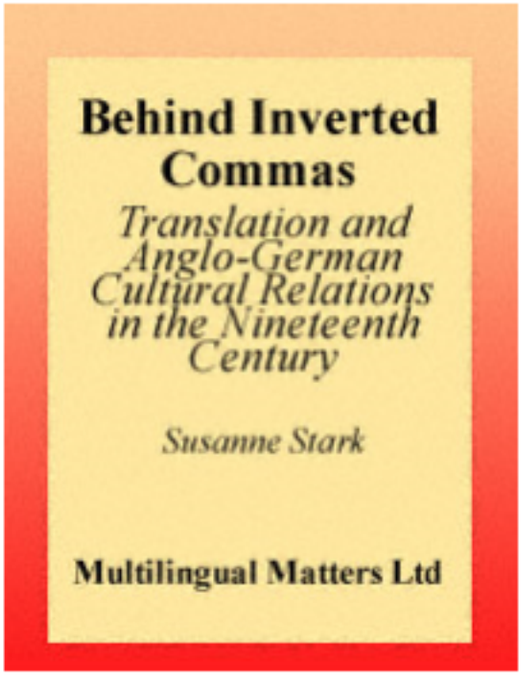

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Behind Inverted Commas

Translation and Anglo-German Cultural Relations in the Nineteenth Century

Susanne Stark

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S.S.

Introduction

In his 1931 Taylorian lecture entitled *On Translation* Hilaire Belloc summed up many of the reservations against translation as a literary activity The following passage describes an attitude which is still frequently encountered in our own days:

> The art of translation is a subsidiary art and derivative. On this account, it has never been granted the dignity of original work, and has suffered too much in the general judgement of letters. This natural underestimation of its value has had the bad practical effect of lowering the standard demanded altogether. The corresponding misunderstanding of its character has added to its degradation: neither its importance nor its difficulty has been grasped. (Belloc, 1931: 3)

Even though we read many foreign texts in translation and would be unable to take them into account at all had they not been rendered in our own language, we hardly ever remember who undertook the task of mediation. The translator of a work is frequently omitted in our bibliographies, and perhaps the very quality of being unobtrusively invisible is the prerequisite for a successful translator. William Weaver, the English translator of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose,* has described it as a compliment when a critic fails to mention the translator of a book, since this probably 'means that the reviewer simply wasn't aware that the book had been written originally in another language. For a translator, this kind of anonymity can be real achievement' (Venuti, 1982: 26). 1 On the other hand, a more negative reading of the same phenomenon could be that we may find it hard to accept our own inability to read whatever foreign language is required. As a result, we are forced to surrender some of the authority we hold over what has originally been said in a medium which is, after all, not immediately accessible to us. What is more, we have to come to terms with the fact that we are separated from the author of the original text, not only by time and space,

but also by the mediating and potentially distorting presence of a translator.

Despite these reservations, the supposedly uncreative activity of rendering a text from one language into another is at the heart of a diverse range of creative writing. In some cases the existence of a complete work can be depicted as being dependent on the efforts of a fictional translator. In what follows, we shall look at some of these instances, since the authors' motives for granting the translator or editor a platform in their respective literary undertakings are closely related to the ideas underlying this book. A famous example which springs to mind in this context is Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (1605). In an illuminating piece of literary criticism on this work, the Argentinian writer Jorge Luis Borges (1964: 44) draws our attention to a detail which might easily be overlooked: at an early point in the novel, the reader learns that the adventures he follows have been translated from an Arabic manuscript, discovered by the narrator on the marketplace of Toledo. 2 The narrator himself was in no position to read this valuable source but, by chance, met a Spanish-speaking Moor who was able to help him:

> I urged him to read the beginning, and he did so, turning the Arabic into Castilian at sight. He told me it meant, *'History of Don Quixote of La Mancha, written by Cide Hamete Benegeli, an Arab historian.'*
>
> It required great caution to hide the joy I felt when the title of the book reached my ears. Snatching it from the silk dealer, I bought all the papers and notebooks from the boy for half a real. If he had had his wits about him and had known how eager I was, he might have safely calculated on making more than six reales by the bargain. I withdrew at once with the Morisco into the cathedral cloister and begged him to translate all these notebooks relating to Don Quixote into the Castilian tongue, without omitting or adding anything. In payment, I offered him whatever he pleased. He was satisfied with fifty pounds of raisins and two bushels of wheat, and promised to translate them faithfully and with all despatch. But to make the matter easier, and not to let such a precious find out of my hands, I took him to my house, where in little more than a month and a half he translated the whole just as it is set down here. (Cervantes, 1981: 67)

What is more, already the prologue of the novel makes it clear that, in recording the adventures of Don Quixote, the narrator attempts to subvert the tradition of chivalric writing as known to the readers of

his own culture. He defines his undertaking as 'an attack upon the books of chivalry, of which Aristotle never dreamed or St Basil said a word or Cicero had any knowledge' and thus 'aims at nothing more than to destroy the authority and influence which books of chivalry have in the world and with the public' (Cervantes, 1981:13). Turning to the Arabic account of Cide Hamete Benengeli, who is ironically considered to be a sage of great authority at several points of the novel, can thus be perceived as an attempt to introduce a foreign literary model to a Spanish readership (Close, 1990: 15-20). It is Cervantes' aim to make his readers believe that this attack on indigenous traditions would not have been possible without the discovery of the above-mentioned foreign manuscript by the fictional narrator, who makes his editorial presence felt continuously throughout the work and depends on the help of a faithful and diligent linguistic mediator (Allen, 1981: 921). As a result, the translator is presented as an influential authority endowed with ultimate responsibility for the Spanish version of the Don Quixote story. Even though he may underestimate the real value of his expertise, the fictional narrator is fully conscious of the translator's power and is eager to accommodate him in his own house so that he can supervise the task without which his own literary aspirations would not be feasible.

A further example of the deliberate interpolation of the process of translation into a piece of fiction is Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1833-34). Owing to its Anglo-German dimension, this work is particularly relevant for our context. Carlyle's introduction of an editor is reminiscent of Cervantes' technique, even though the author may also have found models in German Romantic authors, and especially in the work of Jean Paul, E.TA. Hoffmann and Wilhelm Hauff (Vida 1993: 45-51). Similar to Cervantes' fictional narrator who discovered his Arabic manuscript source by coincidence, Carlyle's translating editor pretends that he has received by mere chance a book entitled *'Die Kleider, ihr Werden und Wirken* (*Clothes, their Origin and Influence*) by Diog. TeufelsdrÖckh, which was published by *'Stillschweigen und Cognie'* ('Silence and Co.') in *'Weissnichtwo'* ('Know not Where') in 1831 (Carlyle, 1984: 4). Teufelsdröckh has been described as a *Don Quixote redivivus,* who is lost in space between two cultures (Iser, 1996: 251; Budick, 1996: 5). By translating his speculative and abstract transcendental ideas about the philosophy of clothes, which are depicted as a 'Sea of Thought', the editor imparts to his countrymen what most English readers would consider to be a typically German, idealist way of thinking (Carlyle, 1984: 5). The work is, however, not only a philosophical treatise but what emerges is also the biography of Diog. Teufelsdröckh, which

is imbued with a number of autobiographical details from the life of Thomas Carlyle (Iser, 1996: 249). The cultural transmission of ideas does, however, not only work in one direction but becomes a two-way process of mutual exchange and interpenetration. After having translated the text, the editor reflects upon the effects of his project:

> Thus has not the Editor himself, working over Teufelsdröckh's German, lost much of his own English purity? Even as the smaller whirlpool is sucked into the larger, and made to whirl along with it, so has the lesser mind, in this instance, been forced to become portion of the greater, and like it, see all things figuratively: which habit time and assiduous effort will be needed to eradicate. (Carlyle, 1984: 220)

He is also concerned about the question of what would happen if his work, be it translated into German or not, should ever reach the Circulating Library of Entepfuhl ('Duck's Pond') from where Teufelsdröckh's family originates (Carlyle, 1984: 67). Owing to this possibility of a mutual cultural fertilisation, which is made possible by the introduction of the mediating level of a translating editor, it can be argued that *Sartor Resartus* is a paradigm of translatability rather than a translation from one culture into another (Iser, 1996: 254). It is in this sense that Carlyle adds a further dimension to the narrative techniques of cross-cultural discourse which we have encountered in *Don Quixote*.

A third piece of literature which supposedly owes its existence to a fictional translator is Joseph Conrad's novel *Under Western Eyes* (1911). The western eyes through which the political scene in Russia in the first decade of the twentieth century is seen are those of an English professor in Geneva. He describes himself as a 'student of many grammars' and repeatedly as a 'teacher of languages' who had lived for a long time in the multilingual exile community of Russian revolutionaries and spies in what is called 'Little Russia' in Geneva (Conrad, 1985: 55-56, 151, 179). Crucial for our context is also that the fictional narrator considers himself to be obscure and uncreative in recording the story of the revolutionist Razumov:

> I have been for many years a teacher of languages. It is an occupation which at length becomes fatal to whatever share of imagination, observation, and insight an ordinary person may be heir to. To a teacher of languages there comes a time when the world is but a place of many words and man appears a mere talking animal not much more wonderful than a parrot.

> This being so, I could not have observed Mr Razumov or guessed at his reality by the force of insight, much less have imagined him as he was. Even to invent the mere bald facts of his life would have been utterly beyond my powers. But I think that without this declaration the readers of these pages will be able to detect in the story the marks of documentary evidence. And that is perfectly correct. It is based on a document; all I have brought to it is my knowledge of the Russian language, which is sufficient for what is attempted here. (Conrad, 1985: 55)

What is more, Razumov himself is encouraged to increase the impact of his ideas by communicating them in more than one language, when he encounters the mysterious Julius Laspara who has a reputation of being an 'obscure celebrity':

> Polyglot, of unknown parentage, of indefinite nationality, anarchist, with a pedantic and ferocious temperament, and an amazingly inflammatory capacity for invective, he was a power in the background, this violent pamphleteer clamouring for revolutionary justice, this Julius Laspara, editor of the *Living Word,* confidant of conspirators, inditer of sanguinary menaces and manifestos, suspected of being in the secret of every plot. (Conrad, 1985: 275-76)

For Laspara translation was obviously not a problem since he spoke Russian as 'he spoke and wrote four or five other European languages, without distinction and without force (other than that of invective)' (Conrad, 1985: 276). As a result, he strongly urged Razumov to write in his own language:

> 'We must educate, educate everybody - develop the great thought of absolute liberty and of revolutionary justice.'
>
> Razumov muttered rather surlily that he did not even know English.
>
> 'Write in Russian. We'll have it translated. There can be no difficulty Why, without seeking further, there is Miss Haldin. My daughters go to see her sometimes.' He nodded significantly. 'She does nothing, has never done anything in her life. She would be quite competent, with a little assistance. Only write. You know you must. And so good-bye for the present.'
>
> He raised his arm and went on. Razumov backed against the low wall, looked after him, spat violently, and went on his way with an angry mutter
>
> 'Cursed Jew!'
>
> He did not know anything about it. Julius Laspara might have

> been a Transylvanian, a Turk, an Andalusian, or a citizen of one of the Hanse towns for anything he could tell to the contrary. But this is not a story of the West, and this exclamation must be recorded, accompanied by the comment that it was merely an expression of hate and contempt, best adapted to the nature of the feelings Razumov suffered from at the time. (Conrad, 1985: 277)

The passages from Conrad's novel raise a number of interesting points concerning the perception of translation. Neither the fictional translator, to whom reference is made as an anonymous teacher of languages most of the time, nor Julius Laspara find the conversion of Razumov's ideas into languages other than Russian in any way problematic. For the English professor, translating is a totally transparent means of documenting Razumov's life in a foreign language and does not require any special skills. For Laspara, too, translation is treated as a task which can be performed by a woman whose major qualification appears to be that she has never done anything in her life. Though in itself uncomplicated, translation gains a new dimension in his way of thinking: it is political and can initiate radical social changes. Razumov himself, on the other hand, questions this attitude and wonders whether the east can ever be made palatable to a western readership through the medium of translation, thus expressing anger at the idea that both his words and their contents are as transparent and exchangeable as the polyglot and cosmopolitan Laspara would like them to be.

Translation is also treated in contemporary literature. The political aspects of the topic are powerfully portrayed in Brian Friel's play *Translations* (1981), which deals with the English 'colonisation' of Ireland in the 1830s. One of the drama's major themes is the ritual of naming and christening in a wide range of contexts. The most interesting one is the translation of Irish place names into English, which is reflected in the title of the drama. This translation goes hand in hand with an ordnance survey of County Donegal and the production of a new map of the area. The cartographer becomes an orthographer, who can only perform his task with the linguistic help of a translator (Friel, 1996: 403). The rendering of Irish place names into English, however, also means the extinction of national and cultural independence. Initially the translator, Owen, attempts to argue that he is not a soldier, but a 'part-time, underpaid, civilian interpreter', whose 'job is to translate the quaint, archaic tongue' the Irish 'persist in speaking into the King's good English' (Friel, 1996: 404). As the following dialogue at the end of the first act shows, the task rapidly adopts a military dimension:

Manus:What sort of a translation was that, Owen?

Owen: Did I make a mess of it?

Manus:You weren't saying what Lancey was saying!

Owen: 'Uncertainty in meaning is incipient poetry' - who said that?

> There was nothing uncertain about what Lancey said: it's a bloody military operation, Owen! And what's Yolland's function? What's

Manus:'incorrect' about the place-names we have here?

Owen: Nothing at all. They're just going to be standardized.

Manus:You mean changed into English?

Owen: Where there's ambiguity, they'll be Anglicized. (Friel, 1996: 408)

In the course of the first act, the activity of translation thus loses all the features of playful innocence, which were initially associated with the scholarly renderings of Latin and Greek texts by the infant prodigy Jimmy at the beginning of the drama. The supposition that the translation from Irish into English is exclusively initiated by the external pressure of the 'coloniser' would, however, lead to an undue simplification of the matter, since the drama finishes with one of the play's female characters, Maire, expressing a strong wish to learn English because she has fallen in love with Yolland, one of the English soldiers (Cronin, 1996: 197-98). At the same time, it cannot be denied that Yolland had made the attempt to communicate in Irish in his conversations with Maire. However personal the motives for translation may be, Brian Friel's drama demonstrates vividly that remodelling names and texts in a different language is not an innocent and unpolitical undertaking without far-reaching social and cultural consequences.

The gap between cultures, which may turn into a problem even for the most experienced translator, is also treated in a more humorous manner in David Lodge's 'academic romance' *Small World* (1984). One of the fictional characters, the novelist Ronald Frobisher, dwells on the misrepresentations of English colloquialisms by the Japanese translator of his work *Could Try Harder,* who thus alerts him to the possible pitfalls of his own language. After having dealt with over two hundred queries, Frobisher justifies the fact that he still reads the translator's letters in the following manner:

> 'Because it's interesting to tell you the truth,' says Ronald Frobisher, sitting down at the table and slitting open the aerogramme with a knife. . . .

> 'Page 93, 2 down. "Enoch, 'e went spare." Does this mean Enoch went to get a spare part for his car? You've got to feel sorry for the bloke. He's never been to England, which makes it all the more difficult.' (Lodge, 1985:107-08)

Lodge's translator may play a minor role in the novel and may have a primarily comical function. The underlying questions raised are, however, of a more serious nature. As a result, the reader is left convinced that Frobisher was right in continuing what he must have considered to be a tedious correspondence, and that the effort he puts into dealing with his translator's queries is time well spent.

A more serious instance of a fictional treatment of translation, which takes us back into more political connotations of the topic, is Eva Hoffman's autobiographical novel *Lost in Translation* (1989). In this work the story of the emigration of the author's Jewish family from Poland to the United States is treated as the start of a life in a new language. As her capacity to communicate in Polish dies, she finds herself growing into a new personality by the fact that she is replenished with the unexplored possibilities of the new linguistic environment into which she has moved:

> Polish is becoming a dead language, the language of the untranslatable past. But writing for nobody's eyes in English? That's like doing a school exercise or performing in front of yourself, a slightly perverse act of self-voyeurism. . . .
>
> When I write, I have a real existence that is proper to the activity of writingan existence that takes place midway between me and the sphere of artifice, art, pure language. This language is beginning to invent another me. However, I discover something odd. It seems that when I write (or, for that matter, think) in English, I am unable to use the word 'I'. I do not go as far as the schizophrenic 'she'but I am driven, as by a compulsion, to the double, the Siamese-twin 'you'. (Hoffman, 1991: 120-21)

As we can see from this passage, Hoffman's autobiography explores not only the cultural but also the psychological dimensions of her 'life in two languages'. At the end of the work, the author depicts how she comes closer to abandoning the second-person 'you' in favour of the first-person 'I' through what she calls 'translation therapy':

> But in my translation therapy, I keep going back and forth over the rifts, not to heal them but to see that Ione person, first-person singularhave been on both sides. Patiently, I use English as a conduit to go back and down; all the way down to childhood,

> almost to the beginning. When I learn to say those smallest, first things in the language that has served for detachment and irony and abstraction, I begin to see where the languages I've spoken have their correspondences - how I can move between them without being split by the difference. (Hoffman, 1991: 273-74)

A final example which deserves to be referred to is Peter Porter's sarcastic poetic treatment of an international academic conference in 'The Chair of Babel'. The following stanzas wittily attribute a pivotal role to the translator. He becomes an ingenious power predominating the scene because he is in a position to establish instant communication which would break down without his aid:

> Half of us speaks one language and half
> another, though their half knows ours well
> and our half's monoglot.
>
> The official translator is a genius -
> 'The lady says her case is near-Hegelian'
> he likes to start -
>
> This morning my neighbour asked
> 'Why do Schubert's lieder hymn the sea
> and fisher-folk when he had seen no stretch
> of water wider than a lake?'
>
> The translation went: 'The landlocked mind
> will ever seek an amniotic . . . '(Porter, 1992: 31) 3

Why should Cervantes pretend to need a fictional narrator as well as a translator to produce his novel, what are Carlyle's reasons for pretending to be a translating editor so as effectively to promote Teufelsdröckh's ideas in England, and why does Conrad introduce a teacher of languages, who claims he lacks originality? In the case of all three authors, the introduction of a foreign work, either in manuscript or in print, is ultimately held responsible for the contents of a piece of fiction, and the alleged delegation of authorship to a translator or editor may appear like the reversal of a hierarchy. Even in *Don Quixote,* where the translator is still treated like a servant who can be supervised by the fictional narrator, the strategy of introducing a second layer of textuality must be perceived as an enrichment rather than an impoverishment of the work under consideration. It would also seem that the translator gains an increasing degree of independence in the examples quoted above. Whilst in *Don Quixote* the translator serves the fictional editor, the translator is identical with

the fictional editor in *Sartor Resartus* and *Under Western Eyes*. Despite the fact that Conrad still depicted the activity of translation as uncreative, he emphasised the point that it has far-reaching political implications. Even though in Cervantes, Carlyle and Conrad, where the role of an editor or translator is associated with the possibly puzzling goal of denying artistic creativity, the scenario of a 'play within a play' raises exciting questions about the originality of any kind of authorship and, at the same time, about the status of the translator or the editor.

It can be argued that the interpolation of the translator works like the insertion of an extra source of creativity in the production of textuality. The process of transmission and the role of the translator deserves special attention, for although the translator is merely supposed to mirror the author's words, he is also in a position of great power. His function is prismatic and allows him to disperse the original text and to pick out one of the possible shades of meaning, thus diverting the unbroken 'ray of text' he had received into a different direction. For precisely this reason, he is, however, also potentially threatening and, as a result, has to be kept under control. Eva Hoffman uses the analogy of Siamese twins in order to depict the intimate relationship between translating and creating in her autobiography At the same time, recasting a text into another language can also be perceived as a form of reception and, among others, the German poet Rilke has described translation as the most intensive form of reading (Venuti, 1982: 17; Barnstone, 1993: 7, 230; Manguel, 1996: 266; Bassnett, 1996: 11-12). The translator of the text, however, assumes a more prominent status than its average reader or even its reviewers because he has immediate access to and influence over the text from which other recipients are excluded (Stern, 1950: 403). Allowing a translator to play an active part in a piece of literature incorporates the reading process, which normally happens 'outside' a piece of fiction, into the text, articulates what is not normally verbalised, and makes visible what is normally hidden. What is more, the presence of the translator in a piece of literature raises the question of the extent to which any form of writing is the translation of a preceding text, whether translation is a creatively active or a passively consuming, reproductive activity, and whether a writer is in a position to maintain the full authority over his work once it is published. Could it be argued that the author depends on the translator, as much as the translator depends on the author, and is it sensible to draw a clear line between translation and authorship (Eagleton, 1977: 73; Gentzler, 1993: 144-45)?

The contemporary writers quoted above are unanimous in their opinion that this sort of separation cannot be upheld. In Eva Hoffman's autobiography, translation is no longer a mere tool, but it becomes the central feature of a life story, and the borderlines between creation and reproduction are dissolved. For Peter Porter, the translator on whose services all conference delegates depend is a genius, and David Lodge's novelist continues to read his translator's queries because he finds them fascinating. It would seem that, in the contemporary examples of literature, the translator thus gains an increasing degree of independence and the process of transmission between languages is frequently perceived as so crucial that it is reflected in the titles of creative pieces of writing. The space between languages, texts and cultures, in which the activity of translation is located, is indeed exciting territory, deserves more attention than it has received in the past, and it is the major concern of this study to explore precisely this 'territory inbetween'. Like the authors of the above-mentioned examples, this book attempts to feature and explore a literary preoccupation which is normally hidden and taken for granted by focusing on the role of the translator and the nature and perception of his or her mediating role. In so doing, it works on the premise that the process of recasting a text from one language into another is a 'site' for raising questions about the process of transmission in a broad cultural context (Niranjana, 1992: 1). What is more, the translation of texts from one language into another is perceived as a form of rewriting, which can also occur within the linguistic boundaries of one and the same language, for example in the shape of commentary, criticism, anthologising and historiography (Lefevere, 1992: 4-5 and 9; 1995: 27). In the light of these considerations, the topic of translation adopts a hermeneutic dimension, and the borderlines between inter- and intralingual transposition are blurred. In the Anglo-German context of this study, it is also significant to remember that it was primarily Friedrich Schleiermacher's merit to open up the meaning of the term 'translation', thus freeing it from its narrow sense of a mediation between two languages and extending it to the transfer of meaning within one and the same linguistic medium. For this reason, his 1813 essay 'On the Different Methods of Translating' (Schleiermacher, 1963: 38-70 and 1977: 67-89) is one of the most important philosophical foundations on which the ideas of the following chapters are built.

The assumption voiced by Laspara in *Under Western Eyes* that 'having one's ideas translated' is a straightforward and banal undertaking which can be carried out successfully by a woman, who 'does nothing, has never done anything in her life', thus deserves to be

challenged. Many of the implications of the process of translation raised in the literary examples will be reflected in the premises and ideas of this book. Laspara's attitude for example is echoed in the chapter on 'Women and Translation', which deals with the topic in a gender context and is concerned specifically with the motives that led women to prefer to engage in translation rather than creative writing. In exploring the question to what extent translation is a reproductive ancillary task performed by women who consider creative writing to be unfemale, some of the contradictory features embraced in the process of recasting textuality from one language into another will be revealed. A further chapter entitled 'From Portrait-Painting to Daguerreotyping' hinges upon a major nineteenth-century development in the visual arts: the invention of photography While the predominant imagery for translation in the eighteenth century had been that of a colour portrait idealising the form and contents of the original text, nineteenth-century thinking about the topic appropriated the analogy of a photographic, naturalistic black and white reproduction in order to describe the process of rendering a text into a different language. The process of translation between two languages is, as we have noted above, not fundamentally different from the process of translation within one and the same language, and two chapters are dedicated to specific instances of this phenomenon. 'Translators and Philology' explores the reception of early nineteenth-century linguistic ideas, in which translators were prone to take an interest. In Germany the newly emerged science of comparative philology had provided each language with a history and a life distinct from that of all other languages. This idea had a great attraction for many scholars in England, who felt the need to make it accessible to their own countrymen. Even though this goal could have been achieved by merely making the results of German philological scholarship known in English, the translators in question chose to go further than that. For with their polymath interests in a great variety of disciplines, they were eager to encourage the newly acquired comparative method not only in the study of languages but also in other subjects and went so far as to include physical sciences like geology, biology and anatomy in this undertaking. A specific scholarly approach and terminology is thus exchanged not only between two languages but, in addition, between what we would, today, consider to be quite distinct and perhaps even methodologically incompatible disciplines. Similarly, the chapter entitled 'Translating the Past' is not only concerned with the translation of German historiography into English but also with the introduction of an innovatory method of translating

past events for a nineteenth-century readership. In addition, the role of a historian can, in many ways, be compared to that of a translator since he, too, has to counteract the reputation of being merely receptive and reproductive rather than active and creative. Translation is, of course, a mode which makes it possible for ideas and texts to 'travel', and the final chapter entitled 'Translating the Foreign Gaze' explores the links between translating and travel writing. Travel writing, like translating and map-making are 'located activities, with points of origin, points of departure and destinations' (Bassnett, 1993: 114). As a result, the translation of the accounts of German travellers in Britain, which were originally intended for a German readership, from German into English can be compared to a redirection of foreign gazes.

Translation is a form of image-making, and image-making is neither innocent nor transparent, but manipulative and political (Lefevere, 1995: 15). Its assertive creativity is also reflected by the expressive imagery of the texts dealing with the process of transformation from one language into another. From Friedrich Schleiermacher's hermeneutic approach to Walter Benjamin's and Jacques Derrida's considerations about the afterlife and the death of textuality, the topic of translation has created a highly metaphorical, imaginative and fine philosophical body of secondary literature by a wide variety of authors, who are themselves not necessarily primarily known as translators. Among the nineteenth-century metaphors we shall encounter is Goethe's rather barren and commercial analogy between a translator and a 'broker in the great intellectual traffic of the world' (Austin, 1840: I, IV) and his depiction of the translator as a prophet who can act as a guide to his people (Müller, 1886: 16). Shelley's image of poetry as a vulnerable violet which is in danger of losing its colour and odour if cast into the crucible of translation from one language into another is aesthetically more subtle and pleasing, though doubtlessly a more negative image as far as the possibility of translation is concerned (Shelley, 1977: 484). Dante Gabriel Rossetti eventually compared the translator's path to that of Aladdin in the enchanted caves who has to sacrifice many 'precious fruits and flowers' in order to find the true lamp he is searching for (Rossetti, 1904: IX). In all these treatments, the translator is portrayed as maintaining a powerful, if exposed position, well ahead of his countrymen in terms of knowledge and wisdom. The ability to transplant texts into foreign soil is thus in most cases associated with an element of mysticism and solemnity, which is most imaginatively captured in Rossetti's image of Aladdin's vault, and in all the examples the mysterious 'no-man's land', the inbetween space, or rather the translator's territory, between

two languages emerges as fertile soil, in which imaginative creation can take place.

What is more, translation does not only produce images; it is also defined by the images and metaphors describing the activity in a wide range of secondary discourse (Hermans, 1985:106). It shapes culture as much as it is being shaped by developments in a wide range of cultural domains. An intriguing phenomenon in this context is the consistency with which the analogy of the daguerreotype will occur in the fields of investigation covered in the following chapters. Looking at the process of translation from the five different angles explored in this book can be considered to be one way of writing nineteenth-century cultural history. By moving centre-stage what is normally on the peripheries, this study does not only seek to examine general ideas and cultural implications of the linguistic transmission from one language to another. It is also concerned with a specific group of translators at a specific point in time and the texts this group of intellectuals chose to promote in Britain by rendering them from German into English. The translators, who will be introduced in the next chapter, congregated around the Prussian scholar and ambassador to London Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen (1791-1860) and, apart from a wide range of German *belles lettres,* showed a particular interest in the philological scholarship of Franz Bopp and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, the historiography of Barthold Georg Niebuhr and Leopold von Ranke, as well as the depictions of Britain by Hermann von Pückler-Muskau and Friedrich von Raumer. Through the examination of the reception of these authors, this book is also a case study in the literary sociology of Anglo-German cultural relations in the nineteenth century. All the ideas about the process of transmission which have emerged so far are thus not purely theoretical philosophical considerations without clearly defined applications but the outcome of researching the activities, training and work strategies of a specific group of intellectuals. The exploration of the works' contexts, their reviews and unduly neglected prefaces sheds light on how the translators carried out the task to which they had committed themselves. What is more, biographical material including published and unpublished letters helps to reveal some of the mechanisms at work in the process of transmitting texts from one language to another. In particular, the wealth of frequently uncatalogued archive material, especially German manuscripts in British archives and English documents in German archives, which are an invaluable source for research into forms of cultural transmission and cross-fertilisation, must not be underestimated.

The focus on the intellectual exchange between Germany and England is also in many ways a particularly fertile ground for this undertaking, since German Romantic hermeneutic texts were absorbed in Britain with the specific goal of exploring the implications of having ideas translated. At the same time, the relatively unspecialised nature of nineteenth-century scholarship and the impact of polymath scholars made it easy for ideas to 'travel' not only between two languages and countries, but also from past to present, from subject to subject, and between different forms of artistic creation. Nineteenth-century intellectual life was aware of the philosophical implications inherent in the process of translation and, at the same time, was still more likely than subsequent, more specialised and more fragmented, forms of scholarly inquiry to explore the full potential of this mode. It is thus the combination of and interaction between a positivistic approach based on archival resources and the exploration of more general ideas about the process of transmission, which allows us to look at the topic of translation in its cultural context. For translation does not happen in a historical, sociological and, as copyright considerations demonstrate, legal vacuum, and should hence not be detached from other forms of rewriting (Venuti, 1995b; Bachleitner, 1989: 33-40; Lefevere, 1985: 241). It has the power to shape and change culture to the same extent as it is itself shaped and changed by cultural developments.

'Having it translated' is not a process which is as transparent as Conrad's Laspara suggests. Even though some of the nineteenth-century female translators we shall encounter may wish to pretend that they have done nothing in their lives, they will emerge as creative and versatile figures who deliberately play with masks and double standards. Significantly, it is the female translator's territory between passive reading and active creative writing which allows her to undertake literary work without abandoning the traditional ancillary gender values she may seek to comply with. Sarah Austin (1793-1867) for example, one of the most prolific, manipulative and subversive translators, who will feature significantly in our observations, felt the need to make it clear that she considered translation to be an occupation which enables her to communicate certain ideas without expressing her own opinions. Ironically, she found an original and imaginative way of describing her 'calling of translator' as a wish to secure herself 'behind the welcome defence of inverted commas' (Austin, 1854: VI). Since the implications of Austin's creatively expressed intention are discussed and challenged in this study, it seemed appropriate to quote Austin in its title. What is more, Sarah

Austin herself will emerge as a self-reflective intellectual, who played with double standards, wrote about the process of linguistic mediation in her prefaces, conveyed an awareness of the power she had as a translator and thus, in many ways, contravened her own intention to hide 'behind inverted commas'. In the following chapters, the process of remodelling ideas in a different language will be depicted not as a secure, innocent, transparent, dilletantic and shielded 'literary safe haven', but as a challenging, at times manipulative and political, activity at the crossroads of both inter- and intra-cultural developments. Within the historical, geographical and personal parameters set out in the next chapter, the process of linguistic transmission between cultures can be perceived as a creative force in its own right which deserves inter-disciplinary attention from a variety of subject angles.

Notes

1. For similar ideas see also Venuti (1986:179-81).

2. On the idea of rewriting Don Quixote for a later generation, see also Borges (1974), Berman (1984: 24) and Bassnett (1997: 1).

3. These verses are quoted with the kind permission of Oxford University Press. For further contemporary literary examples dealing with the process of translation, see Simon (1996: 155-67).

Chapter 1
Some Nineteenth-Century Anglo-German Crosscurrents

The examination of Anglo-German cultural relations and more specifically the impact of German writings in nineteenth-century Britain in the light of these ideas, provides us with a new angle on the subject matter in question. Whilst the research which has been undertaken hitherto takes either an author-orientated or a reader-orientated approach, the in-between space of the translator, that is the force moving the text between the author and the reader, appears to be largely untilled soil. Nevertheless, a selection of the work previously done on Anglo-German relations in the nineteenth century makes a sensible starting point for exploring the nature of the inter-cultural exchange taking place in the period under consideration. Before surveying this body of research, it is crucial to recall the extent to which German was a language studied in nineteenth-century England. Despite the fact that a fashion particularly for Goethe and Kotzebue at the end of the eighteenth century increased the number of readers interested in German literature, the study of German at the beginning of the nineteenth century was still mainly an occupation for cultured individuals and the intellectual circles surrounding them. Even though at the time new grammar schools and middle schools emerged as alternative educational institutions to the more traditional public schools with their clear bias towards the classics, the importance of modern languages was not significantly increased. For grammar schools on the one hand imitated the public schools in their emphasis on Latin and Greek, while middle schools on the other hand were orientated towards technical and commercial subjects and taught languages, primarily for the benefit of an increasingly industrialized society. What is more, even within the field of modern languages, it is an undeniable fact that German was always outdone by the predominance of French (Howard, 1990: 19, 117-24).

Despite all these obstacles, there is a great deal of evidence that

German literature and scholarship was widely received through the discussion and the scrutiny of a small but intellectually high-powered number of nineteenth-century intellectuals. On a university level, University College and King's College London had the earliest established chairs in German (1828 and 1831 respectively). Even the northern provincial university colleges had German instruction quite early, while Oxford and Cambridge lagged behind (Howard, 1990:132-37; Ortmanns, 1993: 228). Leslie Stephen (1898) described this phenomenon as the 'importation of German'. One of the most effective ways to study cultural infiltration is, of course, to look on an individual basis at the people who were able to initiate and promote the reading of German texts in England. This is precisely the route Stephen took, and his approach was repeated in a more elaborate form by a variety of researchers both in England and Germany. In what follows an attempt will be made to provide a rough sketch of the varied individual efforts, area by area, to promote the reception of German texts. 1

In Edinburgh the novelist Henry Mackenzie (1745-1831) awakened an interest in German theatre and drama with a lecture before the Royal Society in 1788. Intriguingly, he did not know German then and had derived his knowledge of literature in that language purely from French translations. The first English rendering of Schiller's *Die Räuber* by Alexander Fraser Tytler (1747-1813), the later Lord Woodhouselee who swayed between a legal and a literary career, in 1792 can probably be regarded as a result of Mackenzie's efforts.2 More widely known Scotsmen taking up this interest in German literature were Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), his son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart (1794-1854), Robert Pearse Gillies (1788-1858) and John Stuart Blackie (1809-95). Lockhart and Gillies, due to their links to the periodical press of their day, are of particular importance for the introduction of German writings to a British reading public. They both contributed to *Black wood's Magazine,* and Lockhart became editor of the *Quarterly Review* in 1826, while Gillies, who had written on German topics for the *Edinburgh Review,* helped to found the *Foreign Quarterly Review* in 1827. The most famous representative of the Edinburgh circle was, of course, Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), even though he was also one of the most powerful forces engaged in moving the reception of German literature from a provincial to a national stage. His interest in the promotion of German literature is so well-known that there is no need to recall his wide-ranging and extensive efforts in this field at this point.

A second Germanophile circle of equal significance to the one in Edinburgh was centred around William Taylor (1765-1836) in Norwich.

Taylor had first travelled to the Continent with the intention to learn about foreign commerce in order to apply this knowledge in his father's business. After the firm was dissolved in 1791, he committed himself totally to literature, translating and writing essays on German authors, in particular Bürger, Herder, Lessing and Schiller through to the eighteen-twenties. His main work, the *Historic Survey of German Poetry,* was published between 1828 and 1830. As a result of these efforts, Taylor started a tradition of interest in German studies not only among his own contemporaries but also in the generations following him, which can hardly be overestimated. He taught German to the author and linguist George Borrow (1803-81), the translator of Klinger's *Faustus* (1825), and referred Henry Crabb Robinson (1775-1867), one of the first English advocates of Goethe and the Romantics, to German literature. The diarist Crabb Robinson became a great admirer of Goethe during his sojourn in Germany in the years between 1800 and 1805. During this time he also met Mme de Staël and imparted to her the information on German philosophy which later appeared in her *De l'Allemagne*(1813). As a result, he could be considered to be partly responsible for the frequently distorted and inaccurate view of German philosophy in this work. It may be of some significance that, as nonconformists, both Taylor and Crabb Robinson were debarred from university study and may consequently have been more open to German intellectual stimuli. In addition, Taylor spread his interest among other Unitarians and encouraged Sarah Taylor (1793-1867), the daughter of the manufacturer and hymn writer John Taylor (1750-1826), to learn German. John Taylor and his wife Susannah (1755-1823) provided a politically liberal, intellectual environment for their seven children, and the two daughters were taught philosophy, Latin and political economy by their own mother. Even though there are no family ties between the two Taylor families in Norwich, both of them were part of the same Germanophile circle. The same group of people also attracted, among others, Sarah's cousin Harriet Martineau (1802-76), her brother James (1805-1900), the writers Mrs Opie and Anna Barbauld, as well as the philanthropist Elizabeth Fry (Brock, 1984: 1-6). When Sarah married John Austin (1790-1859) in 1820 and moved to London with her husband, she taught German to the young John Stuart Mill, and their house became a meeting point for many people interested in Germany (Ross, 1888: I, 37-38). Sarah's daughter Lucie (1821-69) married Alexander Duff Gordon (1811-72) in 1840. She had travelled on the Continent together with her parents from an early age, acquired an excellent command of German during the Austins' short stay in Bonn in 1827, and later perpetuated the family tradition by

doing her own translations, partly in co-operation with her husband.

James Martineau, after having left his home town of Norwich, can also be found in the context of another important literary community based around the Gaskells in Manchester, where in 1840 he became Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy. The opening of the Unitarian foundation of Manchester New College in this year had attracted him, as well as a number of other high-powered intellectuals, to this city. Manchester as a centre for the reception of German literature in many ways took over the role of the Norwich group, for by the eighteen-forties the people who had been most actively involved in the scene there had dispersed to other places. Similar to the Norwich circle, the activities in Manchester were strongly tied-up with a religious spirit of dissent. Owing to the presence of a number of German merchants and industrialists like the Schwabes, the Schunks, the Meyers and Leislers, the city of Manchester had established much closer links with Germany than Norwich had ever managed to achieve (Uglow, 1993: 88, 129-36). In addition, the institution of the Manchester Foreign Library founded in 1830, and the Schiller-Anstalt, opened in 1860, further encouraged a broad reception of Continental literature (Shepherd 1989). Together with William Gaskell, James Martineau also contributed to the education of two young friends of his family, the sisters Catherine (1827-78) and Susanna Winkworth (1820-84). Both had been drawn increasingly into the Gaskells' orbit after their mother's death in 1841. To the great distress of her sister, Susanna adopted the Unitarian faith of her friends because she found this denomination far 'superior to any other in intellect, culture, and refinement of manners', while Catherine remained faithful to the Anglican creed of her family (Winkworth, 1883: I, 58; Shaen, 1908: 26; Brill, 1984: 57; Skrine, 1992). 3 Both women were later to travel on the Continent and to engage considerably in naturalising German texts for a readership in their own country. By 1862, when the Winkworths moved to Clifton near Bristol, both sisters were not only highly esteemed as translators in their own right but had also established the necessary contacts in their field.

Bristol, too, had a long established tradition of interest in German, which had its origins in the activities of the liberal physician Thomas Beddoes (1760-1808). While studying in Oxford he taught himself French, Italian and German and encouraged the Bodleian Library to buy more German books. He resigned his readership in chemistry at Oxford partly on account of his sympathy with the French Revolution and moved back to Bristol where he was an important influence on Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), who had followed his friend

Robert Southey (1774-1843) to this town. Beddoes also passed his enthusiasm for German thought on to the next generation and his son Thomas Lovell (1803-49), the poet and physiologist, followed in his father's footsteps. After having studied in Oxford, he spent some time at the University of Göttingen in 1825, received a doctorate in medicine from Würzburg and, as a supporter of radical liberal ideas, lived in Zurich, Berlin and Baden for a substantial amount of time during the eighteen-thirties and forties (Oppel, 1971: II, 11-12; Weber, 1935).

Another, though small, community with an interest in Germany can be found in Liverpool, where Felicia Hemans (1793-1835) wrote essays on German literature for the *Edinburgh Review* as well as the *Monthly Magazine,* and Anna Swanwick (1813-99), who had studied German, Greek and Hebrew in Berlin from 1839 to 1843, specialised in translations of Goethe's and Schiller's dramatic works. What is more, the reading and discussion of German texts was notably encouraged by the Brays and Sara Hennell in Coventry, where George Eliot (181980), the translator of theological treatises by David Friedrich Strauss and Ludwig Feuerbach, started to develop an interest in the subject, though her major advisor in the field of German studies was to become George Henry Lewes (1817-78), whom she met in London in 1851.

This survey shows that German may have been read only by a minority, but there can be no doubt that this minority was a group of active and productive intellectuals who invariably were highly capable of articulating the ideas they absorbed for those who lacked the linguistic ability to read them for themselves. The texts which were considered to be most influential changed over the years. Even though Schirmer (1947: 4-6) may be criticised for categorising unduly, his classification gives a rough idea of the emphases laid in different periods of the time under consideration. The first of his epochs comprised the time from 1788, the year of Henry Mackenzie's lecture in Edinburgh, to 1813, the year of the appearance of Mme de Staël's *De l'Allemagne.* This was a time dominated by enlightened ideas of tolerance and humanitarianism on the one hand, and revolutionary ideals on the other. The most popular German authors of this period were probably Schiller, followed by Kotzebue, Wieland and Kleist. Once the revolutionary spirit had ebbed away, Germany started to become represented as a country of the phantastic and the picturesque, in particular in the allusions to it in the writings of M.G. Lewis (17751818) and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Mme de Staël's book on Germany, however, was perceived as a departure from this tradition and left its readers with a perception of this country as a cradle of

literary culture and idealist philosophy The development of Samuel Taylor Coleridge in many ways epitomises this shift of emphasis. While his enthusiasm for the early work of Schiller belongs to what Schirmer defined as the first period of German influence, his attraction to Göttingen and Kant is a reflection of his interest in German philosophy. It contributed substantially to his predominant, though not always visible, role in introducing German Romantic thought to the literature of his own country (Ashton, 1994: 66; 1996: 145-77).

The chief promoter of German writing, and specifically of Goethe as an author during what Schirmer defines as a second period of reading from 1813 to roughly 1832 (the year of Goethe's death) was, of course, Thomas Carlyle. His mediation between Germany and England in many ways finished with Goethe's death, since from then on he dedicated his career mainly to the writing of historical works. He, too, acknowledged the landmark character of Mme de Staël's book and translated Jean Paul Richter's review of it into English (1899c). The interest in Goethe continued long after his death in 1832. After all, George Henry Lewes wrote his Goethe biography, which was first published in 1855, so rapidly that a German scholar, Heinrich Vielhoff, felt the need to speed up his own work, since for reasons of national pride he did not wish to see the first life of Goethe written by a foreigner (Ashton, 1991: 149). Matthew Arnold, who had absorbed Humboldt's idea of self-education, as well as Walter Pater, both practised their prose style by translating Goethe's poetry (Oppel, 1971: II, 54-55). Goethe and other authors of *belles-lettres,* among them notably Heinrich Heine, who was widely reviewed in the periodical press, thus continued to appeal to the English reading public. On the other hand, it is also in the years between roughly 1830 and 1860 that the reception of scholarly, especially historical, philosophical, philological and theological works gained preeminence. In this context, particular weight was lent to the works of Barthold Georg Niebuhr, Leopold von Ranke, Franz Bopp, August Wilhelm and Friedrich von Schlegel, Friedrich Schleiermacher, David Friedrich Strauss and Ludwig Feuerbach.

Those responsible for the dissemination of German texts in nineteenth-century England were scattered in time and region, but had certain techniques in common. These need to be discussed before tackling the reception of scholarly and academic material from Germany The scholarship dealing with the influence of German texts follows two distinct methods. One is to focus on one specific author like Goethe or Kleist and then to trace his reception in reviews or translations of his writings. [4] The other route is to focus as a starting

point on a specific recipient or a circle of readers of German texts and to examine their various tastes. 5 In the one case we have an authororiented, in the other a reader-oriented approach. Both of these approaches are static in the sense that they pay little attention to the fact that the text itself, which is moved from its native environment to a foreign one, undergoes a drastic 'change of costume'. In order to overcome this deficiency, I have employed a third structural principle to organise the story of textual transmission: it centres attention on the people responsible for shifting texts from one country to another, that is on the translators of these texts. For, as has been pointed out in the introduction, they lead an intriguing double life: on the one hand, the translator is close enough to the author to be in a position to exercise an active influence on the text, while on the other hand his or her occupation can be described as an intense form of reading. Allowing the translator rather than the author or the reader to appear on the surface thus opens up scope for setting free a Cervantes-like play within a play. What is more, this play becomes particularly selfreflective, if we do not concentrate primarily on the transmission of *belles-lettres*. Despite the fact that Carlyle or Sterling, for example, were attracted to the high seriousness of German literature and that Catherine Winkworth as well as Philip Pusey must have believed that German spirituality had something to offer to the mid-Victorian religious reader and could change aspects of English-speaking Protestant worship, the translation of scholarly texts is, in many ways, a more openly political and manipulative activity. The translator working on these texts can, to an even greater degree than a literary translator, no longer be brushed aside as a transparent figure. Owing to the nature of the genre he will never be judged exclusively on his quality of rendering stylistic nuances and, in addition, he is more likely to be personally associated with the ideas exposed in the work he chooses to render.

