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Emerging Perspectives

Edited by Jacob Blakesley

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Sociologies of Poetry Translation

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Sociologies of Poetry Translation

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EDITED BY JACOB BLAKESLEY

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Introduction

Jacob Blakesley

This volume presents a variety of studies of poetry translation, all of which share one feature in common: they use various sociological frameworks and situate translations in social contexts. This collection, in fact, aims to bridge the gap between the 'cultural turn' and the 'sociological turn' in Translation Studies, by including chapters representing both, with the aim of showcasing the rich diversity of approaches to analysing poetry translation from sociocultural, socio-historical, sociopolitical and micro-social perspectives. Contributors draw on the distinctive sociological perspectives offered by theorists like Pierre Bourdieu and Niklas Luhmann and employ sociological concepts and tools in assessing poetry translation from and/or into Catalan, Czech, English, French, German, Italian, Russian, Slovakian, Spanish, Swahili and Swedish. Thus, in this volume, chapters cover trends in poetry translation in the modern global book market (Chapter 1); the commissioning and publishing of poetry translations in the contemporary United States (Chapter 2); modern English-language translations of Dante (Chapter 3); women poet-translators in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland (Chapter 4); translations of Russian poetry anthologies into modern English (Chapter 5); the translation of Shakespeare's plays and metrical forms in postcolonial Tanzania (Chapter 6); the translation and censorship of Shakespeare's sonnets in socialist Czechoslovakia (Chapter 7); translations and translators of Italian poetry into twentieth- and twenty-first-century Sweden (Chapter 8); modern European poet-translators (Chapter 9); and translations and collaborative writing between two prominent English and Spanish poet-translators, Charles Tomlinson and Octavio Paz (Chapter 10).

The development of this volume grew partly from the conference organized at the University of Leeds in 2016 under the auspices of the Leverhulme Trust, *The Sociology of Poetry Translation,* which brought together established and junior scholars to share new and original research on this long-understudied topic. However, rather than speak of a singular 'sociology of poetry translation', I have come to consider it more justified to use 'sociologies' for this volume, to more accurately account for the rich variety of approaches that are currently emerging to deal with poetry translation, and with literary translation more broadly.

In what follows, I will first situate the sociology of poetry translation within the discipline of translation studies, distinguishing it from other theories such as Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). Then I will turn to the principal theorists and theories that have given impetus to this emerging field: namely, Pierre Bourdieu, Bruno Latour and Niklas Luhmann, as well as the world system of translations, distant reading and paratextual theory. I will then summarize the chapters of this volume, and conclude with some closing remarks.

Situating the sociology of poetry translation

Like a Matryoshka doll, the sociology of poetry translation is a subfield within the field of the sociology of literary translation, which is itself situated within the two still larger and distinct fields of the sociology of translation and the sociology of literature (the latter a subset of the sociology of culture). The sociology of literature is the oldest of these fields and can be traced back more than a century, whereas the sociology of translation, as we will discuss, is a much more recent research domain.

Sociology, as Hélène Buzelin has concisely described it, 'is the study of human interactions and societies' (2013: 186). Consequently, the sociology of literature is the study of literature as a 'social act' (Sapiro 2014: 82). The sociology – or sociologies – of poetry translation should therefore be considered the study of poetry translation as social acts, as embedded within a social context. Yet, while it is undoubtedly true, as the influential theorist Anthony Pym has written, that the 'whole thrust of Descriptive Translation Studies, since the 1970s, has been to bring wider contextual considerations into the study of translation' (2006: 2), we must make a clear distinction between cultural and sociological approaches to translation, even if they do often overlap.

While DTS flourished from the 1970s onwards, and together with newer cultural approaches integrating the study of ideology, postcolonialism and gender studies provided a fundamental scaffolding for much of the most

important analysis in literary translation over the following two decades, the sociological study of translation, at least 'in a systematic way', should be recognized as having begun only 'at the turn of the twenty-first century' (Buzelin 2013: 186).

One of the principal differences between cultural and sociological approaches is that, as sociologists Johan Heilbron and Gisèle Sapiro note, 'proper sociological analysis embraces the whole set of social relations within which translations are produced and circulated' (2007: 94), and rely on sociological models. The cultural-literary approach inherent in DTS is less systematic in examining translations, insofar as the whole gamut of 'social relations' is not generally taken into consideration. Thus, as one of the important figures of the cultural turn, Susan Bassnett, writes in this volume, the 'sociological turn' in both translation studies and comparative and world literature has brought renewed attention to 'questions about the *habitus* … of translators, and the multiple agencies involved in the translation process … the mechanics of text production and circulation, on socio-economic aspects as well as socio-political aspects'. So, although Pym claims that we don't necessarily 'need the two terms', since both the social and the cultural 'are opposed to the "eternal" or the "ontological"' (2006: 14), I do think they can offer necessarily different, and at times complementary, perspectives.

The difference here lies in what we mean by the sociological analysis of translation. Moira Inghilleri, who has helped further the field, notes that:

> In relation to both theory and methods, there is a distinction to be made between research which identifies itself as sociocultural and applies a more eclectic set of observational and explanatory frameworks to specific translation activity taken, for example, from cultural studies, discourse analysis or sociology … and research which relies on theoretical and methodological frameworks that originate in the social sciences. (2009: 279)

In this vein, translation scholars Michaela Wolf and Edwin Gentzler claim that polysystem and DTS theorists like Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury do not comprehensively deal with sociological factors in their work. According to Gentzler, Even-Zohar 'seldom relates texts to the "real conditions" of their production, only to hypothetical structural models and abstract generalizations' (1993: 123). And while Toury does speak of the 'social role of norms', he does not, in Wolf's formulation, 'conceptualis[e] them in terms of their socially conditioned context and of the factors involved' (2007: 9).

Meanwhile influential translation theorists like Andrew Chesterman would seemingly limit the range of 'sociology' by distinguishing 'sociological context' as having a 'focus on people (especially translators), their observable

group behaviour, their institutions' and 'cultural context' as having a 'focus on values, ideas, ideologies, traditions' (2006: 11). However, I would argue what Chesterman considers as 'cultural context' could potentially belong to sociological context as well, for it depends on how this context is analysed.

On the other hand, Michaela Wolf has rightly warned that analysing the social aspect of translation, but 'neglect[ing] the conditions that shape translation as a cultural practice in terms of power, ideology and similar issues' (2007: 6) can be insufficient too. In short, attention to both aspects – the social and the cultural – can often be most appropriate in examining translations. In this book, some chapters will draw strictly speaking on sociological models, such as those theorized by Pierre Bourdieu and Niklas Luhmann, while others will draw more on specific sociological or sociocultural concepts, contexts and tools.

This disciplinary uncertainty also contributes to the arguments about whether there has been a paradigm shift in translation studies, owing to a putative 'sociological turn'. Some scholars believe that the growing focus on the social aspects of translation should be simply considered as part of the 'cultural turn' in translation studies, a turn that scholars like Mary Snell-Hornby and Edwin Gentzler specifically date back to 1990, with the publication that year of Susan Bassnett and Andre Lefevere's influential book, *Translation, History, and Culture* (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990). It should be noted, of course, that the research constituting this cultural turn began to flourish towards the end of the 1970s and would go on to involve not only Bassnett and Lefevere but Itamar Even-Zohar, Theo Hermans, Gideon Toury and Lawrence Venuti, as well as other notable scholars (Marinetti 2018).

For Snell-Hornby, author of *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* (Snell-Hornby 2006), the cultural turn is the most significant paradigm shift in translation studies to date, namely a 'clear swing from a source-text oriented, retrospective, "scientistic" approach to one that is prospective, functional and oriented towards the target-text recipient' (2018). However, it is 'too early', according to Snell-Hornby, to speak definitively of a 'sociological turn', even if she judges it 'the most promising candidate' (Snell-Hornby 2018) among other proposed paradigm shifts in translation studies.

While Snell-Hornby is hesitant to claim a sociological turn has taken place, Claudia Angelelli has suggested that such a turn has already occurred, dating it to 'the last three decades' (2014: 1). However, this is justifiably a marginal view, since such a viewpoint would identify sociological approaches with cultural approaches and presume that DTS is a bona fide sociological model.

Rather, along with leading theorists in the field, we can trace a general outline of a veritable sociological turn: the first publications that evince a

clear sociological outlook (distinct from DTS) are the two 1999 monographs by Jean-Marc Gouvanic and Theo Hermans, namely Gouvanic's *Sociologie de la traduction: la science-fiction américaine dans l'espace culturel français des années 1950* (Gouvanic 1999) and Hermans's *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained* (Hermans 1999). Important articles were published around that time by Daniel Simeoni and Johan Heilbron, and in 2002, Gisèle Sapiro and Heilbron edited two special issues of the sociological journal founded by Pierre Bourdieu, *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales: Traduction: les échanges littéraires internationaux* (Heilbron and Sapiro 2002a) [Translation: International Literary Exchanges] and *La circulation internationale des idées* (Heilbron and Sapiro 2002b) [The International Circulation of Ideas]. Two years later, Norbert Bachleitner and Michaela Wolf edited an important special journal issue dedicated to the sociology of translation: *Soziologie der literarischen Übersetzung* [Sociology of Literary Translation], published in the *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Bachleitner and Wolf 2004). And in 2007, Wolf and Alexandra Fukari edited the significant volume *Constructing a Sociology of Translation* (Wolf and Fukari 2007). The years from 2009 onwards have seen significant new entries about the sociology of translation in many important reference books.

However, the sociology of translation has still not achieved canonical status in the field of translation studies, despite numerous volumes, special issues and articles devoted to this topic. While Buzelin argues that its legitimacy no longer needs to be demonstrated, the lack of critical agreement on the role and importance of the sociology of translation can be verified by looking at its treatment in nine relevant encyclopaedias, handbooks, companions and dictionaries of translation studies in English from 1997 until today.[1] Table I.1 shows these publications, indicating which included an entry on the sociology of translation.

That the sociology of translation was absent from mainstream translation studies until at least 2009 is evident in Table I.1. There were no entries on this subject in the first four listed publications, neither the 1997 *Dictionary of Translation Studies*, the 1998 first edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, the 2007 Multilingual Matters' *A Companion to Translation Studies*, nor the 2009 *Routledge Companion to Translation Studies*. However, that year, 2009, is significant, because it is when the first entry on the sociology of translation is published, in the second edition of the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 'Sociological approaches' (2009: 279–282). Yet the fragility of this research domain is notable in that Routledge, the leading publisher in reference works on translation studies, ignores it in one volume (the 2009 *Companion)*, while including it in another (the 2009 second edition of the *Encyclopedia)*.

Table I.1 Selected reference works on translation studies in English (1997–today)

Reference work	Sociology entry?	Publication date	Publisher
Dictionary of Translation Studies (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997)	No	1997	St. Jerome
Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies (Baker 1998)	No	1998 (1st edn)	Routledge
A Companion to Translation Studies	No	2007	Multilingual Matters
Routledge Companion to Translation Studies	No	2009	Routledge
Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies	Yes	2009 (2nd edn)	Routledge
Handbook of Translation Studies	Yes	2011	John Benjamins
Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies	No	2011	Oxford
Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies (Malmkjaer and Windle 2011)	Yes	2013	Routledge
A Companion to Translation Studies (Kuhiwczak and Littau 2007)	Yes	2014	Wiley-Blackwell

More recent years have seen a clear uptick in interest, with specific entries – 'Sociology of translation', 'Sociology and translation studies' and 'The sociology of translation: a new research domain' – in important reference books, namely in the 2011 John Benjamins's *Handbook of Translation Studies* (Wolf 2018: 337–343), the 2013 *Routledge Handbook of Translation Studies* (Buzelin 2013: 186–201) and the 2014 Wiley-Blackwell *A Companion to Translation Studies* (Sapiro 2014: 82–95). And it is notable that all four of these entries, from 2009 to 2014, were written by four separate scholars with different specializations and formations in the sociology of translation studies, all four of them in different contexts (from Canada to France to United States to Austria).

Yet while the above reference works dedicate increasing space to the sociology of translation, the instability of this domain is still evident in critical

absences: a case in point is the 2011 *Oxford Handbook of Translation Studies*, where instead of an entry dedicated to the sociology of translation, the closest relevant topic is 'The Translator as Cross-Cultural Mediator' (written by Susan Bassnett [2011: 94–107]).

Sociologies of poetry translation

As this volume shows, the genre of poetry translation is a particularly amenable and interesting topic for sociological research. Poetry is marginal to the literary field as a whole: it does not generally bring in money for publishers, and publishers are most often lucky to break even. Therefore, poetry translation is less tied to the law of the market than other genres such as fiction and theatre. This means, as Lawrence Venuti suggests, that 'released from the constraint to turn a profit, poetry translation is more likely to encourage experimental strategies that can reveal what is unique about translation as a linguistic and cultural practice' (2013: 174). So, the use of sociological models to analyse poetry translation may very well provide even clearer results than sociological analysis of other translated literary genres, because poetry publishing so often does not aim for commercial success.

As of now, for example, we know little about the sociological context of poetry translation in terms of the three 'sociologies of translation'[2] suggested independently by Michaela Wolf (2006: 9–19) and Andrew Chesterman (2006: 9–27). These three are the sociology of translators/agents, the sociology of translating/translation process and the sociology of translations as products. All these three types will be examined in this volume. However, most of the research published so far on poetry translation does not employ sociological models. Sebastien Dubois, who has written important articles on the canon and careers of French poets, has stated that 'there has been very little social science research into poetry, the notable exception being Bourdieu' (2011: 87). Indeed, one of the only monographs that explicitly does engage with the sociology of poetry translation is Francis Jones's innovative 2011 *Poetry Translating as Expert Action: Processes, Priorities and Networks*, which uses 'sociological and social-network models of human agency and interaction' (2011: 13), drawing especially on Bruno Latour's Actor-Network Theory (ANT), among others. A recent special journal issue of *Translation and Literature,* entitled 'Poetry Translation: Agents, Actors, Networks, Contexts' (Munday and Blakesley 2016), investigated poetry translation from multiple sociocultural and sociopolitical perspectives, with a focus on analysing translation agency, ideologies and translation trends. Thus this present volume aims to help fill an obvious gap in secondary literature.

The sociologists whose work has substantially influenced research by scholars of translation studies are Pierre Bourdieu, Martin Fuchs, Anthony Giddens, Bernard Lahire, Bruno Latour, Niklas Luhmann and Joachim Renn (Wolf 2018). Some of these have been more influential in literary translation research, especially Bourdieu, followed subsequently by Latour and Luhmann. But we can also think of philosophers like Derrida and Foucault, who have been leading inspirations for ideological studies of translation. And we could likewise think of the many scholars whose work on postcolonial theory and gender studies have enriched the study of literary translation since the 1990s.

However, for reasons of space, and also because the development of sociologies of poetry translation is still in a relative early stage, this following section will merely introduce some key approaches of three sociologists frequently drawn upon in sociological analysis of literary translation, as well as poetry translation specifically: namely, Pierre Bourdieu, Bruno Latour and Niklas Luhmann.

Sociologists: Bourdieu, Latour and Luhmann

Pierre Bourdieu speaks about the literary field, structured around what he calls 'capital', four types of which he identifies: economic capital (wealth), social capital (personal relationships and networks), cultural capital (education) and symbolic capital (prestige, social honour) (2013: 108). However, Bourdieu himself didn't devote much time to translation, although his essay about publishing, 'A Conservative Revolution in Publishing', has proven particularly useful for translation scholars, as interpreted by theorists like Sapiro (Sapiro 2008a). In that piece, Bourdieu identifies two major principles in the field of publishing: 'autonomy v. heteronymy' and 'dominant v. dominated'. The first principle, autonomy v. heteronymy, characterizes how much the literary field is dependent on external, economic factors. Large-scale heteronymous production, striving for short-term profit, aims at selling a book, whatever its quality, as quickly as possible. Small-scale autonomous production, aiming for long-term profit, is very invested in the quality of the book and does not have a need for immediate returns. Poetry series (and foreign poetry series) are classic examples of autonomous small-scale production, in Bourdieu's terms.

Second, Bourdieu categorized writers as belonging to either the dominant or dominated factions. There are two types of dominant positions: consecrated writers at the autonomous pole, who have initiated new poetic trends or movements; and dominant positions at the heteronymous pole, such as bourgeois writers who have found success with the public. Dominated writers, on the other hand, are those who haven't achieved renown, whether because

they are experimental writers, following in the path of earlier avant-gardes, or because they are simply failures, in terms of economic success.

Poetry in translation, Bourdieu, noted, is carried out in different ways according to the type of publishing houses. So, small French publishers have a tendency to publish less from English and more from smaller languages; while larger publishers for large commercial successes predominantly from English. However, translation works for both types of publisher, because it lowers the risk level: a translation means the work has already found literary success and therefore has been previously evaluated and judged. In addition, as Bourdieu continues, translations also allow publishers to acquire symbolic capital more cheaply, since paying for a translation is cheaper than paying an original author in one's native language (2008: 147).

The theories of twentieth-century sociologist and philosopher Niklas Luhmann, 'who bravely exploded sociological boundaries' (Tyulenev 2012: 3), have been applied to translation studies mainly by three scholars: Theo Hermans, Hans Vermeer, but especially Sergey Tyulenev (for more, see his contribution in this volume). Translation is, according to Luhmann, 'a social system', which is itself part of a larger system: as a 'social boundary phenomenon', translation 'is "located" and functions on boundaries' (Tyulenev 2018).

As a social system, translation is independent and autonomous, 'auto-poietic' (Tyulenev 2012: 57) and 'self-reproducing' (Tyulenev 2012: 2). Translation is not a question of transmitting content, but instead meaning is 'construed by the recipient' (Hermans 1999: 140). Luhmann's theories can help us 'formulate norm-concepts in a system-theoretical context' (Hermans, 141). In general, the significance and meaning of translations, from this point of view, are 'based on the principle of selectivity and its circumstances, as well as on the "translational mode" selected for a specific translation situation' (Wolf 2007: 24). Thus, Luhmann's work gives rise to three different perspectives on translation: 'The first analyzes translation as a system … the second regards translation as a subsystem of the literary system … the third views translation as a boundary (system/environment) phenomenon' (Buzelin 2013: 188–189). We can see, then, how these three perspectives can shed light on poetry translation from alternative points of view. In short, social systems theories like Luhmann, in Tyulenev's words, 'help us substantiate [translation studies]'s claim that translation is a unique social activity deserving to be studied as such' (2014: 134).

Bruno Latour is one of the principal founders of ANT, which is a sociological model that investigates how 'networks are formed between social actors, particularly with respect to power relations' (Pym 2014: 149). Translation here is conceived more broadly than in other theories (Tyulenev 2018), and compared to Bourdieu's and Luhmann's conceptual systems, ANT is much more fluid. As noted by scholars, in this theory 'there are no pre-existing fields or structures'

(Buzelin 2013: 189): there are no dichotomies between subjects and objects, or micro and macro dimensions (Buzelin 2011: 7). Rather, the relationship between agents is constantly shifting, and therefore demonstrating power and responsibility in translation is much less straightforward. As Buzelin observes, Latour's theory assumes that 'the social world is a "seamless fabric"' (Buzelin 2011). In ANT 'actors construct common meanings and apply continuous negotiation to achieve individual and collective objectives' (Wolf 2018). Scholars have used ANT to investigate networks of translators and this is an assuredly promising line of enquiry for the study of poetry translation.

The world system of translations

Other theorists have provided models useful for the sociological analysis of texts, in particular with regard to the hierarchization of languages and differences in symbolic capital of languages. While this is already prefigured in Bourdieu's conception of literary fields, it has been drawn out by Johan Heilbron. Heilbron, adapting linguist Abram de Swaan's concept of 'the global language system', situating the world's 7,000 languages within a hierarchy (de Swaan 2001: 1–6), has applied this model to what he calls the 'world system of translations'. Borrowing Swann's four hierarchical levels, Heilbron has categorized all languages as either hyper-central, central, semi-central or peripheral, ranging from the most hegemonic to the least hegemonic, based on how many translations each source language gives rise to. This classification is not static, but is a 'dynamic constellation': 'Central languages can lose their centrality, peripheral languages can progress in the international ranking' (2009: 263).[3] Heilbron classifies them according to the number of translations they gave rise to, basing his analysis partly on the international but unreliable UNESCO translation database. So, Heilbron locates English, the 'hyper-central' language, at the overall numerical summit. Following English nowadays are the two languages that Heilbron categorizes as having a 'central' position: French and German. Behind these two categories are the five 'semi-central' languages (in his terminology), which give rise to between 2 and 3 per cent of world translations each: Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish and Swedish. Lastly, there are all the rest of the world's languages (with different symbolic capitals), all under 1 per cent, lumped together in a 'peripheral' position, from Arabic and Chinese to Welsh and Wajarri.

Heilbron's model has been appropriated by many scholars – and in this volume by Gisèle Sapiro, Cecilia Schwartz and Jacob Blakesley – and has shown itself a powerful tool for establishing concrete differences in power between languages and literatures, and a way to concretize Bourdieu's ideas

about symbolic capital. However, the strongest objection against this model comes in the data used to create it. Heilbron relies on the UNESCO translation database, which is well recognized as unreliable (Sapiro 2008b; Blakesley 2016). However, with all these caveats, there is no other international source of translation statistics.

Heilbron's framework helps us understand, as Gisèle Sapiro writes, 'not only the flows of translation from one language to another but also the kind of works translated (genres or categories, commercial versus upmarket) according to the economic, political and cultural power relations between countries or linguistic communities' (2008b: 163). Indeed, in the world system, translations are unevenly distributed, in terms of source languages and target languages as well as genre. Sapiro comments that this is not a 'mechanical reflection' of the book production of various countries, but naturally 'also depends on cultural and political factors' (2012: 34). The weight of symbolic capital has changed over time, so that where French was once the leading source language, dominant in literature roughly until the Second World War, it has now lost its place to English. Likewise, while Russian was a source language for many translations worldwide during the Cold War, it drastically declined in importance after the fall of the Soviet Union (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007: 97).

Censorship, agents and power

One of the most vital areas of research into the sociology of poetry translation is censorship, and consequently power. The sociology of translation has also already been usefully brought to bear on the censorship of literature, especially fiction: volumes such as those of Francesca Billiani (2007) and Christopher Rundle (2010), examining the publication of translations in fascist Italy, for example; or Rundle and Sturge (2010), which look at literary translation in different fascist countries. By looking at the different agents and institutions involved in carrying out a translation – such as 'political organizations, government representatives, publishers, editors, persons in charge of foreign rights in publishing houses, literary agents, translators, authors, critics, [and] commentators' (Sapiro 2014: 86) – we can analyse with more depth and nuance specific translations and translation practices in the area of poetry translation. Recent work in this direction has been bolstered by the significant volumes *Translatio* (Sapiro 2008b) and *Agents in Translation* (Milton and Bandia 2009).

Translations do not take place in a vacuum, and even a scholar holed up in his/her study will be involved in a whole range of the social and cultural

interactions before the translation is published. But even the translation of a lone translator – a medieval monk, for example, or a contemporary poet– would call out for sociological analysis, in order to contextualize this translation and translator within his/her place and time.

For example, we can think of the theoretical concept of 'power', which Gentzler and Tymoczko have asserted is the 'key topic that has provided the impetus for the new directions that translation studies have taken since the cultural turn' (2002: xvi). Power is, in fact, a concept that can be effectively examined using sociological models: Bourdieu's field theory, for instance, is structured around the competition over power, as is Luhmann's concept of collective action, in which the system produces an 'action that is binding for the entire system' (Tyulenev, this volume).

Besides the paradigms of Bourdieu, Latour and Luhmann, two other productive approaches in analysing poetry translation from a sociological perspective are distant reading and paratextual theory. By distant reading I mean the technique of analysis promoted by literary scholar Franco Moretti, where, as he says, 'distance … is a condition of knowledge: it allows you to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes – or genres and systems' (2013: 48). In fact, Moretti pursues 'formalism without close reading' (Moretti 2013: 65), but perhaps it is more accurate to describe him as a sociologist of literary forms. He studies 'the great unread' (Moretti 2013: 45), the '99.5%' (Moretti 2013: 65) of published books that have fallen into oblivion, with the help of quantitative methods and interpretative schema drawn from evolutionary theory, geography and so on. Distant reading, then, is a catch-all term that can be applied to the study of translations, by means of external analysis.

Meanwhile paratextual theory comes from Gérard Genette's magnum opus on paratexts – *Seuils* (1987). As Genette writes, 'the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public' (Genette 1997: 1). This book opened up the field of paratexts to systematic analysis, and has been followed by other studies which have applied his categorizations to literary translation, such as the 2013 volume *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext in Translation* (Pellatt 2013). We can find explicit (or implicit) ideological statements in the paratexts – whether forewords or afterwords, prefaces and introductions, translator notes, footnotes and endnotes, illustrations, back covers – all of which help scholars in tracing sociocultural changes, translation norms and policies, types of censorship and so forth. In short, a paratext, as another theorist, Philippe Lejeune, has said, 'is a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text' (cit. in Genette 1997: 2).

The preceding paragraphs have introduced some of the major sociological approaches to poetry translation, and many of them will recur in the following

chapters, to varying degrees. However, owing to the instability of the very domain of poetry translation, and the vast terrain still to be covered, there remains much theorization yet to be done.

Chapters

This volume has five parts. Part One, 'Publishing Poetry Translations', includes two chapters discussing the status and publication of poetry translation in the contemporary world. In Chapter 1, Gisèle Sapiro offers a sociological perspective on translated poetry in the global book market, then focuses on France's national book market, and individual small publishers of poetry, both French and American, belonging to the pole of small-scale circulation. Using a mixture of quantitative and qualitative analysis, including publishing statistics and interviews with publishers, and basing her examination on Bourdieu's sociological theories, Sapiro illustrates the role of poetry in different publishing fields. As she argues, starting in the 1970s, 'poetry was progressively marginalised in the world market for literary translation' (Sapiro, this volume). Rather than large literary publishers, with much symbolic capital, it is more often now the small publishers who publish poetry translations. She demonstrates how a small US publisher like Burning Deck went against the dominant domesticating trend in literary translation, and how another small publisher like the French Bruno Doucey manages to stay afloat, thanks to his social and symbolic capital (as a poet himself) and connections made at transnational literary festivals. As a former student of Bourdieu, Sapiro has furthered and deepened his research in many diverse directions.

