (an average of 45 per cent across the period), while 224 claim to translate from "all languages" (on average 31 per cent; the proportion is higher in later years), and only 169 (24 per cent) specify one or more languages. The highest number of languages named specifically is nine.

Table 11. Languages offered in the advertisements

Arabic	English	Russian
Armenian	French	Serbo-Croat
Bohemian	Hungarian	Slovakian
Bosnian	Italian	Slovenian
Bulgarian	Norwegian	Spanish
Croatian	Polish	Swedish
Danish	Portuguese	Turkish
Dutch	Romanian	

On average over the period, nearly two thirds (62 per cent) of the bureaus claim to translate from "all languages", whereas individual translators do so only in an average of 16 per cent of cases. Unsurprisingly, translation bureaus only specify one or more source languages in 28 per cent of their advertisements, whereas 54 per cent of advertisements by individual translators specify at least one language. Clearly, bureaus have far greater capacities than individuals in terms of the spectrum of languages translated.

Figure 4 shows the growth in the range of source languages offered. The decline in 1910–12 seems partly to reflect a tendency at that time for the translation bureaus to move *en masse* to the statement "all languages". There is also a statistical element: in these three years no advertisement names the highest number of languages, whereas in 1913 one offers nine languages again, bringing the average back up. When separated into translation bureaus and individual advertisers, the average number of languages per advertisement becomes particularly revealing:
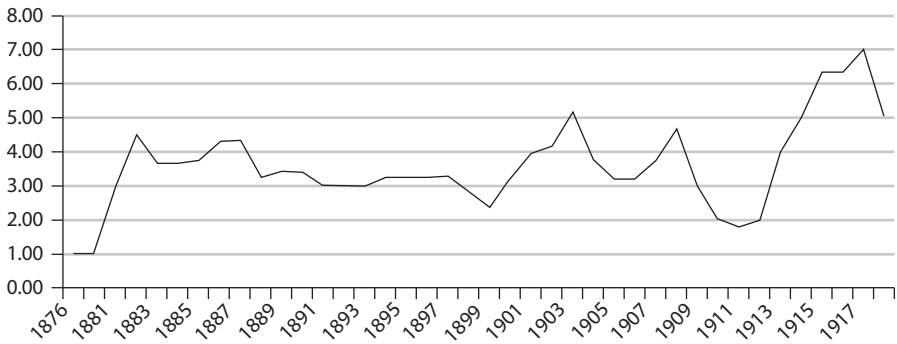
Figure 4. Average number of languages per advertisement, 1876–1918*

* Figure 4 includes only those advertisements that mention at least one language by name.

individual translators as a group are relatively stable in their naming of languages, whereas the translation bureaus show great fluctuations. The reason may lie in the emergence around the turn of the century, the period of general growth for translation bureaus, of a few companies that dedicated enormous resources to advertising. The Zlapetal bureau, for example, took out an advertisement for the first time in 1900, and from 1900 to 1903 it offered its services in nine languages, boosting the average. A similar effect can be seen in 1886. The bureau A. F. Heksch, offering more and more languages as time went by, places its last advertisement in 1885, after which the average drops significantly.[1]

The subject areas in which translations are undertaken are an important indicator of the diversification and professionalization of the commercial "space of mediation" (in the sense to be outlined in Chapter 9). Across the years, around 15 per cent of the advertisements claim to cover "all subjects". By the end of the century, however, most bureaus and individual translators seem to have felt compelled to name specific subject areas as well. The most frequent one is commercial correspondence (126 mentions), followed by technical texts (120 mentions) and literature (93 mentions). Over time, the naming of subjects rises sharply, indicating a tendency towards specialization. Translations are offered in every conceivable subject area, along with particular text genres such as catalogues, brochures or magazines and, towards the end of the period, also reprographic services. Certified translations are offered in only around 5 per cent of all advertisements, probably because the Interpreters' Agency, representing sworn interpreters, was responsible for such work. Certainly, some of the names advertising certified translations also appear in the Agency's lists.

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1.   Alexander Heksch died in 1885, aged 39; see Chapter 9.

The range of qualifications cited by the bureaus is very wide, and cultural capital is most frequently referenced. Although such information appears in only a quarter of all the advertisements, the importance attached to it seems to grow: in the first ten years, no information at all is given as to the translators' or bureau proprietors' professional training, honours or titles, but it is included more and more often later on, especially from the 1890s. Initially, such references remain very general ("businessman", "bank official", "journalist"), and at first sight seem rather unrelated to the translation services offered. In a second phase, the translators highlight their linguistic expertise by describing themselves as teachers, especially teachers of languages. From the turn of the century, references to a translation-relevant profession – "translator", "official translator", "interpreter" – proliferate. In the advertisements placed by women translators, there is never any reference to qualifications.

A second line of argument regarding quality is the value of experience. A company may be described as long-standing and rich in tradition ("the oldest and first general translation bureau"), or clients are assured of its international reach ("First International Translation Bureau") and "lengthy experience abroad". References are also made to numerous years of professional translating experience, such as the claim made in one 1900 advertisement: "160,000 translations since 1880". A further category is more directly related to the actual work of translating, with mention of the speed and accuracy that can be expected. Around 12 per cent of all advertisements include such claims, with a rise beginning at the turn of the century. There seem to have been no limits to the creativity of the advertisers, from "T. done immediately, while the messenger waits, also by telephone" and "correct translation guaranteed" to "impeccable execution" and "translation perfect in every way". A fourth area of qualification stresses international and professional testimonials: "splendid", "first-class" or "the highest" references are promised, with additional details such as "relevant attestations from k.k. ministries and authorities at home and abroad". This category includes the "exceeding" or "very strictest" discretion that is guaranteed in around 5 per cent of the advertisements.

The price factor plays a surprisingly minor role. Very few of the advertisements include information on prices – overall, only 67 of them, or 9 per cent. The scant importance attached to this information by the advertisers becomes even more striking given that such references increased from the end of the century onwards, so that the average in the early years is even lower. It is only at the very end of the period that a somewhat more pointedly price-based approach arises, with banners such as "extremely reasonable, cheaper than everywhere else", or "the cheapest, depending on language and text". This indicates the beginnings of a price war among the bureaus (the proportion of bureaus including price-related information is higher than the overall figure, at 25 per cent).

2.   Battling for positions in the commercial translation sector

This sketch of the information given by translators to their prospective clients, or the qualifications with which they hoped to make their mark, hints at the dynamic interaction of the many different forces defining the commercial field of translation. One of these forces was the increasing autonomy of the field of private or commercial translations. The emergence of this field during the eighteenth century may be regarded as part of the creation of a literary market that was gathering pace at the time (see Bourdieu 1995, 48–9). However, it obeyed different rules, due to the differing market conditions governing the genesis of cultural products in the narrower sense and of the products required by the general commercial sphere. The emergence of a distinct, autonomous private translation sector (comparatively late, in the last third of the nineteenth century) was partly due to the reform of trade regulations in 1859, which liberalized the establishment of commercial companies. Although the state reserved the right to determine the overall direction and (especially) the limits of business activity, private entrepreneurial initiative now enjoyed a greater degree of self-determination. It was in the wake of this liberalization process that translation bureaus began to emerge. Before the advent of the bureaus, businesses' day-to-day translation requirements were probably handled by linguistically skilled individuals working in or around the companies involved.

The growing professionalization of the translation sector accelerated the process of autonomization. In this context, autonomization does not – as in the artistic or literary field – refer to the gradual liberation of artists from the patronage of clerical and political forces, but to the decoupling of translators' work from other frameworks, themselves unstructured and largely unorganized, and its gradual transformation into a set of relations of production coherently structured by the interaction of the dispositions, agents and requirements of the field of mediation. In this sense, the autonomization of the private translation sector is not dissimilar to the general process of institutionalization, but in terms of the properties of the agents and the capitals they deploy (to be discussed below), its structures are far more complex yet also weaker. Bourdieu emphasizes that autonomy does not consist merely in the independence granted by those in power (in the present case, clients commissioning translations from private enterprises or individuals), but also in factors such as the rise of characteristic traditions and autonomous institutions (such as interest groups or collectives) that impact upon the agents in the field (Bourdieu 1995, 381, n. 9). Although the rudiments of such institutions can be found in the present context – the Interpreters' Agency, for example – this does not amount to an institutionalization of the professional sector, if only because many of the translation bureaus were so short-lived.

In this sense, the mechanisms of autonomization affecting the many individuals who supplied the commercial translation sector were different from those experienced by the translation bureaus. Because of their multiple embedments in the general field of work (many of the individual translation advertisers were language teachers or professors; others were editors or journalists), individual providers were exposed to multiple sets of constraints rather than only the constraints of the translation field itself. The bureaus gradually left such secondary or tertiary constraints behind them as the private translation sector became institutionalized, and now became subject to the particular logics of the emerging space of commercial translation. The moment of transition into this new order can be observed in the cases of certain translators who made the move from individual provider to founder and manager of a translation bureau, thus coming within range of the new market's pressures. One example is A. F. Heksch, who offers his services as an individual translator from 1876; just five years later a translation bureau bearing his name is advertised. Similarly, Bertrand Walko and Edmund Wolschan began – judging by their advertisements – modestly as individual translators, but after only a few years had climbed the ladder to run two of Vienna's few large translation bureaus. On the other hand, in the late nineteenth century it was by no means uncommon for translators to have multiple sources of income, some closely related to the activity of translating. To name just two cases: Paul Gustav Rheinhardt (1853–1934) supported his family by running a small translation bureau while also working as an editor for various Viennese newspapers and magazines and as a writer, sometimes under the pseudonym Paul Reinhardt. In 1902 he edited the first volume of a major dictionary of writers and artists, the *Deutsch-österreichisches Künstler- und Schriftsteller-Lexikon* (Österreichisches Literaturarchiv 2003), which carries an advertisement for his translation bureau (Rheinhardt 1902, 527). Alois Sebera (1827–1909) also worked for numerous periodicals, including the *Botschafter* and the *Deutsches Volksblatt* in Vienna. From the early 1890s, he was the proprietor of a state-licensed translation bureau and a "literary bureau" writing prologues, epilogues, serious or light-hearted lectures in verse or prose, and occasional poetry of all kinds (Brümmer [1913], 388). This interplay of different literary and translatorial practices (the advertisements that Sebera placed between 1893 and 1899 specify no particular subject area; he also remains general in his claim to translate in "all languages") doubtlessly resulted in a dynamism within the space of mediation that may even be regarded as fundamental to its structure. Both individual translators and bureaus played their different parts in defining the state of the commercial translating "field". At the same time, they were themselves defined by its logic.

Chapters 8 and 9 will turn to the field of literary translation, where the reasons for autonomization differed from the domain here provisionally called the

"mediatory space of the private sector". However, the autonomization process itself showed similar patterns. The legitimation and evaluation of the services offered in both fields, or sub-fields, came to rely no longer on religious and political powers but on market conditions, with different forces determining the operation of each field according to its own properties. A key factor in the two areas' configurations of power was the deployment of different forms of capital by their agents. Based on Bourdieu's argument that practical access to the various capitals defines an agent's opportunities for action and profit within a particular field, two forms of capital seem crucial for the present case: cultural capital and social capital.

Among the translators studied in this chapter, there is abundant evidence of many different forms of cultural capital. What Bourdieu calls "embodied cultural capital" – a person's long-term dispositions, internalized over time, which always remain marked by the circumstances of their acquisition (Bourdieu 1986, 245) – is articulated chiefly in the translators' naming of their qualifications. The languages offered in their advertisements are the foundation of this form of cultural capital: they are the very substance of the translators' activities and, depending on their specific value on the Monarchy's linguistic marketplace, they interact with the associated subject areas as the means for translators' position-taking in the space of mediation. The frequent references to the international networks of a bureau or individual translator are another component of embodied cultural capital, since such internationality is a factor of the stakes (*enjeux*) of education or knowledge invested by agents. However, it also overlaps with another type of capital, social capital, which refers to the social networks of the agents – in this context, international ones. Of all the translators placing advertisements, 12 per cent take care to stress their international experience.

The declaration of the subject areas in which translation services are offered shows the clear marks of embodied cultural capital. As mentioned, these areas diversify noticeably over the decades. In fact, cultural capital does not accrue solely from the quantity of different subject areas concentrated in the hands of a single translator or bureau, but also has a qualitative aspect: the greater the diversity of subjects offered, the more skills and knowledges are brought to the game by the agent concerned, and the more advantageous is that agent's position in the space of mediation. This applies not only to subjects but also to textual genres, a growing number of which are listed over the period. Equally, embodied cultural capital can be identified in a note that the translator previously worked on the team editing the Sachs-Villatte French dictionary (Bertrand Walko, 1902 advertisement).

The translators' professional training is an outcome of education processes and may therefore be considered a form of embodied cultural capital. Proliferating from the turn of the century, translation-related job designations are remarkably diverse. The most frequent is *Translator* (translator and interpreter; 20 occurrences,

starting in 1897), followed by *Gerichtsdolmetscher* (court interpreter; 15 occurrences, starting in 1905) and *Gerichtsdolmetscher und Translator* (13, starting in 1906). Thirteen translators describe themselves as *Dolmetsch* (interpreter; from 1908), and there is one occurrence each of *Amtstranslator* (official translator and interpreter), *diplomierter Übersetzer* (qualified translator), and *Linguist* (linguist). Because no more detailed data are available, we cannot tell what actual training these self-declared titles imply. Occasionally, additional information is given, such as "professor at the Academy of Commerce", indicating an academic training in languages. The trend to name translation-specific occupational titles is accompanied by the increasing use of related information such as internationality or expertise in numerous subjects. This is of prime importance for agents' position-taking in the space of mediation, especially in combination with other types of capital.

As a form of capital inextricable from the person, the embodied cultural capital brought into play in the shape of professional designations is closely connected with habitus, in that it is a product of agents' internalized competences. Simeoni describes the translatorial habitus as tending, for historical reasons, to be submissive; in his view, this has contributed significantly to the low status of the profession (Simeoni 1998, 11). It is impossible to know in detail how far that diagnosis holds true for the translators discussed here, but Simeoni's arguments – especially with regard to translators' submissive and norm-confirming behaviour – may not apply in this particular situation, because the commercial translation sector was not yet fully consolidated. Rather, we may assume that the habitus of these translators, located at the intersection of the social practice of agents and the social structure of the field, was shaped by the struggle for consolidation within a still fluid space of mediation, and thus by an especially energetic deployment of all the skills that they could bring to bear.

The advertisers' emphasis on their professionalism may also be read as a sign of embodied cultural capital, since professionalism rests on learned skills and accumulated knowledge. The "prompt execution of work" is advanced as a prime imperative in performing translations, articulated in expressions such as "promptly, any time of day" or "done immediately, while the messenger waits". The matter of accuracy, also mentioned above, is another significant factor in highlighting professionalism. Among the most revealing claims in terms of the translators' embodied cultural capital are the references to academic training or outstanding subject expertise. In 5 per cent of all the advertisements, the bureau is said to provide "academically correct" translations; 2 per cent claim to "make use of academically trained assistants: lawyers, physicians, etc.", others "first-class specialists from the various nations". A few stress that translations are made "not simply uncritically from the dictionary". The designation "the only institute under academic direction" also hints at the battle to attain the greatest legitimacy in the field.

Another form of cultural capital, institutionalized cultural capital, comes into play most obviously in diplomas and titles, which are in fact rather sparsely deployed in the advertisements. Only 6 per cent of the translators appear with the title "Dr", and one translator describes himself as having a "diploma in translation" – what this qualification may have entailed is unknown. The third sub-form of cultural capital is objectified cultural capital, which appears mostly in the shape of books, machines, and other transmissible objects, and as such is difficult to separate from economic capital. Such cultural "movables" might be found in those translation bureaus that additionally offer their services as a "typing bureau" or "typesetting office". Reprographic services for magazines, advertising brochures or catalogues also indicate the presence of objectified cultural capital.

Social capital stands as a metaphor for social power, and describes the resources that rest on membership of a particular group. The volume of an agent's social capital "depends on the size of the network of connections" that he or she can "effectively mobilize" (Bourdieu 1986, 249). In the advertisements studied here, it is primarily the testimonials promised by the translators and their references to internationality that can be considered factors of social capital. Testimonials are mentioned in 15 per cent of all the advertisements, indicating the high value accorded to this form of capital. The translators apply various methods to enhance their credibility, mentioning everything from "references and attestations from k.k. ministries, authorities and lawyers" to "membership of the General Association of Writers" or employment as the "special correspondent for *Prensa Española*" – this latter also stressing the translator's access to international networks. As mentioned, these references to international connections lie at the interface of cultural and social capital, but can be regarded as social capital in that they point to a network of relationships, which Bourdieu describes as "the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (ibid.). The frequency with which the translators vaunt their internationality underlines their aspiration to make a name for themselves.

The dynamics of the Monarchy's commercial translation sector were, then, determined by the interaction of the various forms of capital in the field, and in this sense they did not differ substantially from the translation market today. The unequal distribution of capital in the space of mediation is ultimately what defines its structure and the specific impact of its different capitals. This becomes clear in the various lines pursued by the translation bureaus' and individual translators' advertisements as regards qualifications: on the one hand, increasing reference to subject specialisms signals the sector's diversification and professionalization; on the other, the sector is established through the ascription of meanings via symbolic capital. Greater use of translation-related occupational designations and appeals to

tradition, internationality or relevant experience are all ways of consolidating the advertisers' position within the space of mediation. Their efforts were supported by the pro-entrepreneurial commercial reforms of 1859, but up to 1914 the institutionalization of the translation sector did not gain significant ground. This was because of weakly developed structures, which in turn resulted partly from the high fluctuation of translation bureaus and the multiple occupations that many translators still seemed forced to pursue.

"Profiting the life of the mind"

Translation policy in the Habsburg Monarchy

Translation policy measures play an important part in the production of cultural heterogeneity. Even if translation policy is not carried out directly but through the filter of other cultural policy stipulations, it makes itself felt at every stage of the translation process, in many different forms. I thus assume that translation policy is inextricable from cultural policy more generally, and focus in this chapter on the area of literary translation including theatre translation.

The term "translation policy" initially indicates some kind of regulated action by the state or its institutions, with the aim of guiding the cultural practice of translation into particular channels (but see Toury 1995, 58; Meylaerts 2011). Historical and contemporary experience shows that translation policy usually consists in the material or non-material promotion of translation, but can also form part of a project to bring all cultural production into line with state ideology – a phenomenon familiar from totalitarian contexts. Translation policy is often officially or semi-officially described (or disguised) as "cultural policy", "publishing policy" or simply an "economic" measure. Whatever the designation, the practice of translation, especially literary translation, is always subject to the ups and downs of economic cycles and configurations of interests, depending on the particular text type involved.

If translating is notoriously undervalued in terms of both payment and prestige, this is due in part to the widespread lack of official appreciation. With very few exceptions, there has been little state support for translating, little appropriate legislation, flexible copyright regulation or media attention. At first sight, the European Union's translation policy seems to present a different picture: in the EU context it really is possible to speak of an explicit policy on translation, the goal of which – at least theoretically – is an "ethnolinguistic democracy" (Fishman 1993) that would systematically deploy translation to subvert the classic power differentials of multilingual societies or communities and improve the balance of communicational power. Unfortunately, these high-minded aims ignore two key issues. On the one hand, the individual EU member states have their own, often very different views of the language question and of mediation between languages; on the other, far from being a neutral activity that "arbitrates" between participants, translation is always inscribed with the potential for manipulation (see Wolf 2009).

Regarding the translation policy of the Habsburg Monarchy, there are three main areas for study. The first concerns the underlying factors which, secondly, make up the framework for specific policies to emerge and take effect. The third is located on the level of direct interaction between the agents involved: state promotion of the arts, in this case the literary prizes that were awarded in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918.

1.   Factors regulating translation policy

The question of whether the Habsburg Monarchy had a translation policy at all, and if so in what form, can only be approached through cultural policy more generally. Among the factors regulating cultural policy, this section first examines the controlling role of censorship, and the publishing legislation that continued to shape literary production after censorship was abolished. I then turn to the copyright regulations of the Habsburg book market and the state licensing of booksellers.

Censorship

Until the revolutions of 1848, the Habsburg Monarchy's laws provided for a particularly rigorous form of censorship, which left deep marks on intellectual life even after 1848. Aleida and Jan Assmann show that the institution of censorship acts as the "guardian of heritage", censors as the "border guards of tradition" (Assmann and Assmann 1987, 11). The censors are responsible for excluding the alien, the inauthentic, the sham; they immunize their culture against change, attempting to regulate and stabilize something that is inherently variable. Censorship stipulations are by nature usually conservative, since they serve primarily the interests of institutions such as the state or church and try to steer public opinion towards the preservation of existing norms. As John McCarthy (1995, 5) notes, the censoring institutions' claim to regulate the public sphere leads to massive conflicts especially in the area of culture and art. Jürgen Habermas has placed this in a historical context, locating the call for freedom from censorship within the eighteenth-century bourgeoisie's growing self-confidence (Habermas 1989). The gradual commercialization of literary life and the industrialization of the press at this time led to a structural transformation of culture that culminated in a differentiation of the organization, distribution and consumption of literature. Literary production was now larger in scale, more professional, and addressed new classes of readers; print products were theoretically open to everyone whose literacy qualified him or her to read them (ibid., 37). This utopia of an unrestricted public sphere of readers, in turn, provoked attempts at political control.

In the Habsburg setting, the bureaucratic apparatus of control initiated by Metternich and expanded under his chief of police Sedlnitzky had profound repercussions on literary life, whether self-censorship, publication abroad, or in some cases emigration. Although the number of specific prohibitions was probably far lower than is generally assumed, according to many calculations every fifth book submitted for pre-publication censorship in the early 1840s was banned. The revolutionary events of March 1848 put a temporary stop to this "preventive" censorship, but the Sylvester Patent of 31 December 1851 soon checked the process of liberalization by reinstating restrictions on the freedom of the press. Every printed work now had to be deposited with the authorities three days before publication, every periodical one hour before publication (see Ogris 1975, 540–1). Little had thus changed since pre-1848 days. Not until the press law of 1862 (*RGBl.* 6/1863) were genuine changes made, restricting control to periodicals (to be carried out immediately upon distribution) and publications comprising fewer than five sheets.

The index of books banned in Austria, as compiled by Anton Einsle (*Catalogus Librorum in Austria Prohibitorum. Verzeichnis der in Oesterreich bis Ende 1895 Verbotenen Druckschriften*; Einsle 1896[1]), cites the paragraphs of the Criminal Code considered relevant to publishing. These range from disturbing the peace, sedition, endangering public morality and defamation up to lèse-majesté and high treason. The lists of banned works include approximately 3,800 publications, 119 of them – around 3.15 per cent – translations (for details, see Bachleitner and Wolf 2010b, 34). During the first three years of the new press law alone, 389 bans were pronounced. Though pre-publication censorship had been more or less abolished, therefore, post-publication censorship effectively took its place. The new situation encroached severely on the process of literary production and distribution, affecting the relationships between authors or translators and their publishers. Authors increasingly practised pre-emptive "self-censorship" to avoid the confiscation of books already printed; it can be assumed that translators did the same. Publishers watched even more vigilantly than before over the content of works they planned to publish, for post-publication confiscation threatened far greater economic losses than did the pre-publication bans of the previous system. If a publisher had several works confiscated at once, commercial ruin was certain (Eckardt 1919, 235; Bachleitner, Eybl and Fischer 2000, 202). Usually, a ban implied that any translation of the work involved was also prohibited. The precise extent of self-censorship of translations is impossible to assess, but self-censorship should not be underestimated as a means of anticipating the threat of repression and, indeed, as a truly successful implementation of the censors' design.

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1.   Carl Junker (1902) extended this period with a supplement covering the years to 1901.

Copyright

Another area of cultural policy impacting critically on translation was copyright legislation. For a long time, the Habsburg state showed little interest in modernizing copyright law. An imperial patent of 1846 protected literary and artistic property against unauthorized publication and reproduction; as regards translations, it prescribed that a "reservation" could be explicitly noted in the work to mark intellectual property, but was to be valid for only one year, after which the work would be freely available for translation. The new copyright law of 1895 gave somewhat more concrete form to the idea of a unitary copyright title, which had remained purely theoretical in the patent of 1846. Yet it did not fundamentally expand the protection of literary and artistic work, and proved especially disadvantageous for translation rights. An author now retained rights over translations of his or her work for three years, after which the translation itself was protected for a further five years. This meant that after only eight years, translations could be made and sold without the slightest recompense to the original author (Noll 1994, 32–3; Gerhartl 2000, 215–14). The reservation of rights had to be stated clearly on the title page or in the preface.

The absence of international agreements was regarded as a particular problem. Although the Habsburg Monarchy signed copyright treaties with several individual countries (for example Italy in 1890 or Spain in 1912), it did not subscribe to the Berne Convention of 1886. This meant that Austrian and Hungarian authors and translators remained "outlaws" (Junker 1900, 71) in much of the world, and that many Austrian publishers, largely unable to participate in the international arena, began to market their products in the other German-speaking countries. Officially, the key reason for eschewing the Convention was deference to the reading public of the Monarchy's non-German-speaking nationalities, who must not be barred from accessing the literature required for their education; the Slavic nationalities, especially, feared that joining the Convention would jeopardize their production of cheap translations, and vehemently insisted on their right to equal treatment in matters of copyright as in everything else, particularly after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. Concerns around intellectual property were raised several times in parliament, for example in December 1895, when the deputy Mr Roszkowski urgently demanded accession to the Convention. The parliamentary rapporteur on copyright law, Mr Pietak, countered that things looked very different from a practical standpoint, since "every state that gives protection to foreign works on its own territory must verify most carefully in advance *whether this protection extended to foreign works brings profit or harm to the life of the mind at home*" (House of Deputies debate on 16 December 1895, quoted in Dillenz 1993, 180; emphasis added).

The Monarchy's refusal to sign the Berne Convention or satisfactorily resolve the question of copyright may be regarded as a cultural policy measure that followed the logic of the state. For translation, it had a range of implications. On the one hand, as Carl Junker noted in 1900, the proportion of translations among literary production as a whole was very low; on the other, as Chapter 8 will show, such translation was concentrated in popular or "entertainment" literature – only a small proportion of translations could be classed as promoting education, as the nationalities debate had claimed. Junker concluded at the time that "the cultural interests of the Monarchy's population would not be impaired by joining the Berne Convention, and the sole objection against doing so therefore appears unfounded" (Junker 1900, 98).

Bookseller licensing

Alongside censorship laws and the issue of copyright, the obligation on booksellers to obtain a state licence is a further revealing indication of the Monarchy's attempts to manage the literary market. It impacted crucially on the distribution of books in general and thus also of translations. After a short phase of liberalization under Joseph II that also benefited the book trade, in 1806 fresh regulations on the trade in new, second-hand and antiquarian books restored state control over bookselling and remained in place for more than 50 years. Licences could now only be issued by provincial governments, and bookstores could operate only in provincial or district capitals; the result was a drop in the number of bookstores and a temporary stagnation in the book trade more generally. Far from representing the book sector's interests, as had originally been planned, the system of local committees instead facilitated state surveillance of the trade. Though welcomed by those booksellers who already enjoyed a strong market position, the new regulations curbed the expansion of bookselling and the autonomization of the book sector – in fact, this was exactly what the 1806 regulations intended (Bachleitner, Eybl and Fischer 2000, 171–2).

However, the situation for the book trade began to improve in the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the dampening effects of the 1873 stock market crash, the sector gradually drew benefit from the longer-term economic upturn, even if there was "little inclination for generosity, little audacity to risk large sums", especially in Vienna (Junker 1921, 2). Bookselling and publishing was increasingly driven by market criteria, one of the consequences of which was the emergence of specialisms such as entertainment, medical literature, schoolbooks, and so on. The new commercial regulations of 1859 also brought change. They largely scrapped regulatory restrictions on the book trade, thus reducing state influence on developments in the sector, if not entirely then at least to an increasing degree. Nevertheless, the requirement to hold a state licence remained in place.

To obtain the licence, an applicant had to demonstrate appropriate professional qualifications, and attention was also paid to the "local conditions" justifying a particular contingent of bookstores. Overall, the new commercial code made it easier to set up new businesses, and the improved status of the book trade was reflected in the emergence of retail bookselling and publisher-booksellers as distinct sectors (Hall 2000, 185). Together with the improving economic situation, the various legislative measures led to a meteoric rise in the number of bookstores towards the end of the century – in Vienna alone, the number of bookshops rose from 39 in 1859 to 115 in 1891. It seems that in the period studied here, the book sector developed largely in line with the economy as a whole, both being driven by rising demand.

2.   State promotion of culture and literature

If cultural policy, and thus also translation policy, is regarded as mainly a state matter or as something institutionalized within the orbit of the state, the question arises of how it exerts its influence. Does it favour restriction, through legislative or institutional interventions in the business of culture, or does it favour promotion? In fact, the boundaries between these two functions may not be fixed. For the Habsburg Monarchy, there has so far been little detailed research on promotion of the arts and literature, which arose with the emergence of a public literary and cultural sphere and a market for cultural goods. It appears that the Monarchy's wealth enabled generous support for the arts from at least the seventeenth century on (see Mokre 2006; and for a critical discussion Wimmer 2006). However, the Ministry of Culture and Instruction, established in 1848, played only a minor role in art, music and literature – many of the institutions in this sphere were in private hands or the responsibility of local administrations. The Vienna court opera and the Hofburgtheater, both of which used numerous translated works, also fell outside the Ministry's remit.

The institutionalization of state-managed support for literature began in 1863. Initially it was carried out by an "arts department" in the Ministry of Culture and Instruction. As interest in literary promotion and arts funding more generally grew, this evolved into a discrete section of the Ministry with its own subsections, including one for music and literature. From 1867, a permanent committee was appointed to advise the Ministry on the arts, composed of artists, scholars and civil servants (Fischinger 2001, 26, 53–4). Support for literature was based on the assumption that the art of writing could not be learned, and its promotion could therefore only take the form of patronage. Accordingly, promotion efforts began with personalized support for young talents (Kobald 1948, 295). Among the measures were grants

and state-funded prizes, one-off or longer-term gifts of money ("poets' pensions"), Christmas relief for writers in distress, or assistance with printing costs. Later this support was extended to cover institutions, subsidizing literary societies such as the Wiener Goethe-Verein, the Grillparzer-Gesellschaft or the Literarischer Verein in Wien and journals specializing in fiction or literary scholarship.

The relatively low level of spending on literature (and indeed on culture as a whole) must be seen in the context of a tension between the high status of literature and art – revered especially in the metropolis of Vienna – and the weakness of "care for culture" across large swathes of the Monarchy (illiteracy rates were high in the provinces, and cultural institutions of all kinds were confined to the urban centres). Jeroen van Heerde finds that literature was "without doubt" the segment of the arts that "contributed least to understanding between the national groups" – much less than the visual arts, for example (van Heerde 1993, 183). Yet the prominence of translation activity between the languages of the Monarchy contradicts this observation, as is suggested by another of van Heerde's own assertions, that the nationalities problem was "one of the reasons for the relatively limited extent of promotion for literature" (van Heerde 1994, 95). All these claims are difficult to corroborate in detail, and would have to be backed up with extensive studies of reception or reading behaviour among the Monarchy's various nationalities and its social and political context. Van Heerde's points are, however, likely to be accurate with respect to "high" literature in German and other Habsburg languages, which was read only by an elite and therefore had little broad-based impact. Nevertheless, as the translation statistics in Chapter 8 will show, an extraordinarily large amount of fiction was produced in the period – much of it lowbrow entertainment literature, but also including poetry and drama published in both original-language and translated editions. The literary production of other nationalities most certainly was visible, at least for certain readerships. Van Heerde's observation that the literature of a particular Austrian nationality could "break through national barriers only with difficulty" (ibid.) holds true at most for works published in their original languages, and probably not at all to work in German.

For the Ministry of Culture, it was precisely such mutual visibility that required promotion. The noble project of "a periodical publication on the state of contemporary literature in the various linguistic regions of Austria", considered by eminent Ministry figures in 1893, turned out to be nothing more than another doomed attempt, this time by bureaucrats, to attain a reliable statistical overview of literary production (see Chapter 3); nevertheless, it testifies to a growing awareness of the problematic state of literature in the Monarchy and the need to support literature in general and the exchange of literary works between the Monarchy's citizens in particular. The experts appointed by the Ministry saw such a publication as desirable, but voiced various misgivings – for example "the difficulty of

defining the concept of 'Austrian literature' for members of the different language groups", or that of "finding a yardstick that does justice equally to the literary or aesthetic and the national points of view for Austria's different spheres of language and literature". The Ministry proved unable to fulfil its own aspiration to capture a portrait of contemporary literary production while ushering in "a lively and truly reciprocal appreciation of the literary achievements of Austria's various linguistic groups" (van Heerde 1993, 187–8); the project was never implemented.

3. Literary prizes

Literary prizes form a nexus between production, distribution and reception and, through various intermediary mechanisms, feed into literary processes themselves. As such, they are important factors in the cultural policy of a country or an institution if that institution is publicly funded or part-funded and therefore not "autonomous". Bourdieu counts literary prizes, like academies and salons, among the agencies of intellectual and artistic selection. He regards the past and present institutions of cultural sanctions and dissemination – such as publishers, theatres, or cultural and academic associations – as being defined by the logic of a competition for cultural legitimacy within the field of cultural and intellectual forces. The *hommes de goût* who pass judgement on taste are crucial to these processes, but the dynamic structure of the cultural and intellectual force field is ultimately determined by the reciprocal effects of sites of intellectual power, isolated forces such as authors or whole systems of action such as literary groups or academies (Bourdieu 1969, 90–5).

Among these systems of action is the institution of literary prizes, which can bestow legitimacy more or less effectively depending on the type and weighting of the cultural norms predominant in the field and the particular position of the agencies involved. The legitimacy of a prize is underpinned by the jury members' position: their authority and thus their prestige in the literary field. The juries for highly regarded prizes are usually composed of people renowned as experts in their field. As for the prizewinning authors of literary texts, their position in the cultural and intellectual force field may be either enhanced or weakened if they also work as translators. This depends on the prestige attached to the particular translations concerned.

Although the literary prizes awarded in the Monarchy between 1848 and 1918 never specifically honoured translations, both the recipients and the juries included several people also known as translators, such as Alfred von Berger, Max Kalbeck, Isolde Kurz or Siegfried Trebitsch (see Rauscher 1937; Dambacher 1996). There are records of eight literary prizes established in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1859 and 1910, seven of them in Vienna and one in Jetřichovice, Bohemia. They are listed in Table 12.

Table 12. Literary prizes in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1859–1918
(Source: Dambacher 1996)

Prize	Year founded	Place founded
Schiller Prize, Vienna	1859	Vienna
Grillparzer Prize	1872	Vienna
Raimund Prize	1895	Vienna
Bauernfeld Prize	1894	Vienna
Prize of the Kanka Foundation	1899	Jetřichovice
Prize of the Fröbel Foundation	1900	Vienna
Volkstheater Prize	1905	Vienna
Lower Austrian Provincial Authors Prize	1908	Vienna
Prize of the Ebner-Eschenbach Fund	1910	Vienna

The role of literary prizes as a source of legitimacy in the field and thus in the course of literary developments can be observed very clearly in a series of incidents around one of these prizes, the Bauernfeld Prize. The bequest of the dramatist Eduard von Bauernfeld (1802–1890), it was set up in 1894 as a "prize for good literary works with special consideration for drama", and continued to be awarded until 1923. Most of the 93 prizewinners were Austrian writers, dramatists and poets, including such names as Ferdinand von Saar, Marie Eugenie Delle Grazie, Rudolf Lothar, Arthur Schnitzler, Hermann Bahr, Rainer Maria Rilke and Emil Ertl.

On several occasions, the award of the Bauernfeld Prize was accompanied by heated public confrontations that reveal the mechanisms of cultural sanctions in the interplay of the various types of capital invested. In 1903, for example, the Christian Social Party in Vienna protested when Schnitzler received the 4,000-crown prize for his one-act plays *Living Hours*, and one of its deputies complained in parliament that the Bauernfeld Prize had been awarded to Jews five times in recent years. In 1907 Minister of Culture Hartel, responsible for the prize, tried to distract attention from these racist accusations, stressing the cultural and symbolic capital of the prizewinners instead: it was "not the baptismal certificate", he argued, "but the literary achievement" that determined the selection (quoted in Rauscher 1937, 87–8). Karl Kraus, quick as ever to make his voice heard, expressed some sympathy with Schnitzler, but placed him in the category of people "whose prosperity is even more notorious than their talent" (Kraus 1903, 5). This foregrounding of economic over symbolic capital weakens Schnitzler's position in the literary field, where, according to Bourdieu, fin-de-siècle artists and writers were trying to liberate themselves from bourgeois demand in a "symbolic revolution" that meant refusing to accept any master except art or literature itself. In the course of this transformation, the market gradually disappeared and agents began to strengthen their positions by means of increased symbolic capital – which, in turn, generally went hand in hand with declining commercial value (Bourdieu 1995, 81).