The circle of translators which forms the basis of the following chapters is, of course, by no means always distinct from the German reading circles explored above. But even if some of the names may occur for a second time in the context of the present considerations, the structure of this group of translators is different. It is not based on local provincial efforts at the reception of German texts but is centred around one person. It was his concern to establish links all over Britain and to encourage not only the interest in and translation of German scholarly ideas but also to initiate an exchange of ideas and an awareness of the process of transmission in which they were engaged. Links were thus forged not only between the various local

groups active in the reading of German but also between the provincial world and the academic environment of Oxford, Cambridge and London. According to their different stations in life, the translators of this group expressed their ideas in published and unpublished letters, reviews, scholarly articles and books, in the choice of texts they translated and in a 'genre' of texts almost totally neglected until now, namely the translator's preface.

Who, then, was responsible for initiating the contact between these diverse intellectual circles? Christian Karl Josias von Bunsen (17911860) was a Prussian scholar and diplomat who served as ambassador to London in the years between 1842 and 1854. Even before his time in England he had established strong links in the country through his wife Frances Waddington, whom he had married in Rome in 1817. He had worked there as a secretary to Barthold Georg Niebuhr (1776-1831), the author of a three-volume *History of Rome* (1827-28). At the time, Niebuhr was Prussian minister to the Vatican. When he returned to Germany in 1823, Bunsen became his successor. All through his life, Bunsen greatly admired Niebuhr and regarded him as his chief mentor. His own antiquarian interests found an outlet in the foundation of the *Instiiuto di corrispondenzaarcheologica* (Institute for Archaeological Correspondence) (Anon., 1861: 286). On a social level, Bunsen's household in Rome was well known for its hospitality and he established a network of English literary contacts, including John Stuart Blackie, Henry Crabb Robinson, William Wordsworth, Sir Walter Scott, John Sterling, Richard Monckton Milnes, John Kemble, Arthur Hallam, William Ewart Gladstone, Hurrel Froude, John Henry Newman, and especially Thomas Arnold, who visited Rome in 1828 and became one of the chief admirers of Niebuhr in Britain, along with Connop Thirlwall and Julius Hare (Preyer, 1980: 36; Stanley, 1844: I, 64, 76-77). Hare (1795-1855) and Thirlwall (1797-1875) had met Bunsen in Rome as early as 1818 and continued to maintain a close relationship to their German friend. Their activities deserve some special attention at this point.

Julius Hare's links to Germany go back to his childhood, when he accompanied his parents to the Continent and stayed in Weimar from 1804 to 1805, where he first became acquainted with German literature. After the family's return to England he was educated at Charterhouse. There he met Connop Thirlwall and George Grote (1794-1871), the historian of Greece. Grote, who was later to become involved in the foundation of University College London, had links with Germany because his father had emigrated from Bremen to England in the middle of the eighteenth century. Having entered

Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1812, Hare attempted to spread an interest in German among his friends in the university, the closest of whom were probably Thirlwall and William Whewell (1794-1866) (Behrla, 1944: 10; Distad, 1979: 31-32). It is also significant for our context that he imparted his ideas to his pupils John Sterling and F D. Maurice (Prickett, 1996: 206). A proponent of the writings of Wordsworth and 'the most loyal' disciple of Coleridge, he frequently expressed his disappointment at the predominance of utilitarian philosophy in the Cambridge Union Society (Sanders, 1942: 123). When the Union Society, due to its liberal political discussions, was dissolved in 1817, Hare founded a smaller circle which hoped to gain new intellectual inspiration from the Continent, especially from Germany. This circle, which came to be called the Apostles Club', included among others Richard Monckton Milnes, Arthur Hallam and Alfred Tennyson (Höcker, 1951: 110-11; Preyer, 1981). Both Hare and Thirlwall were in Cambridge in the eighteen-twenties, and it was then that they cooperated closely in translating Niebuhr's *History of Rome.* From 1831 to 1833 they edited the *Philological Museum,* which was modelled on Niebuhr's *Rheinisches Museum* and constituted the first English periodical dedicated purely to philology as a subject. Even though the periodical itself was doomed to failure after only a few editions, philological activity of various forms did not cease to radiate from Trinity College and in particular the members of the Apostles Club. The foundation of the Philological Society in London in 1842, which was chaired by Connop Thirlwall and included many members of the Apostles Club, initiated the foundation of the *Oxford English Dictionary* in 1860 and can, as a result, be considered as one example of the effects of the philological aspirations of members of Trinity (Cannon, 1978: 50-52; Aarsleff, 1983: 165). By the time Hare and Thirlwall left Cambridge in 1832 and 1834 respectively, they had laid the foundation for the reception of German texts in an academic environment.

This new branch of Anglo-German relations was to gain further impetus through Bunsen's presence in London. When he was appointed Prussian ambassador in 1842 he was no stranger to England and, due to the connections he had established in Rome, had a wide circle of intellectually stimulating friends, who were keen to make his house a meeting-point for the exchange of their ideas. 6 As a result, his London residence became a venue for huge parties and the indications of his popularity were so numerous that a neutral, but slightly malicious, observer like Theodor Fontane in his travelogue from England and Scotland was surprised at their overwhelmingly positive nature

(Fontane, 1971: 541). The sympathy towards Bunsen by his English contemporaries even finds a fictional representation in Charles Kingsley's *Alton Locke,* where Mr. Locke is introduced to an oracle-like ambassador figure who is based on Bunsen:

> 'The *** ambassador!' I said, startled; for let us be as democratic as we will, there is something in the name of great officers which awes, perhaps rightly, for the moment, and it requires a strong act of self-possession to recollect that 'a man's a man for a' that.' Besides, I knew enough of the great man in question to stand in awe of him for his own sake, having lately read a panegyric of him, which perfectly astounded me, by its description of his piety and virtue, his family affection, and patriarchal simplicity, the liberality and philanthropy of all his measures, and the enormous intellectual powers, and stores of learning, which enabled him, with the affairs of Europe on his shoulders, to write deeply and originally on the most abstruse question of theology, history, and science. (Kingsley, 1983: 239)

ED. Maurice described Bunsen's wide popularity in equally ardent terms:

> The first impression, I think, which was left upon all who saw Bunsen during his residence in this country, or in any other country, was that they had seldom met with a man so thoroughly friendly and genial, so ready to meet people of all kinds on their own ground, so little affecting dignified reserve, so free from the airs of diplomacy. Frankness will have struck them as his peculiar characteristic. . . . Those who were struck by his intellectual accomplishments may have thought that he was too encyclopaedic, that his mind wanted concentration. But they will certainly have observed that his attachments were as diffusive as his studies, and that in them there was no deficiency of distinctness or personality (Maurice, 1861: 373)

Bunsen's encyclopaedic polymath knowledge did indeed embrace a great variety of disciplines, with philological methodology as the basis of historical, philosophical and theological inquiry. All of these disciplines figure in his work and cover a time-span from the history of ancient Egypt to the church politics of his own days. He was, for example, particularly well-known for his involvement in the diplomatic endeavours to promote an Anglo-German Protestant bishopric in Jerusalem (Gross, 1965: 73-82). Bunsen's theological statements constituted an attempt to explore possibilities of accommodating God

in a society fostering an increasingly scientific if not mechanistic world view. They were frequently associated with the Broad Church Anglican circles of Whewell, Hare, who became a parish priest in Hurstmonceux (Sussex) in 1833 and was appointed to the archdeaconry of Lewes in 1840, as well as Thirlwall, who became bishop of St David's in 1840. The sympathy for a work like J.A. Froude's *Nemesis of Faith* (1849), however, made Bunsen suspect to the supporters of the Oxford Movement, and he found himself attacked for a theological radicalism he cannot justifiably be accused of. Froude's alleged unorthodoxy caused so much upheaval that his novel was publicly burnt after its publication, and the author was forced to leave Oxford after he had resigned his fellowship at Exeter College (Bunsen, 1868: II, 217; Willey, 1980: 142-45; Ashton, 1988). It may also be noteworthy in this context that Bunsen did not voice public support for the translation activities of Marian Evans, one of Froude's sympathetic contemporary reviewers (Ashton, 1988: 35-36). She, too, was associated with precisely this theological radicalism because of her renderings of David Friedrich Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* (1835-36; translated in 1846) and Ludwig Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1841; translated in 1854) into English (Stark, 1997). Despite all these factors, Bunsen's own reputation was somewhat tainted by his more radical fellow-countrymen and could only partly be saved by commentators like F.D.Maurice who drew their contemporaries' attention to the efforts Bunsen put into his hymn collection or his own Bible translations (Maurice, 1861: 376, 379). 7

Bunsen thus played a crucial role in establishing social and intellectual links not only between various groups of people with an interest in reading German texts but also between their varied scholarly activities.8 In many ways, he initiated this process before he was present in England himself, and after Bunsen had left the country in 1854, his open-minded and interdisciplinary approach was perpetuated by the continuing presence of one of his *protégés,* Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900). Müller, who saw himself greatly indebted to his mentor, had been invited to London by Bunsen in 1846 so that he could pursue his interest in oriental studies by using the manuscripts of the East India Company. Bunsen himself went to Oxford to read a paper before the seventeenth meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1847, and on this occasion introduced Müller, who also delivered a paper. In May 1848 Müller took up residence in Oxford, where he became Taylorian Professor of Modern European Languages in 1854 (Müller, 1870; Chaudhuri, 1974: 56, 61, 110). The same group of people, including Hare, Thirlwall, Whewell,

Bunsen and Müller, is also known to have met at Hare's rectory in Hurstmonceux in Sussex, which he took over in 1833. There Hare collected several thousand volumes of German books (Hare, 1866: XLVXLVI). Crabb Robinson described these as the finest German library in England in his diary and A.P.Stanley praised the collection in the following terms:

> Of all libraries which it has been our lot to traverse, we never saw any equal to this in the combined excellence of quantity and quality; none in which there were so few worthless, so many valuable works. Its original basis was classical and philological; but of later years the historical, philosophical, and theological elements outgrew all the rest. The peculiarity which distinguished the collection probably from any other, private or public, in the kingdom, was the preponderance of German literature. No work, no pamphlet of any note in the teeming catalogues of German booksellers escaped his notice; and with his knowledge of the subjects and of the probable elucidation which they would receive from this or that quarter, they formed themselves in natural and harmonious groups round what already existed, so as to give to the library both the appearance and reality, not of a mere accumulation of parts, but of an organic and self-multiplying whole. (Stanley, 1855: 8-9; Crabb Robinson, 1869: II, 292-93)

After Hare's death, a large part of the library's holdings were bequeathed to Trinity College, Cambridge, where they can now be consulted as an excellent source for research into nineteenth-century reading interests in the field of German writing (Paulin, 1987: 174-93; Bruford, 1974: 86-87).

Bunsen made his presence felt not only in the academic circles of Oxford and Cambridge but also attempted to make use of more locally-based translation activities for his purposes. When he looked for a translator of a biography of his mentor Barthold Georg Niebuhr in 1848, he approached Mrs Austin, whom he considered to be the foremost living translator of his time. 9 She apparently declined the offer, because we know that Mrs Gaskell came to his aid in trying to find a translator and referred Bunsen to Susanna Winkworth, who later became a sort of literary secretary to Bunsen (Winkworth, 1883: 182). Her sister Catherine also translated for Bunsen and even worked for him in Bonn after his return to Germany in 1854. Another indication of his central role in the context of our topic is the fact that he tried to extend his interest to Liverpool and encouraged Anna Swanwick there to pursue her translation activities (Bruce, 1903:

86-87). Sarah Austin on the other hand corresponded regularly with William Whewell and passed on her interest in Germany to her daughter Lucie Duff Gordon. Even though it is unlikely that there was a great deal of direct contact between George Eliot and Bunsen, she made extensive use of Max Müller's writings in her notebooks for *Middlemarch,* (Wiesenfarth, 1984: XXXII-XXXIII; Pratt, 1979) while Susanna Winkworth translated Max Müller's short novel *Deutsche Liebe* in 1858. She and her sister Catherine went to his lectures and met him on various occasions (Winkworth, 1883: 399, 419-20; 1886: 15, 20, 365). We thus find emerging a loosely linked network of people with an interest in Germany for whom Bunsen's household both in Rome and in London served as a meeting point. What makes this circle special for our purposes is that it did not simply add yet another piece of literature to the canon of German texts available in English translation, but that there is evidence for a great deal of reflection on the process of transmission and the role of a translator in this process.

Placing the translators centre-stage upsets traditional assumptions about the hierarchy between primary and secondary forms of writing, about writing and reading a text, and about the production and reception of literature. The chapters that follow are, on the one hand, a study of the reaction to a number of primarily scholarly German texts and travel writings by the circle of people gathering around Bunsen. On the other hand, however, the subsequent considerations are also based on the premise that these people made an active decision in choosing the medium of translation for their purposes and that they did not merely render German texts in an English guise but also reflected on the process of linguistic and cultural transmission they were engaged in. What is more, their experience in translating from German into English alerted them to the notion that translation can be a powerful mode, which as Friedrich Schleiermacher showed, can be operated not only between two languages but also within one and the same language (cf. Chapters 2 and 3). The historiographical depiction of past events for a present audience or the exchange of terminology between different subjects are examples for this phenomenon (cf. Chapters 4 and 5). Only through a close analysis of nineteenth-century attitudes towards and thinking about translation can the mechanisms and cultural implications of these different modes of translation be revealed. Ironically, these attitudes towards and motives for taking up translation as a literary profession are voiced in a particularly compelling manner by those who felt the greatest need to 'hide behind inverted commas', i.e. the female intellectuals in the network described above. By considering translation in a gender

context and exploring the question as to whether women were predestined for what might be described as a subservient, ancillary and secretarial literary occupation, we shall encounter a wide spectrum of nineteenth-century attitudes towards as well as ideas about the process of transmission, and one that embraces a number of intriguing contradictions, as the next chapter will show.

Notes

1. The following survey draws largely on Schirmer (1947), Pfeiffer (1925: 1156) and McCobb (1982: 1-85).

2. Tytler was called to the Scottish bar in 1770, in 1780 he became professor of universal history in Edinburgh, and in 1790 he was made judge-advocate of Scotland. His 1791 *Essay on the Principles of Translation* will be discussed in Chapter 3.

3. The two volumes, *Memorials of Catherine Winkworth,* which were edited by her sister Susanna and published in 1883 and 1886, were privately printed and destined exclusively for family circulation; I have managed to trace a copy of them in Dr Williams' Library in London.

4. Relatively recent examples for this route are the studies by Howard (1990) or Proescholdt-Obermann (1992). Relevant statistical material about the frequency with which works by German authors were translated into English and reviewed in the British periodical press in the period under consideration is compiled in Morgan (1938: 15-17), and Morgan and Hohlfeld (1949: 78-79).

5. For this approach, see Schirmer (1947) or Ashton (1980).

6. Bunsen to William Mure, 26 April 1842, MS National Library of Scotland, 4948 ff.117-18.

7. On the close links between German and English hymnody in the nineteenth century, see M. Arnold (1962: 368).

8. There is, for example, no twentieth-century biography of Bunsen and the most comprehensive information about him can be found in the two-volume memoir edited by his wife. Owing to his strong links to Britain, Bunsen will be included in the *New Dictionary of National Biography.* The vast collection of his papers was transferred to the Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv in Merseburg after the Second World War, where they were difficult of access during GDR times. They are now available again in Berlin in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz and are an extremely interesting source for Anglo-German cultural history in the nineteenth century, because they shed a great deal of light on his personal connections and his scholarly undertakings. On the collection of Bunsen's papers, see Endler (1972).

9. The work referred to here is Dore Hensler's 1838-39 edition of *LeBensnachlrichten übcr B.G. Niebuhr.*

Chapter 2
Women and Translation in the Nineteenth Century

In her 1931 essay 'Professions for Women', Virginia Woolf described a phantom she had to battle with before she could sit down and review a novel written by a man. This phantom was 'The Angel in the House', a familiar species of woman in the last days of Queen Victoria, when Woolf started to write. She went on to depict this angel-phantom as an 'intensely sympathetic', 'immensely charming' and 'utterly unselfish' female creature, whose purity and grace threatened her very existence as a writer. Eventually, she came to the conclusion that, in order to survive, it would be necessary to kill the angel who guided her pen, left 'the radiance of her halo' on her page, and who prevented her from having an uncompromising mind and judgment of her own. 'Killing the Angel', however, as Woolf was fully aware, was an option possible only because she was financially independent and did not depend solely on charm for her living. What is more, the struggle was to be long and arduous, a struggle that took up much energy and time which could have been spent on more rewarding undertakings, such asin her own words'learning Greek grammar' and 'roaming the world in search of adventures' (Woolf, 1966: 285-86).

The female nineteenth-century translators who will be discussed in this chapter spent much time roaming the world, if only to learn foreign languages. They also committed themselves to studying grammar books, some even Greek grammar books. The main criterion for choosing the women on whom the following considerations are based is that they undertook to translate German texts into English. Most of them, including George Eliot, Sarah Austin, Lucie Duff Gordon, Susanna and Catherine Winkworth as well as Anna Swanwick, have been introduced already. Other women are more loosely linked to the circle around Bunsen. Elizabeth Eastlake (1809-93), for example, became famous for her travel writing and her translations of German studies in art history 1 Another figure is Edith Simcox (1844-1901), who

was fluent in German and French, and acquired the rudiments of Dutch, Flemish, Spanish and Italian in order to communicate with fellow socialists on the Continent. She even thought of compiling a German-English dictionary, but this plan never materialised (McKenzie, 1961: XII, 4, 5, 46, 50, 53). 2 What is more, she assisted Friedrich Max Müller in his translation of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernuft* (1781, translated as *Critique of Pure Reason* in 1881) by rendering Ludwig Noiré's introduction to the work into English. Noiré (1829-89) was one of the chief promoters of Müller's work in Germany, and his book on Max Müller and language philosophy was published in 1876.

This list of translators is, of course, by no means exhaustive, and other women engaged in translating from the German such as Mary Anne Burt,3 Anna Jameson (1794-1860),4 Mary Howitt (1799-1888),5 Jane Sinnett (1805/06-70),6 Rufa Brabant (1811-98),7 Frederica Maclean Rowan (1814-82),8 Lady Jane Wilde (1826-96),9 Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett (1832-75),10 Mathilde Blind (1841-96),11 and Eleanor Marx (1855-98),12 as well as presumably very many anonymous figures, will not be included in the following considerations. The case of Edith Simcox is also an excellent illustration of the problems inherent in the attempt to trace translation activities, and in particular the female participation in this occupation. For Simcox's assistance to Max Müller is only documented in manuscript sources and is, contrary to what one might expect, not at all mentioned in the English version of Kant's work. Another famous example for the unacknowledged anonymity surrounding the transmission of texts from one language into another is the self-denying and, as a result, widely neglected contribution of Ludwig Tieck's daughter Dorothea to his own translations from Cervantes and to the famous German rendition of Shakespeare's work (Paulin, 1985: 302-03; Jansohn, 1992: 1-2, 12-13). Further problems are imposed by the fact that some women exclusively translated for periodicals, which almost invariably failed to mention the contributor's name.13

What all women under consideration have in common is that they picked up grammar books and roamed the world, the two things to which Virginia Woolf did not get round because of the time it took to kill the 'Angel in the House'. Does this mean, as a result, that nineteenth-century translators succeeded in killing the 'Angel' long before Virginia Woolf, and accordingly faced no obstacles in starting their literary careers? Or, on the other hand, could it mean that they did not perceive the necessity to kill the 'Angel' and that they simply left it alive? Were they engaged in a traditional female occupation, or did they adopt a male role of literary professionalism? After all,

roaming the world and learning foreign languages was, in many ways, less compatible with female domestic duties than novel writing. In the memoir for her aunt, Mary L. Bruce remarked that Anna Swanwick's stay in Berlin from 1839 to 1843 to study German, Greek and Hebrew was considered to be a breach of convention by her family, who tried to prevent her from going. Becoming a successful translator required active and independent decisions which could not always be reconciled with a traditional female upbringing (Bruce, 1903: 27).

It is striking that a number of translators also undertook some form of travel writing as a result of their experiences abroad. Lucie Duff Gordon and Elizabeth Eastlake are examples for this phenomenon. In her 1845 essay on lady travellers, Eastlake pointed out that women tend to know more about human nature and modern languages, while men have greater expertise in ancient history and ancient languages. Female observations in travel writing, according to Eastlake, are often more lively and minute, because women, due to 'the more desultory nature' of their education, are more prone to indulge in 'purposeless' detail. While a man 'starts on his travels with a particular object in view', a woman is less likely to be influenced by preconceived ideas and 'diffuses her mind more equally on all that is presented'. Men are thus charged with imposing an artificial plot structure on their reports. Women, on the other hand, are acclaimed for their ability to work within the bounds of their empirical observations without structuring them around their own interests and needs. What is more, Eastlake argued convincingly that travel writing as a genre, in spite of revealing a great deal about the author's character, allows women to write without being fully liable for the contents of their work:

> Again, there is an advantage in the very nature of a book of travels peculiarly favourable to a woman's feelingsthe almost total absence of responsibility. It is merely the editorship of her own journal, undertaken for the amusement of her children, or the improvement of a younger sister, or the building of a school; for it is a remarkable fact that ladies never publish their tours to please themselves. In short, she can hardly be said to stand committed as an authoress. If she sends forth a lively and graceful work, the world will soon tell her it is a pity she is not one; otherwise, the blame falls on her materials. (Eastlake, 1845: 99-100)

In the description of her own residence on the shores of the Baltic, Eastlake also establishes the proximity of travelling and foreign language learning. In the account of her sojourn she stated that the

'best souvenir the traveller can carry away of a foreign country, better than journal or sketch-book, is a knowledge of its language' (Eastlake, 1841: I, 252). One might even go one step further and argue that, similar to travel writing, translating can become a medium for encountering foreign culture without physical displacement. What is more, translating like travel writing can entail a submission to prestructured plot, which gives women the chance to write without being exposed to the demands of independent authorship.

Similar ideas were propounded by George Eliot three years before her first piece of fictional writing was published under a male pseudonym in 1857. When she attempted to find a scientific explanation for the fact that English and German women, unlike French women, did not have the capacity to establish a female literary tradition, she considered the larger brain and slower temperament of English and German women to be responsible for their dreamy passivity:

> The woman of large capacity can seldom rise beyond the absorption of ideas; her physical conditions refuse to support the energy required for spontaneous activity; the voltaic-pile is not strong enough to produce crystallizations; phantasms of great ideas float through her mind, but she has not the spell which will arrest them, and give them fixity. This, more than unfavourable external circumstances, is, we think, the reason why woman has not yet contributed any new form of art, any discovery in science, any deep-searching inquiry in philosophy. (Eliot, 1963a: 55-56)

In this context it is helpful to recall that George Eliot began her literary career by translating German and Latin theological and philosophical treatises (Stark, 1997). Her English renderings of David Friedrich Strauss' *Das Lebe lesu* (1835; translated as *The Life of Jesus* in 1846) as well as Ludwig Feuerbach's *Das Wesen des Christentumns* (1841; translated as *The Essence of Christianity* in 1854) constitute important steps in her intellectual and personal development. On the one hand, the translation phase in Eliot's life, which preceded and is clearly distinct from her efforts as a novelist, can be perceived as part of an extended 'Pythagorean probation of silence' (Stephen, 1971: 466). On the other hand, the English renderings of foreign works and anonymous periodical reviews she accomplished in the years before 1857 served as an important literary apprenticeship, at a time when it was not at all clear whether Marian Evans was going to develop into a creative writer, for as a young woman she shrank back from the novel which she then considered to be a morally questionable genre (Eliot,

1954: I, 21-24; David, 1987: 75). Only Mathilde Blind, the first biographer of George Eliot, appears to have had access to a letter written by Marian Evans to an intimate friend soon after the completion of the Strauss translation in 1846. The following passage is illuminating for our considerations:

> Miss Evans pretends that, to her gratification, she has actually had a visit from a real live German professor, whose musty person was encased in a still mustier coat. This learned personage has come over to England with the single purpose of getting his voluminous writings translated into English. There are at least twenty volumes, all unpublished, owing to the envious machinations of rival authors, none of them treating of anything more modern than Cheops, or the invention of the hieroglyphics. The respectable professor's object in coming to England is to secure a wife and translator in one. But though, on inquiry, he finds that the ladies engaged in translation are legion, they mostly turn out to be utterly incompetent, besides not answering to his requirements in other respects; the qualifications he looks for in a wife, besides a thorough acquaintance with English and German, being personal ugliness and a snug little capital, sufficient to supply him with a moderate allowance of tobacco and *Schwarzbier,* after defraying the expense of printing his books. To find this phoenix among women, he is sent to Coventry on all hands. (Blind, 1883: 46)

The quoted passage foreshadows Eliot's creative power as a novelist, but it also reinforces the subsidiary nature of the role performed by the female translator in the framework of a male scholarly environment. Whilst a parallel is established between the faithful observation of duty expected by both a wife and a translator, it is also hinted that the 'musty German professor' would have difficulties in finding a 'translator-spouse' who is sufficiently qualified for his purposes. [14] Ironically, the English rendering of Strauss' *Life of Jesus* was associated with male intellect and learning to such an extent that the translator was referred to as a well-informed theologian, as 'a *man* [my italics] who has a familiar knowledge of the whole subject' (Anon., 1846: 479; Alexander, 1847: 206). This is not surprising, because the mediation of Strauss' work did not only require a sound grasp of German but also a knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, as well as the absorption of complex philosophical ideas. Quite possibly owing to the abilities required for the task, Marian Evans believed that it would have been unkind 'to Strauss to tell him that a *young lady* was translating his

book' as she thought 'he must have some twinges of alarm to think he was dependent on that most contemptible specimen of the human being for his English reputation' (Eliot, 1954: I, 177). In the end, the translator of the first English edition of *The Life of Jesus* remained anonymous and did not contribute a preface to her version of the work.

Similar gender perceptions concerning the viability of independent authorship for women in the nineteenth century were articulated by Susanna and Catherine Winkworth. In the *Memorials* of her sister Catherine, Susanna Winkworth contemplated various occupations she could see herself pursuing. While questioning her own talent for creative writing, she explained that her strict religious upbringing in childhood forced her to subdue her imagination and her capacity to invent stories. In the following passage she reflects on possible alternatives:

> I care more than I did about being fit to make myself independent, and this is one reason why I learn Latin, that I might be able to teach *somethling* beyond the common routine, for I cannot teach accomplishments. I wonder if people ever get decently paid for translations. I would much rather get anything by writing novels with good principles in them, than by being a governess, but for this, alas! I should never have talent, since I killed my childish imagination.
>
> As a child I was always making up stories and telling them to other children and the servants, but about fourteen resolved to give up doing so on religious grounds finding that it often wasted my time, and distracted my thoughts from religion, the resolution being further stimulated by my aunt's discovery of one of my hidden manuscripts, and exclamation on reading it: 'Why, if you go on like this, you will become a novel writer, and I would rather follow you to your grave!' It proved, however, so difficult to me to stop my imagination from working of itself, that I took to doing mental arithmetic in my walks, and for several years abstained from reading any works of imagination, which in time, alas! stifled my unruly faculty (Winkworth 1883, 108-09)

Susanna Winkworth did not find it easy to overcome the inhibitions about fiction with which she had grown up, since in 1859 George Eliot confessed in a letter to John Blackwood that she felt flattered by the fact that 'Miss Winkworth, a grave lady who says she never reads novelsexcept a few of the most famous', had read *Adam Bede* three times (Eliot, 1954: III, 44).

Susanna's sister Catherine came to the following conclusion in a letter written from Dresden in 1846:

> If I were a man, I would study till things got clear to me, and then I would speak and write; but being a woman I shall never gather positive facts enough, or acquire the habit of thinking deeply and clearly, so as to be able to write, which is the only way in which a woman can express her thoughts, as she may not speak. (Jackson, 1969: 118; Winkworth, 1883: 103)

Susanna shared this concern, when she considered in 1849 whether she was capable of writing an original biography of Niebuhr:

> . . . you can see with half an eye that that would be a very different affair from simply translating a work all ready to hand. The latter would only require a competent knowledge of German, and some fluency and taste in English composition, but the former would require *judgment,* literary and historical, and an immense amount of information. (Shaen, 1908: 41)

Having made the decision to cut herself off from original discourse, Catherine gained lasting fame for her translations of German hymns, an endeavour to which she was well-suited. To preach or publish her religious beliefs was impossible; to translate the religious poetry of male authors, however, offered an ideal opportunity to communicate her own deepest convictions without articulating them herself. 15

Translation as a specifically female flight from public recognition is a topic which was also granted a great deal of attention in the work of Sarah Austin. In a memoir of Austin, her granddaughter called attention to Austin's unwillingness to expose herself through original writing:

> From prudence she confined herself to translating, though she had all the faculties that go to produce original work. But, as she often told me, she feared by publishing anything of her own to expose herself to criticism, and she always considered it improper in a woman to provoke a possible polemic, which generally ends in a manner disagreeable to herself. (Ross, 1888: I, VIII-IX)

The mistrust of her own ability to judge and to have opinions of her own is expressed in her correspondence and translator's prefaces at all stages of Sarah Austin's literary career. Generally, she considered *Vermittlung* (mediation) to be her 'mission'.16' In 1832 she commented on her work in a letter to Jane Welsh Carlyle in the following manner:

> It is nothing but compilation and translationmere drudgery . . . I can create nothing and teach nothingfor I feel I *know* nothingbut if I can interpret & illustrate, it is something; & I have the advantage of combining what a remnant of womanly superstition about me makes me think best for usa woman. These are 'auld world' notions. You know that word in my vocabulary excludes no particle of strength, courage or authority. But a *well chosen field is the thing.* [17]

The same view is expressed in a less gender-specific manner in the preface to her translation of Friedrich von Raumer's *England in 1835:*

> It is the peculiar and invaluable privilege of a translator, as such, to have no opinions; and this is precisely what renders the somewhat toilsome business of translating attractive to one who has a profound sense of the difficulty of forming mature and coherent opinions, and of the presumption of putting forth crude and incongruous ones; not to mention the more individual feeling of the unsuitableness of any prominent and independent station in the field of moral and political discussion, to a person naturally withdrawn from it (Raumer, 1836b: I, XIV).

This impression was reinforced in a letter Sarah Austin wrote to William Ewart Gladstone in 1839, explaining that she was frightened of appearing before the public in her own person or on her own behalf 'as the author or champion of any opinions whatever'. Neither had she any pretensions to instruct the world nor did she wish to amuse it.[18] And yet, she was so convinced of the correctness of her own values that she attempted to make them a general principle for female education. In this, she eventually went so far as to assert in her later years that working women should not receive academic training but, instead, should restrict themselves to domestic accomplishments.[19] This attitude is particularly surprising because Sarah Austin was provided with excellent education by her mother in a wide range of academic disciplines with a view to making her daughter independent and self-sufficient (Frank, 1994: 17; Hamburger, 1985: 19; 1994: 25). Austin herself was determined to pass these ideals on to the next generation, and her daughter Lucie was brought up in the same spirit (Frank, 1994: 44).

What is more, it is by no means true that Sarah Austin confined her literary activities to translation, even though she obviously felt uncomfortable about contravening her own principles. Apart from periodical articles on historical and educational topics, she wrote illuminating

and well-informed prefaces to the works she rendered into English. These pieces contain lucid observations on the topic of translation. Ironically, one of the most imaginative and powerful of these comments can be found in the prolegomena to a collection of articles on German history, which she had originally written for the *Edinburgh Review:*

> Yet, as will be seen by those who have the patience to go to the end of my solemn and eventful story, I have, as much as possible, kept to my calling of translator; and, at the risk of wearying them with extracts and quotations, have secured myself behind the welcome defence of inverted commas.
>
> It is probable that by putting all these bits of ore into the crucible, and casting them into one symmetrical mould, I might have made a more readable book, and one which I might with greater show of justice call my own. But I have an unconquerable prejudice in favour of the genuine and authentic; I have no ambition to call original what must in fact be borrowed; and in the choice of many an eloquent and touching passage I have, I confess, been led, not only by the matter, but by the form. I have indulged myself in what I may call the dilettantism of a translator. (Austin, 1854: VI-VII) 20

To have academic knowledge, to be partisan, to exercise judgment and to evince the traits of creative authorship were thus presented as an unfavourable contrast to translation by women who did not wish to upset male role models. As we have seen, the translators frequently devalued their own vocation and did not mention the language study they undertook in order to render the texts of their choice into English. However much the female translators in question might have wished to distance themselves from what they perceived as a male role by securing themselves 'behind the welcome defence of inverted commas', and however much they might have wished to comply with what they would have considered to be an appropriate female role, they have nonetheless inadvertedly slipped into the mode of literary professionalism. Paradoxically, the male literary establishment did not always uphold the conservative values that these women had made their own. When the German historian, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), demanded a 'translator of more masculine intellect and learning'21 than Sarah Austin for his *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation* (1839-47; translated as *History of the Reformation in Germany* in 1845) and William Whewell, the Master of Trinity College, was asked to find one, Whewell insisted that there was no one

suitable in Cambridge. In his opinion, Mrs Austin had 'raised the standard of translation so high that it is not easy to find somebody of a similar quality'. 22 Sarah Austin, on the other hand, once more played down her own achievements and made the following statement about her efforts spent on Ranke's work:

> This is an awful undertaking, and I could doubtless gain much more money and fame by lighter work. But you know my dislike to encounter the public in my own person, my distrust of myself, and my liking for steady *respectable* work. I have therefore put my head into the yoke very willingly. I welcome the forced absorption in drudgery as a potent reason against painful meditations. My nouns and adverbs keep me out of myself, and the honest pride of earning is also a resource against the worst pictures of poverty, though indeed I feel them little in my own person. (Ross, 1888: I, 189)

Male intellectuals did not necessarily agree with the notion that the qualities needed for a good translation differed sharply from the qualities needed for creative writing. The case of Edith Simcox provides a good illustration of this phenomenon. When Max Müller looked for a translator for Ludwig Noiré's lengthy introduction to Kant's philosophy, which he had decided to use as a preface to his own translation of Kant's *Kritik der reinen Vernunft,* he encountered the difficulty of finding somebody suitable for the task. In a letter to Müller, Noiré described his dealings with the publisher Trübner:

> Then we talked about the difficulty of finding a good translator. 'I know someody,' Trübner said, 'a certain Miss Simcox who has already translated our German philosophical writings. Generally, I have made excellent profit from my philosophical library. So she would be the right translator . . . She has recently translated Hartmann's *Die Philosophie des Unbewußten.*' 'How can you,' Noiré asked, 'include such a fraud, owing its success to its cynicism, in your programme?' 'That doesn't matter,' he said, 'the English and the Americans are keen on it, and so I make quite a bit of profit. By the way, Miss Simcox, after having translated about a quarter of it, refused to continue. She wrote that she could develop no sympathy for the book, was acting against her conviction, and had rather pay back the full amount of the money she had received already than continue the translation.' The latter made me think very highly of this lady, and I have asked Trübner to show her my essay; I am convinced she will like it.23

After Noiré had settled on Miss Simcox we learn that Max Müller concurs with his correspondent; Müller himself lauded Miss Simcox as a 'very competent philosopher'. 'Once women start to be serious about what they do', he concluded, 'they will be superior to us in some things, though not in everything'. 24

As Simcox's example illustrates, translation involves active moral decision-making as much as reproducing given material. Like Simcox, Susanna Winkworth rejected a project recommended to her by Bunsen, who in many ways was her literary mentor. When Bunsen asked her in 1856 to translate a book on Bacon by the philosopher Kuno Fischer (1824-1907), Winkworth eventually rejected the offer, because she questioned the author's credibility on religious and philosophical grounds. Fischer, whose major work, his *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie* (*History of Modern Philosophy)* was written between 1852 and 1877, had been dismissed from the University of Heidelberg on account of his pantheistic views three years after his appointment to a lectureship in philosophy in 1850. Bunsen even asked for Max Müller's opinion on the subject but did not manage to convince Susanna Winkworth that Fischer did not subscribe to Pantheism or NeoHegelianism. Apparently anxious not to see her name bound up with either of these movements, she explained to Bunsen that her primary object was to work for religion, not by writing but by translating suitable books (Winkworth, 1886: 14-26). She obviously thought a translation of Fischer's treatise would defeat this purpose, for she raised the following objection:

> Now I shall be identified, and rightly so, with the *general tendencies* of any book I translate. Therefore if I should make a false step and translate anything of whose general tendencies I disapprove, it will be an *irreparable* injury, not to me personally, but to my *usefulness.* (Winkworth, 1886: 16)

Bunsen accepted this argument, even though he did not think Fischer should be subject to any of Susanna Winkworth's allegations. After all, Fischer was appointed to a professorship in Jena in 1856, and Bunsen's judgment proved to be right, for Fischer returned to Heidelberg in 1872 and taught there successfully until 1903. The translation was eventually undertaken by the dramatic author and critic John Oxenford (1812-77), one of the early promoters of Schopenhauer in England, who was well acquainted with German, Italian, French and Spanish literature. Apart from Fischer's *Francis Bacon,* he rendered works by Bürger, Goethe and Wagner into English (Jaeck, 1914). In addition, he edited Flügel's *Complete Dictionary of the*

Germlan and English Languages (1857). At the same time, Susanna Winkworth embarked on a translation of sermons by the Dominican monk Johannes Tauler (c. 1300-61), who was frequently associated with mystical traditions. This was a project with which she found it easier to identify herself (Winkworth 1886, 16).

The translators in question thus made use of their power to enhance or reduce the impact of a book by agreeing or refusing to deal with it. They were determined to be selective about the contents they wished to communicate and fully aware of the fact that the accessibility of a work in more than one language entailed an increase in its circulation and its significance. The case of Harriet Martineau may serve as a further illustration of this phenomenon. Like George Eliot, Martineau is not primarily known as a translator but as an author in her own right. Her cousin Sarah Austin treated her with respect, but described her views, especially those regarding women, as 'diametrically opposed' to her own (Dilke, 1875: I, 35). Martineau in return condemned Austin as a person whose 'gross and palpable vanities may help to lower the position and discredit the pursuits of other women, while starving' her 'own natural powers' (Martineau, 1983: I, 352). Martineau's more independent and progressive views, however, did not lead her to discredit translating, which she considered to be a good preparation for creative writing. For she, too, had to overcome her family's bias against female creative writing:

> When I was young, it was not thought proper for young ladies to study very conspicuously; and especially with pen in hand. Young ladies (at least in provincial towns) were expected to sit down in the parlour to sew,during which reading aloud was permitted,or to practice their music; but so as to be fit to receive callers, without any signs of bluestockingism which could be reported abroad. Jane Austen herself, the Queen of novelists, the immortal creator of Anne Elliott, Mr. Knightley, and a score of two more of unrivalled intimate friends of the whole public, was compelled by the feelings of her family to cover up her manuscripts with a large piece of muslin work, kept on the table for the purpose, whenever any genteel people came in. So it was with other young ladies, for some time after Jane Austen was in her grave; and thus, my first studies in philosophy were carried on with great care and reserve. I was at the work table regularly after breakfast,making my own clothes, or the shirts of the household, or about some fancy work: I went out walking with the rest,before dinner in winter, and after tea in summer: and if ever I shut myself into my own

> room for an hour of solitude, I knew it was at the risk of being sent for to join the sewing-circle, or to read aloud,I being the reader, on account of my growing deafness. But I won time for what my heart was set upon, nevertheless,either in the early morning, or late at night. I had a strange passion for translating, in those days; and a good preparation it proved for the subsequent work of my life. (Martineau, 1983: I, 100-01; Mutschmann, 1919:102)

In addition, she had no sympathy with those of her friends who thought that she should not occupy herself with translation and told them that 'it was like going to school again while doing the useful work of mature age' (Martineau, 1983: II, 391-92). Her contribution, however, went beyond translating, for she combined linguistic mediation with the task of condensation. In the case of Comte's *Philosophie Positive,* her editing work was so highly regarded that it was eventually translated back into French in order to make this long treatise more accessible to the general public (Martineau, 1875: I, I). As her example illustrates vividly, the borderline between translating and independent authorship is fluid and hard to discern.

Is Elizabeth Eastlake right, then, in assuming that women are particularly suited to partake in such indiscriminate secondary activities of clearly defined, self-effacing and almost secretarial duties? In the light of our previous considerations about the self-assertiveness required for studying foreign languages, going abroad and eventually translating, her theory can probably not be upheld. Reflecting on translation in a gender context, however, is not a purposeless undertaking, for mapping gender relations onto the process of translation brings to the surface its widely diverging, at times contradictory, features in a particularly unequivocal manner: on the one hand, there is its subsidiary, reproducing and self-denying character; yet, its creative, thoroughly professional and assertive dimension also has to be given credit. So far I have mainly concentrated on the techniques of self-denial some female translators developed in order to erase traces of creative authorship, which would have upset the values of the predominantly male society they wished to comply with. In what is to come, I shall look at how some of the female translators mentioned so far have turned into creative writers, and how the very same women who actively wanted to be 'no more' than translators, because they considered this to be an appropriately female occupation, at least partly evolved into what they had so rejected.

One factor which contributed to the fact that the women under consideration were pushed into literary professionalism almost

against their will is that they did not have the financial security of Virginia Woolf and that they could not abstain as easily as she could from living off their charm. In 1839, Thomas Carlyle observed that translations from the Greek had 'almost no chance to bring in *money',* whereas translations from modern languages were in constant demand by the booksellers and consequently more lucrative for those who undertook them (Carlyle, 1985: 122). Accordingly, some of the women in the circle around Bunsen did manage to live off their translations. Sarah Austin's income from her literary work during the first decades of her married life, for example, was an indispensable supplement to her husband's salary (Hamburger, 1985: 72-74). John Austin was a practising lawyer until he was appointed to the chair of jurisprudence at University College London in 1826. Owing to his frequent spells of ill health, Sarah saw herself forced into making substantial contributions to the family income and went so far as to compile a Spanish-English technical dictionary besides doing translations and offered teaching in a wide range of subjects (Frank, 1994: 44; Hamburger, 1994: 54, 56). Lucie Duff Gordon, too, became increasingly assertive about the fees she charged for her literary work in her negotiations with John Murray. Her English rendering and abridgement of Anselm von Feuerbach's *Aktenmässige Darstellung Merkwürdiger Verbrechlen* (*Narratives of Remarkable Criminal Trials*) which was published in 1846, is a particularly interesting case, because she managed to quadruple the fee she had charged for earlier commissions. What is more, she undertook a great deal of research in German and English law, in which she was advised by her father, in order to be able to carry out the project to her satisfaction and, as a result, became known also in non-literary circles. As far as the success of the book with an English readership was concerned, her predictions proved to be right: partly owing to the sensational character of some of the cases, the work was favourably reviewed both in the popular press as well as scholarly and legal journals (Frank, 1994: 135-37). Similarly, Susanna and Catherine Winkworth considered taking up translation in 1846 with the specific goal of becoming financially independent, despite the severe impediments imposed by the 'literary market situation' (Jackson, 1969: 121; Davidoff and Hall, 1987: 305). With regard to women engaged in translation, Thomas Carlyle's depiction of the publishing climate was bleaker in 1841 than in 1839. Even though he thought there was more demand for translations from the German, he considered the competition for them to be so serious that this occupation, like every other literary work, cannot be 'recommended to any one,to a young lady least of all'. He also described it as the greatest

difficulty to *'fix on some book* likely to succeed', which was the translator's, not the publisher's task in most cases (Carlyle, 1987:145).

The decision to engage in translation was thus a courageous, though at times camouflaged, move into the realm of literary professionalism. The women under consideration liaised with publishers and developed the entrepreneurial talent to decide which foreign books would be appropriate for translation and would go down well on the English book market. For this topic, Sarah Austin's correspondence with John Murray is a particularly rich source, since it reflects not only the projects which found their way into print but also those which were abandoned. 25An interesting example for her negotiating skills is her attempt to convince Murray to publish an English version of Hermann von Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (*Letters of a Dead Man*), which will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.26 Even though Austin did not succeed, her instinct turned out to be right, and the work, which was eventually printed by Effingham Wilson, became a bestseller (Hamburger, 1994: 81, 107). A further example in this context are her fruitless efforts to make Bettina von Arnim's *Goethe's Briefwchsel mit einem Kinde* (*Goethe's Correspondence with a Child*) (1835) accessible to an English readership. While translating this work Austin became increasingly convinced that it was too long and that a partial rendering of it would improve its chances of a succesful reception on the English book-market. Bettina disapproved of the idea that her epic poem could be shortened in any way and, as a result, made an attempt to carry out the translation herself purely with the help of grammar books and dictionaries and without ever having studied the language before. This preposterous undertaking was, of course, doomed to failure and no English publisher was willing to accept her work, which eventually had to be printed by Veit & Co. in Berlin (Vordtriede, 1957).27 George Eliot, too, experienced the volatility of the London publishing scene during the translation phase of her literary career, for, as a result of a misunderstanding between George Henry Lewes and his publisher Henry George Bohn, her English rendering of Spinoza's *Ethics* never appeared in print during her lifetime (Ashton, 1991:17475).28

It is crucial for our purposes to highlight the differences in the role translation played in the development of George Eliot or Harriet Martineau as opposed to the impact it had on the lives of Sarah Austin or Lucie Duff Gordon. While Austin and her daughter were encouraged by famous authors including J.S. Mill, R. Southey, T Carlyle, W.M. Thackeray as well as G. Meredith to write their own books, both

women preferred translation because of its self-effacing nature. They insisted that it was more compatible than creative writing with what they considered to be their female role (Hamburger, 1994: 76; Frank, 1994: 3). Harriet Martineau, as we have seen, made a point of emphasising the importance of translation, even when she had turned into a creative writer; George Eliot, however, adopted a somewhat ambivalent role. As we have seen already, her translation activity served as an important preparation for her career as a novelist, and the texts she chose to render into English reflect her own spiritual development. Her sympathy for the radical and revolutionary scholarly ruthlessness of David Friedrich Strauss' *Life of Jesus,* which questioned the credibility of the New Testament and orthodox religiosity, for example echoes the departure from her own evangelical upbringing (Ashton, 1996: 36-38). Despite severe objections to Strauss' method, Eliot remained faithful to the German original 'word for word, thought for thought, and sentence for sentence' (Anon. 1846, 479). This can no longer be said for her translation of Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity.* Her enthusiasm for Feuerbach's attempt to anthropomorphise religious doctrine is likely to be responsible for the freedom she exercised in order to make the author's philosophy more palatable for English readers (Stark, 1997: 133, 138; Eliot, 1954: II, 153). It can thus be argued that Eliot's assertiveness grew during the translation phase of her life, and it is also significant that the *Essence of Christianity* is the only work she ever published in which her real name 'Marian Evans' appeared in print (Cross, 1885: I, 325).