In Chapter 2, Lawrence Venuti presents a view on publishing poetry translation from the standpoint of a literary translator and translation theorist. Venuti engages with the theoretical frameworks of Moretti, Casanova and Damrosch, finding them all wanting, in various measures, in terms of their lack of attention paid to the concrete circumstances of translation. In this chapter, he discusses his proposed translation of J. V. Foix, and 'how the asymmetries in world literature influence and are influenced by translations' (p. 47). He shows how Anglophone publishers react to avant-garde poetry from so-called minor languages like Catalan, and that the aesthetic judgement enunciated by such publishers is anything but 'disinterested': rather, behind their personal opinions lies a whole series of implicit theoretical notions about what counts as relevant and interesting literature, owing to the 'tendency of publishers in major cultures to search for their own values in the face of linguistic and cultural difference' (p. 52). He addresses 'minority' in three ways: as referring to 'marginality, defined by narrow circulation and

restricted knowledge'; 'tendency of publishers in major cultures to search for their own values in the face of linguistic and cultural difference, transforming minor literatures into mirror reflections while excluding those texts that fog the mirror'; he points out how when a work from a peripheral language is translated into a more hegemonic language, the work is transformed, and 'potentially … even unrecognizable in its originary culture' (p. 59). And finally, he claims that translators must also be more cognizant of the 'sociological significance and social impact' (p. 63) of their translations.

Part Two, 'Translating Poetry into English', follows Sapiro and Venuti, with three chapters dedicated to the translation of poetry into English, using different theoretical frameworks. In Chapter 3, Susan Bassnett revisits the cultural and sociological turns in translation studies and ties it to recent English translations of Dante's *Inferno*, paying attention to the shifts in sociopolitical sensibility, the visibility (or invisibility) of the translator and the habitus of specific poet-translators, all evident in the paratextual information as well as passages from the *Inferno* itself. She elucidates how the sociopolitical climate of England inflected the translation history of the Italian poet, and how poet-translators like Ciaran Carson, Seamus Heaney and Mary Jo Bang translated the Italian text: Carson and Heaney, through the perspective of the Troubles; Bang, as a postmodern American poet. Bassnett concludes by affirming that 'as is always the case, it is important to read a text on both a micro- and a macro-level' (p. 82).

In Chapter 4, a socio-historical account of poetry translation in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland featuring female Irish translators, Michelle Milan uses a 'multifactorial approach' (p. 84) to translation, drawing predominantly on sociological frameworks, with specific attention to questions of gender and ideology. Emphasizing 'the press as a social force in the production and circulation of poetry translations in that period' (p. 97), Milan investigates sociocultural agents in the broader literary and political culture of the day. Analysing a group of female poet-translators – 'Eva' (Mary Eva Kelly), 'Speranza' (Jane Francesca Elgee, later known as Lady Wilde) and 'Thomasine' (Olivia Mary Knight) – Milan shows how poetry translation allowed them to 'transcend the boundaries of socially- and culturally-prescribed gender identities and expressions' (p. 96).

In Chapter 5, Sergey Tyulenev analyses modern Russian poetry anthologies in English translation. Drawing on Luhmann's theoretical framework and concept of collective action (CA), appropriate for this case because of the centralized power vested in the former Soviet Union's leadership during which most of these anthologies were published, Tyulenev demonstrates how 'the ideology of the political CA was clearly reflected in the peritexts framing translations' (p. 122). Moreover, the fact that some of the anthologies were translated and published in the former Soviet Union,

and therefore not in English-speaking countries, contradicts, as Tyulenev explains, Gideon Toury's theory that 'translators operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating' (p. 110). Meanwhile the translations published in the UK and the United States show that 'the Russian poet turns out to be more than only a poet, s/he represents the Soviet or post-Soviet system' (p. 116). Indeed, he notes how the 'majority of selections reproduced the political image of the USSR as a state repressing freedom of poets (and perhaps, by extension, of all Russian people)' (p. 122). In short, the poetry that 'makes it', Tyulenev reveals, is that which is able to be 'politically contextualizable' (p. 122).

Part Three, 'Ideological Debates on Poetry Translation', comprises two chapters dealing with ideology in literary translation. In Chapter 6, Serena Talento examines Shakespeare translations into Swahili in the situated context of neo-independent and socialist Tanzania. What Talento does here is show how two key figures in independent Tanzania – the first president, Julius Nyerere, and the official 'Promoter for Swahili', Samuel M. Mushi – introduced new verse forms in their translations of Shakespeare and Sophocles, while adapting them to current trends in Swahili poetics, all within the political context of a nationalist agenda of self-reliance. It is through the translators' use of blank verse within Swahili prosody that Nyerere and Mushi negotiate the interaction of foreign and native elements. In short, Talento shows how the Swahili case 'provides a model of synthesis between heterodoxy and orthodoxy', suggesting that 'orthodoxy and heterodoxy are not inescapably opposing forces' (p. 144), as Bourdieu had assumed.

In Chapter 7, Eva Spišiaková analyses how ideology affected the translation of Shakespeare's sonnets in socialist Czechoslovakia, in particular those that express same-sex desire. As Slavic languages, Czech and Slovak both decline and conjugate for grammatical gender, and therefore ambiguities inherent in Shakespeare's English must be eliminated in the Czech and Slovak versions. However, rather than censoring the texts themselves, Spišiaková shows that most of the 'Fair Youth' sonnets were translated, and male pronouns/referents were retained. Instead, homosexual desire was explained away in the translation paratexts, as owing to 'the Renaissance Platonic cult of friendship' (p. 162), aligned with the focus on the socialist political and ideological concept of comradeship and equality. In short, the Czech and Slovak translators 'fulfilled their role of ameliorating the possibly dangerous elements within the poems and reinterpreting them in a way that was acceptable for the regime's ideals' (p. 166). While homophobic discourse was evident in the paratexts, treating same-sex desire as 'unnatural' and 'sick passion', it was paradoxically the very voicing of this in the paratexts that 'outed' (p. 166) the sonnets. By situating the translations within a determinate sociocultural context, Spišiaková shows how the sociopolitical analysis of

Shakespeare's sonnets can shed light on the translation and reception of same-sex desire in poetry within a hostile political regime.

Part Four, 'Quantitative Approaches to Poetry Translation', utilizes sociological theories drawing especially on Bourdieu to examine poetry translation. In Chapter 8, Cecilia Schwartz investigates the translators and translations of Italian poetry in Swedish, drawing on theorists such as Casanova, Damrosch, Heilbron and Sapiro, to understand why Italian poetry is practically 'invisible' in contemporary Sweden (p. 175), even if statistics seem to show the opposite: 'There are now more titles, more translators and more publishing houses concerned with Italian poetry than ever' (p. 191). Through a statistical analysis of translations by such categories as the number of Italian poets translated, number of translators, number of publishing houses, number of anthologies and single volumes, over two key periods, 1957–77 and 1995–2015, Schwartz shows the changing role of Italian poetry translation into Swedish. Schwartz demonstrates how 'the most prestigious translators tend to be men' (p. 190), and that the growing number of female Swedish translators of Italian poetry simply confirms the collapsing prestige of Italian poetry in the Swedish literary field.

In Chapter 9, Jacob Blakesley adopts Moretti's distant reading approach, Bourdieu's sociological approach to symbolic capital and literary fields, along with Heilbron's world system of translations, and Sapiro's and Casanova's reflections on literary translation in a hierarchical system, to present definitive statistics about the translation activity of modern English, French and Italian poets. He demonstrates translation trends, by genre, and by linguistic tradition, and shows how 'the most prolific poet-translators are rarely the most prominent *poets*, with few exceptions' (p. 216). He illustrates how translation plays a different role at different stages of poets' careers, depending on their nationality, and he also displays the differences in translation activity between male and female poets. His quantitative approach to poetry translation elucidates vague ideas about cultural and linguistic trends, and enables researchers to contextualize modern English, French and Italian poet-translators with concrete statistics.

The last part, 'Microsocial Approaches to Translation', is represented by Chapter 10, in which Thomas Boll explores the friendship between two poet-translators, Charles Tomlinson and Nobel-prize winner Octavio Paz, drawing on theorists ranging from Georg Simmel to Niklas Luhmann. Boll shows how 'an account of the dynamics of social interaction between Paz and Tomlinson makes a reading possible of their collaboration and mutual translation which addresses questions of identity as well as artistic practice' (p. 241). Crucially, we see how an analysis of their friendship confirms 'a social understanding of translation as interpersonal negotiation rather than simply cultural conformity' (p. 241). In short, Boll concludes,

'their translations articulate the complexities of intimate social interaction as public artistic work' (p. 241).

Conclusion

This volume does not offer any final statements about the sociology of poetry translation or strive to comprehensively sum up the field; rather, the chapters here present a necessarily incomplete state-of-the-art of trends in the contemporary sociological analysis of poetry translation. There are quite significant gaps here, which we lament, such as sociological analyses offered elsewhere by distinguished scholars like Jones and Buzelin, and from scholars working especially in non-European languages. On the other hand, the presence of contributors here such as Bassnett, Sapiro and Venuti who have shaped the definition of this field in different ways, alongside a newer generation of scholars, enables this volume to help reformulate the current debate on the sociology of poetry translation.

In closing, the sociology of translation allows us to investigate a broad range of topics, in Sapiro's words:

> The sociology of professions; the sociology of culture; the study of international cultural exchanges; social functions and fields – namely, the political field, the economic field (publishing) and the literary field; the social conditions of circulation of ideas; and the epistemology of the human and social sciences. (2014: 82–83)

Adapting Sapiro's words to the specific field of poetry translation, it is clear that sociological approaches can trace the professions of poetry translators in various cultures and epochs; examine the different roles and functions of poetry translation; discover trends in cross-cultural poetry translation; determine the role of poetry translation in the rise of national literatures; analyse the process of translating poetry; investigate gatekeepers in poetry translation, such as editors, agents and reviewers; and uncover ideological constraints in translating and publishing poetry, including censorship, among other topics.

It is clear, as Venuti has elsewhere put it, that 'since 2000 … various forms of literary and cultural studies have come to dominate translation *research* around the world. The most productive approaches in terms of methodology and findings have been social in orientation' (2013: 5). Indeed, Venuti is right in warning us of the potential risks of 'suppress[ing] the text as a unit of analysis, sometimes deliberately so' (2013: 6). Ideally speaking, the goal for research

into literary translation is for the combined 'macro' and 'micro' analysis, which Bourdieu himself recommended many years ago. However, we still have a long way to go before this is possible, since new methodological innovation requires time to carry out the preliminary work that would allow such a combined analysis to take place – and all the more so because so many areas remain undiscovered and untilled. Thus, I hope that this collection will help promote this further analysis: one of the keys to this will be the collaboration between scholars from different fields and with different linguistic and cultural expertise.

Notes

1 I am conscious of only examining reference works in English, with the limitations inherent in this approach.

2 For clarity, I have merged their three typologies together.

3 My translation.

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PART ONE

Publishing Poetry Translations

1

Publishing Poetry in Translation: An Inquiry into the Margins of the World Book Market

Gisèle Sapiro

In the publishing field, just as in the literary field, poetry is representative of what Pierre Bourdieu (1993, 1996) calls the pole of small-scale production and circulation. Given its poor sales, at least in the short term, investment in publishing poetry could be regarded as a disinterested act, were we to restrict the notion of interest to economic pursuits. Of course, as Bourdieu (1998) points out, interest cannot be reduced to its economic dimension, nor to its narrow definition in rational choice theory. According to Max Weber (1991), there are different sorts of social interest. In his typology of forms of action, Weber distinguishes four ideal types of actions: rationally purposeful action (with reference to goals), value rational action (with reference to values), affective action and traditional action. Values can indeed make people act in a way that would be considered irrational, a paradigmatic example being a captain who, following the code of honour of his occupation, decides to sink with his ship.

Publishers who invest in poetry know that this investment will not result in economic profit and more probably may even generate losses. How can their motivation be explained? Should we describe their action as irrational?

Certainly not. Even in our capitalist societies there are many similar examples of disinterested actions, which are motivated by a belief in certain values, here the belief in poetry. In *The Rules of Art*, Bourdieu (1996) analyses the position of the avant-garde publisher, first incarnated by Baudelaire's publisher, Auguste Poulet-Malassis, which would have many followers in the twentieth century. It is a position that can be valued in the literary field, or at least in poetic circles; thus, it is an investment that yields symbolic capital. One can find dozens of very small publishing houses which are entirely dedicated to poetry in June every year in Paris, when the *Marché de la poésie* [the Poetry Market], a book fair and poetry festival fills the Place Saint-Sulpice. In the United States, this type of micro-publishers also exists, such as Burning Deck[1] in Providence, Rhode Island or Ugly Duckling in Brooklyn, New York. The existence of these small firms is all the more significant given that since the 1970s poetry has been to a great extent marginalized in the world book market, due to tighter commercial constraints following the concentration of publishing in large conglomerates and the accelerated merging and selling of firms (Schiffrin 2000; Bourdieu 2008; Thompson 2010; on the careers of poets in France, see Dubois and François 2013).

This is all the more true for the translation of poetry. With the exception of worldwide bestsellers, the position of translations in the global book market has also become fragile (Sapiro 2008a, 2010, 2016a). Publishing literary works in translation requires more and more financial support, since the costs, which are higher than for original works due to the translator's remuneration, are often not covered by the sales. For works under copyright, additional costs are incurred by the acquisition of translation rights. Investing in a translation is also risky because, contrary to the idea that globalization has unified the literary marketplace, success in one country does not guarantee that the experience will be the same in another. Translating poetry is also in and of itself a disinterested act by the translator, since it is often undertaken for free, as a labour of love, out of passion.

In this chapter, I will first develop a socio-historical perspective based on the French publishing field to demonstrate the marginalization of poetry in the world market of translation since the 1970s. I will then compare the position of translated poetry in the French and American publishing fields in the era of globalization. The quantitative data gathered for the two countries confirms that poetry in translation (especially by contemporary authors) has been confined to the pole of small-scale circulation. In the second part of the chapter, I will focus on two contemporary poetry publishers' trajectories, motives and strategies, which, despite objective differences, share some characteristics due to their position at the pole of small-scale circulation: Bruno Doucey in France and Ugly Duckling in the United States.

The place of translated poetry in the publishing field

While it had been a dominant genre in the literary field during the nineteenth century, poetry started to be marginalized in France by the end of the century, as the book market expanded and other genres came to the fore, particularly the novel (Charle 1979). No longer the leading genre overall, poetry became the privileged genre of the avant-garde, from the Cubists to the Surrealists through the Futurists (Boschetti 2001; Bandier 1999). Avant-garde movements tended to be international from the outset and offered models which circulated in the transnational literary field across the world (Boschetti 2014; Ungureanu 2017).

This circulation intensified between the First and Second World Wars, a period characterized by a rise in translations. The increased circulation of literary works can be explained by three factors. First, the emergence of nation-states, which established canons of national literature and encouraged contemporary local authors to produce literary works in the language adopted as national (Thiesse 1998; Casanova 2004). Related to the first, the development of publishing in many countries is the second factor that should be taken into account, especially if we consider that translation was a way to establish a body of literary works in the newly adopted or created national languages (Even-Zohar 1990; on the role of publishing in the building of national identities, see Anderson 2006). The third factor is the ideology of internationalism institutionalized with the creation of the League of the Nations after the First World War, a movement that had immediate repercussions in the World Republic of Letters, as shown by the participation of famous writers like the poet Paul Valéry in the League's International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation and more specifically by the creation of the PEN Club in 1921 in order to defend intellectual values against nationalism by bringing together writers who shared a devotion to peace and freedom (Sapiro 2009).

In France, literary magazines such as *Le Mercure de France, La Nouvelle Revue française, La Revue européenne* and *Europe* opened an intercultural dialogue thanks to the contributors' linguistic skills and international networks. Publishers launched specific series of foreign literature and the number of anthologies dedicated to other national literatures multiplied (Sapiro forthcoming). However, poetry was underrepresented. Most of these series published novels, which had become, as already said, the dominant genre. In the 1936 catalogue of one of the most prestigious publishing houses of the time, the Editions de la Nouvelle Revue française (which became Gallimard after the Second World War), poetry represented only 2.4 per cent of the total number of translations (8 titles), whereas 50 per cent of the translations were novels (Sapiro 2015a).

However, some avant-garde publishers published anthologies entirely dedicated to poetry. They were usually edited by a poet who was also a translator, such as Yvan Goll (*alias* Isaac Lang), who edited in 1922 an anthology of contemporary poetry from across the world, entitled *Les Cinq Continents* [The Five Continents] published by La Renaissance du livre. Kra-Le Sagittaire, another avant-garde publisher, linked to the surrealist group (this was André Breton's publisher), published an *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie américaine* [Anthology of New American poetry] in 1928, edited and translated by the Franco-American poet Eugène Jolas, including poems by Ezra Pound and E. E. Cummings, among others. Jolas had launched the literary avant-garde review *Transition* the previous year (Mansanti 2009). Kra-Le Sagittaire also started publishing the *Revue européenne* in 1923, edited by the surrealist writer Philippe Soupault, where poems by Sherwood Anderson, E. E. Cummings and William Carlos Williams appeared in translation, at a time when the French literary field was only discovering American literature (Jeanpierre 2010). Two other journals played a major role in introducing classical as well as contemporary foreign poetry in France, including John Donne, William Blake, Rainer Maria Rilke and T. S. Eliot, namely *Commerce* (1924–32) and *Le Navire d'argent* (The Silver Ship) (1925–6).

A key figure was Adrienne Monnier, the director and editor of *Le Navire d'argent*, who owned a well-known bookstore, and went on to publish the French translation of Joyce's *Ulysses* in 1929, which had first been published in English seven years earlier in Paris by her friend Sylvia Beach (Murat 2003). In 1935, Monnier became the administrator of the journal *Mesures*, which replaced *Commerce*, and introduced innovative foreign authors there such as Franz Kafka, Christopher Isherwood, Robert Musil and Katherine Anne Porter.

After the Second World War, the French literary field experienced a new phase of internationalization, characterized by the opening of the geographic borders of the translation market to non-Western cultures, which had hardly been translated before the war (apart from very consecrated authors such as the Indian Nobel Prize winner Rabindranath Tagore). There were some isolated experiences such as Jean Paulhan's translation of traditional Malagasy poetry, the Hain-Teny Merinas, but French interest in non-Western cultures in the broader literary marketplace was fostered after the war by a UNESCO programme in favour of 'literary interpenetration', which provided financial support for translation projects from Asian and Latin American literatures. This programme helped support some poetry translation projects, such as an anthology of Chinese poetry, published by Gallimard in 1962, and a similar anthology of Japanese poetry by the same publisher in 1971 (Sapiro 2015a).

However, the novel was the privileged genre in translation. Gallimard, for instance, thought that a new foreign author could be introduced only with a novel. It thus refused collections of translated poems or of short stories

and would accept other genres only after the foreign author's reputation was already established. Some exceptions could be made in certain cases such as that of Borges (*Fictions* was the first of its titles to appear in French translation in 1952; Sapiro 2017). However, this never happened with poetry.

Nevertheless, in 1966, Gallimard launched a specific series for translated poetry in bilingual editions, 'Poésie du monde entier' [Poetry from the Whole World]. Works by poets like Luis Cernuda, Hans-Magnus Enzensberger, James Joyce, Octavio Paz, Cesare Pavese and Fernando Pessoa appeared there. This series lasted only three years. The authors were all European or Latin American. The print-runs were between 1,600 and 3,000 copies.[2]

Despite the modest sales, Gallimard did not stop publishing poetry in translation. The list's database, including all series, numbered 145 titles in translation until 2010, only 9 of which were authored by a woman (Sappho, Gaspara Stampa, Charlotte Brontë, Emily Dickinson, Sylvia Plath, Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetaeva). Most of these titles were published in the pocket series 'Poésie Gallimard'.

Looking at their distribution per language, one can observe five central languages in the importation of poetry by Gallimard (between 14 and 28 titles each), all of them being languages of Western culture: English, Spanish, Russian, Italian and German.

English is first, with its twenty-eight translations spread among British, American, Irish, Welsh and Scottish authors. The thirteen titles by British authors are mostly by canonical English poets, whether of the Renaissance, seventeenth or nineteenth century: Shakespeare (2), John Donne, Milton, Keats, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Emily Brontë (2), Browning, Auden and Dylan Thomas. Another ten titles are by American authors, including two who started publishing after the Second World War, Allen Ginsberg and Sylvia Plath, besides Melville, Poe, Emily Dickinson (2), Walt Whitman and Faulkner. Marguerite Yourcenar also translated the 'Negro Spirituals' in 1964. There are two titles by Irish authors, Yeats and Joyce, but only one by a Scottish poet, Kenneth White, who has lived in France since 1962, and two titles by the Indian poet Tagore (one published in 1935 and the second in 1963).

Spanish comes close after English, with twenty-six titles, ten of which from Spain, by poets of the first half of the twentieth century: García Lorca, who is the leading figure with four titles, Antonio Machado and Cernuda; one classical author, De Quevedo who entered the list recently (in 2010); and two contemporary poets, José Angel Valente and Antonio Gamoneda, who were both published by small publishers such as Corti, La Différence and Unes before they arrived in Gallimard's list in 1998 and 2010, respectively. Meanwhile, a plethora of Latin American poetry was translated as well. There were six titles by the Chilean Pablo Neruda, closely followed by two Mexican poets, Octavio Paz (4 titles) and the Spanish exile Tomás Segovia. The

other three Spanish-speaking countries represented are Argentina, with two collections of Borges's poetry (as well as one recent volume of tango songs); Columbia, with one volume by Álvaro Mutis; and Guatemala with one book by Miguel Asturias.

With seventeen titles, Russian is the third most popular source language in the Gallimard list, constituted by Pushkin, Mandelstam, Mayakovsky, Marina Tsvetaeva (3), Anna Akhmatova, Pasternak, Esenin and Voznesensky.

Italian, the fourth most popular language (15), is featured in translations by Dante, Petrarca, Gaspara Stampa, Leopardi, Montale, Ungaretti, Pavese (2), Pasolini (3) and Mario Luzi.

From German (14): Goethe, Novalis, Heine, Hofmannsthal, Hölderlin (2), Nietzsche, Rilke (2), Paul Celan, Enzensberger (2) and Trakl.

Five languages can be defined as semi-peripheral (3 to 8 translations): they include a classical language, Latin, but also Portuguese, Modern Greek, Arabic, Japanese. The Portuguese poets are Pessoa (2), Helder, Ramos Rosa, Eugénio De Andrade, with Carlos Drummond de Andrade the only Brazilian author. From Greek, Gallimard published translations by Cavafy (2), Ritsos, Seferis, Elytis, Dimoula, the first living female poet to enter the list. From Arabic, apart a Diwan of classic Arab poetry, there are two collections by the Syrian poet Adonis and one by the Palestinian Mahmoud Darwish.

The peripheral languages (1–2 titles) are Czech (2), Finnish (2), Chinese (1), Marathi (1), Persian (1), Swedish (1), Turkish (1) and Yiddish (1) (to which 2 titles from Old French and 2 from multiple languages should be added).

At the national level, the relative share of poetry among books translated into French varies across languages. Analysing a database of literary titles translated from eleven languages into French between 1985 and 2002 per genre reveals variations across languages, from merely 2 per cent of poetry books translated from English, 8 per cent and 9 per cent from German and Italian respectively, and up to 14 per cent and 15 per cent from Hebrew and Spanish, respectively (Sapiro ed. 2008b; note that this database did not include Russian or Arabic). No poetry book was translated from Swedish. These variations indicate a difference in the symbolic capital accumulated by different languages in the poetic genre.

Who are the publishers who translate poetry into French in the era of globalization? As we saw, Gallimard introduced new poets until the end of the 1960s, but since the 1980s, this publisher has tended to take fewer risks and to invest in already established foreign authors, who have mostly published prose. This strategy was criticized by Bourdieu in his article on publishing (Bourdieu 2008). His findings are confirmed by the study of Gallimard's strategy in translating poetry. The risks are now taken more and more by small publishers who devote a large part of their list to poetry. Such is the case for Corti and La Différence. They both publish bilingual editions. For instance, in its

series 'Ibériques', Corti published bilingual collections of poems by Nobel Prize winners like Juan Ramón Jiménez as well as more contemporary poets like Amparo Amorós. La Différence was founded by a Portuguese immigrant and started with translations from Portuguese, illustrating the linguistic skills that are converted in literary translation and publishing, allowing a specialization and thus the creation of a 'niche'. It went bankrupt in summer 2017.

A similar pattern can be observed when looking at the American publishers who translated poetry collections from French into English between 1990 and 2003 (Sapiro 2015b). While the large trade publishers are quite absent, apart from three titles by classic authors (La Fontaine, Baudelaire and Rimbaud) at Knopf, one quarter of the 142 titles were released by university presses. Most of the others were published by small publishers, especially those specializing in poetry. Two prominent examples are Burning Deck (9 translations) and, on the West Coast, Sun & Moon, whose founder, Douglas Messerli, launched a new imprint in 1997, Green Integer, producing 'pocket-sized belles-lettres books', including translations of poets such as Paul Celan, Gertrude Stein and Adonis.

Based in Providence, Rhode Island, Burning Deck is a non-profit poetry publisher founded in 1961 by Keith and Rosemarie Waldrup. In 1990, they launched two translation series of contemporary poetry, one from French and one from German, 'because that's the two languages we are competent in', Rosemarie Waldrup told us in an interview.[3] Recalling the moment when they started these series, she explains:

> At the time there were a few foreign poets, mostly very famous ones, and mostly either very old or dead (laughs). And in a way that's natural, there is usually a certain gap between publication in one country and translation and publication in another. But we had met a lot of French poets especially that we were very enthusiastic about, and we decided, well, something should be done about communication.

Later in the interview, asked again about the focus on contemporary poetry, she answered:

> Well, because that was what was lacking. You know the older, famous poets got translated and published by the big houses, but these younger, newer poets were completely unknown, so that was something that was worth doing.

Thus Burning Deck introduced in the United States contemporary French poets Marie Borel, Anne-Marie Albiach, Jean Daive, Emmanuel Hocquard, Paol Keineg, Jacqueline Risset, Pascal Quignard, Esther Tellermann and Alain Veinstein.