A further fierce dispute around the Bauernfeld Prize broke out in 1912, when Siegfried Trebitsch (1868–1956) was among the prizewinners and received a gift of 1,000 crowns. Trebitsch was a poet, author and dramatist, but never achieved great fame through his original writing – his reputation rested on his translations of George Bernard Shaw. Shaw made Trebitsch his sole authorized translator and agent in 1903, and shared all the income from his German editions and performances on a 50:50 basis, a practice not uncommon at the time among publishers and authors. However, reviewers soon savaged Trebitsch's translations as defective, wooden and "unperformable", and eventually his publisher, S. Fischer, commissioned a young poet to correct them. Trebitsch was actually well aware of his shortcomings as a translator and had declared himself willing to pay for the corrections out of his own pocket. The new complete works of Shaw published in 1946, which Trebitsch checked himself, still suffered from serious defects; "it was hopeless," comments the historian of the Fischer house (Mendelssohn 1970, 413–15).

When the award was announced, several jury members were accused of never even having read Trebitsch's work. After various biting attacks in the press, the Lower Austrian governor's office called on the Bauernfeld board to "explain in detail the proceedings leading up to the last award" by presenting minutes of its meetings (Rauscher 1937, 91). During the polemical exchange that followed, the harshly criticized Shaw translations were cited to condemn Trebitsch. The connection between the prizewinner's position in the literary field as an author and as a translator or mediator of literature becomes very obvious here. The conflicts also show how late in the legitimation process – after the award of a respected prize – certain power dynamics (in the shape of political interventions and pressure from the mass media) were still able to impair a writer's prestige.

Karl Kraus volunteered his opinion in this dispute as well. He began by stressing Trebitsch's lack of credit as a translator: "*We already* knew that Trebitsch translates badly" (Kraus 1912, 59; emphasis added). Here he appeals to an apparently widespread agreement in literary circles on the deficits of Trebitsch's translations, but links this shared knowledge directly to the recent award of the Bauernfeld Prize. In the context of position-taking in the literary field, this undermines the repute of the prize and thus of the prizewinner himself, weakening his position. Kraus then connects this diminution of Trebitsch's symbolic capital with the jury's own cultural and symbolic capital: "Thanks to the freedom and unscrupulousness of the … Viennese dealers in literature, it is possible for [a Siegfried Trebitsch] to attain the market value of a modern novelist" (ibid., 60). This reference to the machinations of the literature business, which Kraus never tired of denouncing, once again reflects the battle for legitimacy in the field and the impact of the investments made by the various agents. In fact, the Bauernfeld Prize illustrates very well how short-lived literary and other prizes can be in their ceremonial consecration of cultural and literary life: today many of its recipients have sunk into complete oblivion.

By virtue of their office, the "men of taste" also possess social capital. In the Trebitsch case this comes into play with a leader article in the Christian Social newspaper *Oesterreichische Volkspresse*. The article focuses on the forces of personal patronage – a prototype for social relationships in the field. It describes the Trebitsch award perhaps somewhat hyperbolically as a "disgrace never yet seen in the annals of the history of the whole world", and pillories the prize jury for its evident lack of interest in literary value (some members never having even read Trebitsch's work), but especially for its decision to honour "one of the most incompetent writers; it is probably no coincidence that he is a Jew" (Bauernfeldpreis 1913, 1). The commentary links Trebitsch's Jewishness with the perfidious practice of patronage as a "pinnacle of crookedness", stressing the distinctive feature of Trebitsch's social location in the Austrian literary scene. Not only, it argues, have the jury members been disgracefully influenced in their selection by "outside forces", but such protectionism has prompted them to opt quite superfluously for an "incompetent Jew". Here, a complex web of accusations adduces morality, literary quality and above all antisemitism.

According to Bourdieu, social and cultural distinctions like the ones visible in the *Volkspresse*'s use of racial, literary and social hierarchies come about through processes of construction performed by social agents, and they must always be understood not in "substantialist" but in "relational" terms, in other words by seeking the particular patterns of identity and difference set up in each specific context (Bourdieu 1998, 31–2). The individual and collective interests of the various agents and institutions in the literary field – and that includes the mass media commenting on cultural events – are embedded in power relationships that determine its workings. The *Oesterreichische Volkspresse*'s energetic intervention in the Trebitsch case is thus part of a battle for legitimacy in the field that piggybacks on the immediate process of legitimation, the award of the prize. Distinction is created twice: once by setting up a contradiction between the lofty moral or aesthetic claims of a literary prize and Trebitsch's supposed character as a bad writer and a Jew – who can therefore never live up to the standards of a prestigious prize; and secondly by accusing the jury of having abused its power by awarding the prize to an undeserving protégé under outside pressure.

With this double construction of difference, the newspaper tries to strengthen its position in the literary field, and deploys every possible form of capital to that end: the cultural capital of the prizewinner, which is denigrated as inferior; his symbolic capital, which by antisemitic definition must be non-existent and, even if it does exist in rudimentary form, has been magnified absurdly by the jury's protectionism; the social capital of the jury members, which is considered an abuse of power; their cultural capital, implicitly cast into doubt by the prizewinner's inferior literary quality; and the symbolic capital of both jury and prizewinner, which is undermined by the allegedly incorrect decision to award Trebitsch the prize. The newspaper brings its own symbolic capital into play by vilifying the corrupt press

that could allow such "disgraces", then claims to speak for a "good press" that refuses to advocate "dirty tricks". Backed up by this reiteration of its attack on the jury's machinations, it offers itself as a guarantor of independent, critical reporting. To that purpose, it is even ready to mitigate the racist insults made early in the article: it mentions "the incompetent Jew" again, but this time with the slight caveat that "antisemitism should play no role at all in this matter". In terms of the case as a whole, it also seems telling – and symptomatic of the workings of the literary field in turn-of-the-century Vienna – that none of the participants makes any reference to economic capital. Certainly, the amount involved was too small for personal material gain to be regarded as a driving force in the award, but it also seems significant that the jurors were not paid for their work on literary awards, including the Bauernfeld Prize (see Knöfler 2000, 297). In this case, economic capital plays no part in the production of difference, although it must be remembered that for Bourdieu distinction only begins to signify when it is acknowledged by the other agents. In the Trebitsch dispute, such acknowledgement of an economic distinction is absent.

The Bauernfeld Prize also honoured some writers who, unlike Trebitsch, were highly respected as translators, for example Marie Herzfeld (1855–1940). Herzfeld was best known for her translations from Scandinavian languages, but also translated from Italian, French and English. Her work in the mediation of literature was accompanied by prolific literary criticism and writing of her own, documented in extensive correspondences with fellow writers including Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Rainer Maria Rilke, Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach and Karl Emil Franzos (Bruns 1977, 14; Strümper-Krobb 2001, 117). Marie Herzfeld received the Bauernfeld Prize in 1904 for her "life's work", although it is not clear whether this referred exclusively to her original writing or also encompassed her translating.[2]

Another prizewinner famous for his translations was the Prague poet Friedrich Adler (1857–1938), who also worked as an interpreter and legal adviser for the Czech National Assembly in 1918. He received the prize in 1912 along with Siegfried Trebitsch and others. Adler translated from Spanish (de Triarte), Italian (Carducci, Fusinato, Monti), French (Breton) and especially Czech (Vrchlický), and participated actively in the cultural scene as a drama and art critic (*Neue Deutsche Bibliographie* 1955, I, 69).

Otto Hauser (1876–1944), a Bauernfeld Prize recipient in 1916, was considered an exceptional figure in literary circles because he spoke around 40 languages and translated from most of them. His work as a writer and critic was dwarfed by his translation activities, which were, however, far from uncontroversial. Rudolf

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2.   Marie Herzfeld's extensive work as a translator and editor is documented in Peter de Mendelssohn's monumental history of the publisher S. Fischer (Mendelssohn 1970, 154–60, 227, 250). On her role as a mediator, see Renner (2001).

Borchardt, a translator well known for his Dante renditions, famously accused him of using "vulgar Austrianisms" and being a "transient cross between man of letters and poet, scholar and aesthete, bungling and presumption, impotence and *tour-de-main*" (Borchardt 1908/1959, 370, 386). But Otto Hauser's importance for the world of Austrian culture as a literary mediator is undeniable despite his racism in later years (see van Uffelen 1995, 178). It seems clear that his outstanding profile in the sphere of translation was at least part of the reason to award him the prize.

Another extremely productive translator was Isolde Kurz (1853–1944), who made an impressive number of translations, mainly from Italian, and also enjoyed great success as a poet. In 1911, she received the Ebner-Eschenbach Fund prize, established in 1910 to mark Ebner-Eschenbach's seventieth birthday and awarded only to women (Gabriel 2000, 725).

The juries of the literary prizes, as well, included translators. One was Alfred von Berger (1853–1912), professor of aesthetics at the University of Vienna, director of the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg and the Hofburgtheater in Vienna, dramaturge, and editor of the *Österreichische Rundschau*. Among other languages, Berger translated from Italian, for example Giuseppe Giacosa's dramatic poem *Una partita a scacchi* (as *Eine Schachpartie*, 1888). A trustee of the Bauernfeld Foundation, Berger also belonged to other juries such as that of the Grillparzer Prize (Bettelheim 1924), the Raimund Prize,[3] and the "Volks-Schillerpreis" based in Berlin (see Knöfler 2000, 274–6). These multiple functions manifested in a single "man of taste" converge on his various activities in the mediation of literature. Max Kalbeck (1850–1921), too, can be regarded as a classic multifunctionary. An art and music critic, the author of an important biography of Brahms, a journalist for the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, and the translator of numerous opera libretti, he was also a respected member of the Bauernfeld and Raimund Prize juries.

Based on this brief glance at the activities of writers who also worked as translators, and in that capacity enjoyed high standing in the literary (or more generally cultural) field of the Monarchy, and those of the members of respected juries, it seems that literary prizes contributed substantially – if indirectly – to increasing translation's prestige. Although evidence would be difficult to find, it is likely that they also steered the production of translations, for example through the selection of texts, the choice of particular publishers, or publication in particular series. Likewise, despite the lack of specific documentary evidence, we may safely assume that prestigious translations at least implicitly increased a candidate's chances of

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3.   The Raimund Prize (see Pichler 1967, 10–11) was never awarded to a writer who also translated; see Knöfler (2000, 269–70). The same is true for the Schiller Prize, though writer and translator Paul Heyse was part of its jury for several years, as was the Euripides translator Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (ibid., 304–5).

receiving a prize. What is certain is that through their actions in the literary field as judges or producers of culture, these agents took up a significant role in cultural mediation that contributed substantially to the state of the field at any one time.

The factors regulating general cultural policy as discussed in this chapter, affecting the work of translation in many different ways, testify to a conflicted field in which the agents participate (unless they or their works emigrate) and struggle for recognition via their cultural products. Describing the Monarchy's literary scene, Murray Hall points out the "contrast between significant literary production with a wide readership and the sparse opportunities for marketing within the mother country" (Hall 1985, 11). Clearly, the efficacy, or indeed the inefficacy, of cultural policy has far-reaching consequences for the cultural situation of a country – and especially of a pluricultural state such as the Habsburg Monarchy.

Historical translation studies has rarely addressed this large field of research, which promises to reveal the networks of policies explicitly related to translation (including translation in the wider sense) that are implemented by the state and by institutions such as publishing houses, prize committees, and so on. A detailed investigation of the role of cultural mediators in translation-related literary promotion would also be of interest, as would institutional publicity such as publishers' advertisements. Equally, an analysis of Habsburg cultural policy regarding the establishment of museums, theatres, galleries and especially libraries would be significant for the history of translations, which were disseminated partly through these institutions. Although, in the absence of such research, it is not possible to identify an explicit translation policy in the Monarchy, the outlines of such a policy can be traced in the legislative and institutional provisions of cultural policy more generally.

The Habsburg "translating factory"

Translation statistics

Given what I have discussed so far, the question arises whether the Habsburg Monarchy actually needed translation at all, in view of its plurilingual cultural setting. Were the consumers of these cultural products not perfectly able and willing to read literary works in the original? After all, in the second half of the nineteenth century much of the readership still belonged to what might be called an educated bourgeoisie, however broadly defined and heterogeneous (see Koselleck 1990). As Norbert Bachleitner, Franz Eybl and Ernst Fischer observed in their history of the Austrian book trade (2000, 238), research on reading behaviour and the structure of the reading public in the second half of the nineteenth century remains sparse, so that we can only hypothesize about reading habits on the basis of existing knowledge of the book market, libraries and the population's general educational level. For example, the decline of illiteracy in Vienna and Lower Austria between 1890 and 1910, from 5.16 to 2.1 per cent for the male population over ten years old and from 7.27 to 2.8 per cent for the female population (Schmitz 2000, 1470), permits the cautious conclusion that the volume of reading increased steadily in these decades, although obviously not at the same rate in every social class – and neither do literacy statistics alone tell us much about the existence or texture of a reading culture. According to Rudolf Schenda (1982, 8), the acceleration of social mobility in the nineteenth century, with the associated shift from agrarian to industrial and urban lifestyles, probably also played a substantial role in the expansion of the reading public. Reinhard Wittmann identifies a change in the consumption of reading material as readers moved from active reading practices, manifested in communication within reading circles and other social formations, to a more passive and escapist approach that favoured reading material "without social relevance" (Wittmann 1999, 290). The usage of circulating libraries and later also public libraries provides further evidence of a rising interest in reading. Alberto Martino's detailed studies on Viennese circulating libraries illustrate this point: in the early 1890s, the customer lists of Vienna's 20 circulating libraries included 6,000 readers, presumably overlapping to some extent with the 8,000 readers registered with the 14 Viennese public libraries; by 1898, the number of users of the now 25 public libraries had grown to 20,000 (Martino 1989, 96). Gathering accurate data on book

ownership among different segments of the population, for example analyses of book bequests, would also supply valuable information on the educational levels and reading interests, but that task remains to be done. One important first step is Yoshiko Yamanouchi's study of nineteenth-century bourgeois reading culture (2002), which examines the cultural practice of book collecting by comparing the private libraries of ten middle-class families in Vienna with the fiction holdings of several Viennese reading rooms and aristocratic libraries. Yamanouchi discovers noticeable differences in the educational ideals, and accordingly the reading tastes, of the bourgeois and aristocratic corpora. She interprets the ongoing "specialization and fragmentation" of the educated bourgeoisie around the turn of the twentieth century as an erosion of the universality of cultivated knowledge (ibid., 188–9).

As was shown in Chapters 3 and 4, the expanding implementation of Article 19 of the 1867 constitution, with its tendency to promote linguistic particularism, resulted in gradual decline in the Monarchy's multilingualism. By implication, in the long term it was translations that would have to satisfy the increased demand for reading matter, since original production in the Habsburg Monarchy's various languages, despite its growing volume (see Table 3 in Chapter 3), was probably insufficient. This chapter will trace the development of the translation market in the Monarchy from 1848 to 1918, specifically for translations into German, by analysing a range of translation bibliographies.

To obtain language-by-language translation statistics, I examined the bibliographies of translations into German from 15 "national" literatures: Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Hungarian, Slovakian, Czech, Slovenian, Polish, Italian, French, English (British and US), Portuguese, Latin American Spanish, Dutch, Swedish and Icelandic. In addition, the entries in Wolfgang Rössig's *Literaturen der Welt in deutscher Übersetzung* (1997) relevant to the period 1848–1918 were used for Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Slovenian, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, Italian, French, English (British and US) and Dutch. My analysis applies the concept of "national literatures" because they are treated as such in the respective bibliographies – the sources available impose this notion of literature or culture due to the assumptions of the bibliographers, authors and other agents concerned. To move beyond that nationally oriented viewpoint, it would be necessary to investigate in detail, for each language, the full complexity both of the bibliographies themselves and of the roles of the various mediators involved in the translations' production. That is not possible in the present overview chapter, but will be attempted in Chapter 9 for the case of transfer between "Italian" and "German".

Only the first edition of each translation was included in my analysis, even if further printings were made in the period; in many cases, no information is available on the number of printings. Naturally enough, the various bibliographies do not follow the same research methods. As well as the pervasive problem

of erroneous data (common to all bibliographies) and the resulting unreliability, considerable difficulties in comparing the sources arise from the difference in coverage: some bibliographies include only books, others also newspapers, journals, anthologies and collections. Anthony Pym points out that the variability of data arises partly from "the nature of translation itself": among the various strategies of intercultural communication, translating is certainly one of the most expensive and therefore often depends on time-limited projects or individual sponsors (Pym 1998, 85). This may well apply to the Austrian situation, especially for publishing ventures that pursued a particular policy over the shorter or longer term and for magazine projects. The heterogeneity of the sources, then, means that however accurate the transfer of data from the bibliographies, my analyses can only indicate general tendencies.

   It is not possible to present a full picture of translations into German from all the Monarchy's languages, because translation bibliographies covering transfer from Slovakian, Ruthenian and Czech into German are either flawed or non-existent.[1] In the present context, a quantitative study must take precedence over qualitative analysis; the next chapter will look in more detail at a single language combination, transfer between the Italian-speaking and German-speaking cultural fields. However, numbers do not necessarily speak for themselves – the sociological, cultural or aesthetic factors determining translation's external and internal contingencies cannot be measured statistically. Moreover, the statistical findings themselves must be addressed from differing perspectives, since the practice of translation between spaces with greater cultural proximity (for example within the Habsburg Monarchy) has a different status and is more harshly exposed to power imbalances than that between spaces less obviously imbricated in historical, ideological, political or simply geographical relationships (for example English–German transfer). In these two broad types of cultural mediation, different functions accrue to the agents involved in the transfer process, especially translators. Greater linguistic, cultural and subject competence is expected, at least implicitly, from agents working in the former type of situation, in a shared geopolitical space, given that they themselves form part of the pluricultural fabric with which they work.

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1. It would be particularly interesting to have data on the cultural transfer between *all* the languages used in the Monarchy as represented in translations; unfortunately, this is impossible on the basis of the sources currently available. A study of this kind would also exceed the limits of the present book. More generally, translation bibliographies present a rather unedifying picture (see, for example, Pym 1998, 42–7): many are poorly researched, and the range of different methodologies applied makes comparison difficult. Hans-Gert Roloff (1998) also notes the urgent need for accurate catalogues of translations, calling for a "European translation bibliography".

1.   The bibliographical data

My study examines the translation categories "polycultural translation" and "trans-cultural translation", with Polish–German and Italian–German transfer as mixed forms, since Polish and Italian were spoken both inside and outside the Monarchy. In the following, I present the 15 individual languages and their bibliographies, before moving on to general evaluations based on the data as a whole.

Polycultural translation

Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian
The bibliographical material offered by Reinhard Lauer in *Serbokroatische Autoren in deutscher Übersetzung* (Lauer 1995) is based on extremely detailed research. His bibliography covers the period from 1776 to 1993, with Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian literature (as Lauer explains, the designation "Serbo-Croat" is at best a makeshift term) published as monographs or in anthologies, magazines, news-papers, and collections; 74 per cent of the entries from 1776–1993 appeared in periodical publications. Lauer includes "belles lettres and non-fiction" up to 1918, but excludes popular or folk literature. Translation from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian in his period is characterized by the printing of shorter works with the original and translation in parallel columns – especially in newspapers and magazines – and the fact that many authors translated their texts themselves. This can be explained partly by the prevalence of bi- or plurilingualism and partly by the high social pres-tige attached to German (ibid., l). For the period 1848–1918, Lauer's bibliography yields 992 translations from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian into German.

Hungarian
Two bibliographies served as sources for translations from Hungarian, those by Tiborc Fazekas (1999) and Werner Schweikert (2000). Fazekas records the works of Hungarian literature that appeared in German in book form between 1774 and 1999, whereas Schweikert focuses on twentieth-century literature, though he also lists numerous works from the nineteenth century. Both scholars stress that they only included texts "of literary value" or "translations in the field of belles lettres and the humanities"; periodicals were not searched and anthologies only as single volumes – although Schweikert's records of anthologies are sufficiently detailed for the individual items to be included in the present analysis. The data relevant to 1848–1918 were drawn from both bibliographies, merged and checked for du-plications. Many of the translations were published in Transleithanian towns and cities, which may affect the comparability of sources for the overall analysis in that many of the other bibliographies probably focused on Cisleithania. It should be

noted once again that the great diversity of the bibliographical sources in terms of method and coverage means only general tendencies can be identified. A total of 403 translations were found in the two Hungarian bibliographies.

Slovakian

Writing in 1900, Junker commented on the extraordinarily small scale of translation from Slovakian (Junker 1900, 90). This is confirmed by Ludwig Richter's bibliography *Slowakische Literatur in deutschen Übersetzungen. Eine Bibliographie der Buchveröffentlichungen 1900–1998* (Richter 1999). Interestingly, for my period only publications by women are listed, apart from one anonymous work. The Slovakian–German figures are not fully comparable with those for other languages, because Richter does not cover the nineteenth century. His bibliography shows that 28 translations from Slovakian were published in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1902 and 1918.

Czech

There is no bibliography of Czech–German translation comparable with the other languages discussed here. Instead, I have used the short bibliographical article by J. Reismann (1926) covering Czech fiction in German translation "up to the present day", despite Manfred Jähnichen's description of it as an "incomplete bibliography" (Jähnichen 1967, 8). For the present purposes, Reismann's bibliography yields 40 entries from the areas of prose, drama and poetry between 1854 and 1916. Junker states that 18 Czech–German translations appeared in 1895, but Reismann notes just one translation published that year. This suggests that his data on translations from Czech into German are of limited value.

Slovenian

The information on translations from Slovenian comes from two sources. The bibliography of Yugoslavian literature in German translation from 1775 to 1977 compiled by Peter Kersche and Gunhild Kersche (1978) covers all genres in book form; periodical publications are not included. The same is true of the *Bibliographie der Buchübersetzungen slowenischer Literatur ins Deutsche* by Stojan Vavti and Andrej Leben (2006), which begins with the year 1781. The last entry in the updated version (Vavti, Leben and Studen-Kirchner 2008) was published in 2008. The two bibliographies' data largely overlap, and for my period include 29 translations published by companies based in the Habsburg Monarchy. The best represented genre is poetry, and the most frequently translated author is France Prešeren.[2] As

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2. For information on Prešeren and other Slovenian-language authors, see Köstler's (2006b) study, the bibliographical data of which were not included in the present analysis.

Erwin Köstler observes in the introduction to the 2006 bibliography, for a long time the mediation of Slovenian literature into German was shaped by various forms of exclusion embedded in the nineteenth century's nationalist disputes, in "a battle for cultural equality and acknowledgement by the politically and culturally hegemonic power" (Köstler 2006a, 3).

Polish

My data on Polish–German translations come from three bibliographies which, as in the Hungarian case, I merged for the 1848–1918 period. Krzysztof A. Kuczyński's bibliography *Polnische Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung von den Anfängen bis 1985* (Kuczyński 1987) covers fiction published in book form, including anthologies and play scripts. Periodicals and political or religious works are among the categories excluded. The bibliography by Doris Lemmermeier and Brigitte Schultze (1990) focuses on theatre translation from 1830 to 1988 and includes drama in book form, translations published in periodicals or collected volumes, and unpublished scripts. The bibliographers emphasize that their aim is not simply to gather together the existing data, but to verify them and find previously undiscovered theatre translations; this bibliography is evidently based on meticulous research. The third work, by Ingrid Kuhnke (1995), covers both monographs and collected volumes but no periodicals, and is limited to the twentieth century. Using all three publications, 142 translations from Polish into German were identified for my period.

Italian

My analysis of translations from Italian draws first of all on information kindly provided before publication by the Freiburg and Kiel project team working on a large-scale bibliography of German translations from Italian. This was supplemented by the results of the published version, *Bibliographie der deutschen Übersetzungen aus dem Italienischen von 1730 bis 1990* (Kapp et al. 2004). Because translations from Italian play such an important role in the present book, I sought the most exhaustive data possible on this language combination, and added to the project's information by systematically searching library catalogues, various periodicals, the literary bibliography *Kayser's Vollständiges Bücher-Lexikon* and other sources. I recorded works of all genres, including specialized texts in science and technology. The breadth of this corpus is not matched even minimally by the statistics on the other languages, so my comparisons between the different literatures can only be approximate. In total, 306 translations from Italian were found for the 1848–1918 period.

Transcultural translation

French

By moving on to French–German translations, we leave the communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy itself. Hans Fromm's six-volume *Bibliographie deutscher Übersetzungen aus dem Französischen 1700–1948* (Fromm 1955) proved a treasure trove: it supplied a total of 1,059 works for the period, exceeding even the number of Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian entries. This is not surprising, as the bibliographer searched more than 500 periodicals and around 100 collected volumes. Fromm applies a broad concept of translation, and includes adaptations in his bibliography. His principal criterion for including texts is their "culture-historical value", so that work in the fields of science, medicine or technology are absent.[3]

English (Britain)

Of the two bibliographies of translations from English into German, one covers literature from Britain for the years 1895–1935 (Schlösser 1937), the other literature from the United States up to 1957 (Mummendey 1961). I did not merge the two bibliographies because the contexts in which their translations were produced diverge too greatly. Anselm Schlösser's bibliography (see Pym 1998, 43) includes works published in what were then the British colonies, and encompasses all book-length "belles lettres" including travel accounts and children's literature. He excludes historiography, literary and art history, theology and so on, and also translations of Shakespeare because a separate bibliography of Shakespeare translations existed at the time (Ebisch and Schücking 1931) – though this has only one translation relevant for the present analysis. Schlösser does not cover translations published in periodicals. For the period up to 1918, 76 translations were found.

English (United States)

Richard Mummendey's bibliography *Die Schöne Literatur der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in deutschen Übersetzungen* (1961) lists the translated belletristic works of US authors that appeared as independent publications before the end of 1957. Mummendey remarks that his bibliographical research was hampered by the severe war damage suffered by German libraries. The same applies to Fromm's French–German bibliography, which was compiled immediately after the war, between 1946 and 1949. Mummendey's bibliography carries only 19 translations

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3. Pym describes Fromm's bibliography as "by no means value-free" (Pym 1998, 46). Leopold Nosko analysed this bibliography for the years 1855–80 by subject area and most-translated authors, looking for the interactions of Austrian and French culture; see Nosko (1983, 91–2) and, for a commentary on his work, Pöckl (1989, 406).

from the period under investigation. Because of the historical and cultural context, the data are not particularly fruitful for the present study, but they were included in the analysis because they show at least faint traces of a cultural transfer between the Habsburg Monarchy and the United States of America.

Portuguese

Klaus Küpper's *Bibliographie der portugiesischen Literatur* (1997) covers prose, poetry, essays and drama, both as monographs and as components of larger publications. In fact, the majority of all his entries appeared in anthologies and magazines, and this is also true of the items published in the period 1848–1918. Küpper does not include scholarly and scientific works or collected fairytales and songs, with the exception of nineteenth-century collections of romances (only of one of which, however, appeared in the Habsburg Monarchy). The bibliography excludes translations published in Brazil.[4] For the time and region concerned, only eight Portuguese works appeared, five of them translations of texts by Luís de Camões.

Spanish (Latin America)

The bibliography *Schöne Literatur lateinamerikanischer Autoren* (Reichardt 1965) contains only monographs and anthologies, not publications in magazines or play scripts. Only one translation relevant to this study was found, a novel by Juan Pablo de los Ríos (translated by Hedwig Wolf and published by Hartleben in 1865).

Dutch

Herbert van Uffelen's comprehensive study of the reception of modern Dutch literature in the German-speaking world from 1830 to 1990 is complemented by a general translation bibliography and a special bibliography of children's and young adult literature in German translation (van Uffelen 1993). Van Uffelen includes the Dutch of the Netherlands and Flanders; he excludes dramatic works and anthologies. Only 14 translations for my period were found.

Swedish

The seven-volume bibliography of Swedish literature in German translation (Paul and Halbe 1987–88) covers book-length publications from 1830 to 1980, and itemizes the contents of the numerous anthologies published in this language combination. Periodicals are not covered. A total of 100 relevant translations from Swedish were found, published between 1848 and 1916.

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4.   Another bibliography, compiled by Küpper with Ray-Güde Mertin, is dedicated to translations of Brazilian literature (Küpper 1994). It was also searched, but contained no translations published in the Monarchy in the relevant period.

Icelandic

As might be expected, translation from Icelandic was small in scale, with only two translated titles recorded for the period. Christiane Knüppel's bibliography (1990) lists monographs and anthologies (the contents of which are not itemized), but not periodicals.

2.   Analyses

This section provides an overview of translation production in the period from 1848 to 1918 based on the translation bibliographies presented above. The problems I have mentioned mean that the data can only be regarded as indicative: with different bibliographical procedures and the varying availability of data, the statistics cannot be reliable in every detail. In the analyses that follow, the only bibliography omitted was the Slovakian one. Because it begins only in 1902 and also seems to be the least reliable, it would exacerbate distortions in the overall picture. A further caveat is that the various political events impacting on translating activity (such as Italian independence in 1866 or the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867) could not be taken into account here.

The surveys in this section are based on a total of 3,191 translations from 14 languages, which are broken down by language in Table 13 and Figure 5. Figure 6 shows an increase in the number of translations from about 1887, which can be attributed chiefly to the rise in translations from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian. In 1888, these made up 60 of the year's 89 translations, all published in periodicals or collections, and in 1894 they accounted for 24 of the 66 translations, along with a further 26 from Italian, in both cases almost exclusively periodical publications. It is evident that the languages whose bibliographies include periodicals impact strongly on the overall figures for annual production, especially given the increasing number of newspapers and magazines appearing from the 1880s on. The decline in translations during the last decade of the period can be attributed to wartime conditions.

As Figure 7 on genre indicates, poetry was translated most frequently (930 of 3,191 translations, 523 of them in periodicals), followed by novels (854 translations) and stories or novellas (495). It is probably unsurprising that French is the source language with the largest share of novels (583 out of 854); lagging far behind are Hungarian (71), Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (45), Italian (37) and Polish (36). Drama with comedy and tragedy is less well represented (255 translations). Here, too, French is predominant, with 92 drama translations. Much theatre translation was made from Hungarian: a total of 61 translations, made up of
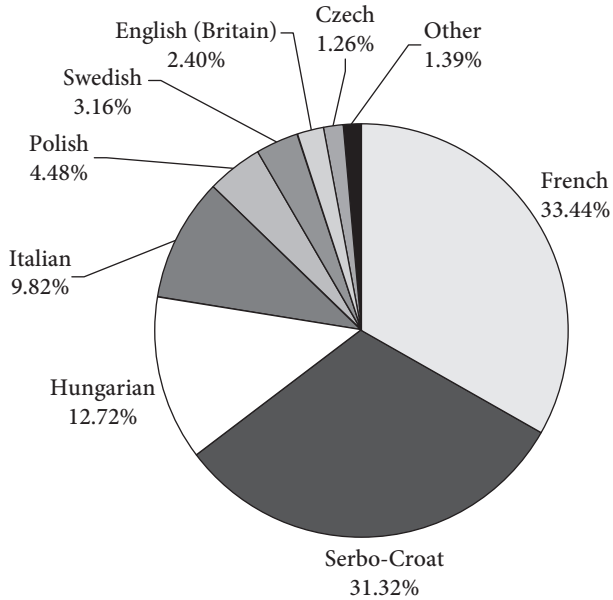
Table 13. Translations into German 1848–1918 (Habsburg Monarchy) by language, numbers

All source languages	Translations
French	1,059
Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian	992
Hungarian	403
Italian	306
Polish	142
Swedish	100
English (Britain)	76
Czech	40
Slovenian	29
English (US)	19
Dutch	14
Portuguese	8
Icelandic	2
Spanish (Latin America)	1
Total	**3,191**

Habsburg source languages	Translations
Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian	992
Hungarian	403
Italian	306
Polish	142
Czech	40
Slovenian	29
Total	**1,912**

38 dramas, 20 comedies and 3 tragedies. Religious writings, including tracts and religious biographies, have a substantial presence, at 4.1 per cent or 131 translations. These were mainly made from French (100) and Italian (30). The category "other" refers to all genres with fewer than 22 translations, examples being church history, cultural history, fairytales, biographies, epics, children's literature or travel accounts. The rise in the total number of translations, as seen in Figure 6, is analysed by genre in Table 14. The upward trend starting in the 1890s affected the "classic" genres of poetry, novels, stories and novellas most strongly, with production dropping again towards the end of the period.

Figure 5. Translations into German 1848–1918 (Habsburg Monarchy) by language, percentages

	1848–1857	1858–1867	1868–1877	1878–1887	1888–1897	1898–1907	1908–1918
no.	306	297	300	308	634	814	532
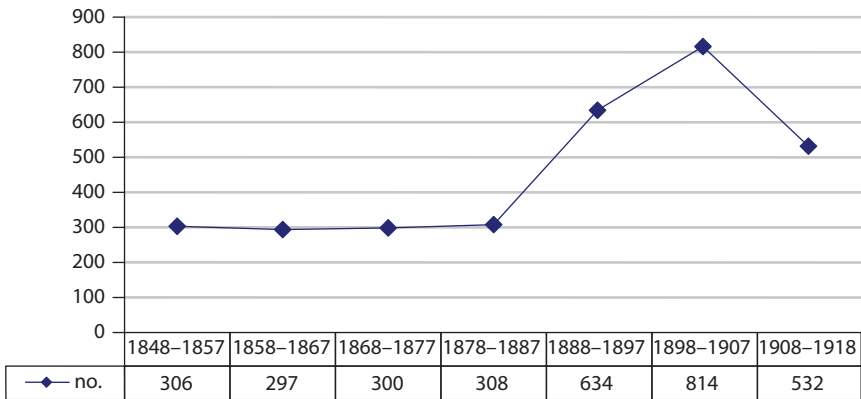
Figure 6. Number of translations by decade
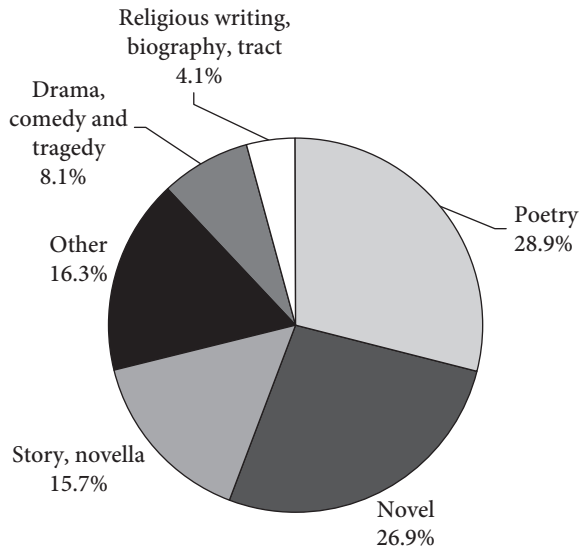
Figure 7. Genres

Table 14. Genres by decade

Genre	1848–57	1858–67	1868–77	1878–87	1888–97	1898–1907	1908–18
Libretto	16	1	2	7	7	0	3
Memoir	6	4	2	1	7	7	4
Novel	124	95	151	62	158	196	68
Play	24	27	36	51	26	36	55
Poetry	51	36	26	67	229	303	218
Politics	8	13	11	2	6	7	7
Religious text	17	41	17	18	22	9	7
Story/novella	7	21	12	46	120	183	106
Other	53	58	43	54	60	73	64

There is an overwhelming predominance of men in the production of the source texts, with 2,852 male source-text authors (89.3 per cent). Only 230 works by women (7.3 per cent) were translated in the period 1848–1918. For a further 109 translations (3.4 per cent) the author's gender could not be ascertained because of an abbreviated name. When compared with the proportion of men among the authors, the ratio of male translators seems very low, at 50 per cent (1,596 translations). At first sight, this might recall the cliché of the "masculine" original and "feminine" translation. However, the translator is not named in many cases (892 translations or 28 per cent), so that considerable caution is required in judging the

overall gender distribution. In addition, abbreviated names made it impossible to discover the translator's gender in 246 cases (8 per cent).

In 2,300 cases (72 per cent) the translator is named, while in 891 (28 per cent) he or she is anonymous. It is not helpful to analyse the anonymous translators by type of publication, because information on publication types is not available for the translations from the important source languages French and English. The most anonymous translators are to be found in translations from French (416 translations), followed by Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (155) and Hungarian (127); Italian also has a rather high number (103). The majority of the works with anonymous translators are by male authors (791), with only a tenth of that (85) for female authors, corresponding approximately to the ratio of male and female "original" authors.