Despite the ideas and experience Eliot gained by rendering scholarly texts into English, her most comprehensive theoretical statement on this topic, which she published on the verge of adopting a male pseudonym in order to write novels, remains desultory and is complemented by earlier similar observations in her correspondence (Eliot, 1954: I, 191; II, 156). The essay in question takes the shape of a review of J.M.D. Meiklejohn's translation of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason,* as well as the second edition of Mary Anne Burt's English rendering of German poetry entitled *Specimens of the Choicest Lyrical Productions of the Most Celebrated German Poets* and appeared in *The Leader* on 20 October 1855 (Eliot, 1963b). On the one hand, Eliot believed firmly in the importance of translation and the necessity of comprehensive professional training for this task. On the other hand, she finished her essay with the following evaluation:

> Though a good translator is infinitely below the man who produces *good* original works, he is infinitely above the man who

> produces *feeble* original works. We had meant to say something of the moral qualities especially demanded in the translatorthe patience, the rigid fidelity, and the sense of responsibility in interpreting another man's mind. But we have gossiped on this subject long enough. (Eliot, 1963b: 211)

To a certain extent, the attitude Eliot conveyed in the *Leader* article is surprising. While her own translation experience, which took up a substantial amount of her time for over a decade of her literary life, would have put her in a positon to make a significant contribution to the topic, she shied away from grappling with the subject in any depth. One can only speculate about the reasons for Eliot's attitude in the *Leader* review, but it seems likely that, in 1855, she had arrived at a turning point in her personal development and started to direct her attention to the production of *'good* original works' of her own.

It is the lack of secondary discourse about translation, the absence of self-reflection by translators, which has been held responsible for their undervaluation until the present day (Venuti, 1992: 1). Ironically, Sarah Austin, the most ardent defender of the ancillary role women should play, broke this silence most effectively. She became renowned and was quoted for her translator's prefaces. To some extent, these preliminary remarks were straightforward learned introductions to the foreign author and the context of the work. As we have seen already, they were also a forum for a discussion of the translator's own significance and contained valuable theoretical statements on the topic of translation. While 'hiding behind inverted commas' and the authority of Goethe, as the following passage from the preface to Austin's English rendering of Ranke's *Geschichte der Päpste* (*History of the Popes)* shows, she was indirectly self-assertive about the importance of her role:

> 'Every translator,' says Goethe, 'ought to regard himself as a broker in the great intellectual traffic of the world, and to consider it his business to promote the barter of the produce of mind. For whatever people may say of the inadequacy of translation, it is and must ever be one of the most important and dignified occupations in the great commerce of the human race.' (Austin, 1840: I, IV)

Whilst Austin used some of her introductions to diminish her own importance as a mediator, it can also be argued, as this passage shows, that their sheer existence and the fact that she reflected on her own role conveyed increased confidence and, what is more, they raised the

translator's professional profile. Unlike George Eliot or Harriet Martineau, who became eminent novelists, Austin used the prefaces to her renderings of foreign works as a platform to communicate her ideas about the process of translation, as well as its history and tradition in different cultures.

Austin's extensive introductory essay to her own English version of Falk's and von Müller's *Characteristics of Goethe* is an example of this phenomenon. This piece was quoted, provided a stimulus for discussion, and was recommended to Susanna Winkworth when she asked her friend John James Tayler (1797-1869), who served as a Unitarian minister in two Manchester chapels, to instruct her on how a good translation should be done (Winkworth, 1883: 195-96; Uglow, 1993: 88). In 1834-35 Tayler had spent a year in Germany and afterwards frequently conducted an afternoon service in German. In 1840 he was appointed to a professorship of ecclesiastical history at Manchester New College. Significantly, Austin's extended preface to the *Characteristics of Goethe,* which include Johann Falk's *Goethe, Pourtrayed from Familiar Personal Intercourse* and Friedrich von Müller's *Memoir of the Grand Duke Karl-Augustof Sachisen-We imar Eisenach,* contains a section which constitutes an essay on translation and which, as we shall see, proves her familiarity with both German and English translation theories (Austin, 1833a: I, XXIX-XXXVII). Her starting point is Samuel Johnson's statement from his *Life of Dryden* that there may be a clash between what is perceived as elegant style in two different languages. According to Dryden himself, translation should mediate between metaphrase, that is a word-by-word rendering of one language into another, and paraphrase, which is a loose description of the contents of a work without altering its sense. Dryden argued that liberty of expression in the sense of paraphrase should be allowed to the translator. Nevertheless imitation, which is not able to do justice to the memory and reputation of the dead and which is therefore unjustifiable, frequently appears to be the most advantageous method for him." [29]In a footnote at this point, Sarah Austin (1833a: I, XXX) refers her readers to a similar distinction by Novalis and actually renders the crucial parts of his statements on translation into English.[30] Novalis distinguished between three modes of translation, namely grammatical, paraphrastic, and mythical. Grammatical is the epithet for translations in the ordinary sense of the word. Paraphrastic translations require the translator himself to become 'the poet of the poet' and to give an adequate idea of the text. Paraphrastic translations, however, are also in danger of degenerating into travesties like Pope's Homer. Novalis' innovative concept, the mythical translation, is the highest form of all

three. It is somewhat detached from the real work of art and tries to convey its ideal, its pure, essential, perfect character. This mode of translation is extremely rare, and Novalis mentioned Greek mythology as an example of the mythical translation of a natural religion.

The common feature of all these concepts is that they grant autonomy to the translator (Paulin, 1991: 252). The translator is no longer a mechanical reproducer of linguistic nuances beyond his or her own sphere of influence. He or she can become a creator, at times perhaps a manipulator, endowed with the capacity to make stylistic decisions and to exercise independent judgement. Quite some time before George Eliot's disparaging assessment, Austin pointed out that translating was not purely a one-dimensional matter of 'rigid fidelity', but was open to discussion and provided scope for choice. Even though she acknowledged a potential for creativity in translations, her own sympathies did not lie with the partly paraphrastic solutions advocated by Dryden and Johnson or the mythical concept of translation stipulated by Novalis. Exhibiting the author's thoughts 'in such a dress of diction as the author would have given them had his language been English' seemed to Sarah Austin to bestow too much freedom on the translator which does not allow the original's own character, its particularities of style and its foreignness to come out (Austin, 1833a: I, XXXI-XXXII; Johnson, 1877: 81). To replace these by expressions which evoke the same mode of style in the translator's own language would fail to convey the otherness of the foreign language and would therefore be unacceptable to Austin, who for these very reasons could not take Pope's Homer seriously (Austin, 1833a: I, XXXIV).

Sarah Austin could not ultimately reconcile the opposition of free and literal translations herself but eventually turned to Goethe for help. For, in her opinion, he was the only author who had made an attempt to overcome this dilemma. She quoted his remarks on translation from his 1813 address commemorating the life of Christoph Martin Wieland ('Zu brüderlichem Andenken Wielands') which acknowledged two distinct, even opposed aims of translation:

> There are two maxims of translation; . . . the one requires that the author of a foreign nation be brought to us in such a manner that we may regard him as our own; the other, on the contrary, demands of us that we transport ourselves over to him, and adopt his situation, his mode of speaking, his peculiarities. The advantages of both are sufficiently known to all instructed persons, from masterly examples. (Austin, 1833a: I, XXXIII) 31

Curiously, Austin did not refer to another famous dictum from

Goethe's West-Östicher Divan (West-Eastern Divan) which would have supported her critical predilections. In this statement, Goethe claims that the history of translation has gone through three stages (Störig, 1963: 35-37). The first familiarises us with the foreign text by a simple, prosaic, interlinear translation, which acquaints us 'in our own sense' with foreign material. All foreign particularities of style are effaced in a somewhat rudimentary literary translation, which is meant to take us by surprise in our 'national domesticity', our everyday lives. In the second stage, which follows the first historically, the translator replaces foreign sense by his own sense and offers 'a home-grown surrogate for each foreign fruit'. A third and final stage of translation is considered to be the culmination of the art, even though it will, at first, meet the greatest resistance. Paradoxically, in this mode the translator returns to the aims of the first and more literal mode. For the goal now is to make the original and the translated text as identical as possible so that one is not meant to replace the other, but to act in its place, a mode in which the original can still be seen 'shining through'. 32 In this third ideal mode the antithesis between free and literal translation is dissolved harmoniously and it is probably this unity which Sarah Austin seeks in the defence of her own preference for an estranging literalness (1833a: I, XXXIV). Running the risk that the latter may be misinterpreted as a mere plaidoyer for Germanisms, which indeed it was in a review of her book in the Edinburgh Review, she refused to produce a translation which reads like a 'home-grown surrogate' (1833a: I, XXXVII; Merivale, 1833: 371-72). Austin even went so far as to state that she would like to reform the English language by introducing Germanisms into it.33

In the context of translation The Characteristics of Goethe are, however, not only significant because of the theoretical ideas Sarah Austin expounded on the topic in the preface of the work, but also because of her own English renderings of specimens from Goethe's work and her discussion of alternative versions of the passages of her choice. A monologue from *Faust* (verses 3432-3458), in which Faust explains his pantheistic world view to Gretchen, is an illuminating example for our purposes, and Austin's translation reads as follows:

> Who can name Him?
> And who declare
> I believe in Him?
> Who can feel,
> And dare affirm
> I believe in Him not?

The All-encompassing,
The All-sustaining,
Encompasses, sustains he not
Thee, me, Himself?
Spreads not the heav'n its vault above?
Lies not the earth stedfast beneath?
And climb not the eternal stars
Beaming with friendly light?
Doth not mine eye gaze in the depths of thine?
Doth not all that is
Press on thy head and heart,
And visibly, invisibly,
Weave its mysterious web eternally around thee?
Fill with it now thy hearthowe'er capacious
And when that feeling mounts to perfect bliss,
Then call it as thou wilt
Call it joy! heart! love! God!
I have no name for it
Feeling is all
Name is but sound and vapour,
Inshrouding heaven's glow! (Austin, 1833a: I, 266-67) 34

Austin's translation of this crucial passage frequently invokes a Germanic sentence structure, and it can be argued that through this technique her readers are constantly reminded that what they have before them is not indigenous English poetry but a literal rendering of foreign verse. This point is crucial, since Austin's motive for providing her own translation of this passage arose from the need to distance herself from two earlier versions of Goethe's *Faust,* namely Madame de Staël's, whose 1810 rendition of these verses was included in *De l'Allemagne,* and Lord Francis Leveson Gower's, whose translation of *Faust* was published in 1823. As we shall see in the next chapter, Sarah Austin disagreed with both these predecessors, since they, as she argued, imposed their own cultural values on the German text, and did no longer adhere to Goethe's original ideas with the faithfulness she considered necessary (Austin, 1833a: I, 267).

When Susanna Winkworth was looking for theoretical guidance on translation she was, as we have noted earlier, referred to Mrs Austin's essay, presumably not only for its own well-formulated argument but also for its references to other authors. Tayler, who had been approached as an authority on the topic, had also pointed out another text to her, namely Friedrich Schleiermacher's 1813 essay 'Über die

verschiedenen Methoden des Übersezens' ('On the Different Methods of Translating') (Winkworth, 1883: 196). Interestingly, Schleiermacher's distinction between the two paths a translator can take is strikingly similar to Goethe's description of the same phenomenon:

> Either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him. The two roads are so completely separate from each other that one or the other must be followed as closely as possible, and that a highly unreliable result would proceed from any mixture, so that it is to be feared that author and reader would not meet at all. (Lefevere, 1977: 74) 35

Schleiermacher vehemently rejected moving the author towards the reader and argued for moving the reader towards the author and thus for an estranging mode of translation, as did Sarah Austin. Another crucial point in Schleiermacher's argument is that he applied the word 'translation' not only to an activity taking place between two different languages but also to what happens within one and the same language, when we interpret somebody else's or even our own speech or writings. He thereby made inter-lingual translation a process of hermeneutics and indirectly attributed to the status of a translator that of a creative writer:

> The fact that speech is translated from one language into another confronts us everywhere, under a wide variety of guises. On the one hand this allows people to establish contact who were originally as far apart from each other as the length of the earth's diameter; . . . On the other hand we do not even have to go outside the domain of one language to encounter the same phenomenon. . . . Are we indeed not often required to translate the speech of another for ourselves, even if he is totally our equal but possesses a different frame of mind or feeling? For when we feel that the same words would, in our mouth, have a totally different sense, or at least a stronger weight here and weaker impact there than in his, and that, if we wanted to express the same things he meant, we would make use of totally different words and locutions, according to our natureit seems, if we define this feeling more closely, and as it becomes a thought for us, that we translate. Indeed, we must sometimes even translate our own words after a while, when we want to make them really our own again. (Lefevere, 1977: 67-68)36

Referring the Winkworths to Sarah Austin and, through her, indirectly to Goethe as well as to Schleiermacher, was not an entirely neutral piece of advice. Tayler thereby implied that translation should not be a domestication or absorption of a foreign text but a departure from familiar surroundings into unknown territory According to both Goethe and Schleiermacher, the borderline between home-grown and foreign should not be blurred but should be reinforced by an estranging method of translation. By subscribing to this technique, the translator will never vanish altogether, because he or she has become the creator of a language particularly suited to her task. The translator does not become invisible, for the reader is constantly reminded that he is reading a translated piece and not an original produced in his own language. Herman Merivale, the Edinburgh reviewer of Sarah Austin's *Characteristics,* described this phenomenon as 'demanding extensive powers' and as 'taking out a licence'. At the same time, he was pleased to announce that Austin 'in no respect overstepped the limits which the most fastidious partisan of Dryden and Johnson's laws of translation could have laid down' and only criticised her for one portion of her book, namely her literal rendering of passages from Goethe's lyrical pieces and elegies (Merivale, 1833: 372). The reviewer's terminology is a reflection of his impression that Austin's method of translation can be equated with the attempt to expand her own influence, even though she herself may have chosen not to abuse her power to create a new language.

The identification of poetry as a particularly vulnerable genre, which may be destroyed by too literal a translation and deserves special attention, is also dealt with in the prefaces of Catherine Winkworth and Anna Swanwick. In the preface to her *Lyra Germanica,* Winkworth alerted her readers to the differences in poetical taste in German and English. As an example of this difficulty, she refers her readers to the frequent use of double rhyme in German poetry and points out that this language structure may easily 'become cloying to an English ear' (Winkworth, 1855: XVII). What may sound solemn and grave in the metre of one language may be perceived as too light and undignified if composed in the same metre in a different language. Catherine Winkworth thus showed a well articulated awareness of the poetic and stylistic idiosyncrasies of German and English. The translation of these idiosyncrasies into a different language, however, was described as a challenging task. Far from despairing of its impossibility, Winkworth even claimed in a letter written in 1858 that rendering poetry into a different language may lead to an improvement of its quality While widely known hymns 'often maintain

themselves in their own country by dint of their usefulness, though as poetry they may be little above doggerel', their defects would become 'too strongly visible to allow them to take root in a new soil'. Nevertheless, she also acknowledged the strong correspondence of thought and metre in a good poem and confessed her decreasing inclination to take too great a licence (Shaen, 1908: 180-81; Skrine, 1992: 6).

For Anna Swanwick, too, the strains of verse translation were a matter of particular concern, even though she was not quite as optimistic about its feasibility as Catherine Winkworth. Swanwick discussed the problem most explicitly in the prefaces to her own translations from Goethe, Schiller and Aeschylus. Many of her considerations were focused around the question as to how both the metre and the matter of a poem could be preserved in a foreign language. She did not agree with Abraham Hayward (1801-84), whose rendering of *Faust* was published after his first visit to Germany in 1831. Hayward's text was considered to be the best English version of the drama by Thomas Carlyle, but Swanwick believed that prose translations cannot do justice to the contents of a poem (Swanwick, 1850: V). Hayward had rendered Goethe's verse drama into prose and, among other authorities, he quoted Sarah Austin's preface to her *Characteristics of Goethe* in the introduction to his *Faust* translation. Austin was thus once again referred to as an authority in a context she did not even specifically comment on, namely that of poetic translation (Hayward, 1855: XV). In her search for guidance on this issue, Anna Swanwick found it more useful to refer her readers to another famous translator of *Faust,* namely to Percy Bysshe Shelley (Swanwick, 1843: V). His highly metaphorical statement on the translatability of poetry from his *Defence of Poetry* deserves to be quoted in some length:

> Sounds as well as thoughts have relation both between each other and towards that which they represent, and a perception of the order of those relations has always been found connected with a perception of the order of the relations of thoughts. Hence the language of poets has ever affected a certain uniform and harmonious recurrence of sound, without which it were not poetry, and which is scarcely less indispensable to the communication of its influence, than the words themselves, without reference to that peculiar order. Hence the vanity of translation; it were as wise to cast a violet into a crucible that you might discover the formal principle of its colour and odour, as seek to transfuse from one language into another the creations of a poet. The plant must

spring again from its seed or it will bear no flowerand this is the burthen of the curse of Babel. (Shelley, 1977: 484)

Shelley was initially so dissatisfied with his own verse translation that he also worked on an alternative prose version of the beginning of the text. (Webb, 1976: 25) Eventually, however, he decided on poetry, and so did Anna Swanwick. In spite of allowing herself this freedom she stressed that she never gave priority to stylistic perfection in English. She intended to lay emphasis on the closeness of her English version to the original, even though she was concerned that she did not always manage to live up to her own standards of fidelity (Bruce, 1903: 40; Swanwick, 1905: XXXII). Despite this emphasis on faithfulness to the original, which was a concern shared by Sarah Austin, Swanwick's translation of the passage from *Faust* referred to above is less Germanic in its character. Partly because of its rhymed verses, the foreignness of the passage does not 'shine through' to the same extent as in Sarah Austin's version of the text, even though Swanwick took care to ensure that the pantheistic beliefs and philosophical concepts of the monologue, which will be discussed further in the next chapter, remain uncorrupted by the cultural and religious traditions of her own country. Her 1846 version of the passage in question reads as follows:

Him who dare name?
And who proclaim,
Him I believe?
Who that can feel,
His heart can steel,
To say: I believe him not?
The All-embracer,
All-sustainer,
Holds and sustains he not
Thee, me, himself?
Lifts not the Heaven its dome above?
Doth not the firm-set earth beneath us lie?
And beaming tenderly with looks of love,
Climb not the everlasting stars on high?
Do we not gaze into each other's eyes?
Nature's impenetrable agencies,
Are they not thronging on thy heart and brain,
Viewless, or visible to mortal ken,
Around thee weaving their mysterious chain?
Fill thence thy heart, how large soe'er it be;

And in the feeling when thou utterly art blest,
Then call it, what thou wilt,
Call it Bliss! Heart! Love! God!
I have no name for it!
'Tis feeling all;
Name is but sound and smoke
Shrouding the glow of heaven. (Swanwick, 1905: 122)

In trying to draw a conclusion from the foregoing considerations, several predominant aspects have to be taken into account. The women, dealt with in this chapter, especially those who made translation rather than creative writing their primary occupation, had trained themselves for a profession. In most cases this training involved spending a considerable amount of time abroad and enabled them to earn their own living. What is more, female translators were neither mute nor transparent but fully aware of the power of their mediating role. For they themselves chose the texts they wished to make known in their own country, connected their name with them and to a certain extent recreated them, thereby following their own taste. Some of them even favoured ways of translation in which they could emphasise their own presence by using language specifically created for the purpose. Many of the female translators engaged in professional discussion and referred to one another. The exchange of ideas with their respective mentors and their suggestions to publishers are reflected in private and frequently unpublished manuscript letters and, as a result, escaped public recognition in many cases. On the other hand, the fact that translators dedicated parts of their prefaces to reflecting on their own methodology can be interpreted as an unobtrusive and quiet demand for public recognition and space of their own on a printed page. And yet, going back to our starting point, we have to admit that the question whether nineteenth-century female translators actually 'killed the Angel' has not yet been answered. For as much as they asserted themselves in the ways explored in this chapter, they neutralised their own deeds by almost stabbing themselves in the back. The case of Sarah Austin epitomises this 'schizophrenia' in a lucid manner. She wrote illuminating, well-informed prefaces containing valuable reflections on translation and expressed a preference for a literal, at times foreignising, mode of translation, which she put into practice in some of her own work. At the same time, it will be demonstrated in chapter 6 that she was not always the subservient mediator she pretended to be. Her translation of PücklerMuskau's *Briefe eines Verstorobenen* (*Letters of a Dead Man)* will show

that she was quite capable of bowdlerising and blue-pencilling a foreign text, when she disagreed with its contents or questioned its moral standards. Despite the liberties she thus took, despite the essays she wrote for the periodical press, and despite the prefaces she appended to her own translations, Austin was, as we have seen, at pains to uphold that she was incapable of creative authorship, lacked judgement and could not express her own independent opinions. Ironically, she could not have verbalised her attitude in a more imaginative way than by claiming that she had to 'secure herself behind inverted commas'.

The paradoxes gape and may appear as blatant contradictions. Nevertheless, it is the genre of translation which reunites them. For translation can be interpreted as both reproductive and creative, as a secondary and as an original activity at the same time (Chamberlain, 1988: 470). Even though its reproductive traits may be associated with a female role, which is probably one of the reasons for the high proportion of female translators in the nineteenth century, they represent only one side of its spectrum. In *The Ear of the Other* Derrida remarks that

> the woman translator . . . is not simply subordinated, she is not the author's secretary. She is also the one who is loved by the author and on whose basis alone writing is possible. Translation is writing; that is, it is not translation only in the sense of transcription. It is a productive writing called forth by the original text (Derrida, 1988: 153).

It is this other side of the spectrum, however, which was rejected so vehemently by some of the women we have looked at. Owing to its double-edged nature, translation allowed them to be evasive about their own principles. Had they not had that option, they would probably have refused to partake in any kind of literary activity. Translation allowed them to serve two masters at a time: the role expectations imposed by a predominantly male society and their own desire to communicate the ideas they wished to promote.

In the light of these ideas, one last attempt should be made to answer the question whether nineteenth-century female translators killed Virginia Woolf's 'Angel'. Woolf had to kill because she wanted to create. She described 'killing the Angel', or in other words breaking with a tradition, as a necessary prerequisite for being able to write. If we assume that the translators in question also killed that angel, we shall have to argue that they have accomplished the deed in disguise, probably protected by a shield of 'inverted commas' and without ever

admitting it. Even though this argument is feasible, it will never be possible to gather enough evidence to prove it. The only thing we positively know is that women like Sarah Austin or the Winkworth sisters had no wish to kill in order to create. In his essay 'Living on' Derrida makes the following statement about translation:

> *Übersetzung* and 'translation' overcome, equivocally, in the course of an equivocal combat, the loss of an object. A text lives only if it lives *on* [*sur-vit*] and it lives *on* only if it is *at once* translatable *and* untranslatable (always 'at once . . . and . . .': *hama*, at the 'same' time). Totally translatable, it disappears as a text, as writing, as a body of language [*langue*]. Totally untranslatable, even within what is believed to be one language, it dies immediately. Thus triumphant translation is neither the life nor the death of the text, only or already its living *on*, its life after life, its life after death. The same thing will be said of what I call writing, mark, trace, and so on. It neither lives nor dies; it lives *on*. And it 'starts' only with living on (testament, iterability, remaining [*restance*], crypt, detachment that lifts the strictures of the 'living' *rectio* or direction of an 'author' not drowned at the edge of his text) (Derrida, 1979: 102-03).

Translation is thus defined as a mode in which killing and creating may take place simultaneously and not in succession. Virginia Woolf killed *before* she created, whereas translators partly kill w*hile* they create. Derrida defines translation as neither life nor death; it is life after life as much as it is life after death. Had Sarah Austin killed Virginia Woolf's 'Angel', she would have killed twice, and it is unlikely that she did that. However, she, too, killed once, not by actively deciding to do so, but by choosing a medium which committed the crime for her, a medium which can accommodate life and death at the same time and which gave her the freedom to kill and create simultaneously.

Notes

1. Elizabeth Eastlake (née Rigby) also grew up in Norwich. She acquired a thorough knowledge of German during a sojourn in Heidelberg in the years 1827-29. Her translation of Gustav Friedrich Waagen's *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* was published in 1854. In 1887 she translated Alois Leonhard Brandl's *Samuel Taylor Coleridge and the English Romantic School* and in 1874 Franz Theodor Kugler's *Handbook of Painting: the Italian Schools.* In addition, she published a biography of Mrs Grote in 1880. Like Sarah Austin, she maintained close contacts to John Murray who published many of her books.

2. Edith Simcox was passionately devoted to George Eliot. Her unreciprocated admiration for the author is recorded in her unpublished journal *Autobiography of a Shirtmaker* (begun in 1876) and her *Episodes in the Lives of Men, Women and Lovers* (1882).

3. Mary Anne Burts dates could not be traced. Her *Specimens of the Choicest Lyrical Productions of the Most Celebrated German Poets* was reviewed by George Eliot in the *Leader* in 1855 (Eliot, 1963b).

4. The author and translator Anna Brownell Jameson spent a considerable amount of time in the period between 1833 and 1836 in Germany and corresponded extensively with Ottilie von Goethe. Her translation of Princess Amelia of Saxony's dramas was published in 1840 under the title of *Social Life in Germany.*

5. Mary Howitt commenced writing her well-known tales for children in 1837. While residing in Heidelberg in 1840 her attention was directed to Scandinavian literature. Despite the fact that she became most famous for the translation of Frederika Bremers novels between 1842 and 1863 and the English rendition of many of Hans Andersen's tales, she also undertook some translations from the German. Among them are C. Stoeber's *The Curate's Favourite Pupil* (1844), Henriette von Paalzow's *The Citizen of Prague* (1846), Adalbert Stifter's *Pictures of Life* (1847) and Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer's *Behind the Counter* (1879).

6. Jane Sinnett reviewed widely in the periodical press. Her translations from the German include J. G. Fichte's *The Destination of Man* (1846), I. Pfeiffer's *A Lady's Voyage round the World* (1851) and *A Lady's Second Jouney round the World* (1855), A. L. von Rochau's *Wanderings through the Cities of Italy 1850 and 1851* (1853), B. Moellhausens *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific* (1858), as well as J. G. Kohl's *Travels in Canada* (1861). She was also known for her English renderings of French texts.

7. Before she married Charles Hennell in 1843, Rufa Brabant translated a considerable amount of the first volume of the fourth edition of David Friedrich Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu* into English. In 1843 the project was taken over by George Eliot (Eliot, 1954: 1, 171).

8. Frederica Maclean Rowan translated from the Swedish and the German. Her English rendering of Wilhelm Dilthey's *The Life of Schleiermacher, as Unfolded in his Autobiography and Letters* was published in 1860. She also dealt with German political pamphlets and did work for the public departments. Her most noteworthy translation were selections from the religious meditations in J.H.D. Zschokke's *Stunden der Andacht* (1809-16), which were published in Britain in two volumes in 1862 and 1863.

9. Apart from being an author in her own right, Jane Francisca Wilde, the mother of Oscar Wilde, translated from the German and French. Her English renderings of Wilhelm Meinhold's *Sidonia the Sorceress* and Marie Schwab's *The First Temptation* were published in 1849 and 1863 respectively.

10. Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett specialized in German works on art history by J.W.A. von Eckhardt, W. Lübke, A.F.G.A. Woltmann and H.F. Grimm. Her other translation work includes Georg Gottfried Gervinus' *Shakespeare Commentaries* (1863), Berthold Auerbach's ()*n the Heights* (1867) and Friedrich Heinrich Karl La Motte Fouqués *Undine* (1867).

11. Mathilde Blind was born in Mannheim. Her father Karl Blind was conspicuous in the Baden insurrection of 1848-49 and the family was forced into English exile after the suppression of the revolutionary movement. Blind, however, maintained her contacts with the Continent, which gave her wide-ranging work an especially cosmopolitan character. Probably inspired by George Eliot, she undertook the translation of David Friedrich Strauss' *The Old Faith and the New* in 1873-74. In 1883 she became the first biographer of George Eliot, and in 1886 she wrote a book about Madame Roland.

12. Eleanor Marx, daughter of Karl Marx, was one of the most prominent figures of British socialism. She translated Georgii Plekhanov's *A narchism and Socialism* and Eduard Bernstein's *Ferdinad Lasalle as a Social Reformer* from the German, Prosper Olivier Lissagaray's *History of the Commuune of 1871* and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* from the French and learned Norwegian in order to be able to translate Ibsen's *Enemy of the People.* See also Simon (1996: 67-68) and Ashton (1986) for information on German exiles in Victorian England.

13. An example for this case are the translations from the French in *Fraser's Magazine* by George Henry Lewes' wife Agnes, which in some years contributed significantly to the family's income (Ashton, 1991: 36, 52, 65). Ashton (1991: 41) also draws our attention to Agnes' expertise in German.

14. For similar ideas in connection with Margaret Fuller's translation of Tasso around 1833 see Zwarg (1990: 463-71). On the analogy between matrimony and translation, see Johnson (1985: 142-43).

15. For similar ideas, see Hannay (1985: 9, 109, 115). For a compilation of more nineteenth-century female hymn translators, see Leaver (1978: 6).

16. Sarah Austin to John Blackwood, 24 September 1848, MS National Library of Scotland, 4082 f.77.

17. Sarah Austin to Jane Welsh Carlyle, December 1832, MS National Library of Scotland, 1774 f.32.

18. Sarah Austin to Gladstone, 27 May 1839, MS British Library, 44356, fol.275v.

19. Sarah Austin to Lord Brougham, 12 October 1859; MS University College London, Brougham Papers, 26,545.

20. Drawing on my earlier work on female translators (Stark, 1993), von Flotow (1997: 71) refers to this passage in her unfortunately distorted survey of research on nineteenth-century women translators.

21. Julius Hare to William Whewell, 12 November 1843; MS Trinity College, Cambridge, Whewell Papers: Add.MS.a.771136,11.

22. Whewell to Hare, 10 November 1843; MS Trinity College, Cambridge, Whewell Papers: Add.MS.a.215[71,1]. Thomas Carlyle, too, stated in 1841 that Sarah Austin was the 'established hand' for translations from the German. (Carlyle, 1987: 145)

23. Ludwig Noiré to Max Müller, 15 October 1878; the quotation is my own translation from a manuscript letter in the Bodleian Library, Max Müller Papers, MS. Germ. c. 33, f.245v; for greater clarity, I have inserted inverted commas into the text.

> Nun sprachen wir von der Schwierigkeit, einen guten Übersetzer zu finden. 'Ich kenne jemanden,' sagt er, 'eine Mib Simcox, die schon unsere deutschen philosophischen Schriften üübersetzt hat. Über-

> haupt habe ich mit meiner philosophischen Bibliothek ein sehr gutes Geschäft gemacht. Das wäre also die richtige Ubersetzerin. . . . Sie hat in letzter Zeit "Hartmann's Philosophic des Unbewubten" übersetzt.' 'Wie können Sie denn,' sagte ich, 'solchen Schwindel, der seinen Erfolg seinem Zynismus verdankt, in Ihren Verlag aufnehmen?' 'Das thut nichts,' sagt er, 'die Engländer und Amerikaner sind nur gierig darauf, und so wird dabei ein schÖn Stück Geld verdient. Übrigens hat mir Miß Simcox, nachdem sie etwa ein Viertel übersetzt hatte, abgeschrieben. Sie könne für diese Schrift keine Sympathie fassen, sie handle gegen ihre Überzeugung, und sie wolle lieber auf das ihr bereits bezahlte Honorar ganz verzichten, als die Übersetzung weiterführen.' Das letztere hat mich für die Dame sehr eingenommen, und ich habe dem Trübner gesagt, er möge ihr den Artikel vorlegen, ich bin überzeugt, daß sie daran Freude finden wird.

Eduard von Hartmann (1842-1906) was a pessimistic philosopher. His *Philosophy of the Unconscious,* which brought him prompt and widespread recognition, was published in 1869 and eventually translated in 1884 by William Chatterton Coupland (1838-1915). The latter was professor of Mental and Moral Science at Bedford College for Women from 1881 to 1886 and acted as the first secretary of the English Goethe Society from 1886 to 1890.

24. Müller to Noiré, 7 January 1879; MS Bodleian Library, Max Müller Papers, MS. Germ. c. 33, f.295v.

25. Many of these letters are unpublished and are held in the Archives of John Murray, Publisher, in London.

26. Sarah Austin to John Murray, 25 December 1830, MS Murray Archives.

27. See also Sarah Austin to John Murray, 26 December 1834, MS Murray Archives.

28. Her translation of this text was eventually printed in 1981.

29. For Drydens ideas Sarah Austin refers her readers to Johnson (1877: 81). Dryden's own more elaborate statements can be found in the preface to *Ovid's Epistles* (1680; Dryden, 1900a).

30. The essay she refers to is 'Blüthenstaub', originally published in 1798 in the *Athenaeum* and reprinted in Störig (1963: 33).

31. The German original is reprinted in Störig (1963: 35):

> Es gibt zwei Übersetzungsmaximen: die eine verlangt, daß der Autor einer fremden Nation zu uns herüber gebracht werde, dergestalt, daß wir ihn als den Unsrigen ansehen können; die andere hingegen macht an uns die Forderung, daß wir uns zu dem Fremden hinüber begeben und uns in seine Zustände, seine Sprachweise, seine Eigenheiten finden sollen. Die Vorzüge von beiden sind durch musterhafte Beispiele allen gebildeten Menschen genugsam bekannt.

32. For further information on Goethe and Dryden, see also G. Steiner (1975: 255-60).

33. Sarah Austin to John Murray, 29 April 1834; MS letter in the Murray Archives, London.

34. The German original is reprinted in Austin (1833a: 1, 265-66):

Wer darf Ihn nennen?
Und wer bekennen:
Ich glaub' Ihn.
Wer empfinden
Und sich unterwinden
Zu sagen: ich glaub' Ihn nicht?
Der Allumfasser,
Der Allerhalter,
Fasst und erhalt er nicht
Dich, mich, sich selbst?
Wölbt sich der Himmel nicht da droben?
Liegt die Erde nicht hierunten fest?
Und steigen freundlich blickend
Ewige Sterne nicht hier auf?
Schau' ich nicht Aug' in Auge dir,
Und drängt nicht alles
Nach Haupt und Herzen dir,
Und webt in ewigem Geheimniss
Unsichtbar sichtbar neben dir?
Erfüll' davon dein Herz, so gross es ist,
Und wenn du ganz in dem Gefühle selig bist,
Nenn' es dann wie du willst,
Nenn's Glück! Herz! Liebe! Gott!
Ich habe keinen Namen
Dafir! Gefüihl ist alles;
Name ist Schall und Rauch,
Umnebelnd Himmelsgluth.

35. Schleiermacher's essay is reprinted in Störig (1963: 38-70).

> Entweder der Uebersezer läßt den Schriftsteller möglichst in Ruhe, und bewegt den Leser ihm entgegen; oder er läßt den Leser möglichst in Ruhe und bewegt den Schriftsteller ihm entgegen. Beide sind so gäinzlich von einander verschieden, daaß durchaus einer von beiden so streng als nöglich muß verfolgt werden, aus jeder Vermischung aber ein höchst unzuverlässiges Resultat nothwendig hervorgeht, und zu besorgen ist daß Schriftsteller und Leser sich gänzlich verfehlen. (Störig, 1963: 47)

36. The German original of this passage is reprinted in Störig (1963: 38-39):

> Die Thatsache, daß eine Rede aus einer Sprache in die andere übertragen wird, kommt uns unter den mannigfaltigsten Gestalten überall entgegen. Wenn auf der einen Seite dadurch Menschen in Bertihrung kommen können, welche ursprünglich vielleicht um den Durchmesser der Erde von einander entfernt sind; . . . so dürfen wir auf der andern Seite nicht einmal über das Gebiet eineSprache hinausgehen, um dieselbe Erscheinung anzutreffen. . . . Ja, sind wir nicht häufig genöthiget, uns die Rede eines anderen, der ganz unseres gleichen ist aber von anderer Sinnes- und Gemüthsart, erst zu iibersezen? Wenn wir nämlich fühlen, daß dieselben Worte in unserm Munde einen ganz anderen Sinn oder wenigstens hier einen

> stärkeren, dort einen schwächeren Gehalt haben würden als in dem seinigen, und daß, wenn wir dasselbe, was er meint ausdrükken wollten, wir nach unserer Art uns ganz anderer Wörter und Wendungen bedienen würden: so scheint, indem wir uns dies Gefühl näher bestimmen, und es uns zum Gedanken wird, daß wir übersezen. Ja, unsere eigene Reden müssen wir bisweilen nach einiger Zeit übersezen, wenn wir sie uns recht wieder aneignen wollen.

In the twentieth century Roman Jakobson pointed to a similar parallel between three modes of translation. He distinguished between 'intralingual translation or *rewording,* which he defined as 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language', 'interlingual translation or *translation proper,* i.e. 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language', and 'intersemiotic translation or *transmutation',* i.e. 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems' (Jakobson, 1959: 233).

Chapter 3
From Portrait-Painting to Daguerreotyping: Notions of Fidelity in Nineteenth-Century Translation

As we have seen in the last chapter, the translators and their critics were concerned about how the gap between a foreign text and its recipients could be overcome. One of the problems which has arisen from the foregoing considerations is whether the reader of a translation should be moved towards the author of the original, or whether the foreign author should be moved towards the reader. In other words, we have to address the question whether the translation of a foreign text is a reader-oriented or an author-oriented undertaking. Schleiermacher was at pains to emphasise that one of the parties involved must not be shifted, at all. He argued that the passage of information from one language into another was likely to break down if both, author and reader, attempted to leave their place and tried to meet in the middle, since they ran the risk of speaking past each other. These conditions, however, attribute to the translator the role of a 'vehicle', a vehicle which can transport its 'wares' by taking opposite and mutually exclusive directions. Only a few months before Schleiermacher, Goethe used exactly the same imagery of transport and movement, but it is not clear whether Schleiermacher knew Goethe's essay 'Zu brüderlichem Andenken Wielands', where these ideas are explored (Huyssen, 1969: 51-52) Sarah Austin, as we have seen, understood Goethe's argument as a justification for taking the readers of a foreign text 'abroad' and even approved of introducing foreign elements into the English language in order to achieve her goal. She also made it quite clear that, in so doing, she was breaking with the tradition of Dryden and Pope, who had brought the foreign author 'home' to the English reader. Austin thus distanced herself from the conventions that dominated the translation practice of her

own country and, interestingly enough, did so by referring her readers to the foreign authority of Goethe. In the following considerations, an attempt will be made to explore the extent to which Sarah Austin's views were representative of early nineteenth-century ideas of translation. For this purpose, it will also be crucial to clarify to what extent Goethe's essay was known and referred to in England and why his ideas were considered to be so innovative.

When Max Müller delivered his inaugural lecture as the first president of the English Goethe Society in 1886, he chose to speak about Goethe and Carlyle. In particular, he focused on Goethe's concept of *Weltliteratur*. The idea of a world literature is alluded to at many points in Goethe's work, amongst others in the introduction to the German translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* (Müller, 1886: 5). Goethe felt that a true poet, historian or philosopher should not be restricted by national borders. He should not only belong to his own country but to the world at large. *Weltliteratur,* accordingly, was a cosmopolitan concept for Goethe, which established links between different national literatures and aimed at an exchange of ideas. 1 In order to substantiate this point, Müller quoted extensively from the then unpublished correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle. He had unearthed several letters to Carlyle in Goethe's estate in Weimar, which later formed the basis of Goethe's short review of Carlyle's *German Romance*. The following quotation may illustrate his notion of universality:

> It is obvious that for a long time the efforts of the best poets and aesthetic writers throughout the world have been directed towards what is universal, and common to all mankind. In every single work, be it historical, mythological, fabulous, more or less arbitrarily conceived, we shall see the universal more and more showing and shining through what is merely national and individual. (Müller, 1886:15)

It is hardly surprising that translators should play a prominent role in what Goethe described as a universal system of intellectual 'free-trade without boundaries'. In so doing, he deployed an image relating to the language of trade and commerce. As we have seen above, Sarah Austin, in one of her Ranke prefaces, also referred her readers to Goethe's description of the translator as a 'broker' or trader in a world of spiritual and intellectual 'commerce', as one who makes it his business to advance the exchange of commodities (Austin, 1840: I, IV). However, Max Müller translated a larger portion of Goethe's review and, as a result, took his audience beyond Austin's conclusion:

> For, say what we will of the inadequacy of translation, it always will be among the weightiest and worthiest factors in the world's affairs.
>
> The Koran says that God has given each people a prophet in his own tongue. Each translator is also a prophet to his people. The effects of Luther's translation of the Bible have been immeasurable, though criticism has been at work picking holes in it to the present day. What is the enormous business of the Bible Society but to make known the Gospel to every nation in its own tongue? (Müller, 1886: 16)

The fact that Sarah Austin propagated Goethe's ideas at the beginning and Max Müller towards the end of the nineteenth century suggests that he was widely acknowledged as an influential authority on translation throughout this period. What is more, Austin and Carlyle praised his theory as a departure from eighteenth-century English translation practice, which initiated a new phase in the history of translation. Both, Austin and Carlyle, wished to distance themselves from most of their predecessors. In an unpublished review of Abraham Hayward's 1833 translation of *Faust,* Carlyle wrotein an almost prophetic tone that a new era in British translation was about to begin. His criticism of the technique of imitation, to which so many of his fellow countrymen had subscribed, deserves to be quoted in some length:

> British Translation is among the worst of all spiritual products on the face of this globe; how to contradict it, that with the single exception of our English Bible there is no good Translation of importance in our language. In fact, the whole principle spirit [is] wrong for this best of all reasons that it is simply not true. An Interpreter, one would think, were either one that explained (stood true) (exhibited) his original; or else were Nothing whatever. But with us the strangest idea has got abroad that we stand truest to the foreign Original, by clipping and torturing [,] by dy[e]ing and dizening it to look something like a native! Pope's *Belle Infidele* [beautiful unfaithful] might be tolerated as a Hetaera: but so many thousand thousand [sic!] altogether *un*lovely jilts (wretched trulls & trollops offensive to eye and to nose) are melancholy proof to what length we have carried it. So far as we know this inconsiderable volume is the first English one in which the true principle of Translation has been fairly avowed and acted on: this namely that before all other considerations, the first second and third requisite (to which *all* others must be sacrificed) is closeness, utmost possible resemblance. (Carlyle, 1977: 382-83)

Goethe did contribute substantially new aspects to the contemporary discussion about translation techniques by introducing a two-fold temporal dimension to it. Firstly, he argued that a text can benefit from being translated into another language, since translation can be regarded as a way of reviving it. In other words, translation was perceived as a means of providing a text with an 'afterlife' in different temporal and spatial circumstances. At the same time, Goethe created a notion of textual transformation by introducing a second temporal dimension, when he described the three stages which translation history underwent. An interlinear phase was followed by a freer, more imitative approach, and in the third stage translation returned to a more literal mode in which the antithesis between literal and free renderings of foreign texts was resolved. 2 However, these three phases did not necessarily follow each other in a consecutive sequence but were found to repeat themselves in various combinations, as well as to coexist simultaneously In this way Goethe introduced a dynamic notion into the history of translation which facilitated a movement and exchange between different concepts. He saw himself on the verge of entering what he described as the third stage and was thus responsible for initiating a new phase himself. Why was it then that English translators were so keen to adopt his ideas, and what was it that they wished to leave behind?