Four of these nine poets are female, which seems to contrast the general US publishing tendency we observed during 1990–2003 where only 17 of the 142 translated French poetry titles were authored by a woman. There were only three titles by modern female authors among them (1 by Joyce Mansour and 2 by Carmen Bernos de Gasztold). The other fourteen collections were written by eleven contemporary female poets, and these fourteen titles accounted for half of the titles by all contemporary poets in translation in this database. Thus Burning Deck's list corresponds to this accrued presence of female poets in translated contemporary poetry.

Another case of a small publisher is Sun & Moon, founded by Douglas Messerli in 1975, as a magazine in the manner of John Ashbery's *Art and Literature*, which had already published some translations, though it was more American focused. Sun & Moon then became a small experimental non-profit publishing house, which introduced major authors such as Paul Auster and Russell Banks in the American literary field and abroad. In 1985, Messerli resigned from his professorship at Temple to devote himself to writing and publishing Sun & Moon, 'and then I gave my whole life to publishing, from then on. Not getting any money, but publishing nonetheless', he said in an interview.[4] In the 1990s, Sun & Moon published five poetry translations from French, of which one by the surrealist André Breton, and four by contemporary poets: Pierre Alferi, Henri Deluy, André Du Bouchet and Dominique Fourcade. Green Integer released three other collections by modern and contemporary French-language poets Francis Carco, Olivier Cadiot and Andrée Chedid. In 2000, Douglas Messerli launched a series of international poetry, 'The PIP [Project for Innovative Poetry] Anthologies of World Poetry',[5] which publishes translated anthologies of major international poets, from all languages (from Albanian and Arabic to Korean, Russian and Swedish), though French remains the favourite source language.

Messerli's interest in foreign cultures goes back to his youth. He used the word 'love at first sight' when evoking his first trip to Paris. He recalled having been initiated to French poetry by Marjorie Perloff's course on Rimbaud, Apollinaire and Pound at the University of Maryland, illustrating the role of education in the discovery of foreign literature:

> So I became interested in poetry, suddenly, at the same moment, and then I started writing poetry, and then at the same moment, I was publishing this magazine. So it quickly, just sort of catapulted, and I began publishing some books, and out of that, I just loved it so much that I started publishing more books. And then finally, at a certain point, I always had wanted to do world literature and always had been very involved in world literature in my reading habits, and finally decided that I would just start bringing out translations and I did a world international series in Sun & Moon. But when

> Sun & Moon finally closed and Green Integer, my other imprint, began to dominate, then my interest even turned more to international writing and really focused on translation, although I still do American writers, but not as many as I did at Sun & Moon.

But the reason he invokes for investing more in translation is political and cultural, in terms of the opening of American culture to other cultures in a period of self-closure (on this topic, see Sapiro 2010):

> It just seemed to me increasingly important that, in a country that is so, in some ways, removed from any other kind of international, I mean, especially under the Bush years, but it's been true in our whole culture, we've been so unable to assimilate and learn about other cultures, that it seemed crucial that some few of us keep publishing international literature. And I was also very close to the publishers at New Directions who had done that, one of my dearest friends is Dalkey Archive at the same time, and so we all just sort of felt very much the same thing.

Although poetry was not his primary focus, he published poetry and drama 'because I like all the genres', he explains, distinguishing himself from American publishing to claim the notion of 'belles-lettres' and affirm his affinity with what he describes as a French model of publishing literature:

> It seems to me in this country particularly, if you like fiction you don't like poetry, if you like drama you don't like either one, unlike in France, where Gallimard or P.O.L. publish across the lines, and publish a lot of Belles Lettres too … It seemed to me crucial to do that in the United States. […] my model, when I started Green Integer, was a Belle Lettristic series, which, the United States doesn't even know what that word means, you know, people in the United States. But, a really, truly Belles Lettres series, and it began with a Gertrude Stein piece, I'm happy to be one of the fondest people in the world of Gertrude Stein. And then the second one was Robert Bresson […] and then Oscar Wilde I think was our third book, and so it was already a very French, in some ways French-oriented kind of literary series.

While in the past he could count on grants from the National Endowment for the Arts or from the Mellon Foundation, he had to renounce the non-profit status and to close Sun & Moon, because applying for grants was time-consuming, and he had no more staff. He concentrated his efforts on the paperback series Green Integer, which sells less in libraries but more in bookstores. Except for the typesetter and for interns who sometimes do the proofreading, Messerli is now working alone. Doing everything by himself

(including the applications for grants and the bookkeeping), he has never charged a salary for himself: 'I just do this out of my heart.' Now he mainly relies on grants from foreign governments. His network allows him to identify interesting authors (he cited Keith and Rosemary Waldrop as dear friends with whom he exchanges), whereas the symbolic capital accumulated by his firm makes it attractive to good translators, ready to do the work for free, as he is generally not able to pay them but a modest royalty. This is why he has started to rely more and more on university professors:

> First of all there's so little translation being published that anyone who is doing that, and there are a number of people in this country who would like to translate, it's just that they can't get their work published, and I'm one of the big places that is interested in that kind of work. So I get some of the best translators sending work to me.

Some projects do not pay back, but others are profitable, so that by and large, the sales suffice to cover the expenses for the print-run: 'We don't make any money, he says, but whatever gets made of course just goes into other books anyway'. If this long-term investment was completely disinterested on the economic side, it brought him symbolic recognition within the literary field – his books have won literary and translation awards such as the PEN West awards, PEN New York awards and the French-American Translation Award –, and also from the French government who appointed him 'Officier de l'ordre des Arts et des Lettres' in 2000.

Thus in France as in the United States contemporary poetry in translation found refuge at the pole of small-scale circulation of the publishing field. As the case of Sun & Moon illustrates, even the status of non-profit has become hard to maintain at the very extreme pole of small-scale circulation. It can be compared to the difficulty of getting public funding in France (for instance, the minimum print-runs required there are sometimes too high for micro-publishers working alone at home and who have no room for storage). The next section will study more in detail the strategies of two other contemporary publishers of poetry: one French, Bruno Doucey, the other American, Ugly Duckling.

Translation strategies of two contemporary poetry publishers

These two poetry publishers whose lists include a significant share of translations have some properties in common due to their position at the

pole of small-scale circulation of the publishing field, in spite of their different literary orientations: Doucey is socially engaged, while Ugly Duckling is more experimental and countercultural. The social trajectories of their founders and their status also differ: Bruno Doucey is a trade publisher, whereas Ugly Duckling is non-profit. The difference in status can be relativized if we consider that in France, the non-profit status is not widespread in publishing since there are very few philanthropic foundations but there is state support which can be considered an equivalent (Sapiro 2010).

Bruno Doucey was a secondary school teacher in literature and an author of educational textbooks that sold very well. He left his teaching position after twelve years. In 2002 he was offered a contract to direct a small publishing house devoted to poetry, Seghers, which had become an imprint of the Robert Laffont group. This firm had been founded after the Second World War by a poet, Pierre Seghers, who had edited during the German Occupation in France a poetry magazine, *Poésie 40,41 … ,* which had acquired symbolic capital by publishing poets that opposed the occupation, using poetry as a code (it was called 'contraband literature'; Sapiro 2014: 330 *sq*).

Doucey became its director in 2002 and stayed until 2009. During this period, the Robert Laffont group was bought by different conglomerates. Under the group Editis, the pressure to achieve profitability increased. Up to that moment, it was tacitly agreed that his imprint did not have to make a profit off of the books he was publishing, with the condition that he did not lose money. He tried at that moment to find different solutions for the imprint: either quit the group (he found a publisher who was ready to buy it) or regroup this imprint with other ones in the group that had a similar spirit, either poetical or educational. In the end, all of these projects failed; the conglomerate prevented him from undertaking any of these solutions, and they requested a huge sum of money when the Seghers family wanted to buy it. Doucey was laid off when the group Editis was sold to the Catalan conglomerate Planeta in 2009. He was told that 'in times of crisis, poetry had no reason to be, that he [Doucey] could not match the higher expectations for profit'.[6]

In 2010, thanks to the compensatory damages he received, he started a small independent house entirely dedicated to poetry. The authors he had published at Seghers chose to follow him. He uses the term 'resistance' to describe the position of the very small publishing houses which at present must contend with large publishers who all have a poetry department. These small houses are held by men and women who often 'do everything by themselves, including the diffusion and distribution'.

Translating poetry was part of the project from its start. Among the first four titles, there were a Haitian author writing in Creole, an Iraqi poet writing in Arabic and a Franco-American author writing in English. Afterwards, he published an anthology of female Haitian poets, and then more poets from

the Arab world. Margaret Atwood entered the series in the second year. Many titles are bilingual, sometimes tri-lingual.

Constructing a list requires social capital. It is not easy for a young and small publishing house to attract important authors. But in the case of poetry, the disadvantage of being small can be turned into an asset. Especially considering that at this pole of small-scale production, the circulation of information relies on informal networks of authors and translators, unlike the pole of large-scale production where the international circulation of works is largely controlled by professional literary agents. Doucey was able to convert both his symbolic and social capital as a poet in the publishing field. When I asked him how he finds the poets he gets to translate, he gave me the following answer:

> This is rather easy, in fact, since I myself travel a lot. I am invited for my work as an author here and there, and thus these poets, I meet them rather naturally. I think that the good news spreads quite rapidly almost everywhere, that a publishing house in France, run by a poet, was doing a serious work, with books finely edited, but also with a real fieldwork altogether, and thus authors come to us quite naturally. I have therefore no difficulty publishing authors […] this is the only thing that is easy even! (interview cited; my translation)

In this excerpt, he uses the word 'naturally' and the term 'easy' twice, meaning the building of the network did not require any effort, it was spontaneous. In fact, one of the factors that made it work so easily is the development of literature festivals, which has been for him both a source of income and a source of recognition as a poet (Sapiro 2016b; Sapiro and Rabot ed. 2017). Poetry festivals were among the first ones, since the tradition of reading out loud has been maintained in poetry more than in prose. These festivals are becoming more and more international, and they are strategic places for constructing transnational literary networks.

Doucey also tries to bring literature to a wider audience by social activism through creative writing workshops in prison, in hospitals with immigrants. The kind of poetry he publishes echoes social and political issues, without being clearly engaged.

In his first article on publishing, entitled 'The Production of Belief', Bourdieu (1993: 74–111) refers to Marcel Mauss's description of the function of magic: the larger the circuit, the stronger is the belief. For Bourdieu, the tacit norm of separation between author and publisher is a pre-condition for establishing an author's credit. It is the intermediaries, such as publishers and literary agents, who produce the belief in the author's work. They transfer to new authors the symbolic capital they have accumulated, and which is enclosed in the name of the firm (like Gallimard). This is why vanity presses are unable to produce

belief: they do not invest in authors and do not take risks. Self-publishing so far excludes an author from the literary field (though this may be changing).

Interestingly, this norm does not apply as strictly in poetry. A poet can be a publisher, though he still will need a network to achieve recognition. In the case of Doucey, his reputation as a poet was established before launching his own publishing house. But poets need less mediation, since they form a community of peers functioning through elective affinities more than the competitive and individualized world of novelists.

The second publishing house examined here, Ugly Duckling, displays a similar logic to Doucey, though it differs insofar as its symbolic capital is accumulated through linguistic skills and specific literary knowledge. Ugly Duckling is, in this sense, comparable to a publisher like La Différence. These specific linguistic skills very often explain the specialization in certain languages rather than others and it would be interesting to connect them to the broader history of immigration flows (Sapiro 2013). The other difference between Bruno Doucey and Ugly Duckling deals with their aesthetic stances. Ugly Duckling is more avant-garde and experimental, as well as countercultural, while Doucey is more narrative and addressing a wider audience (it is more 'pedagogic', we could say).

The editor of Ugly Duckling, Matvei Yankelevich, was born in Russia and immigrated to the United States when he was four years old. At the time I interviewed him in 2010, he was a PhD student in comparative literature at CUNY, earning a living as a Russian language teacher. He had started his small Brooklyn-based publishing house at the end of the 1990s. In 2002, it became a non-profit.

In the interview, he describes how it started with xeroxed publications, zines, DIY publishing, 'kind of completely uncommercial, most things were like free, or like a dollar'. Thanks to his network in the avant-garde, which included artists and a theatre director, they started a magazine called 6X6 that was in large part done by hand. They then started doing books by hand and artists' books made just in one edition:

> It started with very small like xeroxed publications, zines, in this sort of what in America is called DIY, you know, do it yourself kind of publishing, in that vein, very lo-fi and kind of completely uncommercial, most things were like free, or like a dollar. And then we started, I met a bunch of people in New York that wanted to do, to start publishing things … So we started [the magazine 6X6], and that was our biggest project at that point, in 2000, it was 1000 copies; we did a lot of it by hand, by collating and cutting the corners and binding it, and so things have gotten a little bit easier with it, but it comes out about two or three times a year and so it's sort of the thing that continues from that time. And we started doing little books by hand,

> and some artists' books made just in one edition, sort of very art-oriented. There were a number of writers in the group and a couple of artists, and a theatre director – Yelena Gluzman – and myself, she [Yelena] and I did *Emergency Gazette* which was all about theatre, downtown theatre, ephemeral performance art … And then some chapbooks, some of the editors themselves were making their own books, or books by friends. So in 2002 we became a non-profit officially, and we wanted to apply for grants, and I started this Eastern European series and we published, for the first time, a couple of books that were larger runs like 1000 copies, which for the States is pretty big for poetry. (interview, 30 September 2010)

In 2010, there was only one paid employee, and it was not himself. The editors worked for free, with Matvei Yankelevich describing it as 'a volunteer collective'. That year the number of new releases reached thirty volumes, but Yankelevich wanted to reduce it to twenty-four the next year (two per month), since it was too much work for the editors who all had other jobs. At the moment, they had 200 subscribers who were getting everything they published, excluding some special editions for $150. Moreover, some libraries such as Yale's Beinecke and the University of Buffalo's library, which have very extensive poetry collections, were acquiring all their titles, including the special editions. For bookstores, Ugly Duckling works with a non-profit distributor based in Berkeley who distributes their 'normal' books. They have a smaller network of bookstores where they directly distribute the few exemplars of handmade books or special editions. They organize many poetry events and use internet extensively, which is a major resource for these small publishers whose books are not distributed in the large bookstore chains.

The press specializes in poetry and experimental writing. In the interview, Yankelevich mentioned Burning Deck as his 'favourite press' and his 'model'. In 2010, translations accounted for about one quarter of the titles they published. They had even represented up to half of the total number of new releases in certain years. The books are mainly translated from Russian and other Slavic languages, though they have some titles from French and other non-Slavic languages. When asked how he selects works for publication, Matvei Yankelevitch answered, very similarly to Doucey:

> That hasn't been much of a problem for like seven years, it just started to happen with the Eastern European poets series because once I let people know it was happening, there were so many translators who had been looking for a place to send translations, especially Russian and Eastern European avant-garde, and contemporary work, there were not many places interested in publishing it, because it's pretty esoteric, publishers here didn't know what to choose, they didn't want to invest money in it

> because they knew they wouldn't sell it. So when I started the series, right away I got manuscripts of translations of poets that I had wanted to publish some day, like [Dmitri] Prigov, [Lev] Rubinstein, I don't know if you know these names, but Moscow conceptualists, they were affiliated with the Moscow conceptualists, really excellent poets who then like in the … 70s and 80s … but in the 90s after perestroika and glasnost they became, after the fall of the Soviet Union they became kind of important, well-known poets but before that they were all part of this underground scene of artists and so forth … we try to get writers who are not necessarily the best known in their country, you know, they aren't necessarily the Milosz, they are not the Nobel laureate … people who, sort of like the American poets that we publish, who are younger or have been working for a long time in a slightly peripheral space, so that it's, also because it's very easy to go to some country and say, like, well, who is the best known poet and just publish them. But that's not interesting to me. So it's more interesting to find out from translators, who is doing interesting work. So the translators are kind of incredibly helpful, actually, in finding things. (interview cited)

This excerpt highlights the role of translators at the pole of small-scale circulation. Their investment, like that of the publisher, is typical of the specific and most autonomous logic of the literary field. Also typical of this pole is the trust in translators' advice and opinion, unlike the more commercial areas of the publishing field where editors suspect translators of acting out of self-interest when proposing translations and thus consider them less reliable than other sources for recommending works to translate. Another major difference is that in the more commercial areas of the publishing field, translators are paid for their work, whereas translators of poetry most often work for free or for very small sums: both Bruno Doucey and Ugly Duckling try to give a small advance to translators, up to €1,500 for Doucey (this is for instance the amount he paid for an anthology of texts by women from the Beat generation), $500 for Ugly Duckling (instead of royalties) when they get grants (either from the ministry of culture of the country the book comes from, or from the State of New York), which is of course much less than what translators of novels earn.

Consequently, the very division of labour is different in the subfield of poetry. In the same way the distinction between publisher and creator can be blurred without affecting the creator's credit, the translator, who is often a poet herself, is regarded as a key mediator and her name and status as an author are much more valued than at the commercial pole of the publishing field. This is even more the case when the translator is a recognized poet: for instance, Baudelaire's translations of Edgar Allen Poe were included in Baudelaire's complete works in Gallimard's prestigious series of classics, La Pléiade. This is an extreme example, which is all the more significant for occurring

in 1932, long before the translators were granted a legal status as authors in the French copyright law and recognized as authors in official bibliographies. It also reminds us that the practice of translation is more common for poets than for novelists, as it nourishes the poet's creative work (it can also be a bread and butter job).

Most of the translators working with Ugly Duckling are professors (like Richard Sieburth) or graduate students. Yankelevich recruits them partly during translation conferences as described in the following interview excerpt:

> Mostly they come to us. I mean, I always go to these translation conferences and tell people and spread the word and say we're looking for translations, and you know we have an open reading period in the winter for my series so that people can send in stuff even when it's not solicited. But there are several translators that I just ask, you know, what is the most interesting thing in Polish poetry right now, what are the younger writers doing. So hopefully or slowly I get some interest and somebody says I know someone who is translating so and so, and etc. (Interview cited)

Being himself a translator, Yankelevich edits the translations he publishes. He usually asks for a sample and decides if it will work or not on this basis. In many cases, he has had to reject projects because he found the translations not good enough. Asked what a good translation is in his eyes, he answered:

> As a translator it's very hard to say what that is, even though I've translated. … There's no formula for me, like it could be a good translation that has formal similarities or it's a good translation that puts meaning in a sense first, but always a good translation is good writing. Interesting writing in English. So, in the target language, as they say. And for me it's important that it feels foreign, or that it feels slightly like it's something new … something that wasn't written in English. I don't really want it to be something that's, like, oh this is just like some American poet that I've already read. I would like to feel the difference but still understand it, so that makes me much more engaged and makes me think about the original language and the possibilities of our language. So those are important things to me. I mean, it's almost impossible to describe what it is, right? You know, like, sometimes there's something strange about it and you don't know, is it the translation or is it the writer? But if it's a good kind of strange and if you're constantly curious and engaged and surprised, then it's probably a good translation.

This stance is clearly opposed to the norm of literary translation that prevails in American publishing, where editors want a translation not to be

felt as such and thus tend to erase every strange passage (Toury 1995; Venuti 1995). This domesticating norm also prevails in Britain and in France, less so in Germany where a norm of foreignizing translations, which create an estrangement effect, has been theorized, following Schleiermacher, and valued in upmarket literary translation (Berman 1992, Casanova 2010). This is the norm that Matvei Yankelevich is alluding to when he speaks of keeping the feeling that 'there is something strange' about it. However, he underscores the fact that it has to be a 'good kind of strange', thus distinguishing between what we could call 'faulty strange' and 'creative strange'.

Matvei Yankelevich succeeded in establishing Ugly Duckling. Since 2009, he has been a member of the writing faculty at the Milton Avery Graduate School of the Arts at Bard College, and has taught for the MFA in Creative Writing and Literary Translation at Queens College in 2015–16, and the Writing Division of Columbia University's School of the Arts.

Conclusion

The translation of poetry in magazines and anthologies participated in the formation of a transnational literary field in the interwar period, both because of its role in the construction of national literatures and because of its being the privileged genre of the avant-garde. Starting in the 1970s, however, poetry was progressively marginalized in the world market for literary translation. Large literary publishers endowed with symbolic capital, who were able to launch new foreign poets until the 1960s, thereafter tended to draw only on assets and to publish collections of already established poets, who had been introduced beforehand by small publishers (as frequently happens with innovative novelists).

It is these small publishers that take the risk to invest in translated poetry, a risk that is limited by the fact that they often work for free and pay small advances to both poets and translators. This economy is anti-economic, in fact a 'reversed economy' in Bourdieu's terms: losing money is not regarded as a failure. As the head of Burning Deck, Rosemarie Waldrup, puts it: 'I mean that's how it's possible to do it, because it doesn't make money. In fact, you know, it takes money. It's a way to spend money rather than to make it.' Disinterestedness is the condition for achieving recognition and thus accumulating symbolic capital. Like other artistic professions (Freidson 1986), it is sustained by jobs in teaching or in other domains, and by grants from philanthropic foundations or from governments.

Being a 'labour of love', publishing poetry in translation does not rely on the traditional division of labour which prevails in the publishing field. The creators are also mediators, translators, cross-cultural agents (proposing texts to translate), editors and/or publishers. Their investment in translation is made possible by specific linguistic skills acquired through emigration (like the founder of La Différence; Keith and Rosemarie Waldrup; or Matvei Yankelevich) or language learning (or more literary education, as in the case of Douglas Messerli), or/and by building a network of foreign poets or of translators (as in the case of Bruno Doucey).

They rely on informal networks, built upon both their social and symbolic capital as poets and translators – a social capital that they extend thanks to literature festivals, public readings, conferences and social networks on the internet. These networks form a community sharing the belief in and love of poetry and tied by elective affinities (as Ugly Duckling with Burning Deck) and by their opposition to the commercial pole of the literary field. However, this community is not unified; it can be divided by different aesthetic options, as we saw, and traversed by struggles (as it has been the case in France between the two major poetry schools of the past decades). Disinterestedness relieves them from the kind of compromises you need to do when building a writer's career. They can freely affirm their distinction and their contempt of the dominant literary trends, as we saw with Douglas Messerli, as well as of their rivals. They don't feel they have to represent anything but they do believe that they fulfil a cultural mission, either on the socially engaged side like Bruno Doucey, or on the avant-garde one like Matvei Yankelevich. Indeed, Yankelevich explicitly describes his mission as providing an alternative to the dominant culture or to the mainstream:

> So that sense of importance can be … you know, we could trumpet, we could as they say toot our own horn and say hey, this is really, really important and, like, something like this is really, really important, but we're also a small press and there is a kind of a threshold of importance. We're important in a minor way, maybe, and our books are hopefully important in a minor way. They pervade a certain part of the culture but they don't necessarily, you know, it's not like we were the first to publish Dante's *Inferno* or something. But it's important to have these peripheral things because otherwise all you have is one story or one version, and so I think we've been successful to the degree that we can be in providing certain alternatives to reading and providing readers who are curious with things that they wouldn't otherwise be able to get. (Interview cited)

Notes

1 Unfortunately, since the writing of this chapter, Burning Deck has closed up shop.

2 According to the publishers' database that I was able to consult in 2013.

3 Interview conducted on 23 December 2010, by Youna Kwak for the same research project.

4 Interview conducted on 11 February 2009, by Gisèle Sapiro, for a research project on literary exchanges between Paris and New York, funded by the MOTif (Observatoire du livre d'Ile-de-France). See Sapiro (2015b).

5 http://pippoetry.blogspot.fr/p/table-of-contents.html.

6 Interview with Bruno Doucey, conducted by Gisèle Sapiro on 29 March 2016.

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2

Translation, Publishing and World Literature: J. V. Foix's *Daybook 1918* and the Strangeness of Minority

Lawrence Venuti

Translation in the theory of world literature

For readers everywhere, a translated text remains the most common means of experiencing what we have come to call world literature. Yet theories that aim to conceive of literature on a planetary scale have yet to formulate a consistent and productive method for studying the crucial role played by translation – or, in the case of theories where translation does figure significantly, to approach large bodies of translations methodically so as to yield insights that are at once comprehensive and incisive. The dominant theories of world literature variously emphasize the transnational production, circulation or reception of literary texts, but their particular emphases on these categories seem to have prevented a searching scrutiny of translation in all its complex specificity.

In Franco Moretti's production-oriented notion of world literary textuality as a synthesis of foreign form and local content, translation is a necessary factor that nonetheless remains completely suppressed (Moretti 2000). Obviously, authors in every linguistic community encounter some foreign-language literatures in translation that can and do exert a formative influence on their

work, enabling them to fuse foreign and local materials. What is not at all obvious is how that influence is overdetermined by the formal and semantic transformation to which translation inexorably subjects a source text. Pascale Casanova has illuminated how the position of a particular literature in the global literary hierarchy drives the competition for prestige and resources, which is often manifested in the circulatory effect of translation between major and minor languages (Casanova 2004). Yet the precise connection between the accumulation of symbolic and cultural capital, on the one hand, and the choice of specific texts for translation as well as the development of discursive strategies to translate them, on the other hand, is occluded by sociological categories that emphasize structural relations. David Damrosch's treatment of world literature as a mode of reception uniquely situates second-order practices like editing and translation at the centre of global literary relations, leading to nuanced explications that seek to address the ethical and political questions posed by the transnational movement of texts (Damrosch 2003). These explications, however revealing, are still at some remove from the practical exigencies that underlie that movement, starting with the various cultural and financial considerations – often a combination of personal taste and sales projections – that motivate a publisher's decision to negotiate the translation rights for a foreign-language text.

The study of how translation functions in world literature, I am suggesting, must encompass a much wider range of data, anecdotal and theoretical, archival and statistical, text-analytical and historicizing. It must perform both distant and close readings, joining an understanding of broad patterns in publishing translations in relation to literary traditions with an analysis of potential responses to those translations grounded on specific textual features. Most importantly, attention must be given to the peculiar agency of the translator, a figure of continuing neglect in the research, teaching and publishing of world literature. If a literary text is worlded because its author has been influenced by a foreign literature in translation or because it has itself been translated into multiple languages, do not the translator's intentions matter, even if we admit that such intentions are constantly gauged against cultural rules and resources while functioning amid the unacknowledged conditions and unanticipated consequences that inhere in any writing practice? Does the changing global literary hierarchy develop in a distinctive way if translators view their work as a form of creative writing, comparable to original composition, immersed in the source language and culture but focused on the release of literary or aesthetic effects in the receiving situation? Would international literary relations develop differently if translators rather devised projects that reflected not only their deep immersion in the source and translating cultures, but also their engagement with the dominant theories of world literature? Would this kind of translation globalize literature with a cultural political commitment,

active in challenging the unequal distribution of capital or in maintaining the status quo?