As Figure 8 shows, authorship is firmly in male hands in all the genres analysed. Dramatic texts appear to be a particularly male-dominated domain (245 texts by men as against 7 by women and 3 where the author's gender is unknown), as are political writings (53, plus one of unknown gender) and libretti (36). The presence of female authors is strongest in novels (114 by women, 726 by men, 11 gender unknown). The largest group of authors whose gender is unknown due to abbreviated names can be found in poetry (51 of a total 109).
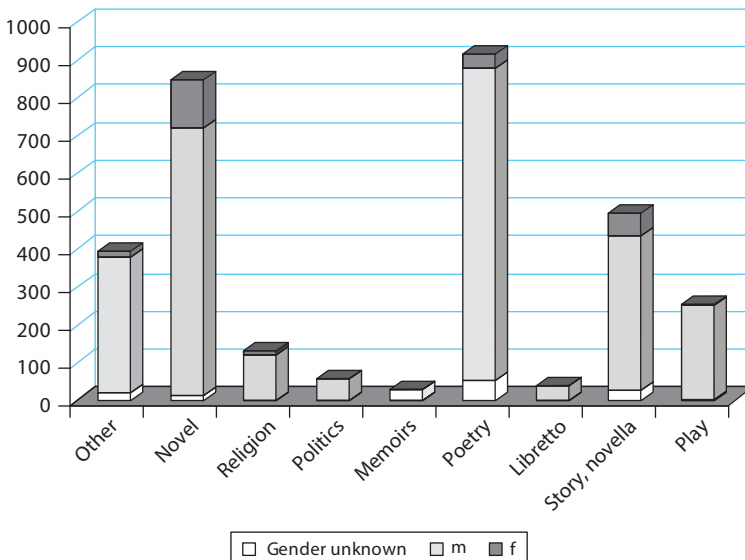
Figure 8. Genres and authors' gender

The correlation of genre and translator's gender in Figure 9 indicates a male dominance in all genres (with the exception of political writings, and with the proviso that many translators are unnamed or their gender is unknown). The presence of female translators is strongest in poetry (234 of a total 930 translations) and novels (107 of 854), while women appear to be almost entirely excluded from the translation of political writings and libretti in all the languages investigated (1 translation each).
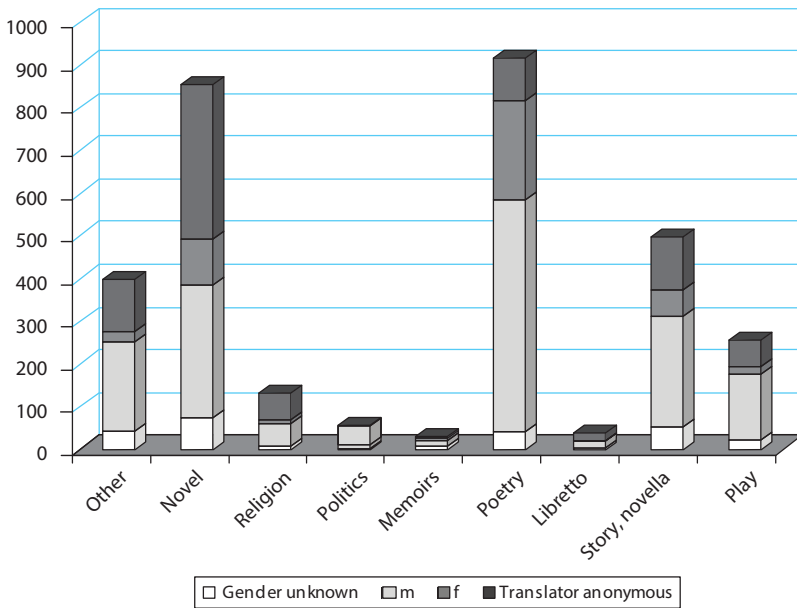
Figure 9. Genres and translators' gender
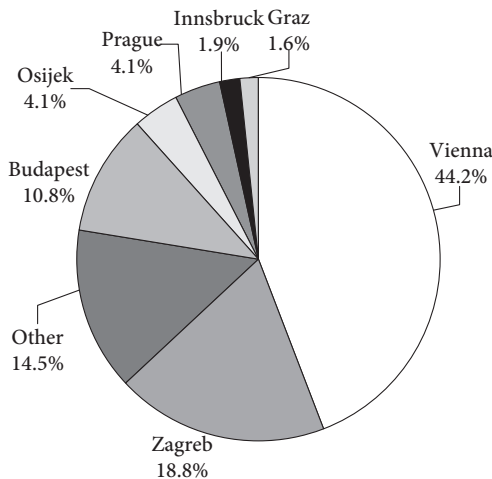
Figure 10. Place of publication, Habsburg Monarchy

Figure 10, on places of publication, shows that Vienna was the centre of publishing activities, accounting for 1,347 of the 3,191 works, or 42 per cent. Viennese publishers took on everything – no emphasis on particular genres or languages can be observed. However, Vienna is by no means the focus of German translations published in periodicals: it is easily outstripped by Zagreb, which is all the more interesting in that Zagreb belonged to the Hungarian part of the Empire. This raises the question of how the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1878 (and its annexation in 1908) affected the production of German translations of Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian works, or whether Zagreb may be regarded as a kind of transmission belt for all the literature coming out of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here, it would be necessary to analyse in detail the activities of the agents responsible for these translations. Milka Car suggests that the Viennese government intervened politically in Zagreb-based newspapers such as *Agramer Tagblatt* or the *Agramer Zeitung* (Car 2002, 213–14), which would indicate that at least in some cases a targeted translation policy was at work. Of the total 865 translations in newspapers and journals, 482 appeared in Zagreb and only 121 in Vienna (a further 119 were published in the Croatian city of Osijek, and the rest, in far smaller numbers, in Budapest, Prague and other cities). Of the periodicals in which these translations appeared, however, 30 were based in Vienna as against 10 in Zagreb and 3 in Osijek. In other words, the density of translation production in the Zagreb and Osijek periodicals was far higher than that in their Viennese counterparts. Because periodical publications are included in only some of the translation bibliographies examined (those for Italian, Portuguese, Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian and Czech), it is possible that the proportion from Vienna may be higher than it appears in Figure 10.

As the publishing sector's second focal point, Zagreb thus specialized very strongly in periodical publications as a venue for its translations (482 of the total 575 translations published in Zagreb), followed by monographs (49 translations). As is to be expected, translations from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian and Hungarian tended to appear in Zagreb. In Budapest, 328 translations were published (10.4 per cent of the total translations in the period): from Hungarian (187), French (128), Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (8), Swedish (4) and US English (1). Because no information is available on the type of publication for most of these languages, nothing useful can be said on that account. Looking at the number of publishers based in the three most important places of publication, Vienna once again tops the list with 168 publishers, followed by Budapest with 56 and Zagreb with 21. "Other" places of publication, accounting for 440 translations or 13.9 per cent, include all the 70 towns and cities in which fewer than 35 translations appeared with book publishers or in periodicals (Sarajevo with 34 translations, Nagybecskerek with 32, Segesvár with 21, Eisenstadt with 20, Teschen/Cieszyn with 19, and so on).

Figure 11 presents the distribution of the various publishers of translations. Because of the enormous number of publishers in the Monarchy's cities, here I have only named houses that produced more than 45 translations. For the present study, that means only four individual publishers (818 translations) along with an aggregate of 96 "other" houses (1,352 translations or 42.8 per cent), periodical publications (899 translations or 28.7 per cent), and 122 cases where the publisher was not named (3.9 per cent).
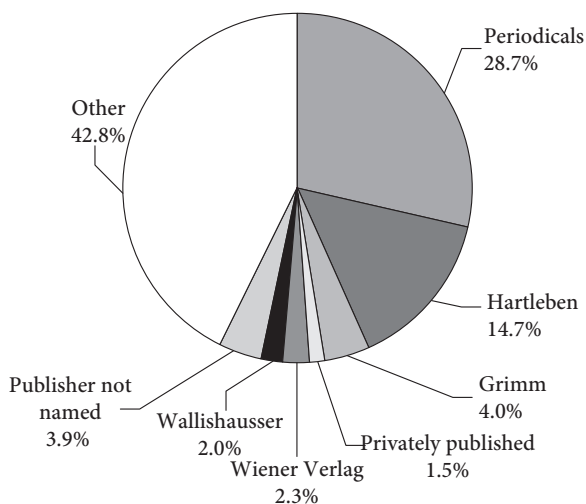

Figure 11. Publishers, Habsburg Monarchy

With its 458 translations (14.7 per cent of the total production of translations in the period), Hartleben is the most significant publisher. In the present corpus, its translations are almost exclusively novels (397 translations), but also include travel writing, drama, technical literature and other areas. Hartleben published translations from all the languages investigated except Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian (as mentioned, translations from Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian mainly appeared in Zagreb), Czech, Portuguese and Icelandic. The publisher has a strikingly large number of anonymous translators, but it is nevertheless worthwhile to compare the gender of Hartleben's authors and translators because the absolute number of named translators is still high. The Hartleben figures show 407 works by male authors as against 47 by female authors (gender unknown for 4 works), and 180 translations by male translators as against 12 by female translators, along with 244 anonymous translators (gender unknown for 22 works). In all, 61 translators translated the works of 101 authors for Hartleben in the period, making it easily the leading publisher on the translation market (see also Bachleitner 2000).

The second important house is Grimm, based in Budapest. Grimm published 125 translations (4 per cent of the total) between 1881 and 1915. Translations from French predominate (114), followed by Hungarian (8) and Swedish (3). In the period, 99 translated novels were published by Grimm (97 from French and 1 each from Swedish and Hungarian), along with 12 tales (6 from French, 5 from Hungarian, 1 from Swedish) and 6 novellas (4 from French, 2 from Hungarian). Émile Zola (50 translations: 48 novels and 2 novellas) and Henry Gauthier-Villars (10 translations, all novels) account for the large number of translations from French. Gauthier-Villars was translated by 4 different named translators and 5 anonymous ones, while 6 translators were involved in rendering the works of Zola (Armin Schwarz translated 28 of Zola's novels, Oscar Schwarz 12; see also Barjonet 2004). In almost a quarter of Grimm's translations, the translator is not named (24 translations from French, 6 from Hungarian). Overall, 118 works by male authors contrast with 6 by female authors (gender unknown for 1 author); of the translators, 30 are unnamed, 85 are male and only 2 are women (gender could not be ascertained in 8 translations due to abbreviated names). The strong predominance of male translators is due partly to the "monopoly" enjoyed by the two Zola translators Armin and Oscar Schwarz, and perhaps also to a specific policy pursued by the publisher. Overall, Grimm published the work of 34 authors translated by 23 translators.

To summarize, the focal point of translation in the period was Vienna, where the majority of publishers were based and a particularly dense network of mediating agencies arose. The second centre, Zagreb, owed its position partly to the very large production of translations for periodical publications. Among the publishers, the statistics show Hartleben in Vienna to be the most important, thanks not least to several series which it dedicated solely to translated literature. Far fewer translations were published by Grimm in Budapest, although it did not lag behind Hartleben in the intensity of its translation policy. These two were followed by Wiener Verlag and Wallishausser, both of Vienna. The genres of the translated texts were predominantly the traditional ones of poetry, novels and short fiction, then drama and religious writings. Because translated non-fiction was not included in all the bibliographies examined, the proportion of fiction to non-fiction cannot be reliably ascertained and neither, therefore, can more be said about this dominance of fiction genres. The gender distribution of authors and translators yields few surprises. Male authors predominate in the source texts (89.3 per cent men, 7.3 per cent women, 3.4 per cent unknown); the proportion of male translators is only 50 per cent (women: 14 per cent), though this is relativized by the high level of anonymous translators (28 per cent; gender unknown: 8 per cent). In view of the sparse data, it may not admissible at all to speak of a female or male domain of translation, but at first sight it seems that non-fiction texts are almost exclusively translated by men, whereas women are relatively well represented in translations of novels and poetry (though, of course, here too the majority are translated by men).

3.   Translation between addiction and withdrawal

My analysis of the translation bibliographies shows that the number of translations into German published in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918 was modest but steadily rising in almost all source languages. Not unexpectedly, the figures taken from the translation bibliographies and used in this analysis diverge from the official translation statistics, which unfortunately are only available for certain years. These divergences are summarized in Table 15.

Table 15. Comparison between official statistics and Wolf

Year	French (o.s.)	French (Wolf)	English (o.s.)	English (Wolf)	Italian (o.s.)	Italian (Wolf)	Hungarian (o.s.)	Hungarian (Wolf)	Czech (o.s.)	Czech (Wolf)
1865	48	23	3	–	8	5	–	3	–	–
1870	17	18	2	–	2	2	2	4	–	–
1883	6	12	4	1	1	2	13	4	1	–
1899	9	12	7	3	4	12	2	1	1	–

o.s. = Official statistics (national bibliographies)*
Wolf = Analyses of the translation bibliographies

* The sources of the official statistics for 1865 and 1870 are Bachleitner (2002, 11, Table 4), listing the new translations from the *Oesterreichischer Catalog* for those years; for 1883 Mischler (1886, 22); for 1899 Bachleitner (2002, 11, Table 4), who here draws on the *Oesterreichische Bibliographie* 1 (1900), edited by Junker and Jellinek.

The striking discrepancies for French in the year 1865 probably arose because the bibliography I consulted for French (Fromm 1955) is based primarily on library catalogues rather than a search of publishers' catalogues. Fromm therefore fails to account for the very significant production of French popular literature in translation, which was not fully listed in the catalogue of what was then the Imperial Court Library in Vienna. In the second part of his statistical survey *Bibliographisch-statistische Übersicht der Literatur des Östreichischen Kaiserstaates vom 1. Jänner bis 31. December 1854* (Wurzbach 1856), Wurzbach discusses the state of translation in the Monarchy and draws some damning conclusions on its translation culture, especially as regards French novels in translation:

> The obsession with translating that has arisen in Austria only in recent years appears to have become a veritable system – a few publishers have given up almost all other areas of publishing and set up a novel-translating factory, so to speak, which supplies the book-hungry public solely with the most mediocre products of French novelistic literature.   (Wurzbach 1856, 125)

Wurzbach's complaints about the "dire state" of translation follows a widespread critical opinion, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, that translations were being made too avidly with no regard for quality.[5]

The decline in translations from French to be observed in the official statistics may also reflect changes in the translation policy of some publishers, manifested especially in the last two decades of the nineteenth century in a reduction of the number of new series and restricted activity in existing series. For example, the drama translation series published by the Vienna company Wallishausser, "Viennese Theatre Repertoire", was active mainly between 1853 and 1886, and Hartleben's translated fiction series until 1879 (Bachleitner 2000, 324–5). Furthermore, as the period wore on the practice of unauthorized reprints was tackled more and more effectively. This seems to have impacted most rapidly on translation from French, which accounted for by far the greatest share of the Monarchy's annual translation production. In 1866, the Monarchy signed a treaty with France protecting publishers from unauthorized reprints and regulating translation rights. This agreement was preceded by a treaty with Sardinia in 1840, which was updated in 1890 by a treaty with the new state of Italy. In 1893, finally, an agreement was signed with Britain. However, the data examined here show that apart from French works, where production remained largely constant across the entire period with only a relative dip in the decade 1878–87 (possibly a result of the treaty), there was no decline in translation activity but, on the contrary, a more or less continual rise. It is worth asking how great the production of translations from these languages would have been if no legal agreements had been reached with their source countries. The answer must remain speculative, but such legislative factors probably did at least rein in the more dramatic increases in translation that might have been expected from the general upward trend.

The low level of translation from English in my own figures stems from the late starting point of Schlösser's bibliography, 1895. The discrepancy regarding translations from Italian in 1899 probably results partly from the fact that a quarter of the translations published in that year (3 of 12) appeared in periodicals and were therefore not included in the official statistics; one further translation was privately published and thus likewise excluded from the official statistics. More generally, the official bibliographers faced the problem of being dependent for their data on the good will of the book trade. If a publisher omitted to send

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5.   See especially Bachleitner (1989). Historically, the term *Fabrik* (factory) was often used in the context of literary production. Wittmann (1999, 173), for example, discusses eighteenth-century German satires on the "factory author" phenomenon and reading societies described as "factories of Enlightenment" (ibid., 209).

information to the Austro-Hungarian book-trade association or the editorial office of its journal *Oesterreichische Buchhändler-Correspondenz* as requested, then those items did not appear in the official statistics. As for the discrepancies in the figures for Hungarian translations, especially in 1883, the reason is probably the late nineteenth-century emergence of cheap book series on the lines of Reclam's still extant "Universalbibliothek" (see Junker 1900, 92), which more and more often included translations but were apparently not systematically searched by the translation bibliographers. In view of this, it is fair to assume generally higher numbers of translations throughout the period, attributable in part to the abolition of censorship in 1848 – though it would still not be justified to speak of a massive increase in translations over the period up to 1918. Whatever its exact scale, however, the existence of a public demand for translations is corroborated by the business-minded approach of most publishers: to maximize their profits, they needed to attain the highest possible sales figures and would have been highly unlikely to offer translations to a small or non-existent audience.

The founding of numerous new journals and newspapers in the late nineteenth century – spurred on from the turn of the century by economic recovery and growing literacy rates – certainly also contributed to the rise in translation. This is shown by the figures presented in Table 16, drawn from the address register of Austrian book, art and sheet music traders (Perles 1900/01). Whereas in 1892/93 there were 1,648 periodicals in 17 languages published in 264 locations in the Habsburg Monarchy, by 1900/01 there were 2,194 periodicals, in 15 languages, published in 307 locations (ibid.).

Table 16. The rise in "important journals" between 1892 and 1901 (Perles 1900/01)

Published in	1892–93	1900–01
German	986	1,312
Czech	252	358
Hungarian	159	212
Polish	76	104
Croatian	62	67
Other languages	113	141
Total	**1,648**	**2,194**

Notwithstanding the inevitable uncertainties in the data from translation bibliographies and the need to revise national bibliography records, if we take the figures as a whole it seems plausible to conclude that the 1848–1918 period saw a more or less constant rise in translations, in some cases curbed by copyright treaties with individual countries. In the force field of a constantly growing reading public, changes in reading habits, and rising levels of translation, translations evidently

formed an integral component of the era's cultural practices of reading, despite the fluctuations in their numbers over time. The diversification of translated texts contributed to this success, for by the end of the nineteenth century, translated reading matter had moved far beyond the strictly literary sphere. Numerous articles in German translation appeared in medical, anthropological and other specialist journals, and translations of key specialist monographs, such as introductions to economics or textbooks on chemistry, were increasingly present on the book market. To obtain an exact picture of the variations in translation production, however, we would need contrastive analyses of more accurate translation statistics, along with detailed studies of reading behaviour in the various parts of the Empire and analyses of trends on the domestic and foreign book trade, all in the context of political and economic developments and covering both translations and book production as a whole. Currently, information of this kind is patchy and fails to integrate the full range of factors involved.

The mediatory space of Italian–German translations

To contextualize the translations from Italian to German that were made in the Habsburg Monarchy from the mid-nineteenth century on, some comments are in order on the period's intellectual configurations and their interplay with the history of contact between "Italy" and "Austria". Only against this backdrop can such interrelationships be used as a point of departure for reflection on the processes of translation production and reception.

Much has been written on Austrian intellectual culture and society in the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Claudio Magris's study of the "Habsburg myth", which first appeared in 1963, was an important early contribution to this topos. Magris postulated a backward-looking utopia among intellectuals of the period, who regarded the lost Empire as a "happy and harmonious era, an ordered, fairytale *Mitteleuropa*" (Magris 2000, 19); he viewed the "cultural colonization of Eastern Europe" as a positive accomplishment by the Monarchy on the grounds that without it, "writers such as Rilke and Kafka could not be counted as part of German literature" (ibid., 26). In his preface to the new edition, Magris distances himself from this mythologization of the Habsburg world, conceding that his book is above all "the history of a love of order and touches only allusively, perhaps all too cautiously, on the fringes of the discovery of disorder" (ibid., 10).

With a narrower focus on the metropolis of Vienna, Carl E. Schorske's *Fin-de-siècle Vienna. Politics and Culture* (Schorske 1980), another classic, sees the florescence of Viennese culture at the turn of the century as articulating a crisis of bourgeois liberalism that had begun in the 1870s. Schorske locates the growth of Viennese modernism in the tension between its own creativity and the Catholic conservatism of fin-de-siècle political culture. He emphasizes the splintering of groups of intellectuals, and the cultural fragmentation to which it contributed.

This touches on the issue of identity, the focal point of two other important studies. According to Jacques Le Rider, the crucial features of modernism were the identity crises among intellectual elites of Jewish origin and the conflict of gender roles (Le Rider 1993). Michael Pollak's *Vienne 1900. Une identité blessée* (Pollak 1984) takes a similar line, but with a sociological turn: his treatment of the "damaged identity" of artists, intellectuals and scholars is embedded in an analysis of the

rapidly evolving structure of the literary and artistic field and the rules of its "game". To retrace these structural transformations, Pollak combines a study of writers' and artists' works with a structural analysis of the market and of strategic behaviour.

In a cultural studies frame rather than a sociological one, other scholars start from the passing of the grand narratives, as declared by Lyotard, to interrogate individual and collective strategies of legitimation, including identity formation, and address questions of plurality in the Habsburg Monarchy. For Moritz Csáky, Central Europe's plurality is to be found in its ethnic diversity, its polyglossia, and the cultural differentiation arising from, among other things, the coexistence in the region of the three monotheistic world religions (Csáky 2002, 2010). The overlap of Csáky's approach with a postcolonial notion of Habsburg culture is evident. By looking at the Monarchy as a colonial power, he inevitably asks about its inherent hegemonic relations and, accordingly, about its subjects' constant self-reinvention within their heterogeneous lifeworlds.

All these methodological approaches agree that liberalism and the rising bourgeoisie were sources of the late-nineteenth-century burgeoning of intellectual and cultural life. Migratory flows into the Monarchy's cities, too, exacerbated social tensions and further contributed to the emergence of a hybridity that would come to characterize the Monarchy. These developments were reinforced by wider economic and legislative changes such as the relaxation of censorship laws, the liberalization of the book market, improvements in printing technology, the rise of journalism, and state promotion of the arts.

Such heterogeneous and conflicted constellations converged in their greatest concentration in Vienna, the undisputed centre of Habsburg power. "Vienna was more than capital of the Habsburg Empire; it was a state of mind" (Johnston 1972, 115), where the accumulation of administration and capitals bred complex relationships of dependency and privilege. Here, the vibrancy of artistic and intellectual life, including magnificent architecture, contrasted with the social problems of the city's deprived areas and slums. Value systems amplified by liberalism and its effects sharpened these long-standing oppositions, as a strict bourgeois moral code clashed with a rise in the number of births outside wedlock and the newly built Ringstrasse, a gleaming paragon of urban planning (Witzmann 1984, 68), with the growing number of "bed lodgers", able only to rent a bed for a few daytime hours. At the same time, the cultural processes so pivotal to the Habsburg Monarchy in this period were at work – favouring the emergence of hybrid formations out of the diversity of ethnicities and lifeworlds that collided in the capital city[1] and the cultural codes that were generated in managing the daily confrontation with the "other".

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1.   Moritz Csáky examines the heterogeneous cultural influences of urban milieus in the Habsburger Monarchy, describing Vienna as the "capital city of cultural entanglement" (Csáky 2010).

1.   Austrian–Italian perceptions

How should we locate the role of Italian culture in this densely woven fabric? The wealth of literature on Austrian–Italian exchange means I can offer only a selective account here, focusing on the phenomena most relevant to exchange relationships. Methodologically, this chapter is based on the concept of hybridity: I begin not from the notion of distinctly demarcated, pure, and national cultures ("Italy" and "Austria"), but from a network of reciprocal perceptions that, over many centuries and by means of different dynamics of contact, produce particular degrees of "contamination".[2] In the present context, therefore, certain distinctions frequently made in existing scholarship, such as "Germanic/Alpine" versus "Romanic/Mediterranean" (see also Pichler 2000, 16) prove to be untenable.

The widely held mutual perceptions of Italians and Austrians offer clues to experiences that go back centuries and have contributed to the construction of multiple images of self and other. Without going into detail on the dynastic, military or political contacts that lay behind these constructions,[3] it should be pointed out how crassly the "traditional enmity" between Italy and Austria (see Berghold 1997) contradicts the Austrian clichés that today still (or rather again, in the wake of mass tourism) drench Italy in a euphorically enchanted light, perpetuating Goethe's vision of the "land where the lemon trees bloom". By creating an image of an Italy "envied even by nature" (Tauber 1996, 62), Goethe left a lasting mark on ideas of Italy throughout the German-speaking world. Although this image initially grew from the poet's individual experiences of travel and alterity, in time it became stylized into a symbol of universal human experience and thus a model for all subsequent Germanophone encounters with Italy. Accompanying this process was the emergence of a mythos that veiled actual circumstances to depict "Italy" as an idyllic paradise. Contemporary travel accounts, such as the "stroll to Syracuse" recalled by Johann Gottfried Seume (1763–1810) in his *Spaziergang*

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2.   My use of the terms Habsburg Monarchy, Austria or Italy thus does not assume national borders in the narrower sense, within which cultural products are made and across which exchanges with another "country" take place. The labels are intended only to ease the description of the relations of transfer and exchange at stake in any one case.

3.   A few key dates may be helpful here. After the War of the Spanish Succession, the Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714) awarded the Habsburgs the Duchy of Milan, and temporarily also Naples and Sardinia; Modena belonged to the Austrian branch of the Estes from 1814. The Holy Roman Emperor Francis I (Francis Stephen of Lorraine) acquired the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in 1737, and in 1765 Maria Theresa's son Leopold took over Tuscany. After the Napoleonic Wars, the "old order" was restored to a degree, and the Congress of Vienna secured Lombardy, Venetia, Trentino, the Tyrol, Dalmatia and Istria including Trieste for the Habsburg Empire (Pichler 2000, 23–4).

nach Syrakus im Jahre 1802 (1803), did nothing to change this even when they portrayed the obverse of the traditional image, as Seume does from the perspective of a traveller on foot. Historian Fritz Fellner notes, in a study of images of Italy in Austrian journalism and historiography, that the educated fin-de-siècle bourgeoisie of the Habsburg Monarchy's Alpine and Danube regions had an image of Italy rooted in the "experience of a past Italy, the enthusiasm for art and classical culture" (Fellner 1982, 121) – and underpinned by Goethe's *Travels in Italy*. A study of Italian–German translation must take account of the conflict between such glamorized views (largely constructed from outside) and the hostile stereotypes that arose during the political and ideological conflicts around the formation of the Italian nation state in the 1860s. In the following, the cultural actions that resulted from these multifarious contacts between "Italy" and "Austria" will be addressed as part of the translation type "polycultural translation". Because these translational activities took shape primarily within the urban, German-speaking centres of the Habsburg Monarchy, it seems an appropriate first step to examine the Italian presence in these settings, before turning to the intellectual exchange between the German-speaking and the Italian-speaking area as a more or less direct precondition for the production of translations.

The proportion of Italian speakers in the Habsburg Monarchy changed with changing territorial affiliations. Until 1859 – that is, until Lombardy was annexed to the Kingdom of Italy – Italian speakers were among the Empire's largest non-German nationalities. The Italian-speaking population numbered 2,500,000 in 1866; but after Venetia joined the Italian nation state that year, Italian speakers became one of the Habsburg Monarchy's smallest linguistic minorities, and were now scattered geographically rather than living in a territorially coherent area. The 1910 census, counting a total of 27,677,800 Cisleithanians, found an Italian-speaking population (in Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Trieste, Gorizia-Gradisca, Istria, Dalmatia and Vienna, all including the Ladin and Friulian languages) of around 768,000 or 2.8 per cent. For the whole of Cisleithania, in 1910 Italian speakers accounted for 2.6 per cent of those employed in agriculture, 2.4 per cent in industry and skilled trades, 3.2 per cent in trade and transport, and 3 per cent in the public sector and liberal professions (Pichler 2000, 172). Italian speakers tended, then, to live in urban centres. Many belonged to the nobility, clergy or the merchant class; they also included numerous intellectuals and property-owners.

The ties between "Italy" and the Monarchy had, as mentioned, been close for many centuries. They ranged from everyday connections (the gradual integration of Italian chimney sweeps or tailors into urban Habsburg societies and of Habsburg civil servants into Italian-speaking societies, for example) right up to elite culture, as Italians migrated to the Monarchy permanently or temporarily to work as architects or court poets. In terms of the "linguistic landscape" (Gorter

2006), the Italian presence is recorded in its most concentrated and differentiated form in the residential capital, Vienna.

Of the skilled tradespeople, the chimney sweeps had the longest tradition within the Monarchy. Documentation of the first master chimney sweep in Vienna, Johannes of Milan, dates to 1512, and from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century the chimney-sweeping trade was almost entirely in Italian hands (Ricaldone 1986, 135–6). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Italian monopoly gradually broke up as young men from Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary arrived in Vienna and other Habsburg cities to begin their apprentice-ships (Steidl 2003, 138–9). Another trade under varying degrees of Italian control for long stretches of the Monarchy's existence was silk weaving. The first silk weaving workshops were established in the sixteenth century by Northern Italian and French migrants, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the silk weavers' guild was dominated by Vienna-born craftsmen, and in the nineteenth century around 75 per cent of all independent silk weavers came from the city itself. The Viennese silk weavers bought their raw materials mainly from the silkworm farms of northern Italy and the South Tyrol, contributing to the formation of networks that sent out new generations of craftsmen from the region, a similar pattern to the case of chimney sweeps (ibid., 137, 174, 286).

As for the presence of Italian architects, writers and musicians, Luisa Ricaldone's (1986) portrait of "Italian Vienna" looks primarily at the work of the architects who impacted so visibly on Vienna's central districts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – though without managing to tap the expressive power of the Italian Renaissance, for in most cases, despite the impressive achievements of architects such as Pietro Ferrabosco, Francesco de Pozzo or Giovanni Battista Carlone, they did not go beyond attempts at imitation. Especially after the Ottoman Wars, both religious and secular rulers in Vienna set great store by flamboyance in painting and sculpture, and often commissioned splendid works from Italian artists. The position of court poet, a writer officially attached to the House of Habsburg, was a highly prized one, and for its entire existence was held exclusively by Italians, including Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Metastasio. Italian librettists, too, were held in high regard and were welcome guests or residents at the eighteenth-century court. Their encounters with composers led to groundbreaking work, and more generally, as well, the influence of Italian music on Austrian music was very pro-nounced. Over the centuries, the royal court appointed many Italian musicians, kapellmeisters or personal music tutors to the monarchs, and Austrian musicians were often sent to Italy for their training.

Similarly, Italian drama flourished in the Monarchy, and the Italian theatre was the most prominent of the various international theatres in Vienna. Until 1848, its performances were mainly held in Italian and the composers, actors and

singers usually came from Italy, as did the dancers, set decorators and design-
ers. After 1848, however, following the bloody suppression of the Milan uprising
against the Austrian regime, the language question became a national issue in the
theatre as everywhere else. After lengthy debate, it was decided that Italian operas
could be performed by Italians and in the Italian language as part of an Italian
season, normally a two- to three-month period once a year, but the music had to
be provided by the court orchestra (Ricaldone 1986, 59–60). In fact, it is theatre
that most clearly reveals the political embeddedness of cultural production. In
his study of Italian drama at the Hofburgtheater, Josef Feichtinger (1964) notes
that no Italian plays premiered on this prestigious stage between 1839 and 1887
except for a single Goldoni rerun in 1857. He attributes this "gap" mainly to the
individual preferences of the Hofburgtheater's directors, but also stresses its po-
litical aspects: since Alfieri, much of Italian drama had served the Risorgimento,
literary expressions of which were unlikely to meet with interest or sympathy in
the Monarchy. Not until the 1880s did changed political circumstances – a new
rapprochement between Italy and Austria – bring Italian productions back to the
Hofburgtheater stage (ibid., 310).

An important location for personal meetings between many of the agents
discussed here, though especially the "indigenous" Viennese, was the coffee house,
an institution that owed its widespread popularity to the arrival in Vienna of cof-
fee roasters from northern Italy starting in the eighteenth century. Coffee houses
were not only sites of elegant sociability, but also, after 1848, meeting points for
men and women interested in politics and literature. All the daily newspapers
were laid out there, often fuelling heated debate among the regular guests, for
some of whom the coffee house also "provided a place to receive mail and laundry
or to change clothes" (Johnston 1972, 120). Especially in the nineteenth century,
the coffee house acquired the status of a literary café, vividly described by Hilde
Spiel: "There, intellectuals found their true home in a second reality, a world of
the printed word and the masterpiece spoken to the four winds, a domain with its
own moral laws and a classless society" (Spiel 1971, 128).

Intellectual exchange in the narrower sense between the German-speaking and
Italian-speaking areas rested on these long-standing cultural contacts. It permeated
more or less every stratum of society and may be viewed as the direct precondi-
tion for the production and reception of Italian–German translations. I will look
now at some specific elements of this intellectual exchange: Italian-language book
publishing, Italian publishers in Vienna, the Italian-language book stocks of the
circulating libraries, the sensitive issue of Italian-Austrian universities, and recip-
rocal literary perceptions.

The production of books in Italian in the Monarchy says much about the prominence of the Italian intellectual presence, as can be seen in Table 17. In particular, two territorial changes left their mark on Italian-language book production within the Monarchy. In 1859, Lombardy joined the Kingdom of Italy following the Piedmontese troops' successful cooperation with France in the Crimean War; and in 1866, when the war between Austria and Prussia ended at the Battle of Königsgrätz, Venetia gained independence from the Habsburgs and likewise became part of the Kingdom of Italy (Pichler 2000, 119–22). The repercussions of these events can be seen in the subsequent decline of Italian-language book production in the Monarchy. The few works in Italian still being published within Habsburg borders by 1918 appeared in the "unredeemed" (*irridenti*) areas of Trentino, Dalmatia, and Istria with Trieste. Austria had lost the powerful and prolific publishers of Milan and Venice along with much of their potential reading public.

Table 17. Production of Italian books
in the Habsburg Monarchy 1853–99

Year	Number of titles
1853	2,723
1855	1,497
1860	287
1865	404
1870	11
1871	16
1874	9
1875	12
1876	19
1883	33
1899	200

There were, however, also some Italian publishers based in Vienna. The most important of these, T. Mollo and Artaria, flourished at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Artaria was founded in 1770 by Carlo and Francesco Artaria, and specialized in art prints, sheet music and maps. Its imperial printing privilege, granted in 1782, helped it to acquire famous names such as Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, Rossini, Schubert and Beethoven.

In terms of the books in circulation, useful sources are the commercial subscription or circulating libraries, the holdings of which have been researched in some detail (see Table 18). The reading room or *Lesekabinett*, the eighteenth-century predecessor of the circulating libraries that would mushroom in the nineteenth century, had already staked claims to an integrative and sociable function,

albeit one restricted to particular circles of society. For public reading, such claims affected the repertoire of books offered to readers. The circulating libraries were crucial disseminators of the works that they adopted, and as such played an important role in urban literary life. At the same time, as an offshoot of the emancipatory transformation of society that had begun to gather pace in the mid-eighteenth century, they stood for a certain democratization of reading practices. In Vienna, the number of circulating libraries ranged from probably four in 1797 to a peak of 29 in 1880. From the 1880s, the private circulating libraries retreated with the gradual rise of the public library.

Table 18. Italian-language works in Viennese circulating libraries 1772–1905 (Source: Martino 1979, 1982)

Library	Year of data	Total number of titles held	Titles in Italian: number	Titles in Italian: percentage
Karl von Zahlheim	1772	1,776	11	0.62%
Binzsche Leihbibliothek	1790	6,752	56	0.83%
Armbruster's Witwe & Gerold	1848	8,563	379	4.42%
Ehrenberg & Cie.	1892	9,679	114	1.18%
Ludwig & Albert Last	1896	30,034	1,283	4.27%
Ludwig & Albert Last	1905	29,912	1,658	5.54%

Universities, as junctions of intellectual encounter, seem particularly relevant to a description of Austrian–Italian contact. Higher education in general is ascribed great symbolic value and has always offered particularly fertile soil for nationalist disputes, and national and ideological clashes were expressed with particular ferocity in the Habsburg universities. University graduates – civil servants, physicians, lawyers, and so on – participated to a special degree in political decision-making processes (Pichler 2000, 163), so that the universities question became increasingly explosive, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century. The relatively high proportion of Austrian university students whose mother tongue was Italian, as shown in Table 19, indicates the situation.

When Venetia joined the Kingdom of Italy, Austria lost the Italian university of Padua. In compensation, Graz University began to offer the option of sitting the state legal examinations in Italian, while in Innsbruck lectures were held in Italian. This failed to satisfy the majority of the Empire's Italians, who demanded that an Italian-medium university be founded in Trieste. The government tried to block their project by decreeing the establishment of an Italian legal faculty at Innsbruck University in September 1904. But following violent confrontations between Italian and other students on the day of the opening, the faculty was closed and never

Table 19. Percentage of Italian mother-tongue students at Austrian universities (Source: Pichler 2000, 163)

Year	Vienna	Graz	Innsbruck	Technical University Vienna	Technical University Graz
1857	4.1	3.7	20.4	2.4	5.3
1863	3.2	10.3	17.9	–	–
1873	2.7	16.6	23.3	1.7	10.4
1883	3.3	14.3	15.3	–	–
1893	2.2	13.7	13.5	4.2	9.5
1902	2.3	12.7	10.9	4.3	6.9
1913	2.7	15.1	5.5	4.2	8.0

reopened. On the same occasion, the Italian-language lectures in Innsbruck were suspended. After these setbacks, the universities question was discussed at length in the Imperial Council and public awareness of the issue grew, especially as it was now increasingly regarded as part of the larger nationalities problem. The Trieste solution of a separate university, with the battle cry "Trieste o nulla", gained ground again, and after much more unrest in Graz, Innsbruck and Vienna, in February 1913 the budgetary committee of the Austrian House of Deputies resolved, with 30 votes in favour and four (all Slovenian) against, to set up an Italian legal faculty in Trieste, which would open its doors in the winter semester 1915/16. In the end, the plan was thwarted by the outbreak of the First World War (Pichler 2000, 166–7).

The tense political relationships between the Germanocentric central government and the Monarchy's Italian-speaking regions, and between Austria and the newly established state of Italy, impacted more and more noticeably on reciprocal literary perceptions. This aspect has been somewhat neglected by literary criticism – unlike the case of literary relationships between Germany and Italy, the object of much more attention covering whole epochs and genres (for example, Kleszewski and König 1990; Arend-Schwarz and Kapp 1993; Hausmann 1996). For Austria, research has been limited to isolated studies of particular genres, localities or epochs, for example on drama (Kanduth 1997) or Austrian literary treatments of Venice (Giubertoni 1983). What is missing is a detailed investigation of the Austro-Italian relationships that become manifest in texts and paratexts, combining an account of mutual perceptions in a literary context with a discussion of historical relationships. The hesitance in addressing these matters can certainly be attributed to the lasting effects of political hostility on Austro-Italian relations – though it must be said that these have been far more severe in the reverse direction, the reception of Austrian literature in the Italian-speaking world. Not until 1945 did this pattern change radically (see Schmidt-Dengler and Reitani 1992, 173).