Eighteenth-century thinking about translation in England was dominated by John Dryden's extended prefaces to his renderings of Latin texts, in which he produced the largest body of discourse on translation available in his time (Dryden, 1680, 1685, 1697, 1700). These statements, which were much quoted and discussed, constituted the basis on which many historians attributed to Dryden the merit of having laid down the laws of English translation (T.R. Steiner, 1975: 1). In the first preface to his translation of *Ovid's Epistles,* Dryden attempted to distance himself from two of his predecessors, namely John Denham (1615-69) and Abraham Cowley (1618-67). Denham expressed his views on translation in 'To Sir Richard Fanshaw upon his Translation of Pastor Fido' (1648) and his preface to *The Destruction of Troy* (1656). Cowley's opinion on the subject can be found in the preface to his Pindarique Odes (1656) (T.R. Steiner, 1975: 63-67). Both translators favoured a free reconstruction of the foreign text as opposed to a 'blueprint' of the original. They argued that a copy will, by definition, always display deficiencies and be inferior to the original, whilst an imitation can actually surpass the beauty of the original. Accordingly, the translator should be allowed to take the liberty of adding to the foreign text or changing it according to

the taste of contemporary preferences; that is to say, since the spirit of poetry in one language is always in danger of 'evaporating', one should attempt to 'pour it into another language' (Denham, 1975b: 65). Dryden rejected his predecessors' mimetic mode of translation and was concerned about the liberties which such translation might take. He compared the translator to a painter who should not alter 'features and lineaments' copied from real life in order to improve his picture (Dryden, 1900a: 242). Proposing a new method of rendering texts in a foreign language which was, however, at the same time opposed to extreme literalism, Dryden attempted to find a midway solution between strict adherence to the original on the one hand and too great poetic licence on the other. In a subsequent preface, he took the analogy between translating and painting even further:

> For after all, a translator is to make his author appear as charming as possibly he can, provided he maintains his character, and makes him not unlike himself. Translation is a kind of drawing after the life; where every one will acknowledge there is a double sort of likeness, a good one and a bad. 'Tis one thing to draw the outlines true, the features like, the proportions exact, the colouring itself perhaps tolerable; and another thing to make all these graceful, by the posture, the shadowings, and, chiefly by the spirit which animates the whole. (Dryden, 1900b: 252-53)

As we have seen, Dryden's view of translation is profoundly ambivalent, since it allows the translator the freedom of 'shadowing' and 'colouring' within what Dryden himself considered to be the constraints of life-drawing. [3] He saw himself as a translator who departed from his predecessors by criticising them for the amount of freedom they allowed themselves when copying the original. The nineteenth-century view of Dryden was, however, that of a neo-classical translator who in turn compounded the errors of his predecessors. Dryden's famous dictum that a translator should try to render his author as if the latter had written in eighteenth-century England, which can, for example, be found in the preface to his translation of *Ovid's Epistles,* was frequently quoted and condemned by his successors (Dryden, 1900a: 239). Pope was treated in a similar fashion. He, too, denounced the liberties of some of his predecessors and condemned their aspirations 'of raising and improving their Author' (Pope, 1975: 91). However, as we have seen, Austin rejected Pope's Homer as a 'cheat' for having fallen into precisely this trap (Austin, 1833a: I, XXXIV). That is to say, the temporal and spatial displacement of an original was regarded as intolerable and to be overcome at all cost.

Sarah Austin's views are upheld in twentieth-century criticism. For Pope is still frequently depicted as turning 'Homer into an Augustan gentleman', thus replacing hexameters by heroic couplets for an eighteenth-century readership (Mason, 1972: 42). Some aspects of Homer's poem, like the problems of leadership and the position of the king, play a more central role in Pope's version than they do in the original (Knight, 1959: 202). Another example for such a transformation of Homer's meaning is the fact that Pope felt the need to deliver a more exalted picture of the gods of the *Iliad*. Influenced by the Christian world picture of his own culture, he 'Miltonized' wherever he could in order to 'save the faces of the Olympians' (Mason, 1972: 53). At no point does Pope appear to succumb to the authority of a dictionary, and it is for this reason that his adaptations frequently turn into parody and that his translation soon began to date.

The fact that many nineteenth-century translators invoked the foreign authority of Goethe for their own purposes is by no means self-evident. For the belief that translation could be an 'exploitation' of the original source with the liberty of adapting the original to the requirements of the translator's own time and country, was not a notion which remained unassailed even among Pope's successors in his own country (Schulte and Biguenet, 1992: 3). One example for this critical attitude can be found in the work of William Cowper who also denounced Pope's translation of Homer. In an essay on Homer, he accused Pope of distorting his author's sense. Even though he did not deny that Pope's 'flowers are beautiful', Cowper described them as 'modern discoveries . . . of English growth'. He argued further that Pope's *Iliad* and his *Odyssey* had 'no more of the air of antiquity than if he had himself invented them' and thus described the lack of distance between the English readership and the original text as the reason for the failure of Pope's undertaking (Cowper, 1986: 54). [4] Another theorist to whom nineteenth-century translators might have looked for guidance was Alexander Fraser Tytler (1747-1813). His *Essay on the Principles of Translation,* first published in 1791 with a second edition in 1797, was the first English attempt to write a fulllength study of translation theory. The strength of Tytler's approach lies not so much in his attempt to contribute an original method of his own, but rather in his systematic survey of the history of translation in England. This undertaking suffered from a number of defects which arose from the vagueness of Tytler's four rules formulated for rendering texts from one language into another. First, he maintained that a translation should provide a complete 'transcript' of the ideas of the original work. Secondly, the style and manner of a translation

should be of a similar character to that of the original. Thirdly, a translation should have all the ease of the original, and finally the 'genius' of the translator should be akin to that of the original author (Tytler, 1978: 17, 109, 209, 371). The general nature of these rules was, of course, open to widely diverging readings (Amos, 1920: X-XI). For example, Tytler pointed to the potentially negative side-effects of Dryden's method and criticised him for his emulation of the fluidity of verse. In the same chapter, however, he also disagreed with the Earl of Roscommon's viewas expounded in his *Essay on Translated Verse* (1684)in which he defended the attitude:

> Your Author alwayes will the best advise: *Fall* when *He falls;* and when *He Rises, Rise.* (T.R. Steiner, 1975: 80) 5

In this context, Tytler argued that a translator should never let his author suffer but should go so far as to rewrite the text when the original is in serious danger of 'falling too low' (Tytler, 1978: 77-79). The contradiction inherent in these two statements is symptomatic of the scholarly debate concerning translation in the eighteenth century. Rules were formulated in such general terms, and prefaces were open to such a wide spectrum of interpretations that the result was often a vague multiplicity of meaning, which failed to provide clear guidance (TR. Steiner, 1975: 33).

As noted above, it appears to be the case that the nineteenth-century translators with whom we are concerned wished to break away from the discourse that dominated the discussion of translation in their own country. Even though they could have found ideas similar to those of Goethe in authors such as Tytler and Cowper, they chose instead to turn to the theoretical tradition of a different country. In order to account for this, we must, of course, take into consideration that all the translators dealt with here were able to read German in the original. It seems very likely that Goethe's ideas became common knowledge through the mediation of Carlyle and Sarah Austin. Other authors exploring similar ideas, such as Friedrich Schleiermacher or Wilhelm von Humboldt, were as yet untranslated and therefore only accessible to those who had a knowledge of German. For example, in order to establish that Schleiermacher's ideas about translation were known in England, we are compelled to rely on the extremely rare and privately printed Winkworth correspondence, even though it is clear that his theological works were more widely known.6 In the case of other key texts it is even harder to know how much recognition in England they gained at the time. Wilhelm von Humboldt constitutes a prime example of this phenomenon. Like

Schleiermacher, Humboldt argued that literal translations not only enriched one's native language but also one's own culture. In the introduction to his *Agamemnon,* he argued that this goal could only be achieved when a translation had a certain degree of 'foreign flavour' to it:

> As long as one does not feel the foreignness (*Fremdheit*) yet does feel the foreign (*Fremde*) a translation has reached its highest goal; but where foreignness appears as such, and more than likely even obscures the foreign, the translator betrays his inadequacy. (Humboldt, 1992: 58) 7

Schleiermacher, too, in his 1813 essay, to which Susanna and Catherine Winkworth were referred, defended the necessity of a separate language for translation. He argued that the structure of a language played a formative role for any author who wished to express his ideas in that language. Translating an author into the register he would have used had the target language been available to him was, in Schleiermacher's opinion, an absurdity which defeated the original purpose of translation. For had the author had access to the target language, he might well have expressed completely different ideas. Without explicitly referring to Dryden, Schleiermacher ridiculed his method of 'disguising' the foreign author as a 'native' on the grounds that this was like asking what an author would have looked like, had his mother 'conceived him with another father' (Schleiermacher, 1963: 43, 64-65; 1977: 71, 85; see also Chapter 2, pp. 52 and 62-63). Translation in these Romantic hermeneutic texts was thus, in the first instance, perceived as an interaction of two disparate languages. As a result, the target language was enriched by elements derived from the source language. The cultivation of the discrepancy between the source and the target language, which may, at times, result in the usage of a separate language for translation, is therefore, according to Schleiermacher, what the translator should be aiming for, and it was precisely this set of ideas which was so gratefully taken up by some of the above-mentioned translators (Schleiermacher, 1963: 51; 1977: 76).

The idea of a separate 'sub-language' for translation, occasionally imbued with foreign elements, has frequently been described as an idea rooted specifically in the German Romantic movement. By contrast, the English and French tradition, influenced by Dryden and D'Alembert, were designed to 'domesticate' foreign texts for their readers (Paulin, 1991: 254). The German approach, though itself subject to shifts in translation paradigms (Robinson, 1991: XV 66, 68), was thus

fundamentally different from two of the most important literary cultures with which it interacted and, what is more, there was a distinct awareness of this methodological discrepancy in all three countries. For, as we have seen, Carlyle commented on this topic in his 1833 review of Hayward's prose translation of *Faust*. In the same piece he rejected Leveson Gower's verse rendering, which he deemed to be the worst English version of the drama. Whilst he acknowledged that a prose translation can be no more than 'the naked trunk and boughs, so rigid wintry-looking, without the green rustling balminess of leaves', Carlyle also maintained that Hayward's learned glosses and commentaries on the text furthered the understanding of the drama. He considered it to be an invaluable virtue of a prose translation 'that nothing n*ot* of the original *is* there' (Carlyle, 1977: 379-81). The views he expressed in 1833 also corroborated the opinions he propounded in 1827 in an essay entitled 'The State of German Literature', in which he argued:

> The Germans study foreign nations in a spirit which deserves to be oftener imitated. It is their honest endeavour to understand each, with its own peculiarities, in its own special manner of existing; . . . Of all literatures, accordingly, the German has the best as well as the most translations; men like Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Schlegel, Tieck, have not disdained this task. (Carlyle, 1899b: 55)

Likewise, in France, Mme de Staël made exactly the same point in her 1816 essay 'De l'esprit des traductions', when she criticised the French for shading everything they translated in their own colours (Staël, 1821: 330). Despite this insight Mme de Stael was, as we shall see, found guilty of precisely this vice by Sarah Austin. Austin herself asserted that the 'morality of translating has, unfortunately, been understood and practised by no people but the Germans, and it is time that the conscientious endeavour to understand and render an author should not be all on one side' (Austin, 1833a: I, 273; see also Austin, 1841: VII). What is more, in the preface to her translation of Ranke's *History of the' Popes* she observed that the French translator of this work disregarded the duties 'generally imperative on those who undertake to convey to one nation the thoughts which are embodied in the language of another'. Ranke, too, felt that his work had been misrepresented 'after the unconscientious treatment it has received at the hands of a catholicising French translator' of a sectarian tendency and believed that Sarah Austin's scrupulous fidelity could rehabilitate his reputation for impartiality among his English readership (Austin,

1840: I, IV-VI). In Germany, August Wilhelm Schlegel observed the same phenomenon in his essay 'Der Wettstreit der Sprachen' ('Contest between Languages') (1789). This piece contains an amusing fictional dialogue in which a German and a Frenchman compare their respective languages in terms of their suitability for the purposes of translation. While the Germans are condemned for being Allerweltsübersetzer', that is people who translate everything without any selective discrimination whatsoever, the French are depicted as having a tendency to paraphrase and disguise. The German blames the narrow-minded nature of French education for being pleased only with that which is indigenous to French culture, whereas the end of the passage wittily suggests that unlimited education might hint at a lack of character, since it fails to establish any sense of self-identity. 8 Whatever conclusions one may wish to draw, all these examples suggest that the distinctly different approaches to foreign texts had profound cultural implications and that the German solution was opposed to both the French and the English mainstream tradition.

German Romantic ideas about translation with their respect for the 'otherness' of a foreign text were not only discussed but also applied by the circle of nineteenth-century translators under consideration. Whilst, as we have noted in Chapter 2, Sarah Austin was not accused of overstepping 'the limits which the most fastidious partisan of Dryden and Johnson's laws of translation could have laid down', Thomas Carlyle's 1824 translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* was in comparison considered to be of 'that Anglo-Teutonic style, which no scolding or admonition will ever make palatable to our prejudiced taste' (Merivale, 1833: 372, 403). As even a close look at the opening sentences of this novel suggests, Carlyle's rendering creates a distance between the English reader and the text with which he engages:

> The play was late in breaking up: old Barbara went more than once to the window, and listened for the sound of carriages. She was waiting for Mariana, her pretty mistress, who had that night, in the afterpiece, been acting the part of a young officer, to the no small delight of the public. (Carlyle, 1899a: 35)9

His word order frequently adheres to the Germanic pattern of the original, his vocabulary is unusual and can be perceived as part of a sub-language of translation. Sarah Austin's rendering of the *Faust* passage quoted in Chapter 2 also has foreignising features. It is, however, crucial to remember that she felt moved to provide her own English version of the text not only because she disliked Madame de Stal's and Leveson Gower's style, but also because she felt that both

had superimposed their own cultural values and thus failed to do justice to the contents of the original.

Austin suspected that one of the reasons for which Leveson Gower garbled and distorted Goethe's meaning was that he considered the author's pantheism to be irreverent. In proposing this idea, she provided her readers with a pattern behind a number of the translator's inaccuracies. In the first place, Leveson Gower eclipsed the first three lines of the monologue and started his rendering of this passage with Faust's second question:

> Who could himself compel
> To say he disbelieves
> The Being whose presence all must feel so well?

In so doing he changed the meaning of the whole paragraph because he deliberately disregarded Faust's inquisitive doubts about the existence of God which are so crucial to the whole drama (Austin, 1833a: I, 268-69). Leveson Gower also abhorred a pantheistic deity when he translated Allumfasser' as All-creator' and thus introduced a separation between God on the one hand and his creation on the other, whereas the very notion of a pantheistic god implies that he can be found everywhere in his creation (Austin, 1833a: I, 269). What is more, one might speculate about the question as to whether Leveson Gower's refusal to write about a god who sustains h*imself* can be explained on the grounds of suspected unorthodoxy. [10] Neither Sarah Austin, nor Ben Hayward and Anna Swanwick, who are not quoted in the *Characteristics of Goethe* saw a problem in maintaining the German reflexive pronoun. In Austin's eyes, Madame de Staël, too, spurned the character of the original at this and other points, even though she did not work under the constraints of verse translation.[11] Despite de Staël's proclaimed admiration for German translations, which has been referred to earlier in this chapter, Austin considered her French version of the passage to be as offensively inaccurate as Leveson Gower's. She pointed out to her readers that 'if the one is deadened by English one-sidedness, the other is made ridiculous by French affectation and *phrase's'* (Austin, 1833a: I, 271). For 'to fall into the hands of the French' in translations, she explained, is to succumb to formulaic expressions prescribed by the French rather than the cultural background of the original text. Faust has to speak in the *formulae* of the hero in love, even though this is not stipulated by the character and the contents of the original text (Austin, 1833a: I, 272-73). Austin did not refer to Hayward's prose translation of Faust which appeared in the same year as her *Characteristics of Goethe*. As Carlyle pointed out in his review,

Hayward's translation was a project which had been accompanied by a great deal of research (Carlyle, 1977: 381). This research was even made accessible to Hayward's readers through scholarly annotations which open up further meanings and different versions of the text almost like an entry of a dictionary (Hayward, 1855: XVI). In a footnote referring to the passage under consideration for example, he turned his readers' attention to a different version of the text which led him to the translation 'nature is sound and smoke' as opposed to 'name is sound and smoke' (Hayward, 1855: 194). 12

As these discussions in secondary discourse about translation show, German Romantic ideas with their tendency to 'move the reader towards the foreign author' and to allow the original text to 'shine through', made an impact in early nineteenth-century Britain which has hitherto been underestimated. There was unanimity in three countries that the German approach was distinctly different from both the English and the French, and it is significant that British translators specialising in German texts played an important role in questioning the tradition of domesticating foreign texts predominantly practised in their own country.13 Despite the fact that Schleiermacher's 1813 essay on the different methods of translation and Wilhelm von Humboldt's 1816 preface to his German rendering of *Agamemnemnon* were not available in English, these authors' opposition to a mimetic, paraphrasing approach to translation served as a direct or indirect inspiration to many of the translators under consideration. As we have seen in Chapter 2 (pp. 51-53), Susanna Winkworth was referred to Schleiermacher's ideas and, what is more crucial, Goethe's work was widely read in Germanophile circles in Britain. The third stage in the history of translation depicted in the *West-Eastern Divan,* with which Goethe associated his own time, entails a clear preference for an estranging mode in the transposition of foreign texts (cf. Chapter 2, pp. 49-50; Frey, 1997: 62). Goethe's influence is thus largely responsible for the fact that the concept of a faithful literalness which, at times even introduced foreign elements into one's own language, was discussed in British secondary discourse about translation, such as prefaces and periodical reviews. It would be presumptuous to argue that 'foreignising' translation strategies were broadly welcomed in Britain or replaced the firmly entrenched and widely approved domesticating, and at times appropriating, ideal of fluency (Venuti, 1995a: 23, 65, 76). Even Abraham Hayward, who found fault with the liberties some of his predecessors took in translating *Faust,* suggested that the German language was more suited to linguistic experiments than the English because of its greater 'pliancy and elasticity'

(Hayward, 1855: XIV). Despite this reluctance to change and overturn established practices, the extent to which Goethe's, Schleiermacher's and von Humboldt's ideas initiated a scrutiny of and challenge to the mainstream British cultural tradition of dealing with foreign writings should not be underestimated. This challenge is particularly significant because it was wrought by a relatively small group of intellectuals who turned abroad for theoretical guidance, even though they could also have unearthed similar alternative models to the cultural appropriation they wished to depart from within the framework of their own tradition in the writings of authors such as Tytler or Cowper.

There is no doubt that Carlyle has to be perceived as one of the most powerful advocates of the German approach. A considerable amount has been written about the eccentricities of Carlyle's style and the extent to which it played a functional role in his writings. Interestingly enough, many of Carlyle's contemporaries felt the need to coin the term 'Carlylese' in order to describe the fact that the author made the deliberate attempt to create a new language for his own purposes (Levine, 1968: 103-104). The *Oxford English Dictionary* also lists the term 'translationese' to describe a somewhat similar phenomenon, namely an occasionally unidiomatic, 'sub-language', specifically used for the purposes of translation and thus reflecting Goethe's and Schleiermacher's idea of 'moving the reader' towards the original text. Carlyle himself established a close link between the style and the content of his writings when he described the former as 'a skin verily a product and close kinsfellow of all that lies under it', 'an essential part of the living organisation'. However, John Sterling, against whom Carlyle was defending himself in making this statement, continued his attack by pointing out that he 'wished the skin were less "rhinoceros-like"' (Froude, 1884: I, 42, 53). Critics have argued that Carlyle's curious word-order can create tensions on the surface which frequently reflect the meaning of a passage. In the light of these observations, his language has been described as providing 'his contemporaries with the means of crossing limits' (Beer, 1989a: 82). Whatever one's opinion of the wild and at times chaotic energy of 'Carlylese' may be, it is certain that it alienated, and sometimes offended, English readers so much that they started to reconsider their own use of language. To a certain extent the effect Carlyle achieved was not unlike that of German translators when they tried to 'take their readers abroad' and thus detached them from their native context. In many cases, however, English readers felt themselves dutybound to fight the liberties that Carlyle took. J.A. Froude, for example, despite all his admiration for Carlyle, did not hesitate to let Max

Müller know that 'whatever Carlyle might venture on, [he, i.e. Max Müller] must not say "beautifuller" but "more beautiful", and that the less [he] talked of "infinite silences and eternal melodies" the better for [him]'. 14

The premise that style carries meaning is crucial to our discussion concerning translation theory. Dryden and Pope had tried to efface the style of the original and, as a consequence, often replaced an original old meaning with a new one. In the nineteenth century, however, a growing concern for the preservation of meaning and a regard for spatial and temporal distance emerged in the writings of various authors in England. Many of them were in touch with developments in German scholarship. Thomas Arnold's scruples about how translation should be taught to students are symptomatic of the new approach to the subject:

> I have had, and am having daily, so much practice in translation, and am taking so much pains to make the boys vary their language and their phraseology, according to the age and style of the writer whom they are translating, that I think I may be trusted for introducing no words or idiom unsuited to the general style of the present translation, nothing to lessen the purity of its Saxon, or to betray a modern interpolation. (Stanley, 1844: I, 334)15

Applying the historicist methods he had encountered in the writings of Niebuhr and Ranke (see Chapter 5), Arnold was concerned to observe and uphold the time-gap between an original and its translation, which especially in the case of classical texts must have seemed like an abyss. He explained his method in a letter to Justice Coleridge written in 1837:

> If I were to translate Herodotus, it were absurd to do it in my common English, because he and I do not belong to analogous periods of Greek and English literature; I should try to translate him in the style of the old translation of Comines rather than of Froissart; in the English of that period of our national cultivation which corresponds to the period of Greek cultivation at which he wrote. (Stanley, 1844: II, 100)

Thomas Arnold's educational influence and impact on many of his pupils should not be underestimated and his support for a new approach in dealing with foreign texts can be seen as a powerful incentive in questioning the tradition of Dryden and Pope.

Some twenty years later EW. Newman, who was influenced by the German approch to poetic translation, criticised Pope's rendering of

Homer on the grounds that it was a 'splendid piece of varnish' (Newman, 1856: V; Venuti, 1995a: 118). Distancing himself from traditional eighteenth-century metaphors of translation of his own country, Newman claimed that translations should be done 'on the principles rather of a daguerreo-typist, than of a fashionable portraitpainter', and thus aimed for total fidelity to be achieved (Newman, 1856: XIX). Newman described his own method as follows:

> I aim at precisely the opposite;to retain every peculiarity of the original, so far as I am able, *with the greater care, the more foreign it may happen to be,*whether it be matter of taste, of intellect, or of morals. And as regards the dogma itself, it seems to me about as reasonable as to say, that if a draughtsman executes drawings of Greek statuary, he should aim to pass the drawings off as actual statuary, or as something original from an English hand. Nay, but he distinctly wishes it never to be forgotten that he is imitating, and imitating in a different material. So also the English translator should desire the reader always to remember that his work is an imitation, and moreover is in a different material; that the original is foreign, and in many respects extremely unlike our native compositions. (Newman, 1856: XVI)

That is to say, he rejected the view that 'the reader ought, if possible, to forget that it is a translation at all, and be lulled into the illusion that he is reading an original work'. For, as he argued, a translator's primary duty was a historical one, namely fidelity to the original (Newman, 1856: XV-XVI). This fidelity could only be achieved if the translator successfully reproduced the same effect the *Iliad* would have had on a Greek reader. In this context, Newman argued that Homer's dialect was archaic and obscure even to an Athenian and that this sense of historical distance had to be maintained in the English translation. He decided for his own project that this goal could best be achieved by introducing archaic Saxo-Norman terminology into his own translation. Moreover, he considered rhyming verse an unsuitable medium and decided on prose instead in order to do greater justice to Homer's style, which he described as 'quaint' and wished to render accordingly (Newman, 1871: V VIII).

In 1861 Matthew Arnold decided to dedicate three public lectures to the subject of translating Homer. To a large extent, these lectures were an attack on Newman's views. Arnold agreed that fidelity to the original should be the primary criterion for the success of a translation and supported Bentley's view that Pope's translation 'was a pretty poem, but must not be called Homer' (M. Arnold, 1914: 247). 16 At the same

time, however, he considered it to be insufficient to render merely the content of the original, thereby disregarding its form:

> To suppose that it is *fidelity* to an original . . . to give its matter at all, unless you can give its manner, is just the mistake of our preRaphaelite school of painters, who do not understand that the peculiar effect of nature resides in the whole and not in the parts. So the peculiar effect of a poet resides in his manner and movement, not in his words taken separately. It is well known how conscientiously literal is Cowper in his translation of Homer. It is well known how extravagantly free is Pope. (M. Arnold, 1914: 253)

What, then, were the crucial aspects in Homer's style which, according to Arnold, needed to be preserved? In contrast to Newman, Arnold described Homer as 'rapid in his movement', 'plain in his words and style', 'simple in his ideas' and, above all, 'noble in his manner'. Accordingly he thought that Newman's rendering of Homer was inadequate on the grounds that the translator was 'odd in his words and ignoble in his manner' (M. Arnold, 1914: 287). In addition, Arnold adamantly defended verse translations and considered hexameters to be the appropriate metre for rendering Homer into English (M. Arnold, 1914: 294, 249). With Voß's translation of the *Iliad* in mind, he even went so far as to argue that English is better suited to this metre than German.

The controversy gained further momentum when Newman responded to Arnold's challenge and defended himself in an essay entitled 'Homeric Translation in Theory and Practice', which he introduced with the following statement:

> It is so difficult, amid the press of literature, for a mere versifier and translator to gain notice at all, that an assailant may even do one a service, if he so conduct his assault as to enable the reader to sit in intelligent judgment on the merits of the book assailed. (Newman, 1914: 315)

The most crucial feature of this essay appears to be a clarification of the differences between the two approaches adopted by Arnold and Newman. In this respect one phenomenon was particularly highlighted. Both Arnold and Newman agreed that translation, like creative writing, was geared towards an audience. Since both felt they had to do justice to Homer's popularity among his original readership, they had to solve the problem of how his popularity could best be conveyed to an English reading public. Arnold, on the one hand, defended Homer's nobility and criticised Newman for pedantry and

misplaced fidelity (Collini, 1988: 50). He went on to argue that a translator was primarily accountable to scholars, for scholars alone were in a position to judge his contribution (M. Arnold, 1914: 264). In order to prove this point he invited several eminent classicists, among them Benjamin Jowett, who was well known for his Plato translations, to express their opinions on the question as to whether they found Homer 'quaint' and 'antiquated' or 'simple' and 'intelligible' (Anderson, 1974: 84). Newman, on the other hand, maintained that, in order to preserve Homer's popularity, the translator had to adapt his style to the needs of an unscholarly public, including women and children, who could not read the text in the original. 17 If, as Newman believed, hexameters were unpopular with the general public, this metre should not be used for translating Homer (Newman, 1914: 322). Newman emphasised the fact that Homer was frequently ignoble and low, andmost wittilystated that if Homer were in a position to cry out to the translators, he would doubtlessly say in the manner of Oliver Cromwell to the painter, 'Paint me just as I am, *wart and all'* (Newman, 1914: 351).

One of Arnold's fiercest opponents, I.C. Wright (1795-1871), who was also known for his translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* between 1833 and 1841, defended himself in a letter to the Dean of Canterbury. He was criticised in Arnold's lectures on translating Homer for his inappropriate attempt to follow Cowper in turning hexameters into English blank verse in his rendering of the Greek text (M. Arnold, 1914: 245, 251). Wright, however, considered blank verse to be the most naturalised metre to an English ear and therefore felt that it is the most appropriate form for a poem which was considered to be popular and easily accessible by its original readership. He sarcastically drew his readers' attention to the fact that Arnold chose to instruct future translators of Homer by demolishing all past efforts to turn the *Iliad* into verse and without ever having made the effort to present to the audience of his lectures anything more substantial than very few specimen translations of his own (Wright, 1864: 6-7). In an appendix to his letter, Wright then undertook to compare the few passages Arnold actually translated himself, to Pope's, Cowper's and his own rendering of the text. The discussion about the viability of hexameters in English is important not only in its own right but also because it elucidates what Arnold and Newman, despite their disagreement, had in common: for both of them, to a certain extent, deviated from the dominant ideal of fluency in English translation activity, which sought to eradicate cultural differences. Newman introduced archaic elements into his translation of the text, because he wished to

do justice to the time gap the Greek readers of the original must have felt between themselves and Homer's epic. What is more, he wished to address a broad readership including women and children for a text which he considered to be 'direct, popular, forcible, quaint, flowing' and 'garrulous' (Newman, 1856: IV). Even though it is not clear to what extent Matthew Arnold was familiar with German Romantic thinking about translation, it seems likely that he was influenced by his father's educational ideals, enthusiasm for modern languages and cultivation of German scholarly connections, which will be further explored in Chapter 5 (Simpson, 1979:13). While Newman sought to serve a broad readership, Arnold defended a translation for a cultural elite of scholars with the education to read Homer in Greek and to appreciate the foreign metre of the hexameter, which lacked an indigenous tradition in English. On the basis of these considerations, it is crucial not to lose sight of the fact that he, too, advocated taking his countrymen abroad and making them realise that they read a foreign piece of literature as opposed to a 'home-grown' product.

From 'portrait-painting' to 'daguerreo-typing'the change of metaphors could hardly be more illuminating. The eighteenth-century imagery of painting, outlining, colouring and shading was challenged by the innovation of photographic reproduction in the nineteenth century. As various critics have pointed out, this transformation remained by no means unassailed. Many discussions focused on the question of whether photography can still be considered to be an art, or whether it was a purely mechanical reproduction (Gernsheim, 1988: 35-38). The artistic freedom of painting, which was frequently preoccupied with idealising the features of its object, was replaced by the fidelity of a naturalistic photograph, which could not even ignore the ugly traits of the original. Tytler, who, in many ways, summed up the eighteenth-century view of translation, could still write:

> The translator's task is very different: He uses not the same colours with the original, but is required to give his picture the same force and effect. He is not allowed to copy the touches of the original, yet is required, by touches of his own, to produce a perfect resemblance. The more he studies a scrupulous imitation, the less his copy will reflect the ease and spirit of the original. (Tytler, 1978: 211-12)

On the other hand, as we have seen, Matthew Arnold criticised the Pre-Raphaelites because, in his eyes, they were successful only at reproducing the details but not the overall impression of their objects; they concentrated on the matter and not on the manner.

Intriguingly, one of the chief representatives of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, commented himself on the aesthetic questions at stake in this context. Rossetti is particularly well suited for our context, because he used both painting and photography to express himself in the visual arts and, in addition to that, translated Italian poetry. In the following passage he explored his view of the task of the translator:

> The task of the translator (and with all humility be it spoken) is one of some self-denial. Often would he avail himself of any special grace of his own idiom and epoch, if only his will belonged to him: often would some cadence serve him but for his author's structure: often the beautiful turn of a stanza must be weakened to adopt some rhyme which will tally, and he sees the poet revelling in abundance of language where himself is scantily supplied. Now he would slight the matter for the music, and now the music for the matter; but no,he must deal to each alike. Sometimes too a flaw in the work galls him, and he would fain remove it, doing for the poet that which his age denied him; but no,it is not in the bond. His ath is like that of Aladdin through the enchanted vaults: many are the precious fruits and flowers which he must pass by unheeded in search for the lamp alone; happy, if at last, when brought to light, it does not prove that his old lamp has been exchanged for a new one,glittering indeed to the eye, but scarcely of the same virtue nor with the same genius at its summons. (Rossetti, 1904: IX)

Unscrupulous imitation, supposedly at ease with the spirit of the original, was thus replaced by a search for meticulous detail in the enchanted vaults. The importance of the facets discovered in this manner had to be weighed against each other and some eventually had to be given preference over others. Before the invention of photography, an exact and naturalistic imitation was a goal hard to achieve; after the invention of photography, a faithful and 'literal' transcription of the external world seemed technically feasible (Smith, 1995: 3; Green-Lewis, 1996: 25). In the case of translation, a painting could frequently lead to a blurred or distorted, though colourful representation, while a lamp allowed its carrier to grasp more facets and details of the original. For Rossetti, the lamp became not only a tool to shed light but also a metaphor for poetry itself. In this sense it had to remain, above all, unchanged and was not to be improved or replaced by a more glittering one. The general implication of Rossetti and others is thus that the style and fashion determining the quality

of translation could vary as much as that applied to various forms of visual representation.

The debate between Newman and Arnold was one of the few occasions in which translation was discussed in a theoretical manner and played a central role on a scholarly platform. The impact of the controversy can best be judged by the broad treatment it received in the periodical press of the time (Spedding, 1861; Blackie, 1861; Whewell, 1862a and b; Reynolds, 1862). Most of the reviewers who dealt with the exchange between Newman and Arnold commented on the question as to whether hexameters in English can be appreciated by anybody other than the scholarly reader who is also in a position to read the text for himself in the original language. William Whewell was to remain the only critic to support Arnold in using this metre in English. Whewell was ardently engaged in the debate whether English is a suitable language for poetry in hexameters or not.[18] He believed that his countrymen were wrongly prejudiced against the possibility of a hexameter in their language by the unfortunate attempts of Elizabethan poets in this metre. What is more, Whewell alerted his readers to the fact that German, despite the fact that its rhythm was almost identical with English, produced fine poetry in hexameters such as Klopstocks *Messias* (1748-73), Voß's *LuisE* (1795) and Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea* (1796-97) (Whewell, 1853: 133-36). In order to prove his point Whewell even made the attempt to render Goethe's work into English in 1839. He preserved the metre of the original and his translation was eventually included in a volume entitled *English Hexameter Translations from*) *Schiller, Goethe, Homer, Callinus, and Meleager,* which was edited by him and published in 1847. Other contributors include Sir J.W. Herschel, J.C. Hare, J.G. Lockhart, and E.C. Hawtrey.[19]

In many ways, John Stuart Blackie's essay on Homer and his translators is the most interesting piece for our context. Blackie contradicted Matthew Arnold in that he argued that it must not be the translator's task to introduce the 'movement of any foreign rhythm' to his countrymen (Blackie, 1861: 278). In all other issues at stake, Blackie supported Arnold and rejected F.W. Newman's views. The most exciting point about Blackie's essay is, however, that he took up the image of 'daguerreotype fidelity'. He employed it both to denounce Newman and to describe what he considered to be an idiosyncratically German way of translation, which was opposed to the English approach of adapting foreign texts:

> If adaptation would do, I imagine the English would be the first translators in the world, for who can deny their rare talent in

> telling a story, whether in verse or prose? But adaptation produces only what rhetoricians call technically a *rifaccimento*that is, a pudding made of the same flour, but with different plums put into it, and a different seasoning. Of all literary animals at present existing, if the Englishman be one of the best adapters, the German is certainly the most adaptable. No person goes so easily out of himselfwhich is the first duty of a philosopher and of a translator; therefore the Germans generally are admirable translators, and, though they incline not a little to the extreme of a certain stiff daguerreotype fidelity, they, at all events, give you the true thing. They give you Homer without a pipe in his mouth, whereas, Homer's heroes, in English hands, have hitherto been made to assume the garb and the gait of that most perfect of all well-bred animalsan English gentleman. (Blackie, 1861: 269)

In using Newman's imagery in the way he does, Blackie thus established a direct link between a literal translation using archaic terminology and the German Romantic tradition.

The controversy between Newman and Arnold in the eighteen-sixties and its modification of metaphors in many ways thus meant a new approach to the questions which had been set out by Goethe, Schleiermacher and Humboldt at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the first place, it was questioned whether translation should ever try to 'bring the foreign text to the reader' and thus, in Nietzsche's words, imply 'conquest' or 'theft'. Nietzsche claimed that one can judge the historical sensitivity of an age by the manner in which it translated texts and the way it incorporated books of the past into its own being. In this context, he depicted the Romans as behaving cruelly towards Greek literature and therefore accused them of the above-mentioned infringements. 20 Goethe and Schleiermacher, on the other hand, had introduced the notion of responsibility towards a temporal and spatial distance. Sarah Austin and Thomas Carlyle, as a result, used foreign elements in English. EW. Newman also tried to introduce archaic elements into his translated prose. William Morris, who translated a large number of texts, including Norse sagas, Homer's *Odyssey,* Vergil's *Aeneid* and old French Romances, pursued the same technique (Bassnett, 1991: 67; Cohen, 1962: 24-25). The reception of Morris' approach was diverse but can be considered to be another example of the few instances in which translation was perceived a worthwhile subject for secondary discourse. G.A. Simcox wrote in a review of Morris' rendering of *The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs* in the *Academy* in 1870 that the 'quaint archaic English of the

translation with just the right outlandish flavour, [did] much to disguise the inequalities and incompletenesses of the original' (Simcox, 1973: 153). An unsigned review published in the *Spectator* in the same year, on the other hand, criticised that it was 'never safe to attempt in prose narration more archaic English than that of the authorized version of the Bible, as being the oldest recognized model in this branch of literature which is familiar to a sufficiently large number of readers' (Anon., 1973: 161).

All four translators, Carlyle, Austin, Newman and Morris, thus worked on the premise that style in itself carried meaning, which ultimately had to be conveyed to the reader. The provocation they caused stirred up general discussion and brought the translator into a more prominent position. The controversy between Newman and Arnold, however, also drew attention to the fact that translation, at least in parts, was a reader-oriented process. This was the case, even if the recasting of a foreign text was geared towards leaving the original intact, and the reader rather than the original author was made to overcome the temporal and spatial distance. Rendering a foreign text for a scholar, who was in a position to read the original himself, was bound to differ greatly from a translation for the uneducated public. What is more, it is crucial to note at this point that the issues which emerged in the nineteenth-century discussions of the topic did not lose their relevance, but form the foundation for and were reflected in twentieth-century thinking about translation both in Germany and Britain.

Walter Benjamin was to become one of the most eminent exponents to perpetuate romantic thinking about translation in our own century (Apel, 1982: 167). His essay 'Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers' ('The Task of the Translator') (1923) is illuminating for our purposes because it recalls many of the motives we have encountered in our earlier considerations. Benjamin expressed his indebtedness to romantic thinking about translation in the following manner:

> Thus translation, ironically, transplants the original into a more definitive linguistic realm since it can no longer be displaced by a secondary rendering. The original can only be raised there anew and at other points of time. It is no mere coincidence that the word 'ironic' here brings the Romanticists to mind. They, more than any others, were gifted with an insight into the life of literary works which has its highest testimony in translation. To be sure, they hardly recognized translation in this sense, but devoted their entire attention to criticism, another, if a lesser, factor in the

> continued life of literary works. But even though the Romanticists virtually ignored translation in their theoretical writings, their own great translations testify to their sense of the essential nature and the dignity of this literary mode. There is abundant evidence that this sense is not necessarily most pronounced in a poet; in fact, he may be least open to it. Not even literary history suggests the traditional notion that great poets have been eminent translators and lesser poets have been indifferent translators. A number of the most eminent ones, such as Luther, Voss, and Schlegel, are incomparably more important as translators than as creative writers; some of the great among them, such as Hölderlin and Stefan George, cannot be simply subsumed as poets, and quite particularly not if we consider them as translators. As translation is a mode of its own, the task of the translator, too, may be regarded as distinct and clearly differentiated from the task of the poet. (Benjamin, 1970: 75-76) 21

Even though the foregoing observations make it questionable whether it can be maintained that the Romantics Benjamin had in mind did not engage in the topic of translation in their theoretical writings, this passage sketches out the intellectual framework his own essay was built on. Intriguingly, the English translator of Benjamin's piece has chosen 'mode' in order to render the German word 'Form': 'Übersetzung ist eine Form''Translation is a mode' (Benjamin, 1977: 50; 1970: 70). The manner in which Benjamin wrote about this mode suggests that it is treated almost like an independent literary genre which is far from being slavishly subjected to the rules determining the shape of the original text.

Which factors are responsible for making this mode so attractive to Benjamin? He attempted to answer this question himself by going back to yet another Romantic treatment of the topic, namely the views Goethe expressed in the *West-Östlicher Divan,* which he described 'as the best comment on the theory of translation that has been published in Germany' (Benjamin, 1977: 61; 1970: 80). Ranking with Goethe, according to Benjamin, is Rudolf Pannwitz (1881-1969). Benjamin quoted a passage from Pannwitz's *Krisis der europäischen Kultur* (1917) in which the author's critical evaluation of German translations came close to Goethe's:

> Our translations, even the best ones, proceed from a wrong premise. They want to turn Hindi, Greek, English into German instead of turning German into Hindi, Greek, English. Our translators have a far greater reverence for the usage of their own language

> than for the spirit of the foreign works. . . . The basic error of the translator is that he preserves the state in which his own language happens to be instead of allowing his language to be powerfully affected by the foreign tongue. Particularly when translating from a language very remote from his own he must go back to the primal elements of language itself and penetrate to the point where work, image, and tone converge. He must expand and deepen his language by means of the foreign language. (Benjamin, 1970: 80-81) 22

The concerns of both Benjamin and Pannwitz thus echo the Romantic idea that translation should be a means of introducing foreign elements into one's own language. For Benjamin, too, language is not a medium subject to stagnation, but a medium that profits from constant change (Benjamin, 1989: 5). It is depicted as a primary initiator of change, change that can be introduced particularly well if the language of translation encourages the foreignness of the original text to 'shine through':

> A real translation is transparent; it does not cover the original, does not block its light, but allows the pure language, as though reinforced by its own medium, to shine upon the original all the more fully. This may be achieved, above all, by a literal rendering of the syntax which proves words rather than sentences to be the primary element of the translator. For if the sentence is the wall before the language of the original, literalness is the arcade. (Benjamin, 1970: 79)23

Such literalness is particularly strongly represented in Hölderlin's translations of Sophocles. For like Luther, Voß and George, Hölderlin becomes an artist who 'breaks through decayed barriers of his own language' and thus extends its boundaries (Benjamin, 1977: 60; 1970: 80; Constantine, 1978: 834).

Benjamin's considerations about language in his translation essay can be described as mystical, perhaps even messianic, for the author goes as far as to argue that the language of translation sets free an energy which strives for 'linguistic complementation', for a return to a pre-Babylonian common language, in which all languages are contained. By fusing his own language with another language, the translator is thus in the very special position of being able to move closer towards the purity of this original language (Benjamin, 1977: 59; 1970: 79-80). Biblical overtones also dominate the final sentences of Benjamin's essay:

> Hölderlin's translations from Sophocles were his last work; in them, meaning plunges from abyss to abyss until it threatens to become lost in the bottomless depths of language. There is, however, a stop. It is vouchsafed to Holy Writ alone, in which meaning has ceased to be the watershed for the flow of language and the flow of revelation. Where a text is identical with truth or dogma, where it is supposed to be 'the true language' in all its literalness and without the mediation of meaning, this text is unconditionally translatable. In such case translations are called for only because of the plurality of languages. Just as, in the original, language and revelation are one without any tension, so the translation must be one with the original in the form of the interlinear version, in which literalness and freedom are united. For to some degree all great texts contain their potential translation between the lines; this is true to the highest degree of sacred writings. The interlinear version of the Scriptures is the prototype or ideal of all translation. (Benjamin, 1970: 81-82) 24

In Benjamin's treatment, translation thus becomes a mode which is in danger of eradicating itself, should it try to ignore the cultural and temporal distance between the original and its rendition in a foreign language. It emerges as a medium which is capable of providing a text with an afterlife in different temporal and local circumstances:

> For in its afterlifewhich could not be called that if it were not a transformation and a renewal of something livingthe original undergoes a change. Even words with fixed meaning can undergo a maturing process. The obvious tendency of a writer's literary style may in time wither away, only to give rise to immanent tendencies in the literary creation. What sounded fresh once may sound hackneyed later; what was once current may someday sound quaint. To seek the essence of such changes, as well as the equally constant changes in meaning, in the subjectivity of posterity rather than in the very life of language and its works, would meaneven allowing for the crudest psychologismto confuse the root cause of a thing with its essence. (Benjamin, 1970: 73)25

The observation of temporal and spatial distance is described as the most crucial element determining the success of a translation. Interestingly enough, in the opening paragraphs of his essay, Benjamin established a link between his preference for foreign elements in translation and an author-oriented aesthetic theory in the arts. He claimed that a consideration of the reader did not prove fruitful, be it

in the reception of the original text or in the reception of the translation (Benjamin, 1977: 50; 1970: 70). Translation was therefore denied any kind of communicative function, was not meant to instruct a reader who could not cope with the original text for linguistic reasons, but was perceived as a genre which set free energies contained in the original text. Any kind of *Rezeptionsästhetik* was rejected categorically and one can indeed see, as Paul de Man pointed out vividly, that Benjamin's ideas would have 'thrown them into a slight panic in Konstanz' (de Man, 1986: 78). Benjamin's narrow focus on the text and its afterlife would thus have placed him in one camp with Matthew Arnold who had argued that translations were only useful to scholars with a knowledge of the language of the original text.

Benjamin's essay united many of the motifs recurrent in nineteenth-century discussions about translation and, ironically, thereby provided them with an afterlife of their own. Derrida, as we have seen, took up Benjamin's notion of the 'textual survival' of a translated text in a historical context different from that of the original. Recent 'post-colonial' criticism has used Benjamin's essay for its theory of cultural difference, which was reflected in the translator's observation of the foreignness of the language he deals with (Bhabha, 1990: 314-15). Benjamin's strong roots in the German Romantic tradition have, however, been frequently neglected and, even more so, what has been the main theme of this chapter, its impact on English translation activity in the nineteenth century.