I am mindful of these questions in what follows, but they are addressed only indirectly, subsumed into an account of the problems I have recently faced in devising a translation project. My ultimate aim is to initiate a rethinking of world literature that makes translation a focal point, assessing transnational literary relations from a translatorly perspective and giving due attention to the deliberate choices and the serendipitous discoveries, the exhilarating breakthroughs and the agonizing setbacks that characterize every translation – especially when the translator embarks on it without a contract from a publisher or indeed any promise of publication. I want especially to consider how the asymmetries in world literature influence and are influenced by translations. We have long been aware that a translation can have an impact on both the source text and the translating language. What impact might a translation have on the source and translating cultures conceived in a global framework, not simply as literary conjunctures within national boundaries?

Probing rejections

By the fall of 2013, I had drafted a complete English version of *Gertrudis* (Foix 1927a), the collection of prose poems and narratives that constitutes the first book published by the twentieth-century Catalan writer J. V. Foix (the surname is pronounced 'Fosh' with a long 'o'). My translation was carefully vetted by Mar Rosàs, a native speaker of Catalan who was then serving as Catalan Language Coordinator at the University of Chicago and is currently Research Coordinator in Applied Ethics at the Universitat Ramon Llull in Barcelona. Her scrupulous examination of the translation against the Catalan, distinguishing between differences in interpretation with specific words and phrases, put into practice the close relation between language and ethics that is reflected in her career trajectory. She describes her vetting in these terms:

> In my view, translation and applied ethics are quite similar. Because meaning is unstable and any text is open to multiple interpretations and translations, the translator develops criteria to make choices that establish coherence in the translation. Applied ethics is likewise the attempt to make a concrete decision which, according to a set of ethical principles applied to the available data, can be regarded as the most coherent. Neither translation nor applied ethics can exhaust the range of possibilities. So, vetting your translations of Foix is not so much a matter of pointing out potential errors as rather an effort to remind you of possible readings that

> may be excluded. My comments are on the order of 'I see what you mean here, and I think it makes sense, but I think many Catalan readers would understand the passage somewhat differently because, in Catalan, this or that word also has another connotation'.
>
> When translating as when applying ethical principles, choices and decisions must be prioritized, and much depends on finding what thinkers like Derrida and Lévinas might call the criteria that are most hospitable for respecting difference. Since you are more acquainted with the Anglophone literary scene where your Foix translation will circulate, the final choice (and the responsibility for it) must be yours. But I can help by making available a body of data about the Catalan texts. (Rosàs 2015)

Holding a master's degree in comparative literature and a doctorate in philosophy, both from the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Rosàs is a unique informant whom I could not expect to find with a publisher in the United States. On the contrary, Anglophone publishers rarely edit a translation against the source text because they do not employ editors who can read foreign languages – let alone those who bring to their editing the theoretical and critical sophistication that Rosàs possesses. Copyeditors tend simply to apply the publisher's house style, standardizing the writing in a translation regardless of the stylistic features of the source text or the translator's development of a particular discursive strategy that takes those features into account. The aim of copyediting is generally to insure fluency in the current standard dialect of the translating language (Venuti 2008: 1–6). My problem as a translator was rather how to establish 'the criteria that are most hospitable for respecting difference', as Rosàs suggests, although these criteria must be applied in choosing the source text, in translating it and in editing the translation for my reader. The difference, furthermore, is never inherent in the source text but constructed in the translation project, through its innovative impact in the receiving culture, its introduction of something that did not previously exist there (Venuti 2013: 3–5).

Anticipating the limited knowledge of the Anglophone readership who was my primary audience, therefore, I added to my translation a section of endnotes that identified references to key places in Barcelona like Gràcia, Pedralbes and Sarrià as well as important historical figures, not only the widely known, such as the painter Joan Miró, but also the obscure, such as the editor Josep Maria López-Picó and the poet Carles Riba. I followed Foix's order in arranging the English versions but inserted his Catalan texts en face, so that readers acquainted with Romance languages might be tempted to glance across the page and move more deeply into his writing. In preparing the project, in other words, I sought to acknowledge and compensate for the minority status of the Catalan language and culture, which entails that most Anglophone readers

are likely to be unacquainted with a canonical writer like Foix, with Catalan literary and cultural traditions in general, and, in some cases, even with the very existence of Catalan as a language in its own right. Following this same audience projection, I drafted a cover letter that gave a brief account of Foix's centrality to twentieth-century Catalan literature as well as the position of *Gertrudis* in his body of work. Having earlier learned from Foix's publisher, Quaderns Crema, that world English rights were available, I duly informed the copyright holder, the Fundació J. V. Foix, of my intention to my publish my translation, and I received their go-ahead. Then I began submitting the project to publishers.

It was greeted with a succession of rejections. I approached distinguished literary publishers, as befitted Foix's canonical status, and although none could read Catalan and most had never published a Catalan writer, they were respected for their support of literature in translation. Nonetheless, they were unable to appreciate Foix in English (or perhaps my English). I showed the project to Jack Shoemaker, editorial director of Counterpoint, which has recently published translations of short stories by the Italian modernist Alberto Savinio (2014) and by the Russian expatriate Sergei Dovlatov (2014) as well as *The Guy Davenport Reader* (2013) and Andrew Schelling's *Love and the Turning Seasons* (2014), anthologies that contain poems translated from ancient Greek and the languages of India, ancient and modern. Shoemaker's reason for passing on my Foix project was succinct: 'I cannot get close to this work' (email, 26 February 2014). That word 'close' resonates, suggesting that my version of Foix's writing is too unfamiliar to elicit the sympathetic identification that must figure in Shoemaker's typical response to translations. Jonathan Galassi, president and publisher of Farrar, Straus and Giroux who is himself a poet-translator, largely agreed with Shoemaker. Galassi has recently published ample selections of canonical foreign poets, including Michael Hofmann's version of the German expressionist Gottfried Benn (2013) and Richard Zenith's version of the Brazilian modernist Carlos Drummond de Andrade (2015). Of the Foix Galassi wrote that 'this is a lovely thing but far too specialized for our list' (email Galassi, 22 October 2013). That word 'specialized' also resonates, suggesting that my version of Foix requires an expert kind of knowledge, in fact scholarly, making his writing otherwise inaccessible as compared to the foreign poets Galassi has added to his list.

Yet how can translations be called 'lovely' and 'too specialized' at the same time? How can they support an aesthetic or even erotic appreciation but simultaneously pre-empt it, forcing a critical detachment by demanding knowledge so specific as to turn the project into scholarship, making it unworthy of publication for a general audience? This contradiction points to the basic problem that confronts every minor literature in translation: minority means marginality, defined by narrow circulation and restricted knowledge,

which in turn prevent a minor literature from being published in the centre, from achieving wide circulation and becoming the object of comprehensive knowledge beyond the periphery. This vicious circle, essentially an ironic predicament, constitutes the first feature of what I shall call the strangeness of minority.

The problem is especially acute in English, where relatively little gets translated, roughly 2–4 per cent of total annual book output over the past several decades (for recent publishing statistics in the United States, UK and Ireland, see Post 2014 and Büchler and Trentacosti 2015). But it can also be perceived in such other major languages as French, where a great deal gets translated, 17.3 per cent of total annual book output in 2012 according to information gathered by the Frankfurt Book Fair (Frankfurter Buchmesse 2014). 'In the foreign literature series of the great French publishing houses', observes Gisèle Sapiro,

> such as Gallimard, Le Seuil, Fayard, and Albin Michel, we find works translated from twenty or thirty languages and from thirty or forty different countries. Moreover, the mediators for foreign literature have diversified in France since the 1970s, with the creation of Actes Sud, which translates from thirty-six languages, and other small publishers such as Bourgois, La Métailié, Corti, Verdier, La Différence, and Jacqueline Chambon. (Sapiro 2010: 313–314)

Within the French publishing industry, nonetheless, distinctions between major and minor literatures remain intact, so that translation patterns emerge and develop unevenly, and minor literatures can undergo the exclusion they face in the United States. In Sapiro's words, 'the diversity of languages of origin does not guarantee cultural diversity with regard to the inclusion of minorities and oppressed groups' (Sapiro 2010: 317), where minority might be construed generally as a cultural or social position that is subordinate, whether the social context that so defines it is local, national or global. In the case of a Catalan writer like Foix, two book-length selections of his writing have been translated into French, but only one seems to be currently in print, even though the out-of-print version was produced by the noted philosopher Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe (Foix 1986).

The global hegemony of English reduces every language to minority status in relation to it, even if a language such as French might enjoy majority over others. So how, in view of this situation, do any poetry translations get published in English, especially in the United States? The vicious circle faced by minor literatures does not affect the foreign poetries recently published by Counterpoint and Farrar, Straus and Giroux. Not only have those poetries long been canonized in English, but the projects in each case are *retranslations*,

translations of work that has seen multiple previous versions. Benn's writing, for example, began appearing in English in the 1920s, included in such collections as Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky's *Contemporary German Poetry: An Anthology* (1923). The first book-length selection of Benn's poetry and prose was published in 1960, and by 2013, eight similar books had appeared. Drummond's work began to be translated in the 1940s, included in such collections as Dudley Fitts's *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry* (1942). The first book-length selection of Drummond's poems was published in 1965, and by 2002 four more selections had appeared, some involving the work of celebrated poet-translators like Elizabeth Bishop and Mark Strand. When Farrar, Straus and Giroux decided to issue new translations of Benn and Drummond, then, the poets were so familiar as to warrant substantial selections, each over 400 pages long. Foix, in contrast, has been neglected by Anglophone publishers. His writing has been translated into sixteen languages worldwide, but only one book-length translation has appeared in English: David Rosenthal's 1988 selection, issued by the small press, Persea (Foix 1988). It contains only thirty-five texts, two of which are excerpts from *Gertrudis*. Long out of print, it could not possibly affect the unfamiliarity that continues to greet Foix in the United States, ironically justifying his neglect.

That unfamiliarity is of course due to more than sheer neglect; it also stems from the distinctive nature of Foix's writing. This point was impressed on me by Jill Schoolman, editor-in-chief of Archipelago Books, although unintentionally, since she was rather explaining why she too rejected my version of *Gertrudis*. Foix's book, she wrote, 'is indeed full of wonders, and his voice is peculiar and playful, florid and spare. he's a gear-shifter (somewhat distracting at times) … i like the fragmentary style and the recurrent images and their variations, i like less the distracting adjectives. i would prefer a more sober Foix, perhaps. anyhow, it is a gem' (Schoolman 2014).

I needed to ask if this note was indeed a rejection since Schoolman's response, like Galassi's, quickly devolves into contradiction. On the one hand, she claims to 'like the fragmentary style', but, on the other hand, she finds the writing too 'distracting'. The repetition of the word 'distracting' suggests that the response she values most highly with a translation is utter engrossment, like Shoemaker, a vicarious participation in the text, such that the distinction between source and translation vanishes completely from the reader's consciousness. Hence she assumes that the 'adjectives' in question are in Foix's Catalan, not in my English, or at least that they have been reproduced intact in the translation (she does not read Catalan). Her reference to the 'wonders' of Foix's writing shows that his surreal imagery has not been lost on her. But she obviously expects a more continuous narrative that can allow her to identify sympathetically with a coherent 'voice', not a 'gear-shifter' who prevents that identification. Implicitly she prefers realism over surrealism.

Here a second feature of minority comes into view: it proves to be strange because it can challenge the dominant values of major cultures. Realistic narratives have long prevailed in Anglophone literary traditions right up to the present. Schoolman has absorbed this cultural dominant to such an extent that it informs her responses to foreign literatures in translation. Not only does most of her list consist of realistic narratives – since 2003 she has published over 100 translations from more than 26 languages – but she has recently brought out translations of 2 Catalan texts that fall into the same category: Josep Pla's autobiographically based tales, *Life Embitters* (2015; *La vida amarga* [1967]), and Josep Maria de Sagarra's novel of the urban bourgeoisie, *Private Life* (Sagarra 2015; *Vida privada* [1932]). Foix's experimental approach to Catalan locales and customs can enhance the representations of Catalonia offered by these texts, but for a publisher so deeply invested in the realist illusion, his writing can also make them seem limited in their conventionality. Foix in English compels Schoolman to articulate her personal preferences – two of her sentences begin with the phrase 'i like', a third with 'i would prefer' – because his writing resists her effort to assimilate it to realism. Thus she makes the condescending remark that she would like 'a more sober Foix', effectively revising the Catalan text even before the revisionary practice of translation is enacted. The strangeness of minority reveals the tendency of publishers in major cultures to search for their own values in the face of linguistic and cultural difference, transforming minor literatures into mirror reflections while excluding those texts that fog the mirror.

Bringing it back home – sort of

Among the most questionable consequences of this cultural narcissism is the suppression of the pivotal relation between the translation and the receiving situation. Schoolman formulates her response solely in terms of her individual likes and dislikes, yet it is ultimately in the receiving situation at large, not with any one reader, that a translation acquires the meanings, values and functions that are decisive in providing the source text with an afterlife in a different language and culture. This process of reception, in other words, is transindividual or collective, fundamentally social in significance. If we follow Casanova (2010) in arguing that a minor literature is 'consecrated' or assigned value when it is translated into a major language, if we acknowledge that the consecration is augmented when the translation is published by a press that has acquired cultural authority or prestige, still the fact remains that readers who lack the source language and have not read widely in translations of the source literature always respond to a translation primarily (if not exclusively) in

relation to linguistic patterns, literary traditions and cultural conventions in the receiving situation. How, we might ask, would a translation of *Gertrudis* fare when gauged against the current poetry scene in the United States by readers immersed in that scene, readers who can be counted among the most likely audience for a Foix translation? What meanings, values and functions might Foix accrue in English at the present time?

The heterogeneity of the contemporary audience for poetry, distributed over the most diverse forms, practices and institutions, makes any attempt to answer these questions no more than speculative and provisional, requiring that answers be formulated differently for different segments of that audience. I will focus on one such segment by pointing to a broad development that has surfaced in the lyric poem since the 1990s, variously called 'elliptical' or 'associative' poetry (Burt 2009; cf. Hoagland 2006 for a critical assessment). Some twenty or so widely published poets have been described as elliptical, including Mary Jo Bang, Lucie Brock-Broido, Forrest Gander, Mark Levine, Claudia Rankine, Liam Rector, Susan Wheeler and C. D. Wright. In Stephen Burt's account, this 'reigning style' is deployed in striking prose poems as well as in verse, and its features consist of 'fragmentation, jumpiness, audacity; performance, grammatical oddity; rebellion, voice, some measure of closure' (Burt 2009: 353). The resemblance to Foix's discontinuous, surreal poetics is uncanny. And just as Foix drew on a modernist avant-garde to describe aspects of Catalan culture, French surrealism, the elliptical poets, according to Burt, 'are trying […] to split the difference between a poetry of descriptive realism on the one hand, and, on the other, a neo-avant-garde' (Burt 2009: 355). Consequently, an informed reader might well call to mind a number of these English-language poets, even specific books and poems, when reading a translation of *Gertrudis*.

Consider, for example, Matthea Harvey's text, 'Implications for Modern Life', from her book, *Modern Life* (2007), winner of the 2009 Kingsley Tufts Award:

> The ham flowers have veins and are rimmed in rind, each petal a little meat sunset. I deny all connection with the ham flowers, the barge floating by loaded with lard, the white flagstones like platelets in the blood-red road. I'll put the calves in coats so the ravens can't gore them, bandage up the cut gate and when the wind rustles its muscles, I'll gather the seeds and burn them. But then I see a horse lying on the side of the road and think *You are sleeping, you are sleeping, I will make you be sleeping*. But if I didn't make the ham flowers, how can I make him get up? I made the ham flowers. Get up, dear animal. Here is your pasture flecked with pink, your oily river, your bleeding barn. Decide what to look at and how. If you lower your lashes, the blood looks like mud. If you stay, I will find you fresh hay. (Harvey 2007: 3)

Here the fantastic image of 'ham flowers' initiates a succession of rapid shifts between equally fantastic images ('flagstones like platelets', 'calves in coats', 'bandage up the cut gate') in what might be described as the speaker's meditation on the human body and the relation between human and animal. 'To deny all connection' here seems to be tantamount to a denial of the physical or animal aspect of human being, amid its inescapable presence. But then a self-reflexive register opens up, signalled partly through a grammatical ambiguity: to 'make the ham flowers' can mean not only to create them ex nihilo ('ham' as an adjective), but also to turn the 'ham' into 'flowers' ('ham' as a noun), possibly in the sense of a rhetorical device or literary ornament. By the end, the human-animal identity has become a sheer imaginative construction, self-consciously performed. Paradoxically, we seem no closer to the body or to the animal, which are displaced through analogy, transforming 'ham' into the 'flowers' of rhetoric. The title of the text presents this paradox as the fate of the body in 'modern life'.

Now consider this text from *Gertrudis* in my translation:

> Upon perceiving my rival in the distance, motionless, waiting for me on the beach, I could not be certain whether it was he, my horse, or Gertrudis. Drawing near, I realized that it was a stone phallus, gigantic, erected in past epochs. Its shadow covered half the sea, and it bore an indecipherable legend engraved on the plinth. I stooped to copy it, but before me stood only my umbrella, opened in the midst of the burning sand. On the sea, devoid of shadow from boat or cloud, floated an enormous pair of gloves. They are worn by the mysterious monster who pursues you at dusk beneath the plane trees of the Ribera.

The speaker's identity is unstable from the start: he is not 'certain' about the object in relation to which he defines himself, whether as a competitor against a 'rival', or as the lover of the femme fatale, Gertrudis, or as the owner of the animal with which he momentarily equates them both. As the fantastic images unfold, the speaker shifts from male ('phallus') to female ('gloves' on the 'sea'), from an explicit symbol of his desire to its symbolic repression (the metamorphosis of 'phallus' into an 'umbrella' that is 'opened' in the 'burning sand'), from the superhuman ('gigantic') to the inhuman (the 'monster'). The 'monster', evidently an image of self-loathing that derives from the speaker's sexual intercourse with the woman (the 'monster' is said to 'wear' the 'gloves'), is linked to Foix's biography through the mention of the 'Ribera': Joan Ramon Veny-Mesquida identifies it as the seaside town of Sitges, just south of Barcelona, which Foix began to frequent in 1918 (Foix 2004: 228).

Any formal or thematic resemblance between Harvey's and Foix's writing foregrounds irreducible differences. Yet these differences can set

going a critical dialectic in which each text interrogates the other, exposing limitations as well as advances. Harvey's suggestive rural or pastoral imagery highlights how heavily Foix depends on psychoanalytic symbols with fairly fixed meanings, while Foix's cosmopolitan Freudianism points up the lack of a philosophical code in Harvey's text, her reliance on simile and metaphor to generate meaning in a strictly Anglophone context. In an interview she described the origin of the poem as 'a pretty disgusting dream about a field of ham flowers' which was 'prompted' by a report on National Public Radio that 'there are microscopic particles of barbecue above Houston' (Reddy 2010). Harvey's speaker remains very much in control of the self-reflexive performance, including forceful verbs in the future tense and the imperative mood as well as rhymes like 'blood'/'mud' and 'stay'/'hay' that bring an acoustic closure to the text, whereas Foix's speaker describes a dream-like scene that is distanced by the past tense of the verbs and through which he moves unconsciously, unable to grasp images that seem 'indecipherable' and 'mysterious' or to control the sequence of transformations. Foix's phallic imagery winds up emphasizing the uncertainty of his speaker's masculinism, but it can also insinuate that Harvey's 'ham flowers', 'pasture flecked with pink', 'oily river' and 'bleeding barn' carry a vaginal connotation, as if psychoanalyzing her images. The effect of juxtaposing these texts is to increase their respective strangeness by underscoring their different conditions, linguistic and literary, cultural and historical, gender and sexual.

The method of reading a translation that I am staging here is at once intercultural and historicist. A translation of a past text from the source culture is analysed from the vantage point of a pertinent contemporary text in the translating culture which is in turn analysed from the vantage point of the translation. The differences that come to light in the critical dialectic are ultimately historicizing, indicating the different historical moments in which each text was produced. Neither past nor present is privileged as the unquestioned ground of interpretive truth; both are dislocated, emerging as critical constructions, mutually defined and designed to serve a specific interpretive occasion: understanding a potential Anglophone reception of Foix's prose poetry. This intercultural historicism recognizes that a translation, even if it establishes the most exacting semantic correspondence to the source text, is an act of interpretation that can never give unmediated access to that text.

Rethinking the project

To enable an intercultural historicism, I realized that my translation project needed to be reconceived. I had to build a much more detailed context in

which the Anglophone reader could appreciate Foix's writing in English. The more deeply the translation was embedded in his career as well as in early-twentieth-century Catalan culture, the more intelligible and interesting his writing would become, and the more interrogative its linguistic and cultural differences might be in the receiving situation, particularly against the contemporary poetry scene in the United States. I returned to Foix's major work, the *Diari 1918* (Foix 1981), which he envisioned as a collection of 365 prose poems, one for each day of the year, although he completed only 203, publishing them in a series of book-length selections that started with *Gertrudis*. I decided to focus my project on the prose poems that Foix detached from *Gertrudis* and from his second book, *KRTU* (1932), to publish under the rubric, 'Primers Fragments' (First Fragments), in his 1981 edition of the *Diari 1918*. I also planned to include translations of prose texts that Foix published in periodicals or in his first two books, but that he excluded from the 1981 edition of the *Diari*. To the prose texts I added two of his essays, 'Algunes reflexions sobre la pròpia literatura' (Some Reflections on One's Own Literature), which served as a preface to *KRTU*, and 'Algunes consideracions sobre la literatura i l'art actuals' (Some Considerations on Current Literature and Art), which appeared in 1927 in a magazine he edited, *L'Amic de les Arts* (Foix 1927b).

My primary aim became to translate a selection of Foix's prose poetry that is both representative and nuanced, situated in the cultural conjuncture in which it arose. This aim is best accomplished, I believe, by emphasizing the 'first fragments', which, despite their fragmentary quality, possess a remarkable coherence that becomes richly suggestive when they are read together. Not only does Gertrudis recur as a character in these texts, often addressed directly, but recurrent images such as horses, gloves, and severed heads and hands establish a pattern that accumulates meaning. The first fragments are suffused with an oneiric style, at once ludic and unsettling.

Including Foix's essays contributes an important dimension by documenting how he viewed his work in his historical moment, when Catalan writers and artists looked to the modernist avant-garde movements in Europe to invigorate Catalan literary and artistic traditions. Foix himself explored cubism and futurism before he was decisively inspired by Apollinaire's play, *Les mamelles de Tirésias* (The Breasts of Tiresias, Apollinaire, 1918), where the French writer became the first to use the term 'surrealist', here in a description of his own work (Molas 1995: 420–422). Foix assessed the literary and political value of various experimental practices in his essays as Catalonia itself experimented with autonomous government before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936. Including prose texts that Foix did not publish in his 1981 edition adds another revealing dimension by providing a glimpse of how he shaped his project. The additional texts make more of Foix's work available in English,

but I am also following Veny-Mesquida's practices in his monumental critical edition of the *Diari 1918*, in which he supplements the main body of the work with other, pertinent texts.

In translating Foix's powerful synthesis of French surrealism with Catalan locales and customs, my overall strategy is to render the Catalan texts with the utmost precision, formal as well as semantic. I am applying a particular concept of equivalence, one that might be called lexicographical, to start with, respecting dictionary definitions. Ultimately, I seek to develop a lexicon and syntax that approximates the stylistic features of Foix's prose, its periodic structures and rhythms. This strategy, although seemingly mimetic, is actually hermeneutic: it is designed to delimit my text as a translation by establishing a specific relation to the Catalan (a relation that makes it translation as opposed to another second-order practice like an adaptation), but in creating a semantic correspondence and a stylistic approximation, the translation inscribes an interpretation. Because translation is an interpretive act, it too can open up a critical dialectic, although here between the translated and the source texts, an interlingual interrogation, in which they question one another on the basis of linguistic differences that carry cultural implications (for examples of this method of reading translations, see Venuti 2013: chaps. 4, 10, 11 and 13). My close adherence to Foix's Catalan, for example, can give rise to archaic items or greater formality in English, investing the prose with a sedate quality that actually intensifies the surreal imagery by contrasting with its bizarreness. Hence Foix's surrealism can seem stranger in my English (recall the publishers' responses to my project), while suggesting that his canonicity in Catalan literature may have bred a familiarity that has softened or dulled the impact of his writing in Catalonia.

These effects are most noticeable at points where Foix's use of the standard dialect of Catalan is transformed into my non-standard English. The first two sentences in the Catalan text cited earlier open with ordinary phrases – 'en percebre', 'en acostar-m'hi' – that could easily be translated into current standard English: 'on perceiving', 'in approaching it'. Conscious of Foix's historical moment, I chose 'upon perceiving' and 'drawing near', both of which are suggestive of Victorian poetical diction, the archaized literary language that formed during the Victorian period (see Underwood and Sellers 2012). Victorian poets and prose writers favoured the preposition 'upon' over 'on', which has come to seem less formal in current English according to style manuals (Garner 2003: 808). The particular use of 'upon' with a gerund occurs in *The Stones of Venice* (1851–3), when John Ruskin lyrically observes that 'it may be a doubtful question whether the faculties of eye and mind which are capable of perceiving beauty, having been left without food during the whole of our active life, should be suddenly feasted upon entering a place of worship' (Ruskin 2014). Algernon Swinburne was particularly fond of the phrases,

'draw nigh' and 'draw near', as in his poem, 'The Commonweal' (1887): 'Time […] lets but dreaming hope draw near' (Swinburne 1904). A reader familiar with Anglophone poetic traditions might detect my Victorian intertext, but any speaker of current standard English possessing native or near-native proficiency is likely to sense some peculiarity in my choices. Both responses can serve to heighten Foix's surrealism in English even as they expose the limitations of my stylistic approximation to his current standard Catalan.