The many-layered processes of exchange and assimilation discussed here, spanning different strata of society, clearly reflect the historical relationships between "Austria" and "Italy". The closer the historical contact, the more intense the process of exchange – and the greater the potential for conflict. Persistent political tensions between the *tedeschi* (a term that covered not only Germans and Austrians but the Swiss and even the Dutch) and *italianità* were magnified by the emergence of a sense of Italian nationhood. They reinforced prejudices that hampered peaceful coexistence over a very long period of time.

In his study *Italien-Austria. Von der Erbfeindschaft zur europäischen Öffnung*, Joe Berghold (1997) addresses five dimensions of this "heredity enmity": the traditional contrast of mentality and lifestyle between the Germanic and the Latin world; the traces left by the barbarian invasion of Rome; tensions arising from Italy's urbanized development versus Austria's more agrarian evolution; the formation of political fronts as modern society emerged (Enlightenment and "old order", secularization and religious traditionalism, nation state and multiethnic empire, and so on); and the disputes over ethnicity and autonomy in Trentino and the Tyrol (ibid., 69–70).[4] Berghold thus bases his analysis of the long-standing strains between Italy and Austria largely on pairs of binary opposites. Through such dichotomies, his account of the preconditions for mutual perceptions between Italy and Austria not only highlights divisions, but perpetuates them. As the following analysis of Italian translations in Habsburg Austria will show, however, even if complex historical links form the basis of reciprocal images, the multiplicity of different encounters on many levels – political, economic, and cultural – resulted in new configurations that, at least in part, questioned or overcame such dichotomies, not always consensually and often conflictually. The cultural practice of translating offers a prime opportunity to observe these factors at work. The remainder of this chapter examines how they were generated, represented and discussed in Italian–German translations between 1848 and 1918 and their paratexts.

2.   Translations from Italian in the German-speaking area

In terms of the typology of translations set out in Chapter 2, translations from Italian published in the Habsburg Monarchy can be classed as transcultural translation, since most appeared after 1866 – after the end of Habsburg territorial dominance in Italy – and were thus products that crossed the Monarchy's borders. However, the

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4.   See also Fritz Fellner's analysis of barriers in the encounter between Italy and Austria (Fellner 1982), discussed for the context of Italian–German translations by Wolf (2001, 163–4).

very fact that those borders changed over time makes Italian–German translation a mixed form, located between transcultural translation and polycultural translation.

The scale of translating from Italian into German in the period from 1848 and 1918 is remarkable. During these years, more than 1,700 German translations from Italian were published in monographs, collected volumes or periodicals. As discussed in the previous chapter, this figure was established primarily with the aid of a German Research Foundation (DFG) project, which collated a bibliography of German translations from Italian under the guidance of Frank-Rutger Hausmann (University of Freiburg) and Volker Kapp (University of Kiel) (Kapp et al. 2004). The group offered me access to data on 1,320 titles prior to the bibliography's publication. I expanded this list through detailed research in many different libraries. For Austria, these were the Austrian National Library, the Mekhitarist Library of Vienna, the university libraries of Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck and Salzburg, the Vienna City and State Library, and the Styrian State Library. In Germany, they were the State Library in Berlin and the Bavarian State Library in Munich. Research in the available bibliographies (for example Rössig 1997; Saarbrücker Übersetzungsbibliographie 2006) and monographs (for example Vignazia 1995) yielded further titles. The contemporary bibliography *Kayser's Vollständiges Bücherlexikon* (Kayser 1848–1918) proved a particularly rich source. Further data were found by systematically searching a number of literary periodicals, including *Wiener Rundschau* (Vienna), *Der Amethyst* (Vienna), *Aus fremden Zungen* (Leipzig, Berlin, Vienna), *Die Gesellschaft* (Munich, Dresden), *Deutsche Rundschau* (Berlin and elsewhere) and *Die Zukunft* (Berlin). In all, I found a further 421 translations, bringing the total number of Italian–German translations for the period to 1,741; this is not to say that I may not have missed other titles. The corpus includes only the first edition of each translation.

I scanned in the translations' title pages and paratexts at the holding libraries,[5] and created a database with the following categories (see Appendix): running number, country of publication, author, author's gender, translator, translator's gender, naming of translator, year of publication, place of publication, publisher, periodical title, paratext (dedication, preface, afterword, etc.), genre, publication type (monograph, chapter, magazine contribution, etc.), century of source text's publication. Table 20 breaks down the countries of publication.

Works from all centuries and every theme and genre were translated. The translations may be regarded as a reasonably representative reflection of publications in Italian during the same period. The reasons for the relatively high level of translation activity seem to lie in the increasing involvement of cultural brokers during the second half of the nineteenth century (although this was less true of

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5.   With very few exceptions (25 titles), I was able to locate all the works.

Table 20. Publication of Italian–German translations, by area

Country of publication	Number	Percentage
German lands / German Empire	1,435	82.42%
Habsburg Monarchy	254	14.58%
Switzerland	32	1.84%
Italy (post-1866)	10	0.58%
No place named	10	0.58%
Total	1,741	100%

Austria), the rising demand for popular "entertainment literature", and finally the growing number of periodicals published.

The wide range of genres in the translation corpus includes epic and lyric poetry, drama, religious writing, and specialized works in the natural and human sciences, but it is lyric poetry that heads the list (see also Elwert 1990). Most of Italy's best-known poets were translated into German several times – especially those from earlier periods, such as Dante, Petrarch or Leopardi, whereas late-nineteenth-century poets were translated less systematically and in most cases only once. This applies to Giosuè Carducci, Ada Negri, Giovanni Pascoli, Lorenzo Stecchetti and Annie Vivanti, for example; an exception is Gabriele D'Annunzio, with no fewer than 44 translations, 19 of them published in the Habsburg Monarchy. The enthusiasm for the Renaissance that began towards the end of the century is reflected in the interest in Michelangelo's poetry (15 translations), along with works by Jacopo Sannazaro, Vittoria Colonna and Lorenzo de Medici.

Narrative genres are also well represented. Among the novels, novellas and tales, including young people's literature, are favourites such as Alessandro Manzoni, Ippolito Nievo, Antonio Fogazzaro, Giovanni Verga, Edmondo De Amicis, Carlo Collodi or Emilio Salgari, in some cases with retranslations. Many classic works of epic poetry also appear, often as retranslations: Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto, Boiardo and Tasso. In narrative fiction, the cultural broker Paul Heyse played a vital mediating role. He endeavoured to bring contemporary Italian literature to a German-speaking public, both by translating himself and by encouraging other translators (such as Isolde Kurz and Alfred Friedmann). The narrative genres include numerous female authors, especially Grazia Deledda, Neera (i.e., Anna Radius-Zuccari), Matilde Serao and Maria Antonietta Torelli-Viollier. The lion's share of novel translations are light or middlebrow works such as those by Salvatore Farina (40 translations), Antonio Bresciani (13), Gerolamo Rovetta (12), Enrico Castelnuovo (8) or Antonio Giulio Barrili (4). Apart from Manzoni's *I promessi sposi*, historical novels do not feature prominently, with just three translations each of Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi and Antonietta Klitsche de la Grange and two each of Tommaso Grossi and Cesare Cantù. The corpus includes no representatives of the *scapigliatura* movement.

Although drama translations, including libretti, continued to be significant in the nineteenth century, their importance decreased compared with the previous century. The focus of theatrical translation appears to have shifted to music theatre, as indicated by the fact, for example, that *Cavalleria rusticana* came to prominence as Mascagni's opera and not as Verga's play. Links with tradition are to be found in the translation of Goldoni (17 translations), Alfieri (10) or Gozzi (8). Light entertainment seems to have enjoyed success, if temporarily: there are many translated plays by Vittorio Bersezio, Roberto Bracco, Giuseppe Cantagalli, Paolo Ferrari, Tommaso Gherardi del Testa, Paolo Giacometti, Giuseppe Giacosa, Marco Praga and Gerolamo Rovetta. The translated libretti in the corpus are mainly by Da Ponte and Metastasio.

Religious and theological writing accounts for a substantial part of the corpus. Publication of the 58 translated tracts clusters in the first two decades of the period – a clear indication that the genre was on its way out of favour. Religious biographies (24 translations) also found translators and presumably readers, but general religious texts are the most numerous, with 87 translations. Works by religious men and women from the thirteenth to the twentieth century were translated, with an emphasis on the seventeenth century (Paolo Segneri, 19, and Lorenzo Scupoli, 12), followed by the nineteenth-century writer Giacchino Ventura (13). As in the case of tracts, the frequency with which translated religious writings appeared shows a downward trend in the period: one such translation was published every year until the mid-1860s, after that only one every two to three years.

The translation of non-fiction texts rose over the period, especially from the last third of the nineteenth century onwards. As well as the general popularization of knowledge during the nineteenth century and thus the increase in Italian originals in this field, the rise appears to indicate closer relationships of exchange between Italy and Austria/Germany. A role was also played by the growth in specialized publications and academic proceedings as vehicles for scholarly and scientific writing. The establishment of such publications was partly due to the institutionalization of academic disciplines at this time, which prompted new scientific associations and the organization of national and international congresses. Reinhard Wittmann also stresses the increasing volume of production achieved by academic and scientific presses and the many new journals designed to keep readers abreast of the latest research, once again a result of the consolidation of the natural and human sciences as modern scholarly disciplines (Wittmann 1999, 266). My corpus reveals extensive translation of texts in the human and natural sciences, many of which appeared in periodicals. Among the humanities and social sciences, the following disciplines stand out: anthropology (54 translations of works by Paolo Mantegazza alone), philosophy (33, including 9 works by Giordano Bruno and 5 by Benedetto Croce), history (21 in history and 10 in contemporary history, with a special interest in the writings of socialist historian Guglielmo Ferrero, who

collaborated with the Italian sociologist and historian Cesare Lombroso – 15 of the historical works are by Ferrero), art history (22 translations, mainly texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), art and literary criticism (14, including just one work by Benedetto Croce) and cultural history (11 translations).

Translations in the natural sciences come from various disciplines, most of which were just becoming established: medicine (59 translations between 1874 and 1910, especially in physiology, with 13 works by Angelo Mosso and Giulio Bizzozero, and pathology with 7 translations; there are also 4 translations dealing with homeopathy), psychiatry (15, 10 of them works by Cesare Lombroso), forensic psychology (23, including 8 works by Lombroso and 5 by his close collaborator Enrico Ferri), physics and chemistry (19 and 4 translations each; see also Kernbauer 1995), mathematics (7 translations), and geology (2 translations; see Vaccari 1999).

Political writings and travel accounts deserve special mention. Apart from four texts by Machiavelli, the political texts in translation all come from the nineteenth or twentieth century, with only 11 of the 47 political translations (1848–1918) appearing before the founding of the Italian state and Italy's independence from Austria in 1866. Because the Germanophone translation context goes beyond Austria, however, no clear historical correlation can be assumed. Most interesting here is the degree to which the canon of the Italian political literature of the Risorgimento was translated into German. The corpus contains several translations of works by Cesare Balbo, Massimo D'Azeglio, Giuseppe Garibaldi, Giuseppe Mazzini and Guglielmo Pepe, but none of the key texts on the topic. Only detailed case studies, tracked against the relevant German-language literature, would enable us to establish how far these translations constructed or reinforced a political discourse around Italian nation-building. The relevant periodicals – the main venue for political writings – would have to be systematically searched. Nevertheless, even the available, partial data suggest that the selection of texts for translation and the use of paratexts functioned as control mechanisms truncating and filtering the contemporary discourse of nationalism. Translated works by the socialist theorists Arturo Labriola and Enrico Ferri were also published (in Leipzig and Berlin), along with numerous texts on church–state relations – the object of much media attention especially after the dissolution of the Papal State in 1871 (for example Carlo Curci, Raffaele Mariano, Marco Minghetti).

The translations of Italian-language travel writing commence in 1880 (with a single earlier occurrence, dated 1855) and continue unbroken until 1910. In this genre as well, it is difficult to identify a particular publication policy, although it is notable that only one of the 23 translations was published on Habsburg territory (De Amicis, *Marokko*, 1883). Numerically, Edmondo De Amicis is best represented, with six translations (two of these, *Skizzen aus dem Soldatenleben* of 1885

and 1897, are of a single source text); there are four works by Marco Polo and three by Gino Bertolini. Around half of these texts are accounts of travels outside Europe. The authors are all men, although 25 per cent of the texts are translated by women (6 texts do not name a translator).

Further translations are found in the areas of jurisprudence (9, including 3 translations of Cesare Beccaria's classic *Dei delitti e delle pene*), military science (6, including 4 works by Raimondo Montecuccoli), economics (5), social criticism (6), sport (5, mainly fencing) and parapsychology (18).

My analysis of these data aims to stake out the spectrum of translation of Italian texts in the German-speaking area, according to particular parameters, as a way of drawing up a broad picture of Italian–German transfer. I first compare the individual countries, as differing contexts for translation production, before moving on to the specific situation in the Habsburg Monarchy.

The total number of translations of Italian works into German in all the countries investigated, shown in Figure 12, is 1,741. The relatively constant average of around 14–16 publications per year until 1875 suddenly leaps in 1876, due to the inclusion in the database of a medical anthology that appeared in the German town of Gießen and accounts for 26 of the total 42 publications (62 per cent) that year. From this point, annual production evens out at around 20 works per year. The second sharp rise, in the 1890s, arises from the publication of ten translations of one author, Guglielmo Ferrero, in the Viennese journal *Neue Revue* in 1894; the same year, the *Neue Revue* also published two novellas by Gabriele D'Annunzio. Thereafter, the trend remains more or less steady in the region of an average 40 works per year until production drops dramatically with the First World War, collapsing to a mere five works in 1917 and 1918.
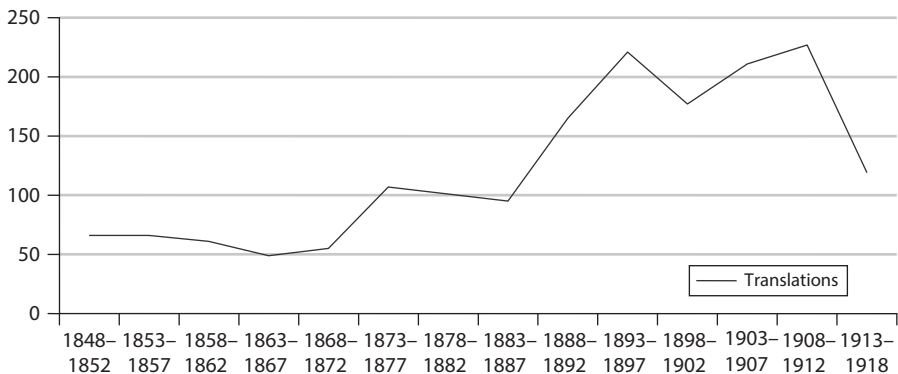
Figure 12. Total number of Italian–German translations

Figure 13 indicates that compared with the sharp fluctuations in Germany, the level of translation publishing in the Habsburg Monarchy remained relatively constant. The rise in the 1890s arises from the analysis of periodicals as mentioned above; after that point, production resumes its regular pattern, although no translations at all could be discovered for the years 1910, 1911, 1913 or 1916 in the Habsburg Monarchy. Translations published in Germany set the trend for overall production, thanks to the denser network of publishers, translators and other mediators, and to the fact that relations between Italy and Germany were far less strained than those between Italy and Austria.
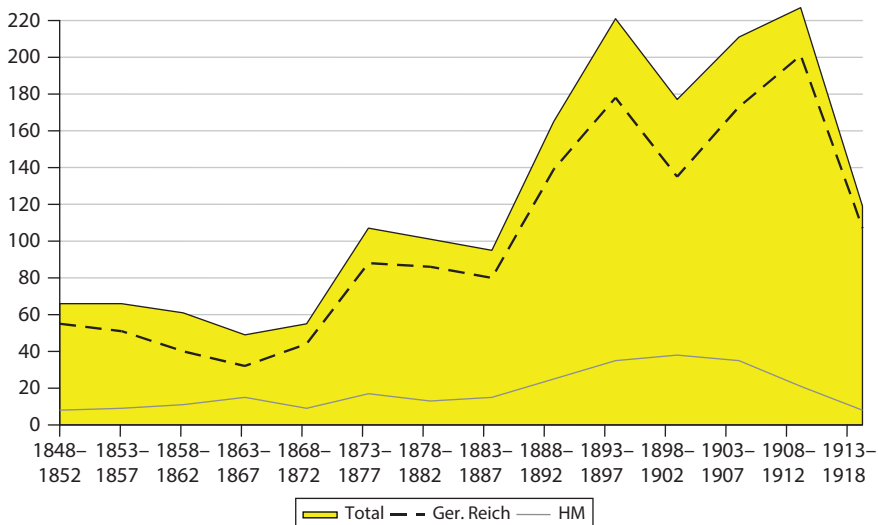
Figure 13. Number of Italian–German translations compared with total book production in the German Reich and in the Habsburg Monarchy (HM)

Table 21 breaks down the translations by genre and place of publication. As the summary of genres translated in the Monarchy (Figure 14) shows, the largest group of translations is lyric poetry with 16 per cent, followed by stories and novellas, then novels (including young people's literature). Drama, including both comedy and tragedy, is well represented, at 12 per cent. Religious and theological writings traditionally make up a large share of translation production (13 per cent); they include tracts, the biographies of saints or monks and nuns, and church history. As mentioned, specialized texts were increasingly translated from Italian, with 19 texts or 6 per cent from the domain of science (including medicine, psychology and forensic psychology) and 15 texts or 5 per cent from the humanities (mainly philosophy, cultural history and literary studies). Due in part to the existence of several specialized series, art history is also well represented (13 translations or almost 5 per cent).

Table 21. Number of Italian–German translations by genre and country of publication

Genre	Germany	Habsburg Monarchy	Switzerland	Italy
Anthropology	49			
Art history	9	13		
Astronomy	1			
Autobiography	7	2		
Biography	33	3		
Chemistry	3		1	
Children's literature	3			
Church history	14	7	1	
Comedy	49	9		1
Contemporary history	9	1		
Cultural history	13	2	1	
Cultural policy	4	1		
Dialogue	6	1	1	
Drama	62	16		3
Economics and business	2	3		
Epic poetry	44	4		
Fairytale	6			
Forensic psychology	18	5		
Geography	1			
Geology	2			
Historical novel	20	2	4	
History	19	1	1	
Jurisprudence and political science	5	4		
Legend	2			
Letters	14			
Libretto	10	5		
Literary studies	9			
Lyric poetry	209	32	2	
Mathematics	6	1		
Medicine	55	4		
Memoirs	22	3		
Military theory	2	4		
Natural philosophy	2	1		
Novella	110	16	1	1
Novel	125	27	1	3
Obituary	1	1		
Palaeography		3		
Parapsychology	15	1	2	
Philosophy	31	2		
Physics	16	3		
Politics	35	9	2	1

Table 21. (*continued*)

Genre	Germany	Habsburg Monarchy	Switzerland	Italy
Proverbs	1			
Psychiatry	1			
Psychology	11	4		
Racial psychology	1			
Religious text	72	9	6	1
Religious biography	15	9		
Satire	6	1		
Sermon	11	1		
Social criticism	4	2		
Sonnet	32	3	1	
Sport	3	2		
Tale	102	13	1	
Technology	1			
Textbook		1		
Theology		1		
Theory of science	1	1		
Tract	42	10	4	
Tragedy	26	8		
Travel account	22	1		
Women's non-fiction	6			
Young people's literature	17	2	2	
No information	18		1	
Total	**1,435**	**254**	**32**	**10**

The 1,741 translations were published in 123 locations, as shown in Figure 15, which includes the locations of newspapers and journals (the average is 7.15 translations per place of publication). As is to be expected, the list is headed by Berlin (345 translations or 20 per cent), Leipzig (324, 19 per cent) and Vienna (205, 12 per cent); these are followed at a considerable distance by German cities such as Stuttgart (118, 7 per cent) or Regensburg (81, 5 per cent). In 59 locations (4 per cent) only a single translation was published. The concentration of translations in a few locations points to those cities' intense networks of mediation and accumulation of different forms of capital in Bourdieu's sense.

Figure 16 indicates that within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, four fifths of all translations were published in the royal residence and capital, Vienna (201 translations or around 80 per cent); Innsbruck, Brixen, Prague, Graz, Trieste and Salzburg follow at a distance. The category "other" covers those towns or cities where only one translation was published (Opatija/Abbazia, Bozen/Bolzano,

Religion, theology
13%

Other
15%

Human sciences
5%

Play
12%

Natural sciences
6%

Art history
5%

Story, novella
14%

Poetry
16%

Novel
14%
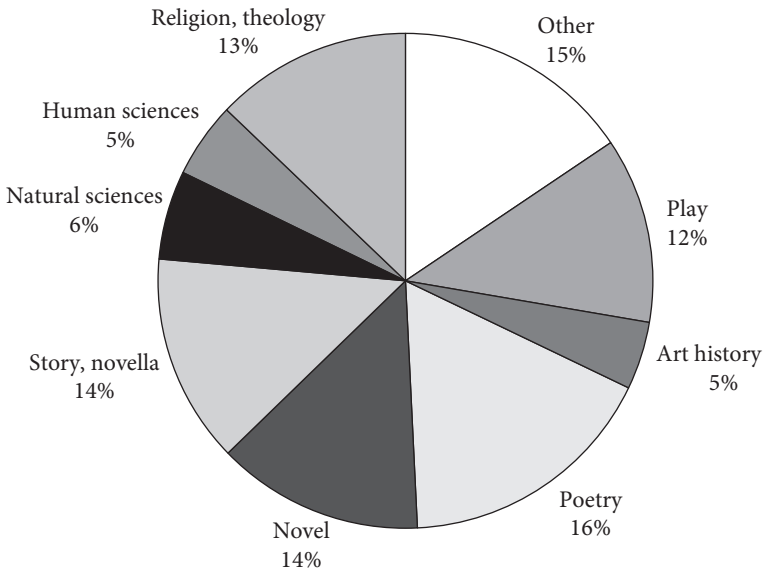
Figure 14. Italian–German translations in the Habsburg Monarchy, by genre

Berlin
20%

Other
28%

Leipzig
19%

Dresden
4%

Munich
5%

Regensburg
5%

Stuttgart
7%
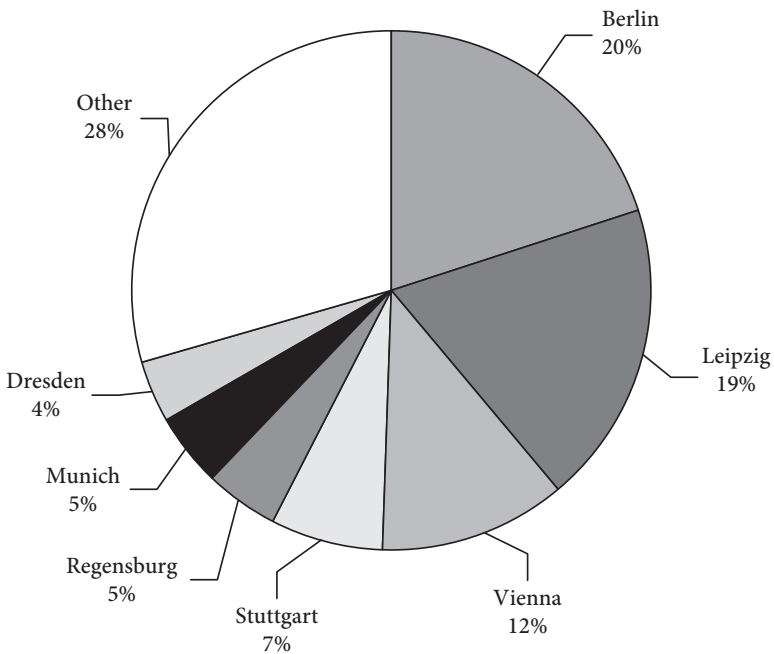
Vienna
12%

Figure 15. Italian–German translations in the German-speaking area, by place of publication
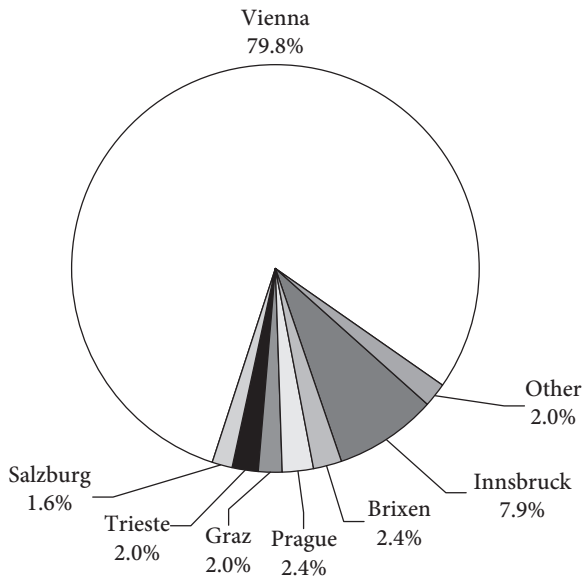
Figure 16. Italian–German translations in the Habsburg Monarchy, by place of publication

Feldkirch, Linz). Viennese companies published the whole gamut of genres, from belles lettres to drama and poetry to scientific literature, with a total of 51 publishers and 16 periodicals. Innsbruck's translation production was concentrated within three publishers, Wagner, Rauch and Vereinsbuchhandlung. Wagner carried mainly tracts and other religious texts, along with three monographs on palaeography; Vereinsbuchhandlung translated exclusively tracts and sermons; while Rauch showed no particular specialism, with only four translations. In Brixen, four of the total six translations were published by Weger (three religious works and one drama); Prague's production, mainly non-religious works, includes six translations published by five different publishers and one journal.

The distribution of Italian–German translations according to their publication format, shown in Table 22, gives an idea of the significance of each publication type across all geographical areas. Three quarters of the translations appeared as monographs. Even bearing in mind that the corpus probably does not include every single translation published in a periodical or collection, the predominance of monographs compared with other formats remains striking – especially given the many conditions that must be fulfilled before a translation is published as a freestanding title rather than part of a larger work.

When annual translation statistics list items in an anthology as a separate entries, the publication of the big anthology may lead to a rapid jump in the translation figures. In the present case, a rise of this kind appears in 1889, with the publication of

Table 22. Total Italian–German translations by publication type

Publication type	Number	Percentage
Monograph	1,298	74.5%
Item in periodical	297	17.1%
Anthology	73	4.2%
Edited collection	72	4.1%
Item in monograph	1	0.1%
Total	**1,741**	**100%**

two anthologies. These were translated by Paul Heyse as the first and third volume of the series "Italian Authors since the Mid-Eighteenth Century", published by Wilhelm Hertz in Berlin. Another large-scale anthology followed in 1911, *Italienische Lyrik des Mittelalters* ("Italian Poetry of the Middle Ages"), with 33 translations, published by Köhler of Dresden. The 1914 anthology *Gesammelte Dichtungen* ("Collected Poems") published by Huber of Frauenfeld, with its seven translations of fourteenth- to nineteenth-century Italian works, is a modest venture by comparison.

Figure 17 records the naming of translators, showing that translators were already named to a substantial extent even in the early phase of the period. Whereas translators' anonymity remains fairly constant until 1883, the naming of translators rises dramatically in the last decade of the nineteenth century. This is presumably due to general changes in publishers' practices and more specifically to a growth in translators' confidence – as a later part of this chapter will show, they appear to be increasingly insisting on visibility. The dip at the end of the period results from the collapse of translation publishing under wartime conditions.
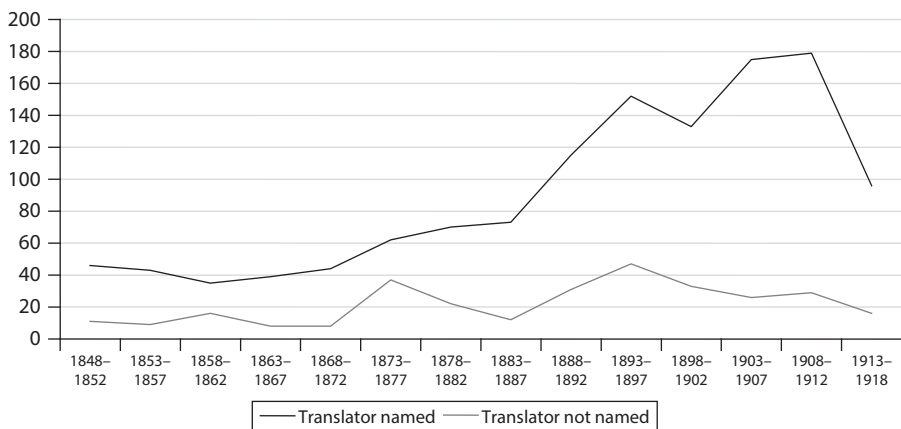
Figure 17. Naming of translators in all Italian–German translations, 1848–1918

An analysis of the gender ratio shows that 1,565 of the source-text authors were men (89 per cent) and 152 women (9 per cent). In 15 cases the gender could not be established because only an initial is given, and in another nine the author is anonymous. The ratio is different when it comes to the translators, of whom 971 are male (56.5 per cent) and 191 female (11.1 per cent); the gender of 103 translators (6 per cent) could not be established. Although the number of anonymous translators is high, at more than a quarter of the total (453 or 26.3 per cent), extrapolating from the named translators still shows a greater presence of women as translators than as authors.

Paratexts, of which more will be said in the next section of this chapter, have an important role to play in the reception of translations, so that the inclusion of one or more substantial paratexts in a translated publication is particularly relevant. Table 23 indicates the share of translations with and without such paratexts in the various countries of publication. There are no conspicuous geographical differences in the practices of the different publishers and translators, but the tendency to add a paratext does appear to be slightly stronger among publishers in the Habsburg Monarchy.

Table 23. Italian–German translations with and without paratexts, by area

Country	Paratext	No paratext
German lands / German Reich	409	1,026
Habsburg Monarchy	78	176
Switzerland	9	23
Italy (after 1866)	0	10
Total 1,731*	**496**	**1,235**

* The difference from the total number of translations (1,741) is due to ten translations where no information could be obtained.

Figures 18 and 19 examine the phenomenon of the paratext in more detail, limited now to the translations published in the Habsburg Monarchy. Figure 18 shows the inclusion of paratexts – prefaces, introductions, afterwords, commentaries, dedications – in Habsburg translations by decade. Whereas the number of translations with and without paratexts is relatively balanced until around the mid-1880s, the decade 1889–98 sees an enormous rise in translations without paratexts. This growth, beginning in 1894, can be attributed primarily to that year's publication of ten translations of a single author, Ferrero, and the two D'Annunzio novellas in the Viennese *Neue Revue*, as mentioned above. The considerable number of 17 translations without paratexts published in 1896 is due in very large part to the magazine *Aus fremden Zungen* ("From Foreign Tongues"), with 12 translations (70 per cent).

The practice of including paratexts in translations not only changes over time, but also varies according by publisher. Figure 19 shows the distribution of translations with and without paratexts for houses that published between 18 (Hartleben) and 3 (Graeser and others) translations. A further 10 companies published 2
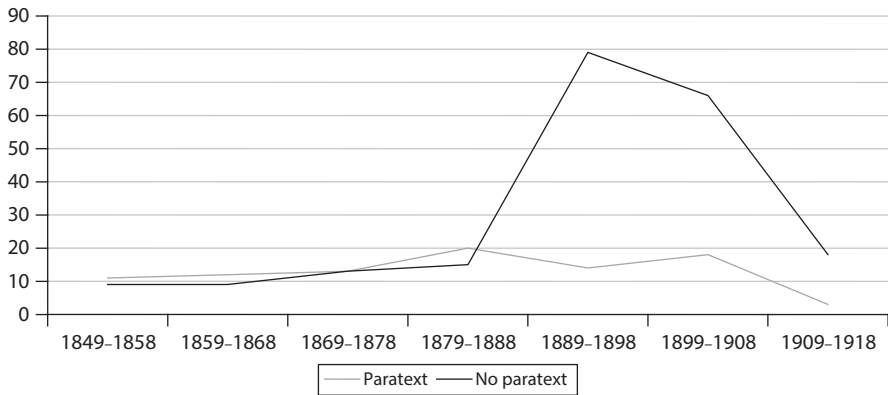
Figure 18. Italian–German translations with and without paratexts
(Habsburg Monarchy), by decade
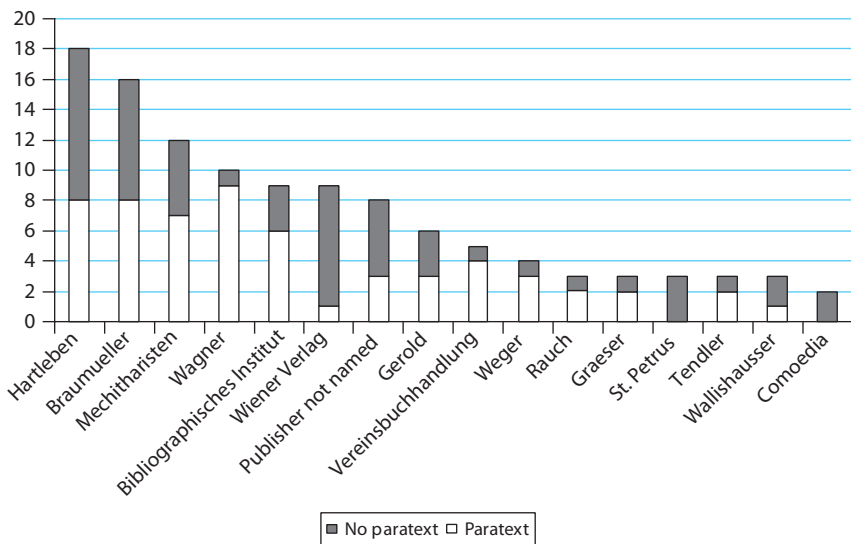
Figure 19. Italian–German translations with and without paratexts
(Habsburg Monarchy), by publisher

translations each, while 61 companies published 1 translation each. In total, 108
of the translations by book publishers have no paratext, while 85 have a paratext.
Clearly, some companies were more eager than others to add paratexts to their
translations. As we will see later in the chapter, the decision to include paratexts is
governed by the particular concerns of the various participants in the translation
process (including both production and distribution), in collaborations that leave
their mark on the habits of individual publishing companies over the years.

In the translations that appeared in newspapers and magazines, paratexts are far less significant: of the 108 translations published in periodicals, only six have a paratext. The growth of periodicals as a form of translation publishing in the period therefore pushes down the overall prevalence of paratexts.

The distribution of translations with and without paratexts by genre is also of interest. Translated lyric poetry (including sonnets) and narrative fiction including epic poems, along with drama and specialized texts (medicine, law, economics, psychology, palaeography, military theory) show a tendency to be published without paratexts. This can be explained on the one hand by the custom of publishing drama translations as scripts, thus by definition without paratexts, and on the other by the fact that many of the relevant genres (novellas, tales and especially specialized works) appeared in periodicals, which generally dispense with paratexts for their translations.

3. Transformations of the field of translation

Having looked at the broader picture, what were the more specific processes of translating in the Habsburg Monarchy? Which forces impacted on translators' actions, and what were the relationships between agents in the Italian and the Germanophone-Habsburg space?

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic forms seems to offer a useful way of approaching translation events in the Habsburg Monarchy, promising insights into the power relationships underlying a translation's production and dissemination and the particular dynamics at work between the agents and institutions involved. However, it works less well when we begin to examine processes of mediation between the various fields – processes that form the basis of translation in the narrower sense. This is principally because Bourdieu's theoretical toolbox cannot easily be applied to a "space of mediation", if only because that space is, by definition, temporary. Can Bourdieusian field theory be dynamized in such a way that it allows us to understand the workings of the cross-field connections inherent to translation as mediation?

Social fields and their rules of operation

According to Bourdieu, a field operates on the basis of four fundamental principles: its constitution as an autonomous field of practice; its ordering as a hierarchical structure; its dynamism as driven by struggle between agents; and its reproduction as the condition of its continued existence in society (see Papilloud 2003, 59). In view of this definition of the field's operating principles, it is difficult to

apply Bourdieu's framework to what I have provisionally labelled the "space of mediation", which generates the actions of the agents of translation. A focus on the transfers between various fields, and thus on the phenomenon of mediation, shows that the operating principles of the space of mediation overlap only to a rudimentary degree with those of the field as described by Bourdieu.

Although the mediatory space, just like a social field, comes into being gradually through the stakes of its agents, in the translation context those agents are concerned to build not lasting relationships but temporary and contingent ones. As a result, they act within comparatively weak structures. This does not mean that the space of mediation evolves in a historical vacuum: it is built out of existing structural elements and formations, and the configuration of its agents' interests – even if at first glance they seem purely individual and reactive – appear in configurations that are often based on existing networks. In contrast to the field's high degree of autonomy (bearing in mind that "autonomy" itself is always a construction), the mediatory space shows very little autonomization. This is because the connections and encodings that constitute transfer arise afresh in each new situation, often following rules and values different from the ones that prevail in the literary, religious or other field into which mediation takes place. Bourdieu attributes the inception and consolidation of the literary field to codification and consecration processes that foster autonomization – but the socializing factors that shape the space of mediation or translation are very different. They are comparatively short-lived, undergoing constant change due to the fluctuating interests of individual agents and the relatively low level of institutionalization in the space. In this sense, they contrast with the logics of the literary field, being far more strongly exposed to external forces and far less capable of achieving independence.