The German hermeneutic texts read by Austin, Carlyle, the Winkworths and others, however, also left their mark in Britain, even though they never gained the same acceptance as the prevailing English practice of 'bringing foreign authors home' as opposed to 'moving the reader abroad'. Scholarly discussions like the controversy between Matthew Arnold and F.W. Newman, as well as the periodical reviews which followed up their dispute, perpetuated in many ways Goethe's, Schleiermacher's and von Humboldt's ideas and 'kept them alive', despite the fact that they were not always directly referred to. Their presence can, for example, also be felt again in the modernist movement with its emphasis on the cultivation of heterogeneous discourses, which questioned the appropriative traits of fluency in English-language translation (Venuti, 1995a: 187). Ezra Pound's rendering of 'The Seafarer' (1915) from the Anglo-Saxon can, for example, be considered to be the epitome of an estranging mode of translation. This is exactly the mode which Carlyle had depicted as opposed to the English tradition. A few lines may suffice to illustrate this point:

> May I for my own self song's truth reckon,
> Journey's jargon, how I in harsh days
> Hardship endured oft.
> Bitter breast-cares have I abided,
> Known on my keel many a care's hold,
> And dire sea-surge, and there I oft spent
> Narrow nightwatch nigh the ship's head
> While she tossed close to cliffs. Coldly afflicted,
> My feet were by frost benumbed. (Pound, 1963: 207) 26

What is more, the analogy between inter-lingual translation and representation in the visual arts was reinforced even further at the beginning of the twentieth century. For it was only ten years before Walter Benjamin that Ezra Pound paid the following tribute to this analogy in the introduction to his translation of the *Cavalcanti Poems* (1910):

> As for the verse itself: I believe in an ultimate and absolute rhythm as I believe in an absolute symbol or metaphor. The perception of the intellect is given in the word, that of the emotions in the cadence. It is only, then, in perfect rhythm joined to the perfect word that the two-fold vision can be recorded. I would liken Guido's cadence to nothing less powerful than line in Blake's drawing.
>
> In painting, the colour is always finite. It may match the colour of the infinite spheres, but it is in a way confined within the frame and its appearance is modified by the colours about it. The line is unbounded, it marks the passage of a force, it continues beyond the frame.
>
> Rodin's belief that energy is beauty holds thus far, namely, that all our ideas of beauty of line are in some way connected with our ideas of swiftness or easy power of motion, and we consider ugly those lines which connote unwieldly slowness in moving. (Pound, 1963: 23)

The exchange of features between modes of visual and modes of verbal representation has been one of the crucial ideas of this chapter. Technical innovations in one artistic medium such as the invention of photography have proved to be able to shift the perspective of other forms of art. It is, however, precisely the powerful possibility to 'translate' these innovations from one medium into another which attracted Pound and formed the basis of the vorticist movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. This phenomenon became

perspicuous in a sequence of eleven articles entitled 'I gather the Limbs of Osiris', which were published in *The New Age* between December 1911 and February 1912. They led to the definition of the goals of this movement, for Pound explored the possibilities of 'translating' from literature into the fine arts and into music in these pieces, and in the context of this chapter, it is particularly significant that his observations were interspersed with translations from one language into another (Pound, 1973: 19-43).

Notes

1. On these concepts, see also Strich (1949: 1-16) and Tgahrt (1982: 415-40).

2. Goethe's statement from the *West-Östlicher Divan* is reprinted in Störig (1963: 35-37).

3. On the flexibility of Dryden's use of the terms paraphrase and imitation, see Sloman (1985: 8).

4. Cowpers letter to Mr Urban in the Gentleman's Magazine (27 July 1785) is reprinted in Cowper (1986: 51-58).

5. Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon (1633?-1685) was one of the aristocratic literary men at the court of Charles II. His verse essay on translation is reprinted in TR. Steiner (1975: 75-85).

6. Connop Thirlwall translated his *Critical Essay/ on the Gospel of St. Lu uke* in 1824. On his influence, see Shaffer (1990: 203, 223).

7. The German original of Humboldt's *Agamemmnon* preface is reprinted in Störig (1963: 71-96):

> Solange nicht die Fremdheit, sondern das Fremde gefühlt wird, hat die Uebersetzung ihre höchsten Zwecke erreicht; wo aber die Fremdheit an sich erscheint, und vielleicht gar das Fremde verdunkelt, da verräth der Uebersetzer, dass er seinem Original nicht gewachsen ist. (Störig, 1963: 83)

8. This piece was originally published in Schlegel (1847a: 246) and is translated in Lefevere (1977: 50).

9. Das Schauspiel dauerte sehr lange. Die alte Barbara trat einigemal ans Fenster und horchte, ob die Kutschen nicht rasseln wollten. Sie erwartete Marianen, ihre schöne Gebieterin, die heute im Nachspiele, als junger Offizier gekleidet, das Publikum entzückte, . . . (Goethe, 1980: 9).

10. Leveson Gowers translation of the passage in question is quoted in Austin (1833a: I, 267-68):

> Who could himself compel
> To say he disbelieves
> *The Being whose presence all must feel so well?*
> *The All-creator,*
> The All-sustainer,
> Does he not uphold
> Thyself, and me, *and all?*
> Does not yon vaulted Heaven expand

Round the fast earth on which we stand?
Do we not hail it, though from far
The light of each eternal star?
Are not my eyes in yours reflected?
A Nd, all these living proofs collected,
Do they not flash upon the brain,
Do they not press upon the heart,
The trace of Nature's mystic reign?
Inhale the feeling till it fill
The breast, then call it what you will.
Call it fan influnce from above,
Faith, heaven, or hapiness, or love, -
I have no name by which to call
The secret power,'tis feeling all.

For the German original see p. 62. The sections particularly criticised by Sarah Austin are italicised. For a discussion of Leveson Gower's versions, see Austin (1833a: I, 268-71).

11. De Staël's French prose rendering of the *Faust* passage is quoted in Austin (1833a: 1, 271-72):

Qui peut nommer *In DIVINITÉ,* et dire, *je la CONÇOIS? Qui PEUT-ÈTRE SENSIBLE et ne pas* y *croire? Le SOUTIEN DE cet univers,* n'embrasse-t-il pas toi, moi, I *A NATURE ENTIERE?* Le ciel ne s'abaisse-t-il pas en pavillon sur nos têtes? La terre n'est elle pas inébranlable sous nos pieds? Et les étoiles eternelles, du haut de leur sphère, ne nous regardent-elles pas *AVEC AMOUR?* Tes yeux ne se réflechissent-ils pas dans *mes yeux ATTENDRIS?* Un mystère éternel, invisible et visible, *n'attire-t-Li pas MON CCEUR VERS LE TIEN?* Remplis ton âme *de ce mystère,* et, quand tu *éprouves la felicité suprème DU SENTIMENT, appelle-la cette fctlicité,* coeur, amour, Dieu,n'importe. Le sentiment est tout; les noms ne sont qu'un vain bruit, une vaine furnée qui obscurcit la *clarté* des cieux.

The sections particularly criticised by Sarah Austin are italicised. For a discussion of Leveson Gower's versions, see Austin (1833a: I, 272-73).

12. Hayward's prose rendering reads as follows:

Who dare name Him? and who avow: 'I believe in him?' Who feel and dare to say: 'I believe in him not?' The All-embracer, the Allsustainer, does he not embrace and sustain thee, me, himself? Does not the heaven arch itself there above? / Lies not the earth firm here below?And do not eternal stars rise, kindly twinkling, on high? Are we not looking into each others eyes, and is not all thronging to thy head and heart, and weaving in eternal mystery, invisibly visibly, about thee? With it fill thy heart, big as it is, and when thou art wholly blest in the feeling, then call it what thou wilt! Call it Bliss!Heart!Love!God! I have no name for it! Feeling is all in all. Name is sound and smoke, clouding heavens glow. (Hayward, 1855: 106-07)

13. I am not trying to suggest, however, that they were the only British translators propagating a faithful literalness in the first half of the nineteenth

century. John Nott (1751-1825), the translator of the poems of Catullus (1795), and Thomas Mitchell (1783-1845), who rendered Aristophanes' comedies into English (1820-22), may serve as examples in this context. Owing to their foreignising and archaising translation strategy, both were repeatedly condemned in the periodical press on moral and stylistic grounds (Venuti, 1995a: 77-80).

14. Bodleian Library, Max Müller Papers, MS. Eng. d. 2357 (Poems and Unfinished Articles) 186 'Defence of Froude', p. 10.

15. The quotation is from a letter Arnold wrote to Archbishop Whateley on 8 November 1833. See also Arnold to Justice Coleridge, 23 September 1836 (Stanley, 1844: II, 48-49) and Dockhorn (1950: 39-40).

16. For an introduction to the Arnold-Newman controversy, see Coulling (1974: 62-99) and Venuti (1995a: 118-41).

17. Interestingly, Wilhelm von Humboldt also formulated the explicit goal to make Greek literature accessible not only to scholars but also to women and children (Humboldt, 1963: 82; 1992: 57).

18. His interest in the subject is reflected in a collection of various offprints of Homer translations; see MS, Trinity College, Cambridge, Whewell Papers: R.18.14[64-78]. See also Whewell, 1846, 1847 and 1849.

19. See also Whewell, 1850.

20. Nietzsche's statement on translation from *Die fröhliche Wissenschaft* (1882) is reprinted in Störig (1963: 136-37). An English translation can be found in Schulte and Biguenet (1992: 68-69).

21. Walter Benjamins essay is an introduction to his own translation of Baudelaire's *Tableaux Parisiens* and is included in his *Illuminationen*. The following passage is the German original of the English quotation:

> Übersetzung verpflanzt also das Original in einen wenigstens insoferniron ischendgültigeren Sprachbereich, als es aus diesem durch keinerlei Ubertragung mehr zu versetzen ist, sondern in ihn nur immer von neuem und an andern Teilen erhoben zu werden vermag. Nicht umsonst mag hier das Wort 'ironisch' an Gedankengänge der Romantiker erinnern. Diese haben vor andern Einsicht in das Leben der Werke besessen, von welchem die Übersetzung eine höchste Bezeugung ist. Freilich haben sie diese als solche kaum erkannt, vielmehr ihre ganze Aufmerksamkeit der Kritik zugewendet, die ebenfalls ein wenn auch geringeres Moment im Fortleben der Werke darstellt. Doch wenn auch ihre Theorie auf Übersetzung kaum sich richten mochte, so ging doch ihr großes Übersetzungswerk selbst mit einem Gefühl von dem Wesen und der Würde dieser Form zusammen. Dieses Gefühldarauf deutet alles hinbraucht nicht notwendig im Dichter am stärksten zu sein; ja es hat in ihm als Dichter vielleicht am wenigsten Raum. Nicht einmal die Geschichte legt das konventionelle Vorurteil nahe, demzufolge die bedeutenden Ubersetzer Dichter und unbedeutende Dichter geringe Übersetzer wären. Eine Reihe der gröeren wie Luther, Voß, Schlegel sind als Übersetzer ungleich bedeutender denn als Dichter, andere unter den größten, wie Hölderlin und George, nach dem ganzen Umfang ihres Schaffens unter den Begriff des Dichters allein nicht zu fassen. Zumal nicht als Übersetzer. Wie nämlich die Übersetzung eine eigene Form ist, so läßt sich auch die Aufgabe des Übersetzers als eine eigene

fassen und genau von der des Dichters unterscheiden (Benjamin, 1977: 56-57).

22. The German original of this passage can be found in Benjamin (1977: 61):

> unsere iibertragungen auch die besten gehn von einem falschen grundsatz aus sie wollen das indische griechische englische verdeutschen anstatt das deutsche zu verindischen vergriechischen verenglischen. sie haben eine viel bedeutendere ehrfurcht vor den eigenen sprachgebräuchen als vor dem geiste des fremden werks . . . der grundsätzliche irrtum des übertragenden ist dass er den zufälligen stand der eignen sprache festhält anstatt sie durch die fremde sprache gewaltig bewegen zu lassen. er muss zumal wenn er aus einer sehr fernen sprache überträgt, auf die letzten elemente der sprache selbst wo wort bild ton in eines geht zurtick dringen er muss seine sprache durch die fremde erweitern und vertiefen . . .

23. For the German original of this passage see Benjamin (1977: 59):

> Die waahre Übersetzung ist durchscheinend, sie verdeckt nicht das Original, steht ihm nicht im Licht, sondern läßt die reine Sprache, wie verstärkt durch ihr eigenes Medium, nur um so voller aufs Original fallen. Das vermag vor allem Wörtlichkeit in der Übertragung der Syntax und gerade sie erweist das Wort, nicht den Satz als das Urelement des Ubersetzers. Denn der Satz ist die Mauer vor der Sprache des Originals, Wörtlichkeit die Arkade.

24. The German original of this passage can be found in Benjamin (1977: 62):

> Die Sophokles-Übersetzungen waren Hölderlins letztes Werk. In ihnen stürzt der Sinn von Abgrund zu Abgrund, bis er droht in bodenlosen Sprachtiefen sich zu verlieren. Aber es gibt ein Halten. Es gewährt es jedoch kein Text außer dem heiligen, in dem der Sinn aufgehört hat, die Wasserscheide für die strömende Sprache und die strömende Offenbarung zu sein. Wo der Text unmittelbar, ohne vermittelnden Sinn, in seiner Wörtlichkeit der wahren Sprache, der Wahrheit oder der Lehre angehört, ist er übersetzbar schlechthin. Nicht mehr freilich um seinet-, sondern allein um der Sprachen willen. Ihm gegenüber ist so grenzenloses Vertrauen von der Übersetzung gefordert, da spannungslos wie in jenem Sprache und Offenbarung so in dieser Wörtlichkeit und Freiheit in Gestalt der Interlinearversion sich vereinigen müssen. Denn in irgendeinem Grade enthalten alle großen Schriften, im höchsten aber die heiligen, zwischen den Zeilen ihre virtuelle Übersetzung. Die Interlinearversion des heiligen Textes ist das Urbild oder Ideal aller Übersetzung.

25. The German original of this passage is reprinted in Benjamin (1977: 5354):

> Denn in seinem Fortleben, das so nicht heißen dürfte, wenn es nicht Wandlung und Erneuerung des Lebendigen wäre, ändert sich das Original. Es gibt eine Nachreife auch der festgelegten Worte. Was zur Zeit eines Autors Tendenz seiner dichterischen Sprache gewesen sein

> mag, kann später erledigt sein, immanente Tendzen vermögen neu aus dem Geformten sich zu erheben. Was damals jung, kann später abgebraucht, was damals gebräuchlich, später archaisch klingen. Das Wesentliche solcher Wandlungen wie auch der ebenso ständigen des Sinnes in der Subjektivität der Nachgeborenen statt im eigensten Leben der Sprache und ihrer Werke zu suchen, hießezugestanden selbst den krudesten PsychologismusGrund und Wesen einer Sache verwechseln, . . .

26. For a comparison between Ezra Pound's and Charles Kennedy's version of this poem, see Bassnett (1991: 98-99).

Chapter 4
Translators and Philology

According to Walter Benjamin, the language of translation is a medium which allows us to reconstruct earlier stages in the development of human language. The concept underlying this idea is that language, which was originally one, has split up into many. The language of translation, on the other hand, enables us to reverse this process of diversification. For mediating between two languages allows us to discover the characteristics they share and thus to extract some of the features of their common origin. In various contexts we have already encountered the observation that the process of translation enhances the theoretical awareness of linguistic phenomena. There was, in the first place, the question to what extent the translator should emphasise his or her own presence by using language specifically created for the purpose. Schleiermacher had postulated a separate language for translation and pointed out the degree to which the structure of a language could play a formative role for an author wishing to express his ideas in this linguistic medium. Goethe and Humboldt encouraged the translator to let foreign elements 'shine through' in the translated text. Eventually, we have explored how FW. Newman contradicted Matthew Arnold in claiming that an archaic style in translation can convey the temporal remoteness of the original text.

It can, however, be equally enlightening to elucidate the consensus underlying this controversy. Both Arnold and Newman agreed that language and style do not merely transport meaning but constitute an integral part of it. Sarah Austin and Thomas Carlyle, too, made the attempt to upgrade the importance of language and to endow it with a greater amount of independence. As a result, language has become a separate entity with an existence of its own. Julia Kristeva describes the implications of 'setting up language as a specific object of knowledge' as a paradox. For in the event, language is not only separated from the contents of a text; it is also detached from man, who, as a speaking subject, was himself constituted by language (Kristeva, 1989:

4). Kristeva's observation has further implications in our context, since the presentation of a text in a different linguistic guise can also be perceived as the detachment of language from its contents on the one hand, and its author on the other. Translating thus becomes the process of separating a text from its original language and providing it with a new one. Is it feasible to claim on the basis of these ideas that there was a mutual relation between translation and the study of language as an abstract academic discipline? In the following considerations an attempt will be made to explore the various levels of interaction between translation and philology. We shall have to ask to what extent translators were particularly inclined to participate in the philological discussions of their time, and whether their work was influenced by current linguistic trends. For this purpose we shall, in the first place, have to examine the nature of the topics addressed in these philological discussions. On the basis of this groundwork, we can then proceed to explore the impact of philology on other subject areas and look at the role translators played in this interdisciplinary exchange.

There was wide-spread agreement in the first half of the nineteenth century that English philology lagged behind crucial developments on the Continent, especially in Germany. The deficiencies on the English side were explored extensively both in academic and fictional treatments of the topic. One of the first scholars who made the attempt to present to the English student the philological literature of the Continent, in particular the work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was John William Donaldson (1811-61). In 1839 he acknowledged that it was due to 'the exertions of the Germans alone' that 'philology has made more progress in the last fifty years than in the preceding two hundred' (Donaldson, 1850: 34; Brink, 1985: 117). Almost three decades later, Donaldson's opinion was still maintained in an article in the *Quarterly Review*. Despite this prevailing attitude, the author of the *Quarterly Review* conceded a certain amount of improvement since English scholars began to participate in the 'modern science of Comparative Philology':

> Towards the end of the last century we had actually grasped the clue which was to lead to the great philological discoveries of the present; but it was for the most part by Continental explorers, especially by Germans, that this clue was followed up. For years we not only did not teach, we were backward even in learning: but of late we have happily begun to move again, and at last seem to have started with a fair hope of making the last days of the

> nineteenth century redeem the deficiencies of the first. (Tylor, 1866: 394)

This change, as Tylor suggested, was partly initiated by the teaching of Friedrich Max Müller at Oxford. Müller became the first Professor of Comparative Philology in 1868 and retrospectively made the following comment on his appointment:

> It is curious to remark that while Comparative Philology has for more than half a century excited the deepest interest, not only among Continental but likewise among English scholars, and while chairs of this new science have been founded long ago in almost every university of France, Germany, and Italy, the foundation of a new chair of Comparative Philology at Oxford should coincide very closely with a decided change that has taken place in the treatment of that science, and which has given to its results a more practical importance for the study of Greek and Latin, such as could hardly be claimed for it during the first fifty years of its growth. (Müller, 1881b: 121)

Müller's view must, of course, be seen in the general context of the university debate of his time. While England was always perceived as clearly superior in commercial and imperial terms, the German educational system was considered to be a cultural achievement that deserved to be taken into consideration (M. Arnold, 1964a and b: 264, 333-34).

Max Müller's wide popularity as a scholar who made philological developments accessible to a variety of disciplines is testified by many sources relating to the group of translators in question. Susanna and Catherine Winkworth knew him well, and Catherine reported in a letter written in 1870 that she was forced to abstain from his lectures on the science of religion in London because they were too overcrowded (Winkworth, 1883: 399, 419-20; 1886: 15, 20, 365, 537). George Eliot was familiar with the writings of J.W. Donaldson and Max Müller. What is more, her notebooks prove her extensive reading in the philological literature of her time before composing *Middlemarch*. She immersed herself in the writings of the Brothers Grimm, Franz Bopp and Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language* (1861 and 1863) and emulated his challenging attempts to establish analogies between a wide range of subject areas, including philology, mythology and history (Wiesenfarth, 1984: XXXII-XXXIII; Beyer, 1981: 205-08; McCobb, 1982: 61). This ability to draw links between the disciplines is precisely what the fictional Edward Casaubon lacks. Casaubon's

scholarly approach is described as outdated by his cousin Will Ladislaw, who alerts Dorothea to the fact that 'English scholarship is for want of knowing what is being done by the rest of the world. If Mr Casaubon read German he would save himself a great deal of trouble' (Eliot, 1987: 240; Said, 1991: 18-19). It is not until shortly before her husband's death, however, that Dorothea admits to herself the uselessness of his research. George Eliot's formulations at this point reflect her own background reading:

> But Mr Casaubon's theory of the elements which made the seed of all tradition was not likely to bruise itself unawares against discoveries: it floated among flexible conjectures no more solid than those etymologies which seemed strong because of likeness in sound, until it was shown that likeness in sound made them impossible: it was a method of interpretation which was not tested by the necessity of forming anything which had sharper collisions than an elaborate notion of Gog and Magog: it was as free from interruption as a plan for threading the stars together. (Eliot, 1987: 520)

George Eliot left it to her readers to establish the background to her fictional description of scholarly inadequacy. We shall therefore have to answer the question as to what Casaubon's own approach stood for and which elements in German scholarship would have made him shift his perspective. Edward Casaubon's haphazard etymologising is probably an allusion to what defenders of German-style philology in England frequently associated with the scholarship of John Home Tooke (1736-1812). Like Casaubon's wild guesses, Tooke's *Diversions of Purley* (1786) was marginalised for a 'superstitious realism, which shrinks from all contact with philology' (Donaldson, 1850: 97). Donaldson compared the provocation Tooke caused to that of the sophistical philology against which Plato had directed his *Cratyls*. The philology Plato attacked was characterised by an ultra-nominalist approach to language, by which truth was sought for not only in the structure of the real world but also in the structure of the words of a particular language. Plato rejected the view that the mere formation of words should be endowed with a significance greater than their function as arbitrary and outward signs of ideas. By choosing the title *The New Cratylus* for his refutation of Tooke's scholarship, Donaldson thus expressed his wish to expose the superficial nature of etymologies built on haphazard phonological similarities between words (Donaldson, 1850: 92-95; Burrow, 1967:193; Eco, 1997: 11). In contrast to Tooke, he also questioned whether immediate links could be

established between names and the sensible objects they denote (Neaves, 1840: 495). Underlying this allegation is the identification of Tooke with an extreme materialism, a materialism particularly noticable in two features. In the first place, Tooke adopted John Locke's assumption that even words describing the most abstract concepts can, through etymology, ultimately be derived from names of sensible objects (Aarsleff, 1983: 94; Kühlwein, 1971: 53). What is more, both Tooke and his precursor Condillac (1715-80) claimed that the origin of human language must not be perceived as a wilful and independent accomplishment of the human mind but as the result of a reflex imitation of animal sounds (Burrow, 1967: 186).

The reaction against Tooke beginning in the eighteen-thirties may have to be seen in the larger context of the rebellion against Lockean materialism and realist philosophy. Locke was frequently dismissed as a sceptic, among others by Thomas Carlyle or William Whewell. Whewell considered Locke's philosophy to be the foundation of the nineteenth-century utilitarianism of a Jeremy Bentham or a James Mill, which he was eager to fight in his own writings (Dowling, 1986: 53-54; Aarsleff, 1982: 121, 133, 136). The wide rejection of Tooke, as represented for example in Donaldson's *New Cratylus,* signified a shift in perspective. Dismissing Tooke was frequently associated with a departure from Lockean materialism and the introduction of German Romantic philology to England. Donaldson felt particularly attracted to Wilhelm von Humboldt's writings about language and made some crucial ideas from Humboldt's *Über die Verschiedenheit des menschlichn Sprachbaues und ih ren Einfluss auf die geistige Entwickelung des Menschengneschlechts (The Diversity of Human Language-Structure and its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind)*, which was published posthumously in 1836, accessible to English readers in his *New Cratylus* (Donaldson, 1850: 56-57; Jespersen, 1968: 56). Like Herder, the Schlegels and Hölderlin, Humboldt emphasised that 'language is the outward appearance of the intellect of nations' and that a nation and its language cannot be sufficiently identified. Like a human being, each language has an individual character and is in a permanent state of flux, not a finished state. 'In itself it is not an *ergon,* but an *energeia.* Accordingly its true definition can be genetic only It is, in fact, the ever-recurring labour of the mind to make *articulate sound* applicable to the expression of *thought'* (Donaldson, 1850: 56-57; Aarsleff, 1988: XX; Prickett, 1996: 70-71). In identifying language with thought, Humboldt drew on Herder's earlier *Ablhandlung über den Ürsprung der Sprache (Essay on the Origin of Language)* (1770). Herder attributed to language a man-made, rather than a divine, origin and

thus broke with the predominant eighteenth-century view on this matter. On the other hand, Herder's assumptions also imply that language has intrinsically human elements which, due to their dependence on reflection, cannot be derived purely from animal sounds (Herder, 1989: 12, 31-34; Herder, 1966: 94, 115-18; Behler, 1993: 265-69). The third author to whom English commentators on philology frequently refer is Friedrich Schlegel. His research on Indian languages and literature has two implications of particular relevance for our context. In the first place, he coined the term 'comparative grammar' and pointed out how powerful a tool the comparison of grammars of different languages could be for the reconstruction of their genealogy. What is more, he drew attention to the methodological similarities in comparative linguistic approaches to those in scientific disciplines like anatomy (Schlegel, 1977: 28; Jespersen, 1968: 34).

The expression of the necessity to turn away from English scholarship and simultaneously translating elements of German Romantic philology into native traditions also neglects the fact that there was no unanimity among English eighteenth-century approaches to language. Lord Monboddo (1714-99), for example, is well-known for his rejection of Locke's empiricism in language studies and his work was widely read on the Continent. Herder even wrote an introduction to the translation of his lengthy *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1773-92) (Land, 1976: 424-25; 440). What is more, it is hardly possible to overestimate the far-reaching impact of the Sanskrit scholarship of Sir William Jones (1746-94), as well as that of his colleagues and successors. Jones exercised a strong influence on scholars like Friedrich Schlegel and Max Müller. Ironically, both of them have often been praised for shifting the perspective of English philological scholarship by introducing German approaches to it. The absorption of foreign ideas thus becomes perceived as a vehicle for breaking with past native ideas. We have already encountered a similar phenomenon in the neglect of Tytler's essay on translation. Here, too, a change of direction in the perception of translation was intitiated by deliberately superseding native treatments of the topic. For as we have seen, many of the ideas advocated by Goethe and Schleiermacher were also included in Tytler's *Essay*. Disregarding this fact, many English translators would pursue the policy of turning to precisely these German authors in order to break away from the eighteenth-century tradition of Dryden and Pope. Adopting foreign ideas and overcoming their spatial distance thus, once again, compensates for the necessity to erase the temporal distance to similar past native traditions. In both cases, the neglect of Tytler's *Essay* and the indifference towards some

English eighteenth-century philological scholarship, this mechanism thus appears to have been perceived as particularly effective in initiating a shift of perspective in scholarly discourse.

Which aspects of Continental philology, then, did English scholars translate and thus incorporate into their own framework of thinking? The introduction of two new parameters into the study of language, namely a historical dimension on the one hand and a comparative dimension on the other, were frequently considered to be revolutionary in this context. Both concepts gained increasing importance in many writings of the time. A comparison of the articles on grammar in the seventh (1842) and the eighth (1856) editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* which was written by J.W. Donaldson, is enlightening for our purposes. While the seventh edition treats grammar still as a traditional prescriptive system, the eighth edition has a section on historical and comparative aspects appended to an otherwise identical article. A similar shift in meaning can be detected in the contributions on philology (Beyer, 1981: 192-99). The seventh edition still concentrates mainly on the classics, whereas the eighth edition has a section on comparative philology and its links to Sanscrit scholarship. By using a quotation from William Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences,* comparative philology is described as endeavouring 'to ascend to a past state of things by the aid of the evidence of the present' (*Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1858b: 539). As we have seen before, the absence of a comparative historical approach to the study of language was frequently described as a particularly English deficiency and was lamented in various periodical articles of the time (Müller, 1851: 297-300; Tylor, 1866: 394). Yet, why did the introduction of these criteria lead to such drastic changes in the established modes of language perception?

Introducing the epithets 'historical' and 'comparative' meant accepting the notion that language was a medium in permanent flux. The idea of language as a fixed stucture governed by rigid rules was thus abandoned. Change could be initiated through purely temporal developments within one and the same language or through 'external' influences wrought in the interaction with other languages. Language, provided with a historical and a genealogical identity, was thus enabled to have an independent existence, its own 'life-span' and 'family connections'. One of the most creative treatments of this idea is Richard Chevenix Trench's *On the Study of Words* (1851). Trench, too, felt the need to distance himself from the scholarship of Horne Tooke at the beginning of his work. He gave priority to the study of the history and development of the language of a nation over the study of

any of its literary achievements (Trench, 1872: VII, 28-29). For it is language itself which links us with our own history:

> Far beyond all written records in a language, the language itself stretches back, and offers itself for our investigation'the pedigree of nations,' as Johnson calls ititself a far older and at the same time a far more instructive monument and document than any writing which employs it. The written records may have been falsified by carelessness, by vanity, by fraud, by a multitude of causes; but language is never false, never deceives us, if only we know how to question it aright (Trench, 1872:112-13).

Using metaphors relating to organic growth, which is of course reminiscent of Herder and Schlegel, Trench described language as having the life of a plant or a human being. Like a human being, it has to mature into adulthood, but is, at the same time, also subject to decay and death. Like a forest tree, 'it will defy any feeble bends which should attempt to control its expansion, so long as the principle of growth is in it; as a tree, too, it will continually, while it casts off some leaves, be putting forth others' (Trench, 1872: 204). This strength to recreate itself and to initiate change within itself without having to follow prestructured external rules provides language with a great deal of autonomy. It is this autonomy which also furthers exchange with other languages, an interaction again described in vivid imagery Some languages are depicted as having a strong 'appetite and digestive power' in adopting and circulating foreign words. This power is, however, frequently restricted to the youth of a language, since the decrease of 'assimilative energy' in old age rules out a 'chemical amalgamation'. For words have a temporal and a spatial scope of influence, they demarcate the 'enclosure of a certain district, larger or smaller, from the vast outfield of thought or fact'. Interestingly enough, Trench, like Humboldt before him, described it as a particular dilemma for a translator that these lines of enclosure should not coincide in different languages (Trench, 1872: 210, 227; Humboldt, 1963: 80; 1992: 55).

In his writings, Trench thus imaginatively united many of the ideas about language we have been pursuing so far. Today, however, he is probably best known for his involvement in the compilation of the *New English Dictionary* in the eighteen-fifties. Owing to the lack of interest in philology as a university subject at that time, the discipline found its most academic representation in the London Philological Society, which also took the project of a dictionary under its wings (Mitchell, 1977:135). Trench made his views on lexicography known in

the society's transactions. Some of his criticism of the deficiencies in English dictionaries can be interpreted as the direct outcome of his philological studies of words. A dictionary is a 'historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view' and serves as an inventory of a language. For this very reason, the lexicographer should abstain from value judgements and make an attempt to engage in his work with impartiality. He should avoid excluding any usages he considers to be bad or obsolete and should take great care in establishing, as far as possible, the 'rise' and 'setting' of words, thereby trying to establish the length of their life. What emerges again is that language is perceived as an organism following its own laws, laws which cannot be influenced by external man-made rules. Despite the fact that Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm exclude non-Germanic words in their *Deutsches Wörterbuch* and are thus prescriptively Germanic, they were praised for achieving precisely this goal, while the French *Dictionary of the Academy* is condemned for its attempt to prescribe the standards of a language (Grimm, 1854: XXVIXXIX; Trench, 1857: 5-6, 12, 28-29, 41, 69; Trench, 1872: 205-06; Marsden, 1859: 368-69).

This chapter commenced with the observation that making language the object of one's studies leads to its detachment from the speakers using it and the thoughts constituted by it. As we have seen, it is precisely this independence of language as an entity with a life of its own which was frequently associated with German Romantic philology. Eighteenth-century linguistic thinking had been predominated by man-made arbitrary and prescriptive rules. The turn towards attributing to language an autonomous organic life led to a crucial shift of perspective. It has frequently been claimed that the decisive break with eighteenth-century traditions was the abandonment of a 'philosophical, a priori method' in favour of a 'historical a posteriori' approach (Aarsleff, 1983: 73, 127; Eco, 1997: 288). This departure from previous traditions had formed the basis of Donaldson's criticism of Horne Tooke's wild etymological speculations (Neaves, 1840: 494). What is more, the etymological methods applied were no longer linked with discussions about the origin of language. The change in methodology also led to the abolition of the concept of a universal grammar in that nineteenth-century philology refused to use language as an exemplification of prestructured universal theories. Foucault pointed out that philology, in particular comparative philology, did not replace eighteenth-century general grammar but supplemented it in the area which had been 'left blank':

> One can note also the beginnings of a comparative grammar: the object selected for comparison in the various languages is no longer the couple formed by a group of letters and a meaning but groups of modifications of a grammatical nature (conjugations, declensions, suffixes and prefixes). Languages are no longer contrasted in accordance with what their words designate, but in accordance with the means whereby those words are linked together; from now on they will communicate, not via the intermediary of that anonymous and general thought they exist to represent, but directly from one to the other, thanks to these delicate instruments, so fragile in appearance yet so constant and so irreducible, by which words are arranged in relation to each other. (Foucault, 1991: 207, 236)

For our context, it is interesting to see that these 'blank areas' were filled with 'translations' of foreign linguistic concepts which ultimately succeeded in transforming the approach to language. It is thus the discovery of the 'blind spots' in eighteenth-century scholarship which led to the constitution of language as an object of study, governed by its own conditions and no longer by the external rules of a universal grammar (Foucault, 1991: 235-36; Beer, 1989b: 157). What emerges is an 'interior mechanism' in every language which determines not only its 'individuality' but also its kinship with other languages (Foucault, 1991: 236). The writings of Trench showed in addition that the dismissal of language as a fixed, inorganic structure led to its association with metaphors of life, including birth, growth and death.

Trench is interesting not only because of his creative use of metaphors but also because of his links with Trinity College, Cambridge, where he and some of his fellow students made an active effort to cultivate German philological ideas. Most of them also, in the literal sense of the word, translated a wide variety of German texts into English. It is for this reason that they constitute a particularly suitable circle of people to study, in order to bring the cross-currents between translation and philology to the surface. Some of the chief exponents were William Whewell, Julius Hare, Connop Thirlwall and, as we have noted before, his student J.W. Donaldson. We have already encountered Trench's involvement in the Philological Society and the project of a *New English Dictionary*. Hare and Thirlwall were members of this society, whereas William Whewell took part in the activities of the Etymological Society. From 1831 to 1833, Hare and Thirlwall edited the short-lived *Philological Muscum*. Modelled on Niebuhr's

Rheinisches Museum, this journal was the first English periodical dedicated purely to philology as a subject. Trench built his own study of words on premises laid down in Julius and Augustus Hare's *Guesses at Truth* (1827). This collection of fragmentary meditations on a wide range of topics includes various statements in support of the view of language shared by Trench and other thinkers influenced by German Romantic philology.

Both Hare and Thirlwall agreed with the premise that the study of languages has nothing in common with the 'spiritless, pedantic, mechanical craft' for which it has frequently been mistaken in England. 1 Using terminology which is reminiscent of Herder's, Hare came to the following conclusion:

> Languages are the barometers of national thought and character. Horne Tooke, in attempting to fix the quicksilver for his own metaphysical ends, acted much like a little playfellow of mine, at the first school I was at, who screwed the master's weatherglass up to fair, to make sure of a fine day for a holiday (Hare, 1866: 154)

According to Hare, every language goes through three distinct periods of development, thereby reflecting an increasing ability to express abstract phenomena. The first phase is described as rich in expressions for outward objects, simple feelings and actions. The second phase does not merely react to outward circumstances but has the capacity to be creative, coin new words and frame new terminology. The third period is described as a period of even more abstraction, of 'verbal substantives, and of abstract derivatives from adjectives'. Disguised in this terminology is the emergence of an analytical language capable of expressing complex and abstract philosophical ideas (Hare, 1866: 222-25). The distinction of three consecutive phases as a universal phenomenon in all languages are also reminiscent of the historical ideas exposed in Vico's *Scienza Nuova* (1725), which will be discussed in the next chapter. Hare's notion of language as a selfsufficient body undergoing change and development and in particular his condemnation of the autocratic concept behind the dictionary of the French Academy are, as we have seen, also reflected in the works of R.C. Trench (Hare, 1866: 226, 234-35; Trench, 1872: VIIIIX).

Hare, on the other hand, was greatly influenced by Bunsen, who independently maintained close contacts with most of the people mentioned so far. A relatively early letter from Thomas Arnold to Bunsen proves that, even before his time in England, he was closely

associated with the philological scholarship of his own country and respected as an authority on the subject. 2 J.W. Donaldson was introduced to him as the only promising English philologist, and Donaldson himself approached him for a letter of recommendation.3 F.W. Newman, who, as we have seen, played an active role in the controversies about translation of his time, was referred to Bunsen by the physician and ethnologist James Cowels Prichard (1786-1848), when he sought advice about opportunities for publishing a dictionary for the Berber and Atlas languages.4 Prichard shared Bunsen's interest in Egyptology and dedicated his *Natural History of Man* (1843) to the Prussian ambassador. Bunsen, on the other hand, approached William Whewell for help in his Egyptian studies, which he considered to be the lever for a treatise on the problem of the origin of languages and mental development.5 What is more, he held 'alphabetical conferences' in his house in London. The attempt to establish a universal alphabet in order to find a way to describe all existing languages, had various implications. It can be considered one sideline of comparative philology; at the same time, it also served Bunsen's religious interest, since a universal alphabet would facilitate the Christian mission in all parts of the world.6 All these activities show Bunsen's active and varied participation in the linguistic discussions of his time. They also prove his role as a central figure holding together a network of people who, in spite of coming from a wide variety of scholarly pursuits, shared an interest in theoretical linguistic considerations.

Making language an object of study and attributing to it an existence in its own right thus also appears to have enhanced its ability to interact with other subject areas. Analogies emerged between linguistic, literary and scientific discussions. It is precisely this potential for relating and coordinating the interests of widely diverging disciplines which makes the philological approaches under consideration in this chapter a fascinating topic. The phenomenon of translating scholarly approaches in linguistics into other disciplines is a concern in the work of most of the above-mentioned scholars.7 Julius Hare went so far as to claim that philology in its highest sense should so be synonymous with philosophy (Hare, 1866: 525). Other members of the group tried to establish links between philology and biblical criticism, religion, mythology and even various natural sciences, such as anatomy, biology and geology. In the following considerations an attempt will be made to examine the mechanisms involved in establishing links between a wide diversity of scholarly pursuits. We shall have to ask how concepts and methods could be 'translated' from one subject

into another and to what extent the deliberate trespassing on and disregard for boundaries could still be upheld in a time of emerging scientific specialism (Foucault, 1991: XII, XXIV; Rudwick, 1985: XXII, 17).

Returning to Bunsen in the light of these questions takes us into his application of philological methodology to biblical criticism. His writings accept the premises of the German Romantic philological tradition, in particular the writings of Herder and Humboldt. In an 1853 manuscript lecture on the moving forces of history, the emergence of a language, like that of religion, is described as one of the most common phenomena in all cultures. It is perceived to be a prerequisite for all other human achievements and yet, at the same time, requires the existence of a high level of human reason and abstraction. [8] In his most comprehensive work on language constituting two of the seven volumes of *Christianity and Mankind,* Bunsen re-emphasised the need to form a bridge between the philosophy of language to that of religion: (Bunsen, 1854:128)

> We are moreover convinced that the power of mind which enables us to see the genus in the individual, the whole in the many, and to form a word by connecting a subject with a predicate, is essentially the same which leads man to find God in the universe, and the universe in God. Language and religion are the two poles of our consciousness, mutually presupposing each other. The one is directed to the changing phenomena of the world, in the assumption of their unity, the other to the unchangeable, absolute One, with the subsumption of all that is changeable and relative under Him. (Bunsen, 1854: 78)

It is, however, precisely this easy movement between philology and religion and the establishment of parallels between the two subjects which also exposed him to the fiercest criticism he encountered in England.

Rowland Williams, one of the seven authors of the theologically provocative and explosive *Essays and Reviews* (1860), dedicated his contribution to an evaluation of Bunsen's biblical researches. Williams' essay was frequently considered to be the most controversial piece in the general attempt of the essays to reconcile Christianity with the attacks it encountered from various contemporary intellectual, especially scientific, camps (Willey, 1980: 141-42; Burrow, 1967: 194). Bunsen's attempt to apply philological and historical methodology to biblical texts was vehemently rejected for its attack on the divine and revelatory power of the Scriptures. Williams pointed out that Bunsen's

philological research, like a great deal of the work done in geology, proved that the orthodox biblical chronology was too narrow in its limits and could, as a result, not remain unchallenged. The following passage may illustrate the issues at stake:

> Do we see an historical area of nations and languages extending itself over nearly ten thousand years: and can we imagine less than another ten thousand, during which the possibilities of these things took body and form? Questions of this kind require from most of us a special training for each: but Baron Bunsen revels in them, and his theories are at least suggestive. He shows what Egypt had in common with that primaeval Asiatic stock, represented by Ham, out of which, as raw material, he conceives the divergent families, termed Indo-European and Semitic (or the kindreds of Europe and of Palestine) to have been later developed. Nimrod is considered as the Biblical representative of the earlier stock, whose ruder language is continued, by affiliation or by analogy, in the Mongolian races of Asia and in the negroes of Africa. (Williams, 1860: 55-56)

Benjamin Jowett, who also contributed to *Essays and Reviews,* questioned the traditional approach to the Bible in a manner similar to that of Bunsen in that he postulated that the Scripture should be interpreted like any other book. He argued that the methods used in a scholarly interpretation of the Bible should not differ fundamentally from those applied to other classical Greek texts (Jowett, 1860: 377).

Intellectual liberalism, and in particular religious radicalism of this kind, was in the middle of the nineteenth century closely associated with the importation of German scholarship. Jowett naturalised Hegel's philosophy in England after having spent time in Germany himself. Bunsen was perceived as an exponent of historicist biblical criticism in the tradition of David Friedrich Strauss, whose *Das Leben Jesu* had been translated by George Eliot in 1846 (cf. Chapter 2, p. 34). Strauss and his school were condemned as heresy by members of the Oxford Movement. Many of the Anglicans who distanced themselves from John Henry Newman's Catholicising tendencies, such as James Anthony Froude, Edward Pusey, and Hugh James Rose, were familiar with German Literary and scholarly writings. For all these reasons it is therefore not surprising that 'Germanising' became synonymous with a philosophical and theological radicalism, a radicalism with which Bunsen was closely associated by his critics (Ellis, 1980: 58-59; Chaudhuri, 1974: 99-100). It may also serve as an explanation of the fact that James Anthony Froude, for example, after the upheaval he had caused by

the publication of his novel entitled *Nemesis of Faith* in 1849, did not wish to be named as the translator of Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften (Elective Affinities)* (Goethe, 1854: V). Froude's *Nemesis* constituted an imitation of Goethe's novel and was burnt by one of his opponents, William Sewell, in a public lecture in Oxford. The work was denounced as blasphemous and immoral, and Froude's adversaries, who forced the author into resigning his fellowship at Exeter College, frequently associated its alleged unorthodoxy with the impact of German biblical criticism (Ashton, 1988: 7-10). As we have established before, Bunsen must not be seen as an individual case but has to be understood as part of a powerful intellectual network in England, including Julius Hare, Frederick Denison Maurice and others. Indebted to Coleridge, these intellectuals upheld that philology and criticism, when 'honestly used' do not destroy but restore faith (Sanders, 1942: 197). What is more, his influence was perpetuated in the writings of his *protégé* Friedrich Max Müller. In our context of cross-category movement between different subjects, Müller's scholarly contributions are clearly of central importance. For more than all the other people under consideration he placed philology, be it in the context of Sanskrit scholarship or in the context of modern languages, at the centre of his attention and made it the starting point for investigations into a wide variety of scholarly disciplines.

In one of his late works, Müller described the four sciences he was mainly preoccupied with, namely language, mythology, religion and thought, as 'comprehending the whole sphere of activity of the human mind from the earliest period within the reach of our knowledge to the present day'. They follow each other in a natural succession; in this sequence language marks the beginning of human history and is thus defined as the oldest and most fundamental of intellectual pursuits. The second stage is that of mythology, a phase in which first attempts are made at 'translating the phenomena of nature into thought' (Müller, 1897: I, V). On the one hand, mythology is closely linked to philology. This link is reinforced by the fact that there was no necessity to use the Greek word *logos* in order to introduce a term for the science of language. For *mythos,* which originally also meant 'word', could have been employed with exactly the same justification. On the other hand, Müller saw 'mythic' as a quality which opened up the narrow borders of philology since it could be applied to every word and every sphere of thought. In this wider sense, mythologising, according to Müller, was initiated by the distortion of the relation between the original, literal and the metaphorical meaning of a word. Whenever the nature of the link between

these two levels of meaning was not totally transparent, it led to the emergence of mythology (Müller, 1891: I, 1; II, 456). To this level in the intellectual development, the science of religion adds 'the recognition of moral powers, and in the end of One Moral Power behind and above all nature' (Müller, 1897: I, V). Religion in this context is understood not as any specific past or present form of worship but, in a more abstract sense, as a faculty of faith or a comprehension of the Infinite, which can be compared to the independence of all the historical forms of language in the faculty of speech (Müller, 1882: 13). It is in this sense that the science of religion acts as a link between the science of mythology and the science of thought.

The science of thought marks the highest stage in the development of Müller's epistemology and yet, at the same time, it closes the circle, thus taking us back to the science of language. For Müller claims that language cannot be separated from thought and that the growth of mind is closely reflected in the development of language. In this context, Müller refutes the possible objection that the existence of different languages could contradict this premise. On a more general level, all these ideas can be interpreted as an attempt to contradict Locke's opinion that words are merely arbitrary necessities, superimposed by a materialistic outside world (Müller, 1887: 22, 60; Noiré, 1983: 16-17). Müller felt so strongly about this issue that he decided to translate Kant despite the criticism he encountered by his friends for wasting time on a mere translation. Kant for him replaced the notion of an accidental arbitrariness by the concept of development and thus explained how languages, mythological formations, religious beliefs, and philosophical ideas have come to be what they are (Müller, 1881c: V XVIII). In order to describe the notion of development, Müller distinguishes between history and growth. Disciplines shaped and changed by human involvement on the one hand, such as art, science, philosophy and religion, are subject to history. Language and any other production of nature, on the other hand, develop through growth, because it is beyond human influence to produce or prevent language (Müller, 1891: I, 38-39).