At the end of my translation, the non-standard items are syntactical as well as lexical: 'On the sea, devoid of shadow from boat or cloud, floated an enormous pair of gloves. They are worn by the mysterious monster who pursues you at dusk beneath the plane trees of the Ribera.' ('Damunt la mar, sense ombra de vaixell ni de núvol, suraven els guants enormes que calça el monstre misteriós que et persegueix cap al tard sota els plàtans de la Ribera.') Imitating Foix's word order at the beginning of the sentence leads to a grammatical inversion that constitutes a poetical archaism in English, elevating the tone, whereas in Catalan this inversion is done so often as to be a standard form in the early twentieth century as today (Wheeler, Yates, and Dols 1999: 599). The choice of 'pursues' works in a similar way. It signifies both 'follows' and 'persecutes', meanings that are equivalent to those of the Catalan 'persegueix', but all three words are in the current standard dialect of their respective languages. The word 'pursues', in contrast, is a poetical archaism in this context, insofar as the very idea of a 'monster' suggests 'hostile intent', an obsolete sense of 'pursues' (*OED*, s.v. 'pursue', def. 1–2). Foix's language also follows standard Catalan in omitting indefinite articles in phrases using 'sense' ('without') and with nouns joined by 'de' ('of'), so that mimicking his syntax leads to another non-standard form in English (Wheeler, Yates and Dols 1999: 52, 63–64). Thus, Foix's 'sense ombra de vaixell ni de núvol' (word-for-word: 'without shadow of boat nor of cloud') becomes my 'devoid of shadow from boat or cloud'. A construction such as 'without any shadow from a boat or a cloud' would be more idiomatic in current English, although framed in a plain and perhaps grammatically punctilious style. My omission of articles from the English resembles Ruskin's poetical phrasing, 'the faculties of eye and mind', while increasing the abruptness of the rhythm, an effect that is sustained by my decision to divide the long Catalan sentence into two shorter sentences in English, isolating and emphasizing the sudden mention of the 'monster'. Stylistically, the translation includes features of two poetic discourses that might be recognizable to informed readers (but need not be recognized for the English to be intelligible): the archaizing strain indicates the historical remoteness of Foix's writing by affiliating it with Victorian poeticism, while the abruptness resembles the rapid discontinuity favoured by the US-based elliptical poets, who 'almost always delete transitions', cultivating 'speed, wit, and absurdity' (Hoagland 2006: 513; Burt 2009: 349).

Readability remains essential for my translation, but so does literary effect: Foix's prose should be just as evocative in English as in Catalan. The key word 'diari', for instance, can be rendered simply as 'diary', but that might exclude a range of associations present in the Catalan, particularly in Foix's work. As Joaquim Molas has observed, Foix 'uses the genre, on the one hand, to make poetry in prose and, on the other, to construct, through concrete episodes and therefore more or less disconnected pieces, a kind of autobiographical chronicle. Or, more exactly, a gallery of teachers and friends' (Molas 1995: 419; my translation).

Foix published the 'gallery of teachers and friends' in 1965 under the title, *Catalans del 1918* (Foix 1965) but he gathered the 'poetry in prose' under the title, *Diari 1918*. This 'diari' was actually a journal that functioned as a literary laboratory instead of a collection of personal reflections and narratives. I chose to translate 'diari' with 'daybook' because it implies daily entries but also carries connotations that emphasize the literary uses to which Foix put his journal. The term 'daybook', furthermore, has been employed by important US poets: George Oppen (2008) compiled several 'daybooks', where aphoristic statements inspired in part by his reading assume the form of poetic pronouncements and veritable drafts of poems, while Robert Creeley created *A Day Book* (1972), a serial experiment in which a prose memoir is followed by autobiographical lyrics. These poets developed modernisms very different from the surrealism of Foix's early prose poems, so that any affiliations among their innovative applications of the diaristic genre, suggested by my choice of 'daybook', will immediately accentuate their differences to an Anglophone reader of poetry. Yet implying a likeness to twentieth-century poets of the stature of Oppen and Creeley is also a means of indicating Foix's canonical position in Catalan literature to readers who have limited access to the language and culture.

Such likenesses can serve as a reminder that translation inevitably involves an exorbitant gain in the translating language that may have little or no connection to the source text. My project, now entitled *Daybook 1918: First Fragments*, constructs an image of Foix's work that differs markedly from the image in Veny-Mesquida's edition by emphasizing the author's earliest, most experimental prose poems, by including various prose texts that he excluded from the *Diari 1918*, and by creating a cultural and historical context through an introductory essay and annotations that takes into account the knowledge of Anglophone readerships. As a result, the strangeness of minority acquires a third defining feature: translation into a major language, by enabling a minor literature to assume a higher rank in the global literary hierarchy, transforms that literature according to meanings, values and functions that are specific to the receiving situation, potentially making it look different, even unrecognizable in its originary culture.

That difference can stir controversy, initiating critical revaluation and literary innovation at home. The emphasis on Foix's first fragments in my project, for instance, necessarily draws attention to the peculiarities of his representations of women, raising the question of how he dealt with the violence inflicted on the femme fatale in French surrealism – especially in Anglophone cultures where gender politics remains a prevalent concern in literary and cultural studies. Would this concern travel back to Catalan literary historians and critics who so far have not critically examined these representations in Foix's writing? One wonders as well about the impact that an English version of Foix's first fragments might have on contemporary Catalan diagnoses of Spanish cultural domination and the damaging linguistic effects of globalization, not merely through the hegemony of English but also through the influx of immigrants from the south of Spain, Northern Africa and Latin America, who may choose not to learn the Catalan language (see Woolard and Frekko 2013 for recent sociolinguistic developments). The translation would be joining a recent wave of canonical or otherwise noted writers entering English, including Mercè Rodoreda and Joan Sales, Carme Riera and Quim Monzó, Jaume Cabré and Imma Monsó. With so many translations circulating in a major language, Catalan literature can support interpretations that distinguish it sharply from Spanish-language literatures, putting into question whether it has suffered any diminution in Spain.

The strangeness of minority can be a powerful cultural force. It can change the images of peripheral languages and literatures in metropolitan centres, it can challenge dominant cultural values enshrined in the publishing practices of the major languages in those centres, and it can start new debates and tendencies in cultures major as well as minor. Translation is perhaps foremost among the practices that can release that provocative strangeness, provided that it is performed with an awareness of the global framework conceptualized recently in theories of world literature. It behoves a translator to acquire this awareness, insofar as every translation is implicated in the hierarchical distribution of prestige and resources that structure international literary relations, capable of supporting or questioning those relations by choosing source texts for translation, by developing discursive strategies to translate them and by eliciting commentary in both the source and translating cultures. Now I just need to find a publisher for my Foix project.

Translation in the practice of world literature

Rethinking the concept of world literature from the vantage point of translation brings to light a number of issues that might otherwise be obscured by dominant theoretical approaches. These issues centre on the publication and

reception of translated texts, as suggested by the case study I have offered here. Publishing practices are obviously central to the global circulation of literature, but they run into complications and can simply break down when the text to be published is a translation, perhaps especially when the source text is written in a minor language.

The selection of a text for translation is informed by the unequal distribution of symbolic and cultural capital, as Casanova (2004, 2010) argues, so that texts written in major languages like English and French are routinely translated worldwide, whereas texts written in languages with less capital must be translated into major languages or receive international prizes (or both) to attract the same interest from publishers. Yet many publishers, particularly in the Anglophone world, do not think in such sociological terms. They tend to view literary publishing as primarily a matter of aesthetic judgement, an expression of their personal taste, which without their awareness may actually be influenced by the global hierarchy of literary capital, but which nonetheless leads them to draw a sharp distinction between the accessibly literary and the restrictively academic. In the publishing of translations, furthermore, personal taste is usually qualified by a sales projection. Hence aesthetic judgement is never strictly aesthetic, certainly not disinterested, it is compromised by economic interest, but any compromise can go unremarked, even unnoticed, particularly when an attempt is made to justify a decision to publish or to reject a translation. In fact, the wide circulation of a translation beyond academic specialists is likely to be seen as validating the publisher's taste.

The elevation of personal taste in publishing maintains the vicious circle that causes the rejection of minor literatures for translation, suspending them between the need for specialized knowledge and the limited circulation that creates that need. Yet in those instances where international recognition has enabled foreign-language literary texts to be translated, the personal approach to publishing typically seeks out individual authors and texts, not groups of authors or texts from the same literature, let alone a representative selection (Venuti 2013: 163). This tendency exacerbates the decontextualizing process to which translation unavoidably subjects source texts, detaching them from the literary traditions, cultural situations and historical moments in which they originate. As a result, readers who have no or little familiarity with the source culture – i.e. most of those readers who therefore rely on translations in the first place – might struggle to appreciate or to make sense of a translated text, an experience that can diminish or destroy their interest in translated literature while dooming it to low sales and oblivion. Publishing isolated translations of authors or texts maintains the marginality of a minor literature merely by preventing readers from learning about its traditions, situations and moments, although any foreign literature can suffer the same marginalizing effect in a major language that translates relatively little – such as English.

To ground the publishing of translations on personal taste is thus to privilege a certain kind of reader response. When the reader is confronted with an isolated translation, the main aesthetic experience on offer is vicarious participation, what Pierre Bourdieu called popular taste (Bourdieu 1984: 32). Aggressively interpretive readers, to be sure, are apt to respond differently: in the absence of a sizable body of translations from one foreign literature, they may compare translations from different literatures, devising their own bases for comparison, whether formal or thematic. This kind of critically detached reading carries cognitive risks: a deracinated understanding of translated literatures can turn superficial by universalizing forms and themes that arise in rather different languages and cultures – even though this sort of understanding may constitute the most widely performed act of worlding literary texts. Vicarious participation, in contrast, prizes an immediate, visceral response involving sympathetic identification with characters and imaginative engrossment in settings, generally an absorption in the illusion of reality fostered by realistic or representational artworks. As the rejections of my Foix project show, this response can conceal a deep investment in dominant literary traditions, conventions and developments in the receiving situation, expressing a narcissistic expectation that a foreign text in translation should somehow measure up to the cultural values that prevail in the receiving situation.

In languages that translate relatively little, the reader's knowledge of the receiving culture inevitably supplies the lack of knowledge in the source text and culture. Yet readers can apply what they know in diverse ways, avoiding a specular, self-congratulatory application by creating a critical dialectic between the translation and the source text as well as between the translation and other, pertinent texts written in the translating language. In this dialectic, the relation between texts is viewed as fundamentally hermeneutic, not mimetic, highlighting differences, not resemblances – even if translation by definition aims to establish resemblances to the source text. The resulting method of reading is detached, not participatory, agonistic, not sympathetic, interrogative, not illusionistic. It does not accept the source text or the translation at face value, but explores them as sites of linguistic and cultural differences, a process that can deepen the reader's understanding and enjoyment of both texts (particularly when a reader has some access to the source language). If the translation is set within a global framework by means of paratextual materials (an introductory essay, annotations), the reader can become aware that both the source text and the translation occupy positions in a hierarchy where literary capital is distributed unevenly, and this intercultural asymmetry can be figured into the critical dialectic at the level of the text, enabling the translation project to be considered an instance of world literature.

Insofar as such reading deploys specialized knowledge of the receiving culture, its literary traditions, conventions and developments, and insofar as

it is performed with critical sophistication, it might be seen as exemplifying Bourdieu's concept of the elite aesthetic, forgoing vicarious participation in favour of a detached appreciation of form. Yet the kind of reception I am describing here, in opposition to Bourdieu, does not necessarily have any basis in a socio-economic or class position, raising the question of whether the use of the term 'elite' would be a misnomer in this case. After all, *publishers* with many years of experience, who would certainly be classified among the elite in any culture, have adopted what Bourdieu calls popular taste when reading translations. I rather want to acknowledge that readers bring varying amounts of knowledge as well as previous reading experiences to their encounter with translations. And with this fact in mind I want to recommend a way of reading a translation as a translation, as a text in its own right that is relatively autonomous from the source text it translates. A translation can and should be read differently from an original composition because a translation mediates the reader's experience of a foreign text and culture.

Although this recommendation asks readers to adopt a particular way of reading translations, it also marks out a particular task for the translator. To read a translation as a relatively autonomous text, the reader must attend to formal features that are specific to the translating language, to lexicon and syntax, style and discourse, while considering how those features inflect textual structures like point of view and dialogue, characterization and genre (see Venuti 2013: chaps. 6 and 10). The translator can support the reader's approach by treating verbal choices as interpretive moves that engage not only with literary traditions, conventions and developments in the translating language, but also with the global hierarchy that structures international literary relations, including translation patterns. In the practice of world literature, the translator's work is essential, not only in effecting the global circulation of texts, but also in developing that circulatory process and potentially altering the hierarchical distribution of capital. The translator must be mindful, then, not only of aesthetic effects, but also of their sociological significance and social impact. To take a purely aesthetic approach to translating, all too often advocated in creative writing workshops and programmes, is to risk collusion with the global literary hierarchy while validating dominant aesthetic values in the receiving situation. To recognize that in any translation project the aesthetic unavoidably coincides with the sociological because of that hierarchy is to raise the possibility of changing it.

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PART TWO

Translating Poetry into English

3

Refashioning Dante's *Divine Comedy* in the Twenty-First Century

Susan Bassnett

As a new field of study begins to evolve, so too methodological questions start to assume great importance. It is not just a question of determining what the object of study is to be, but also the ways in which such study can be conducted. Inevitably, this leads to a certain amount of transdisciplinary borrowing, sometimes productively, sometimes less so. Translation studies, still a relatively new field, has borrowed from and drawn upon a range of diverse disciplines in its gradual shift from a minority research area to the global presence it enjoys today. However, the case of translation studies is a particular one, since from the outset it was not carving out a completely new field, unlike film and media studies, gender studies or postcolonial studies, but was instead challenging the way in which other disciplines had marginalized the study of translation. From its very beginnings in the 1970s, translation studies in the English-speaking world was contestatory, with scholars seeking to promote the field unhappy about what was perceived as the narrowness of discussions about translation within linguistics, where the emphasis had been on seeing translation as a binary activity between languages, hence the seemingly endless debates about the nature of equivalence. In the opening chapter of his *Approaches to Translation*, the linguist Peter Newmark declared that translation theory 'derives from comparative linguistics', adding

that within linguistics 'it is mainly an aspect of semantics' (1981: 5). Early translation studies scholars such as Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury, André Lefevere and James Holmes saw this kind of thinking as far too restrictive, given that the questions they argued which should be posed concerned not only semantics but also the contexts in which texts were produced, translated and read.

They were also concerned about the dismissiveness of literary studies scholars with regard to translation, and in 1985 a collection of essays was published, entitled *The Manipulation of Literature*, a title which gave rise to the group, which now included Theo Hermans and Susan Bassnett, being later referred to as 'the manipulation school'. In his introduction, Hermans declared that this 'loosely-knit international group of scholars' had been trying for the best part of decade 'to break the deadlock in which the study of literary translation found itself', with the aim of establishing a new paradigm based on a comprehensive theory and ongoing practical research (1985: 10). Hermans summed up what he termed the conventional approach to literary transition as starting from an assumption that translations are both second-hand and second-rate, and therefore not deserving of serious scholarly attention, adding that 'as a result, translation has found itself constantly relegated to the periphery, together with, for example, parody, pastiche, stage and screen adaptations, children's literature, popular literature and other such products of "minor significance"' (1985: 8).

From this list, we can see just how far translation studies has moved, and with hindsight we can trace the building of links with other emergent disciplines, so that, for example, translation studies has utilized gender theory and postcolonial theory, while there is a whole new strand of research that has been defined as adaptation studies. This movement towards intellectual respectability and a place in the academic hierarchy has come about for translation studies through extensive borrowing from other disciplines. One strand of research can be traced through the ways in which the manipulation group expanded upon the systems theory approach of Even-Zohar and Toury, while another can be traced through connections with cultural studies, as proposed by Bassnett and Lefevere. In 2006 Mary Snell-Hornby attempted to sketch out the diverse lines of thinking about translation in a book entitled *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms and Shifting Viewpoints* (Snell-Hornby 2006). She identified a range of different 'turns' – the linguistic, the pragmatic, the empirical, the technological and, most significantly, the cultural turn, promoted by Bassnett and Lefevere, which she saw as marking a significant change of direction within the field. Edwin Gentzler, in his study of contemporary translation theories also highlighted the importance of this turn, suggesting that 'the two most important shifts in theoretical developments in translation theory over the past two decades have been (1) the shift from

source-oriented theories to target-text-oriented theories and (2) the shift to include cultural factors as well as linguistic elements in the translation training models. Those advocating functionalist approaches have been pioneers in both areas' (2001: 70).

The cultural turn was, however, not restricted to translation studies. Across the humanities more generally, cultural questions were assuming greater significance in the 1990s. We might think of the rise of cultural geography, for example, and of social history, while in linguistics the growing importance of discourse analysis and corpus-based linguistics can also be seen as marking a kind of cultural turn. We can also see this reflected in changes of nomenclature in academic institutions, where the word 'studies' came to be widely used to reflect a broader curriculum. Departments of Classical Studies or French Studies are not the same as Departments of Classics or Departments of French Language and Literature used to be. However, what is apparent is that in translation studies the cultural turn was a logical next step from the polysystems approach of the 1970s, in that it expanded the questions posed most notably by Even-Zohar and Toury concerning the social context in which translations take place. Why, they asked, are there uneven patterns of translation activity across cultures, how are texts to be translated selected by the receiving cultures, do the dominant norms of the receiving culture affect the way in which translators work and what happens to translated texts when they enter a new literary system? What Bassnett and Lefevere did was to build on these questions, and in an essay from 2007 that sought to answer why translation studies had taken a cultural turn, Bassnett wrote:

> We suggested that translation offers an ideal 'laboratory situation' for the study of cultural interaction, since a comparison of the original and the translated text will not only show the strategies employed by translators at certain moments, but will also reveal the different status of the two texts in their several literary systems. More broadly, it will expose the relationship between the two cultural systems in which those texts are embedded. (2007: 19)

As methodological tools for engaging in this process, they proposed using ideas derived from Pierre Bourdieu's work, namely the concept of cultural, economic, social and symbolic capital and the concept of textual grids. Textual grids are constructs which reflect patterns of expectations interiorized in a given culture; the problem for translators is what Lefevere called 'discrepancies' between those grids, that is, when one set of cultural patterns cannot be mapped coherently onto another. In an essay that appeared in 1999, he argued that the most important problem in any translation is whether one

culture can ever understand another culture on that culture's terms: 'Or do the grids always define the ways in which cultures will be able to understand each other? Are the grids, to put it in terms that may well be too strong, the prerequisite for all understanding or not?' (1998: 77)

A few years later translation scholars such as Moira Inghilleri, Jean-Marc Gouvanic, Anthony Pym and Michaela Wolf were to develop those ideas still further, calling for a 'sociological turn' in translation studies. What is significant about this 'turn' is that in addition to the notion of cultural capital, questions about the *habitus* (the world inhabited by the translator) of translators and the multiple agencies involved in the translation process have also become an important object of study. Similarly, in comparative literature and world literature there has been a 'sociological turn', with a lot more emphasis placed on the mechanics of text production and circulation, on socio-economic aspects as well as sociopolitical aspects.

How might we see the sociological turn in operation with regard to actual translations? Let us take as an example one of the great European classic texts, *The Divine Comedy* by Dante Alighieri, known in the English-speaking world only by his first name, Dante. Probably completed around 1320, shortly before Dante's death, it is a vast work consisting of three sections recounting the visionary journey of the poet himself down through Hell (*Inferno*), then back into the light at the foot of Mount Purgatory (*Purgatorio*) and finally up into the ethereal realms of Heaven (*Paradiso*). It is autobiographical in that on his journey he encounters people from his own life, along with people he has not met before but whose stories affect him emotionally, sometimes in a positive way, other times negatively, arousing horror, anger and disgust. His guide is the shade of the Roman poet Virgil for the first stages of his journey, but as he ascends Mount Purgatory, coming closer to Paradiso, Virgil is replaced by the great love of Dante's life, Beatrice. In this way the poem makes a distinction between body and soul, between earthly and heavenly aspirations, with Virgil representing poetry, that is, the summit of Dante's writerly ambitions, and Beatrice representing salvation.

Given the significance of Dante's work in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it is noteworthy that there was no translation into English of the *Divine Comedy* until the eighteenth century. Henry Boyd published a translation of *Inferno* in 1785, and then published all three sections of the poem in 1802. Then in 1814 Henry Cary brought out *The Vision of Dante*, a translation in blank verse which was widely admired. Cary's tomb in Westminster Abbey describes him as 'The Translator of Dante', an indication of the popularity of his translation. Ralph Pite makes an interesting (and highly debatable) point about Cary's decision to use blank verse instead of Dante's *terza rima*, suggesting that the effect was to 'realign Dante's (and the reader's) relation to narrated events, making it less spontaneous and the events less threatening' (2006:

251). However, Ugo Foscolo, the émigré Italian poet living in London approved of the blank verse decision, and regardless of Cary's choice of poetic form, his translation remained popular despite the (literally) dozens of translations of part or all of the *Divine Comedy* which followed.

In his famous essay on Dante, T. S. Eliot praises him for the way in which his great work deals with emotions. Suggesting that the mind of Shakespeare was 'the most *critical* that has ever existed', Eliot sees Dante as having a very different talent:

> Dante, on the other hand, does not analyse the emotion so much as he exhibits its relation to other emotions. You cannot, that is, understand the *Inferno* without the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* … not all succeed as Dante did in expressing the complete scale from negative to positive … Dante, more than any other poet, has succeeded in dealing with his philosophy, not as a theory (in the modern and not the Greek sense of that word) or as his own comment or reflection, but in terms of something perceived. (1964: 170–171)

This emphasis on the depiction of emotion is characteristic of Eliot, involved as he was with pushing the boundaries of poetry for the twentieth century. His contemporary, Ezra Pound reviewing Laurence Binyon's 1933 translation of the *Inferno,* takes a slightly different approach, pointing out the great gulf that separated Dante's world from that of the early twentieth century. Pound declared that 90 per cent of the existing 400 translations erect an impassable barrier between the reader and the original and attributes the problem to the different aesthetic and social criteria that prevail at different moments in time, that is, to the incompatibility of the different grids:

> The devil of translating medieval poetry into English is that it is very hard to decide HOW you are to render work done with one set of criteria in a language NOW subject to different criteria. Translate the church of St. Hilaire of Poitiers into Barocco? (1954: 203)

Pound also praised Binyon for reducing the number of notes, an operation he terms one of clearance and drainage. Minimizing the number of notes with information about Dante's world enables the reader to focus on the text, something Pound valued. Both Eliot and Pound were seeking a way of reading Dante's work as a poet, and so were concerned primarily with the problems posed for the translator of coping with poetry from another age. We might say that their primary concern was with how the language and the poetic form might best be rendered in English so as to give the reader a sense of the power of Dante's verse in portraying the emotional dimension of spirituality.

The emphasis on emotion is also a characteristic of post-Romantic sensibilities. Indeed, it is possible to argue that interest in Dante only really began with the heightened emotionality of late-eighteenth-century Romanticism. Of course many English readers had encountered Dante in Italian before then, but the *Divine Comedy* appealed to a new generation of readers who could see the poem as an account of a troubled individual's search for enlightenment, who achieves release from despair through the eternal power of love. It also chimed with the renewed interest in medievalism, characterized by the novels of Walter Scott, the Gothic Revival, the explosion of interest in folklore and the recovery of forgotten works of literature across Europe. We could say that the time was right for a translation of Dante's great work and that Cary seized the moment.

However, emphasis on aesthetic criteria at the expense of the broader sociopolitical context does not explain why a text some consider to be the greatest work of Italian literature should have been translated so long after its first appearance. To the explanation of changes in sensibility and taste in the eighteenth century must also be added changes in attitudes to religion more generally. The Reformation, and in England the dissolution of the monasteries and anti-Catholic purges of the late sixteenth century had created a climate unconducive to the reception of one of the greatest religious works from southern (Catholic) Europe, while the 39 Articles of the newly formed Church of England had abolished Purgatory, along with prayers for the dead. However, 200 years later the two failed Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 removed the threat of a Catholic monarchy, and despite the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots of 1780, the end of the century saw steady progress towards greater Catholic emancipation. Moreover, Dante's vision was of a church that would be above corruption, working in harmony with an enlightened secular ruler, a message that was very relevant in an era of increased interest in issues of national identity. By the 1830s Dante had come to be seen as linked to the emergent Risorgimento and the struggle for Italian freedom from the dominance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The continued popularity of Cary's translation and the rush of translations that followed also capitalized on the support for Italy in English literary salons.

In their recent anthology of translations of the *Inferno*, Tim Smith and Marco Sonzogni try to sketch the main approaches to Dante translation over two centuries (Smith and Sonzogni 2017). The least common approach which they identify is narrative prose, which they distinguish from what they call 'scholarly prose translations', made with the intention of assisting readers to understand the Italian. Then there are the translations which opt for *terza rima* or variants thereof, since the form is not one that sits comfortably within English poetry tradition. Finally there are the translations into other verse forms, the most common of which is blank verse. Their book offers examples

of all these variations, by translators from the late eighteenth to the first decades of the twenty-first century.

A characteristic of late twentieth- and twenty-first-century translations is, increasingly, the inclusion of a paratext by the translator. This is a trend to be welcomed, and follows the rise to greater visibility of translators. We can see in this an increased attention to making clear the *habitus* of the individual translator, along with greater willingness on the part of publishers to include such material. Of course there have been prefaces to translations in many editions, though often written more as information about the author and the fortunes of the poem rather than specifically on the role played by the translator. In some cases, the preface is a justification of the decision by the translator to use one form rather than another, or to opt for modern English rather than pseudo-medievalisms. The Introduction to the first volume of the Penguin version by Dorothy Sayers that stayed in print for decades runs to 66 pages, with a final section beginning 'I ought to say a few words about the translation' starting on page 55. She tries to justify her use of *terza rima* and medievalizing, but for the most part the Introduction discusses Dante's life and work and explains why she has felt the need to produce such detailed notes for every Canto. 'We need to know what Dante's characters stood for in his eyes', she writes, 'and therefore we need to know who they were' (Sayers 1960: 18).