The Bourdieusian principle of hierarchical order within the field is another area of divergence. Bourdieu's field is ordered by a structure of power relations between differentiated agents. Every field is the site of a ceaseless battle between two principles of hierarchization: the heteronomous principle pursued by the agents who dominate the field politically and economically, and the autonomous principle, defined by independence from economic and political factors (see Jurt 2001). This means that a field is suffused by competition and by efforts to preserve or upset the balance of power. Bourdieu further contextualizes a field such as the literary one by emphasizing its dominated position with the wider "field of power", which he defines as the "space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy the dominant positions in different fields" (Bourdieu 1995, 215). The participants in mediation processes, too, act within hierarchical power relationships, which are likewise articulated in the deployment of different capitals, but the battles over these stakes are not generally based on the agents' endeavours to establish their own positions.

Such positions dissolve (at least partially) once the act of mediation is completed, and the battle for them cannot form the basis of some greater or lesser permanence for the space, in contrast to the case of the literary field.

The third of Bourdieu's principles is the constitutive struggle for legitimacy within the field. In the logic of the field's autonomy, the crucial issue is acknowledgement by the agents and institutions internal to the field, not external acknowledgement by the market. Such "internal" legitimacy is certainly also relevant to transfer, but given that autonomization is not a ruling principle in the mediatory space, legitimacy there can only accrue from the accumulation of many different phases of recognition. In turn, the relative ephemerality in relationships between actors means that agents in the space of mediation cannot aspire to lasting legitimacy. This is illustrated by the codification of the figure of the "writer". In the literary field, it is perfectly possible for a "monopoly of literary legitimacy" to be asserted that can determine not only who should be permitted to *call* her or himself a writer, but who actually *is* a writer (Bourdieu 1995, 224). The same principle does not apply to the figure of the "translator", since he or she often translates as a secondary occupation and enjoys little prestige in an uncodified profession – further proof of the relatively weak structures in the space of mediation.

The fourth of Bourdieu's operating principles is that the field reproduces itself to secure its own continuity. The field's dynamism, and thus its survival within society, arises partly from the stepwise displacement of dominant agents and institutions by the agents and institutions they once dominated. The reproduction of the field through the struggle of its agents, then, means not that its elements are reproduced precisely, but that its structure – and thus its order – is constantly re-formed (see Papilloud 2003, 73). The mediatory space assures its own reproduction in a somewhat similar way. The exact structure in which it has produced an act of mediation dissolves, yet its components do not disappear: they reassemble in different configurations and at different times to form new structures. New spaces of mediation always exhibit certain continuities with their predecessors and many lines of tradition are preserved, but they are recombined and renegotiated in the context of the particular agents' stakes. Thus, the aspect of regeneration, a precondition for the field's continued existence that is embodied principally in the positions of its agents, is also inherent to the mediatory space; like the field, it depends on the gradual succession of agents. However, its characteristically fluctuating relationships (a result of the differing forms of mediation) create correlations profoundly different from the struggle of agents for positions in the literary field. In other words, whereas the field is marked by *reproduction*, the basis for a continued existence despite a changing form, the space of mediation is marked by constant *reconstitution*.

Given all this, how should the phenomenon of mediation itself, the factor of interconnection, be explained more concretely? The study of cultural transfer processes draws attention to the transitional locations where productive cultural exchange takes place, and this focus reveals how little Bourdieu's and his immediate followers' framework is able to tell us about the act of translation as mediation. Their model requires expansion, which I now propose to do with the help of Bhabha's notion of the "third space".

Dynamizing the Bourdieusian field

The theorem of the "third space" presents striking analogies with the figure of the mediatory space as outlined in this book. Both concepts highlight impermanence, and both address the position "in between": the third space arises from the overlap of hybrid cultures and is a contact zone of potential dispute between them. Bhabha regards hybridity as an active force that challenges the prevailing power relations, changing the in-between zone from a source of conflict into something productive:

> [W]e see that all forms of culture are continually in a process of hybridity. But for me the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third emerges, rather hybridity to me is the "third space" which enables other positions to emerge.   (Bhabha 1990, 211)

As an interstitial zone, the third space is a transition; imagining it gives us a glimpse of "the incompatible, the silenced, the unconscious" (Hárs 2002). In this sense, it should be thought of not as a static, identity-giving location but as a process, for "a place can be described, but its history has to be rewritten again and again" (Wägenbaur 1996, 38). The tensions generated by encounters in the third space are essential to the dynamic emergence of new ascriptions of meaning. In the third space, the relationships of actors pursuing different agendas are entangled and power struggles fought out. And in the third space, the juxtaposition of different and incompatible lifeworlds means that social interaction is absolutely dependent on negotiation. These encounters, which irreversibly alter and reposition each of their participants, also reflect the temporariness of the effects exerted by actors who – as I noted when discussing the mediatory space – appear only fleetingly, as providers of information or translators in the narrower sense. They do not fight for lasting positions, but leave the field after completing their interactions and seek other spheres of action, often at the intersections of other fields. Alongside its interstitial location and its temporary character, a further feature of a space of mediation conceived in terms of the third space is its processuality. Both figures of thought share this feature with the Bourdieusian field, but, as I have argued, the notion of field fails to account adequately for the role of transfer in its processuality.

As a heuristic construct, the space of mediation, like the third space, is located in the in-between and interacts with the fields surrounding it, thereby challenging the notion of a discrete "translation field". However, some translation studies research has begun to conceptualize just such a translation field using Bourdieu's field theory – after all, translators are the prime mediators between fields – despite the fact that, as I have shown, the functions of social fields as proposed by Bourdieu do not explain cultural transfer. Daniel Simeoni's Bourdieusian study of the translator's habitus, for example, makes no explicit mention of the transfer aspect so central to translation, although he does note that a "translational field" is possible only to a limited extent, mainly because of the historically submissive stance of translators (which he aims to demonstrate empirically) and the associated absence of strongly anchored positions in the field: "The pseudo- or would-be field of translation is much less organized than the literary field, its structuring being far more heteronomous for reasons having much to do with the ingrained subservience of the translator" (Simeoni 1998, 19). Without commenting further on this pseudo-field, Simeoni adds:

> As long as this assumption [of the translator's subservience] holds, it will be difficult to envisage actual products of translation as anything more than the results of diversely distributed *social* habituses or specific habituses *governed by the rules pertaining to the field in which the translation takes place*. (Ibid.; original emphasis)

Simeoni regards the variety of translator habituses itself as proof that the translation process is located in different fields, each of which is subject to different transformations with changing circumstances (ibid., 31).

This aspect of mutability is also addressed by Jean-Marc Gouanvic. Like Simeoni, Gouanvic initially discusses the various fields within which translations may take place (the literary field, scientific field, administrative field, and so on), but later observes that these fields may not necessarily already exist in the target culture at the point when the translation is made. By this he means not that an agent's decision to undertake a translation, or the implementation of that decision, occurs within a translation field that is specially created for the purpose, but that the translation of particular texts may result in the emergence of a new field structured along the lines of a Bourdieusian social field. Gouanvic rules out the possibility of a separate field of translation, on the grounds that "far from constituting a field of their own, translated texts are submitted to the same objective logic as the indigenous texts of the target space" (Gouanvic 2002, 160).

Gouanvic qualifies his argument that a single logic governs originals and translations alike, apparently his main reason for refuting the possibility of a translation field, by distinguishing firstly between the legitimizing mechanisms behind the emergence of a cultural product in the original and in translation, and secondly

between a translation's anticipated benefits in terms of commercial profit (for example if the author has been successful in the original language) and of intellectual satisfaction (for example when a new literary form is introduced through translation) (Gouanvic 1997a, 127). Despite these caveats, he evidently identifies the fields where translating takes place and where the translation is received with the respective "genre fields", for example the literary field – an identification which the present study shows to be inadmissible.

In a study of the "field of comics", Klaus Kaindl cites the absence of autonomization to argue that no independent translation field, with its own distinct structures, yet exists (Kaindl 2004, 133). Like Simeoni, Kaindl attributes the non-emergence of a translation field to the weakness of the individual agents' positions, and more generally to the lack of prestige accorded to translation as a "secondary" activity. For Kaindl, translations are negotiated or produced not in a dedicated field, but in the field that receives them (ibid., 178).

The scholars most interested in the existence and properties of a potential translation field, then, express certain doubts, but do not take the further step of proposing an alternative or complementary model that would integrate the translation process into a translation-relevant version of Bourdieu's field theory. This is precisely the objective of my notion of the mediatory space. Conceived within the framework of the "third space", the mediatory space does not disappear without trace as soon as a cultural product enters a particular field. Although a space of mediation is composed of new connections and constant reinterpretations that query existing orders and open up multiple new contextualizations, it also displays continuities or lines of tradition – such as stable self-images, cross-references, or stereotyped attributions – and may well be integrated into existing webs of people or places.

The following sections examine the principal characteristics of the mediatory space for German-language translations from Italian in the period between 1848 and 1918. Before attempting to outline the translational space of mediation in the Habsburg Monarchy, I look first at the paratexts of these translations to discover how far translators, editors and publishers deploy more durable structural elements (such as traditional images of self and other) and social networks that potentially contribute to the stabilization of that space.

Paratexts – thresholds of the book

Opening his study of the paratextual "thresholds" to the text, Gérard Genette notes that the paratext is not a mere appendage located somewhere around the text. It is both a zone of *transition* between "text and off-text", "without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side

(turned toward the world's discourse about the text)", and a zone of *transaction* (Genette 1997, 2). This definition allows Genette to investigate the processuality of the space between the text and its surroundings and the complexity of paratexts' relationship with their texts. Paratexts are productive textual elements. If some call them the "outskirts of the text" (Mecke and Heiler 2000, xv), this signals the peripheral status they acquire partly through their material location in the text and partly by the scant attention paid to them in literary and translation criticism; it should not detract from the rich diversity of their changing functions.

Genette proposes a typology of paratexts, distinguishing first between "peritexts" – elements in the immediate vicinity of the text such as titles, epigraphs or prefaces – and "epitexts", communications such as interviews or letters located outside the text at a "more respectful (or more prudent) distance" (Genette 1997, 4). For the paratext's materiality, it is useful to note that in practice almost all the paratexts Genette considers belong to the domain of the text itself. Paratexts such as titles or prefaces may differ in their dimensions, but they share the linguistic status of the text. However, there are also iconic paratexts (illustrations) or factual ones, by which Genette means "the paratext that consists not of an explicit message (verbal or otherwise) but a fact whose existence alone, if known to the public, provides some commentary on the text and influences how the text is received", such as the age or sex of the author (1997, 7). Genette also looks at the sender, distinguishing between the "authorial paratext", the "publisher's paratext", and the "allographic paratext", which is written by a third party (ibid., 9). The paratext's pragmatic status more generally is a further important feature. This cannot be defined in general terms, but varies according to the type of paratext and the particular situation of communication (ibid., 8–12).

Paratext and translation

In order to investigate the contribution of paratexts to constructing perceptions of "Italy" through translation, the first point of interest is how paratexts relate to translations. Genette does not name the phenomenon of translation explicitly, a gap that translation scholars have addressed from various perspectives. Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar, for example, discusses the notion that translations are themselves paratexts, based on Genette's comment in the conclusion to *Paratexts* that he regrets not having included translations (or illustrations, or pirated editions) as further paratextual types. Tahir-Gürçağlar rightly criticizes the secondary status Genette thus attributes to translation and the implied hierarchical relationship between original and translation: from this perspective, a translation serves only the original, not the target-language audience or literary system. She counters this passive image with a model of "paratexts in action", examining their cultural role in defining what should and should not count as a translation (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002, 46).

Edoardo Crisafulli does not distinguish between original and translation when analysing paratexts. In his study of the paratextual apparatus of Henry Francis Cary's *Divina Commedia* translation (1888), he emphasizes instead the complex interconnections of text and paratext and the heavy charge of meaning borne by paratexts: "If we assume that Genette's observations … apply to all texts, whether original or translated, then the paratext is the privileged domain of the signified" (Crisafulli 1999, 101).

The relationships between text and paratextual elements may also be regarded as a process of mediation, foregrounding the consequences of paratexts for the audience's reception of a work. This is Urpo Kovala's approach in his paratextual analysis of Anglo-American literature in Finnish translation between 1890 and 1939. Alongside a typology of paratexts ("modest paratexts" containing only the most basic elements such as title and author's name; "commercial paratexts" advertising other books by the same publisher; "informative paratexts" that describe and contextualize the work itself; and "illustrative paratexts" including the illustrations on the cover and spine), Kovala lists the most important functions of paratexts, whether "informative" (relating to information content), "conative" (effect on the reader), "phatic" (entertainment value) or "poetic" (literary value). Kovala's corpus analysis asks which of these functions dominates, and how strongly, in the various translations' paratexts (Kovala 1996, 136; see also Sanconie 2007).

Looking at the specific case of the translator's note as paratext, Jacqueline Henry examines how the translator's position vis-à-vis both author and reader changes when he or she enters the textual "limelight" by adding footnotes. Though her approach implies that the translatorial activity is primary, not secondary, Henry nevertheless categorizes translators' footnotes as allographic or third-party paratexts in Genette's terms (Henry 2000, 229), thus denying translators any authorial rights over their translations.

Common to all these studies is their assumption that paratexts play a vital part in guiding the reading of translations and therefore their reception in the target culture, as well as creating a dialogical paratext–text relationship that may substantially impact upon the character of the translation as a whole.

Paratexts regulating communication

Because of its capacity to guide and control readings, the paratext is an important component of the communication between individual agents responsible for a translation, the actors to whom it gives voice in one form or another. Forming the "transitional" zone (Genette 1997, 319) between text and world, the paratext has a strategic position. It participates in the battle for legitimacy in the literary field or the space of translation, which, as one of Pierre Bourdieu's key statements on the structure of the literary field indicates, is the very "motor of the field". It

is "those who struggle for dominance" that "cause the field to be transformed, perpetually restructured" (Bourdieu 1993b, 135).

Many different forms of paratexts carry out these processes of structuring and transformation, as becomes apparent in the actions that cause a particular paratextual element to be adopted in a translation (regardless, now, of whether we see the translation as an independent or a dependent product). Prime among these is the negotiation between agents associated with the publisher of the translation, which may be manifested verbally in a paratext. For example, a preface or introduction by the editor or translator may recount how the text was selected for translation and who is responsible for the translation's existence in its present form. Annotations or footnotes, too, often contain information of this kind, partially illuminating the history of the translation. At the same time, the paratext itself is a written text. Accordingly, it is open to the processes of multiple ascriptions of meaning over time and space, and in turn contributes importantly to sculpting the text and to the text's reception at any one point.

As vehicles of the structuring processes in their mediatory space, paratexts may form part of many different communicative situations. They thus participate in the formation or accumulation of capitals that bear importantly on the dynamics of the mediatory space. The dedication of a work, for example, may signal the economic capital at stake in the publication or amass symbolic capital, manifested as prestige or honour, that can be converted back into money. Such "flows of symbolic and economic capital as a structuring pattern of the field" (Dörner and Vogt 1994, 153) will be traced in the following in a detailed analysis of the paratexts of German-language translations of Italian texts produced in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918.

Translators' paratexts steering reception

The following section addresses the role of paratexts in ascribing meaning in the Habsburg setting, or more specifically in constructing perceptions of "Italy", with a focus on what Genette calls peritexts – the elements to be found in the immediately proximity of the text. I look at both authorial and allographic paratexts: the naming of the translation and translator, dedications, prefaces and afterwords, epigraphs, commentaries and annotations, and publishers' advertisements.

Translation label Apart from the title, sender (author, publisher, etc.), place and year of publication, and genre, a title page may also contain a dedication and a reference to the intended addressees. Translated works may additionally carry the name of the translator and a reference to the type of "treatment" ("translation", "adaptation", and so on), points of great relevance to the constructed and constructing nature of paratexts in our context. The name of the translator can be

classed in Genette's category of the "sender" (Genette 1997, 73) – with the proviso that, in view of the layout of most title pages, the translator's status as a sender (if mentioned at all) is regarded as secondary to the naming of the author as principal sender. Still, the "sender" information is of particular interest for the present purposes, because the naming of the translator and definition of the translation can cast light on the period's dominant views of translating and translatorial action in the various genres concerned.

Of the 306 translations from Italian published in the Habsburg Monarchy, 205 name a type of treatment and 101 do not. Silence on this matter may be due to the particular publisher's conventions or, in some cases, to a specific wish to present the translation as an original. However, the inclusion of the translation label is also related to genre: drama translations in the corpus usually carry no label, and translations published in newspapers or magazines often mention neither the name of the translator nor the mode of translation. Where this information is included, in monographs it is generally on the title page after the title, and in other publication types between the title and the start of the text or, rarely, at the end of the text.

The exact wording of the translation label indicates the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the field in question. The great majority of translations that include such labels, 152 or almost three quarters, use traditional formulations such as "Aus dem Italienischen übersetzt von" (translated from the Italian by), "Mit Autorisation des Verfasserin aus dem Italienischen übersetzt von" (translated from the Italian, with the author's authorization, by), "übersetzt von" (translated by) or "Deutsch von" (German by). These expressions can be found throughout all genres and phases of the period under investigation. In 53 translations, there is a certain divergence from these conventions, with phrases in several different categories. In some cases, the cultural capital of the translators is flagged by phrases such as "herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von" (edited, translated and explained by), "übersetzt mit Einleitung, Noten und Register von" (translated with introduction, notes and index by), or "übersetzt und mit Kommentaren versehen von" (translated and annotated by). In the great majority of cases, these are found in translations of specialist texts beginning from around the mid-1870s. Translations of epic and lyric poetry are sometimes preceded by translatorial details such as "metrisch übersetzt von" (metrical translation by), "in deutsche Prosa übertragen von" (rendered into German prose by) or "verdeutscht in dem Versmaße des Originals von" (made German using the original metre); the wide chronological distribution of these formulations (they appear between 1851 and 1909) is probably due to the consistency of these genres over the period. Formulations found in drama translations are "übersetzt und für die deutsche Bühne bearbeitet" (translated and adapted for the German stage) or "nach dem italienischen Original des … für die deutsche Bühne frei bearbeitet und mit einem Vorwort versehen von" (after the Italian original by …

freely adapted for the German stage and furnished with a preface by). As in poetry, there is no particular chronological pattern.

It seems from the translations available that in the period studied, the term "Bearbeitung" (treatment or adaptation) should be seen as a synonym of, not a counterpoint to, "Übersetzung" (translation) (see Schreiber 1993). This can be inferred from the fact that translations carry this label as early as the 1850s, especially in religious texts, which otherwise keep strictly to convention in their paratexts. The label "Bearbeitung" can be found in all genres, but is most frequent in specialized texts.

Particularly revealing are the labels that indicate greater translatorial intervention, phrasings such as "Nach dem Italienischen frei bearbeitet und ergänzt von" (after the Italian, freely adapted and supplemented by), "aus dem Italienischen frei ins Deutsche übertragen von" (freely rendered into German from the Italian), "aus dem Italienischen übersetzt und mit Angaben vermehrt von" (translated from Italian and augmented with information by), or "übersetzt und bis zum Jahr 1851 fortgeführt von" (translated and extended up to the year 1851 by). Interestingly, most such labels appear early in the period, between 1849 and 1871, in lyric poetry and specialized texts. Detailed textual analyses would allow us to discover whether the manipulative intentions announced on the title page were actually carried out in practice. Certainly, these notes indicate that the translator's (or publisher's) habitus was relatively well developed quite early on – though it must be borne in mind that their total number is small.

Dedications After the title page, a work with accompanying material usually begins with a dedication. Genette distinguishes two types of dedicatory acts, one that "ratifies the gift or consummated sale" of a single copy, and one involving the "ideal reality of the work itself", its "symbolic" ownership (Genette 1997, 117); the latter is "a tribute … remunerated either by protection of the feudal type or by the more bourgeois (or proletarian) coin of the realm" (ibid., 119). Dedications have a dedicator, a dedicated object, and a dedicatee. The dedicator is usually the author, but it may be the translator, editor, publisher or printer. The object of the dedication is the work itself, with no particular preferences by genre. The addressees of the dedication are usually actual individuals with high social prestige. The history of dedications goes back to classical antiquity, though they were not habitually included in books until the sixteenth century. The practice of dedication declined considerably from around the mid-eighteenth century with the growing confidence of the bourgeoisie and economic autonomy of writers; in the nineteenth century, this trend continued as copyright law gradually took hold and authors gained ever greater economic and social independence from powerful patrons (Moennighoff 1996, 353–4).

Dedications written by translators show this form of paratext to be an arena for the struggle to gain recognition of the translator's creativity. When a translator inserts his or her own dedication and presents the translation to high-ranking figures as his or her own labour, the work becomes more than merely secondary, a reproduction of someone else's text; it lays claim to the same status as the original (see Graeber 1990, 13–14).

My corpus includes 22 dedications (8 per cent of all the translations published in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918), with two of the works including two dedications each. The majority of the dedications are written by the translator (15), while 7 are by the author. There is no decline in the use of dedications across the period, but the habit of publishers adding a dedication to a translation does change, with the great majority of such cases found between 1860 and 1900. Most of the dedicatees are men (16, compared with 5 women); one dedication addresses "The Germans of Central Europe". Table 24 details the dedications between 1849 and 1917.

Table 24. Dedications in Italian–German translations (Habsburg Monarchy), 1849–1917

Year	Dedicator	Gender of dedicator	Dedicatee	Gender of dedicatee
1849	translator	m	private individual	m
1860	author	m	clergyman	m
1860	translator	m	private individual	m
1863	translator	m	royal personage	f
	author	m	noblewoman	f
1864	translator	m	clergyman	m
1869	translator	m	royal personage	m
1881	author	f	nun	f
1882	translator	m	private individual	m
1885	translator	m	scientist	m
1885	author	m	scientist	m
1896	translator	m	writer	f
1896	translator	m	private individual	m
1897	translator	m	scientist	m
1900	author	m	nobleman	m
1900	author	m	nun	f
1905	translator	m	nobleman	m
1907	translator	m	royal personage	m
1907	translator	m	royal personage	m
1909	translator	m	writer	m
			politician	m
1911	translator	m	noblewoman	f
1917	author	m	"Germans of Central Europe"	m + f

In the table, the category "private individual" covers people whose names seem not to be well known in the public sphere, probably friends to whom the translator owes thanks or acknowledgement. The dedications do not refer to the translators' work in translating or mediating in the wider sense, but focus instead on the dedicator's social relationships and thus his or her social capital. The corpus fully confirms the hypothesis that by writing their own dedication to a socially or intellectually respected personage, the translators are seeking to present the translation as a work in its own right, an autonomous cultural product. In this struggle for legitimacy and respect, symbolic capital is manifested as a product of knowledge, translatorial skill, and social connections.

Prefaces   Until the mid-nineteenth century, the term *Vorwort* ("preface" or "foreword"; the standard term in today's German) competed with several other labels, such as *Vorrede*, *Vorspiel*, *Einführung*, *Einleitung*, *Präambel*, *Proömium* and many more. In view of this terminological diversity, Annette Retsch advocates a broad definition: "a textual element, varying in size, that is demarcated from and prefixed to the 'main text'" (Retsch 2000, 49). The functions of this type of paratext are as diverse as its names. According to Genette, the preface's main role is firstly "to get the book read", and secondly "to get the book read properly" (1997, 197). Genette highlights this paratext form on the grounds that its writer, the author, is the only one with an interest in such a "proper reading" – a claim that shows a particularly glaring neglect of translators' prefaces, since in most cases translators actually have a similar or equal interest in the "proper reading" of the book.

With varying emphasis and phrasing, the basic functions of a preface are to ask the reader (increasingly including female readers from the mid-eighteenth century on) for acquiescence with the book's declared intention, to defend the text, and to ward off criticism. The preface is the paratext that most strongly links the writer's "real world" with the "textual world" of his or her work. It is "the place where the author himself speaks, fulfilling at once the referential function (reference to the world), the phatic function (relationship with the reader) and the reflective function (reference to the text)" (Retsch 2000, 56–7). In the specific case of translation, studies of translators' prefaces (for example Grimberg 1998; Schwarze 1999) have shown that these functions may be articulated in many different ways, ranging from comments on the practices of translating and editing in a particular epoch, to the preface-writer's individual thoughts and values, to theoretical reflections. The present corpus shows a decline in formulaic, deferential or subservient discourse in translators' prefaces and the corresponding rise of a more assertive tone, which may be interpreted as expressing the bourgeoisie's increasingly confident participation in the world of culture. It is also related to the progress of the novel, the chief site of prefaces. Here, a slight shift away from

symbolic capital (the battle for legitimacy) towards cultural capital may be identified, or a reinforcement of symbolic capital by cultural capital.

The Habsburg translation corpus includes 123 paratexts in the broad category of the preface; in some cases, a single translation has two prefatory texts, for example a "translator's foreword" and a "translator's introduction". These paratexts are explicitly named *Vorwort* ("preface") in 54 cases, and are written by authors, translators and editors. The term *Vorrede* ("foreword", "prologue") is used in the same combinations, but only 21 times, and *Einleitung* ("introduction") 13 times. Rarer labels are *Vorbemerkungen* (2), *Vorerinnerung* (2) and *Eingang* (1). A "postface" or afterword, which Genette counts in the category of prefaces, occurs only once in the corpus, in a context that confirms his classification: *Nachwort zugleich Vorwort des Übersetzers* ("Afterword, being the translator's foreword"). The corpus also includes 28 paratexts that clearly act as prefaces without having any label. Their content shows they were written by the translator or editor, or in a few cases by the author.

There does not seem to be a chronological pattern in the labelling of these prefatory paratexts, which all occur in translations of texts from every century; neither do we find translator-specific prefatory formats. The fact that the prefaces considered here were written between 1849 and 1914, in a relatively late phase of the genre's history, itself indicates the tendency for this paratextual element to become less and less formulaic: most of the prefaces include information on the author, the background of the translation, the content of the work, the reasons for publication and the translation strategies applied – the latter being an interesting source for research on the prevailing paradigms of translation in the period.

My analysis addresses various issues around the constructive aspect of prefaces and the role of the agents in those processes of construction. I ask first what translation strategies the translators' prefaces defend and what status they attribute to the work of translating. This allows insights into the habitus of the translators, which I then correlate with the various capitals brought into play by the preface-writers. Finally, I look at the prefaces' use of explicit meaning ascriptions to construct particular perceptions of the Italian "other".

It comes as no surprise that the prime translation strategy propounded in the prefaces is faithfulness to the original. This is expressed in rather general terms, such as "in the translation, faithful clinging to the original text had to take precedence over stylistic elegance" (corpus no. *3*; see Appendix)[6] or "We kept faithfully to the Italian work" (*661*, see also *612g*).[7] Other translators emphasize the

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6. "der Übersetzung mußte treues Anschmiegen an den Originaltext höher stehen als stylistische Eleganz".

7. "Wir haben uns treu an das italienische Werk gehalten".

moral aspect of fidelity ("[I see it] as a duty … to stay as faithful as possible to the tone and style of the original", *102*)[8] or the precision of their faithful work, like Robert Hamerling, who insists he has recreated Leopardi's rhymes "conscientiously and exactly" (*671a*, see also *867*).[9] Some prefaces explain in detail what is meant by faithfulness: Dante translator Josefine von Hoffinger describes "loving faithfulness"[10] as a vital feature of translation and claims to have applied it doubly, in both content and form (*18q*). Of the prefaces explicitly advocating faithfulness, 40 per cent are in religious works, and all of these were published in the first half of the period examined (none after 1888), confirming the general observation that the model of faithfulness to the original was gradually being dislodged by more autonomous concepts in the course of this period.

Implicit in all these professions of faithfulness is a view of translation as a secondary activity, which evidently reflects the paradigm of translation prevalent in the second half of the nineteenth century. It can also be found in other prefaces that do not expressly comment on faithfulness, for example those in an apologetic mode, regretting that the translation lags behind the original (*18q*, *588*, *75*) or that in translation "the merits of the original" have been lost (*871*, see also *661*).[11] The discourse of vindication, with attempts to justify the "modest undertaking"[12] of the translation by the fame of the original or its author (*282a*), also indicates a hierarchical notion of translation, as does the defensive discourse appealing for "indulgence for the weaknesses of the translation" (*1053*, *1069a*)[13] or a "lenient judgement" (*958*).[14]

More interesting from the point of view of translation strategies are the prefaces that more or less explicitly profess infidelity. The prefaces in this category are spread across all genres, from epic poetry and libretti, travel accounts and comedies, to technical texts. Not quite free of the faithfulness paradigm, but nevertheless pioneering, is the Dante translator B. Carneri, who says he tried, "by avoiding slavish fidelity to the word, to elevate the German version above the level of a mere translation, to place the greatest weight on the meaning, and as far as possible …

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8. "als Pflicht …, mich an Ton und Styl des Originales möglichst treu zu halten".

9. "gewissenhaft und genau".

10. "liebevolle Treue".

11. "die Vorzüge des Originals verloren".

12. "bescheidene Unterfangen".

13. "um Nachsicht für die Schwächen der Übersetzung".

14. "um nachsichtige Beurteilung".

to capture the tone of the original" (*18ah*).[15] Other prefaces go further: Siegfried Lederer's foreword to his 1885 translation of a Paolo Ferrari comedy (*508a*), for example, emphasizes the need "to pay due regard to the situation at home by making various modifications".[16]

In other texts, the more or less conscious avowal of unfaithfulness takes the shape of a self-confident translatorial stance, usually expressed in a carefully argued vindication of the translation strategies applied (e.g. *417*, *854*). Several examples show that this assertive stance need not conflict with a profession of faithfulness to the original; more important is the argumentation underlying the translator's decisions. In many cases, abridgement or expansion is justified by the translator's specialized knowledge (*4*, *18ah*, *808f*) or other sound reasons, buttressed by an assurance of fidelity to the original (*33* – here, the fame of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* makes it permissible to select just the most "beautiful episodes"; *1136* – insignificant details in the biography of the nun Vincenza Gerosa have been skipped or changed, being of interest only to her family; *1320a* – certain chapters are not strictly relevant to the topic). The translator's autonomy is also manifest in a preface where the translator declares his educational objectives in adding his numerous annotations to the art history text (*711*), or ones that openly acknowledge the translation's intention to disseminate particular religious ideas (*789*, *803*). Most such prefaces appeared in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, revealing the gradual progress of translators' disengagement from a strictly source-text orientation. This is by no means a linear development, however, and is concentrated in particular domains such as specialized literature (art history, medicine, etc.) and canonized texts such as the works of Dante or Ariosto.

Despite postulating a certain independence from the original text, these prefaces do not claim that the translation is a "new work". That step is taken only very rarely, with no chronological pattern; it is limited almost entirely to the prefaces of specialized non-fiction. The translator of a philosophical work by De Beroaldo Bianchini (*Die Schöpfung oder das entschleierte Universum*, 1851; *417*), Jean Baptist Roßmann, explains that, for reasons of clarity, it will be advantageous to the acceptance of the text "to create something new". He protects himself by assuring readers that the translation was made with the author's assistance. Another 1851 paratext (*46*), the preface to *Geschichte Italiens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1814*, about which more will be said later in this chapter, defends the rewriting of Cesare

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15. "durch Vermeidung einer sklavischen Worttreue, die Verdeutschung über das Niveau einer blossen Uebersetzung zu erheben, auf den Sinn das Hauptgewicht zu legen, und nach Möglichkeit … den Ton des Originals zu treffen".

16. "den heimischen Verhältnissen durch unterschiedliche Modifikationen gebührend Rechnung zu tragen".

Balbo's historical work – by continuing the chronicle up to the year 1851 – with the claim that it was done "in accordance with the author's wishes".[17] The translator of *Marokko*, by Edmondo De Amicis (*406*), finally, describes his translation as an "adaptation" or "treatment" of the Italian original (again, this will be discussed later in the chapter), and declares he has "created a new work" in order to "take away its national intimacy and, more generally, its former topical character".[18]

It should be stressed that, apart from the 1851 publications mentioned, the other prefaces propounding translatorial autonomy were written in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. It seems that towards the end of the century a degree of tentative autonomization of the space of translation began, at least for these genres.

The specialized knowledge manifested in the prefaces is the translators' principal expression of their cultural capital. They draw attention to it using various strategies. In scientific and scholarly texts, rather general statements are made, for example justifying the numerous quotations (*3*, *314c*, *808e*, *854*) or mentioning the translator's own research as a reason for having undertaken the translation (*789a*). Many translators display their cultural capital by supplying detailed information on the source author, text and literary context (*6*, *18q*, *75*, *102*, *153*, *872*), others by adding their own scholarly comments (*4*, *47*, *711*, *948*). All the translators in the latter group are academics based in institutions, and write extensive prefaces to their translations of works in their field. The description of his annotations as a "scholarly commentary" is also made by the translator of a non-canonized nineteenth-century novel (*62*) who wishes to assist "the readership not equipped with classical schooling, most particularly the ladies".[19] The translators' cultural capital is explicitly deployed in both literary and academic texts, with a concentration of such strategies in the 1870s and 1880s. In contrast, the few early twentieth-century prefaces that explicitly focus on cultural capital are all found in translations of specialized works. It seems that the translators' battle for legitimacy around specialized literature, at least within the space of scientific mediation, began in earnest, and reached its first peak, in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century.

The translators' symbolic capital follows different criteria. It becomes manifest through explanations of the selection of texts for translation and various aspirations to legitimacy articulated in the paratexts. In many prefaces, the translators themselves claim to have selected the texts, and they usually justify their selection

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17. "im Sinne des Autors".

18. "ein neues Werk geschaffen … vaterländisch-intime und überhaupt sein früherer actueller Charakter genommen".

19. "dem nicht mit classischer Schulbildung ausgerüsteten Publikum, wie namentlich die Damenwelt".

in detail. Translator Eugen Guglia, for example, explains in his introduction to *Römische Elegien* by Gabriele D'Annunzio (*344*) that he translated only two thirds of the original edition's poems due to a "certain monotony in the motifs and tone".[20] Other translators stress that they proposed a certain text to the publisher in answer to the "frequently expressed desire for the work to be made accessible to a German readership through translation" (*1028a*),[21] or to "enrich German research with the work of a foreign scholar" (*1189c*).[22] Such explanations show the translators underlining their own power to select the text for translation, and thus enhancing the status of their own work. Accordingly, there is far less comment on the pre-translation phase when the translation is said to have been commissioned by the publisher or author (*808f*, *864a*); for specialized translations, translators refer to the "desire of the expert audience" (*961c*; see also *566h*, *785b*).[23] In some prefaces, the translators justify the text's selection by noting its high repute in Italy (for example *1069a*), directly invoking the foundations of symbolic capital.

The struggles for legitimacy that typify symbolic capital are particularly evident in the citation of cultural authorities, such as Goethe, who is named in the preface to the translation of Manzoni's *Il cinque maggio* (*772*, *780*) as an earlier translator of the ode and thus a source of legitimacy for the work's presence in the German-speaking world. The editor of the "most beautiful episodes" from Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* in Johann Diederich Gries's translation (*33*) takes a similar line: his preface notes that Goethe would no doubt have commented most positively on Gries's translation artistry – thus vindicating the edition and assuring a favourable reception by the readership. The anonymous translator of Vincenzo Monti's tragedy *Aristodemos* (*871*), in turn, stresses that Goethe attended a performance of the play in Rome and mentioned his meeting with Monti favourably in *Travels in Italy*, something highly conducive to the renown of the original and therefore to the symbolic capital of the translation. Some translators, furthermore, make skilful bids for legitimacy by appealing to the competence of important agents in the field. In a 22-page preface to his translation of *Don Giovanni* (*318d*), the music critic, art dealer and libretto translator Max Kalbeck puts his trust in the "well-informed reader", especially the "performing artist and … artistic director of the musical stage",[24] a figure rich in symbolic capital. Mentioning a prestigious

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20. "gewisse Einförmigkeit der Motive und des Tones".

21. "der vielfach ausgesprochene Wunsch, [das Werk] durch Uebersetzung einem deutschen Leserkreise zugänglich zu machen".

22. "die deutsche [Fach]Literatur mit der Arbeit eines ausländischen Gelehrten zu bereichern".

23. "Wunsch des Fachpublikums".

24. "ausübenden Künstler und … artistischen Leiter der musikalischen Bühnen".

social network, which implies the translator's own possession of social capital, is a further clue to the struggle for legitimacy in the field, as may be seen in writer and translator Friedrich Adler's preface to his translation of Vincenzo Monti's *Basvilliana* (*872b*) thanking Paul Heyse and Robert Hamerling for their "kind encouragement". Another translator's remark that the medical text in question (*808e*) is currently also being translated into Russian and English again indicates the quest to gain legitimacy for the translator's own work.