It is at this point that Müller comes to the most daring conclusions in his exploration of affinities between what are today considered to be widely diverging disciplines. He is, of course, not the first scholar who was fascinated by analogical arguments and comparative techniques, and in Germany in particular Herder and Goethe felt attracted to a similar method in their work (Nisbet, 1970: 32-39). Müller suggested that there is no science from which the student of language could learn more than from geology (Müller, 1891: II, 13). The estab-

lishment of a historical grammar for each language was compared to the revolution produced in chemistry by the discoveries of Lavoisier and in geology by the theories of Lyell (Müller, 1875a: 219). In an essay entitled 'On the Stratification of Language' he established the following parallel:

> If the formation of the crust of the earth had been throughout regular and uniform, and if none of the lower strata had been tilted up, so that even those who run might read, no shaft from the surface could have been sunk deep enough to bring the geologist from the tertiary strata down to the Silurian rocks. The same in language. Unless some languages had been arrested in their growth during their earlier stages, and had remained on the surface in this primitive state, exposed only to the decomposing influence of atmospheric action, and to the ill-treatment of literary cultivation, I doubt whether any scholar would have had the courage to say that at one time Sanskrit was like unto Chinese, and Hebrew no better than Malay. (Müller, 1881a: 40)

What is more, Müller is by no means unique in his introduction of geological terminology into linguistic scholarship. Another example for this phenomenon is Trench whose work we have encountered already. He, too, saw close analogies between the task of a geologist and that of a philologist. Like Müller, he depicted the methodology of geology as similar to that of comparative philology in that both disciplines try to draw conclusions concerning the earlier formation of their objects of study by collecting details about their present features. In doing so, geology is even successful in going back to times in which the earth was not yet inhabited by man. [9] Trench stated that the English language bears the 'footprints of great revolutions':

> Here too are strata and deposits, not of gravel and chalk, sandstone and limestone, but of Celtic, Latin, German, Danish, Norman words, and then once more Latin and French, with slighter intrusions from other quarters: and any one with skill to analyse the language might re-create for himself the history of the people speaking that language, might with tolerable accuracy appreciate the divers elements out of which that people was composed, in what proportion these were mingled, and in what succession they followed one upon the other (Trench, 1872:114).

It is also interesting that the fruitful interaction of subject-specific terminology in the exchange between philology and geology was mutual and did not work exclusively in one direction. Charles Lyell,

for example, adopted the metaphor of linguistic decipherment for his own research and, when writing the *Principle,* emphasised the necessity 'to learn the full vocabulary of the "living language" of nature' (Rudwick, 1979: 71-72).

Geology, however, was not the only discipline with which Müller saw the science of language intertwined. When trying to define how the science of thought related to the science of language, he compared their relationship with that of biology to anatomy For the 'Science of Language has shown us the wonderful structure of the organ of thoughtthe bones, the muscles, the nerves in grammar and dictionary' (Müller, 1887: 89, 619). Even though Müller also claimed that every student of the science of language had to be an evolutionist because he was dealing with the development of an organism, his relationship to the biology of his days was not as smooth as these analogies may suggest. Müller's views were supported by Ludwig Noiré (cf. Chapter 2, p. 40) and August Schleicher (1821-68). Noiré published his work on Max Miller and language philosophy in 1879, and August Schleicher (1821-68), whose book on Darwin and philology came out in 1863, agreed with Müller on the fact that linguistics should be defined as a natural or physical science. While both these kindred spirits considered Müller to be one of the few scholars who had the academic grounds to challenge Darwin's theory of evolution, his work also incurred severe criticism from various angles (Noiré, 1983: 14). Already in the first course of Lectures on the Science of Language (1861), Müller had expressed his conviction that language is the one great barrier between man and the brute. In doing so, he distanced himself from the followers of Lord Monboddo who had attempted to blur the borderline between man and animals by claiming that the orang-utan belongs to the human species because he is capable of inventing certain arts, particularly that of defence (Müller, 1891: I, 13-14; Monboddo, 1773: 272; Beer, 1989b: 155). Müller conceded that 'the history of language is surely not to be treated like the history of art, or medicine, or law, or even religion'. Despite the lack of 'intentional individual elements' in the history of language, he insisted, however, that 'languages do not grow like cabbages'. [10] In the end, he was determined to uphold that the borderline between human beings and animals was defined by the emergence of language, which he described as the Rubicon between man and the brute, and expressed his intention to publish a separate book on this topic (Noiré, 1983: 14).[11]

The controversy gained further momentum when the anthropologist George Darwin, son of Charles Darwin, attacked Müller's views in an article in the *Contemporary Review* (Darwin, 1874). He defended

his father in the assumption that language was not a distinguishing character of man but 'owed its origin to the imitation and modification of various natural sounds, the voices of other animals, and man's own instinctive cries, aided by signs and gestures' (Ch. Darwin, 1989: 91; G.H. Darwin, 1874: 895). Müller in return published two articles in defence of his own views and also felt the need to correspond with Charles Darwin in order to clarify his standpoint. 12 This clash of opinions, however, could not be overcome, and Darwin declared almost categorically in a letter to Müller that 'he who is fully convinced as I am, that man is descended from some lower animal, is almost forced to believe *a priori* that articulate language has been developed from inarticulate cries; and he is therefore hardly a fair judge of the arguments opposed to this belief'.13 George Darwin's article in the *Contemorary Review* was based on the findings of the American linguist William Dwight Whitney (1827-94) who challenged Müller not only because of his opposition to Darwin but also for his epistemological classifications. Whitney revealed many of the mistakes Müller made in comparative philology by underestimating the historical dimension within the development of languages. Comparative philology, as opposed to traditional philology, was for Müller subsumed under the physical rather than the historical sciences.14 Whitney, on the other hand, was opposed to this view and went back to describing the science of language as a historical or moral science (Müller, 1875b: 442; 1875c: 495; Saussure, 1974: 3-5).

What, however, was the initid8¿attraction of Müller's efforts to transpose the methods and terminology of one discipline to another, and thus to synthesise supposedly distinct areas of study? Müller argued that the science of language was a physical science, for like every physical science it went through the following three, chronologically subsequent, stages of development. The empirical stage, concerned with the collection and analysis of facts, precedes the classificatory stage, which tries to relate the individually collected facts to one another. It is in this second stage of the development that many sciences assume the title of comparative. The third theoretical or metaphysical stage is concerned with the meaning and purpose of the collected details, which are by now compartmentalised into classified groups (Müller, 1891: I, 14-21). Müller's major theoretical source for describing the uniformity underlying these diverse scientific disciplines are William Whewell's writings on the *History (1837)* and the *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences* (1840). Whewell's 'omniscient' approach to science played into Müller's hands (Fisch and Schaffer, 1991: V-XI; Ruse, 1991). Like other philologists of his time, such as Donaldson and

Hare, Müller referred a great deal to Whewell's synthesising efforts in scientific classification and used them to justify his own ideas. Whewell supported Müller in treating the science of language as one of the physical sciences because, like all the other subjects in this category, it follows the principle of induction and thus establishes general facts and classifications on the basis of a vast collection of individual, specific data. 15

One of the conclusions we can draw in trying to summarise the ideas of this chapter is that the term 'translation', in the course of our considerations, has become a broad concept incorporating a wide variety of meanings. It is crucial to remember that most of the intellectuals who have played a role in our present context were experienced in translating German texts into English. In order to carry out this first and most literal meaning of the word 'translation' they needed considerable linguistic expertise, and I would like to suggest that it is the awareness of the problems involved in dealing with foreign texts which alerted them to the potential of linguistic studies.16 As a result, their attention was drawn to the theoretical philological discussions of their time, which eventually also encouraged them to become involved in more complex and abstract forms of translation.

The outcome of these controversies, the modifications to English eighteenth-century linguistic traditions caused by German Romantic philology, resulted mainly in the introduction of a comparative and a historical dimension to the subject. These innovations can also be interpreted as the result of a second form of translation, namely the appropriation of foreign scholarly ideas. Language had now become an object of study in its own right, was no longer subject to prescriptive universal grammatical rules but was governed by laws of its own. Hand in hand with the establishment of this independence went the need for a dictionary, an index of past and present meanings of all words. As we have seen, this 'national monument' was supposed to be as detached as possible from any potential value judgments of its compilers. The creation of a lexicon can, however, also be perceived as the demarcation of an inventory of possible meanings for each word and thus as the definition of semantic boundaries, and it is precisely the fact that the enclosures of the meaning of a word are not identical in different languages which can be described as the dilemma of translation (Trench, 1872: 227; Humboldt, 1963: 80; 1992: 55).

The task of the translator is to determine and 'liaise' these various enclosures of meaning a word could have. Ironically, however, the third form of translation we have been dealing with in this chapter,

namely that between allegedly distinct scholarly disciplines, emerged from trespassing upon, or perhaps opening up, these self-imposed boundaries of meaning. It has been argued that this form of 'crosscategory movement of concepts . . . seems to be most active in areas of unresolved conflict or problem', thus signalling 'the significant anxieties of a period' (Beer, 1983: 31). It is interesting to note that the people engaged in producing perfect daguerreotypes, be it of another language or of nature, were also particularly aware of the force of metaphor and the transfer of meaning it could cause. Intriguingly, J. Herschel used this image from the visual arts in a review article of Whewell's *Inductive Sciences* in order to point out the deficiencies of language in providing an adequate description of nature. 17 As we have seen, Bunsen and Max Müller based their work on a creative exploitation of this force for their own purposes. It is also important to remember at this point that it was Friedrich Schleiermacher's 1813 essay which pointed to the parallels between inter- and intra-lingual translation and thus added a new hermeneutic dimension to the discourse about linguistic and cultural transmission (Schleiermacher, 1977: 67-68; cf. Chapter 2, p. 52). As a result of these ideas, an alleged incommensurability of disciplines and their lexicons does not necessarily have to lead to total untranslatability but can present a stimulating challengea challenge, translators were particularly well qualified to take upon themselves.18

Notes

1. Thirlwall to Bunsen, 16 December 1832, in Thirlwall (1881: 103); for the reaction against Cambridge classics, see also Brink (1985: 115).

2. Thomas Arnold to Bunsen, 23 August 1839; MS Bunsen Papers, Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92, Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 63. See also Sir George Grey's letter of thanks to Hare for Bopp and Hare's recommendation of Bunsen's work, of 22 September 1854 as quoted in Paulin (1987: 192).

3. Arnold to Bunsen, 25 February 1840, MS Bunsen Papers, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 63; Donaldson to Bunsen, 13 November 1849, MS Bunsen Papers, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 43.

4. F.W. Newman to Bunsen, 30 September 1843, MS Bunsen Papers, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 37.

5. Bunsen to Whewell, 25 March 1843, MS Bunsen Papers, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 137; *Egypt's Place in World History* was published in German between 1845 and 1857 and translated into English by H. Cottrell.

6. The proceedings of these conferences can be found in Bunsen (1854: 375488); see also Müller (1902: I, 147). Similar ideas were shared by the British

and Foreign Bible Society and the London Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews, founded in 1804 and 1808 respectively. On this issue, see Said (1991: 100).

7. On the various activities of the Trinity circle, see Cannon (1978: 49-52) and Preyer (1981: 51-52).

8. MS Bunsen Papers, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) A Nr. 30a IPhilosophie, 'Grundlinien einer Methode, die Bewegung in der Geschichte zu finden . . .', pp. 2 and 51].

9. Max Müller Papers, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. d. 2353 ['My first course of lectures on Comparative Philology' (1851)] 1.2.4v and 1.2.5 r.

10. Max Müller to John Stuart Blackie, 29 October 1861, MS National Library of Scotland, 2625, f.223r and 224v.

11. Max Müller to John Stuart Blackie, 24 November 1875, MS National Library of Scotland, 2631, f.361r-361v.

12. Müller (1875b); Müller (1875c); MS letters from Müller to Darwin, Cambridge University Library, DAR 171.2, book 4, letters dated 29 June 1873, 7 January 1875, and 13 October 1875.

13. MS Cambridge University Library, DAR 146, Charles Darwin to Max Müller, 3 July 1873.

14. Müller (1875c: 494); Max Müller Papers, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.d.2353, II.2.29v.

15. Hare (1866: 221); Müller (1875b: 443-44); Max Müller Papers, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.d.2353, III.2.52v-53r; Whewell (1857: I, 5).

16. Wilhelm von Humboldt's intellectual development is a particularly strong example for this phenomenon, because the *Agamemnon* preface with his ideas about translation is one of the texts which marks the transition from his earlier aesthetic to his later philological writings. (Frey, 1997: 60)

17. Herschel (1841: 190); on the exchange of metaphors between different disciplines, see also Beer (1991).

18. For a wide range of ideas about the translatability of historical scientific discourse, see Kuhn (1989: 9-12).

Chapter 5
Translating the Past

The conclusion of the last chapter reminded us of one of Schleiermacher's most stimulating ideas about translation, namely that 'we must sometimes even translate our own words *after a while,* when we want to make them really our own again' [my italics] (Schleiermacher, 1977: 68; 1963: 39). What is more, Julius and Augustus Hare expressed a similar view in their *Guesses at Truth:*

> Every age has a language of its own; and the difference in the words is often far greater than in the thoughts. The main employment of authors, in their collective capacity, is to translate the thoughts of other ages into the language of their own. Nor is this a useless or unimportant task: for it is the only way of making knowledge either fruitful or powerful. (Hare, 1866:154)

In their view the 'temporal' distance of words and ideas in our own language is not fundamentally different from the 'spatial' distance of words and ideas in a foreign language, for both lie outside our immediate, present sphere of experience. Julius and Augustus Hare, however, took Schleiermacher's analogy even further and addressed the question as to what happens when we go beyond our own experience and deal with the documents and ideas of past generations. In this context, Benjamin argued that translation is a mode which can 'revitalise' a text long after the original has lost its power over its contemporary readership (Benjamin, 1970: 71; 1977: 51-52). Schleiermacher's, J. and A. Hare's, as well as Benjamin's observations thus suggest a parallel between the task of a translator and that of a historian. There are two questions here. Do both professions have a common ground, and to what extent is the historian's task to reshape the past to be perceived as a translation of historical events into a modern narrative? This leads to the further point: what has such a translation from the past in common with the translation from a foreign language, and how are both forms of rewriting a narrative intertwined (Lefevere, 1992: 9)?

This interaction between both modes of representation emerges in a particularly trenchant manner in Thomas Arnold's suggestions concerning the teaching of translation to schoolboys at Rugby. Real translation for Arnold was an undertaking distinctly different from and far superior to what he described as the 'folly' of merely construing a foreign text (T. Arnold, 1845b: 355). For translating a foreign text was perceived not only as a task concerned with the improvement of the student's versatility in a foreign language: it was also an exercise in English composition and, what is more, one with a strong historical dimension (T Arnold, 1845b: 351, 354). As we have seen in Chapter 3 (p. 77), Arnold advocated translating the works of foreign authors into the English style of writers who lived in corresponding periods of 'national cultivation' in an 1837 letter to Justice Coleridge (Stanley, 1844: II, 100). Elsewhere he applied this technique to the prose writers of Greece and Rome:

> Herodotus should be rendered in the style and language of the chroniclers; Thucydides in that of Bacon or Hooker, while Demosthenes, Cicero, Caesar and Tacitus, require a style completely modernthe perfection of the English language such as we now speak and write it, varied only to suit the individual differences of the different writers, but in its range of words, and in its idioms, substantially the same. (T Arnold, 1845b: 354-55)

Arnold's method is based on two premises. In the first place, he acknowledged his indebtedness to Vico's *Scienza Nuova* (1725) and argued in the first appendix to his 1830 edition of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* that there are analogous periods in the development of different national histories since each national history goes through a state of childhood, maturity and old age. A period in ancient history can thus become modern because it describes a similar stage of society, whereas supposedly far less remote periods of modern history can turn out to be totally disconnected from the present because they do not describe an analogous period in the historical development of the respective country (T Arnold, 1845a: 81-82, 95, 108-10; Dale, 1977: 92-95; Forbes, 1952: 17; Sanders, 1942: 104-05). Arnold thus argued that the past can be successfully related to the present and for this reason also rejected antiquarianism, which he defined as 'the knowledge of the past enjoyed by one who has no lively knowledge of the present' (T Arnold, 1843: 84-85). The second premise arises out of these assumptions. In order to translate successfully, a translator has to establish the position of the foreign text in its original national tradition and then find the equivalent period in the

development of his own country. This task, without any doubt, presupposes a great dose of historical skill. As a result, the translator has to be able to adopt the role of a historian and a historian, similarly, has to be versatile enough to turn into a translator, both in the literal and the figurative sense of the word. Arnold argued that the understanding of a certain period or event in the past is enhanced by reading a native, and, if possible, contemporary, commentator who is in the privileged position of being able to convey an authentic glimpse of the language, the style and the peculiarities of the period in question (T Arnold, 1843: 67). It is then the task of a later historian to work on these views by first translating them into his own language and subsequently incorporating them into his own original treatment of the topic.

The points of interaction between translation and historiography are thus lucidly stated in Arnold's writings. That might do for the manner in which his concept of history influenced his views on translation. There remains the extent to which translation had an impact on his own particular kind of historiography. Arnold's major contribution to historical scholarship was his three-volume *History of Rome,* an undertaking he described as an adaptation of the *Römische Geschichte* by Barthold Georg Niebuhr to the taste of the English public (T. Arnold, 1838: VII). In a letter to Bunsen written in 1836, he emphasised his strong indebtedness to the German original by expressing his fear of developing a 'superstitious . . . veneration' for its author, since he would not venture to differ from his role model in one single opinion (Stanley, 1844: II, 21; Bentley, 1993: 136-37). Having made the effort of learning German specifically for the purpose of being able to read Niebuhr, Arnold had initially intended to see his name connected with part of the translation of Niebuhr's research (Stanley, 1844: I, 45). Even though this plan never materialised, he encouraged his daughter to translate the historian's letters as soon as her German was good enough to study something 'so pure and so noble'. 1 What is more, Arnold dedicated his *History of Rome* to his close friend Bunsen, who in his turn considered Niebuhr to be his intellectual mentor. Bunsen had succeeded Niebuhr as Prussian minister to the Vatican in 1824 and was in many ways responsible for initiating the promotion of his work in England.2

Arnold's first acquaintance with Niebuhr's research was brought about by a recommendation of Julius Hare who, together with his friends at Trinity College, Cambridge, was engaged in promoting some recent developments in German classical scholarship, ones that made considerable use of Niebuhr's method (Stanley, 1844: I, 45-46).3

As we have already examined (see Chapter 4, pp. 105-106) the periodical edited by Julius Hare and Connop Thirlwall, the *Philological Museum,* was modelled on Niebuhr's *Rheisches Museum.* What is more, Hare and Thirlwall translated the first two volumes of the second edition of Niebuhr's *Römisch Geschiche,* an undertaking which Thirlwall described as 'perhaps . . . the most useful labour' of his life. In a letter to John Thirlwall written in 1827, he also stressed the fact that the difference in content between the first and the second edition of this work was so great that a second translation into English was not a superfluous luxury but a necessity (Thirlwall, 1881: 94-95). [4] What is more, Niebuhr's popularity went beyond the recognition bestowed on him by a purely academic community. Hence Bunsen's attempt to win Sarah Austin, the editor of Niebuhr's *Stories of the Gods and Heros of Greece* (1843), for the translation of Dore Hensler's *Lebensnachrichten* in 1852 (see Chapter 1, p. 28). As we have seen before, this endeavour remained unsuccessful, and Bunsen was referred to Susanna Winkworth, who eventually agreed to undertake the project. Despite this fact, Mrs Austin was so strongly associated with Niebuhr that the political scientist and educator Francis Lieber (1800-72), who had met Niebuhr in Rome in 1822, acted as the tutor of his son and emigrated to America in 1827, chose to dedicate his *Reminiscences* of the historian to her. He considered Mrs Austin to be 'the interpreter of German literature to the English nation and their brethren in the Western hemisphere' and had been responsible for her introduction to Niebuhr (Lieber, 1835: V).

The network of people engaged in the promotion of Niebuhr's work in England thus includes many of the translators we have already encountered in various contexts, and some commentators would even go so far as to claim that the author's popularity was greater in England than it was in Germany (Zincke, 1854: 3; Bammel, 1984: 140). A reflection of the respect in which Niebuhr was held could be seen in the lengthy articles which the seventh 1842 edition (209-17) and the eighth 1858 edition (255-62) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* dedicated to his achievements. One explanation for this may be that the English rendering, particularly in comparison with the interlinear French translation of the *Römische Geschichte,* was regarded by some critics as an easily accessible and readable piece of scholarship (*Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1842a: 216). Thomas Keightley, a reviewer of Niebuhr's *Roman History,* considered Hare's and Thirlwall's translation to be excellent but acknowledged his difficulties with the author's style in the original (Keightley, 1833: 406; 1829: 208). Hare and Thirlwall undertook their translation with the sanction of the author and 7,000 copies

of their text were purchased within ten years of its publication (*Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 1858a: 259; Müller, 1895: 437-38; Kenrick, 1829: 356; Malden, 1833: 269). Others opposed this positive evaluation. For Hare and Thirlwall produced a literal rendering of what these reviewers considered to be a highly technical German work and were even accused of demeaning themselves by acting as mere *rédacteurs* 5 In other words, Hare and Thirlwall have become too 'Germanic' and have broken the golden stylistic rule of English historiography: readability. The lack of unanimity in assessing the success of Hare's and Thirlwall's translation, however, does not call into question the far-reaching impact of Niebuhr's scholarship. The wide range of periodical reviews of his *Roman History* is a clear indicator and constitutes a rich source for the evaluation of his strong influence on English scholars.

In many ways Arnold enhanced this influence even further. It is probably mainly due to his efforts that Niebuhr's work was read not merely in England by classicists and scholars in the field of Roman history but also by a broader, general public interested in other subject areas, and the influence of his historiographical tradition can even be traced in Lyell's geological theories (Rudwick, 1979: 70-71). For Arnold, as we have seen, aimed for more than a mere linguistic mediation of Niebuhr's text. Like Macaulay, he felt the need for a 'second translation' of Hare's and Thirlwall's literal English rendering of the text and thus decided to remould the author's dry and scholarly style according to the taste of an English readership (Thirlwall, 1936: 43). Extracts from Niebuhr's description of the deficiencies of the authentic historical documents relating to the expulsion of the last Tarquinius, which marked the beginning of the Roman republic, as well as Arnold's rendering of the same historiographical problem serve as an illustration of their authors' differing styles. Niebuhr's version in Hare's and Thirlwall's translation reads as follows:

> I have related the tale of the last king's glory and of his fall no less nakedly than it must have stood in those bald Annals, the scantiness of which made Cicero think it his duty, and induced Livy, to throw a rich dress over the story of Rome. That which is harmonious in a national and poetical historian, would be out of tune in a work written more than eighteen hundred years later by a foreiner [sic!] and a critic. His task is to restore the ancient tradition, to fill it up by reuniting such scattered features as still remain, but have been left out in that classical narrative which has become the current one, and to free it from the refinements with which learning has disfigured it: that distinct and lively view,

> which his representation also should aim to give, should be nothing more than the clear and lively perception of the outlines of the old lost poem. Had a perfectly simple narrative by Fabius or Cato been preserved, I would merely have translated it, have annext the remnants of other accounts, and then added a commentary, such as I now have to write on my own text. (Niebuhr, 1831: 501)

Arnold's ability to make ancient history accessible to the English readership of his day becomes apparent in his treatment of the same topic:

> Men love to complete what is imperfect, and to realise what is imaginary. The portraits of king Fergus and his successors in Holyrood palace were an attempt to give substance to the phantom names of the early Scotch story; those of the founders of the oldest colleges in the gallery of the Bodleian library betray the tendency to make much out of little, to labour after a full idea of those who are only known to us by one particular action of their lives. So it has fared with the early history of Rome: Romulus and Numa are like king Fergus; John of Balliol, and Walter of Merton, are the counterparts of Servius Tullius, and Brutus, and Poplicola. Their names were known, and their works were living; and men, longing to image them to their minds more completely, made up by invention for the want of knowledge, and composed in one case a pretended portrait, in the other a pretended history.
>
> There have been hundreds, doubtless, who have looked on the portrait of John of Balliol, and, imposed upon by the name of portrait, and by its being the first in a series of pictures, of which the greater part were undoubtedly copied from the life, have never suspected that the painter knew no more of the real features of his subject than they did themselves. So it is that we are deceived by the early history of the Roman Commonwealth. It wears the form of annals, it professes to mark accurately the events of successive years, and to distinguish them by the names of the successive consuls, and it begins a history, which going on with these same forms and pretensions to accuracy, becomes after a time in a very large proportion really accurate, and ends with being as authentic as any history in the world. Yet the earliest annals are as unreal as John of Balliol's portrait; there is in both cases the same deception. (T. Arnold, 1838:123-24)

Niebuhr's *History* and its subsequent popularisation could lead Harold Nicolson, the biographer of Tennyson, earlier in this century

to the following conclusion in his account of the time in which the poet and his contemporaries grew up and developed:

> Peace and prosperity became their gods, and Jeremy Bentham was there conveniently to serve as prophet. But gradually as the century progressed a great many unpleasant developments came to disturb this placid illusion: there was the Reform Bill, and the Corn Law agitation, and Niebuhr, and the Railways and the co-operative movement, and geology and astronomy, and the industrial population and the first uneasy hints of evolution; and with these disappeared all hope of peace and sanity, or of the new, easy, selfish England which, while in their strenuous Napoleonic days, they had forecasted so confidently. (Nicolson, 1923: 3-4)

In attempting to do justice to the same phenomenon, Thirlwall's son used the term 'Niebuhr-madness' for describing the upheaval this author caused (Thirlwall, 1936: 48). Why could Niebuhr be perceived to be as political and topical an issue as the Reform Bill, the Corn Law and the railways, and to what extent does he deserve to be described as a threat to the predominant atmosphere of intellectual peace? Thomas Arnold's view of this matter is of primary importance, since his admiration for Niebuhr was as much an expression of genuine respect for this historian's specific treatment of Roman history as a rejection of earlier approaches to the same topic. Above all, he intended to dissociate himself from Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-88). Since he explicitly articulated the wish to 'make his history the reverse of Gibbon', Arnold's relationship to this work has been described as a deep aversion:

> 'My highest ambition,' he said, as early as 1826, 'and what I hope to do as far as I can, is to make my history the very reverse of Gibbon in this respect,that whereas the whole spirit of his work, from its low morality, is hostile to religion, without speaking directly against it; so my greatest desire would be, in my History, by its high morals and its general tone, to be of use to the cause without actually bringing it forward.' (Stanley, 1844: I, 210; see also Brink, 1985: 121; Strachey, 1918: 202-03)

The rejection of Gibbon's approach to Roman history has a variety of reasons. The one most clearly definable explanation is that Arnold disagreed with Gibbon's view of the Christian religion. The author of the *Decline and Fall* had depicted the rise of Christianity as being equally responsible for the dissolution of the Roman Empire with the invasion of the Barbarians and already during his own lifetime felt

the need to respond to what he considered to be a religious crusade against him (Gibbon, 1779; Dowling, 1985: 581). Arnold and other historians of the Liberal Anglican tradition, on the other hand, were far from accepting this detrimental role of their religious conviction. As an alternative, they insisted on a providentialist view of history under divine guidance and deeply resented the religious scepticism associated with what they perceived as an eighteeenth-century mechanistic, purposeless rationalism, the results of which they saw enacted in the Utilitarianism of their own day (Forbes, 1952: VIII, 7).

Yet Arnold found flaws of a more general nature in Gibbon's approach to history. Gibbon's place in eighteenth-century scholarship makes these clear. Arnaldo Momigliano has pointed out that Gibbon managed to reconcile two opposing strands in eighteenth-century historical scholarship. There was, on the one hand, the tradition of the *érudits,* the antiquarians, who attempted to reconstruct history through unclassified collections of facts rather than by means of literary sources. Conflicting with them were the philosophical historians, who paid less attention to detailed research into the authenticity of individual facts, but compensated for the antiquarians' lack of generalisation by superimposing a structure and developing universal systems of the progress of mankind. Gibbon amalgamated both approaches in that he appropriated the details unearthed by antiquarianismin which he also partookin order to increase the vividness of his account. The plot of this narration, however, showed all the traits of a piece of philosophical scholarship (Momigliano, 1955a: 67, 100; Momigliano, 1955b: 197-98, 207; Hale, 1967: 29-30; Grafton, 1997: 97).

For various reasons, Arnold disagreed with both these trends in eighteenth-century scholarship. In the first place, he rejected the notion that history should be studied purely for its own sake. As we have already noticed above, he described antiquarianism as 'the knowledge of the past enjoyed by one who has no lively knowledge of the present' and therefore dismissed it as dull. In the following passage, Arnold went on to explore how the study of history can act as a link between the past and the present:

> It (i.e. antiquarianism) may be lively in little things, it may conceive vividly the shape and colour of a dress, or the style of a building, because no man can be so ignorant as not to have a distinct notion of these in his own times; he must have a full conception of the coat he wears and the house he lives in. But the past is reflected to us by the present; so far as we see and understand the present, so far as we can see and understand the past: so far

> but no farther. And this is the reason why scholars and antiquarians, nay, and men calling themselves historians also, have written so uninstructively of the ancient world: they could do no otherwise, for they did not understand the world around them. How can he comprehend the parties of other days, who has no clear notion of those of his own? (T. Arnold, 1843: 84-85)

Arnold considered Niebuhr to be well qualified to build this bridge between past and present without superimposing an unduly generalising mechanistic idea of progress as represented by the eighteenth-century idea of a universal march of mind in all mankind (Forbes, 1952:19, 39). What is more, in contrast to Gibbon he had the philological training which enabled him to deal with Greek and Latin source material and, as we have noted above, Arnold considered the ability to read the contemporary native sources of a specific historical period as increasing the understanding of this time (Gibbon, 1909: IX-X; Hale, 1967: 33). Gibbon, in spite of being praised for a meticulous knowledge of all the printed texts available on his topic, did not make the attempt to scrutinise his sources and thus did not see the need to define an abstract method for dealing with these texts. His primary concern was simply to leave them intact and re-use them as a basis for his narrative in precisely the shape in which he discovered them.

The difference in these two historiographical approaches can be illustrated best by comparing the beginning of the first chapter in both *Roman Histories*. The first two sentences of Gibbon's work appear like a sudden plunge into the author's subject matter: 'In the second century of the Christian Aera, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilised portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour' (Gibbon, 1909: 1). It was obviously important for the author to communicate a starting point in time and to describe the boundaries of the territory he was dealing with. Despite the fact that the qualifications 'fairest' and 'most civilised' imply a value judgement by, and thus the presence of, the author in these sentences, the main information conveyed is of an objective, transpersonal nature. Niebuhr's first sentences, even though they contain a similar kind of information, introduce the reader to the issues at stake in a more cautious manner: '*I* [my italics] have undertaken to write the history of Rome; from the earliest times of the city, unto the period when the soveranty [sic!] of Augustus over the Roman world was undisputedly acknowledged' (Niebuhr, 1831: I, 1; 1827b: I, 1). Niebuhr thus saw the necessity of starting his work by drawing the reader's

attention to his own role, that is the role of the historian, in the undertaking he proposed to accomplish.

The contrast between the approaches of Gibbon and Niebuhr can therefore not merely be reduced to the different periods in Roman history they chose to deal with: Gibbon describing the decline of the Roman Empire, and Niebuhr focusing on its beginnings and originally planning to finish his work where Gibbon started (Niebuhr, 1827a: I, X; Milman, 1835: 246). Methodologically, a more crucial difference between both authors is that Gibbon, on the one hand, created the illusion that the time lapse between the period he chose to write about and his own lifetime does not impose problems when it comes to reconstructing a sequence of historical events and evaluating their importance. The impression he thus promoted is that of unimpeded immediacy. Niebuhr, on the other hand, alerted his readers that, as an author, he acted as an intermediary between historical reality and what they see on the printed page. The readers are thus made aware that the history they read may not be totally undistorted and that the attempt to reconstruct a reality so far back in time is not an unproblematic undertaking. As a result of these premises, Gibbon did not hesitate to superimpose a 'plot' onto the historical data at his disposal, while Niebuhr felt the need to discuss at great length how the 'plot' emerged. Carlyle described the treatment of ancient sources after so many centuries, this moment of 'historical translation', in the following manner: 'Thus, do not the records of a Tacitus acquire new meaning, after seventeen hundred years, in the hands of a Montesquieu? Niebuhr has to reinterpret for us, at a still greater distance, the writings of a Titus Livius' (Carlyle, 1899d: 175-76).

Niebuhr tried to deal with these potential difficulties by familiarising his readers with the sources he drew on in as detailed as possible a manner. In so doing, he meticulously referenced the material he used, going so far as to advocate the acknowledgment of not only the sources for a particular statement but also works of secondary literature that may have led to the discovery of a particular ancient source (T Arnold, 1840: III-IV). What is more, these textual references are no longer 'hidden away' in the footnotes, as they are in Gibbon's work, but become an object of discussion in the main text. Gibbon had put a great deal of effort into his footnotes and treated them as a form of art, which could 'win him a reputation for both impudence and erudition'. Nineteenth-century scholarly annotations, on the other hand, no longer constituted an independent narrative, which came close to establishing a dialogue between the author's and other scholars' points of view, and thus ceased to play the 'prominent role of the

tragic chorus' (Grafton, 1997: 1, 226, 229). Niebuhr advocated the classical narrative free of notes. The flow in such a discourse is of course in danger of suffering through the excessive need for 'authentication', which is after all, at least in parts, also responsible for the fact that Niebuhr was considered to be so unreadable. In our context, this instance is of particular significance, for the information contained in a footnote in many ways constitutes as important a tool for mediating between past and present in the work of a historian as, say, the contents of a dictionary in the attempts of a translator to mediate between two languages (Cosgrove, 1991: 131-33). By subjecting this tool to the discussion going on in the main text and by opening this 'dictionary' for his readers, Niebuhr thus enabled them to judge the probability of his account for themselves and avoided the impression of leaving them with an authoritative plot.

Niebuhr, however, went even further than that, since he emphasised the necessity of questioning the authenticity of his sources. By applying philological criticism to his historical scholarship, he dissected the texts his investigations were based on (especially the treatments of the early Roman period by Livy and Dionysius) into their components and thus tried to distinguish between their earlier and their later elements. This scientific analysis of texts, a development in historiographical method which was closely linked to the rise of philological scholarship discussed in the last chapter, frequently questioned the reliability of historical documents and promoted a general spirit of enquiry (Niebuhr, 1852: I, 4-5; Niebuhr, 1831: VI, IX; Niebuhr, 1839: 25, 41; Collingwood, 1946: 130). At the beginning of his *Römische Geschichte,* Niebuhr emphasised the scientific nature of his method. He did not intend to rely on his intuition but wished to employ his faculty of criticism. What is more, he did not only aim at delivering the result of his researches but he also attempted to lay open his method in full length. He thus hoped to be in a position to provide his readers with a more accurate view of ancient Rome and to correct some of the mistakes in the testimonies of the ancient writers treating this topic (Niebuhr, 1831: XVII-XVIII). It is largely owing to the strength of these methodological considerations that English commentators like Arnold in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* praised Niebuhr's scholarship not so much for the fact that he 'has . . . written a perfect history himself, as he has pointed out the true means by which it may be written' and thus achieved for historical scholarship 'what Bacon did for science' (T. Arnold, 1830: I, XI).

What, then, are the features of Niebuhr's method which made him the subject of discussion in a wide range of periodical articles

(Keightley, 1828: 514-17; Anon., 1828a: 168; Anon., 1828b: 360-61; Malden, 1833: 281; Lewes, 1845: 455; Smith, 1852: 542)? Why were they perceived as being so revolutionary by his contemporaries that Nicolson felt justified in describing them as a danger to the intellectual and political peace of his time? As early as 1841, Thomas De Quincey had described Niebuhr's achievement in the following terms:

> It is known pretty generally, perhaps, that the Roman history, before and after Niebuhr, corresponds, by analogy, to the system of the heavens before and after Sir Isaac Newton. Kepler, before Newton, had delivered pregnant oracles of truth; and, without those, even Newton must have wasted his powers. So had many writers directed a fixed stream of sceptical light upon the fables of the early Roman history; and without such an awakening of his attention, it is possible that the combining faculty of Niebuhr might never have been solicited to that field of enquiry. (De Quincey, 1841: 565)

In his philological studies one such influence on Niebuhr was F.A. Wolf's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* (1795). In attempting to trace the sources of the *Iliad,* Wolf had expounded the hypothesis that underlying the epic we consider to be Homer's text is a myriad of heroic songs and various traditions of folk-poetry Since these were quite possibly composed by several authors at different times, the unity of Homer's text became questionable in his treatment of it. The assumption of single authorship is thus challenged and replaced by the notion that the *Iliad* is derived from multiple sources.

Niebuhr was fascinated by this theory and intended to apply Wolf's ideas to early Roman history, even though Wolf did not agree that this was a feasible undertaking (Niebuhr, 1839: 45-46; Hensler, 1838-39: III, 367). 6 As a result, he started to question the authority of Livy and other ancient historians dealing with the early history of Rome and developed his own ideas on the reliability of the sources for this period of time. In so doing, Niebuhr worked on premises he had adopted from Wolf and Herder, namely the idea that every nation in its earliest stages goes through a phase of poetical creation, reflecting a completely mythical and religious stage of civilisation. This phase is followed by a mythico-historical period in which it is the task of poetry to reflect real historical events, even though the manner in which this is done frequently distorts the actual facts. Niebuhr continued to argue that the final and most mature stage of a nation was characterised by a continuous prose documentation of contemporary events. Since this development can be perceived in the history of all

nations, he concluded by analogy that Rome, too, must have had a primitive poetic tradition, comparable to that of the *Iliad* in Greece or the *Nibelungenlied* in Germany (Niebuhr, 1827a: I, 178-91; Burrow, 1981: 121).

Niebuhr's most daring hypothesis is that Rome had a quasihistorical ballad literature which commemorated the deeds of great men and preceded the work of Ennius, who was generally considered to be the father of Roman poetry. For Niebuhr, however, Ennius did not so much stand for the beginning of a Roman poetic tradition. Much to the contrary, he represented the end of a native tradition of songs. Hence in many ways he was held responsible for suppressing the earliest pieces of Roman indigenous poetry in Saturnian verse and replacing them by hexameters, thus giving way to the supremacy of Greek culture. Niebuhr believed he could find references for the existence of this primitive and lost oral ballad tradition, contemplating the events of the past, in the works of Cato, Valerius Maximus, Varro and Horace (Niebuhr, 1827a: 188-90; Momigliano, 1957: 104-05). Ancient historians like Livy and Dionysius ignored this genre altogether and based their accounts of early Roman history mainly on pontifical annals and triumphal *fasti,* that is patrician documents as opposed to folk poetry, which Niebuhr associated with plebeian authorship (Niebuhr, 1827a: I, 190). Scrutinising historical sources in this manner and recreating historical events by mistrusting traditional authorities has thus become a form of creative detective work and can almost be compared to the completion of a jigsaw puzzle.

As already seen, the innovatory impact of this method was widely discussed in the contemporary periodical press and tempted other historians to undertake similar projects. Apart from Arnold's *History of Rome,* Thirlwall's *History of Greece* (1835-44) and H.H. Milman's *History of the Jews* (1829), as well as his *History of Latin Christianity* (1855) were built on Niebuhr's theoretical groundwork (Momigliano, 1955c: 254). Milman also defended Niebuhr against scholars opposing his method (Milman, 1840: 546, 563). In addition, Thomas Macaulay's collection of the *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842) was based on Niebuhr's assumptions and expounded his ballad theory in a lengthy preface (Macaulay, 1881: IX-XXXIX). Despite the fact that Niebuhr's conjectures inspired Macaulay to publish the *Lays,* he, like Carlyle, would have disagreed with one of the consequences of Niebuhr's scientific treatment of sources, namely the professionalisation of history as a discipline and its separation from a general literary culture (Bann, 1990: 23; 1995: 24). All this did not necessarily mean that Niebuhr's assumptions went unchallenged. One first objection is obvious. How

could Niebuhr, on the basis of so little evidence, justify his demolition of the authority of Livy, a historian who had been so much closer to the events he dealt with than he, Niebuhr, was? What is more, how could he venture to construct his own version of early Roman history without ever being able to prove his reconstruction of the facts? Niebuhr's conjectures were indeed the object of severe criticism both in England and Germany

One of his most famous opponents in Germany was August Wilhelm Schlegel who challenged him in a review published in the *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* in 1816. Schlegel's strongest objection to Niebuhr's theory was that the Romans did not even have an indigenous word for poet because *vates* originally meant 'soothsayer' and *carmen* was only used for sacred utterances. This opposition was based on the view that the Romans were a belligerent and agricultural people but not necessarily endowed with the greatest poetical talent. It also reflects the view current in the eighteenth century, especially in the writings of Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt, that Roman culture was in general inferior to Greek, since it was based on a 'culture' that fostered conquest, the introduction of laws and administration. Unlike a second assailant, the Tübingen theologian Albert Schwegler (1819-57), who did not believe that the Romans in the early centuries of their national history were capable of creating epic poetry at all, Schlegel did not question the importance of an early ballad tradition as a historical source. For the reasons discussed above, however, he would have attributed its origins to Greek rather than Roman sources (Schlegel, 1847b: 452-53; Schwegler, 1853: I, 66). Theodor Mommsen eventually, even though he never discussed Niebuhr's work in detail, dismissively described his speculations as 'splendid phantasies' (Mommsen, 1844: VII).

The most eminent English critic of Niebuhr was Sir George Cornewall Lewis. At the beginning of his *Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History* (1855) he observed that Niebuhr superseded sceptical predecessors such as Perizonius and Beaufort in the boldness with which he rejected and restored the available testimonies. Lewis, like Mommsen, disapproved of Niebuhr's boldness as 'an occult faculty of historical divination' and put his efforts into perspective:

> In like manner, we may rejoice that the ingenuity and learning of Niebuhr should have enabled him to advance many novel hypotheses and conjectures respecting events in the early history, and respecting the form of the early constitution, of Rome. But unless he can support those hypotheses by sufficient evidence, they are

> not entitled to our belief. It is not enough for a historian to claim the possession of a retrospective second-sight, which is denied to the rest of the world; of a mysterious doctrine, revealed only to the initiated. (Lewis, 1855: I, 13, 14-15)

Lewis had a wide range of followers. Among them was William Whewell, who disagreed with Hare and Thirlwall and in a letter written to Cornewall Lewis in 1855 expressed his concern about the fact that English 'scholars have been as much in the habit of accepting Niebuhr's views of Roman history recently, as servilely as they did Livy before' (Todhunter, 1876: II, 405). He was supported by George Grote, the historian of Greece, who in a review of the *Inquiry* also agreed with Lewis' objections to Niebuhr (Grote, 1873: 209). John Stuart Blackie had expressed his doubts in a letter to Bunsen even before Lewis published his work and felt unable to sympathise with Niebuhr's philological ambitions. He could not see why 'such a firm intellect' should be wasted on the endeavour 'to settle what never can be settled' 7

Undermining the authority of established perceptions and conjecturing new readings was, of course, in the eyes of many contemporaries, a challenging untertaking. Some critics saw Niebuhr's scientific dissection of Livy's rendering of Roman history and its replacement by a new 'plot' as a potential danger to the authority of any text and were particularly concerned about what might happen to the contents of the Bible, should they be subjected to any such scrutiny. An attack on Niebuhr in this respect, which inflamed a great deal of bitter controversy, was launched by John Barrow in the *Quarterly Review:*

> But Niebuhr *is*, what Mr. Wordsworth should not have called Voltaire, 'a pert, *dull* scoffer.' We regret this omission the more, because one of these translators appears to us to be a man of great talents. He has written two prefaces, one to his version of Schleyermacher on St. Luke, and another to some novels from the German, which are sufficient to place him in an eminent rank. Pity that such talents should be wasted on the drudgery of translationand pity still more that the works rendered by such a hand should in any instance be pregnant with crude and dangerous speculations. (Barrow, 1829: 9)

Hare was so incensed by the allegations against Niebuhr and his translators that he dedicated a whole monograph to clearing his friend's name and, to a certain extent, his own (Hare, 1829; 1866: XXVIII). In referring his readers to periodical articles dealing with

Niebuhr's religious inclinations, he rallied behind him kindred spirits in support of his cause. One of them was Thomas Arnold who had foreseen the problem that Niebuhr could be taxed with deism or atheism before this actually happened, but had also anticipated Hare's verdict that there were no grounds which could justify such accusations (T Arnold, 1825: 86-87). Thomas Keightley, the reviewer of the *Foreign Quarterly Review,* also sided with Hare and the author of an article in the *British Critic and Theological Review* who had made it his task to compile all the passages in Niebuhr's work which could possibly be considered to be unorthodox and came to the conclusion that none of them justified charging Niebuhr with being an unbeliever (Keightley, 1828: 529; Anon., 1828b: 371). Hare was thus not the only scholar to speak out in Niebuhr's favour, and overall it must be said that the allegations did not, in the long run, damage his reputation in England, even though his religious convictions were the object of a wide range of periodical articles (Kenrick, 1829: 356; Hogg, 1830: 376; Keightley, 1833: 408, 435; Anon., 1840: 243).