Sayers is making a good point. Dante's poem is the work of an angry, disillusioned man, accused of fraud and corruption, tried in his absence and condemned to exile from his native Florence in 1302 while only in his late thirties. The revenge he enacted upon some of the people he most despised by subjecting them to eternal torment in Hell would have been crystal clear to his contemporary readers, though lost on readers today without the benefit of explanatory notes. But the risk, as Pound pointed out, is that the notes can overwhelm the poem, as they do in the famous Nuova Italia edition in three volumes. In this edition, notes written by the editor, Natalino Sapegno, are presented as footnotes, and take up far more space on each page than the actual text of the poem. This is a scholarly edition par excellence, about as far removed from the emphasis on poetry as expounded by Eliot and Pound as it is possible to reach. But what is a translator to do with a text that works on so many different levels – as an account of one man's spiritual journey, as an attack on those contemporaries who he blamed for his banishment, as a kind of autobiography and as a retelling of the huge cosmic drama of the Creation, the Fall and the redemption of humankind? As Robert Durling, whose translation of the *Inferno* came out in 1996 puts it, 'more than any other major European poem, the *Comedy* is a detailed commentary on the political, economic and social developments of its author's times' (1996: 3).

Some translators have dealt with this difficulty by effectively inscribing themselves in the text. The Irish poet Ciaran Carson published his translation of the *Inferno* in 2002, and it won the Weidenfeld Translation Prize the following year. Carson is a distinguished poet, born in Belfast where he has spent his life, and bilingual, with Irish as the language he learned at home. He has won numerous prizes for his writing, which is characterized by a fascination with language, so it is not surprising that he also translates, from Irish and also from French. *The Alexandrine Plan* (1998) is subtitled 'Versions of Sonnets by Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Rimbaud', and each of his versions faces the original French so that readers familiar with both languages can see exactly what he has done and which choices he has made in translating. Two of his best-known translations are his version of the Irish epic poem, *The Tain* (2007) and a translation of the famous work by the eighteenth-century Irish poet, Brian Merriman, *The Midnight Court* (2005). In his Foreword to the Merriman translation, Carson recounts his own linguistic history: although Irish was his first language, he learned it from parents for whom it was a second language. He recalls his father telling him stories of ancient Irish heroes, which came to mind as he worked on the translation so powerfully that 'it sometimes seemed to me that I entered that otherworld where it is always nightfall: I have been hunting, but have got separated from my companions, and I make my way through a dark wood before emerging into a mountainy region where a few lights glimmer on the hillside. These are the houses where the word-hoards are concealed' (Carson 2005: 14).

The first part of the Introduction to his *Inferno* also begins with an image of walking: 'The deeper I got into the *Inferno*, the more I walked' (Carson 2002: xi). Carson walked the streets of Belfast, hunting for a rhyme, as he puts it, usually heading for the old Belfast Waterworks situated on one of the city's sectarian fault lines, where 'with a squint of the imagination' he could picture an Italian hill-town. Recalling the sound of a British army helicopter overhead,

> I imagine being airborne in the helicopter, like Dante riding on the flying monster Geryon, looking down into the darkness of that place in Hell called Malebolge. 'Rings of ditches, moats, trenches, fosses, / military barriers on every side': I see a map of North Belfast, its no-go zones and tattered flags, the blackened side-streets, cul-de-sacs and bits of wasteland stitched together by dividing walls and fences. For all the blank abandoned spaces it feels claustrophobic, cramped and medieval. (Carson 2002: xi–xii)

Carson imagines the divided Florence of Dante's age as comparable with his own divided city. Noting that a Guelf could be distinguished from a Ghibelline by the cut of his doublet or the angle of the feather in his cap, he points out that in Belfast Catholics and Protestants are distinguishable by accent, vocabulary,

clothes and gestures. And he draws an implicit parallel between the way he sees the world and the way Dante saw it, both poets able to draw attention to the significance of the very smallest detail: 'The souls in Dante's Hell reveal themselves by a phrase, by body language: a nod, an eyebrow-twitch, the plucking of a garment. By these words, these actions, they epitomise their past lives' (Carson 2002: xii).

Carson's Introduction is far from being a scholarly account of thirteenth-century Florence or of Dante's life. Rather it is a series of anecdotes, stories about Dante's exile, about the opening of his tomb in Ravenna in 1865, about a dream Dante's mother had when expecting him, about how the missing thirteen cantos of *Paradiso* were found after Dante appeared in a dream to reveal the place were the manuscripts were hidden. In this way, which reflects the Irish tradition of storytelling, Carson provides information and arouses the reader's curiosity about otherworldliness. In the third section of the Introduction, he writes about his own translation practice:

> Translating ostensibly from the Italian, Tuscan or Florentine, I found myself translating as much from English, or various Englishes. Translation became a form of reading, a way of making the poetry of Dante intelligible to myself. An exercise in comprehension: 'Now tell the story in your own words'. What are my own words? I found myself wondering how one says what one means in any language, or how one knows what one means. I found myself pondering the curious and delightful grammar of English, and was reminded that I spoke Irish (with its different, curious and delightful grammar) before I spoke English. (Carson 2002: xx)

These reflections lead him to think about the Irish ballad-makers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, who used English superimposed on the assonance and rhyme of Irish poetry, and so he concludes that the assonances and measures of the Hiberno-Irish ballad can provide him with a model for translation. Carson's long experience as a musician counted as much as his experience as a poet. Dante's Italian, he says

> so far as I can read it, has a relentless, peripatetic, ballad-like energy, going to a music which is by turns mellifluous and rough, taking in both formal discourse and the language of the street. It moves from place to place, as Dante walked through Italy, as he walked through the Inferno. As I walked the streets of Belfast, I wanted to get something of that music. (Carson 2002: xxi)

Carson's text does have a few endnotes, which are more a glossary of key names than anything else. There is also an Acknowledgements page,

where he explains that he was persuaded to undertake the translation after a positive reaction to his version of Canto XXXI, produced as part of a programme of contemporary poets' responses to Dante. He acknowledges a debt to other translations, claiming to have adapted, adopted or stolen from other translators, but expresses the hope that these will be seen as homages, not as plagiarisms. Carson's view of what translation entails is open-minded and inclusive, and involves the translator accepting that the very process of translating will be transformative. As he put it in his introduction to *The Midnight Court*: 'Of course the original is changed in the process-how could it be otherwise? – but so is one's mind, one's understanding of what the words might mean, and that is how it should be. One must enter that foreign country and learn its language anew' (Carson 2005: 15).

In Canto XXXI Dante encounters giants, deep down in Hell, including Nimrod who speaks gibberish, the giant said to have built the Tower of Babel. In his note, Carson comments that he has taken the liberty of 'further garbling Nimrod's gibberish' by writing a combination of Ulster Scots, pseudo-Gaelic English and Ulster English. His translation of the lines describing Nimrod is as follows:

> The giant's mug appeared to me to sulk
> upon his body like the massive pine-cone
> of St. Peter's, Rome. Oh such a hulk!
>
> his frame proportionate in every bone,
> so much of him above the parapet,
> that three tall grenadiers would need a throne
>
> to reach his hair, for I would estimate
> that downward from the place men clasp their cloaks
> he measured thirty hand-spans and a cubit. (Carson 2002: 217–218)

Throughout his translation Carson shifts registers as he does in these lines, moving between the conversational and the deliberately distorted syntax, playing with word order, shifting from the contemporary slang of 'mug' to the more elevated and antiquated 'thirty hand-spans and a cubit', while retaining a rhyme scheme that is a variant of *terza rima*.

A very different solution can be seen in the translation by Mary Jo Bang, the award-winning American poet and academic. Her version reads:

> His face was so long and so broad it reminded me
> Of the eleven-foot-tall bronze pine cone
> Of St. Peter's in Rome; his skeleton was to scale.

> Above the bank that hid the part below the waist
> Like a pair of modest boxers
> we could still see so much of him that three Frieslanders
>
> Would have bragged in vain that they could reach
> From there to his hair, since I could see
> Some twenty-two feet beneath where a man ties his tie. (Bang 2012: 297)

Dante refers to three Frisians, men supposedly huge in stature, so Bang's Frieslanders are close to the Italian. But she opts for US measurement ('twenty-two feet') and for a contemporary reference to boxer shorts and to a man's tie. Her translation is full of such references to American popular culture, though many of them now require a footnote such as the reference to the song, 'Hotel California' in Canto VIII, or the reference to South Park in Canto VI, where Ciacco (meaning 'hog'), the glutton, introduces himself with the words 'I used to be called Cartman, sometimes Little Piggy'. Carson translates Ciacco as 'Hungry Jacko', which is less culture specific, but Bang's text is full of specific cultural references including Freud, Emily Dickinson, Colonel Gaddafi, Bob Dylan, Alcatraz and many others. It is also full of quotations, so that in Canto XXIV, for example, there are references to lines from Wallace Stevens, Vladimir Mayakovsky, John Milton and Gerard Manley Hopkins, all of which are explained in a footnote. For the footnotes in Bang's text are there to assist the reader not only with understanding references specific to Dante's world and time, but also to Bang's world and to the choices she has made.

In her introductory note to the translation, Bang also makes a connection between her own life and Dante's. Every action has a consequence is her message, and she recounts how in 2006 she read Caroline Bergvall's collection of poems called *Fig*, in which there was a poem 'Via (48 Dante Variations)' consisting of an arrangement of the first three lines of *Inferno* culled from 47 different translations. Bang then asked herself the question of how she would translate those lines:

> How might the lines sound if I were to put them into contemporary English? What if I were to go further and add elements of my own poetic style? Would it sound like a cover song, the words of the original unmistakably there, but made unfamiliar by the fact that someone else's voice has its own characteristics? Could it be, like covers sometimes are, a tribute that pays homage to the original, while at the same time radically departing from it? (2012: 7)

Bang, too, has written herself into her translation. In her introduction she refers to Walter Benjamin's statement that the translation and the original

must be recognizable as fragments of a greater language. Translation, as Bang defines it, is a method of bringing the past back to the present across geographic, temporal and cultural boundaries so as to share that which is common to all. The act of sharing is, in her terms, both homage and theft: 'The first, a worshipful respect; the second an oedipal bravado that says everything in the past, no matter who first made it, can be used as scraps, out of which a new suit can be sewn, now with wide lapels, now with narrow' (2012: 10).

Both Bang's translation and Carson's can be read on different levels. Both are translations of Dante, and both are at pains to pay due homage to Dante and to the many other translators who have preceded them. But both are also statements about the right of the translator to bring their own life experience and world view to their versions. Carson interprets the unstable and aggressive world of thirteenth-century Florence through the lens of someone who has lived in Belfast during the years of the Troubles and who finds reflections in *Inferno* of his own society. Bang, similarly, makes connections with twenty-first-century American culture and, more broadly with the whole of Western literature that she has studied and now teaches. Sometimes she includes frightening figures from the twentieth century along with Dante's characters, as she does in Canto XXI when notorious contemporary murderers, domestic and international are tormented by demons. In the note to line 22, for example, Bang includes an extract from the transcript of the trial of a female prison guard who tortured people in the Nazi concentration camps but who is now tortured for eternity in Dante's vision of Hell.

She sees Dante's poem as a 'bildungsroman of sorts', that continues to appeal to writers and artists, and refers to some of the twenty-first-century rewritings, which include graphic novels, visual installations, rap music versions and Roberto Benigni's 'TuttoDante' improvisation routine. We could add to this list Seymour Chwast's brilliant graphic version of the whole poem (2010), which uses images from 1930s Hollywood and depicts Dante as a Philip Marlowe figure, with the mackintosh, slouch hat and pipe of the gumshoe, and Virgil as a version of Hercule Poirot with spats and a neat moustache. This shifts the emphasis onto a more secular aspect of the poem, with the two detectives exploring unknown realms, though the final image is of the Dante figure standing alone, gazing up at the stars, with the last lines of *Paradiso* at the top of the page.

Despite the many translations, however, the position of the *Divine Comedy* in Italian literature is quite different from its position in English literature. In the former it is a high-status text, in the latter it is something of a curiosity, a work that remains outside the English canon. T. S. Eliot may have endeavoured to bring Dante to the attention of English readers in the twentieth century, but the impact of the *Divine Comedy* on English writing has not been significant, unlike the impact of texts from classical antiquity. This is surely due to the

fundamental importance of Dante's religious message, which derives from a world view that is incommensurate with that of a post-Reformation culture. In between the *Divine Comedy* and today came such fundamental works as the Book of Common Prayer, the King James Bible, *Paradise Lost*, the Wesleyan hymns and William Blake's poetry, all of which have had such a huge impact on English literature. The gulf of centuries of religious repositioning means that the symbolic and cultural capital of the *Divine Comedy* is completely different in the Italian and Anglo-Saxon contexts.

One of the few writers who acknowledge the importance of Dante in his own work is the Irish Catholic poet, Seamus Heaney, who famously used *Purgatorio* to write about his own personal journey through a metaphorical dark wood. 'The Strand at Lough Beg' from his *Field Work* (1979) collection is prefaced by three lines from the first Canto of *Purgatorio*, describing the beauty of rushes growing on the beach that Dante sees as he emerges from the darkness of Hell. The poem is about the sectarian murder of the poet's cousin, which took place by a lonely strand that recalls Dante's account. It is a beautiful, lyrical poem, an elegy for a lost relative. But in *Station Island* Heaney again uses Dante, only this time in very different circumstances. This time he is not elegiac; in the different sections of the poem he is undergoing a journey that echoes the one undertaken by Dante, through a hell created by his own failure to stand up and be counted during the Troubles. In section VIII the shade of his murdered cousin comes to him and accuses the poet of confusing 'evasion and artistic tact' in the way he wrote about the death:

> The Protestant who shot me through the head
> I accuse directly, but indirectly, you
> who now atone perhaps upon this bed
> for the way you whitewashed ugliness and drew
> the lovely blinds of the *Purgatorio*
> and saccharined my death with morning dew. (Heaney 1984: 83)

Heaney's use of Dante is not a literary conceit; it is a conscious engagement with a work that provides him with the means of writing about his own acknowledgement of how he might have failed to commit to more overtly political engagement in the Northern Irish crisis. The hunger strike had begun in 1980, which led to the death of Bobby Sands in 1981, so in the five years between the publication of *Field Work* and *Station Island* the political situation had worsened and Heaney could no longer occupy a position of neutrality.

Understanding the *habitus* of writers and translators adds an important dimension to the experience of reading. Heaney's use of Dante needs to be understood in the context of the Northern Irish situation in the late 1970s and

early 1980s. Similarly, the context in which both Ciaran Carson and Mary Jo Bang undertook their versions of the *Inferno* is also crucial to understanding why they both chose to write themselves into their texts in the way they did, and why they made certain decisions with regard to the paratexts they provide for their readers in the form of prefaces and notes. Acknowledging the context in which both these translators approached Dante also helps us to interpret the translational choices they made, showing that, as is always the case, it is important to read a text on both a micro- and a macro-level.

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4

Women Poet-Translators in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Socio-Historical Approach

Michèle Milan

Introduction

In comparing the history of women's writing in Ireland, France, England and North America, Kilfeather observes that 'in each case there is a sudden explosion of women's writing within a decade of significant political upheaval and social instability, when print has been harnessed to disseminate revolutionary ideas through the nation's imagined community' (2002: 772). This chapter takes up the idea of an upsurge in women's writing, albeit with a focus on poetry translation into English in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. A number of discussions around the sociology of translation, such as Wolf and Fukari (2007), provide the main conceptual underpinnings for this chapter, for the ways in which translation is considered not just as a cultural product, but also for its social function. The approach is primarily agent-grounded. As various scholars have pointed out, translators are not only cultural mediators; they are also social agents (Lefevere 1992; Zlateva: 1993; Simeoni 1995). Grounded in historical data but animated by sociological concerns about culture, it draws on Sapiro's insights on Bourdieu's concept of the literary field, particularly her

statement that a real study of cultural production, when considered as a social fact, 'requires a cross-disciplinary approach combining both external analysis and internal reading, while taking into account the mediations between these two orders of phenomena' (2012: 44). A socio-historical approach to women poet-translators would need to take into consideration important sociocultural factors in the society under study, such as education, the social role of poet-translators, gender ideology and the position of women in the given society, issues of reception, the political, legal and material conditions of production and of distribution, and the various other mediations operating between translated texts and their social conditions. This chapter does not purport to deal with all these factors and issues, but it examines a number of salient features among them so as to work towards a sociology of poetry translation that can effectively come to terms with the fragmentary nature of the data available and the critical problems in interpretation thus facing researchers.

Drawing on surveys of translations in nineteenth-century periodicals and of the National Library of Ireland's holdings of poetry,[1] the sociological and cross-disciplinary framework of this study gathers a cluster of approaches. It leans towards what Pym (2006: 6) refers to as the 'multifactorial' approach to the history of translators, in other words, the idea that translation involves a number of factors and takes place in a web of intricate interactions and interrelations. It combines text-level analyses with extra-textual (mainly contextual and biographical) investigations, on the one hand focusing on the social agents active in translation production and the social contexts in which poet-translators are embedded, and, on the other hand, examining their choice of texts and translational behaviour using selected examples. The study is also largely informed by historical and biographical research. As Bassnett and France put it, 'the activity of translation reflects and responds to the power structures of the world in which it takes place' (2006: 48); translation, both as a process and as a product, is considered here in relation to the construction and/or de-construction of social and cultural identities, with special attention to gender and ideology.

In mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, periodicals were the main vehicle for poetry translation as publishers were cautious about committing themselves to poetry in general. The purpose of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive survey of periodicals in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. Nor is it to paint a complete picture of poetry translation by women in Ireland in the period under study. Rather, it seeks to illustrate from a socio-historical perspective what appears to be the unprecedented appearance of women poet-translators in the periodical culture of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. In particular, a group of women poets who contributed translations to the nationalist press of the day – the 'Women of the *Nation*'[2] – will provide a focal point for a discussion of female poet-translators as sociocultural agents in the

broader literary and political culture of the day. They provide an interesting case study not merely to illustrate Kilfeather's above-quoted statement, but also for the development of a sociology of nineteenth-century translation in general, and of women poet-translators in particular. The periodical press also emerges in this chapter as a social and interactive space, and offers a rich field of investigation for both a history and a sociology of poetry translation.

Researching women poet-translators in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland: Contexts and methodological challenges

Methodological challenges

The methodological challenges associated with this study are multiple. For one, there is a definite shortage of primary sociological data, that is, data that could inform us about the working conditions of poet-translators in nineteenth-century Ireland. In particular, research focusing on the middle decades of the century suffers from the lack of surviving publishers' and editors' records in Ireland.[3] Such an investigation requires resorting to fragmentary information drawn from the private correspondence of well-known editors, from publishers' advertisements and other documents such as the London-produced *Publishers' Circular*. In contrast with later periods, relatively little can be drawn from those documents that can help build a sociology of women poet-translators in the mid-century. Further, discussion of the profession of English-language translators in the nineteenth century is currently restricted to one chapter in the fourth volume of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English*.[4] Due to the wide scope of this volume, moreover, Irish translators and publishers are largely underrepresented. Despite the recent emergence of significant scholarship on the history of the book in Ireland, the material conditions for the production and circulation of translations in nineteenth-century Ireland are still underresearched.[5]

There exist no lists or records of poetry translations, at least none for nineteenth-century Ireland, and indeed no comprehensive lists of translations or of published works on the whole.[6] Further, the tight bonds that existed between the Irish and British literary and publishing systems in the nineteenth century create additional challenges for research into Irish literary productions. As noted by various scholars, many Irish writers were based in Britain and published their works in London.[7] Poet-translators and journalists such as William Maginn and Francis Mahony (aka 'Father Prout'), to name but two, are

indeed mostly known as two key figures of the leading British literary journal *Fraser's Magazine*. Likewise, a large portion of translated texts circulating in Ireland at the time were imported from Britain. The process of collecting data, which is essential for the purpose of empirical inquiry and sociological research, was further challenged by various issues. If we exclude translation from Latin and Greek, there were relatively few collections of poems translated from one single author in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. Translations of continental poetry are often interspersed with original poetry in the volumes, and not systematically signalled in the books' titles.[8] Yet, as explained further below, this is the area of poetry translation most likely to show female participation.

Keyword searches were performed using the National Library of Ireland's online catalogue,[9] focusing on terms such as 'poems' and 'lays'. This is certainly not ideal, but previous keyword searches using 'translated' and other cognate terms have shown their own limitations too.[10] The search focused on the period between 1840 and 1860. The results, amounting to about 360 items (no doubt a minimal estimate), were then examined to obtain a list of female poets. Needless to say that the list was already much shorter by then. With some inevitable exceptions, most authors/translators were identifiable, allowing for two further filtering steps: identifying Irish women poets using bibliographical and biographical research on the one hand, and examining the contents of those remaining items for possible translations on the other. Additional data was drawn from previous and ongoing surveys of nineteenth-century translation and translators, as mentioned above. The outcome of this portion of the research revealed a mere handful of Irish women poet-translators. Significantly also, very little is known about them. One of them is Henrietta Bruce O'Neill (later 'Mrs Wellington Boate'), who only published a small amount of verse translated from German, and contributed patriotic poetry to the *Nation* newspaper. Her *Nugae Canorae: A Collection of Poems* was published in 1847 in Dublin by James McGlashan, who also happened to be the main publisher and editor of the *Dublin University Magazine* in the middle decades of the century. Arguably the most remarkable book of translations produced by an Irish woman and found in the library holdings for that period is an anthology, *Selections from the Modern Poets of France* (1846). Written by a 'Mrs. B. Somers' (possibly née O'Reilly), it seems to be the sole Irish-produced anthology of French contemporary poetry in English translation for that period. The work comprises translations from well-known as well as lesser-known French-language poets.[11] She also dedicated her work to her friend, the better-known novelist and educationist Maria Edgeworth.

With the exception of classical literature, the publication of poetry, whether original or translated, was no doubt regarded as too great a commercial risk. Translations and editions of classical texts presented a lesser degree of financial risk because of their use as teaching tools in school and university

curricula. This is made particularly evident in a number of booksellers' and publishers' advertisements of the day. Books of translated poetry issued by Dublin-based publishers such as W. B. Kelly, Hodges, Smith, & Co. and William Curry Jun. and Co. were predominantly intended as school and college books. This aspect of the Irish book trade was also closely associated with Trinity College, Dublin. Indeed, the majority of these books were produced by the College graduates and fellows – a male-dominated field as we shall discuss further below.[12] Apart from this specific area of poetry translation, poets were generally expected to underwrite at least part of the cost associated with the publication of their writings.[13] This was true even in the case of a relatively well-known poet-translator, namely James Clarence Mangan (1803–49). Mangan contributed numerous translations, predominantly from German-language poets, to the *Dublin University Magazine* and the *Nation*, and he was also notoriously penniless. Charles Gavan Duffy, chief editor of the *Nation* at the time, had urged Mangan to publish a book of his writings. However, the publisher, James McGlashan, made it clear to Duffy that, as much as his firm intended to 'serve Mangan' and opt for a 'half-profit' arrangement, Duffy would have to help subsidize the publication (Duffy 1883: 77–78). In the end, Duffy became the book's sponsor by contributing a subscription of £50 for a hundred copies for himself and his friends (Duffy 1883: 77). What is of interest to us here is the way in which McGlashan justified the subscription precisely because it was poetry – in this case, translated poetry:

> Could I be sure the volumes would sell equal to their merits, there would be little difficulty about an arrangement very profitable to Mangan, but I cannot forget they are verse, and the public took ten years to buy one small edition of Anster's 'Faust', a book which all at once occupied a very high position in the literary world.[14]

From this, it appears that the subscription method remained an important means of publishing translated and original poetry. However, the poet would need to know and find a sufficient number of subscribers to help defray the expense.

Requiring less time and negotiations than book publishing, and generally accessible to a wider community of writers, socially and culturally, periodicals were thus the first place for authors to publish writings that could (in some instances) be issued later in book form. The periodical press of the day provided a crucial outlet for poetry translation – much of which in fact never made the transition to book form. But surveys of Irish periodicals also brought their own challenges.[15] In addition to search issues already discussed above for library catalogues, anonymity and pseudonymity, a common practice in the Victorian era, is arguably the greatest challenge to research on women's writings.

Most correspondents and contributors of poetry did not identify themselves, preferring to sign their contributions with initials or pen names. The use of transgendered pseudonyms was not uncommon either. The first letters sent by Jane Francesca Elgee to the *Nation*'s editor, Charles Gavan Duffy, were signed 'John Fenshawe Ellis', while 'Maria' of the *Nation* was the poet John [De Jean] Frazer. This is where biographical research can yield helpful insights. Indeed, Fraser, Green and Johnston (2003: 39) warn that claims made by articles to be 'written by a woman' are not necessarily to be believed either. Editors were occasionally themselves tempted to make incorrect assumptions. The *Nation*'s editor once introduced 'Maria's' [Frazer's] poem, 'A Lay of the Penal Times', thus: 'If we dare object to a lady's verses, we would say that though these be very fiery and vehement, they are not strictly in character with the Penal Days.'[16] When looking specifically at the middle decades of the century, the *Dublin University Magazine* poses some additional questions. It certainly played an important role in the career of two well-known English female poet-translators, both having resided and died in Ireland: Mary Anne Browne (1812–45), aka 'Mrs James Gray', and Felicia Hemans, also née Browne (1793–1835). But one supposedly Irish female poet-translator and essay writer in that period was 'M. E. M.', and yet there is no certainty that this person – indeed one of the most prolific translators in the 'University Magazine' at the time, along with James Clarence Mangan – was really a woman.[17]

Socio-historical contexts

When discussing those 'sudden explosions' of women's writing in times of significant political social turmoil, Kilfeather is particularly referring to the Fronde period in mid-seventeenth-century France, when the *Parlements* sought (unsuccessfully) to limit the power of the monarchy, or the period following the Williamite War of 1689–91 in Ireland, or again, the American Revolution (1775–83). A reasonable case, perhaps more persuasively supported by qualitative than by quantitative data, can be made for mid-nineteenth-century Ireland. Although the country did not experience any major revolutionary upheaval in that period (at least nothing on the scale of 1798 or 1916), the mid-nineteenth century was undoubtedly a time of dramatic social change. The middle decades of the century were significant in several ways.