These agents' attempts to steer the reception of the translated works at times form dense webs of construction that explicitly generate meanings designed to produce a particular image of the Italian "other". Such mechanisms are most obvious in the prefaces that deploy the "North–South" trope – mainly paratexts for lyric poetry that propose an atmosphere or emotional setting for the reading. In his 1860 translation of poems by Giovanni Prati, *Torquato Tasso's letzte Stunden* (*1052*), Peter Moser (pen name J. E. Waldfreund), a high school teacher and folklorist in Rovereto, adds a preface contrasting the stony grimness of the Alpine region with the "bright, sunny South", the "ancient, petrified secrets" of the Alps with tranquillity "under the dark cypresses". The recent military conflict between Italy and the Habsburgs in the Second War of Independence (1859), the most important consequence of which was Austria's loss of Lombardy to Piedmont, is here washed in the "sweetness of the garden of Italic poetry".[25] This is one of numerous endeavours to imagine away the "hereditary enmity" (Berghold 1997) of the two countries, or the participating cultures, through an idyllic rhetoric that stresses the aesthetic dimension. The same stereotypical idyll can still be found in texts published several decades after the Italian state was founded. Poet and professor Karl Erdmann Edler prefaces his translation of Costantino Nigra's poetry, *Idyllen und ausgewählte Gedichte* (*933*), with a particularly emphatic North–South dichotomy. He associates translation with the inferior side of the binary pair:

> The blaze of colours, the perfume and melody of the Italian original can be reproduced only inadequately in a German translation. This approximation is but the pale reflection of the glowing southern heavens onto Nordic forest lands.[26]
>
> (Erdmann *933*)

Estella Wondrich paints a similarly hyperbolic picture in her 1908 preface to Giovanni Pascoli's poetry (*Ausgewählte Gedichte*, *972*). She starts with the "blessed"

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25. "sonnenhellem Süden", "uralten versteinerten Geheimnisse", "unter dunklen Zypressen", "Süße des Gartens italischer Poesie".

26. "Farbenglut, Duft und Wohllaut des italienischen Originals kann eine deutsche Uebertragung nur in unzulänglicher Annäherung wiedergeben. Sie ist der blosse Abschein glühender südlicher Himmelslichter auf nordisches Waldgewächs".

Italian region of Romagna and compares its features ("the silhouettes of cypresses and the silver-green of the olive trees") with the landscape of Thuringia or Swabia – a comparison that, she admits, founders as soon as the "laughing, glowing blue of the Adriatic" comes into view. However, Romagna is also attributed "a breath of Germanic fervency and melancholy" that leaves its traces in Pascoli's poems; they sound "as if a Germanic soul were speaking in Latin tones".[27] The reference to the stereotypical sunny South, a tradition drawing on Goethe's portrait of Italy, is conspicuous here and can be regarded as an attempt to tie the readers' reception of the translation into a timeless context.

Other translators, in contrast, use their paratexts to situate the translation in contemporary history, for example when Arthur Storch, in his afterword-cum-preface to Antonio Giulio Barrili's *Tizian Cajus Sempronius. Eine Geschichte aus dem alten Rom* (1878, *62*), references the author's desire for the novel to be read "as an allusion to current circumstances" and accordingly changes the title name "Tizio" into the "more modern-sounding Tizian" (as a whole, however, the preface focuses on ancient Rome).[28] In 1891, another translator notes that Ruggero Bonghi, author of *Die Römischen Feste* (*139c*), has tried to build bridges between classical Rome and the "inviolable capital of newly unified Italy",[29] and promises to support this endeavour through his translation. These paratexts touch on the historical context of the source text or the translation, but do not describe it in any detail (in pursuit of cultural explanation, for example). Two very different images of "Italy", published in 1851 and 1883, illustrate the diversity of ways in which paratexts can manipulate cultural constructions, while also illustrating the various argumentative strategies available to translators in order to promote their particular concerns. Both translations appeared with Hartleben, and the prestige of this Viennese company will have guaranteed a relatively wide audience. The title page of Cesare Balbo's *Geschichte Italiens von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1814* ("The History of Italy from the Earliest Times until 1814", *46*) includes the notice, printed in a small font, "translated and extended up to the year 1851 by Richard Moll". When he concludes the translation of the Italian work, Moll turns from a translator into a historian and carries on the chronicle up to 1851. According to Moll's foreword, Balbo's intention was to "heighten national feeling" in Italy, whereas Moll aims to instruct the German-speaking public "on the character and opinions" of the not

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27. "die Silhouetten der Zypressen und der grünsilberne Ton der Oliven", "das lachende, glühende Blau des adriatischen Meeres", "ein Hauch germanischer Innigkeit und Schwermut", "als spräche eine germanische Seele in lateinischen Lauten".

28. "als eine Anspielung auf gegenwärtige Zustände", "moderner klingende Tizian".

29. "unantastbare Hauptstadt des neugeeinten Italiens".

yet extant Italian nation state. The translator-historian is convinced that in order to understand the Italians' struggle for an independent national state, it is necessary to study contemporary Italian history "in accordance with the author's wishes", which means writing "his" history "from the national-Italian standpoint".[30] Moll thus not only takes on Balbo's nationalist concerns, but actually underlines the nationalist political demands of many Italians. He consciously avoids the critical view of Balbo's historiography that might have been expected in a period when the violent Italian uprisings of 1848 were still a recent memory. Moll also emphasizes the importance of enhancing Italians' intellectual resources, again in line with Balbo's wish to accelerate the unification process:

> The fundamental idea which animates the whole is that of regaining an independent political position worthy of [Italy's] former greatness, the intellectual education of its inhabitants, and the numerous other favourable conditions that will acquire for it its place in the system of European states.   (Moll *46*)[31]

If the censors failed to quash this plea for Italian independence from the Habsburgs, that is probably mainly due to the end point of Balbo's study: 1814, shortly before the Habsburg rule in Italian regions began. Also, despite a stint as prime minister of Sardinia-Piedmont in 1848, Balbo was generally an antirevolutionary, as became obvious in his well-known *Delle speranze d'Italia* (1844). A further explanation may be the prestigious setting of the translation, which was published in a Hartleben series boasting the title "Historical Reading Cabinet of Excellent Historical Works, Travels and Memoirs of All Nations in Careful Translations". Certainly, this translation or rewriting stakes a claim – far from common in the mid-nineteenth century – to contribute to Habsburg opinion-forming with an explicit call for more complex views of "Italian reality". Partly because of the popularity of its author (even if he wrote only the section up to 1814), it played a substantial part in constructing an image of Italy inflected by nationalist politics.

   The second Hartleben publication in which the translator's preface features clear attempts to construct particular cultural perceptions is Edmondo De Amicis's *Marokko* (406). In his 1883 translator's preface, Amand von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld[32]

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30. "Belehrung über Charakter und Ansichten der … Nation", "im Sinne des Autors", "vom national-italienischen Standpuncte aus".

31. "Der Grundgedanke, welcher das Ganze beseelt, ist jener der Wiedererringung einer, seiner vorigen Größe, der intellektuellen Bildung seiner Bewohner, und den zahlreichen sonstigen Bedingungen, welche dafür sprechen, angemessenen selbständigen politischen Stellung, welche ihm den Platz im europäischen Staatensysten [*sic*] verschaffen soll".

32. Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld (1846–1910) was a journalist, travel writer and cultural historian, and wrote many geographical and technical works (for example on microscopes, rail transport, etc.).

declares that the book is "not a direct transfer of the Italian original but an unconstrained adaptation bound neither to the Italian author's material nor to his detail".[33] He offers two justifications for his massive interventions in the text. On the one hand, the German audience requires more ethnographic and historical information about Morocco (here, Schweiger-Lerchenfeld is also promoting his own interests as a journalist); on the other, the original book contains too many local allusions to Italian circumstances and persons likely to baffle German readers. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld considers it his duty to eliminate this "national intimacy" and create a new work, which is why, he explains, he has added two new chapters ("South Morocco" and "The Spanish–Moroccan War of 1860"). The discourse arising from these translatorial intentions and permeating the entire preface is an Orientalist one in the sense set out so influentially by Edward Said (1978). Said traces the links between the production of literary texts and Western political and cultural claims to hegemony, showing how the resulting Orientalist ascriptions sharply demarcate the spheres of colonizer and colonized and seek to mystify, manipulate, and denigrate the Orient. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld tells his readers he has retained those passages in the original text that portray "characteristic" scenes of Moroccan life with particular vividness. Much of the translation perpetuates the source text's Orientalism, and the preface reinforces this:

> These … scenes, descriptions and individual pictures are executed so characteristically, so colourfully and ingeniously that they … incontrovertibly form the principal adornment and value of this book. … For [De Amicis], landscapes and decor are the changing tints of a dazzling mosaic, scenes and episodes are the emanations of an alien life, surprising in every respect, to which the colours of the Orient adhere and which awaken memories of the magnificent era of past greatness.[34]   (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld *406*)

Focusing on decorative aspects, this representation objectifies Morocco by prioritizing secondary elements over their human agents, whose subjecthood lies, at best, in some glorious past. This discriminatory construction of "Morocco" by a Western-dominated discourse articulates what Said calls a "Western projection onto and will to govern the Orient" (Said 1978, 95).

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33. "keine directe Uebertragung des italienischen Originals, sondern eine ungezwungene, weder an das Material des italienischen Autors, noch an das Detail gebundene Bearbeitung".

34. "Diese … Scenen, Schilderungen und Einzelbilder sind so charakteristisch, so farbig und geistreich durchgeführt, daß sie … unbestritten den Hauptschmuck und Hauptwerth des vorliegenden Buches bilden. … Ihm sind Landschaften und Staffagen die wechselnden Farbenstifte eines blendenden Mosaiks, Scenen und Vorfallenheiten die Emanationen eines fremdartigen, in Allem und Jedem überraschenden Lebens, dem die Farben des Orients anhaften, und das die Erinnerungen an das glänzende Zeitalter vergangener Größen wachruft".

The translatorial habitus implied by the prefaces shows certain tendencies that shed light on views of translators in the period and indicate the contribution of that habitus to the construction of cultural perceptions by translators' mediating activities. The "subservience" that Simeoni considers typical of the translator's work (Simeoni 1998) and the secondariness of translations, manifested mainly in a source-text orientation in translation practice and its justification in paratexts, is present in much of the preface material, if not always explicitly. Even so, as I have shown, there are many signs that a certain translatorial emancipation was taking shape in this period: especially from the 1880s, translators seem to present themselves more confidently in the prefaces. This is seen in the translators' growing claims to have influenced the selection of texts, and arises from, among other things, their increasing deployment of cultural capital, especially by calling attention to specialized knowledge. Another indication of a changing translatorial habitus is the rise in translators' efforts to gain legitimacy in the field. These efforts take the shape of expressions of symbolic capital on various levels, whether references to social networks and canonized authorities or the appeal for recognition from qualified experts. Direct translatorial interventions in the text, sometimes in the form of autonomous writing, also support the conclusion that the translator's habitus was now more vigorous than it had been some decades earlier, as does the battery of arguments deployed to construct an image of the "other".

Epigraphs   An epigraph is a quotation preceding either the preface or the text (or text section); in some cases it is printed on the title page. It is generally allographic, in other words not written by the author or translator, and serves mainly to comment indirectly on the meaning of the text. As a "mute gesture", its interpretation is always left to the reader (Genette 1997, 156). The epigraph – as a "signal … of culture, a password of intellectuality" (ibid., 160) – arose at a relatively late stage. Epigraphs are hardly ever to be found before the seventeenth century, although if the epigraph is seen as the author's "motto" then it does have predecessors in classical antiquity. This form of paratext became more frequent in the course of the eighteenth century, appearing more often in philosophical and artistic texts than in poetry or novels. In the nineteenth century, the epigraph became a feature of all the main genres, but overall its use declined.

The present corpus includes only two epigraphs, most probably inserted by the authors. One is positioned on the title page, the other at the beginning of a novel excerpt. The former is in *Filosofische Betrachtungen über die Katze* (*1062*) by Giovanni Rajberti, and runs "Many are called lions who are only cats. – Book of Wisdom".[35] Its function is to illuminate the meaning of the book, especially of the

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35. "Viele nennt man Löwen, welche doch nur Katzen sind. – Buch der Weisheit".

title. The source given for the quotation also highlights the content and genre of the book, a philosophical treatise with frequent references to the Enlightenment philosophers, while suggesting wisdom as a characteristic of the book's object, the cat. This complexity appeals to the cultural capital of the readers and, by associating the author with the virtue of wisdom, also stresses the author's symbolic capital. The second epigraph is from 1897, when excerpts from Gabriele D'Annunzio's *Le vergini delle rocce* (translated as *Die sieben Brunnen*, *373*) appeared in the magazine *Wiener Rundschau* with an epigraph located after the title, author and translator information and before the first chapter: "A gracious mixture of light and shadow lies on the faces of those who sit at the doors of darkened dwellings. – Leonardo da Vinci".[36]

Although the epigraph has a relatively minor presence in the translations in my corpus, the two examples show that it is a symbolically loaded paratextual form. Genette also stresses the legitimizing factor, thus indirectly confirming the consecrating role of cultural and symbolic capital in epigraphs:

> While the author awaits hypothetical newspaper reviews, literary prizes, and other official recognitions, the epigraph is already, a bit, his consecration. With it, he chooses his peers and thus his place in the pantheon.   (Genette 1997, 160)

Notes Because of the heterogeneity of commentaries and notes, Genette defines them in the most general terms possible: "a note is a statement of variable length (one word is enough) connected to a more or less definite segment of text and either placed opposite or keyed to this segment" (ibid., 319). Early forms of notes can be found in antiquity, having been used by the Greeks from the fifth century CE (Abel 2009, 15). Homer's texts were annotated for schools in Athens, with unknown words translated and explained. Notes in their present-day form originate in the glossaries of the Middle Ages, which became footnotes in the seventeenth century. This remains the basis of referencing practices in present-day scholarly writing, whereas modern narrative works, drama and poetry use notes far more sparingly. Although notes address the reader, they have the status of "optional" material and are only read by those with a special interest in obtaining supplementary information. In addition, recent research shows that translators' notes may tend to map the boundaries of intercultural exchange. In her study on translators' notes in the Italian translations of Anglo-American fiction between 1945 and 2005, for instance, Jennifer Varney finds that

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36. "Eine holde Mischung von Schatten und Licht liegt auf den Gesichtern derer, die an den Thüren von jenen Wohnungen sitzen, welche dunkel sind. – Leonardo da Vinci".

> the narrative produced by the translators' notes could be said to recount the story of growing permeability in the target culture. It plots the gradual loss of cultural specificity (expressed in the translator's note via strategies of denial and omission) and a move towards the development of intercultural homogeneity (expressed through rationalizing strategies that seek justification for increased target-culture receptivity). (Varney 2008, 48)

The corpus of German-language translations from Italian includes ten translated works with notes: eight with footnotes containing short comments, and two with scholarly footnotes. The latter, translations of texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, appeared in a series dedicated to art historical sources (Braumüller of Vienna, 1871 and 1873) and were translated by the art historian Albert Ilg, who also added an extensive introduction to each translation explaining the texts' genesis and their reception over the centuries. In this apparatus, a concentrated form of cultural capital is deployed by the translator through the translation itself (which presumes deep knowledge of the subject), the introduction (which vaunts his knowledge by forming an independent text), and the footnotes (which demonstrate his subject-specific competence).

Of the comment-style footnotes, half are supplied by translators and half by editors. Interestingly, all the translators' notes are found in poetry, whereas the notes by editors appear in a story, two specialized texts, and one excerpt of a tragedy. The translators' notes are mainly explanations of individual passages, but also include further information on the author's biography or the writing of the work. They serve to explicate the text, and can be interpreted as the translators' attempt to ensure an appropriate reception by the reader. The editors' footnotes contain source citations from the text's original edition and information on its significance in its original context. These seek to give high symbolic value to the translation as well as promoting their own particular periodical or publisher.

Publishers' advertisements and reviews Such promotional intent is more obvious in the publishers' advertisements and press reviews, which are designed primarily to boost sales. Genette categorizes this form of paratext as a public epitext, initially located "anywhere outside the book" although it can later become part of the peritext (Genette 1997, 344), as appears to have happened in the present corpus. Four publications in the corpus contain a paratext that could be defined as a publisher's advertisement in the narrow sense. On the title page verso of *Tragödien der Seele* by Roberto Bracco (*154*), the Wiener Verlag praises another of Bracco's plays as a great success. The comment in this advertisement that the comedy in question is a "perennial part of most theatres' repertoire" points to the author's high degree of legitimacy and thus his symbolic capital. The second case is in D'Annunzio's *Novellen* (*350*), where Deutsches Haus alerts readers to "the judgements of outstanding

contemporaries on Deutsches Haus titles". Two further texts include press reviews, one lauding the first edition of Marianne Zucco-Cucagna's poems *Vita sensitiva* (*1318*), the other the Italian original of Adolfo Marconi's legal commentary *Die Executions-Novelle in der Praxis* (*785b*). Unsurprisingly, both praise their texts in the highest terms. The publishers note that these are only short excerpts from the reviews – the implication is that far more extensive praise for the translations exists, potentially boosting their symbolic capital even more.

The constructive work of paratexts, in summary, occurs on various levels. The translation process in the narrower sense is (at least apparently) made transparent by the paratextual intervention, ascribing its various agents more or less significance depending on the degree of compliance with the paratextual conventions. Inextricable from such disclosure of the translation process is the production of an image of the agents involved. This image is not static: although a discourse of the translator's subservience continues to dominate, a more confident translator increasingly appears in the paratexts as time goes on. The trend is largely independent of genre, and finds expression partly in the translators' efforts to legitimize their own work. Accordingly, the principle of faithfulness to the original gradually loses ground to concepts of greater autonomy. On the level of the work's reception, it is mainly the prefaces that produce readings able to construct a particular perception of the Italian "other". Striking here are the North–South discourse, drawing on Goethe's picture of the "land where the lemon trees bloom", and (in just one case) an attempt to portray a more subtle Italian reality that does justice to nationalist political concerns.

The Habsburg space of mediation

No reconstruction of the entire space of Italian–German translational mediation in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy can be more than an outline – the economic, social, political and cultural tapestry of the Monarchy is too complex for any exhaustive analysis to be feasible, especially in view of the changes across the period. The remainder of this chapter therefore looks only at Vienna, as a focal point of the Monarchy's intellectual life. This is justified by the clustering of translations from Italian in that city, which is not to say that other centres can be simply ignored. The analysis applies the distinction between "field" and "space of mediation", discussed above, in an examination of the agents of translational mediation.

Requirements for a history of the Habsburg mediatory space

Due to the interaction of different forces within it, the space of mediation – a social space with specific properties – takes the shape of a concentrated configuration of power. Just as in the social fields described by Bourdieu, the positions from which individual agents act depend on the objective structures of the space and vice versa. The shape of that mutual dependence does not remain static but changes constantly, a process constitutive of the mediatory space. One source of this dynamism is the antagonism between representatives of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" in the space. The defenders of orthodoxy or a conservationist approach tend to be those who "more or less completely monopolize the specific capital" in their battle for important positions, "whereas those least endowed with capital … are inclined towards subversion strategies, the strategies of *heresy*" or heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1993b, 73). The dynamic nature of the space also arises from efforts to accumulate legitimacy, which may consist in selecting cultural products or become manifest in the social networks that help to position agents in the space. In the following, I discuss the agencies involved in the constitution, or temporary constitution, of the space of mediation in the context of Italian–German translation in the Habsburg Monarchy. This discussion will address the mechanisms at work within the space and add to the arguments favouring the concept of a "translational space of mediation", inspired by cultural studies, as opposed to a "field" or "sub-field" of translation in the Bourdieusian sense.

Before translating begins

The practical work of translation is preceded by mediation activities that depend on a range of factors, one of which is translation policy. As I have shown, translation policy was not made explicit in the Habsburg context, but can be reconstructed from various elements of formal or informal regulation. In its institutional form, translation policy appears in the actions of certain agents possessing a concentration of different forms of capital, who influence the production of translations by selecting texts or publishing translations in particular series or with particular companies. Those agents include publishers, and writers in their capacity as mediators (such as Isolde Kurz, Max Kalbeck or Otto Hauser; see Chapter 7). In the wider sense, translation policy also includes the absence of adequate legislation (the Austrian Monarchy never having signed the Berne Convention), of state promotion for translations, and of media attention. The issue of media coverage touches on the mechanisms of consecration effective in the dynamic space of mediation.

The political, cultural and other relationships between the cultures involved play an important role in these preliminary stages, affecting the instigation, process and outcome of mediation. Regarding the selection of texts for translation, a first point of interest is their position in the "source culture". The source culture's dispositions

and power structures are usually subject to completely different rules from those of the target culture; nevertheless, the degree of the author's legitimacy in his or her source culture is enormously influential in the decision to translate a work, as the analysis of the paratexts has indicated. That decision ultimately emerges out of the tension generated by encounters between cultural representatives who have to interact afresh through negotiation, but also draw on existing lines of tradition. This is exemplified by the translation of "classics", with four new translations of Dante between 1865 and 1903 and four of Manzoni plus six of Verga between 1879 and 1909. Gouanvic rightly observes that some works gain additional prestige through the fact of being translated: translated works enjoy greater legitimacy because they have been judged worthy of dissemination in a foreign cultural space (Gouanvic 1997b, 35). The same applies to some contemporary literature, for example the numerous translations of Gabriele D'Annunzio's works (27 translations between 1894 and 1915, mostly in periodicals); Roberto Bracco was also much translated (7 translations between 1896 and 1909), as were Neera (i.e., Anna Radius-Zuccari) (7 between 1897 and 1909) and Matilde Serao (6 between 1890 and 1907).

However, Gouanvic's point requires qualification inasmuch as many texts with high prestige in their source context may not be disseminated, or only to a lesser extent, in the target context – usually for political reasons. Examples from the corpus would be the nationalist writings of Mazzini, Garibaldi or Pellico, for whom only one translation each is listed (and no standard work by the first two authors).[37] Investigating the literary market of nineteenth-century Germany, Wittmann concludes that authors were only able to achieve social recognition if they acted as "propagandists for the views that were bringing the bourgeoisie new self-respect during the post-1850 period of political and social reaction" (Wittmann 1999, 280). This applies in equal measure to the Habsburg context, as is shown by its dearth of translations of nationalist literature, indicating an avoidance of cultural contact. Even decades after the Italian state was founded, the new Italy's literature was by no means guaranteed an unprejudiced reception in the Habsburg context.

No detailed account is possible of the procedures by which texts were selected for translation. Some information can be gleaned from the paratexts in the period, which in certain cases foreground the autonomous action of the translators, in others provide information on publishers' decisions, with an emphasis on the source-context prestige of the author, work or edition. The individuals and institutions that André Lefevere calls "patrons" bear the main responsibility for the production of

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37. These are an 1870 translation of a Garibaldi novel, *Die Herrschaft des Mönchs oder Rom im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (*588*; see Bachleitner and Wolf 2010b) and an 1859 translation of a biography by Mazzini, *Kriegsbilder für Stadt und Land. Leben und Thaten Napoleons III und die Briefe Orsinis und Mazzinis* (*813*).

translations in their respective form. Such patrons could be "persons [or] groups of persons, a religious body, a political party, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and, last but not least, the media" (Lefevere 1992, 15). This far from complete list would also include those mediators central to the transfer-related literary market – in the Habsburg context, people who worked primarily as writers, literary critics or journalists while carrying out translations "on the side". One such was Otto Eisenschitz (1863–1942), a leading journalist on numerous Viennese periodicals, dramaturge and director of the Theater in der Josefstadt, and the author of numerous plays and novellas. His translation work from Italian gave preference to contemporary authors such as Roberto Bracco, Guglielmo Ferrero, Antonio Fogazzaro, Marco Praga and Giovanni Verga. Eisenschitz's activities as an arts and cultural journalist, and especially as a dramaturge and director, positioned him not only at the interfaces of various fields, but also in an in-between space of mediation that forced him to engage in constant negotiation. This garnered him sufficient social and symbolic capital to make his own decisions regarding the selection of works for translation. Of his 16 translations, the majority appeared with the respected fiction specialist Wiener Verlag, a publisher with which Eisenschitz evidently had good connections. The Wiener Verlag translations were published between 1900 and 1905 (Wiener Verlag was established in 1899 and closed down in 1908; see Reyhani 1971 and Hall 1985, 90–3), while Eisenschitz's work as a translator, mainly from Italian, extended over 20 years, from 1895 to 1914.[38] It seems that even the best social networks may be very short-lived in the space of mediation.

Otto Hauser (1876–1944) is a special case, having published novels, stories and poetry but achieving recognition mainly as a translator. Hauser translated from 30–40 languages, publishing annotated translations of, among other things, Danish, Dutch, Serbian and Japanese poetry. Despite his extensive network of relevant acquaintances, which he nurtured through correspondence, Hauser cannot be described as a classic cultural mediator: he was a maverick, a reclusive observer of society though confident in his own judgement, who kept his distance from the Viennese literary circles of his day (see van Uffelen 1995, 178). Even so, every now and again Hauser entered into polemical disputes with other cultural facilitators or translators, for example attacking Rudolf Borchardt on his Dante translation (Borchardt 1908/1959, 368–70). This suggests that he was in fact interested in encouraging the recognition of other literatures in the German-speaking world.

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38. Eisenschitz was born in Vienna in 1863 and killed in the concentration camp Theresienstadt in 1942. He also translated for German book publishers and periodicals. Between 1891 and 1914, a total of 28 translations by him appeared, 16 in the Habsburg Monarchy and 12 in the German Reich.

Two important cultural mediators from Vienna's theatrical and musical milieu were Alfred von Berger and Max Kalbeck. Alfred von Berger, a renowned professor, director, editor, and author of plays, stories and poetry (discussed in Chapter 7 in his capacity as a literary prize juror), was a true cultural multifunctionary. Though his translation work was minor in quantitative terms, an extensive network of social relationships – manifested in regular attendance at the "intellectual rendezvous" of the Villa Wertheimstein salon (Bartl 1990, 101) – gave him great social capital. Over time, this in turn yielded substantial symbolic capital and thus a central position in the space of mediation. Yet von Berger's very multifunctionality shows that he acted in various different fields at once, and could not contribute to the establishment or consolidation of a specific space of mediation despite his valuable mediatory work.

Max Kalbeck made useful contacts while studying art in Munich, including a long-standing friendship with Paul Heyse. In 1880, he moved to Vienna on the advice of Eduard Hanslick and worked there as a music and literature reviewer, then as the head of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*'s music and arts section. Kalbeck attained some fame as a poet, biographer and especially the retranslator and adaptor of numerous libretti for operas by Massenet, Mozart, Smetana, Tchaikovsky, Wolf-Ferrari, and others. As mentioned in Chapter 7, his membership in the juries of various literary prizes completed his profile as a classic cultural multifunctionary. These areas of work gave him access to a large web of agents crucial to the mediation of cultural products. Kalbeck's translation *Mozart's Don Juan. Nach dem italienischen Original des Da Ponte für die deutsche Bühne frei bearbeitet und mit einem Vorwort versehen von Max Kalbeck* ("Mozart's *Don Juan*. Freely adapted for the German stage after Da Ponte's Italian original and furnished with a preface by Max Kalbeck"; *318d*, 1886) includes a paratext that parades this remarkable social and symbolic capital, reflecting the multiple strata of mediation that underlay his work.

Significant mediators in the domain of science and scholarship were Albert Ilg, Hans Semper and Julius Glaser. Albert Ilg (1847–1896) was an author, art historian, director of the museum of art history in Vienna, and arts editor at various Viennese newspapers. He was known for his publicity work in a literary and artistic club that he founded (with others including Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Hans Grasberger and Edmund Wengraf) with the objective of combating the ills of public life and art (see Rossbacher 1992, 457–8). Ilg published two extensively annotated translations of important art historical works (*102*, *282*) with Braumüller Verlag. His influence as a mediator was well established by 1888, when he edited a collection of sources on medieval and early modern art for the Viennese house Graeser; he also encouraged Graeser to publish many other art history sources (translations *531*, *854* and *948* in the corpus are by Ilg).

Hans Semper (1845–1920), professor of art history at Innsbruck University, also wrote on art as well as editing or translating many works including Giorgio

Vasari's biography of Donatello (*1246*). Semper won several prizes for his writing, and was a member of some important international scholarly associations. Added to his international renown as a critic, this brought him substantial symbolic capital and made him a significant broker in the domain of knowledge transfer.

It was as part of a campaign to abolish capital punishment that the lawyer, professor and one-time Minister of Justice Julius Glaser (1831–1885) translated Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, as *Über Verbrechen und Strafen* (*75*; see Sinzheimer 1953, 129–31). The importance of that translation is underlined by the appearance of a revised edition 25 years later, in 1876. Another frequent visitor to the Villa Wertheimstein salon (Bartl 1990, 99), Glaser was in contact with many of the figures of "intellectual Vienna", confirming his social and symbolic capital in the field.

As these examples show, academic mediation followed different criteria from its literary counterpart, since its cultural products were shaped by factors and agents largely absent from other fields and it deployed sets of capitals specific to the scientific and scholarly field. Yet the very specificity of this form of mediation makes it particularly interesting for the reconstruction of a translational space of mediation.

Literary salons, too, may be regarded as vehicles of mediation preceding the actual writing of a translation. As a confluence of societal and artistic trends, the salon generally brought together progressively minded people from different social classes to communicate within a socially specific framework (the definition is Peter Seibert's, 1993, 3–4). This does not mean it was always socially open in a "downward" direction. This may be one of the reasons that few translators (at least not Italian–German ones) regularly attended the Viennese salons of the turn of the century, apart from certain extremely prominent figures such as Hofmannsthal or Rilke. In principle, however, the salon could act as a site for mediating translations in the narrower sense, as can be seen in the example of Berta Zuckerkandl's salon, among the best known in Vienna. Zuckerkandl used her salon as a channel of communication between Austrian and French national literatures, promoting numerous translations, theatrical productions and publishing contacts. These activities can certainly be described as translation policy measures, in the course of which Zuckerkandl herself also translated around 120 plays into German. Many were published by Paul Zsolnay, one of her salon guests, and some were staged by another regular visitor, Hermann Bahr, during his time as director of the Hofburgtheater (Essen 1999, 208–9). This case demonstrates that the salon, as a "social microcosm" (Heyden-Rynsch 1992, 11), could form a network of social relationships in which concentrated cultural, social and symbolic capital came into play. In this sense, the salon exemplifies the in-between space in which actors and their works take up new positions in a complex process of negotiation.

Translators – the primary bearers of responsibility for mediation?

As I hope to have shown, Bourdieusian categories such as capital and habitus enable us to draw a nuanced picture of translation-related social schemata of perception and action, but it remains very difficult to retrace the interaction of individual agents in the space of mediation as a basis for the properties of the actual cultural product. The weak structures of the mediatory space, which distinguish it from the social field as described by Bourdieu, can be attributed to various factors associated with the activity and roles of translators.

Firstly, most translators in the Habsburg Monarchy's space of mediation were not full-time professionals but also worked in, or at the interfaces of, several other fields. The majority of the translators for whom biographical data could be found, 55 per cent, were writers or journalists, while 12 per cent were professors at an Austrian university. For 10 per cent, the profession "translator" is named in the biographical sources, and as this label is given first, we may conclude that it was the primary activity of the person concerned. The remaining translators were employed as high school teachers, theologians or musicians or in the military, and several also worked in politics. For the great majority of the translators (60 per cent), several different activities are named, mostly with a logical connection to translation ("writer and editor", "professor of literary history and poet") but sometimes showing less obvious combinations ("art historian, physician and translator", "engineer and writer").[39]

As these multiple roles indicate, individual translators took up positions within different fields or their intersections. This contributed to the difficulty of building up durable positions within the space of mediation – although it is worth noting that translating could give writers or journalists additional capital which they could deploy to enhance their position in the space of mediation. That is less true of the writers who translated only as a source of extra income. A typical example of the "migratory" character of translators' professional situation in the period is Cajetan Cerri (1826–1899). Cerri was born in Bagnolo, near Brescia, and came to Vienna aged 13. He later taught Italian at the Vienna Conservatory, then joined the civil service and attained a high position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where his responsibilities included the Italian press review in the Literary Bureau (see Chapter 4). He edited the Graz-based ladies' paper *Iris* and the arts section of

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39. These combinations indicate changes that had occurred in the mediatory space as a space of translation since the eighteenth century. In his study of eighteenth-century translators' prefaces, Helmut Knufmann proposes a typology of translators that includes "learned translators", "language educators", "amateur and hobby translators" and "non-specialized writers or professionals" (Knufmann 1967, 2681–2682). By the second half of the nineteenth century, however, such categories had ceased to reflect the employment of translators.

Corriere italiano, and wrote several volumes of poetry. Cerri was also an arts correspondent for the literary periodical *Dioskuren* and won several prizes, including the sought-after Gold Medal for Art and Science. His translations into German included nineteenth-century poetry (Aleardo Aleardi, *6*, and Giovanni Prati, *1053*) and sixteenth-century art history (Ludovico Dolce, *465*, and Francesco Bocchi, *135*); he also translated into Italian. Cerri's enthusiasm for the 1848 revolution, which rested in part on his personal acquaintance with Silvio Pellico, was later replaced by a loyal devotion to the Habsburg dynasty. His wide spectrum of activities as a cultural mediatior on several different levels shows the apparent impossibility of attaining a lasting and stable position in the field or space of mediation, even for a figure like Cerri, who mediated between only two cultural spheres and possessed both a rich network of social relationships and a high degree of symbolic capital.

There is no evidence in the period of a body representing the interests of the translating profession; such an association would indicate the profession's consolidation and strengthen translators' position in the space of mediation.[40] However, many of the translators listed in the corpus belonged to the journalists' and writers' association Concordia (see Stern 1909).

Another, and related, indication of the weak structure of this "field" is the fact that most of the translators identified made very few translations, at least from Italian into German. This further hampered the emergence of the long-term relationships that are needed for a field to take shape. Almost two thirds (61 per cent) of all the translators in the corpus made just one translation, while a further 18 per cent made two each. One translator made five translations, another made six, and one – as a conspicuous exception – made 16 (Otto Eisenschitz). These figures reflect the almost complete absence of any official translation policy in the Habsburg Monarchy, since they apparently result from the lack of translation prizes, translation stipends or other promotion measures that would have helped agents both practically and in terms of symbolic capital. Taken together, all these factors militated against autonomization, the key feature of the Bourdieusian field.

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40. Writing in the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* in 1879, Eduard Engel reported that in Germany "a literary magazine recently carried the tragicomic appeal by one of these poor translation proletarians from Bielefeld to establish a 'society for the protection of German translators'" (Engel 1879/1990, 224). It seems no one ever answered that call. Theo Hermans notes the important role of professional associations in establishing translation norms (Hermans 1999, 85), which in turn may help determine the positions that can be taken up in the field or space.

"Imposing new values:"[41] *Agencies of mediation and distribution*

At the interface of production (the protagonists of which clearly include translators) and distribution, there are important institutions and actors, such as publishers and the editors of series or journals, that also form part of the "patronage system". Further agencies of distribution are book fairs, libraries, educational institutions and media, all of which are influenced by or themselves implement the logic of advertising. In the historical context examined here, subscription libraries, salons, reading circles and coffee houses are also of relevance. The particular fabric of these social institutions is key to the social location of each translated work. In the following, I discuss some of them in the setting of the Habsburg Monarchy, focusing on the relationships between the individuals and institutions involved. It is impossible here to offer a precise picture of the distributory mechanisms of Habsburg translations – to reconstruct the constraints of the translation market alone (and only for a short period of time), we would need details of exact sales, numbers of theatre tickets sold, the various advertising formats, the criteria for engaging arts journalists, paths to acquiring editorial positions, and much more (see Bourdieu 1995, 49). In view of this, I propose only to trace some general patterns of translation distribution in the Habsburg mediatory space.

The most important agents in this phase of the translation business are publishers. Wittmann describes publishing companies as "gatekeepers of fame and success", whose importance grew steadily during the nineteenth century with the rising numbers of writers crowding onto the market to offer their wares (Wittmann 1999, 161). This role appears to conflict with the continued rigidity of Habsburg press legislation: publishers still had to watch carefully over the content of their publications, since post-publication confiscation threatened far worse economic damage than had the previous system of pre-publication censorship (see also Wolf 2001). However, publishers seem to have had precise knowledge of these issues, based on years of experience, which assisted them in their primary role as agents of commercial mediation. As publishing became more and more market oriented and technology more efficient, book production in Habsburg Austria – as elsewhere, though somewhat later than in Germany – underwent an industrialization that was accompanied by differentiation and specialization among publishers.