The second attack by the *Quarterly* reviewer against which Niebuhr had to be defended was that of causing political upheaval and scenes of turbulence at German universities. For as an opposition to the reactionary political results of the Vienna Congress of 1815, the students founded a national movement, the so-called 'Burschenschaft'. Their ardent defence of liberal and patriotic ideals was responsible for turmoil in many places and culminated in the assassination of Kotzebue in 1819. Niebuhr's sympathy for the needs of the plebeians in Roman history were thus associated with pro-revolutionary tendencies in his own lifetime. Niebuhr himself, however, primarily pursued the goal of distancing himself from Livy's favouritism of the patricians. As has been observed earlier, Niebuhr considered the ballads upon which his *Roman History* hinged to be a specifically plebeian form of poetry which was destroyed by the patricians (Niebuhr, 1827a: I, 421 and II, 22). As a result of this political view and his admiration for the legal scholarship of his friend Savigny, he laid special emphasis on the internal structure of Rome, in particular its constitution and its political organs (Niebuhr, 1831: I, XI). In this political context, too, Hare felt the need to defend Niebuhr against possible misreadings. He repudiated any allegations of Jacobinism by pointing out that both editions of the *Römische Geschichte* were dedicated to the king of Prussia (Hare, 1829: 11). Niebuhr himself was anxious about the misrepresentation of his political opinions and expressed these worries in a letter to Goethe written in 1812 immediately after the publication of the first edition of his *Römische Geschichte* (Niebuhr, 1929: 303). In his reply letter,

Goethe expressed his sympathy for this sort of partiality in dealing with periods so far back in the past (Goethe, 1965: 207). [8] What is more, the relevance of the work to current affairs was perceived as being so strong that Niebuhr was suspected of having written the second edition, which was distinctively different from the first, primarily in order to change his political image (Anon., 1827: 268; Christ, 1968: 174). Goethe did not remain wholly free from political suspicion either, for in many ways he supported the student movement and wished to uphold the freedom of the press. As a result, he came under the scrutiny of the Prussian authorities and Metternich, who viewed the liberal policy of Saxe-Weimar with some concern (Tümmler, 1964: 260-62 and 268-69; Paulin, 1990: 17).

Despite all these allegations Niebuhr did not abandon the view that past and present have to interact, either by moving the present towards the past, or by moving the past towards the present. When writing the first edition, Niebuhr had particularly encouraged the historian to travel back in time and become part of the historical period he describes in order to provide his readers with an adequate account of the historical situation, as he pointed out in a letter to Goethe written in 1812 (Niebuhr, 1929: 303). In the second editon, however, he emphasised the significance of the historian's own contemporary circumstances and pointed out the extent to which the past becomes incorporated into the present due to the fact that it is seen through the eyes of a specific author at a specific point in time (Niebuhr, 1831: I, XIII). In whatever direction the approximation of past and present takes place, there is no doubt that the historian's experience, gathered in his own lifetime, always filters, and to a certain extent distorts, the representation of the past in later ages. What is more, Niebuhr, like Arnold, based his work on the assumption that there are similar phases in the development of different national histories and, as a result, came to many of his conclusions by drawing on and deducing from analogies from all parts of world history.[9] The close enmeshing of past and present on the one hand, and of circumstances in two or more distinct national histories on the other, in many ways enhanced the probability that the political allegations the author had to cope with were justified. What is more, it is not difficult to see how the frequent references to topical issues of his own lifetime encouraged his contemporaries to accuse him of confusing the role of a politician with that of a scholar, and Macaulay called Niebuhr's political speculations 'abject nonsense' (Trevelyan, 1886: 317; Martineau, 1852: 171-72; Witte, 1979: 84-85).

Why, then, did Arnold join in and contribute so strongly to the

'Niebuhr-madness' of his time? In exploring this, it is appropriate to reconsider what in particular Arnold was looking for and to what extent Niebuhr was the right person to turn to. Arnold chose to depart from the antiquarians' disinterestedness in accumulating historical minutiae. Yet, he did not wish to see this approach replaced by a mechanistic and frequently irreligious superstructure in historical thinking. As we have seen, Arnold first and foremost intended to undermine the authority of Gibbon and decided to replace him by Niebuhr. We have, however, also encountered in various instances that turning away from native traditions and manifesting an interest in foreign scholarship may be nothing more than the expression of a need for innovation in a certain field, a need which might often also have been met without the abandonment of the same native traditions. The wide adoption of German Romantic translation theory and the disregard of Tytler who, in many cases, expressed ideas similar to those of the Germans was discussed in Chapter 3. Similarly, German philology (see Chapter 4) was partly introduced to overcome the speculative nature of eighteenth-century English scholarship in this field. Arnold's exploitation of Niebuhr for his own purposes is not totally devoid of contradiction and thus, to a certain extent, can be treated as one further example of this phenomenon. As we have seen, Niebuhr's 'merciless dissection' of his sources was frequently associated with a lack of respect for authority and the creation of a spirit of scepticism, which is precisely the feature Arnold detested most in Gibbon's scholarship. What is more, partiality in historical scholarship and his frequent relation of historical events to his own lifetime, both of which were advocated by Arnold, did not remain unquestioned in Niebuhr's writings. These concepts were challenged a great deal not only by the author himself but also his reviewers after the publication of the first and before the writing of the second edition of his *Römische Geschichte*.

In many ways, Niebuhr's work thus became quite detached from some of the features which had initially led Arnold to embrace it and, as a consequence, was ironically not always in tune with Arnold's own ideals. It is indeed interesting for our purposes to follow up this shift of perspective. For by the next generation of historians, Niebuhr was primarily associated with a scientific scrutiny of sources, now seen as a major step towards the professionalisation of history as a discipline (Acton, 1886: 13-14). This development went hand in hand with the creation of the ideal of impartial objectivity in historical writing, a goal Arnold had explicitly rejected (T Arnold, 1838: I, X-XI). It is precisely this methodological awareness in Niebuhr's work and his contributions towards the development of history as a self-

conscious discipline, which makes him an interesting figure in our context, since we are here concerned not only with the various forms of translation of Niebuhr's work into English. There is also the fact that he raised the question as to what extent modern historiography can rely on and leave intact the authority of ancient sources, and which techniques should be used to 'translate' past events into a modern narrative.

Using Arnold's observations, we referred at the start to the assumption of a field of interaction between two modes of translation, namely that of historical events into modern historical narrative and that of a text from one language into another. It now remains to be established how this amalgamation of different modes of translation could come to play a role in Niebuhr's historical scholarship. Like Arnold, Niebuhr considered the subject of translation to be important enough for him to publicise his views on the matter. His opinion on Pope's translation of Homer is enlightening for our purposes:

> . . . it is a ridiculous thing, as bad as the French heroes of Greece in periwigs. There is not a breath of antiquity in Pope's translation. He might have changed as much as he liked, and called it a reproduction; but to strip it of its spirit of antiquity, was giving us a corpse instead of a living being. It is a small thing. How totally different is the manner in which the German Voss has handled the subject. He shows at once that he knows and feels the poem is antique, and he means to leave it so. (Lieber, 1835: 74-75; Milman, 1835: 242)

As we have seen in the context of Chapter 3, Pope's Homer was frequently condemned as portrait-painting by a later generation of translators who wished to see this technique replaced by the even more naturalistic reproduction of a daguerreotype. And indeed, not unlike translations between two languages, 'translations' from the past were frequently described by the same metaphors, taken from the visual arts. What thus emerges is an interesting triangle between translation, historiography and representation in the visual arts. This triangle is constituted by an exchange of imagery which deserves some further exploration.

When Thomas Macaulay wrote about the task of a historian in 1828, photography was not yet an accessible medium for visual reproduction. Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre (1789-1851) did not announce the first commercially successful photographic process before 1839 and, as a result, Macaulay's comparison of the writing of history and the fine arts reads as follows:

> Some capricious and discontented artists have affected to consider portrait-painting as unworthy of a man of genius. Some critics have spoken in the same contemptuous manner of history. Johnson puts the case thus: The historian tells either what is false or what is true: in the former case he is no historian; in the latter he has no opportunity for displaying his abilities: for truth is one; and all who tell the truth must tell it alike. (Macaulay, 1957: 75)

Macaulay then went on to question the possibility of such objectivity in historical writing and gave the following reason for his doubts:

> History has its foreground and its background; and it is principally in the management of its perspective that one artist differs from another. Some events must be represented on a large scale, others diminished; the great majority will be lost in the dimness of the horizon; and a general idea of their joint effect will be given by a few slight touches. (Macaulay, 1957: 77)

While the historian of the first paragraph is described as an artist engaged in uncreative reproduction, the artist of the second paragraph is no longer responsible for a purely mechanical work which does not require any special talent but is capable of imposing a perspective of his own choice. He has the power to place details in the foreground or the background and thus to enlarge or to diminish their importance. As a consequence of attributing this role to the historian, Macaulay enhances his status from that of being a mere reproducer to that of an original creator.

The invention of photography reduced the degree of realism associated with painting as a means of visual representation. Even though Macaulay had started to challenge the view that portrait-painting is the most 'naturalistic' and objective mode of representation in the fine arts, he was not yet in a position to replace it by an even more exact type of reproduction. The invention of photography filled precisely this gap. The daguerreotype quickly emerged as the most exact, naturalistic and literal mode of reproduction in the arts, so realistic and mechanical that, all through the nineteenth century, it had a struggle to be granted the status of an art at all. The authenticity of photography is further reinforced by the fact that a photographer, unlike a painter, has under all circumstances to be an eye-witness of the person or the scene he chooses to represent. Susan Sontag has described the photographer as the 'contemporary being par excellence', as a 'non-interfering observera scribe, not a poet'. His work was considered to be anonymous and transparent to a degree that, as

opposed to a painter, a photographer was for a long time not expected to sign his work (Sontag, 1979: 67, 88, 51, 127, 133; Barthes, 1990: 17; Barthes, 1982: 87). We have already encountered a similar phenomenon of self-effacement in the 'reproductions' of some of the translators we have looked at so far. In what is to follow the same ideal of objective impartiality will play a crucial role in the shaping of history as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century.

In his historical scholarship, Niebuhr was striving for precisely the exactness that Susan Sontag describes as the contemporaneity of a photographer. The merit of being able to see the ancients as contemporaries, 'only separated from' his generation 'by an interval of space', was mainly attributed to the scholarly achievements of Voß, and Niebuhr continued to describe this scholar's innovations in his treatment of Homer and Virgil in the following manner:

> Previous ages had been content to look at maps or landscapes, as if they were all in all; without ever attempting to employ them as the only remaining means for producing an image of the objects they represent: but now a work on such subjects could not be esteemed satisfactory, unless its clearness and distinctness enabled it to take its stand beside the history of the present age. (Niebuhr, 1831: I, IX) 10

As a result, Niebuhr felt the need to challenge Livy and other ancient historians in order to achieve what he considered to be an adequate reproduction of the early centuries of Roman history. In the same context Cornewall Lewis intriguingly observed that 'Niebuhr seems to view Livy principally in the light of a great painter; who represents historical scenes in vivid and striking colours' (Lewis, 1855: I, 252). Similarly, the Hare brothers had earlier described it as one of the greatest vices of a translator to 'make up for the feebleness and incorrectness of his outlines, by daubing the picture over with gaudy colours; and getting no distinct perception of his author's meaning' (Hare, 1866: 366). Painting in vivid colours, however, was no longer considered to be adequate for a historian. In his comments on the character of Niebuhr as a historian, his colleague Johann Wilhelm Loebell (1786-1863) introduced the following modification to this technique:

> For imagination, if understood, not in the sense of an absolutely unfettered invention, but as the gift of *restoring* [my italics] distinct outlines and colouring, to dim and faded forms, is as essential to the historical inquirer as to the poet, who does not

> decorate the materials furnished by history at his own free will, but colours the given outlines, according to conditions involved in their very nature. (Winkworth, 1852: II, 420)

Owing to precisely these self-imposed constraints in Niebuhr's scholarship George Henry Lewes criticised the author for his inability to reproduce Roman life 'under the form of art' (Lewes, 1843: 337). In many ways, this comment is a misrepresentation of Niebuhr's goals according to which historiographical creativity was not primarily reflected in unlicensed artistic colourfulness but in the conscientious restoration of colour.

Regaining original colour was, however, by no means an unimaginative undertaking, since it required in the first place the reconstruction of clear contours of historical events. For Niebuhr, colouring was not at all of primary importance and his creativity figured most strongly in the colourless elements of restoration work. It is in this field that Niebuhr's inventiveness became so great that many of his successors felt the need to express their indebtedness to his work. Despite Niebuhr's groundwork it was primarily Leopold von Ranke, and not Niebuhr, who came to be considered 'the representative of the age which instituted the modern study of History' (Acton, 1930: 18). Ranke's far-reaching historical endeavours in medieval and modern history were frequently translated into English throughout most of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. In the circle of translators under consideration, his ideas were particularly propagated by Sarah Austin and her daughter Lucie Duff Gordon, and his *Die römischen Päpste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im 16. und 17. Jahrundert (The Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Popes of Rome during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)* (1834-36) which was first translated by Sarah Austin, became his most widely-read work in England (Austin, 1840; Austin, 1845-47; Duff Gordon, 1849; Duff Gordon, 1853; Iggers and Moltke, 1973: XII-XV). Already Ranke's contemporaries acknowledged his indebtedness to Niebuhr and noticed that Ranke's ideas in many ways were an application of his teacher's method to later periods in history (Sybel, 1867: 286; Iggers, 1968: 65; Gilbert, 1990: 18).

Ranke's main object in writing history, similar to that of Niebuhr, was a life-like, realistic representation of past events. In the famous preface to his *Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Völker* (*Histories of the Latin and Germanic Nations)* (1824) he described his goal as merely wanting 'to show how, really, things happened'*'er will bloss zeigen, wie es eigentlich gewesen'.* 11 In other words, he aimed

for a neutral, objective and scientifically correct rendering of past events. While the *Histories* were still based on published sources, Ranke's later research became heavily archive-based. In this context, it has been established that he employed professional scribes for his visits to archives, who served as 'human copying machines' and enabled him to make authentic documents available to the readers of his books (Grafton, 1997: 50). Like Niebuhr, he mistrusted the contributions of earlier historians on the topics he chose to engage in, considering their knowledge to be second-hand, and instead reconstructed his own, supposedly more accurate, version of the plot out of manuscripts and other authentic documentary records (Burke, 1990: 36; Benzoni, 1990: 52). As a result, it cannot come as a surprise that Ranke's critical historiography, too, was described as colourless:

> Ranke probably never aimed at being a colourist; his natural gift was that of an artist in black and white, or at most in tinted line. Nevertheless, when he takes up the palette, he shows a fine and delicate sense for atmosphere and texture, the result less of technical skill than of imaginative indwelling in his subject. (Armstrong, 1909: XI) 12

Intriguingly, the same adjective can also be found earlier in Lord Acton's 1895 inaugural lecture in Cambridge (Acton, 1930: 18). Nineteenth-century photography, as opposed to historical painting, can thus be perceived as the 'black and white medium' to which both historians and translators turned in order to replace earlier, more inaccurate, though more colourful, forms of visual representation.

The triangle between translation, historiography and the fine arts thus shares a powerful and fascinating set of images, which have further consolidated the parallels between translation and historiography. It may, in conclusion, be useful to remind ourselves how these parallels originally emerged in Niebuhr's scholarship. In the first place, it was widely acknowledged that the historian, like the translator, had a reputation of being 'merely receptive and reproductive, not himself active and creative', thus performing no more than an 'ancillary' duty (Humboldt, 1967: 57, 60; 1905: 35-36). Niebuhr, too, had to consider to what extent a historian, like a translator, should impose his own judgement and thus be visible or, alternatively, vanish altogether. What is more, we have noticed (Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 49 and 75) that Goethe had raised the question as to whether it is advantageous to move the reader of a translation towards the foreign author or, vice versa, to move the foreign author towards the reader. Similarly, Niebuhr had to contemplate whether to move the nineteenth-century

recipient of his work towards the early centuries in Roman history, or whether to move the Romans towards his own lifetime in order to achieve the contemporaneity he aimed for. What is more, we have encountered the idea that the information contained in footnotes, which can frequently be interpreted as the various readings of a historical fact, is discussed in the main text body of Niebuhr's as well as Ranke's writing (Grafton, 1997: 64). By this technique, Niebuhr made his readers conscious of a tool similar to the entry of a dictionary used by a translator, which explores the various connotations and meanings of a word. The most exciting and farreaching parallel between the task of a historian and that of a translator is, however, that both have to demolish existing texts in order to create. Niebuhr's scholarly achievement was summed up in the following words in a nineteenth-century periodical article:

> Since Niebuhr swept away the regal Rome or our early belief, the Rome of Livy, Dionysius and Plutarch, various attempts have been made to rebuild an historical structure on the space which he had left covered with ruins. (Kenrick, 1852: 293)

Niebuhr himself had made the first attempt to restore what he had shattered, but in his treatment of ancient Rome historiography emerged as a form of representation which unites 'killing' and 'creating' as much as the translation of a foreign text (Derrida, 1979: 102-03). This feature was perpetuated in the scholarship of Ranke and greatly contributed to the professionalisation of history as an academic discipline.

Notes

1. Arnold to Bunsen, 25 November 1827, MS Bunsen Papers, Berlin, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 63.

2. On the friendship between Arnold and Bunsen, see Stanley (1844: I, 36465) [Arnold to Julius Hare, 7 October 1833], and McCrum (1989: 9).

3. On the role of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the reception of German scholarship see for example Bruford (1975: 234-41).

4. The first edition had been translated by F.A. Walter in 1827. The third volume, which Thomas Arnold had originally considered to undertake himself, as well as Niebuhr's lectures, were eventually translated by William Smith and Leonhard Schmitz.

5. Anon. (1828b: 362-64) discusses the problems of Hare's and Thirlwall's intention to render Niebuhr as literally as possible; for a criticism of the lack of readability of their undertaking, see also Anon. (1829: 528); Hogg (1830: 393-94).

6. On Niebuhr's method see also Gooch (1913: 19); Rytkönen (1968: 192-93); Bridenthal (1972: 202-03); Dowling (1985: 584).

7. John Stuart Blackie to Bunsen, 23 July 1841, MS Bunsen Papers, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 33; see also Blackie (1834: 188-89).

8. On Niebuhr's relationship to Goethe, see Wickert (1954: 157, 165-87).

9. One of the many examples for this phenomenon can be found in Niebuhr (1832: 133-34), where the author points out parallels between the property laws of India, Egypt, Syria and Rome. On his deductions by analogy, see also Rytkönen (1968: 202); Küntzel (1920: 181); Kornemann (1932: 289).

10. Niebuhr, 1827b: I, X: Hatte eine frühere Zeit sich mit alter Geschichte begnügt wie mancher Landcharten, oder gezeichnete Landschaften, als selbständig betrachtet: nicht einmal versucht aus ihnen als nothdürftigen Mitteln das Bild der Gegenstände vor seine Seele zu rufen: so vermochte sie nun nicht mehr zu genügen, wenn sie sich nicht an Klarheit und Bestimmtheit neben die der Gegenwart stellen konnte.

11. This preface is reprinted in English in a translation by Wilma A. Iggers in Iggers and Moltke (1973: 135-38). For a helpful discussion of the German word 'eigentlich', which can mean 'actually', 'essentially' as well as 'really', and can thus take the historian beyond establishing a mere sequence of factual events, see Gilbert (1990: 34).

12. For a lucid discussion of the similarities between the representation in historiography and the fine arts, see Bann (1984: 24-25).

Chapter 6
Translating the Foreign Gaze

There have been instances in previous chapters pointing to a connection between travelling, translating and travel writing. Goethe described the translator as a 'broker in the great intellectual traffic of the world' and entrusted him with playing a prominent role in a system of intellectual 'free-trade without boundaries' (Austin, 1840: I, IV; cf. Chapters 2 and 3, pp. 47 and 65). In addition, he raised the question as to whether 'the author of a foreign nation' should 'be brought to us' or whether we should 'transport ourselves over to him', and investigated whether it was justifiable to replace 'foreign fruits' by 'home-grown surrogates' (Goethe, 1963; cf. Chapter 2, p. 50). Schleiermacher, too, described translation as an activity involving movement and physical displacement (Schleiermacher, 1963: 47; 1977: 74; cf. Chapter 2, p. 52). Elizabeth Eastlake emphasised the close proximity of travelling and foreign language learning, thus developing the parallels between the medium of translation and that of travel writing. From the reader's point of view, both can become a means of encountering a foreign culture without going abroad. From the author's point of view, both translating and travel writing entail the submission to a plot which has beeen pre-structured by either a foreign text or an itinerary (cf. Chapter 2, pp. 33-34). Walter Benjamin's view of the matter brings out further parallels. For Benjamin described the observation of the distance between original and translation as an integral component in the process of transmission and argued that ignoring this distance entails the danger that translation eradicates itself (Benjamin, 1977: 61, 59, 53-54; 1970: 80-81. 79, 73; cf. Chapter 3, p. 88). The same point had, however, also been made by various nineteenth-century commentators on the topic who felt the need to criticise Dryden and Pope for the neglect of precisely this distance. (cf. Chapter 3) Virginia Woolf eventually broached the topic from a specifically female angle, when she described 'learning Greek grammar' and 'roaming the world in search of adventures' as two pursuits from which she felt excluded simply by virtue of being a woman (Woolf, 1966: 285-86; cf. Chapter 2, p. 31).

The similarities between translating and travel writing are manifold. Like translators, travel writers become vehicles for transporting observations from abroad back home, crossing borders and initiating some form of intellectual traffic. Both the translator and the travel writer are associated with a surplus of authentic first-hand information which is not easily accessible to the readers they cater for. In other words, the process both of translation and travel writing is typically geared towards an audience which tries to compensate for its own inability to understand a foreign text or to travel abroad by reading the work of people who have done precisely that for them. As a result, both translating and travel writing appear to imply a clear sense of direction. For a translation is geared towards a foreign readership and it would strike us as unusual if, let us say, a German reader found it more attractive to read the English version of a text, originally written in his own native language. Similarly, travelogues are geared towards an audience which has not seen the country under consideration. It is this surplus of authentic first-hand experience on the side of the traveller which distinguishes him from the readership in his own country, thereby making him a particularly attractive source of information (Said, 1991: 93-94). The reading public of the country he visits, on the other hand, is likely to consider his authority to be of a value inferior to its own more competent judgement and it cannot be deemed surprising if his opinions are, as a result, not taken seriously.

Yet in many ways, Sarah Austin took it upon herself to contravene all the common-sense norms set out in the last paragraph. For in translating the travelogues of two German visitors to England she expressed her belief that it was a worthwhile undertaking to make these texts available to the readership of her own country. In a letter to John Murray, written in 1830, she advocated the translation of Hermann von Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen (Letters from a Dead Man)* in the following manner:

> I have read Prince Pückler's letters through, & as you desire me to give you my opinion, I do so. I am quite convinced that they would answer translating,further I am equally so that the elements of *popularity* are so manifest and striking in them that 9 people out of 10 would say that they *cannot escape* being translated. They contain, along with very acute general remarks of English & Irish manners & character, & extremely picturesque descriptions of the respective countries, a vast number of personal anecdotes, conventions &c. Some of these, which relate to persons

> not decidedly *public property,* I should rather omit. This is no derogation from the high & gentlemanly tone of the letters that they contain truth, for it is quite certain that they were never meant to be published & that he wrote to his wife all he saw & heard at the moment. . . . I adhere therefore to my resolution & shall begin forthwith to translatecertain of finding a publisher if you decline it, which, for your sake and mine, I hope you will not. 1

Even though Murray did not comply with her wish, Pückler's letters were eventually published by Effingham Wilson, and the title of her English translation was changed to *Tour in England, Ireland, and France, in the Years 1828 & 1829; with Remarks on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants; and Anecdotes of Distinguished Public Characters. In a Series of Letters. By a German Prince* (Austin, 1832). Another of Sarah Austin's mediating efforts between a German visitor and John Murray was, however, successful. Friedrich von Raumer intended his work *England im Jahre 1835 (England in 1835)* to be published both in German and English. For this purpose, he had approached Sarah Austin for its translation (Austin, 1836).2 Austin agreed to undertake the work but, due to the excessive pressure exercised by the author in order to achieve a simultaneous publication in both Germany and England, had to delegate the third volume to H. E. Lloyd.3 Austin was also insistent in proposing a third work of the same kind to John Murray namely Carl Gustav Carus's account of his tour through England with the king of Saxony. Carus (1789-1869) was a doctor, scientist and philosopher with far-reaching literary connections including Goethe, Tieck and Alexander von Humboldt. He became the royal physician in 1827 and in this function accompanied the king to England. Sarah Austin had met Carus in Dresden in 1845 and from there sent the following evaluation of his work to her publisher friend:

> I hope you will not think it an impertinent interference in your affairs, if I venture to give you my immediate and earnest advice not to let Dr. Carus's book on England get into other hands. I was last night at Mme de Lüttichau's . . . and Carus read to us the *Einleitung,* containing a sketch of the general impression produced by England, physically & morally . . .
>
> I do assure you that, as far as my knowledge and experience goes, so many ingenious and profound reflexions have never yet been brought together in so short a space on the same subject. So much was I struck with it that I said I wished I had a trumpet to *fortblasen* it to England.4

Murray did not follow Austin's advice on this issue and eventually *The King of Saxony's Journey through England and Scotland in the Year 1844* was translated by S.C. Davison and published by Chapman and Hall in 1846. The example, however, further illustrates Austin's intention to 'blow away' to England what authors like Carus, Pückler and Raumer had originally meant to communicate to their own countrymen. Pückler's and Raumer's accounts take the shape of letters addressed to friends back in Germany. In choosing the format of letters, both authors emphasised the notion that underlying all this is one specific readership and no other. For as we have seen above, the genre of travel writing was geared towards an audience back home rather than that of the country they visited. 5 For the same kind of fragmented information could also have been conveyed in the shape of a journal or a diary. Both these alternative forms would not have had an addressee at the beginning of each entry and would thus have been more evasive about the readership the author had in mind when writing his account. As a result, Sarah Austin's effort in translating Pückler's and Raumer's letters can almost be described as redirecting them to the country from which they had originally been sent.

The ideas developed so far suggest that the phenomenon that travelogues about Britain written by German visitors were translated into English is remarkable and, to a certain extent, surprising and hence merits further exploration. Despite the fact that the number of travellers visiting England increased considerably in the second half of the eighteenth century, only three instances could be traced in which a German travelogue of this period was translated into English within a few years after its publication in German.6 This was the case for Karl Philipp Moritz's *Travels in England in 1782,* J.W. von Archenholtz's *A Picture of England* and for G.F.A. Wendeborn's *A View of England towards the Close of the Eighteenth Century.* Moritz (1756-93) is probably best known for his autobiographical novel *Anton Reiser* (178590); his *Reisen eines Deutschen in England in Jahr 1782* was published in Berlin in 1783 and translated into English by an anonymous lady. The journalist Johann Wilhelm von Archenholtz (1741-1812) summed up his travel experiences in the three-volume *England und Italien* (1787); the parts of this work concerned with England were first translated into French and then from French into English, but the English translator remains unknown. Archenholtz was also the founder of the *British Mercury,* the first journal published in Germany in English language, which appeared weekly in Hamburg between 1787 and 1790, and he continued to manifest his interest in England by editing the periodical *Annalen der Brittischen Gschichite (Annals of*

British History) from 1788 to 1800. Archenholtz's rival Gebhard Friedrich August Wendeborn (1742-1811) served as the rector of the German Church in Ludgate Hill and lived in London for over 22 years. His main four volume work on England, *Der Zustand des Staats, der Religion, der Gelehrsamkeit und der Kunst in Großbritannien gegen das Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts,* was published between 1785 and 1788. What is more, Wendeborn chose to act as the translator of his own work and in a preface lucidly alerted his readers to the problems imposed by the undertaking of reshaping the observations of a foreigner for the taste of a native audience:

> It [i.e. the original] now makes its appearance before the English reader, who, whilst he peruses these volumes, is earnestly entreated to keep always in mind, that the author is a foreigner, who wrote it with no other view than that of instructing his own countrymen. Many things, therefore, in the original, must appear uninteresting to a well-informed Englishman; and for this reason, sundry passages, relative to matters which are sufficiently known in this country, are omitted in the translation. (Wendeborn 1791: I, VIII)

Other eighteenth-century travelogues like those by Sophie von La Roche and Georg Christoph Lichtenberg were translated into English not before the 1930s.

In the nineteenth century more travelogues were redirected, but the selection of accounts, which were immediately translated into English, is somewhat unexpected. During this period, foreign visits to England picked up again from 1815 onwards after having almost come to a standstill as a result of the Napoleonic Continental System of 1806. Despite this increase in the number of visitors, a relatively small number of their accounts became known to an English readership. It is particularly noteworthy in this context that two of the most famous travellers in England in the nineteenth century, namely Heinrich Heine and Theodor Fontane, were not translated into English without a considerable lapse of time between the publication of the German and the English version of their account. Fontane's case is particularly interesting in our context because he made active efforts to prevent the translation of his travelogue into English. The reason for this caution was probably that he frequently adopted whole paragraphs and sections from British newspapers and journals without acknowledging them and did not wish his German readers to know that a large proportion of his work consisted not of his own but other commentators' observations (Wefelmeyer, 1989: 68). In choosing to render Pückler-Muskau and Raumer into English, Sarah Austin thus created

a fashion for redirecting German perceptions of Britain to her own countrymen, which was later imitated by other translators. 7 Her wellinformed choice of texts becomes even more significant due to the fact that it increased the popularity of two authors who are no longer read widely today, and initially disregarded other contributors to the topic whose views are considered to be more influential by twentieth-century readers.

What is more, Austin's undertaking was not received without bewilderment in the contemporary periodical press. The *Foreign Quarterly Review* questioned its own competence to review Pückler's letters in English translation because, as it argued, 'when books have virtually fallen into the domain of English literature, we have hitherto generally considered that they have gone beyond *our* province, and were no longer amenable to our critical jurisdiction' (Buller, 1832: 290). Other periodicals with a less clearly articulated bias towards foreign literature did not share this reluctance. The critic of the *Edinburgh Review* expressed the following opinion on the matter:

> . . . a tour in England may be the subject of very natural attention,no less in England than abroad. Natives seldom publish their travels. Indeed there are great advantages on the side of a foreigner, which almost counterbalance the imperfection of his information. The reviving air of youth again breathes over us, from the new points of view, and in the freshness of emotion, under which he regards objects which have been long as indifferent to us as the clothes we wear. It is not novelty only; curiosity co-operates with reason. Great communities and private persons are often equally inquisitive to know what their neighbours say of them. If a philosophical alien could acquire sufficient local knowledge concerning any given country, he might present a livelier and more *piquant* contrast between its provincial manners and the general reason of mankind, than enlivens the Persian Letters, those of Espriella, or of Gulliver himself. Occasions also may possibly arise, of reaping a still higher and more moral use out of observations coming from such a quarter. One of the great benefits of foreign travel to individuals, consists in its tendency to remove the film of vulgar and local prejudices from their eyes. A whole nation, unfortunately, cannot migrate. But the visit of an enlightened and impartial stranger may, in this respect, be quite as effectual; provided the nation will give a patient hearing to his criticisms on its institutions and its manners. (Empson, 1831: 38485)

Henry Southern made a similar point in the *Westminster Review* when he claimed that 'a foreigner, if duly qualified, is placed in a position, if any man is, to confer a benefit by his observations'. From there he went on to argue that a foreigner may even be at an advantage since 'custom blinds' and a traveller may lend a 'renewed vision' (Southern, 1832: 225-26).

At the end of his article, however, Southern felt the need to comment on an even wilder speculation. The fact that Pückler had originally published his letters anonymously in German under the title *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* (*Letters from a Dead Man*) led to a great deal of speculation about the authorship of his travelogue similar to that caused by Sir Walter Scott, who used the same device when he published his novel *Waverley* in 1814. As a result of the mystery surrounding Pückler's account, the critic of the *Westminster Review* even questioned the German origin of the work's author:

> We have heard doubts expressed as to the fact of the author's being a German at all, and the idea thrown out, that some native has taken this opportunity of reaching home by way of Berlin. All we shall say in answer to this, is, that the doubt must have arisen in the mind of some one who has not read more than snatches of the work; and that, in fact, it has been originated by the excellence of the translation. (Southern, 1832: 242)

In many ways the *New Monthly Magazine,* too, played on the idea of reversing the direction into which Pückler's letters were sent. In two articles entitled A Miss-directed Letter' and A Second Miss-directed Letter', the editors of the periodical claimed to have received more communication from a writer whose 'signature is scarcely legible' and looks something like *'Pickle* and *Mustard'* (Anon., 1834a: 306; Anon., 1834b). Obviously, these letters were fabricated so as to resemble the style and contents of Pückler's writings. They were, however, almost certainly composed by an English author who was intrigued by the possibility of being able to take the licence of disguising himself as a foreigner in order to convey to his fellow-countrymen more of his ruthless and sarcastic evaluations of a wide variety of social and political issues. What is more, unlike Pückler's translator, the author of these letters had no scruples about spelling out all the names he wished to slander in his comments.

Who, then, was this mysterious prince, of a reputation so dubious that Sarah Austin felt the need to distance herself from him but at the same time made an effort to enhance his fame in England? Hermann von Pückler-Muskau can probably best be described as an eccentric

dandy with aristocratic tastes, but without the financial means to pay for his hobbyhorses and superficial vanity. His motive for travelling to England was an economic one, namely to find himself a rich heiress with the intention to marry her. Since 1826, Pückler had lived in divorce from his first wife Lucie, Countess of Pappenheim, who was nine years his senior (Butler, 1929: 13-15). He had married Lucie in 1817 without disguising the fact that he felt primarily attracted to her wealth and political connections. Lucie, on the other hand, was devoted to her husband and willingly spent her fortune to pay for Pückler's expensive passion for landscape gardening. As a result, their estate Muskau became famous for its exquisite and grandiose parks, which were responsible for Pückler's financial ruin (Hamburger, 1994: 94-97). His plans to find a rich wife in England who would be willing to pay for the considerable debts he had incurred through the improvements to his estate did not materialise. What is more, all his letters from Britain and Ireland were addressed to the very same Lucie, who was thus kept informed about every movement of her former husband. Pückler's frankness about the precariousness arising from this situation is astounding and is probably best reflected by the following outcry from one of his letters, which was written to his wife in March 1827: Ach, meine Schnucke, hättest Du nur 150000 Thaler, ich heiratete Dich gleich wieder.If only you had 150,000 *Thaler,* my pet, I would marry you again instantly' (Assing, 1874b: VI, 364). Lucie even went so far as to propagate and support the publication of his adventures, when he returned to Germany without having achieved his goal, and it is probably the greatest irony of his fate that not a rich wife but the success of his book initiated the recovery from his financial worries (Hamburger, 1994: 99).

Understandably, Sarah Austin made all possible attempts to distance herself from the outrage which was bound to be caused by the gossipiness of an author of such questionable reputation. She ensured that her name did not appear on the title page of the English edition of the letters and, at times, took the liberty to distance herself from Pückler's opinions in an explanatory footnote. The rigorous censorship she exercised is in most cases imposed without indication, but sometimes the reader is reminded of its existence, when the main text is interrupted by several lines of asterisks. What is more, Austin refused to give more than the initials of the names of the persons alluded to in the letters (Austin, 1832: III, VII). Pückler was outraged by the treatment he received in the hands of his translator and made his views known in his correspondence. [8] Sarah Austin, on the other hand, did not feel she

had stretched her power unduly and explained her method in her translator's preface:

> I have rather sought to obscure than to elucidate those parts of the book which are objectionably personal. If I could have done this still more, without entirely changing the character of the work, I should have done it. But by any such material change I should have made myself, in some sort, responsible for its contents: which, as a mere translator, I can in no way be held to be. (Austin, 1832: III, VIII)

A plethora of examples could be quoted to illustrate Austin's technique, but three will have to suffice to illustrate the points described above. In Pückler's letter of 20 November 1826 the English are severely criticised for the condescension with which they treat foreign visitors (Pückler-Muskau, 1991: III, 125). Sarah Austin decided to render this passage faithfully and without cuts, but felt moved to comment on the author's views in a footnote:

> The author's feelings towards Englishmen are evidently so bitter, that his testimony must be received with great allowance. On the other hand, it will be confessed by all who are not blinded by intense self-complacency and insular conceit, that it is extremely rare to find a foreigner of any country, who has encountered English people either abroad or at home, without having his most honest and allowable self-love wounded in a hundred ways. (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: III, 114-15)

In the case of Pückler's remarks about English journalism, Austin was not prepared to concur with her author so willingly and bluepencilled undisguisedly by introducing three lines of asterisks into the English text, which represent the censored German sentences:

> About a month ago the papers made themselves extremely merry about the duel of a noble lord here; who, according to their representation of the matter, had not cut a very heroic figure. . . . They have tried to give me too a 'coup fourré' [asterisks] But I have served under an old soldier and learned from him always to have the first and loudest laugh at myself, and not to spare an inoffensive jest at myself and others. (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: III, 125; 23 November 1826)

The information Austin suppressed deals with Pückler's annoyance about the fact that the British press accuses every foreigner of coming to England in order to find himself a rich wife. 9 Other omissions

occur, of course, in Pückler's comments on the social circles in which he moved and his encounters with the ladies he sought to meet. In his letter of 24 February 1827, for example, in which Pückler described an evening at Mrs. F.'s, Austin translated the favourable depiction of his widely respected hostess but chose to omit his comments on the daughters of the famous Sher. . . (Pückler-Muskau, 1991: III, 358). In this letter, as in a number of other cases, the reader may wonder, however, whether Austin caught out all of the authors allusions and innuendoes and why she did not, for example, censor the following paragraph:

> Here occurred a long pause in my correspondence. Pardon,I was eating my solitary dinner; a snipe stood before me, and a 'mouton qui rêve' by my side. You guess who is the latter. Don't be distressed about the place on the left, for on the right is a blazing fire, and I know how much you fear that. (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: III, 357) 10

Despite her reservations, Sarah Austin had been keen on translating Pückler and, what is more, in many ways fell more under the spell of the German prince than most of his readers all over the world. While the official translator was bowdlerizing and blue-pencilling the mysterious prince's letters, the private woman felt extremely attracted to their author. Sarah's own marriage to the scholarly and Casaubonlike lawyer John Austin turned out to be a tragic mismatch, and by 1830, when she started to translate Pückler, she considered an affair with this colourful, amusing and eccentric Byronesque charmer, who was in every respect the opposite of her husband. Sarah's audacious letters, which have been unearthed in the Jagiellonian University Library in Cracow by L. and J. Hamburger, were full of contemplations of adultery. All her life, Sarah feared the discovery of her 'wild, mad correspondence' revealing her secret desires. Her relationship with Pückler did, however, not go beyond contemplating adultery. For when a meeting seemed on the horizon from mid-1832 onward, Pückler made every possible effort to redefine their relationship and planned more travelling, which eventually took him to North Africa and the Middle East. Sarah drowned her disappointment in translation activity and, given the biographical context, her preference for a literal faithfulness in rendering foreign texts as well as the depiction of herself as an uncreative ancillary helpmate without independent opinions (cf. Chapter 2), which she expressed frequently from 1833 onward, does not lack a certain degree of irony. When she met the German prince nine years later in 1842, her infatuation for the

letter writer had become an episode of the past (Hamburger, 1994: 59, 100, 120, 165-66, 183, 189, 196, 214).

It would not be doing Pückler justice to suggest that his appeal to a wide readership was purely based on his personal charms. For despite the fact that we may find it hard today to grasp the reasons for the tremendous popularity he enjoyed in his own lifetime, there is no getting round the fact that he was not only translated into English but also into French and that, in addition, he became a celebrated author on the American book market. 11 In Germany, he was highly acclaimed, amongst others, by Goethe and Varnhagen von Ense, whose reviews of Pückler's letters were originally published in the *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftlichie Kritik* (Goethe, 1950; Varnhagen von Ense, 1833). The aura of his personality was further consolidated by the macabre fact that he initially tried to conceal his authorship by pretending to have written his letters from the grave. As a result, it is not surprising that Pückler's mysterious eccentricity encouraged a great variety of authors, among them Immermann, Herwegh, Neigebaur, von Ungern-Sternberg, Hoffmann and Tieck, to model fictional characters on his real-life example (Bender, 1982: 30; Butler, 1929: 244).12

To what extent did Pückler deserve all this reverence? The English periodical press was by no means unanimous in answering this question. Several reviewers drew their readers' attention to the fact that Goethe's enthusiastic review of Pückler's work, which was partly rendered into English in Sarah Austin's preface to her own translation, unduly boosted the publicity of Pückler's travelogue (Empson, 1831: 406; Bulwer, 1831: 500; Anon, 1832: 533; Blackie, 1836: 271). As one reviewer pointed out, Goethe's verdict in this matter may not have been based on the soundest of all judgements, since the 'sage of Weimar' had never visited England himself and, for this reason, was in no position to assess Pückler's account (Hooke, 1832: 518; Boerner, 1988: 81). A fairly weak attempt to save Pückler was made by Charles Buller in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*. In his article, Pückler was described as original in the sense that, unlike earlier German travellers to England, he did not try to write about the statistics, politics and literature of England but about the country's world of fashion (Buller, 1832: 292). More serious aspects of English life, when they were touched upon, became absorbed by the prevailing lightheartedness in Pückler's style. Buller further remarked in this context that in his addiction to writing about all aspects of English food, Pückler could not restrain himself from treating more serious disciplines like 'philosophy as if it were only a branch of cookery'

(Buller, 1832: 292). The reviewer of the *New Monthly Magazine* depicted the author's obsession in even more vivid colours:

> He (i.e. Pückler) is sometimes garrulously relevant of the mysteries of his appetite; he condescends to inform us of the surprise he created in a black-haired damsel, by his pertinacity on mutton; and to make us partners of his grief, when instead of the anticipated varieties of fish, he is doomed to the monotony of 'the eternal chop:' but these little frivolities we are willing to pardon in a man observant and reflective. (Bulwer 1831, 500)

Obviously, such superficiality can also be seen in a more negative light:

> He may be a judge of the frivolities of fashionhe may have a quick eye for catching the ludicrous and the flimsy in the character of Englishmen; but to penetrate the deep, serious, and pervading tone of their national character, or the character of their institutions, is altogether out of his power. (Anon, 1832: 534)

In addition to this, even more dissatisfaction was caused by Pückler's sarcastic mockery of his hosts and his ungratefulness for their hospitality (Anon, 1832: 534, 540). John Mitchell in *Frascr's Magazine* even went so far as to attribute Pückler's success on the Continent to his abuse of England (Mitchell, 1835: 718).

Regardless of whether Pückler deserved all the attention he received or whether his significance was simply overestimated, he remains an excellent example for exploring the crosscurrents between translation and travel literature. It may thus be a sensible undertaking in the framework of this study to disregard the maze of details contained in his observations and to filter out those aspects in his work which are concerned with the parallels between both these 'genres of transmission'. In this context, it is crucial to acknowledge in the first place that the haphazard character of Pückler's work derives, at least in part, from the author's attempt to imitate Laurence Sterne's model of the sentimental traveller. Sterne, whose technique of travel writing is frequently identified with a loose association of impressions which makes the traveller appear detached from the real world around him, is explicitly acknowledged in Pückler-Muskau's *Tour* (PücklerMuskau, 1832: I, 178; 1991: I, 173; 20 August 1828; Gruenter, 1983: 121, 124; Sengle, 1972: 242). For, indeed, Yorick's travels in France and Italy appear more like a journey into the main character's own personality than an outgoing movement towards new countries. Pückler took this withdrawal into his own personality to extremes in that, at various

points of his work, he alluded to his interest in the then newly emerged results of Gall's phrenological science. Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* was published in 1768 before the German anatomist and physiologist Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828), had started his groundbreaking research in phrenology. Convinced that mental functions are localised in specific regions of the brain and that human behaviour is dependent upon these functions, Gall assumed that the surface of the skull faithfully reflects the relative development of the various regions of the brain. This curiosity culminates in a scene in which Pückler's own head became the object of investigation, thereby leading the reader into a lengthy analysis of the author's own character (PücklerMuskau, 1832: IV 78-85; 1991: IV, 489-97; 13 July 1827). Sterne's concept of sentimental travelling could not have been revitalised in a more determined and effective manner. At the same time, Pückler's return to Sterne is a significant counter-movement to a trend towards more objective and practical guide-books for travellers in the early nineteenth century, as represented, for example, by the publication of Johann Ferdinand Neigebaur's *Handbuch für Reisende in England* (1829). (Maurer, 1989: 410).