The passing of the Act of Union in 1800 brought to an end Ireland's separate parliamentary system and created a new state, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Welch (1988), Cronin (1996) and Tymoczko (1999), who between them produced the most seminal studies of translation in Ireland, demonstrate the significance of this situation and of the postcolonial perspective for our understanding of translation in Ireland, while also resisting overly reductive claims. The relationship

between Ireland and Great Britain, and its position within the British Empire has a bearing on Ireland's political, cultural and economic circumstances, therefore on translation in the nineteenth century (and beyond). Religious tensions were also significant. The established Church was Anglican, representing only about 10 per cent of the population. This establishment was supported by tithes which were collected from all Irishmen regardless of religion. A 'Tithe War' broke out in the early 1830s, shortly after Daniel O'Connell's Emancipation campaign in the late 1820s. The gradual growth of a Catholic middle class and of Catholic publishing, and the strengthening of the Catholic Church could already be noticed in the middle decades of the century. The 1840s saw the height of Daniel O'Connell's drive for repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, which followed his successful campaign for Catholic Emancipation.

A strong periodical culture began to emerge in Ireland in the 1830s, with the publication of several Dublin-based journals and magazines such as the *Dublin Penny Journal* (1832–6) and the *Citizen; Or, Dublin Monthly Magazine* (1839–43). The year 1842 saw the birth of the *Nation* newspaper (1842–97), organ of the nationalist movement known as Young Ireland, which cultivated a non-sectarian image and inclusive cultural nationalist discourse. As in many newspapers of the day, its 'Poet's Corner' was a regular feature. The 1830s had already seen the founding of another relatively enduring periodical (at a time when many periodicals were indeed short-lived), and also more literary in tone and content, the *Dublin University Magazine* (1833–77). Although it did share a common pool of contributors with the *Nation*, including poet-translators Denis Florence MacCarthy, Jane Francesca Elgee and the better-known James Clarence Mangan, the outlook cultivated by the 'University Magazine' was generally a more conservative and pro-establishment one. Both periodicals featured English translations from continental languages and from Irish, and although they undoubtedly counted fewer female than male contributors, both provided an outlet for women translators to publish their work. James McGlashan was also an important figure in the dissemination of poetry translation, helping a small number of poet-translators to make the transition to book publication, provided they could underwrite the publication cost. There were many other newspapers and journals in the period that featured a substantial amount of verse translation, such as the *Cork Examiner* (later *Irish Examiner*). A survey of the *Anglo-Celt* (1846–current) for that period revealed, however, that much of its material was reprinted, with or without acknowledgement, from British periodicals. The *Nation* newspaper emerged as both the most relevant and reliable source of data for the purpose of this study.

For most of the nineteenth century, there were no women-run periodicals in Ireland; nor were there any periodicals aimed solely at a female audience. As Meaney, O'Dowd and Whelan note (2013: 55), Irish women were among the

readers of London-based women's magazines such as *La Belle Assemblée*. There were also Irish women who contributed to these magazines, as well as other British periodicals. Mary Anne Sadlier, for example, contributed a number of poems to *La Belle Assemblée* in the early 1840s. Although she later became a prolific translator of French-language prose writings (Milan 2013), it is not yet known whether she contributed any translated poetry in Britain and Ireland before emigrating to North America in 1844. No doubt that a number of changes and trends affecting the wider Victorian literary market were also crucial to the production of poetry translation in Ireland. In particular, the period saw the growth of professional female authorship, and periodicals played a vital role in the process. Journalism now offered new opportunities for both prominent and lesser-known female writers (Fraser, Green and Johnston 2003: 38).

The 1840s also saw the dramatic events of the Great Famine unfold, certainly one of the greatest tragedies in Irish history. The country suffered enormous hardship and demographic change during that period, with mass emigration and a sharp fall in population.[18] The rapid language shift from Irish to English is equally significant (Ó Ciosáin 1997). One of the factors contributing to the shift towards English was the establishment in 1831 of the national education system, in which no place was accorded to the Irish language.[19] This, too, had a significant bearing on language and literacy, and therefore on the production and consumption of texts. In this context, translation was essentially performed into English, rather than into Irish. Regarding the more specific question of translators' education, many of the translators identified in the surveys were from middle-class or upper-class (landed) families; accordingly, private schooling, home tuition, as well as self-education and, occasionally, convent school education were the most common educational patterns for female translators. And while most male translators had another wage-earning occupation besides the publication of their writings, this was not necessarily the case for women poet-translators at the time. The majority of them were economically dependent on their fathers; once a woman was married, she was economically dependent on her husband. That being said, one of the subjects of this study, as we shall soon see, was a poet-translator who also worked as a teacher and governess for the greatest part of her life.

Lastly, 1848 was the year that saw the Young Ireland's (or Irish Confederate's) attempt at a nationalist uprising in Ireland. The rebellion was a failure and is generally regarded as a low-key rebellion of little importance. Yet these events, and the movement, remain significant in many ways (Kinealy 2009: 9, 17; Quinn 2015). The Irish Confederate's rebellion was partly influenced by the wave of revolution that spread throughout the Continent, and particularly the events in France; the movement also radicalized in the face of the Great Hunger that was stalking through the land at the time. Many Young Irelanders,

several of whom were contributors to the *Nation* newspaper, subsequently left the country for various reasons – some fled the country to avoid state prosecution, others were captured and sentenced to transportation, and a fair number of them, like many other Irish at the time, simply left the country in the hope of a better life abroad.

Women poet-translators of the '*Nation*': Poetry translation, activist rhetoric and social change

In this entire context, an increased participation of Irish women poet-translators in the radical periodical press of the day is noticeable. At a broader level, it can certainly be seen as an indication that opportunities were created that did not exist before. But it may also be argued that these women availed themselves of those opportunities. While many Irish women engaged in poetic creation and translation throughout the nineteenth century, women were still largely excluded from the wider intellectual, scientific and political discussions in the mid-nineteenth century. Gendered distinctions operative in Irish society at the time largely stemmed from the belief that women's essential role was in the domestic sphere, as a wife and a mother. The unequal social, political, economic and cultural status between men and women limited the range of women's employment and professional practice. Women writers and translators published their writings in a largely male-dominated marketplace. They were, generally, excluded from translation of classical texts and of scholarly, scientific and political writings; the last decades of the century shows greater female participation in translation of scholarly and historical materials. As classical languages and classical learning were a largely male preserve, middle- and upper-class women focused on modern languages, mainly French, German and Italian. In the middle decades of the century, translation from Irish was also a male-dominated occupation. This is partly because it was regarded as a rather scholarly or antiquarian activity. Indeed, the majority of translations from Irish (with a few exceptions) were produced by members of learned societies. For example, the Ossianic Society, established in 1853 'for the preservation and Publication of MSS.in the Irish Language, illustrative of the Fenian period of Irish History, &c., with Literal Translations and Notes' (1859: vii), published a number of scholarly translations from Irish. The list of officers elected in 1858 and shown on the first page of *Laoithe Fiannuigheachta; or, Fenian Poems* (volume IV of the Society's Transactions), clearly shows that this was a male preserve: well over twenty individuals, including a number of well-known Irish translators, and not one woman in sight. Overall, learned

societies in nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland were bastions of male cultural authority, and their members were generally graduates and fellows of university colleges. It is, in fact, symptomatic that the two best-known female poet-translators of Irish-language texts were Charlotte Brooke in the late 1780s, and Lady Augusta Gregory, an important figure of the Irish Literary Revival at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, the two best-known female contributions to translation from Irish took place at two crucial moments in Irish history: about a decade before the United Irish uprising of 1798, which led to the establishment of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland, and in the period marked by the debate and crisis over Irish Home Rule and in the run-up to the 1916 Rising.

As women were also excluded from formal politics, it is therefore essential to pay special attention to their involvement in informal politics during that period. Such informal activism, we may argue, includes the publication of poetry and translation in a paper such as the *Nation*, because their writings contributed to the shaping of an ideological discourse. The use of resistant and activist translation in colonial and postcolonial Ireland, with special emphasis on the relation between translation and cultural nationalism, has been discussed at length in Cronin (1996) and Tymockzo (1999). Cronin (2002; 2013: 30) and Milan (2014) show that the use of translation as social and political action was not limited to translation from or into Irish; poetry translations in the *Nation*, as well as in the *Dublin University Magazine*, are evidence that Irish cultural nationalists also engaged with continental literatures and languages. The *Nation*'s programme of popularizing Ireland's cultural and historical heritage as well as bringing continental literature to its readers through translation was both nationalistic and internationalistic in outlook. Gould notes that 'repeal was the most important theme for the poets of *The Nation* which published approximately 300 poems in its first year' (2004). The weekly paper also enjoyed a large and significant readership: 'Its circulation of 10,000 copies reached an estimated 250,000 readers' (2004).

In mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, translation from other European languages such as French, German or Italian offered a means of importing into the country socially and culturally constructed ideas and models, with much emphasis laid on patriotic values and ideas about nationhood. To name but two key examples, Irish poet-translators of the *Nation* drew on songs and poems by Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780–1857) and Georg Herwegh (1817–75) for their emphasis on individual and political freedom, their ability to voice their convictions on public affairs, as well as their respective expressions of French and German republicanism and nationalism. The examples that will follow not only further illustrate that engagement with translation as a medium of political activism; they show that translation provided women poet-translators with a means to access the male-dominated world of politics, and public life

at large, thereby transcending the boundaries of cultural, social and political spheres of authority. The nationalist cause, at least for most of the nineteenth century, was generally given priority over gender equality and women's rights, and did not necessarily promote women's advancement in all spheres of life. The 'Women of the *Nation*' worked within a nationalist discourse which reflected socially and culturally constructed gender roles and expectations.[20] Conventional gendered discourse of nationalism included, for example, the notion of 'man' as active and in charge, and 'woman' as supportive, if not even sometimes in need of assistance.[21]

Despite the male monopoly on most aspects of cultural, social and political authority throughout the period, three women poet-translators succeeded in publishing their writings in the *Nation*, the *Dublin University Magazine*, as well as other lesser-known and short-lived periodicals of various kinds. They contributed translations as well as original nationalist poetry to the *Nation* and were part of a cluster of women generally known as 'The Women of the "*Nation*"'. They worked under the pseudonyms of 'Eva' (Mary Eva Kelly, married name O'Doherty), 'Speranza' (Jane Francesca Elgee, later known as Lady Wilde) and 'Thomasine' (Olivia Mary Knight, married name Hope Connolly). They were poet-translators with pressing social, cultural and political concerns, their poetry interlinked by overarching themes such as poverty, national freedom and civil liberties. Although they participated in the same political and cultural movement, their translations are overall very distinct from one another, particularly in the choice of source texts.

Speranza

Jane Francesca Elgee (c.1821–96), aka 'Speranza', published prose and poetic renderings from a variety of languages, including Danish, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish. She produced some of the most fervent revolutionary writings in the *Nation*, drawing also from radical Continental figures such as the German revolutionary poet Georg Herwegh. One example of fiery nationalist verse is her translation from Herwegh entitled 'The Knight's Pledge'. Published at the time of the famine and a time of political radicalization, the poem clearly sounds a call to arms: 'The goblet here! with sword in hand/I pledge thee first, my Fatherland,/Oh! bless'd for thee to die!'[22] This translation, as well as other rousing poems such as 'The Holy War',[23] heralded Elgee's inflammatory piece entitled 'Jacta Alea Est' (The Die is Cast), published in July 1848 – the year of Revolution. The piece, a call to insurrection, was partly held responsible for the suppression of the paper that year. The *Nation* was only revived the following year, in September 1849. Jane Elgee's 'A Lament for the Potato' was a versified version which she produced out of a crib translation from the Irish. The original poem was about a potato famine that took place

in 1739; her version was published in the *Nation* during the Great Famine, in 1847, as an act of re-contextualization. It was reprinted in 1854, in both the *Nation* and the *Dublin University Magazine*.

Eva

With Jane Elgee, Mary Eva Kelly (1830–1910) was one of the most prolific female poets of the *Nation* in the 1840s and 1850s. She married one of the Young Irelanders, Kevin Izod O'Doherty, in the mid-1850s and was generally known as 'Eva of "The Nation"'.[24] She translated from well-known and contemporary French-language poets such as Victor Hugo,[25] but in translation from French, her source of inspiration was above all the very patriotic and republican songwriter, Pierre-Jean de Béranger. Her work can be easily contextualized within a larger cultural nationalist scheme of writing and translating patriotic verse in nineteenth-century Ireland, in which the *Nation* writers were actively prominent. This constellation of writers – poets generally considered 'minor' or marginal to the canon – brought forth a body of poetry in which concepts of freedom, nationality, democracy and republicanism are loosely woven together.[26] In Eva's translations, Béranger's republican vein and antipathy towards England and Europe's monarchies come into play, for instance, in the 'Chant of the Cossack' and 'My Republic'.[27] Béranger's fear of foreign invasion stemmed from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1795–1815), and while the Irish context was different, Eva and her fellow poet-translators in the *Nation* chose to import and re-appropriate European strands of patriotic, national and republican sentiment from Continental poets such as Béranger. Used as a means to bolster patriotic and nationalist self-confidence, such translations fitted the Young Ireland programme for political reform and for a national and cultural revival. Several of Eva's original and translated writings suggest that she was also deeply concerned about poverty, hunger and social exclusion. Quite unusually for the period, she also published English versions of several, often unattributed, Irish-language poems. 'To Erin', for example, shows the recurring motifs and images of oppression and slavery – the chain image – that seem to preoccupy the nationalist consciousness of the day: 'O, Ireland! Ireland! thy life is closing/In the death of pain … O, Ireland! Ireland! it is still unriven,/That clanking chain.'[28]

A certain ideological relatedness between Eva's original and translated verses may be inferred by detecting their display of recurring images and motifs of oppression and slavery. Extracts from her poems may help us show how her translated poetry contributed to producing the revolutionary imagery of national and social oppression that dominated much (though not all) of the poetry in the *Nation* in the period. In addition to 'fetters' and 'chains', images of 'trampling hooves' and cognate terms, were particularly abundant.

Consider the following verse lines. The first one is taken from Eva's original piece, 'For Ireland All': 'Shall the English hoof trample down your roof,/And tread in your ancient places.'[29] The second example is taken from 'Chant of the Cossack': 'Neigh, proudly neigh, O faithful steed of mine!/Crush kings and peoples 'neath that hoof of thine.'[30] Similar revolutionary motifs, this time conjuring up images of social oppression, can be found in 'The Plebeian', also translated from Béranger: 'No never have my sires down-trod/The needy serfs who till'd the sod.'[31]

Thomasine

Like Eva, Olivia Mary Knight (1828?–1908) hailed from the west of Ireland. It appears that she lost her father quite early, and became a teacher and governess in order to support her mother and brother. Unlike Mary Kelly and Jane Elgee, she was in fact entirely financially independent for most of her life – and proud to be so. Olivia began corresponding with the editors of the *Nation* around 1844, having already adopted the pen-name 'Thomasine', possibly out of admiration for Thomas Davis, one of the key figures of the Young Ireland movement. Although she was one of the main contributors to the *Nation* in the 1850s, to date she has been largely overlooked in discussions of the *Nation*. Her verses and their traditional nationalist images fitted the paper's overall national-patriotic tone, but as a translator, and likewise unusually for the period, she concentrated mainly on French fiction.[32] However, she also translated a selection of French modern fables into verse which carried witty sociopolitical messages, addressing topics such as freedom of speech and censorship. As can be seen in the following example, she appears to have had a shrewd grasp of the sociopolitical nature of fables, and the use of fables as a means of delivering a message, or even teaching a lesson.

The 'Luckless Philosopher'[33] is an extended, and naturalized version of a French fable written by Pierre-François Mathieu (1808–64), a too little-known author of satiric poetry. To set the scene, there are three characters in the fable: a big unfriendly dog, the 'Mastiff', who represents the oppressing government as he 'fled the strong, and sore oppressed the weak'; his victim, also a dog, but 'a noble creature', 'a scion of that ancient, famous breed', who, in Thomasine's version, is 'the giant wolf-hound of the Irish kind'; and 'a sage old cat', who represents the voice of reason and wisdom. The cat personifies the press or the writer, and the liberal voice at large. However, the story does not end very well for the cat, who in turn becomes a victim of political oppression:

Thereupon he [the 'Mastiff'] seized,
Poor puss, and in the twinkling of an eye;

To draw the logical conclusion, sent
The learned sage to Pluto's dark dominions,
To teach old Minos liberal opinions.

The conclusion of the fable serves as a sociopolitical critique of state policies:

This powerful argument is much esteemed
By governments of the despotic school;
….
If, now and then, some Journalist essays
To warn them of the error of their ways,
And point to them the surer path of reason,
They pounce on him with cries of 'treason! treason!'
Answering his truths with censure, fine, and prison;
Unfailing logic, which convinces quite!
'Tis one way of being always in the right. (Gould 2004: 697)

The sociopolitical message is quite clear in this fable, which was written and translated in defense of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, but also with a hint at the broader political situation in Ireland. We can easily imagine how the fable's moral must have resonated with the *Nation* writers, particularly if we remind ourselves that the paper had been suppressed three years earlier, in July 1848; its main editor, Charles Gavan Duffy, had been prosecuted for sedition several times before.

Thomasine's fables were not only championed by Duffy for their implied satirical analysis of contemporary politics in Ireland and Britain, but, for the editor, 'the delicate and subtle humour' in her productions 'raised' them from the status of translation 'into the class of original poems' (1852: 424).[34] Duffy's encomium of praise is remarkable for taking a non-gendered approach. Indeed there are many examples in the period, notably in the *Nation*, where explicit or implicit reference is made to the writer's sex, using typical phrases such as 'our fair friend' or a 'fair daughter of Erin', and often associating certain qualities with women writers. The masculine pen is associated with strength and experience, and the feminine hand with grace and delicacy.[35] Thomasine is treated here as an equal. Accordingly, while on the one hand translation is implicitly relegated to second-class status and a high cultural premium was clearly placed on individual creativity,[36] the reception of Thomasine's translations as a result conferred social and cultural authority upon her.

It may be argued that poetry translation allowed the female writer to transcend the boundaries of socially and culturally prescribed gender identities and expressions, which can influence the conditions of production

and reception of poetry translations. Likewise, the remark quoted above that was made by the *Nation*'s editor about Maria's 'A Lay of the Penal Times' ('If we dare object to a lady's verses'), is of special interest at least for two reasons: it not only suggests that socially sanctioned gender biases may affect the reception of poems (though not necessarily their interpretation), but also points to the important role played by editors in the production and reception of poetry – and by extension of poetry translation. In this respect, newspaper columns such as 'Answers to Correspondents' (from which this quote is taken) deserve special mention as a site of social and cultural interaction.

Towards a sociology of poetry translation in nineteenth-century Ireland: Social mediation in the periodical

Before bringing this chapter to a close, we should briefly consider the importance of the press as a social force in the production and circulation of poetry translations in that period on the one hand, and in the processes of women's emancipation and the ideological struggle over gender on the other. The periodical not only facilitated the spread of information and acted as an advertising agent for books; it was also a web of social and cultural interactions, in which proprietorial and editorial control was regularly exercised. In this regard, the importance of 'correspondents' in the periodical culture of the day has not yet been fully realized and demonstrated. Letters from correspondents and 'Answers' were not only a crucial means of social intervention and social bonding; those that were published, therefore read by others, contributed to the construction of a public platform for exchange, dialogue and debate.

The link with translation may not be obvious, but it is worth noting that this web of exchange and social mediation was one of the various social structures and processes within which poetry translation took place. In addition to its 'Poet's Corner', the *Nation*'s 'Answers to Correspondents' frequently featured poems, and Eva's, Speranza's and Thomasine's translations sometimes appeared in the same section that would also include letters from correspondents and various comments by the corresponding editor. For example, on 21 May 1859, Eva's translation 'My Republic' was published in the same column that included the following answer to a correspondent: '"M. O. R." – Will, we are hopeful, write well in time; but he must make many attempts before he can acquire the proficiency requisite to fit him for appearing in print.'[37] It seems worth suggesting that the concurrence of the publication of this answer and Eva's translation would indicate, on the part of the editorial team, that she had acquired that requisite proficiency. This, in turn, may have had a double

impact of, on the one hand, bolstering Eva's own self-confidence as a poet-translator, and on the other, marking her work as a model to follow. When the *Nation* published her above-quoted translation, 'Chant of the Cossack', the editor introduced it with a favourable comment, referring to another translator from Ireland (Mahony, aka 'Father Prout'): 'We did not think that, after Father Prout's beautiful translation of this song, any other could be produced as good as this.'[38] The editor's role was therefore crucial inasmuch as it brought a gatekeeping dimension. In the context of the *Nation*, at least, it is probable that the editor was the one who decided who and what was allowed through the gate. Bourdieu notes that 'all critics declare not only their judgment of the work but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it. In short, they take part in a struggle for the monopoly of legitimate discourse about the work of art, and consequently in the production of the value of the work of art' (1993: 36).

Although the role of the critic and that of the editor are different as such, it is clear from the above quotes that there was substantial overlap; newspaper editors certainly claimed that right to pass judgement on poems, including translated poetry. They acted as critical gatekeepers and played a role in the legitimization or de-legitimization of translations. Further investigations, however, could perhaps help us provide a more accurate description of the complex mechanisms, processes and interactions involved in the selection and production of translated poetry in the periodicals of the day. Indeed, editors such as Charles Gavan Duffy often met with other writers, including poets and translators, and it is likely that informal discussions took place among them that may have influenced the evaluation and selection of texts. Recent scholars such as Thomas Boll have analysed the editorial processes and interactions that lead to publication of poetry translation, drawing also on Bruno Latour's Actor-Network-Theory.[39] As Boll notes, poetry translation 'involves a particularly complex convergence of different interests' (2016: 57). It would be difficult to gauge the real impact of reviews and editorial comments on the reception of translations among readers, but we may argue that on the one hand, editorial commentaries conferred visibility upon translations, and on the other, they contributed to and influenced public debates by imparting value upon works, thereby attempting to shape the judgement of readers and writers.

The periodical provided an outlet and a social platform – a forum – for poet-translators and other correspondents at the time; it held a kind of public function and contributed to the 'democratization of literature'. It may even be seen as the expression of both individual and collective voices, the practice of anonymity reinforcing the collective aspect. Translations of poems came from a variety of contributors, some of whom were unknown to editors and the public. As a social, interactive, even sometimes collaborative space in which

'nodes' are connected that would otherwise remain apart and unconnected, we may even venture an analogy here and liken the periodical and its epistolary practices to an old form of social network, when social networks as we know them today did not exist.

The unprecedented active participation of women poet-translators in the *Nation*'s cultural and political programme, and in the literary and political field of the day, seems a fitting illustration of Kilfeather's theory about a sudden explosion of women's writing within a decade of significant political upheaval and social instability, especially as print was indeed being harnessed to disseminate revolutionary or liberal ideas. A study of women poet-translators in mid-nineteenth-century Ireland not only offer us with a good case in point; they help us shed new light on the social and cultural history of women and women's writing in Ireland at large. And while gender equality and women's rights, or simply women's participation in formal politics, were not high on the *Nation*'s agenda, it is worth noting, here too, the role of social mediator played by periodicals. Fraser, Green and Johnston note that in the patriarchal Victorian marketplace, 'the periodical press was not so much the oppressive organ of a dominant ideology as a crucial site of ideological struggle' (2003: 37). On 30 January 1847, a letter from a correspondent – 'A Limerick Girl' – addressed 'To the Editor of the Nation', asked an important question regarding the newly formed Irish Confederation: '[I] wish to know from you … whether women are eligible.'[40] Indeed, the correspondent felt empowered to speak for women as a group: 'We cannot feel too grateful to those who would give us our proper position in society, as political grievances, or ameliorations are shared by women as well as men.'[41] Although there was never a clear and complete answer to that, it is worth noting that the 'Answers' section carried various letters and comments about women's involvement in the nationalist movement over the following weeks. The first essay in Jane Elgee Wilde's (aka 'Speranza's') *Social Studies*, published much later in 1893, was entitled 'The Bondage of Woman'. The article begins with the following lines: 'For six thousand years the history of woman has been a mournful record of helpless resignation to social prejudice and legal tyranny' (1893: 1). Although we could not sufficiently address the various aspects of Wilde's translation work in this chapter, her poetry translations and her active participation in the *Nation* may be seen in this light as crucial steps in the development of her social and feminist, as well as political, consciousness.

This chapter is a step towards a more complete evaluation of the sociological profiles of women poet-translators in Ireland, and towards a better understanding of poetry translation in the nineteenth century. In *The Order of Books*, Roger Chartier starts with a fundamental question: 'In the societies of the ancien régime, how did increased circulation of printed matter transform forms of sociability, permit new modes of thought, and change

people's relationship with power?' (1994: 3) In the pursuit of an answer to this question, applied to wider nineteenth-century contexts, and with special attention to the periodical culture of the day, it is hoped that new insights will be gained so as to contribute further, not only to a sociology of poetry translation, but also to a sociology of women's writings.

Notes

1 Initially conducted during my doctoral research, as presented in Milan (2013), these surveys were supplemented with additional research carried out at various stages.

2 For a historical overview of this subject, see, for example, Anton (1993).

3 The surviving papers of Charles Gavan Duffy, main editor of the *Nation*, are certainly useful, but the bulk of their contents are political.

4 France and Haynes (2006). I am referring here to Chapter 3, 'The Translator', which includes useful considerations about remuneration, copyright and censorship, as well as a section on women translators.

5 The author is currently setting up an interdisciplinary project to address this lacuna.

6 My surveys of nineteenth-century translations in Irish library holdings and periodicals, part of which (translations of French writings) is presented in Milan (2013), began early in 2009 and are still ongoing. To date, they cover about 5,000–6,000 books, with an associated list of over 200 translators. A more comprehensive picture will be provided in forthcoming work.

7 See, for example, Malcolm (2012).

8 For example, the volume of poetry entitled *Poems. By Rose and De Rupe* [i.e. Rose Kirwan and [Hon.] Frances Maria Roche], published in London, Dublin and Belfast in 1856, includes translations from German. However, Rose Kirwan published another volume of original and translated poems in 1870, entitled *Translations and Thoughts in Verse* (Rose 1870). Whether this shift in the paratextual framing denotes the poet's greater self-confidence as a translator and/or that translated poetry held greater prestige by the 1870s would be difficult to gauge at this point in time, especially as the author's preface is in fact essentially an apology for both her translations and her verses.

9 As this method is obviously time-consuming, it was decided not to include the catalogue of Trinity College Library, Dublin. It must be noted that although the Library of Trinity College, Dublin was Ireland's copyright library in the nineteenth century, there are in fact several books published in Ireland in that period which are not held there, and perhaps even never made their way into TCD's holdings. For nineteenth-century translation as a whole, TCD certainly boasts the largest holdings in Ireland, and future work should include it, but the National Library of Ireland (the second largest translation holdings) holds special interest for the study of locally produced translations.