These wider developments are reflected in the landscape of the Monarchy's translation publishing. The 306 translations from Italian in the corpus appeared in 13 different towns and cities, with 84 publishers and 18 different journals. Vienna accounted for the bulk of translation, with 51 publishers and 16 periodicals

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41. The epigraph to Peter de Mendelsohn's study of the S. Fischer house quotes Fischer himself: "It is the publisher's most important and most gratifying mission to impose on the audience new values that it does not desire" (Mendelssohn 1970, 5).

publishing 198 translations – around two thirds of the Monarchy's total German–Italian production. Without diminishing the importance of other cities, we can infer from this clustering of publishers in one place not only a concentration of various forms of capital, but also the presence of multifarious networks highly conducive to the production of translations. These conditions permitted the coexistence of different types of production and circulation that obeyed different logics. Here, Bourdieu posits two poles, "the anti-'economic' economy of pure art" and the "'economic' logic of the literary and artistic industries which, since they make the trade in cultural goods just another trade, confer priority on distribution, on immediate and temporary success … and which are content to adjust themselves to the pre-existing demand of a clientèle" (Bourdieu 1995, 142). In the Habsburg context, examples of publishers located at the "pure art" pole are Anton Schroll (established 1884; see Verlag Anton Schroll 1984), focusing on architecture and art history (1 translation, *47*), and L. W. Seidel, which published mainly in military science and history after its split from Braumüller (see Junker 2001, 362–4; 2 translations, *55*, *786*). At the "economic" pole, examples are Hartleben (18 translations, mainly novels and short fiction), Braumüller (16, focusing on art history), Mechitharisten (12: religious writings) or Wiener Verlag (9: novels, novellas and dramas). According to Bourdieu, the logics behind the production and distribution mechanisms of the publishers at the extremes of this spectrum and everywhere in between determine the length of the production cycle, with a short production cycle and thus quick turnover required by commercial publishers, whereas less commercial companies are willing to risk a long production cycle in order to build a new market that does not yet exist. The different logics also govern publishing policy in the narrower sense, especially the selection of manuscripts (Bourdieu 1995, 146). However, in the selection phase publishers are not the only relevant agents, as I have shown. Eugen Guglia, for example, hints in his preface that he instigated his translation project himself: "With this little book, I try to give the German public an idea of D'Annunzio as a pure lyric poet" (*344*). In general, Guglia worked hard to introduce D'Annunzio to the German-speaking world, as is shown by his other translations of the author (*344a*, *347*, *365*, *366*, *373*; for further detail, see Vignazia 1995, 152–3).

Literary agents are commonly considered the mediators *par excellence*. Historically, it is not easy to retrace their role in translation publishing, in the absence of written documentation of their exact activities, but they had certainly taken up a firm place in the literature business by the end of the nineteenth century, and as such may be counted among the important actors in the field of mediation. In his study of literary agencies, Andreas Graf finds that 205 companies were established in the German-speaking world between 1868 and 1915, eight of them in Vienna and one in Budapest (Graf 1998, B 178–9). Table 25 lists the nine agencies

identified by Graf for the Habsburg area. According to Graf, who uses data from the writers' almanac *Kürschner's Literatur-Kalender*, the first Austrian agency was founded in 1872 by A. F. Heksch and described itself as a "correspondence and translation bureau". In *Lehmanns Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger*, discussed in my analysis of private translation bureaus (Chapter 6), Heksch does not appear in that year but not until 1876, advertising solely "Hungarian", and as a full bureau in 1881: "Translation bureau for Hung., Fr., It. language, also editing and administration of the 'Illustrated Guide to the Danube'" (*Lehmanns Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger* 1881, 1220). In 1882, the bureau's address changed and Heksch added Serbo-Croat and Romanian as source languages. The 1885 entry, finally, adds English, Polish and Russian and again gives a new address. It was in 1885 that Alexander F. Heksch died, aged only 39. It is not clear from the available records whether he also worked as a literary agent, so that the data from *Kürschner's Literatur-Kalender* cannot be confirmed. Yet the very fact that *Kürschner's* listed the Heksch translation bureau under literary agencies shows how closely the literary mediation of agencies is connected with that of translation in the narrower sense.

Table 25. Literary agencies founded in Vienna and Budapest, 1880–1909 (Source: Graf 1998, B 178–9)

Established	Name	Owner / manager	Location
1872	Korrespondenz- und Uebersetzungsbureau	A. F. Heksch	Vienna
1880	Helios. Lit. Abt. d. lit. u. graph. Instituts Helios	Josef Graf	Vienna
1884	Internationales literarisches Vermittlungsbureau	Brothers Nevai	Budapest
1885	Epsteins Litterarische Agentur	Epstein	Vienna
1900	Litterarisches Bureau	(Mühlgasse 3)	Vienna
1900	Litterarisches Institut "Die Handschrift"	–	Vienna
1904	Literaturanstalt "Austria"	Georg Jantschge	Vienna
1906	Observer. Unternehmen für Zeitungsausschnitte	–	Vienna
1909	Lipman's Zeitungskorrespondenz	Arthur Lipman	Vienna

There is no doubt that the emergence of literary agencies brought a new level of quality to the literature business. From now on, literature was not regarded as a purely aesthetic product, but also as a commodity capable of institutional recognition. According to Graf's analysis of advertisements in *Kürschner's*, the agencies also took on translated works. Some specialized in foreign literature; others worked solely on the sale of rights to German and international literature (Graf 1998, B 183–4). The importance of literary agencies in the period examined here should not be overstated, as they were mainly short-lived institutions and by no means established actors in the space of mediation. Nevertheless, their efforts certainly contributed to the realization that a professionalized market – which the late nineteenth-century

literary market indubitably was – required channels of mediation that could handle the growing need to place literature successfully as a commodity.

Another influential instrument of distribution was the subscription list, a historical source hitherto almost entirely neglected by translation studies. In the final decades of the eighteenth century, it had become a standard part of the literature business to seek subscribers who would advance money for a book to be published. The importance of the subscription system arose partly from the retail book trade's reluctance to take risks on literary innovations – the move to subscriptions, especially for untested genres and multivolume or encyclopedic works, thus enabled important gaps in the market to be filled (Sarkowski 1982, 227). The subscription phenomenon can be studied as part of the patronage system not least because for many years it was usual to publish the names of important subscribers in the introduction to the work (Speck 1982, 49). For this reason, the average numbers of subscribers are probably less revealing than the exact composition of the subscription lists, which may allow conclusions to be drawn about individual readers' or purchasers' positions in the field (or space of mediation) alongside other agents. Lawrence Venuti, for example, drawing on Speck's work, notes that the subscribers to Alexander Pope's *Iliad* translation increasingly came from the bourgeoisie, with the work supported only secondarily by an aristocratic public (Venuti 1995, 66). Max Peyfuss's detailed analysis of Greek, Serbian and Romanian historical works around 1800 also finds that subscription was mainly a practice of middle-class readers, and especially the commercial classes (Peyfuss 1985, 345). It seems that early nineteenth-century merchants were seeking to acquire cultural capital through a subscription, an established component of the public sphere, in order to improve their position in their own field. A systematic analysis of the subscribers to translations in this period might therefore say much about the deployment of capital by agents who were not necessarily active in the space of mediation, but who impacted on other fields through their *enjeux*. In turn, knowledge of subscribers' influence on the buying, selling and reading of translated literature would enhance our understanding of the power relationships at work in the space of mediation.

Vehicles of distribution in the narrower sense are booksellers, some of them specializing in sales of particular literary or scientific domains; advertising, for which barely any information is available in the context discussed here (a study of blurbs would be interesting, for example) and which was briefly mentioned in the discussion of publishers' epitexts; and theatre managers, who were, and still are, decisive figures in the dissemination of cultural products. This becomes obvious in Feichtinger's study of nineteenth-century premieres of plays by Italian authors at the Hofburgtheater. Feichtinger identifies a hiatus in the performance of Italian works between 1839 and 1887 (with one exception, in 1857), and attributes it principally to the personal interests of the respective theatre managers, especially

Heinrich Laube. A secondary explanation is the weakness of Italian drama, which presented no great incentive to translate, while Feichtinger also cites the political context, given that since Alfieri, Italian literature had been dominated by the Risorgimento – a focus that by no means encouraged translation, at least not into German (Feichtinger 1964, 309–10). Salons, another site of distribution, have already been mentioned; they activated processes of legitimation, with commissions awarded and prices discussed or even fixed. For Bourdieu, salons are crucial to cultural exchange, being "places where writers and artists can gather together as kindred spirits and meet the powerful" and, as each party tries to influence the other, also "genuine articulations between the fields" (Bourdieu 1995, 51).

A detailed reconstruction of all these mediatory activities would only be possible through exhaustive studies of the various types of historical sources.Vignazia's study of translations of D'Annunzio, or Karl Zieger's of the reception of Émile Zola by turn-of-the-century Austrian reviewers (Zieger 1986), show that analysing publishers' correspondence in literary or other archives, a range of media sources, and more would be required for a comprehensive view of the activities of agents involved in the translation business in the widest sense and the tensions and power relationships within the space of mediation.

Reception in the Habsburg communication network

Naturally, the increasingly differentiated network of production and distribution I have described needs reception to fulfil its purpose. Reception covers such varied factors as the book market, the reading public, various types of publication (anthologies, series, literary histories), consecration mechanisms (reviews, prizes, etc.) and many more.

The state of the book market is the basic starting point of any attempt to identify translated literature's position in a field or space. From the eighteenth century, the factors regulating that market underwent enormous change, which can be examined in terms of its historical, structural and local aspects. Particularly relevant for the nineteenth century were rising literacy rates, innovations in print technology, the expansion of distribution networks, the differentiation of publication venues, and more broadly the "reading revolution" (Wittmann 1999, 186). Political interventions with a strongly regulatory thrust were also important, such as – in a positive sense – the privileges accorded to the production of books considered "useful", or – in a negative sense – ineffectual copyright legislation and the continuation of statutory constraints on publishing even after the abolition of pre-publication censorship. Through the cultural practice of reading, the public itself plays a crucial role in this network of communication. It is a contingent role, based on readers' changing deployment of their capitals in combination with their own particular habitus: what offer of information does the individual reader accept

at any one moment, and with an eye to what position-taking in the field does she or he process and redeploy that information? The book market's differentiation in the period was driven significantly by the particularization of reading behaviour, which also led to the fading of the cultural consensus that had prevailed in the eighteenth century. The translations produced in the Habsburg Monarchy testify to these same developments through rising numbers of translations, from all different languages, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the growing fragmentation into smaller genres. The translations also reflect changing motivations for reading, from "active communication within civic culture through reading" (Wittmann 1999, 290) to a more passive uptake of reading material, driven by the more socially heterogeneous composition of the readership and the increasing crystallization of different tastes and preferences.

Another aspect relevant to the space of mediation is the range of different venues for the publication of translations, which casts light not only on the positioning of an author, genre or literary movement within the literary field but also (or especially) on the functional mechanisms underlying every translation process. Reception is influenced by anthologies and series along with reference works and textbooks such as literary histories.

To anthologize is to reorganize texts by different writers and from different epochs, genres, movements or particular thematic domains. The anthology rests on selection mechanisms that are embedded in a patronage system, and contributes importantly to the image readers receive of its subject, in this case Italian literature. In his brief comments on anthologies of translated and non-translated literature, Harald Kittel addresses the question of selection, with other aspects such as different cultures' divergent concepts of literature and the blurring of traditional genre classifications (Kittel 2004). Elisabeth Arend-Schwarz (1993, 99) asks whether analysing anthologies could reveal a canon of authors and works – though this would mean comparing anthologies with translations in monographs and periodicals and is not relevant for the present corpus, which contains no anthologies purely of translations from Italian. That very fact may indicate that the activity of mediator figures was minor in the Habsburg Monarchy when compared to neighbouring Germany, where numerous translation anthologies were published in this period. It also illustrates the, at most, sketchy translation policy of Austrian publishers.

However, when it comes to the publication of series Austrian companies show a greater propensity for translation policy efforts. In her study of series in nineteenth-century Austria, Christina Ruland (1998) finds 109 series in total, although many of these were short-lived. The series she studies emerged in the wake of a change in reading habits whereby religious literature, mainly in the shape of tracts, gradually lost ground to entertainment. This trend is visible in the themes

of the series, which cover mainly fiction but also everything from popular science to "practical" publications (jobs, sports, travel, etc.). Probably the most important translation project in this area was the Hartleben series "Belletristic Reading Cabinet of the Latest and Best Novels of All Nations in Careful Translations", which included 1,008 translations, mainly French novels, between 1846 and 1879 (Bachleitner 2000, 323). Seven translations from Italian appeared in this series – just 0.7 per cent of all translations from Italian between 1848 and 1918. The low number is explained partly by the fact that translation from Italian did not gain momentum until the 1880s, for the political reasons already discussed, and that no translation policy existed specifically for Italian, in contrast to the unofficial policy regarding French that can be glimpsed in the Hartleben example.

Another series specializing in translations was Wallishausser's "Viennese Theatre Repertoire", though this included none of the publisher's three Italian–German translations (*18*, *318c*, *871*). From 1851, Stöckholzer von Hirschfeld published the series "Romantic Reading Room" with several translations, albeit none from Italian. Some series held a prominent place in their publisher's lists, making them an important economic factor. For translations published in these series, it was probably economic capital rather than symbolic capital that determined their position in the literary field – almost all were translated popular or middlebrow works of Italian or other literatures. Certainly, series are powerful instruments, due to their selection mechanisms, and important categories of the space of mediation. Especially when they gather numerous translations, they contribute to the vitality of the space by helping to modify its relations of exchange.

Literary criticism is another factor of reception that shapes mediation, and thus the positioning of translations in the literary field. The capitals of the newspapers and magazines that publish reviews of translations, and of the reviewers themselves, affect both readers' perceptions of particular translated texts and the production of new translations. These complex dynamics deserve detailed investigation through micro studies of the interaction between authors, epochs, themes and genres and of the reciprocal effects of reception and instigation. Those processes are closely bound up with the agencies of "intellectual consecration and legitimacy" (Bourdieu 1969, 105), discussed in the context of paratexts as elements that guide and control the reception of translations and in the context of literary prizes as directly consecrational mechanisms. We may note here that, with very few exceptions, in the Habsburg context the battle for legitimacy was fought out via other fields (such as the literary field) and their mechanisms, not directly via a field of translation or mediation, since the institutionalized framework of translation itself was relatively weak.

4.   The translational space of mediation: Conclusions

This chapter's portrait of Italian–German translating in the period from 1848 to 1918 and of the context of the translations' production, distribution and reception, based on the notion of a Habsburg "translational space of mediation", required us first to address the historical context of distribution within which the translations emerged and upon which they impacted. This revealed that in the Habsburg collective imagination – the outcome of conflicts between, on the one hand, uncritical convention and the transmission of older topoi and stereotypes, and, on the other, a rational, critical interrogation of these categories (Heitmann and Scamardi 1993, 1) – the image of Italy was made up of sedimented layers of perception originating in different historical periods. The view of Italy disseminated by Goethe's *Travels in Italy* remained highly relevant. In some circles and some cultural manifestations, it was underpinned or intensified by ideas drawn from classical Rome and the heyday of the Italian Renaissance. During Romanticism, attitudes to the southern lifestyle and landscape were dominated by a sense of yearning that attracted writers, musicians and visual artists alike; later, these comparatively positive images were gradually overlaid by the prevailing political and ideological tensions between Italy and the Monarchy, which in turn were consolidated by negative historical experiences.

A detailed corpus analysis may provide a setting to discover how far these trends and imagological formations influenced the selection and presentation of Italian writing in translation, and what mechanisms of cultural construction they display. My investigation of the corpus of 1,741 Italian–German translations, according to particular parameters and focusing on the 306 that were published in the Habsburg Monarchy, reveals certain tendencies in translational transfer during the period. The main trends in the German lands (from 1871 the German Empire) were also to be found in the Habsburg Monarchy. In both areas, a professionalized book market was taking shape, dense social networks were accumulating around publishers, and newspapers and literary magazines were becoming increasingly important vehicles for translation publication. However, there are distinctions between the German and Habsburg situations especially in two respects. Firstly, the convention of naming translators in books and periodicals seems to have been less widespread in the Habsburg setting, although because Austria's translation production was relatively minor compared to that of its German neighbours, the particular habits of a few publishers may impact disproportionately on the statistics. Secondly, the gender composition of translators differs. In the Habsburg Monarchy far fewer women translators were named, which implies that women lacked the social capital to present themselves as translators. Thus, while across the whole German-speaking area women tended to be better represented in the translation of novels than other genres, in the German Empire translations were concentrated in

the hands of a smaller number of women, such as Maria Gagliardi (9 translations between 1899 and 1913) or Katharina Brenning (8 translations between 1892 and 1910); both women published with a limited number of companies, indicating close-knit communication networks.

This reconstruction of the Habsburg translational space of mediation rests on my argument that Bourdieusian field theory is unable to fully capture the process of mediation. I have therefore added the figure of the third space, after Homi Bhabha, to Bourdieu's model. This is capable of accounting not only for the temporary nature of the space of mediation, but also for the position-taking of the principal agents and their actions in a "space between" that cannot be conceptualized in the Bourdieusian framework due to the difference in underlying functions. Starting from this, my examination of the paratexts generated in the Monarchy's translational space of mediation offers insights into the translatorial habitus of the period. The explicitly argued declarations of the translator's own strategies in the prefaces, especially, and the wider views of translation they reveal, indicate a translatorial habitus that is moving away from the discourse of subservience. Of course, referencing an emancipatory discourse in the prefaces does not necessarily mean the translator is more assertive than before, and the appearance of this discourse does not necessarily mean a radical change in the translator's habitus. In fact, it is important to note the persistence of stable images of self and other, and the recourse to repertoires that may result both in a tendency to change and a perpetuation of particular imagological elements.

Attention to a changing translatorial habitus as manifested by the paratexts is inextricable from attention to their contribution to cultural constructions. This contribution becomes evident in paratextual manipulations of the reading process, through which particular perceptions of self and other are constructed in the context of Italian–Habsburg transfer. The constructive efforts of the paratexts suggest a gradual departure from patterns of translatorial behaviour long taken for granted and, in part, an instrumentalization of paratexts in pursuit of interests that may be interpreted as clues to the intimate political relationship between Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy.

Conclusion

> The more of the Austrian Empire's languages
> you understand, the more of an Austrian you will be.[1]

In this closing chapter, I draw together the Habsburg transfer and translation practices investigated so far to present a model that defines the phenomenon of translating as a process of action and communication within complex cultural and social networks. Let me begin by quoting from a 1922 satire by Carl Techet[2] that exemplifies the setting. In his short history of the Schneider family, writes Techet,

> persons and individual destinies belong to the average destiny of those civil-servant nomads who ignore the fact that the state to which they adhere sticks to them just as firmly, and obfuscates their existence so thoroughly that it retains only the smallest momentum of its own. …
>
> No one has ever managed to discover with certainty where the Schneiders originated; but they must have begun somewhere in Austria, although their membership of the fiscal state is surely not the main point.
>
> Yes, Schneider was their name.
>
> A German name?
>
> Old Schneider would have smiled blankly at the assertion that he was a German.
>
> His first position as a k.k. civil servant was in purely Asiatic Austria, in some subsidiary or other with an unpronounceable name in the borderlands of Galicia and Bukovina. There he forgot his German, and learned instead a sort-of-German with a Polish-Yiddish touch, and also – sufficiently for official purposes – Ruthenian, Polish and a little Romanian.
>
> Also, he there married a certain Fräulein Bobrzynski.

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1. Hammer-Purgstall (1852, 96), adapting the Latin saying "Quot linguas calles, tot homines vales".

2. Vienna-born Carl Techet (1877–1920) was a schoolteacher in Kufstein, but when he published his 1909 satire *Fern von Europa* (Far from Europe) under the pseudonym Sepp Schluiferer, painting a most unflattering portrait of the Tyrolese, he was persecuted and ultimately transferred to a "backyard" of the Empire, the Moravian town of Proßnitz/Prostějov. *Fern von Europa* has become a cult book and has been reissued several times (Plattform Inzing 2000; Nigg 2002; on reactions to his works, see SAGEN.at [n.d.]).

His beloved wife bore him a son. She made Polish at home in the family, but as a sideline also used Croatian, as her mother was a Croat, and cherished certain Hungarian proverbs with great loyalty, out of love for a quintessentially Magyar grandfather.

What was Father Schneider to reply when someone pointlessly asked him for his nationality? The question was bound to glance off his understanding.

Had he, the conscientiously trained servant of the political authorities, ever found the word "nation" or "nationality" in the copious decrees, ordinances and announcements, or in Imperial law? – Never and nowhere. – Were there, then, any "nations" in a fatherland?! Why should those terms rumble around in his head? They had no paragraphs or clauses – did they have any right at all to exist and be embodied? – One speaks whatever language one happens to have at hand and needs, just as one eats and drinks to pacify the belly and the gullet.

I am not saying that Schneider consciously deliberated thus. Oh no! He was impervious to the discord of opinions, for he was, and still remains, the "Austrian-in-itself". …

No ethnographer has yet studied the nation of Fiscal Austria. It lived in him with its five- or six-languaged soul, with the force of purposeful atrophy and of divinely ordained, mildly tranquil boneheadedness.

K.k. civil servant Schneider once sat perplexed before a census question-naire containing the enigmatic heading "language of common communication". Fortunately, the sinister word "nationality" had been avoided once again – but the language of common communication nevertheless weighed heavily upon him.

How should he answer? At home he spoke Polish, sometimes a little German; with acquaintances, relatives and in the office he spoke both, and also Ruthenian and Romanian. His superior thought he could enter "Polish", since in the office and the coffee house one had no communication and therefore no language of communication – "you just sits there". But Herr Schneider did not want to incur any side's displeasure, and therefore wrote: "Neutral! Never the same, changes."

The years passed, and the Schneiders flourished splendidly. Schneider moved up the official ranks, attaining a considerably wider sphere of action in a Czech town and, naturally, an even higher salary ….

Helped by her knowledge of Croatian and Polish, the mother made herself Czech. The family's firstborn, Franciszek, became a Frantisek.

Father Schneider shook his head …. In the borderlands of Galicia and Bukovina, in the jumble of four or five languages, he had been allowed to lead an easy-going life as a neutral Fiscal Austrian. Here, where just two peoples were at odds and poisoned each other's existence, he was no longer permitted that comfort. … It was a great blow to Father Schneider that he had entered this dis-mal era when the Radetzky March was beginning to lose its virtue as a steadfast worldview ….

How should the Schneider brothers define themselves? Their mother was a Czech Pole with a half-Croat past; their father a neutral Fiscal Austrian, Polish

> through his wife, Austrianized through his office. He had acquired a little bit of person from each of several languages, not a whole person from any of them – but this chaos was his homeland.   (Techet 1922, 11–17)

If I quote here *in extenso* from the narrative "Das ewige Oesterreich" (Eternal Austria), this is because it touches on so many of the present book's key concerns around language, national identity, and the role of translation. Techet's sardonic view of the rise of nationalism in the multiethnic state and the disapproving bewilderment expressed by the "nomads" of the Empire's civil service is set firmly in the context of everyday multilingualism. It reflects the conflicts inherent to Kakania's plurilingual soul.

Perhaps the most striking element of the passage cited is the reference to the good civil servant Schneider's multicentric language use. Asked whether his name is German, he answers with a puzzled smile, and once in "Asiatic Austria" he uses his apparent mother tongue only sporadically or even forgets it. None of his languages holds a genuinely central position in his life; the situations and circumstances in which he moves each day are too diverse for a single language ever to gain the upper hand. Herr Schneider's sense of normality, shaken by the invention of nationhood (see Anderson 1991), makes up the everyday life of multiethnic states: "Where several languages coexist, multilingualism may be so normal as to make an exclusive identification with any one idiom quite arbitrary" (Hobsbawm 1990, 57).

Hobsbawm's point clearly applies to Herr Schneider, who is not surprisingly baffled by the census request to name one "language of common communication" – his many-languaged soul balks at an unambiguity that has never marked his thoughts and actions, at least in linguistic matters, and that contradicts the immediacy of language use ("one speaks whatever language one happens to have at hand and needs"). The very fact that switching between languages, the constant oscillation between different codes, is not framed here as a distinction between officialdom and the private sphere shows that Schneider stands for an era when contextual switching is not experienced consciously. He is full of ambivalence, an "entangled subject" (Bronfen and Marius 1997, 4) who assigns situations around him to particular languages with "divinely ordained" routine, or at least without any conscious sense of discordance. He is the "Austrian-in-itself" and thus, logically enough from his point of view, describes his language of common communication as "neutral".

The everyday switching of contexts that Herr Schneider accomplishes with such apparent ease stands for the continual processes of translation between the various worlds in which he moves and acts – processes that are acquiring a different quality as the unifying melody of the Radetzky March begins to fade. The ordering principle embodied in civil servant Schneider and his "steadfast worldview"

as yet coexists harmoniously with a linguistic situation that Techet calls "chaotic". This hybrid subject, whose homeland is chaos, typifies the Habsburg Monarchy, recurring in different forms and configurations across all social classes and cultural groupings. In this sense, the Monarchy may be imagined as made up of formations of innumerable "little bits of person", who manage their everyday life by means of complex translation processes and thereby weave the pluricultural fabric of the multiethnic state.

1.   Model: The communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy

Given this, we may think of the Habsburg Monarchy as a hybrid world in which, and by means of which, processes of interaction are constantly at work. The model I will now set out seeks to capture in schematic form the complexity of that world's possible references and communicative contexts. As will be seen, four broad domains of polycultural or transcultural contextualization emerge, which cannot be sharply demarcated and always interact. The first of them is the complex plurilingual and pluricultural communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy, a "polytheistic" space (Strutz 1992, 331) marked by great ethnic, linguistic and cultural density.[3] This space is dominated by processes which are dependent on perpetual exchanges between ethnic and linguistic groupings, crosscutting class identities, and are therefore commonplace and everyday to a high degree. In the domains of what I will call the space of polycultural translation and the exogenous cultural field, concrete cultural products are created from, in the first case, the interaction of elements within the Monarchy and, in the second, representations emanating from "alien"– that is, geographically and culturally external – spaces. In the overlaps between these two domains is, fourthly, the space of transcultural translation, the source of the translations produced by interactions between Habsburg and exogenous cultural elements. Of special significance, and indeed constitutive of the Habsburg communicative space, are the spaces' open borders and their constant interplay. Power relationships are present in all those interactions, but especially in the contact zones; they are pivotal to the dynamism of each space. The social, political and economic factors producing that dynamism can be found in modernization, war and its territorial consequences, or knowledge of "foreign" languages, often learned under the pressure of migration. Figure 20 illustrates the processes of communication and translation in the Habsburg Monarchy (with the usual proviso that any such visualization is bound to oversimplify).

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3.   On the "lived communicative space" in a linguistic context, see Krefeld (2004).
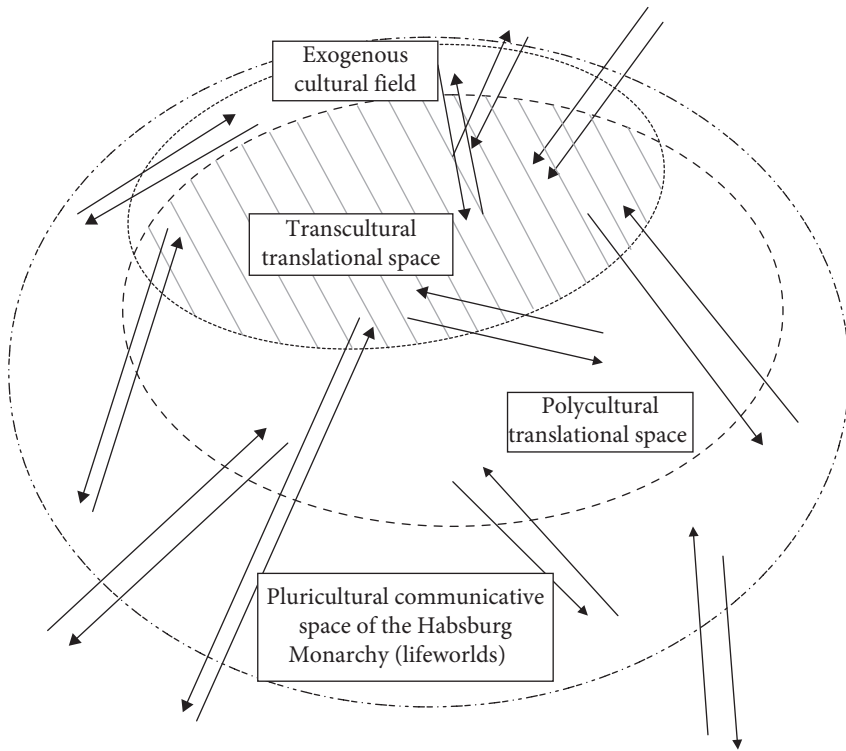
Figure 20. The communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy

The pluricultural communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy

Moritz Csáky's view of culture as an "open communicative space" (2010, 101) provides the basis for my concept of the Habsburg Monarchy's pluricultural communicative space. Csáky argues that culture should be regarded as comprising the "entire ensemble of elements, signs, codes or symbols" by means of which individuals carry out "verbal and non-verbal communication within a social context" (ibid.). Ways of behaving in a culture are constantly changing, are constantly under performative negotiation. For a notion of culture as communicative space, this implies that individuals or groups continually reconstitute their lifeworlds and power relationships by positing or avoiding particular elements, signs and codes. Of particular value for the model of a Habsburg communicative space is Czáky's refusal to draw sharp distinctions between "high" and everyday culture or to essentialize culture, an approach he illustrates through the case of language:

> Consider, for example, the constant, dynamic changing of an actual spoken language, with its neologisms, changes in meaning and new connotations, added to which are continual loans from other actual languages, that is, other linguistic communicative spaces.   (Ibid., 24)

I would expand this spectrum of components by adding the translation types presented earlier in this book. The pluricultural communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy is shaped by numerous translation processes, many of which are located in the wider communicative structure of the "densely ethnically and culturally mixed Habsburg state" (Stachel 2001, 20). These include, on the one hand, processes of communication and transfer like travel narratives (Stark 1999; Agorni 2002) or the mediation performed by publishers and merchants (see Espagne 1997), and, on the other, the Monarchy's characteristic bi- and multilingualism. In other words, the pluricultural communicative space brings together all translational processes, whether or not they are carried out by explicitly designated agencies of mediation. The second group, processes around linguistic plurality, is what I will emphasize in the following.

It is not only multilingualism as such that may be considered constitutive of the Habsburg Monarchy,[4] but also the conflict situations intrinsic to the dynamic processes within a communicative space. As Hans Goebl comments, anyone who lived in the Habsburg lands, or served the Habsburgs in whatever role, was inevitably exposed to a whole range of language contacts and language conflicts (Goebl 1997, 106). The potential for tension inheres in multiethnic societies, and takes its specific form from the gap between usage and prestige. This functional asymmetry may result in a diglossic or polyglossic hierarchy of languages that reflects the structures of power (see Rindler-Schjerve 1997, 17–18). In view of this power play within linguistic configurations, the distinctions between attitudes to the different domains of language use are important: conflicts tend to cluster around the public use of particular languages, in other words in administration or education, where written language plays an important role. The language or languages

> spoken within the private sphere of communication raise no serious problems even when it or they coexist with public languages, since each occupies its own space, as every child knows when it switches from the idiom appropriate for talking to parents to the one suited to teachers or friends.   (Hobsbawm 1990, 113)

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4.   The great importance attached to multilingualism (and therefore, in the present context, to translating) and its political topicality in the Habsburg Monarchy's communicative space is reflected in the theme chosen by the president of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, to celebrate the institution's fifth anniversary in 1852: "Lecture on Multilingualism" (Hammer-Purgstall 1852; see also Stachel 2001, 42).

Switching between languages and cultures was thus routine procedure among the inhabitants of the Habsburg Monarchy.

A glance at everyday communication in the Monarchy reveals two main types of translating, in most cases between several languages. The first is the type of translating without which it would be impossible to handle everyday communication, and which in this book I have called "habitualized translating". This covers the labour of communication within the Habsburg Monarchy that was not explicitly requested but routinely carried out by servants, craftspeople, coachmen, wet nurses, publicans and so on. Mixed marriages, like that of the Kakanian functionary Schneider, also epitomize the practices of habitualized translation. Such translating tends to be framed within highly asymmetrical relationships. It is usually oriented unilaterally on the target language, and in social terms on a lower-to-higher direction of communication. The other direction is the exception, although cases are documented where the children of an employer family, for example, learned the language of the domestic staff at least in a fragmentary form. Habitualized translation formed the basis of communication for large segments of the Habsburg Monarchy's population.

The second form of translation in this area is what I call "institutionalized translating". The dense network of administration that characterized the Monarchy in general and increased with further democratization demanded a differential treatment of the Monarchy's various languages in schooling, the military, the courtroom and other contexts. Language practice here was usually regulated by law (see Fischel 1910), with Article 19 of the 1867 constitution giving rise to a series of ordinances – respected to a greater or lesser degree on the ground – that attempted to manage multilingualism in the public sphere. This public context explains my choice of the label "institutionalized" to describe this multiform translation type. The term acquires further plausibility if we consider state initiatives to encourage officials' acquisition of other "languages of the land" (*Landessprachen*) used in their particular locations, the aim being to continue the state's polyglot tradition at least in statutory terms and to organize communication within the Empire as efficiently as possible (see Chapter 4 on language learning in the Habsburg Army or the training of polyglot diplomats at the Oriental Academy). Accordingly, if it was the multifarious cultural acts of linkage that constituted the Monarchy's hybridity, those acts took place primarily in everyday practice, as part of the lifeworlds of the Habsburg population. Their multiple encodings did not follow rigid rules, but were more flexible in structure, potentially enabling greater interplay between cultural elements. Admittedly, this does not apply equally across the Habsburg area: some regions were particularly affected by such "contamination", while others subsisted in zones with far less concentrated overlaps.

Space of polycultural translation

This space exists within the communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy, and comprises two constantly interacting complexes. On the one hand, it is the site of the production of cultural goods by Habsburg inhabitants who were not performing an explicit or conscious labour of transfer. Nevertheless, such cultural products – works of art, architecture, literature or music in the areas of popular or high culture – arose within the Habsburg communicative structure and were therefore subject to its communicative strategies and dynamics. Despite being defined as "originals", they can certainly not be regarded as ethnically and culturally "pure" in any way, but were the outcomes of many different encodings. This view of original cultural production as mixed implies that text is the provisional outcome of multiple different meaning ascriptions, which is why I include such products in the category of the space of polycultural translation. Examples would be many Habsburg operettas, or the recipes that gradually made their way across the Monarchy.

Imbricated with this complex through individual agents and comparable representational strategies is the space in which translations in the narrower sense are made – products of the Habsburg Monarchy's own ethnic groupings that include both literary translations and translation or interpreting in the administrative field. In this sub-space, historical and other connections determine the degree of interaction in any one case. Transfer between Slovenian and Serbo-Croat, for example, obeys different constraints and forms a differently figured fabric from transfer between German and Slovenian or between Italian and German. In all cases, the criteria of hegemony are the crucial ones.

At first sight, there seem to be parallels between the making of these translations and the making of cultural products in the previous category – close enough to blur the borders between them. However, there are also fundamental structural differences. For a translation to be made, there must be an agent performing an explicit act of mediation, whereas for the production of originals (for example, popular literature) the mediation is only implicit, not carried out consciously. Partly for this reason, the profile of interests and actions in the two areas diverges significantly. Transfer efforts are the defining feature of the space of polycultural translations in the narrower sense, but an optional one in the space of original productions (even if they are always implicitly there in the background). Finally, the cultural products created in this space are subject to very varied conditions in terms of social class, ethnic or national grouping and, especially, historical epoch (always within the period between 1848 and 1918). The practices of communication and transfer carried out by the army may be located at the edges between the space of polycultural translation and the wider pluricultural communicative space, as some take the shape of bilingual and multilingual communication, others of

mediation through translations in the narrower sense (for example between the members of a regiment). The borders between this space and the space of transcultural translation are open.

Exogenous cultural field

The term "exogenous cultural field" is chosen with reference to Csáky's "exogenous plurality", as it shares many traits with that category but is mainly located *within* the pluricultural communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy. This is because exogenous elements – cultural elements arriving from spaces located geographically and culturally outside the Monarchy's frontiers, though not necessarily having been produced there, for example a book or opera in a "foreign" language – can only be perceived, or be relevant to the Monarchy's communicative space and its relationships, if they are actually distributed and thus attain a presence there. The exogenous cultural field interacts with the pluricultural space in varying degrees of intensity, and, like parts of the space of polycultural translation, it is not explicitly the result of transfers; the intensity of transfer depends on the extent to which contextual links need to be created with cultural elements of the pluricultural communicative space, regardless of whether agents are actually conscious of that need. Accordingly, the exogenous cultural field is not large, accounting for only a very small proportion of the Habsburg Monarchy's cultural production. It comprises "original" products (regarded as such despite being inherently hybrid) received or consumed by an audience that was small, but possessed substantial symbolic and social capital.

Space of transcultural translation

This space is located in the overlap of the space of polycultural translation with the exogenous cultural field, and therefore also within the larger communicative space of the Monarchy. The space of transcultural translation is the site of the transfer processes, and the translations (in the narrower and wider sense), that result from interaction between the cultural practices of the Habsburg Monarchy and those of "other" cultures. It is therefore highly dynamic – for not only do its cultural products arise from the reciprocal impacts of the space of polycultural translation and the exogenous cultural field, but its own effect on the pluricultural space, in the form of discursive meaning constructions, forms part of that space's communicative potential. In addition, the external impact of the transcultural translational space's products and their retroaction on the exogenous cultural field should not be underestimated.

The transfers that happen in and determine the space of transcultural translation encompass not only conventional translation and interpreting between the cultures involved (such as literary or diplomatic translating), but also fashions or schools of thought in the domain of everyday life, art, literature or music. It is important to note that these transfers are not one-dimensional but always already mixed or contaminated, indicating once again how much hybridity is inherent to all cultural products. Viennese commentator Hermann Bahr remarked that there was no point in describing Austrian literature as part of German literature, since "one will find something French, something German, traces of all literatures, for our mind has been in commerce with everything" (Bahr 1894/1995, 317). Thus, the translation of a text from English into German and its subsequent publication by a Viennese company, for example, is not a simple, linear transmission; it is a process that began before a word of the translation was written, because the English text itself was already shot through with ambivalences and multiple contextualizations. Also of importance here are the various intermediate categories between the space of transcultural translation and that of polycultural translation, where institutions like the Evidence Bureau carried out transfer both within and across the Monarchy's boundaries.