Pückler's indebtedness to Sterne cannot be doubted and was not only acknowledged by the author himself but also by a number of contemporary critics. R.E. Prutz turned his readers' attention to the fact that Yorick's *Sentimental Yourney* (sic!) had already been translated into German in 1768, the year of its publication in England. Johann Bode's rendering of the English text was praised for its high quality and contributed to the popularity of the book. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, it had gone into its fifth edition. Ironically, it was the translation of Sterne's book into German that had acquainted Pückler in the first place with the bizarre frivolity for which he was criticised so frequently by his opponents in the English periodical press. Prutz even went so far as to hold Pückler responsible for the degradation of German travel literature to a genre primarily concerned with gossip (Prutz, 1847: 237-38, 253-56; Klein, 1993: 293). However, he did not consider the ironies imposed by the fact that Pückler was translated back into English. For the given context, it seems noteworthy to remark that through a 'double translation', namely first that of Sterne from English into German and subsequently that of Pückler from German into English, the English readership was confronted again with the extravagances its own literature had created sixty years earlier. Intriguingly, it is thus the medium of translation which revitalised an 'outdated fashion' in the guise of a 'foreign costume' in the country of the origin of that fashion. In addition, it is

interesting to note that Pückler's indebtedness to Sterne and his partial responsibility for Pückler's style was only taken into account by his German, but not by his English critics. As we have seen before, Henry Southern remained the only reviewer who raised the idea that the initially anonymous author of this travelogue may, after all, not have been German but English. For the critic of the *Westminster Review* suspected that the author may have been some native who 'has taken this opportunity of reaching home by way of Berlin' (Southern, 1832: 242). Despite Southern's instinctive rather than deliberate accuracy in the evaluation of what had happened, this was the only observation of this kind and was not pursued any further.

Pückler himself, too, toyed with the powerful potential of being able to take ideas abroad by translating them into a different language. The theme of translation emerges at an early stage of Pückler's travels, namely in a conversation between him and Goethe in Weimar before Pückler set off for England. Goethe alerted him to the wideranging excellence of German translations. Owing to their high quality, he argued, many nations would wish to learn German because it would enable them to read a great number of different literatures in one language without having to learn all the languages which would be necessary for understanding these texts in the original (PücklerMuskau, 1832: III, 16-17; 1991: III, 43-44; 14 September 1826). By imbuing Pückler with his own ideas on the topic, Goethe triggered off a theme which is resumed at various points of the *Letters*. For Pückler wrote not only about his own translations but also about more general problems connected with the rendering of Shakespeare into German. In this context he also expressed his views on German acting, which he considered to be inferior to English dramatic performance, as well as his preference for free as opposed to literal translations of Shakespeare's plays (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: IV 317, 320; 1991: IV 694, 696; 13 March 1828; II, 199-200; 1991: II, 515; 21 December 1828). However, his considerations on the transmission of texts from one country to another culminate in the following scene:

> Although dreadfully tired I could not sleep last night, and asked the host if he had a book. He brought me an old English translation of the Sorrows of Werther. You know how highly, how intensely I honour our prince of poets, and will therefore hardly believe me when I say that I had never read this celebrated book . . . I now, however, set earnestly to work to read it, struck with the strangeness of the accident which led me to read Werther for the first time in a foreign tongue, and in the midst of the wild

> mountains of Ireland. But even here, I must honestly confess I could not feel any hearty relish for the antiquated 'Sufferings;' . . . But thus much I could perceive, jesting apart, that the book was calculated to 'far furore' at one period; for the morbid state of mind under which Werther sinks is truly German, and German feeling was just then beginning to make its way through the materialism which had taken possession of the rest of Europe. Wilhelm Meister indeed followed it with far different steps; and Faust has since traversed it with giant strides. We have, I think, outgrown the Werther period, but have not yet reached that of Faust; nor will any age, so long as men exist, outgrow that. (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: I, 345-46; 1 October 1828) 13

Pückler thus engaged in precisely what has been described above (pp. 144, 146) as an unusual, perhaps even eccentric, undertaking in that he looked at the literature of his own country not only in the new guise of a foreign language but also from the distance of the wild mountain setting of Ireland. This instance is even more remarkable since Pückler is not unlikely to have read one of the earliest *Werther* translations, which was not made from the German but from the French. The first English version of the text, *The Sorrows of Werter: a German Story,* which was published in 1779, was probably translated by Daniel Malthus from the French of Georges Deyverdun (Goethe, 1854: V). With this newly-gained perspective of the more detached and thus objective observer, he felt enabled to work out what he considered to be the distinctively German features of *Werther,* features which he would not have detected had he read the work at home in its original language. Establishing a distance from one's own preconceived ideas can, of course, be achieved to exactly the same degree by taking on board the observations of a foreign visitor to one's own country Translating these 'foreign observations' for the consumption of a wide readership in the country under consideration is, however, even more eccentric. For it is not only like reading *Werther* in English but like translating the English version of *Werther* back into German in order to reconsider the result. However ludicrous this undertaking may appear, it is, as has been pointed out before, what happened to Harriet Martineau's rendering of Comte in English, since her condensed version of the text was subsequently translated back into French (cf. Chapter 2, p. 43). All the foregoing observations thus reinforce the premise that Pückler was at the centre of the crossroads of various forms of translation and various degrees of translatability However, in addition, he made a point of incorporating his awareness of these

ideas into his work and thus brought them to the surface and did not force them to remain undiscovered.

Pückler's German critics have further aspects to contribute to these considerations. For a great deal of controversy arose over the question as to how his frequent use of foreign, in particular French, terminology should be evaluated. In her translation Austin made a point of maintaining Pückler's use of foreign languages and, as she pointed out, rendered them in single inverted commas (Austin, 1832: III, 2). Pückler was frequently found guilty of an undue mixture of languages (*Sprachmengerei*) which was perceived as an interference with the native tradition (Mundt, 1836: 296-97; 1846: III, 338). In a different context, it has already been discussed whether the introduction of foreign terminology into a translation must be seen as an enrichment or an impoverishment of one's own language (cf. pp. 53, 73, 75-77, 89). The frequent introduction of French phrases into a German text, however, had further implications. For the use of French (the language primarily used by German aristocrats in the eighteenth century) was not only perceived as endangering the German language but also had potential political implications. Pückler's fiercest critic, the republican Ludwig Börne, was all too happy to associate the author's frequent use of French with an aristocratic political conservatism (Börne, 1964: 88485). He did, however, not remain unassailed. Owing to the fact that Pückler frequently dared to criticise or ridicule aristocratic manners, other reviewers disagreed with this evaluation of the author and even praised him for his liberalism (Laube, 1934: 82; Gutzkow, 1839: 56).

Pückler rejected both these allegations. As far as his propensity to infiltrate German with French elements was concerned, he regretted the fact that he did not know more foreign languages in order to exploit them for the enrichment of his own native tongue and an increased accuracy of his descriptions (Bender, 1982: 140). The widely diverging opinions about his political views arising from this association with the French language and aristocratic culture on the one hand, and from the liberal views expressed in his travelogues on the other, led him to describe his own predicament as that of 'the poor Bat between the Birds and the Beasts':

> The aristocrats thought me too liberal, the Liberals too aristocratic; the Formalists called me impious, the Unbelievers sanctimonious; the *Bureaucratie* represented me as a semi-revolutionist, while the Democrats affirmed that I was a time-serverthat I took good care not to give positive offence, and, when expediency required, flattered the ruling powers. (Pückler-Muskau, 1845: I, VI)

Wulf Wülfing has drawn our attention to the fact that the rise of travel literature in the *Vormärz* period was commonly associated with the fact that this genre frequently served as a platform for the promotion of politically progressive ideas. For Germans at that time only had to cross the borders to France or England in order to encounter a less restraining and more liberal atmosphere than at home (Wülfing, 1987: 185). The question as to whether it was Pückler's intention to criticise his own country for its political conservatism will have to remain unresolved. What we can take for granted, however, is that Pückler enjoyed precisely this lack of transparency concerning his own person and indulged in the playful freedom created by the unaccountability of a dead man.

This reluctance towards authorial self-assertiveness is not unlike the attempt of a number of translators to 'hide behind inverted commas' and the denial of their own independent authority on a topic. Pückler, too, tried to disguise his own authorship by employing a variety of pseudonyms and, in the case of his letters from England, by adopting the persona of a dead man and pretending to address his audience from the grave. He could not have chosen a more macabre and decisive way of increasing his freedom to gossip, conveying the impression of immunity and rejecting the responsibility for anything his readers may disagree with in his work (Just, 1962: 21-22; 1966: 17576). The illusion that he was exempt from having to justify himself for his deeds did not last long. Despite the fact that Varnhagen von Ense, one of Pückler's closest friends, made an effort to conceal his authorship in his review of the *Letters,* Pückler was forced to 'return to the living soon after the publication of his book (Varnhagen von Ense, 1833: 311). [14] The denial of his authorship, however, enhanced the enigmatic traits of his character and in many ways added to the contradictory evaluation of his views.

Pückler's non-committal aloofness and the diversity of interpretations resulting from it played a particularly important role in the context of his political views. As pointed out above, Ludwig Börne rejected Pückler for his aristocratic affectations. Despite the fact that Heinrich Heine felt equally attracted to the radical ideals of the French July Revolution of 1830 and, like Börne, moved to Paris in order to distance himself from the reactionary features of German politics, he was not openly hostile towards Pückler's upper-class lifestyle (Brenner, 1990: 346; Wülfing, 1983: 379-83). He even dedicated his own travelogue, entitled *Lutezia* (1854), to Pückler whose work he considered to be an example worthy of being imitated in his own writing. The following extract from his 'Zueignungsbrief', his 'Letter

of Dedication to his Serene Highness, the Prince Pückler-Muskau', reflecting the method applied in writing his own book on Paris deserves to be quoted at this point:

> To render the doleful accounts more gay, I wove into them sketches from the realm of Art and Learning, from the dancing-saloons of good and bad society; and if I, among such arabesques, drew too many caricatures of *virtuosi,* it was not done to deeply grieve some long-vanished honest man of the pianoforte or Jew's-harp, but to give a picture of the time in its minutest shades. An honest daguerréotype must truly repeat a fly as accurately as the proudest horse, and my reports are a daguerréotyped book of history, in which every day depicts itself, and, by giving such pictures collectively, the co-ordinating spirit of the artist has contributed a work in which that which is represented authenticates itself. . . . In this respect the highest recognition has already been awarded to my 'French Affairs,' which bear the same character, and the French version of it was extensively used by French historiographers. I declare all this that I may vindicate the claim of my book to be of substantial merit, and the reader may be the more lenient should he again detect in it that frivolous *esprit* with which our core-Germans or Germans to the coreI may say our acorn German fellow-countrymenhave also reproached the author of 'Letters of a Dead Man.' But in dedicating my book to him, I may well say, as regards any e*sprit* therein, that I bring owls to Athens. (Heine, 1893: 26-28) 15

Heine thus associated Pückler's writing technique with the production of a daguerreotype which, in this context, is the image of an indiscriminate and hence absolute faithfulness to the circumstances dictated to the traveller by the outside real world he encountered. Equally significant is Heine's pride at having been translated into French and at having been treated as an authority by French historiographers. Intriguingly, the daguerreotype has thus emerged once again as a metaphor fostering the establishment of a link between different modes of supposedly uncreative reproduction, namely this time that of translating and that of travel writing. Heine's dedication moreover stylised Pückler into an example for everybody wishing to correlate these two modes. Sarah Austin, too, had recognised Pückler's exemplary nature and, as a result, made him the first foreign visitor whose letters home she 'redirected' to her own countrymen. Her motives for sending them back to England can only be conjectured. In the first place, she obviously relied on Goethe's positive evaluation of

the letters and considered that to be sufficient justification for her efforts. What is more, it is easy to grasp that Pückler's game with masks and double standards as well as the fact that he adopted the persona of a dead man, thus making an attempt to vanish altogether, was bound to attract Sarah Austin before other, more personal considerations started to prevail. For she, too, made a point of pursuing a literary career without admitting to independent creative authorship.

The English periodical press, too, felt primarily attracted to the aura and mystery surrounding Pückler's personality. It depicted the German traveller mainly as a commentator on the latest gossip and fashion, as well as the theatre and music scene of the country he visited. His views on the social, political and economic state of England and especially Ireland were hardly taken into consideration, and only the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Westminster Review* bothered to sketch Pückler's more serious considerations briefly (Empson, 1831: 405; Southern, 1832: 228, 241). Despite all the unquestionably frivolous vanity surrounding his person, Pückler's political expositions were not totally uninformed and, as a result, should probably not be neglected altogether. Moreover, Sarah Austin, whose political views become a more clearly predominating issue in connection with her translation of Raumer, may well have sympathised with his liberal predilections. For after a visit to the House of Commons, Pückler openly professed his admiration for Brougham and Canning (PücklerMuskau, 1832: IV 17-18; 1991: IV 433-34; 1 May 1827). In addition, he was not uncritical of the hierarchical structure of English society, which he considered to be ruled by an unduly privileged aristocracy:

> The spirit of *caste,* which, emanating from this source, descends through all stages of society in greater or less force, has received here a power, consistency and full development, wholly unexampled in any other country The having visited on an intimate footing in a lower class is sufficient to ensure you an extremely cold reception in the very next step of the ladder; and no Brahmin can shrink with more horror from all contact with a Paria, than an 'Exclusive' from intercourse with a 'Nobody' (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: IV 374; 8 July 1828) 16

Despite all this criticism Pückler greatly admired the wealth of the English landholders and the all-embracing power they exercised over the estates they owned (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: III, 97; III, 111-12; 20 October 1826). In so doing, he denounced the democrats of his own country who intended to level out the differences between landowners and tenants. Nonetheless, while making all these statements,

Pückler refused to draw the link between the landed power he admired so much and the strictly hierarchical aristocratic social system of which he disapproved. It may also be of some significance that these passages are part of a diary entry, which is included in its full length in the modern German edition of the text. However, the relevant passages cannot be found in Sarah Austin's translation, and one could speculate over the question whether this omission is a deliberate, manipulative undertaking (Pückler-Muskau, 1991: III, 299-304; 22 January 1827).

As far as Ireland was concerned, Pückler demonstrated his awareness of the country's political situation by alerting his readers to Thomas Spring-Rice's defence of Catholic emancipation even before he travelled there. Despite the fact that he then did not comment on the Irish question, he nailed his colours to the mast as soon as he visited the country:

> Such is Ireland! Neglected or oppressed by the Government, debased by the stupid intolerance of the English priesthood, and marked by poverty and the poison of whisky, for the abode of naked beggars!I have already mentioned that even among the educated classes of this province, the ignorance appears, with our notions of education, perfectly unequalled: I will only give you one or two examples. Today something was said about magnetism, and no one present had ever heard the slightest mention of it. (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: I, 238-39; 10 September 1828) 17

At a later point, after Pückler had paid a visit to Daniel O'Connell and had familiarised himself with the goals of the Catholic Association, he modified his views. He was impressed by O'Connell, who exceeded his expectations and alerted him to the positive traits of Catholic culture, and subsequently even claimed that Catholic children appear to be more educated than Protestant children (Pückler-Muskau, 1832: I, 336-37; 1991: II, 323; 28 September 1828). Taking into consideration the author's Protestantism, Pückler's strongly expressed pro-Catholic views may appear surprising but must probably be regarded as a form of showing his support for English liberal rather than conservative politics, and may, after all, have to do with the fact that Pückler was a Protestant landowner in predominantly Catholic Silesia, which was under Prussian rule.

As shown above, all these serious considerations in Pückler's travelogue were frequently neglected altogether, and the author was presented as somebody who did no more than communicate fairly harmless gossip. In taking on Friedrich Raumer's *England im lahre*

1835, Sarah Austin continued her interest in the foreign gaze on a more scholarly and political level. Raumer, too, dismissed Pückler's observations as 'calumnious caricatures' (Croker, 1836: 533). After having read law and having worked in the Prussian civil service until 1811, he was appointed to a professorship in history, first in Breslau and then in Berlin (1819) (Paulin, 1988: 148-49, 153). He had also been recognised in England as an eminent historian even before his own visit to this country and his research in the British Library. The extensive use of manuscript material in the Vatican Library for his research on the *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen (History of the Hohenstaufens)* (182325) and the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris for his *Briefe aus Paris zur ErIäuteterung der Geschichte des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts (History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)* (1830) consolidated his reputation (Busk, 1829: 560; Busk, 1835: 78). What is more, he was associated with the diligence of a 'German-style' treatment of original documents to such an extent that he felt the need to distance himself from the 'negative and atomistic' evaluation of sources and the historical school of Niebuhr. [18] As a result, his compromise approach was highly regarded by representatives of both the pro- and the antiNiebuhr camp, including George Grote and Henry Hart Milman.[19]

But to what extent was it in the nature of a German *Gelehrter* to trespass on the realm of travel writing and to present his observations on England in the informal format of letters, which have been described as lacking 'private anecdote and personal detail', to unnamed friends back home in Germany? (Busk, 1836: 210) It may be of some significance in this context that Raumer, on the rare occasions that he is referred to in twentieth-century secondary literature, is mentioned in books on nineteenth-century German historiography (McClelland, 1971: 64, 93, 251, 267). At the same time he barely occurs in the critical approaches to travel literature that have recently come to the forefront and which have been drawn on extensively in this chapter. The question as to whether Raumer qualifies more as traveller or as a historian is, however, still unresolved. J.W. Croker of the *Quarterly Review* compared Raumer's metamorphosis from an antiquarian scholar into a travel writer to the wish of the family of owlets in the *Apologue* to turn into eagles, for the 'humble diligence which loves to grope about in the obscurity of registers and records is seldom equal to the broader daylight and higher views of existing society' (Croker, 1836: 530).

Victor Aimé Huber (1800-69), a German critic and professor of modern history in Rostock, dedicated a whole monograph to an assessment of Raumer's work and shared the same views. He was the author

of two projects on Britain: *The English Universities,* published in 1843, was translated into English by J. Palgrave Simpson and edited by F.W. Newman, whereas the *Skizzen aus Ireland* (1850) remained untranslated. Huber went to some length to explore whether letters are an appropriate medium for conveying the scholarly, partly historical and partly statistical, information about England which Raumer wished to convey to his friends back in Germany. On a general level, Huber regretted the fact that Raumer based so little of his account of England on his first-hand experiences of the country he visited. This criticism even culminated in the question as to why Raumer underwent the trouble to travel at all, when so much of the information he included in his letters would have been available to him in journals, political and statistical works held in Berlin (Huber, 1837: 4-6). As a result, Huber claimed that Raumer's letters have become a somewhat artificial and unmotivated medium which does not match the immobile and static character of his account. 20 Even though he travelled widely, he devoted much of his space to facts and figures which did not require his own presence in the places he dealt with. What is more, the flow of Raumer's report is by no means always determined by the author's physical changes of scenery in England and Ireland and his immediate adventures as he moved from place to place. His reflections on the poor laws in England, for example, were initially not triggered off by a personal encounter with squalid conditions. He even made a point of introducing them with a historical survey of how various cultural traditions, beginning with the Romans and the Greeks, tackled the issue at stake (Raumer, 1836b: I, 122-24; letter 15).

A second example are Raumer's observations on manufacturing. Once again they were initially not, as one might expect, based on a visit to a northern industrial city but on information gained from reading and conversation. Raumer did, however, eventually visit places like Newcastle, Liverpool and Manchester and thus had the chance to experience the conditions he had read about for himself (Raumer, 1836b: II, 174-84, letter 36; III, 152-61, letter 60; III, 218-26, letter 63). Interestingly enough, what he emphasised most on the basis of these personal impressions was not so much the advanced state of British industrialisation but the price being paid for this world greatness. Despite all the opulence he encountered in Manchester for example, he was shocked by the social condition of the poor in this city (Raumer, 1836b: III, 226, letter 63). In addition, he criticised the lack of state schooling for children and the fact that they were forced to work in the cotton manufacturies. He drew his readers' attention to the fact that Prussia may not be as efficient in producing 'dimity or muslin',

but that, as a result of this, 'the poetry of childhood' was 'not yet wholly banished . . . by the rattling of machinery' (Raumer, 1836b: III, 223-24, 229, letter 63). His criticism of the lack of state interference in social and educational matters was severe (Raumer, 1836b: III, 226, letter 63). It is even more significant because in 1810, Raumer himself had still defended *laissez-faire* liberalism in a treatise on the English tax system *(Das Brittische Besteuerungs-System)* The author had thus departed from the possibility that Adam Smithian ideals could be the key to an improvement of the Prussian economy (Paulin and Skrine, 1989: 4).

The impression of authentic experience in the country he visited is also created by Raumer's intensive engagement in current political affairs. While for Pückler current affairs only played a role inasmuch as they affected the places he visited, Raumer was fascinated by the institution of Parliament, followed its debates and made a great effort to establish the background of the issues debated during his time in England. He arrived in the country only a fortnight before the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and the replacement of his cabinet by a Whig government (Busk, 1836: 211). Owing to his close link with liberal circles in England, Raumer was not an impartial commentator on political affairs and, as a result, was caught up in the factional excitement associated with the fall of a prime minister and the takeover by his opponents. Some of the reviews, both in periodicals and newspapers such as *The Standard* and *The Age,* criticised what they considered to be Raumer's arbitrary one-sidedness and his clear-cut favouritism of Whiggish politics (Anon., 1836: 635; Croker, 1836: 531; Raumer, 1869: II, 228-29). Other journals, among them the liberal *Edinburgh Review, Dublin Review, The Times, The Courier* and *The New Monthly Magazine,* felt their interest to be well represented by Raumer's foreign gaze and therefore called his account impartial (Merivale, 1836: 207; Quin, 1836: 133; Raumer, 1869: II, 228-29).

The state of affairs in Ireland was also a recurring concern in Raumer's letters. Despite Raumer's devastating remarks on the poverty he witnessed in this country, the Irish were greatly satisfied by his criticism of English legislation, which he held responsible for the shameful conditions in Ireland, and his advocacy of Irish national interests (Raumer, 1836b: III, 200-01, letter 62; III, 213-14, letter 62; III, 226, letter 63). Among them were the equal provision of schools and churches for Protestants and Catholics, the abolition of tithes, the introduction of poor laws and a law respecting the absentees, as well as the replacement of the system of tenants at will by a system of proprietors (Raumer, 1836b: III, 196-97, letter 62). When he was looking for an

authority on the topic, Sarah Austin referred him to Thomas Spring-Rice, the great advocate of Irish emancipation, and it is thus not surprising to see that Raumer arrived at the conclusions he eventually came to (Raumer, 1836b: III, 160-61, letter 60). As in many other cases, the strings Austin thus pulled in the background were not the most neutral pieces of advice she could hand out, and her active propagation of her own ideas and interests will become even clearer in the following considerations. For Raumer's commitment to Ireland is only one of the two issues frequently reinforced in his work and, as a result, widely treated in the periodical reviews.

The other, equally strongly expressed and even more significant topic in the context of translation is his view of English education. The most extensive treatment of this matter, as well as a discussion of the differences between the English system and its Prussian counterpart, can be found in Raumer's 57th letter (Raumer, 1836b: III, 89-104). The Prussian school system had been made widely known through Sarah Austin's translation of Victor Cousin's *Rapport sur l'état de l'instruction publiquen Prusse* (1831) from French into English. Cousin (1792-1867) was educated in Paris and studied philosophy In 1826 he published his *Fragments philosophiques* and was appointed to the University of Paris in 1828. There he worked under the historian François Guizot (1787-1874). After Guizot had become the secretary of education in 1832, Cousin was appointed as a member of the Council of Public Instruction in Guizot's ministry. In 1831, he travelled to Germany to gain a first-hand experience of the state school system of this country The French educational act of 1833, under which primary school teaching and teacher training was organised on a national level, was largely the result of Cousin's favourable report about the state of educational affairs in Prussia. In his *Rapport* Cousin delivered a diligent and positive description of the organisation of a compulsory system of national education which was originally supposed to be an advisory report for the French government. After it had been translated, it gained wider influence in England and even in America, since his account was discussed extensively in the periodical press and provided the factual information for a consideration of school reforms in England (Knight, 1930: 119-20). Raumer himself, even though he showed a great deal of reverence for the traditional educational establishments of the country he visited, vehemently defended greater state involvement in this field against the allegations which had been put forward against the Prussian solution in Lord Brougham's *Report on the State of Education* (1834). Brougham had primarily accused the prescriptive German system of being too

regimented and restraining. Raumer at this point quoted from Brougham's *Report:*

> 'It may matter little what sentiments are inculcated on all Prussian children by their *military* chiefs; but it would be something new in *this* country systematically to teach all children, from six to fourteen years of age, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, the absolute excellence of its institutions, and the wickedness and iniquity of every effort to improve them.' (Raumer, 1836b: III, 93, letter 57)

Raumer opposed this criticism as well as Peel's allegation that Prussian school children were 'tormented by theologians' wholeheartedly and, in response, pointed to the detrimental effects of the English government's refusal to take on responsibility for the educational system. What is more, he also blamed the state for not funding schools more generously despite the fact that it was financially far better endowed to do so than Prussia (Raumer, 1836b: III, 93-94, 91, letter 57).

By translating Cousin's *Report* and Raumer's letters into English, Sarah Austin thus provided the party in favour of state schooling and state interference in social questions with a considerable amount of ammunition with which to attack their opponents. She decided to make ideas available to her countrymen which they would not have encountered in the 'homegrown' writings of their times. For a system of national education was not seriously taken into consideration by an English author until Matthew Arnold expressed his views on the topic in the eighteen-sixties. While there is no evidence that Arnold read Raumer, there was contact between Arnold and John Austin, who pointed out the various fallacies that had become wrongly attached to the concept of centralisation in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1847 (Connell, 1950: 75). In addition, the atrocious and shameful conditions of the working class were not dealt with by English writers of that period. In many ways, the translation of Raumer for Sarah Austin was thus an explicitly partisan involvement in a variety of political questions of the day and implied a contradiction of the principles she herself had set out in the preface to her own translation. The passage has been drawn on before (Chapter 2, p. 38), but its core ideas are so important for the present context that they deserve to be repeated at this point. Sarah Austin insisted vehemently on her own detachment from Raumer's work for, as she pointed out, she considered it to be 'the peculiar and invaluable privilege of a translator, as such, to have no opinions', and presented herself as unsuited to 'any prominent and

independent station in the field of moral and political discussion', and as a 'person naturally withdrawn' from these matters (Raumer, 1836b: I, XIV). She had, however, contravened her own ideas even before she had laid them down in writing. For the following statement can be found in the very same preface, two paragraphs before what has just been quoted:

> The name of Mr. Bentham occurs not unfrequently in the work, as the supposed representative of the opinions of an existing party, and always accompanied with expressions of disapprobation or of contempt. I have constantly omitted it, when used in this manner, and have only inserted it in one place, where some remarks on Mr. Bentham's opinions occur. Allusions and insinuations, founded on what I believe to be an entire misapprehension of the character and sentiments of Mr. Bentham, were, as I thought, neither instructive nor convincing; and to me, who had much cause to know the warmth, singleness and kindness of heart of the venerable man of whom Herr v. Raumer has conceived such erroneous impressions, would have been, I confess, most painful to write. (Raumer 1836b, I, XIII)

Translating Raumer thus became a means for Sarah Austin to express her own political opinions. The author had of course grown up in a German idealist tradition and was highly suspicious of the radical and revolutionary traits of utilitarianism and, as a professor of history, did not believe in Bentham's idea that the study of past philosophical concepts presented a danger to the originality of thinking in one's own days (Raumer, 1836b: II, 287-91). The fact that she could still defend Jeremy Bentham, who like John Stuart Mill had been a close friend of the Austins in their early married years, is even more surprising. For Austin's radicalism started to crumble despite the fact that in 1826 he was made Professor of Jurisprudence and the Law of Nations at University College, London, where Bentham was revered (Hamburger, 1985: 33). Sarah Austin thus had the courage to express in print a political opinion which was not necessarily shared any longer by her husband. But she went even further than that when she abandoned the medium of a translator's preface, which would presumably only reach a small readership, and championed her own belief in the necessity of national education in a pamphlet entitled *On National Education,* which was published by John Murray under her own name in 1839. In the preface to this work she explained that she felt the need to make her views on this matter, which had previously been published in the fairly obscure *Cochrane's Foreign Quarterly*

Review, more widely known to a general audience (Austin, 1839: VII). She had also reviewed Victor Cousin's *Report* in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* and later published *Two Letters on Girls' Schools, and on the Training of Working Women* (Austin, 1833b: and 1857).

Raumer's political views were no less ambiguous than Sarah Austin's attitude towards independent authorship and judgement. For however clear a promoter of the 'Whiggish cause' he may have been considered to be by most observers in England, it is not to be excluded that his political predilections in Berlin, where he held a university chair in politics and history, were quite different from those expressed abroad. For, as the biographical introduction of Raumer prefixed to Sarah Austin's translation of *England im Jahre 1835* pointed out, Raumer had incurred the hatred of the German liberals because he had opposed the 'boyish chimeras of the disciples of Jahn' (Raumer, 1836b: I, XXV). The author of the article in the *Conversations-Lexicon,* on which Sarah Austin's sketch of the author's life was based, obviously identified liberalism with the patriotism of the 'Burschenschaften' (see Chapter 5, p. 133), and Raumer was indeed opposed to any form of excessive nationalism (Paulin, 1988: 155). In a letter to Bunsen, Thomas Arnold described his own attitude to Raumer's ambivalence:

> I delight in Von Raumer's Book, and agree with almost every word of it.He is *conservative* in the true continental sense of the word,but not in the English sense:and his visit here showed him, I think, how the Anti-Revolutionist of Germany ought to be the Anti-Conservative of England;because it is only in the lowest Revolutionists of the Continent that you can match the Ignorance and Selfishneß, and utter Hatred of every high and noble Principle, which mark the maß of the English Conservatives, taken not as private individuals, but as a political Party. 21

Croker's evaluation of the same phenomenon in his review in the *Quarterly* gave a more negative and highly unflattering explanation for the inconsistencies in Raumer's own political development:

From all this we conclude that Raumer was once an *ultra-liberal,* but that being *now*like those 'fellow-labourers' referred to in the extract*elevated to a post* (Professor of Political Science in the University of Berlin) *in which he finds it convenient to be silent* on questions of domestic government, he endeavours to cloak his own *conversion* on the subject of Prussian politics, by affecting a great zeal for religious liberty (a point on which that *drumhead* government has always retained the indifference of the great

Frederick), and by throwing himself heels-over-head into the muddy overflow of English Reform. (Croker, 1836: 532)

Travel writing, like translation, can thus become a means of camouflaging one's own opinions and the combination of both has proved to be part of the process of dissemination that allows a nation to see itself and reconsider its values. In addition, the idea that Raumer's seemingly innocent pro-liberal statements on English and Irish politics may, after all, have been as much a comment on the situation in Prussia as it was a view on the state of affairs of the country he visited, is a powerful one. For it is an example of how, at times, contradictory energies can be set free within one and the same text. These energies are even more likely to erupt when an originally directed text like that of a travelogue is redirected to the country in which it has originated. As this chapter has shown, Sarah Austin indulged in the manipulative game of reversing the point of departure and destination of a travelogue by making foreign gazes available to her fellow-countrymen. 22 As a result, she provided these texts with an almost 'Janus-faced' nature which they had not had before, thus adding to them a great variety of meanings and implications they would not have adopted, had they only been read by the German audience they had originally been intended for.

Notes

1. Sarah Austin to John Murray, 25 December 1830, MS Murray Archives.

2. Sarah Austin to John Murray, 20 February 1836, MS Murray Archives.

3. Sarah Austin to John Murray, no date 1835, and 20 February 1836. Hannibal Evans Lloyd (1771-1847), philologist and translator, had an extensive acquaintance with several European languages; he *was* the author of *Thretisch-pratische Englische Sprachlehre für Deutsche* (1823), for a long time the standard grammar in several of the German universities, and in addition he revised Rabenhorst's *German and English Dictionary* (1829); among many other works he also translated Raumer's *Political History of England* (1837), his *England in 1841* and PücklerMuskau's *Egypt under Mehemet Ali* (1845).

4. Sarah Austin to John Murray, Dresden 16 May 1845, MS Murray Archives.

5. On the different formats of presenting a travelogue used in the early nineteenth century, see Wülfing (1987: 182).

6. Maurer (1987: 26). Maurer points out that, in the first six decades of the eighteenth century, there are a maximum of two to three travelogues per decade, whereas there were 25 in the 1780s before the figure began to decline to 9 in the 1790s. The Napoleonic Continental System of 1806 made travelling to England virtually impossible for roughly a decade. See also Panayi (1995: 15-16).

7. Other instances are Johanna Schopenhauer's *Youthful Life and Pictures of*

Travel: Being the Autobiography of Madame Schopenhauer (1839; translated in 1847) which is, however, more an autobiography than a travelogue and contains only a small section on England. In addition, there is J.G. Kohl's *Ireland, Scotland, and England* (1844), which was rendered into English from *Reisen in England und Wales* by an unknown translator. Frederika Bremer's *England in 1851* (1852; 1853) was originally published in Swedish, subsequently translated into German and then from German into English. Ida Pfeiffer's *Meine zweite Weltreise* (1856) was translated by Jane Sinnett as *A Lady's Second Journey round the World.*

For a compilation of German visitors to Manchester, which includes a number of the figures dealt with in the present context, see Paulin and Skrine (1989).

8. See also Heinrich Laube to Pückler, 5 July 1841 in Assing (1874b: VI, 90) for Mrs Austin's complaints about Pückler, and Hamburger (1985: 83-84).

9. Pückler-Muskau (1991: III, 134; 23 November 1826):

> So mokiert man sich seit vier Wochen fast täglich über das Duell eines hiesigen Lords, bei dem dieser eben keine Heldentaten ausgeführt haben soll, . . . Auch mir, von dem die Engländer wie von jedem Heiratsfähigen, der hier herkommt, steif und fest glauben, es geschehe nur, um eine reiche Engländerin zur Frau zu suchen, hat man einen *coup fourré* machen wollen, und einen satirischen Artikel, jene Materie berührend, aus einer heimatlichen Fabrik erborgt, und in verschiedene hiesige Zeitungen gesetzt. Ich bin aber schon längst in der Schule eines alten Praktikers in diesem Punkt aguerriert worden, und lachte daher selbst zuerst am lautesten darüber, indem ich Öffentlich harmlose Scherze über mich und andere dabei nicht sparte.

10. Pückler-Muskau (1991: III, 358; 24 February 1827):

> Hier trat in meiner Korrespondenz eine lange Pause einVerzeih, ich nahm mein einsames Mittagsmahl eineine Schnepfe stand vor mir, und ein *mouton qui rêve* neben mir. Du errätst wer dies letzte ist. Argere Dich nicht üiber den Platz zur Linken, denn rechts flackert das Feuer, und ich weiß zu gut, wie sehr Du es fiirchtest.

11. Assing (1873: 210; 1874a: 12). See also Pückler to Varnhagen, 12 July 1833 in Assing (1874b: III, 156). A revaluation of Pückler's *Letters* may be suggested by the reprint of the work in a German paperback edition in 1991.

12. For a full survey of Pückler's impact on other writers see Goedeke (1959: 716, 725-30).

13. Pückler-Muskau (1991: II, 329-30; 1 October 1828):

> Obgleich peinlich müde, konnte ich gestern abend doch nicht einschlafen, und frug daher beim Wirt an: ob er irgend ein Buch besitze? Man brachte mir eine alte englische Ubersetzung von Werthers Leiden. Du weißt wie hoch und innig ich unsern Dichterfürsten verehre, und wirst mir es daher kaum glauben wollen, wenn ich Dir sage: daß ich dieses berühmte Buch nie gelesen.Der Grund möchte auch vielen sehr kindisch vorkommen. . . . Diesmal machte ich mich jedoch ernstlich an die Lektüre, und fand es dabei

> seltsam, Werther zum erstenmal, in fremder Sprache, mitten in den wüstesten Gebürgen von Irland zu lesen. Ich konnte aber auch hier, aufrichtig gestanden, den veralteten Leiden keinen rechten Geschmack mehr abgewinnen . . . Aber soviel habe ich, Scherz bei Seite, wenigstens eingesehen, daß das Buch einst Furore machen *mußte*denn es ist eine echt *deutsche* Stimmung, an der Werther untergeht, und deutsche Gemütlichkeit fing damals eben an, sich in dem zu materiell gewordenen Europa Bahn zu brechen. Freilich durchschritt es 'Meister', und viel mehr nachher noch 'Faust' mit ganz andern Riesenschritten! Der Werther-Periode sind wir, glaube ich, entwachsen, an dem Faust aber kaum herangekommen, und kein Zeitalter wird, solange es Menschen gibt, ihm entwachsen können.

14. See also Varnhagen to Pückler (1 November 1830) in Assing (1874b: III, 2930).

15. Heine (1988:18-19):

> Um die betrübsamen Berichterstattungen zu erheitern, verwob ich sie mit Schilderungen aus dem Gebiete der Kunst und der Wissenschaft, aus den Tanzsälen der guten und der schlechten Societät, und wenn ich unter solchen Arabesken manche allzu närrische Virtuosenfratze gezeichnet, so geschah es nicht, um irgend einem längst verschollenen Biedermann des Pianoforte oder der Maultrommel ein Herzleid zuzufügen, sondern um das Bild der Zeit selbst in seinen kleinsten Nüanzen zu liefern. Ein ehrliches Daguerreotyp muß eine Fliege eben so gut wie das stolzeste Pferd treu wiedergeben, und meine Berichte sind ein daguerreotypisches Geschichtsbuch, worin jeder Tag sich selber abkonterfeite, und durch die Zusammenstellung solcher Bilder hat der ordnende Geist des Künstlers ein Werk geliefert, worin das Dargestellte seine Treue authentisch durch sich selbst dokumentirt. . . . Man hat in solcher Beziehung bereits meinen 'Französischen Zuständen', welche denselben Charakter tragen, die grÖßte Anerkennung gezollt, und die französische Übersetzung wurde von historienschreibenden Franzosen vielfach benutzt. Ich erwähne dieses Alles, damit ich für mein Werk ein solides Verdienst vindizire, und der Leser um so nachsichtiger seyn möge, wenn er darin wieder jenen frivolen Esprit bemerkt, den unsre kerndeutschen, ich möchte sagen eicheldeutschen Landsleute auch dem Verfasser der 'Briefe eines Verstorbenen' vorgeworfen haben. Indem ich Demselben mein Buch zueigne, kann ich wohl, in Bezug auf den darin enthaltenen Esprit, heute von mir sagen, daß ich Eulen nach Athen bringe.

16. Pückler-Muskau (1991: IV, 746-47; 8 July 1828):

> Der Kastengeist, der sich von ihr [i.e. der Aristokratie] herab jetzt durch alle Stufen der Gesellschaft mehr oder weniger erstreckt, hat hier eine beispiellose Ausbildung erhalten. Es ist hinlänglich, einen niedereren Kreis vertraut besucht zu haben, um in dem auf der Leiter immediat folgenden gar nicht mehr, oder doch mit großer Kälte aufgenommen zu werden, und kein Brahmane kann sich vor einem Paria mehr scheuen, als ein anerkannter *exclusive* vor einem n*obody*.

17. Pückler-Muskau (1991: I, 223; 10 September 1828):

> Das ist Irland! vom Gouvernement vernachlssigt oder bedrückt, von der stupiden Intoleranz des englischen Priestertums erniedrigt, von seinen reichen Landbesitzern verlassen, und von Armut und Whiskeygift zum Aufenthalt nackter Elenden gestempelt!Ich habe schon erwähnt, daß auch bei den gebildeten Klassen der Provinz die Unwissenheit für *unsere* Erziehungsbegriffe beispiellos erscheint. Ich will es noch nicht als solche aufführen, daß z. B. heute beim Frühstiick vom Magnetismus gesprochen wurde, und niemand je das geringste davon gehört hatte.

18. Busk (1829: 563); Raumer to Tieck (8 March and 25 July 1840), in Raumer (1869: II, 182, 188).

19. George Grote, one of Niebuhr's critics (see Chapter 5) expressed his views in several letters to Raumer (23 May 1853, 11 February 1862 and 21 May 1864) in Raumer (1869: II, 226-27). Henry Hart Milman, a supporter of Niebuhr's methodological innovations (see Chapter 5) expressed his appreciation of Raumer in an article in the *Quarterly Review* (Milman, 1834: 304-05). His uncritical promotion of Raumer was, however, heavily criticised in *Fraser's Magazine.* (Anon, 1836: 631-32)

20. Raumer did not accept this criticism, for in a second series of letters entitled *England in 1841* (1842), which was translated by H.E. Lloyd, he did not change his format but made an attempt to place the letters 'treating upon the great questions' into a section separate from the other letters dealing with his personal experiences. (Raumer, 1842: I, V)

21. Thomas Arnold to Bunsen, 30 May 1836, MS Bunsen Papers, Berlin, GStA PK I. HA Rep. 92 Dep. Bunsen (Karl Josias) B Nr. 63.

22. On the directedness of map-making, travelling and translating, see Bassnett (1993: 114).

Epilogue

The space between inverted commas is, in many ways, the realm of the translator. It is the territory between different languages, cultures, ages, academic disciplines and forms of art, where an exchange of textuality and terminology, as well as cross-category movement between different subjects can take place. It is the location in which a multiplicity of meanings can unfold itself, where unforeseen analogies may emerge and unsuspected links can be drawn. The postmodern assumption that any form of writing is never bound to its original context but has the power to adopt new meanings and can create new contexts to a certain extent, reflects the ideas Walter Benjamin developed in his 1923 essay 'The Task of the Translator' (Niranjana, 1992: 155). For Benjamin argued that translation can provide a text with an after-life, in which meaning may 'plunge' from 'abyss to abyss', and can thus revitalise and reshape a text in a different temporal and spatial setting (cf. Chapter 3, p. 88).

Translators are at the crossroads of this linguistic, cultural and interdisciplinary transmission. As the observations of the foregoing chapters have shown, they are particularly sensitive to the possibilities of exchange both on an inter- and intra-lingual level. In many ways, it was the hermeneutic dimension Schleiermacher introduced into the discourse about translation, which has allowed us to detect an almost unsuspected unity in what may, at first sight, in a number of cases have appeared to be diverse and possibly incompatible intellectual and artistic pursuits. Intriguingly, the metaphor of daguerreotype fidelity facilitated the undertaking to forge the link between a linguistic, inter-lingual form of translation and all other modes of translation we have encountered. The far-reaching impact of the revolutionary invention of photography is still underestimated and the chapters of this book have illustrated how the cultural implications of this new form of representation could reach beyond the scope of the visual arts. For nineteenth-century polymath intellectuals, who were keen to develop comparative approaches, used the term 'daguerreotype' as a

metaphor for authenticity and scientific exactness in the discourse of a wide range of subjects.

Into whatever field our considerations about translation took us, the image of the daguerreotype made its presence felt, and it is significant that nineteenth-century translators, scientists, historians and travel writers all turned to this one, then only recently available technical innovation in search of an analogy in their efforts to improve the accuracy of their own discipline. John Stuart Blackie wrote about a 'certain stiff daguerreotype fidelity' in German translation, and F.W. Newman used the image in order to distance his own method of translating Homer, from Pope's eighteenth-century 'portrait-painting' of the *Iliad* (Blackie, 1861: 269; Newman, 1856: XIX). J. Herschel identified the fact that language 'is a mass of metaphor, grounded . . . on loose, fanciful, and often most mistaken analogies', and not a daguerreotype of nature as a problem which the scientific discourse of his time had to overcome in order to achieve a 'pure and fundamental classification of facts' (Herschel, 1841: 190). Lord Acton wrote about Ranke's 'colourless' historiography (Acton, 1930:18). As we have seen in Chapter 5, Ranke unearthed original historical sources in archives and made them available to his readers. Such documentation 'in quotation marks' was again supposed to lead to an increased degree of authenticity. Heinrich Heine eventually considered his ideal travelogue to be a 'daguerreotyped' book of history in which every day was represented with detailed and scrupulous minuteness (Heine, 1988:19).

What is more, the space between and behind inverted commas has turned out not to be a shielded safe haven, as Sarah Austin attempted to make her readers believe, and the work of a translator was not necessarily always characterised by a self-effacing, ancillary faithfulness to the original text. As we have noted, the intellectuals discussed in this book deliberately turned away from their past native tradition on a number of occasions in order to initiate a change of perspective in their own country German Romantic ideas about translation were referred to in nineteenth-century British thinking about the topic. They were discussed in the neglected 'genre' of the translator's preface and applied in those English translations which allowed the foreign original to 'shine through'. Innovative and at times radical approaches in German philological, historical and theological scholarship were translated into the 'blind spots', the areas which had been 'left blank' in the translators' own tradition, in order to introduce new methodological approaches (cf. Chapter 4, pp. 104-5 and Chapter 5). Finally, the redirection of foreign gazes discussed in the last chapter allowed

Sarah Austin to challenge the political, educational and cultural values of her own country.

The framework of Anglo-German cultural exchange in a period which was not yet overshadowed by major political tensions between Germany and Britain has enabled us to examine a fine body of philosophical texts about translation, the interaction of different modes of transmission, as well as the translation practice applied in a wide range of texts. The focus on the tightly knit network of intellectuals on which this study is based has allowed us to shed new light on the sociological and educational background in which translators worked in nineteenth-century Britain. What is more, the examination of published and unpublished sources relating to their lives and the perception of their own role as mediators has reminded us constantly that translation does not happen in a cultural vacuum. In conclusion, I should like to return to Sarah Austin, one of the most versatile figures we have encountered. Despite her professed wish to hide behind inverted commas and her refusal to express her own independent opinions, she was fully aware of the power as well as the cultural, political and potentially manipulative forces embraced in the process of linguistic transmission, through which she provoked change and innovation in a variety of fields. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the paradoxes entailed in translation gape especially in the female discourse relating to this topic, and yet it is the Janus-faced nature of translation itself which reunites them. Like the other intellectuals mentioned in this book, Sarah Austin flourished in the translator's territory between reproduction and creation, the space between languages and cultures, and, what is more, like her colleagues, she was determined to use its potential with a great deal of skill and imagination.

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