Translation results in continual reinterpretations and transformations that both dynamize the receiving culture and threaten to fracture it. Depending on the extent of contamination within the cultures involved, dynamic processes arise that shaped the space of the Habsburg Monarchy as a whole and could amplify or attenuate the existing relationships of power. The difference between translating a French text into German or into Ruthenian lay, not least, in the different degree to which discursive exchanges had already taken place between the cultures, processes that themselves altered meaning ascriptions. The hierarchical relations between the parties involved, too, affected these translational exchanges.

2.   Kakania as a site of translation

In all these dimensions of the Habsburg communicative space, power relations conditioned communication on every level. They emanated from tensions between the various societal groups and, towards the end of the nineteenth century, increasingly also from the nationalities conflicts, which importantly influenced the mechanisms of communication. In the creation of cultural products, the impact of power relations made itself felt in various different forms. For the specific context of producing translations in the narrower sense, one of these was the enhanced national consciousness that resulted from (and itself fuelled) the Monarchy's nationalities conflicts and promoted the creation of "original" cultural products in

different languages. This, in turn, contributed to an increase in translation activity: the greater volume and often diversification of original texts offered a greater palette from which to choose translations. This was of interest to both professional mediators and the public, as is evident from cases like the massive increase in translations from Serbo-Croat into German from around 1888 (in 1888–97, the number of translations rose almost threefold compared to the previous decade).

The border dimension is important to all these processes of reinterpretation, as is the dimension of overlap between the various fields or spaces. The site of cultural intersection, the "in-between" where cultural negotiations take place and "asymmetrical powers, dissonance and the unsaid are inscribed in a rendezvous in which the West and its others emerge modified" (Chambers 1996, 49), is thus a contact zone, a concentrated form of translation that bears enormous potential for producing further recontextualizations. Cultural mediators work primarily at the transitions and fault lines, creative settings for the generation of cultural difference, which is why the borders between fields or spaces are here thought of as fluid and permeable. This permeability is favoured by the individuals and social groups whose plurilingualism means that they simultaneously occupy several different communicative spaces.

It is worth emphasizing the creative power of such border zones. As Anthony Pym observes in his discussion of historical networks of translations, in many cases it is the act of translation that makes the borders between cultures manifest. This link between translation and border may follow a special logic, given that border regions are often bi- or multilingual and for this reason produce pluricultural mediators; borders are also created inside cities, a process fostered by migration (Pym 1998, 105). All these points are clearly valid for the communicative space of the Habsburg Monarchy. The entanglement of countless transfers – at times reinforced by explicit mediation processes – occurred at the cultural boundaries or interstices, where plurality was particularly pronounced (for example Herr Schneider at the Monarchy's "periphery" or the everyday communicative labour of servants at its "centre"). In these areas, as well, the movement of individuals across the borders of different forms of translation becomes particularly visible (for example Antonio Martecchini, whose career took him from the domain of institutional translation, grounded in plurilingualism and belonging to the pluricultural space, into the greater density of exchange found in the space of polycultural translation).

Against this background, agents in the various fields may be regarded as border-crossers, contributing to the production of different contextualizations on the basis of the specific connections within the contact zones between cultural spaces that condition them and are conditioned by them. At the same time, these agents, as the bearers of hybrid identity, generate the productive instability of cultural change. Seen this way, the Habsburg or Kakanian subject has much in common with the postcolonial subject.

In summary, my account of translation's constructive character arises from a notion of culture that takes account of the multifarious processes of meaning constitution and recontextualization generated by cultural encounters. In the Habsburg context, this means that culture was produced by members of a community who crossed geographical, ethnic, linguistic, political and national boundaries, each for his or her own reasons. Culture was a web to be constantly rewoven, a labour of translation from one generation to the next that accumulated more and more complexity from the voices of ever more participants in the process. As mediators located at key points in the construction of culture by translation, and as the bearers of multiple meanings, these actors supplied an important impetus for change in their environments. In the cultural constellation of the Monarchy, what Hugo Schuchardt once called an "experimental station", processes of construction were continuously at work on two levels: on a macro level mainly conditioned by migration, and on a micro level where the constant labour of translation *sensu stricto* accommodated a heterogeneous cultural lifeworld while also contributing to its construction. In this book, I have proposed a view of translation as something reciprocal, dialogical, polyphonic and interactional – something that always plays a part in constructing the receiving culture and is able, because of that culture's heterogeneity and contamination, to find receptive contexts that permit mutability, renewal and retransformation. It is in this sense that Habsburg culture may be understood as the outcome of processes of translation.

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Appendix

List of Italian–German translations published in the Habsburg Monarchy between 1848 and 1918

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
2c	Agostino da Montefeltro	Seeböck, Philibert	1889	Innsbruck	Vereinsbuchhandlung	Sermon	M	Preface	19C
3	Alberti, Leon B.	Janitschek, Hubert	1877	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	Preface	15C
4	Alberti, Leon B.	Theuer, Max	1912	Vienna	Heller	Art history	M	Preface	15C
5	Albini Crosta, Maddalena	E. de T.	1890	Innsbruck	Vereinsbuchhandlung	Tract	M	Author's preface	19C
6	Aleardi, Aleardo	Cerri, Cajetan	1849	Vienna	Gerold	Poetry	M	Preface	19C
9	Alfieri, Giovanni Maria	Montbach, Mortimer Joh. von	1864	Vienna	Mayer Ludwig	Religious biography	M	0	19C
11	Alfieri, Vittorio	–	1856	Vienna	Gerold	Tragedy	M	0	18/19C
18	Alfieri, Vittorio	–	1856	Vienna	Wallishausser	Tragedy	M	0	18/19C
18ah	Alighieri, Dante	Carneri, B.	1896	Vienna	Carl Konegen	Epic	M	Preface, dedication	13/14C
18an	Alighieri, Dante	Enk, Kr. von	1877	Vienna	Braumüller	Epic	M	Preface	13/14C
18ao	Alighieri, Dante	Löhner, Hermann von	1903	Vienna	Gerold	Epic	M	0	13/14C
18ba	Alimonda, –	–	1899	Trieste	Mion	Medicine	M	0	19C
18q	Alighieri, Dante	Hoffinger, Josef von	1865	Vienna	Braumüller	Epic	M	Preface	13/14C
19	Altomare, Libero	–	1918	Vienna	Der Friede	Poetry	P	0	20C
24f	Anthymos, –	–	1854	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Theology	M	Editor's preface	19C
30	Aretino, Pietro	Conrad, Heinrich	1904	Brixen, Siena	n.p.	Dialogue	M	Preface	16C
33	Ariosto, Lodovico	Gries, Johann Diederich	1882	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Epic	M	Preface	15/16C
33b	Ariosto, Lodovico	Gries, Johann Diederich	1893	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Epic	M	Preface	15/16C
43a	Bacci, Jacopone	–	1888	Vienna	Brzezowsky	Religious biography	M	0	17C
46	Balbo, Cesare	Moll, Richard	1851	Pest, Vienna	Hartleben	History	M	Preface	19C
47	Baldinucci, Filippo	Riegl, Alois	1912	Vienna	Schroll	Art history	M	0	17C
49	Ballerini, Raffaele	–	1895	Vienna	Austria – Doll	Church history	M	0	19C
50	Bandello, Matteo	Bichdter, Ernest	1906	Vienna	Amethyst	Novella	P	0	16C
55	Baratieri, Oreste	Veltzé, Alois	1904	Vienna	Seidel	Military theory	M	Preface	19C
56	Barbaro di S. Giorgio, Ramiro	Schettler, Paul	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	Aus fremden Zungen	Poetry	P	0	19C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
57a	Barbasetti, Luigi	Dimand, Bernhard / Ernst, Georg	1900	Vienna	Braumüller	Sport	M	Preface, dedication	19C
57b	Barbasetti, Luigi	Brosch, Rudolf / Tenner, Heinrich	1899	Vienna	Verlag der "Allg. Sport-Zeitung"	Sport	M	Preface	19C
62	Barrili, Anton G.	Storch, Arthur	1878	Vienna, Budapest	Hartleben	Novel	M	Afterword	19C
65a	Bartoli, P. Daniel	Haza-Radlitz, Albert von	1861	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Religious biography	M	0	17C
75	Beccaria, Cesare	Glaser, Julius	1851	Vienna	Tendler	Jurisprudence	M	Preface	18C
89	Bersezio, Vittorio	Scherpe, Johannes	1895	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Comedy	M	Preface	19C
95	Bersezio, Vittorio	–	1879	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19C
102	Biondo, Michelangelo	Ilg, Albert	1873	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	Introduction	16C
112	Boccaccio, Giovanni	Joanelli, Gustav von	1890	Prague	Hynek	Tale	M	0	14C
135	Bocchi, Francesco	Cerri, Cajetan	1875	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	0	16/17C
136	Bonacci-Brunamonti, Maria A.	–	1894	Leipzig, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19C
139c	Bonghi, Ruggero	Ruhemann, Alfred	1891	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Cultural history	M	Preface	19C
141c	Bottiglia di Salvour, Lodovico	–	1865	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Religious biography	M	0	19C
147	Bracco, Roberto	Eisenschitz, Otto	1896	Vienna	Engel	Drama	M	Preface	19/20C
150	Bracco, Roberto	Eisenschitz, Otto	1905	Vienna	Knepler	Comedy	M	0	19/20C
153	Bracco, Roberto	Eisenschitz, Otto	1900	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Comedy	M	Preface	19/20C
154	Bracco, Roberto	Eisenschitz, Otto	1901	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Drama	M	0	19/20C
154a	Bracco, Roberto	Tauber, Fritz Fredo	1904	Vienna	Literatur-Anstalt	Drama	M	0	19/20C
154b	Bracco, Roberto	–	1909	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
154c	Bracco, Roberto	–	1909	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
182	Butti, Enrico A.	Jank, Hans	1905	Leipzig, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
182a	Butti, Enrico A.	Eisenschitz, Otto	1901	Vienna	Privately published	Drama	M	0	19/20C
204	Capuana, Luigi	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Tale	P	0	19/20C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
264	Castelnuovo, Enrico	Scherpe, Johannes	1890	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Tale	M	Preface	19/20C
280a	Cena, Giovanni	–	1908	Vienna	*Neue Freie Presse*	Politics	P	0	19/20C
282	Cennini, Cennino	Ilg, Albert	1871	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	Introduction	15C
282a	Cesare, Guglielmo	Ovindoli, Eremit von	1863	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Religious biography	M	Preface	19C
288a	Ciampoli, Domenico	Hamerling, Robert	1882	Vienna	Daberkow	Novella	M	Preface	19C
289	Cimino, Giorgio	Furchheim, Wilhelmine	1877	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19/20C
291a	Colautti, Arturo	Hartmann, Ludwig	1912	Vienna	n.p.	Drama	M	0	19/20C
300	Condivi, Ascanio	Valdek, Rudolph	1874	Vienna	Braumüller	Biography	M	0	16C
304a	Cornoldi, Giovanni Maria	–	1871	Brixen	Weger	Religion	M	0	19C
306a	Costetti, Giuseppe	Garimberti, Cesare/ Sebéra, A.	1884	Vienna	Reisser	Drama	M	0	19C
314	Cucchi, Claudine	Eisenschitz, Otto	1904	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Memoirs	M	0	19/20C
314b	Curci, Carlo Maria	Schiff, Theodor	1878	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	History	M	Preface	19C
314c	Curci, Carlo Maria	Moy, E. von	1849	Innsbruck	Rauch	Politics	M	Preface	19C
318a	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	–	1850	Vienna	n.p.	Libretto	M	0	18/19C
318c	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	–	1880	Vienna	Wallishausser	Libretto	M	0	18/19C
318d	Da Ponte, Lorenzo	Kalbeck, Max	1886	Vienna	Gutmann	Libretto	M	Preface	18/19C
319	D'Acerra, Antonio	Holleder, Ernst E.	1908	Kiel, Vienna	Greif	Drama	M	**	19C
329	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Ubell, Hermann	1898	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
334	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
344	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Guglia, Eugen	1903	Vienna	Stern	Poetry	M	Introduction	19/20C
344a	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Guglia, Eugen	1901	Vienna	*Wiener Abendpost*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
347	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Guglia, Eugen	1901	Vienna	*Abendpost*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
347a	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Lützow, Linda von	1905	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
350	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Beer, Ch.	1908	Berlin, Leipzig, Vienna	Buchverlag fürs Deutsche Haus	Novella	M	Preface	19/20C
354	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Matthes, Valerie	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
357	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1898	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Obituary	P	0	19/20C
360b	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1900	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
364a	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Hofmannsthal, Hugo von	1899	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Tragedy	P	Editor's preface	19/20C
365	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Guglia, Eugen	1899	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
366	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Guglia, Eugen	1901	Vienna	*Abendpost*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
369	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Hauser, Otto	1904	Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Sonnet	P	0	19/20C
373	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Guglia, Eugen	1897	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
375	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Kaehler, Walter	1899	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Sonnet	P	0	19/20C
382a	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Berger, Adele	1895	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
385	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1915	Vienna	*Neue Freie Presse*	Politics	P	0	19/20C
388	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Ubell, Hermann	1898	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389b	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1894	Vienna	*Neue Revue*	Novella	P	0	19/20C
389d	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1894	Vienna	*Neue Revue*	Autobiography	P	0	19/20C
389g	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Ubell, Hermann	1897	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389o	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Schenkl, Else	1907	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389q	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Schenkl, Else	1908	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389r	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1908	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389s	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Schenkl, Else	1908	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389t	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Schenkl, Else	1909	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389u	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Schenkl, Else	1909	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389v	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	–	1909	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
389w	D'Annunzio, Gabriele	Henckell, Karl	1914	Vienna	*Der Strom*	Poetry	P	Commentary	19/20C
397	De Amicis, Edmondo	Stein, Eugenie	1912	Vienna	Carl Konegen	Youth literature	M	0	19/20C
401	De Amicis, Edmondo	–	1892	Vienna	Verlag der "Deutschen Worte" (E. Pernerstorfer)	Social criticism	M	0	19/20C
402	De Amicis, Edmondo	Wülser, Raimund	1899	Basel, Vienna	n.p.	Youth literature	M	Preface	19/20C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
406	De Amicis, Edmondo	Schweiger-Lerchenfeld, Amand von	1883	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Travel account	M	Preface	19/20C
411	De Amicis, Edmondo	–	1900	Linz	Lehrerhausverein	Youth literature	M	0	19/20C
416c	De Amicis, Edmondo	Wertheimer, Paul	1896	Vienna	Wiener Rundschau	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
417	De Beroaldo Bianchini, Nle.	Roßmann, Jean Baptist	1851	Vienna	Tendler	Natural philosophy	M	Preface	19C
417a	De Beroaldo Bianchini, Nle.	–	1853	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Parapsychology	M	0	19C
425	De Gubernatis, Angelo	Trebitsch, Siegfried	1889	Vienna	Gerold	Drama	M	0	19/20C
432	De Zerbi, Rocco de	–	1894	Abbazia	n.p.	Autobiography	M	**	19C
439a	Deledda, Grazia	–	1905	Vienna	Neue Freie Presse	Tale	P	0	19/20C
451	Deledda, Grazia	–	1908	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Novel	M	0	19/20C
465	Dolce, Lodovico	Cerri, Cajetan	1871	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	0	16C
466	Doni, Anton F.	Bichdter, Ernest	1906	Vienna	Amethyst	Novella	P	0	16C
505a	Farina, Salvatore	–	1891	Vienna	Neue Freie Presse	Novella	P	0	19/20C
508a	Ferrari, Paolo	Lederer, Siegfried	1885	Prague	Privately published	Comedy	M	Dedication	19C
509	Ferrari, Paolo	Jüngst, L.	1901	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Comedy	M	Preface	19C
509a	Ferrari, Paolo	Bidda, Giovanni	1881	Vienna	Strampfer	Drama	M	0	19C
514	Ferrero, Guglielmo	Eisenschitz, Otto	1897	Vienna	Wiener Rundschau	Psychology	P	0	19/20C
515a	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Forensic pyschology	P	0	19/20C
515b	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Politics	P	0	19/20C
515c	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Religion	P	0	19/20C
515d	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Biography	P	0	19/20C
515e	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Politics	P	0	19/20C
515f	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Forensic pyschology	P	0	19/20C
515g	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Social criticism	P	0	19/20C
515h	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Contemporary history	P	0	19/20C
515i	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	Neue Revue	Psychology	P	0	19/20C

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515j	Ferrero, Guglielmo	–	1894	Vienna	*Neue Revue*	Psychology	P	0	19/20C
519	Ferri, Enrico	–	1882	Berlin, Vienna	Guttentagg / Manz	Forensic pyschology	M	0	19/20C
521	Ferri, Enrico	Thal, Wilhelm	1898	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Forensic pyschology	P	0	19/20C
521a	Ferri, Enrico	–	1900	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Psychology	P	0	19/20C
526e	Fiamingo, Giuseppe	Kraus, Wilhelm	1897	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Church history	P	0	19C
531	Filarete, Antonio Averlino	Oettingen, Wolfgang von	1890	Vienna	Graeser	Art history	M	0	15C
537	Firenzuola, Agnolo	–	1906	Vienna	*Amethyst*	Novella	P	0	16C
539	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Ostendorff, L.	1904	Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novella	P	0	19/20C
539a	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Hauser, Otto	1904	Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
540	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Eisenschitz, Otto	1905	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Novel	M	0	19/20C
541	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Stäubli, Olga	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novella	P	0	19/20C
543	Fogazzaro, Antonio	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novella	P	0	19/20C
547	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Weise, Alwin	1907	Graz	Oehninger	Novella	M	0	19/20C
549	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Häcker, Hermine	1908	Graz	Oehninger	Tale	M	0	19/20C
552	Fogazzaro, Antonio	Gagliardi, Maria	1902	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
566d	Franco, Secondo	Pircher, Johann	1865	Innsbruck	Vereinsbuchhandlung	Tract	M	**	19C
566h	Frassinetti, Giovanni	Marzari, Michael	1877	Innsbruck	Wagner	Religion	M	Preface	19C
588	Garibaldi, Giuseppe	–	1870	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Tale	M	Preface	19C
593	Gherardi Del Testa, Tommaso	Kalau vom Hofe, J.	1892	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Comedy	M	0	19C
597	Giacometti, Paolo	–	1877	Vienna	Tommaso Salvini	Drama	M	0	19C
597a	Giacometti, Paolo	–	1858	Vienna	Zamarski	Tragedy	M	0	19C
602a	Giacosa, Giuseppe	Berger, Alfred Freiherr von	1888	Vienna	Wild	Drama	M	0	19/20C
607a	Giorgieri-Contri, Cosimo	Brenning, Katharina	1905	Vienna	Derflinger & Fischer	Novel	M	0	19C
609a	Girelli, Emilia	Sch., J.	1881	Brixen	Weger	Religious biography	M	Preface, dedication	19C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
610	Giuliani, Balbino	Frankl, Wilhelm	1914	Graz	Leuschner & Lubensky	Philosophy	M	Preface	19/20C
610a	Giulio, Giovanni Domenico	P., P.	1862	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Religion	M	0	19C
612bb	Goldoni, Carlo	Hirschfeld, Robert	1895	Vienna	Gutmann	Libretto	M	0	18C
612cc	Goldoni, Carlo	–	1907	Vienna	Haslinger	Libretto	M	0	18C
612dd	Goldoni, Carlo	Kalau vom Hofe, J.	1892	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Comedy	M	Preface	18C
612ee	Goldoni, Carlo	–	1856	Vienna	Wallishausser	Comedy	M	0	18C
612g	Gonzaga, Aloisio	Freudhofmeier, Alois	1881	Vienna	Mayer	Religion	M	Preface	19C
614b	Govean, Felice	Hellbach, Rafael	1874	Vienna	n.p.	Drama	M	0	19C
622	Graf, Arturo	Brunnemann, A.	1902	Stuttgart, Vienna	Aus fremden Zungen	Poetry	P	0	18/19C
629	Grossi, Tommaso	Lobsdorf, Heinrich von	1869	Prague	Steinhauser	Poetry	M	0	19C
632a	Guerra, Almerico	Seeböck, Philibert	1892	Innsbruck	Vereinsbuchhandlung	Tract	M	Preface	19C
636	Guidi, Orlanda	–	1898	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19C
641a	Jacini, Stefano	Franco, Peter	1857	Vienna, Munich	Lechner	Economics	M	0	19C
651	Klitsche de la Grange, Antonietta	Ovindoli, Eremit von	1865	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Novel	M	Preface	19/20C
652	Klitsche de la Grange, Antonietta	–	1864	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Novel	M	0	19/20C
659	Lemoyne, Giovanni B.	Wolf, Andreas	1888	Brixen	Weger	Drama	M	Preface	19/20C
661	Lemoyne, Carlo Borromeo	Müller, Bonifacius	1888	Vienna	St. Norbertus Druckerei	Religious biography	M	Preface	19C
665	Leonardo da Vinci	Ludwig, Heinrich	1882	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	Preface	15/16C
671a	Leopardi, Giacomo	Hamerling, Robert	1886	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Poetry	M	Preface	19C
692c	Lombroso, Cesare	Thal, Wilhelm	1903	Vienna	Die Wage	Jurisprudence	P	0	19/20C
692d	Lombroso, Cesare	–	1903	Vienna	Die Wage	Politics	P	0	19/20C
697	Lopez, Sabatino	Eisenschitz, Otto	1914	Vienna	Comoedia	Comedy	M	0	19/20C
698	Lopez, Sabatino	Eisenschitz, Otto	1914	Vienna, Berlin	Comoedia	Comedy	M	0	19/20C
698a	Lopez, Sabatino	Menasci, Guido	1896	Vienna	Hecht	Drama	M	0	19/20C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
709e	Maestro, Isaac	Hoffer, J.M.	1854	Vienna	Dorfmeister	Textbook	M	Editor's preface	19C
710b	Magdalena, St.	Schiel, Heinrich	1862	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Tract	M	Editor's preface	19C
711	Magnico, Carlo	Conrad, Michael Georg	1879	Vienna	Rosner	Cultural history	M	Introduction	19C
756	Mantegazza, Paolo	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	n.p.	Anthropology	M	0	19/20C
766a	Mantegazza, Paolo	–	1891	Vienna	*Die Presse*	Medicine	P	0	19/20C
767	Mantica, Giuseppe	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
771	Manzoni, Alessandro	Hecker, Oscar	1909	Trieste	Stabilimento Artistico Tipografico G. Caprin	Poetry	M	Dedication	19C
772	Manzoni, Alessandro	Waldfreund, J.E.	1907	Innsbruck	Wagner	Poetry	M	Preface	19C
775c	Manzoni, Alessandro	–	1895	Vienna, Leipzig	Prochaska	Historical novel	M	0	19C
780	Manzoni, Alessandro	Mühlberg, Jacob	1879	Vienna	*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien*	Poetry	P	Commentary	19C
785a	Marchesetti, Carlo	Breycha, Arthur	1884	Trieste	Schimpff	Economics	M	0	19C
785b	Marconi, Adolfo	–	1894	Innsbruck	Wagner	Jurisprudence	M	0	19C
786	Marcotti, Giuseppe	Hackländer, Wilhelm Ritter von	1890	Vienna	Seidel	Memoirs	M	0	19/20C
788	Marenco, Carlo	–	1856	Vienna	Pichler	Tragedy	M	0	19C
789	Margotti, Giacomo	Schiel, Heinrich	1860	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Church history	M	Preface	19C
789a	Margotti, Giacomo	Gams, Pius OSB	1860	Innsbruck	Wagner	Church history	M	Preface	19C
800	Martini, Ferdinando	Furchheim, Wilhelmine	1876	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19/20C
803	Massaruti, Felix	Schmid, Franz	1886	Brixen	Weger	Tract	M	Preface	19C
808e	Mattei, Cesare	B., –	1874	Vienna	Gerold	Medicine	M	Preface	19C
808f	Mattei, Cesare	Skofitz, –	1883	Vienna	Ueberreuter	Medicine	M	Preface	19C
813	Mazzini, Giuseppe	–	1859	Prague, Leipzig	Lehmann	Politics	M	0	19C
822	Memini (Benaglio-Castellani, Ines)	–	1899	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
822a	Meli, Giovanni	–	1898	Vienna	Neue Freie Presse	Novel	P	0	18/19C
854	Michiel, Marcantonio	Frimmel, Theodor	1888	Vienna	Graeser	Art history	M	Introduction	15/16C
859	Mioni, Ugo	–	1909	Vienna	Opitz	Church history	M	0	19/20C
859a	Mioni, Ugo	–	1917	Salzburg	St. Petrus Claver-Sodalität	Drama	M	0	19/20C
860	Mioni, Ugo	Wechner, Alois	1902	Brixen	Preßverein	Drama	M	0	19/20C
861a	Mioni, Ugo	–	1896	Salzburg	St. Petrus Claver-Sodalität	Church history	M	0	19/20C
862	Mioni, Ugo	–	1900	Salzburg	St. Petrus Claver-Sodalität	Church history	M	0	19/20C
863a	Mislej, P.	–	1866	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Tract	M	Editor's preface	19C
864	Mitocchi, Alberto	–	1918	Graz	Leykam	Politics	M	0	19/20C
864a	Mola, Carlo	Hattler, Franz	1899	Innsbruck	Vereinsbuchhandlung	Tract	M	Preface	19C
865	Molza, Francesco Maria	–	1905	Vienna	Amethyst	Novella	P	0	15/16C
867	Montecuccoli, Raimondo	Veltzé, Alois	1899	Vienna, Leipzig	Braumüller	Military theory	M	Introduction	17C
868	Montecuccoli, Raimondo	Veltzé, Alois	1900	Vienna, Leipzig	Braumüller	Military theory	M	0	17C
870	Montecuccoli, Raimondo	Veltzé, Alois	1900	Vienna, Leipzig	Braumüller	Military theory	M	0	17C
871	Monti, Vincenzo	–	1872	Vienna	Wallishausser	Tragedy	M	Preface	18/19C
872	Monti, Vincenzo	Hohenthurn, J.J.H. Ritter von	1874	Vienna	Rosner	Tragedy	M	Preface	18/19C
872b	Monti, Vincenzo	Adler, Friedrich	1880	Prague	Jahresbericht der Lese- und Redehalle	Poetry	P	Preface	18/19C
876	Morlini, Girolamo	–	1906	Vienna	Amethyst	Novella	P	0	16C
891	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1893	Stuttgart, Vienna	Deutsche Verlagsanstalt	Tale	M	0	19/20C
894a	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1902	Vienna	Neue Freie Presse	Novel	P	0	19/20C
896	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	Tafel, H.	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	Aus fremden Zungen	Tale	P	0	19/20C
897a	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1904	Vienna	Neue Freie Presse	Novel	P	0	19/20C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
902	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	Thal, Wilhelm	1897	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
905	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1900	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
911	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	Lang, R.	1904	Leipzig, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
912	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1905	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Novella	M	0	19/20C
914a	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1908	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
914b	Neera (Radius-Zuccari, Anna)	–	1909	Vienna	*Die Zeit*	Tale	P	**	19/20C
916	Negri, Ada	Rilke, Rainer Maria	1898	Vienna	*Wiener Rundschau*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
918	Negri, Ada	Jahn, Hedwig	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
919	Negri, Ada	Jahn, Hedwig	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
921	Negri, Ada	Jahn, Hedwig	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
929	Niccodemi, Dario	Frank, Paul	1914	Leipzig, Vienna	Karczag	Drama	M	0	19/20C
932a	Nievo, Ippolito	Kurz, Isolde	1875	Vienna	*Die Presse*	Novel	P	0	19C
933	Nigra, Costantino	Edler, Karl Erdm.	1899	Vienna	Frick	Poetry	M	Preface	19/20C
934	Nigra, Costantino	Edler, Karl Erdm.	1894	Vienna	Frick	Tale	M	0	19/20C
948	Pacioli, Luca	Winterberg, Constantin	1889	Vienna	Graeser	Art history	M	Introduction	16C
955	Palmieri, Aurelio	Holzer, Valentin	1902	Salzburg	Pustet	Cultural policy	M	Preface	19/20C
958	Palmieri, Luigi	Discher, Heinrich	1884	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Physics	M	Preface	19C
960	Panzacchi, Enrico	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
961	Panzacchi, Enrico	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
961b	Paoli, Cesare	Lohmeyer, Karl	1885	Innsbruck	Wagner	Palaeography	M	Introduction	19C
961c	Paoli, Cesare	Lohmeyer, Karl	1892	Innsbruck	Wagner	Palaeography	M	Preface	19C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
961d	Paoli, Cesare	Lohmeyer, Karl	1889	Innsbruck	Wagner	Palaeography	M	Preface	19C
965b	Parodi, Aloisio	Jungmann, Josef	1867	Innsbruck	Wagner	Tract	M	Preface	19C
972	Pascoli, Giovanni	Wondrich, Estella	1908	Trieste	Mayländer	Poetry	M	Preface	19/20C
981	Pellico, Silvio	Kalau vom Hofe, J.	1894	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Memoirs	M	0	19C
983a	Pellico, Silvio	Bernhaupt, Josef	1869	Graz, Leipzig	n.p.	Tragedy	M	0	19C
987c	Perrone, Giovanni	Mansi, Ferdinand	1856	Innsbruck	Wagner	Religion	M	Preface	19C
1023	Petrarca, Francesco	–	1858	Vienna	Hof- und Staatsdruckerei	Sonnet	M	0	14C
1028a	Piccoli, Francesco	Meeraus, Emil	1881	Vienna	Gerold	Mathematics	M	Preface	19C
1033c	Pierantoni-Mancini, Grazia	–	1888	Vienna	*Neue Freie Presse*	Novella	P	0	19/20C
1038	Pirandello, Luigi	Friedmann, Ludmilla	1905	Vienna	*Fremden-Blatt*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1040a	Pizzicaria, P.	–	1890	Innsbruck	Vereinsbuchhandlung	Religious biography	M	0	19C
1044	Pompilia Comparini	Oppeln-Bronikowski, Friedr. von	1907	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novella	P	Preface	19C
1046	Praga, Marco	Eisenschitz, Otto	1907	Vienna	n.p.	Drama	M	**	19/20C
1052	Prati, Giovanni	Waldfreund, J. E.	1860	Innsbruck	Rauch	Poetry	M	Preface	19C
1053	Prati, Giovanni	Cerri, Cajetan	1851	Vienna	Keck & Pierer	Poetry	M	Preface	19C
1053a	Prato, Giovanni	–	1896	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Economics	M	Dedication	19C
1060	Raffaello, Sanzio	–	1874	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Art history	M	**	15C
1062	Rajberti, Giovanni	Roßmann, Jean Baptist	1851	Vienna	Tendler	Satire	M	0	19C
1069a	Riccardi, Antonio	Pircher, Johann	1854	Innsbruck	Wagner	Tract	M	Preface	19C
1074	Roberti, Giovanni Battista	Waßmann, Emilie	1859	Innsbruck	Rauch	Philosophy	M	**	18C
1077	Rocco, Antonio	Berg, J.	1908	Vienna	Stern	Novel	M	Preface	17C
1088	Rosignoli, Carlo	–	1860	Innsbruck	Rauch	Tract	M	0	17C
1098	Rovetta, Gerolamo	Zeltern, A. M.	1887	Vienna	Künast	Comedy	M	0	19/20C
1102	Rovetta, Gerolamo	–	1893	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1103	Rovetta, Gerolamo	–	1899	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19/20C

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1111	Sacchetti, Franco	Bichdter, Ernest	1906	Vienna	*Amethyst*	Novella	P	0	14C
1125	Salvi, Massimiliano	Alberti, Michael	1863	Vienna	Klemm	Politics	M	**	19C
1129	Sardi, Vincenzo	Konradi, –; Jussel, Gregor M.	1908	Feldkirch	Unterberger	Religious biography	M	0	19/20C
1136	Scandella, Gaetano	–	1868	Brixen	n.p.	Biography	M	Preface	19C
1142	Scupoli, Lorenzo	Donin, Ludwig	1863	Vienna	Gorischek	Religion	M	Preface	16/17C
1144a	Scupoli, Lorenzo	Silbert, J. P.	1851	Vienna	Mechitharisten	Religion	M	Preface	16/17C
1172a	Serafini, Filippo	Roncali, Leone	1865	Vienna	Manz	Jurisprudence	M	0	19C
1173	Serao, Matilde	Manfred, K.	1904	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1176	Serao, Matilde	–	1904	Vienna, Leipzig	Wiener Verlag	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1177	Serao, Matilde	–	1891	Leipzig, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
1179	Serao, Matilde	–	1891	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1183	Serao, Matilde	–	1898	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1183a	Serao, Matilde	–	1890	Vienna	*Neue Freie Presse*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1186	Serao, Matilde	Edlefsen, A.	1902	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1187a	Serao, Matilde	Weissenthurn, Max von	1891	Vienna	*Die Presse*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1188a	Serao, Matilde	–	1907	Vienna	*Arbeiterzeitung*	Novel	P	0	19/20C
1189b	Serpieri, Alessandro	Reichenbach, R. von	1885	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Physics	M	0	19C
1189c	Serpieri, Alessandro	Reichenbach, R. von	1884	Vienna, Pest	Hartleben	Physics	M	Preface	19C
1196	Sperani, Bruno	Locella, M. von	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Tale	P	0	19/20C
1200	Stecchetti, Lorenzo	Pelheim, Lotte	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
1202	Stecchetti, Lorenzo	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
1204	Stecchetti, Lorenzo	Schürmann, Johannes	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
1205	Stecchetti, Lorenzo	–	1894	Stuttgart, Vienna	*Aus fremden Zungen*	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
1220	Torelli, Achille	–	1884	Vienna	n.p.	Comedy	M	**	19/20C
1238	Troyani, Gina	Gibara, Leo	1904	Vienna	Hölzer	Historical novel	M	0	19C

No.	Author	Translator	Year	Place of publication	Publisher / periodical	Genre	Publ. type*	Paratext	Century
1239	Ughetti, Giovanni Battista	Galli, Giovanni	1899	Vienna, Leipzig	Braumüller	Memoirs	M	0	19/20C
1240	Ughetti, Giovanni Battista	Galli, Giovanni	1907	Vienna, Leipzig	Braumüller	Theory of science	M	Dedication	19/20C
1246	Vasari, Giorgio	Semper, Hans	1875	Vienna	Braumüller	Art history	M	0	16C
1274	Verga, Giovanni	Stein, Mizi	1897	Prague	Dominicus	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1276	Verga, Giovanni	Hopffgarten, Elionore von	1897	Leipzig, Vienna	Bibliographisches Institut	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1277	Verga, Giovanni	Vintler, Hans von	1876	Trieste	Literarisch-artist. Anstalt	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1281	Verga, Giovanni	–	1891	Stuttgart, Vienna	Aus fremden Zungen	Tale	P	0	19/20C
1282	Verga, Giovanni	Eisenschitz, Otto	1895	Dresden, Vienna	Pierson	Tale	M	Preface	19/20C
1284	Verga, Giovanni	Eisenschitz, Otto	1896	Vienna, Leipzig	Engel	Novella	M	0	19/20C
1286	Verga, Giovanni	Eisenschitz, Otto	1905	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Novella	M	0	19/20C
1288	Verga, Giovanni	Eisenschitz, Otto	1900	Vienna	Wiener Verlag	Drama	M	0	19/20C
1291	Verga, Giovanni	Ganghofer, Lolo	1900	Vienna	Die Zeit	Novella	M	0	19/20C
1303	Vivanti, Annie	Jahn, Hedwig	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	Aus fremden Zungen	Poetry	P	0	19/20C
1307	"Volkslieder"	Steinitz, Franziska	1896	Stuttgart, Vienna	Aus fremden Zungen	Poetry	P	0	19C
1312	Zamboni, G. E. Filippo	Königshofer, Carl Benj.	1897	Dresden, Vienna	Pierson	Drama	M	Dedication	19C
1312a	Zamboni, G. E. Filippo	–	1888	Vienna	Heck	Poetry	M	0	19C
1314a	Zerboglio, Adolfo	Eisenschitz, Otto	1897	Vienna	Wiener Rundschau	Forensic psychology	P	0	19C
1318	Zucco-Cucagna, Marianne	–	1911	Leipzig, Vienna	Autos-Verlag	Novella	M	0	19/20C
1318a	Zucco-Cucagna, Marianne	–	1905	Leipzig, Vienna	Akademischer Verlag	Novel	M	0	19/20C
1320a	Zufälle, die nicht Zufälle sind	O., A.	1864	Bozen	Wohlgemuth	Religion	M	Preface	19C

* M = monograph; P = item in a periodical

** Publication not seen

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In the years between 1848 and 1918, the Habsburg Empire was an intensely pluricultural space that brought together numerous "nationalities" under constantly changing – and contested – linguistic regimes. The multifaceted forms of translation and interpreting, marked by national struggles and extensive multilingualism, played a crucial role in constructing cultures within the Habsburg space. This book traces translation and interpreting practices in the Empire's administration, courts and diplomatic service, and takes account of the "habitualized" translation carried out in everyday life. It then details the flows of translation among the Habsburg crownlands and between these and other European languages, with a special focus on Italian–German exchange. Applying a broad concept of "cultural translation" and working with sociological tools, the book addresses the mechanisms by which translation and interpreting constructs cultures, and delineates a model of the Habsburg Monarchy's "pluricultural space of communication" that is also applicable to other multilingual settings.