10 I refer here to the various translation surveys conducted for Milan (2013, and forthcoming 2018). Keyword searches using wild card characters, such as 'translat*', or even 'from the French', 'from the German', are not only time-consuming, they were not sufficient because a fair number of translations are simply not signalled as such, at least not in the records. The large-scale results obtained in Milan 2013 for translation from French were partly aided by an investigation of publishers and private catalogues, booksellers' advertisements, and ultimately, through the creation of an extensive list of French-language authors, the names of whom were then entered manually as keywords using online catalogues. Bearing this in mind, it took over four years to survey Ireland's main library holdings for translation from French only, including all university holdings throughout the island of Ireland, the National Library of Ireland, the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Marsh Library, other private libraries such as the Central Catholic Library in Dublin and public libraries where possible.

11 The work comprises translations from Pierre-Jean de Béranger, Jacques Bins de Saint-Victor, Nicolas Boileau, François-René de Chateaubriand, Casimir Delavigne, Marc-Antoine Désaugiers, Mme [Anne Marie de Beaufort] D'Hautpoul, Louis-Marie Fontan, Alexandre Guiraud, Léon Halévy, Victor Hugo, Alphonse de Lamartine, Edouard Mennechet, Alexandre Soumet, Mme Amable Tastu and Emmanuel Louis Nicolas Viollet-le-Duc.

12 For William Curry Jun. and Co., see, for example, in the *Publishers' Circular and Booksellers' Record* for 1846, Vol. IX. W. B. Kelly ran a series entitled 'Kelly's Keys to the Classics', which consisted mainly of literal translations of Latin and Greek Classics.

13 This fact has been noted regarding the wider British market, notably by Erickson (1996). There were obviously even fewer publishing outlets for poetry in Ireland than in Britain.

14 McGlashan is here referring to John Anster (1793–1867), who published his translation of the first part of Goethe's *Faust* in 1835. The second part was only published in 1864.

15 The Irish Newspaper Archives, an online resource which provides access to some of Ireland's leading newspapers, was also investigated using various keywords.

16 'Answers to Correspondents', *Nation*, 7 March 1846.

17 Several scholars, including myself, have suggested that M.E.M, could be a Marian Martin née Blackney. In fact I subsequently found out that her name was Mary Ann Martin, indeed née Blakeney (Marian was her daughter and represents another possible candidate), and that the lady in question was in her seventies at the time these translations and essays were published. Surely, it is not impossible, but I chose not to rely on speculation for this chapter, deciding instead to focus on the 'Women of the *Nation*'.

18 This chapter cannot address the topics of emigration and expatriation, but it should nonetheless be considered an important aspect if we wish to elaborate a broad sociology of Irish translators.

19 On this, see, for example, Coolahan (1981); Crowley (2002).

20 To name but one, essential reading on the question includes Luddy (1997).

21 For example, the female persona of Erin who needs to be delivered from bondage. For a broader discussion of gender and language (and translation), see von Flotow (1997).

22 *Nation*, 16 May 1846, 491.

23 *Nation*, 21 February 1846, 296.

24 Henceforth referred to as Eva, which she also used to sign some of her personal correspondence.

25 She also translated a poem from the French of Chateaubriand, 'Home Song', which appeared in the 'Poet's Corner' of the *Nation*, 6 April 1850, p. 507. The original version, which Chateaubriand inserted, untitled, in his novella *Les Aventures du dernier Abencerage* (The Adventures of the last Abencerage) (1827), has been given a variety of titles, including 'Souvenir du pays de France'.

26 On the reception of Béranger's songs in Ireland, see Milan (2014).

27 *Nation*, 25 October 1856 and 21 May 1859, respectively.

28 *Nation*, 13 March 1852, 441.

29 *Nation*, 17 July 1847, 649.

30 *Nation*, 25 October 1856, 136.

31 *Nation*, 22 November 1856, 200.

32 For example, 'The Two Empresses' was published in the *Nation* on 22 May 1852. It appears to be a translation of 'Les deux Impératrices', a short story published in the journal *L'Écho des feuilletons* as well as in other French magazines in the 1840s. Based on research done on several of her translations, it is possible that Olivia Knight owned a copy of *L'Écho des feuilletons*, and used it as her main source for texts to translate.

33 *Nation*, 3 July 1852, 697.

34 The comments served to introduce another fable, 'The Peasants and the Cart', published by Thomasine in the *Nation* on 6 March 1852.

35 For example, in 1845, when commenting on a translation from Béranger in the *Nation*, the supposedly female translator was introduced by the editor as 'a lady, more graceful and not less faithful to the original'. This comparison was made in reference to a translation of the same poem, published in an earlier number. That earlier translator was referred to as 'a strong and practised masculine hand' (*Nation*, 12 July and 28 June 1845). In this case, however, the editor's assumption that the translator was a woman was misguided: it appears that the 'lady' in question was in fact an Englishman. For space constraints, this chapter cannot address another implicit idea behind the phrase 'no less faithful to the original', namely a link made between the feminine pen, translation and infidelity.

36 Denis Florence MacCarthy, one of the *Nation*'s and *Dublin University Magazine*'s poet-translators, was once criticized for 'wandering off to Spain'; the critic was referring to MacCarthy's translations from Spanish (*Dublin University Magazine*, vol. 59 (1862), 440).

37 *Nation*, 21 May 1859, 600.

38 *Nation*, 25 October 1856, 136.

39 Boll (2016). Such an analysis is, of course, made possible by the survival and availability of archival materials. It is certainly more difficult to find such data in relation to the topic discussed in this chapter.

40 *Nation*, 30 January 1847, 264.

41 Ibid.

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5

The Poetry That Makes It

Sergey Tyulenev

Many youths dabble in poetry writing, but the amount of poetry written by adults is tiny compared to any of the other types of text they write. And the amount of poetry written by those who consider themselves poets is even tinier. The amount of poetry published is still tinier: just a look around in any big bookstore is enough to make statistics superfluous. The poetry that makes it into translation is a veritable *minimum minimorum*.

The question, if translated poetry is really worth studying, is therefore anything but trivial. If it is worth studying, as the present collection is at pains to show, then why exactly? In this chapter, my claim is that translated poetry, and more specifically, collections of translated poetry show the extent to which the aesthetic value of poetry is a determinant factor in poetry anthologization in translation, standing up to the trials of the foreign, to borrow Antoine Berman's metaphor.

The social world

To appreciate the factors that may be contributing to the phenomenon of translated poetry, one needs to zoom out and look into the phenomena that surround poetry in society.

The social world can be conceived of as a system of systems (Luhmann 1995). Being a part of the social world, each system sees the rest of the social world as its environment with which it interacts. At the scale of international

relations of modern world, systems are primarily theorized as nation-states (although not unproblematically, see Albert and Hilkermeier 2004).

The human world is fundamentally social (it will be recalled that the word 'social' is from the Latin word *socius*, meaning 'friend' or 'ally' implying connection of human beings and their cooperation). The social world is a world of interactions, and there are special mechanisms of exchange, translation being one of them.

Translation is located on the boundary of the systems (Tyulenev 2011: 146–157). Systems tell their environment, that is, systems in it, about themselves and, vice versa, receive information about systems in their environments. An exchange takes places between systems even when there is animosity between them or when other unfavourable conditions for the exchange occur.

Although they can potentially interact with all sectors of their environment, systems are selective. The interaction is governed by certain preferences and priorities (Casanova 2002; Sapiro 2008), which may vary from period to period over a system's history (Tyulenev 2012).

The focus in this chapter is on translations of poetry collections as part of the social exchange between Soviet and post-Soviet Russia and the English-speaking sectors in its sociopolitical environment. While there were translations of Russian poetry into other languages, translations into European languages and English especially were the most numerous (why so, would be a different topic for discussion). Poetry translations may seem to be only a tiny fragment of intersystemic exchange, yet, as will be shown, understanding what of that tiny corpus makes it into a still tinier corpus may be quite revealing.

Theoretically this analysis is a further contribution to refining Gideon Toury's idea of translations as facts of target systems. In this chapter elements of the Luhmannian social-systemic theory will be used to conceptualize translation as a factor in the intersystemic exchange and to refine Toury's theory.

The analysis will focus on the translation peritext (Genette 1997; Gil-Bajardí, Orero and Rovira-Esteva 2012; Pellatt 2013). Peritext is understood here as the part of the translation publication which, not being a translation itself, frames the translation. The peritext introduces translations, translated authors or poetic corpora. While in the text of translation, the reader should deduce the translator's or commissioner's motivations, in the peritext the intentions are expressed more directly. The function of peritextual materials is to get the reader interested in the text and informed about those of its features that the editor wants to highlight and, therefore, the peritext often precedes translations in the form of introductions. In the case of the peritext following the text (in the form of an afterword) or accompanying the text (e.g. as footnotes), the peritext guides the reader to appreciate a translation according to the translator's/commissioner's vision.

Toury's theory and its critique

According to Gideon Toury, 'translations [are] facts of the culture that would host them, with the concomitant assumption that whatever their function and systemic status, these are constituted within the target culture and reflect its own systemic constellation' (Toury 2002: 18).

It shall be recalled that the claim was quite revolutionary as 'back in the 1970s, Translation Studies was still strongly marked by *source* orientedness, and the different scholarly paradigms were basically *application*-ridden' (2012: 18). The fact that translations were studied almost exclusively for learning/teaching translation as a practical skill meant that translations were not considered as sociocultural actions. Toury's idea of looking at translations as target-culture phenomena opened new vistas for translation research: translations became considered as products of sociocultural circumstances, although hints at the importance of such approach to understanding the phenomenon of translation could be found in earlier translation scholarship, such as Mounin (1963: 85, 98).

Yet, despite being appreciated as a groundbreaking and promising approach, Toury's theory was found problematic. Although Toury's theory may have explanatory force in a considerable number of situations, it was argued that the relationship between a source text (ST) and its translation(s) (or target text, TT) might sometimes be less straightforward and unidirectional (from a source to a target) (Hermans 1995). In some media and situations, the difference between the ST and TT(s) can be blurred (Lambert 1989; Hermans 1999: 40) and the TT may be influenced not only by the hosting culture (Pym 1998).

Such was the critique of Toury's theory on the level of intercultural/intersystemic relations. Andrew Chesterman complicated Toury's theory by looking into the structure of translation agency. He wrote that not only translators (and their own norms that govern their translational performance) but also other parties – and not necessarily belonging to the target system – might also influence the translation. For instance, 'the client (in whichever culture) may set explicit norms governing what counts as a translation and what does not count' and translators themselves, who may not belong to the target culture, may also leave some fingerprints of the source culture in the TT (1997: 59). Chesterman concludes that 'translation norms do not exist exclusively in the target culture: some may have their original in the source culture, and some in the intercultural state inhabited by the translator' (1997: 59), but he agrees with Toury that ultimately 'it is the target culture which nevertheless *confirms* translation status' (1997: 59).

Let us look at the problem from yet another angle. There is a problem with the unified vision of the target culture that Toury and Chesterman share. It is

not clear what social mechanisms are used by the target culture to 'confirm' translation status.

Chesterman talks about clients and translators, while for André Lefevere, it will be recalled, talked about patrons and constraints on translation – internal, aesthetical and external, ideological (Lefevere 2016). The target system falls apart as one unit and is slicing rather than splicing. What are exactly those social agents who may want to introduce a translation which may conform to or confront the target system's aesthetic/ideological translation norms?

Finally, positing the target culture/system as the only unified participant of the exchange between the source and target cultures which characterizes the system-environment relations plays down the phenomenon of exchange itself. The system-environment relations are a throughput (Luhmann 1995: 201; Tyulenev 2011: 184–193); that is, a combination of inputs and outputs and translations are necessarily part of this throughput: translations may be called for by the system's internal needs but they may also be reactions to inputs or outputs and their complex dynamics in the system–environment relations.

Dynamics

Let us first see the dynamic of translational processes between Soviet and post-Soviet Russia and the UK and the United States, the English-speaking countries which were the most active in translating from Russian in general and from Russian poetry in particular. Poetry translations are indeed a tiny number of overall literary translations from Russian into English. According to the UNESCO *Index Translationum*, a database of published translations from 1979 to now (UNESCO 2017), out of 3010 registered Russian–English translations of the publications thematically marked as 'literature' only a few dozen are poetry translations – 40 translations contain 'poetry' in their titles or descriptions. This is perhaps not surprising seeing that poetry and poetry translation publications hardly ever become bestsellers. (The data found in *Index Translationum* can be accepted as reliable enough for seeing the general dynamics; see discussions of the problems with using *Index Translationum* in Poupaud, Pym and Simón 2009).

Moreover, there is a considerable imbalance between what was published within Russia and what was published abroad: out of twenty-three publications of poetry translations before 1992, only three were published in Russia and the rest were published in the UK or the United States. In general, this result confirms the principle formulated by Toury: indeed if it is in the interest of the target system that a translation is undertaken, then there should be more translations of Russian poetry into English published by the countries where the target language is spoken.

Yet the question, why there are (at least) three translated collections of Russian poetry into English made in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR), is bound to arise. The collections were all published by the Moscow Progress publishing house, which specialized in translations from Russian into foreign languages. These collections include Nikolai Bannikov's *Three Centuries of Russian Poetry*, published in 1980, an ambitious bilingual 743-page edition covering the span from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries; a specialized poetry collection *Lenin in Soviet Poetry*, published the following year; and the collection *Soviet Russian Poetry of the 1950–1970*, published also in 1981. Arguably, besides and actually before the aesthetic reasons, these publications had a political raison-d'être, sometimes camouflaged and sometimes explicit.

Political collective action

To discuss the motivations behind the Russian-Soviet poetry translations into English, the concept of collective action (CA) from Luhmann's social systems theory will be introduced. It will help identify the social force responsible for the above-mentioned and other publications.

A social system exists through actions of its individual or collective agents, that is, persons or institutions/groups/collectivities. Social actions are activities that produce social effects. A phrase said or a gesture made are social actions in the sense that they are meant to produce an effect – to encourage or discourage the addressee to do something or behave in a particular way.

CA is a special social action among other social actions (Luhmann 1995: 198–201). CA is necessarily 'collective' because it is an action that is binding for the entire system. A governmental decision in modern societies is an example of CA: it is one of the actions happening within the system at a particular point in time, yet it is different in its status as compared to a myriad of other actions of social agents in that it is binding for the entire system. CA is distinguished from other actions by special symbols. For instance, CA is produced by a special structure, such as the political government.

The USSR was an example of the CA concentrated in the hands of one social structure – the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The CA of the CPSU was carried out according to established 'regulated procedures for which collectively binding actions can expect or assume agreement' (Luhmann 1995: 200): the head of the government was the general secretary of the Politburo of the CPSU, elected internally within the Politburo, the governing body of the CPSU, and this power was nominally agreed with by Soviet citizens (who nominally expressed this agreement by voting).

The CPSU was at the apex of the political hierarchy and that provided it with 'the constantly available potential for collective action' (Luhmann 1995: 200). The decisions of the Politburo were legally binding for the entire system and metaphorized as leadership ('Lenin's party […] leads us to the triumph of Communism', as the 1977 version of the USSR anthem expressed this idea).

All three internally produced collections of Russian poetry translated into English were published when the CPSU's CA was at its strongest, before the 1985 perestroika period. I showed elsewhere that translation was clearly within the purview of the politically and ideologically informed CA in the USSR (Tyulenev 2010). Translation was a way to project the system's self-image into its environment (cf. Tyulenev 2012: 195–200). In the case of the three 1980s translated poetry collections, the system was letting the environment know that it still considered itself a bastion of the Leninist version of communism reflected, among other things, in poetry (the title of one of the collections, *Lenin in Soviet Poetry*, leaves no doubt about that). The Russian poetry tradition is shown to be as long as three centuries and the CA of the USSR granting imprimatur to publish such a collection viewed itself as the heir of this tradition using Russian poetry as part of its image. Yet in the 1980s, one can notice a sign of the relaxation of the firm grip of the political ideological apparatus at least when the self-image is projected beyond the system's boundary: in *Soviet Russian Poetry of the 1950s–1970s*, compiled by Nina Kupriianova and Ariadna Ivanovskaia (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981), the poems include the works of some Soviet poets beyond the Communist Party-approved pantheon, prime examples being Akhmatova and Pasternak (Lygo 2017: 332).

The use of translation in the Russia-produced collections seems to contradict Toury's idea that 'translators […] operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating' (2012: 6). Here, translation operates in the interest of the source system. Luhmann's concept of CA allows one to pinpoint the exact social agent whose interests are reflected in the translation: the publications projected the CPSU's ideological portrait of Soviet Russia.

Let us examine an earlier translated poetry collection, *Fifty Soviet Poets* (1974), not registered in the online *Index Translationum* because it appeared before 1979. How did the Soviet CA play out in an earlier poetry translation collection? Ognev and Rottenberg, the editors, present a collection of fifty Soviet poets of the 1950s and '60s, of the so-called Thaw period in the Soviet history when under Khrushchev the social life partly 'warmed' after Stalin's frosty grip. This is a collection of poetry of the same period as *Soviet Russian Poetry of the 1950–1970*, but the political CA left a more visible imprint in this 1974 collection.

In the Introduction, Vladimir Ognev states that there is 'the growing demand for books of verse in the Soviet Union' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 11). There are 'many historical and social reasons' for that (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974:

11). The historical reason is 'the birth of our new society which opened such wonderful prospects before each individual and mankind as a whole' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 11). This is the second paragraph of the book and it becomes abundantly clear that the collection is linked to politics. Here, poetry is shown as having been 'launched amid an unprecedented upsurge of creative energy and, as Mayakovsky said, poetry received such an enormous charge of this energy from the Revolution that "millions of hearts were set in motion"' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974). The evolution of Soviet poetry is presented as developing naturally, with no political involvement: 'At the outset Soviet poetry abounded in trends of "schools", such as the "Smithy", "Komsomol Group", LEFs [the Left Front of Art], Constructivists, and others' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 13). (It shall be noted that only the groups that were loyal to the Soviet regime are mentioned here.) What is left of all these experiments? Certainly, only the best:

> Selvinsky and Lugovskoy, for instance, originally belonged to the constructivist school, but all that has remained in their writing of the principles proclaimed by this school – formal strictness of composition, contempt for 'shapeless' feelings, preaching of cool-headed calculation and expediency – is perhaps their craftsmanship and their excellent handling of form. (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 13)

Contemporary Soviet poetry represented in the collection has 'absorbed the finest traditions of those schools, popular in the 1920s' and, in the poetry of the 'older' generation, there can be seen, according to Ognev, 'continuity with the 19th-century classics' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 14).

As for the 'social and more up-to-date reasons', poetry is presented as a source of hope: 'In poetry the reader will find support for his faith in such human virtues as dignity, fortitude and loyalty' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 11). At the same time the collection aspired to show 'the great diversity and range of themes in Soviet art' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 12).

The collection is meant to represent not only Russian, but also Soviet poetry: 'In this collection we offer the reader verses by national poets translated into Russian by leading Russian poets' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 12). The non-Russian Soviet poems had been translated twice: from their original languages into Russian and then from Russian into English. The selection is thus watertight: only what was considered the crème de la crème of Soviet poetry makes it into English for the environment to see.

The collection is targeted at the English-speaking audiences: it is published in English and the principal selection criteria are translatability and absence of whatever might require long explanatory notes (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 12). The editors do not hide the ideological component of their collection but

they explain that 'in modern Soviet poetry, the accent on ideology, which has always been its distinguishing feature, remains as strong as ever except that now it is woven into the fabric of the imagery itself' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 14). This is so because the readers 'have gained historical experience and have attained a higher cultural level and acquired greater discernment' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 14). The strong presence of ideology is explained also by a merger between the collective and the individual: 'This indivisibility of the macroworld of ideas and microworld of emotions, this merging of the interests is reflected in our art not as mere declarations but as the norm in our way of life. This [not the change from Stalinism to Khrushchev's Thaw! – *S.T.*] explains why in the poetry of the 1950s and 1960s we find such an increasing variety of genres, styles and idioms' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 14). The merger is shown by Ognev at the scale of a myth: 'Without losing this "Promethean" quality Soviet poetry has become more humane, so to speak, in the past ten years' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 14).

Ognev's introduction is a sample of the Soviet official demagogy, mentioning none of the real social circumstances responsible for what poetry had become by the 1950s and 1960s. The 'positive' influence of the Revolution is stressed in the biographical introductions of the poets. For instance, Olga Bergholtz's 'life and her art are forever bound up with Leningrad, the cradle of the Revolution' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 81).

At the same time, the collection may be interpreted as sending a message of being forced to speak its Aesopian language. For instance, Andrei Voznesensky's introduction strikes an attentive reader as rather odd. After the information about his education and a list of his books, the editors tell the reader: 'In 1963 Voznesensky wrote a poem about Lenin which he called *Longjumeau*' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 125). The sentence is not connected with anything before or after in this short text. The poem is not included in the collection. One may wonder why the editors included this sentence at all. This may be interpreted as a bow to the Soviet censor to gain imprimatur, while at the same time signalling the reader that Voznesensky's other poems, selected for this collection, are worthier for translating into English.

Little wonder that the collection was perceived by an English-speaking reader as ideologically motivated. Helen Bevington, an American writer, recollects that from the opening lines of the Introduction she heard 'the chilling voice of the Kremlin' and saw that 'the volume contains safe poems, no banned poets, nothing incendiary', 'Mandelshtam is missing, the greatest Russian poet of the twentieth century' whom 'the Soviets viewed with implacable fury, defamed him, destroyed him' (1988: 26). Here, Bevington missed the point because the title of the collection indicates a specific period in the history of Soviet poetry and Mandelshtam was not part of it chronologically, but she unmistakenly detected the motivation of the collection.

Perhaps the most striking introduction in the 1974 collection is that of Akhmatova. As far as the themes of Akhmatova's poetry are concerned, the reader learns that 'for many years this poetess was known mainly for her elegiac preoccupation with one theme – the tragedy of a woman's infinite, unconsummated love, the cry of a lonely soul for understanding and sympathy, [but t]he Great Patriotic War broadened the range of her themes' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 63). Not even one word is said about the attitude of the Soviet powers that be to Akhmatova.

It is interesting to see how drastically what Bevington remembered about Akhmatova differed from how the poet was introduced above in *Fifty Soviet Poets*. As Bevington writes about Akhmatova's inclusion in the anthology:

> A few poems appear by Anna Akhmatova, who died in Russia in 1966 after years of persecution. Her husband was executed, her son imprisoned […] In 1946 she was denounced, forbidden to publish, her poems banned […] She wrote of fear too paralyzing to remember. In the last decade of her life she was given limited official recognition, but her books can be bought only on the black market for many rubles. (Bevington 1988: 26–27)

In contrast, the last years of Akhmatova's life are shown in *Fifty Soviet Poets* as follows: 'Shortly before she died Anna Akhmatova received the Taormina Prize and a few weeks after that she was singled out to receive an honorary degree of Oxford University' (Ognev and Rottenberg 1974: 63). Once again the peritext may be interpreted as ambivalent: the signs of recognition of Akhmatova's poetry mentioned here are both foreign. Why would the editors include that information? Two answers are possible: either because they wanted to hint that the recognition of Akhmatova in the Soviet Union was indeed modest (for instance, inclusion of her poems in such a collection of poetry to represent Soviet poetry abroad) or because they pretended or really wanted to flaunt the highest quality of Soviet poetry recognized internationally. If this introduction of Akhmatova is another example of the Soviet Aesopian language practised actively during the Soviet period, then, judging from the case of even such an advanced reader as Bevington, it fell on deaf ears. In terms of the theory of target-orientedness of translation, the employment in the TT of a device characteristic of the source culture can be interpreted as a case of a miscalculated strategy, and perhaps such miscalculations in the form of the source culture's properties in translations deserve to be studied further. They may need to be differentiated from the rest of features of the source language and culture in the TT, whether intended or unintended, from attempts to foreignize (to whatever extent and on whatever linguistic and stylistic levels) or to perform a 'thick' translation (Appiah 1993).

To conclude this section, the collection edited by Ognev and Rottenberg (1974) is an example of a translation initiated by the source culture introducing an image of itself into its environment. This initiative was part of the CPSU's CA – it was granted the imprimatur and put out by one of the leading Soviet publishers representing the CA. Yet our analysis of the peritextual material shows that the collection may be interpreted as hinting at some properties of the source culture between the lines. These hints may not necessarily be understood, and the translation still seems to have been appreciated according to expectations of the target culture. If so, this agrees with Toury's insistence that a translation's position and function(s) are 'determined first and foremost by considerations originating in the culture that would host it. For one thing, this is the most normal practice of the persons-in-the-culture themselves' (2012: 20).

Aesthetics and politics: Reinforcing the image/stereotype?

Now let us turn to the majority of the publications that were initiated by the publishers in the target systems (UK and United States). The social power that was responsible for the way Russian poetry was presented in the source-system-initiated translations was the CPSU as the carrier of the CA in the USSR. Let us see what the 'target cultures' systemic constellation' might include when it comes to English translations of Russian poetry published outside of Russia.

The fact that we find at least two countries publishing translations of Russian poetry means that there is more than one host or target culture. This is another complication in applying Toury's maxim. Poetry that is translated into English in the United States can and is used in the UK and vice versa (actually more English-speaking countries may be included, but since in our corpus there were only US and UK publications, the focus here is on these two). For instance, the 1993 poetry anthology, edited by Evtushenko (Evtushenko 1993), is translated from Russian into English and published first in the United States and then in the UK (Evtushenko et al. 1994). Which English-speaking country should be considered the target if the translation was accepted both in the United States and in the UK? Or does the target culture in this case become congruent with the target language, English? If the target system is reduced to a language, then looking for its 'systemic constellation' becomes problematic.

Moreover, both of these target social systems have a CA that has considerably less influence on what is translatable and publishable. There

was no political imprimatur to be sought when collections of Russian poetry were published in the UK or the United States, rather the imprimatur was economic or whatever else: the editors had to find publishers who acted in their commercial interests but also perhaps they could have other motivations. Importantly, it was the publishers who made the final decision. (It will be noted that the publisher is itself hardly a monolithic agency because it includes the head(s) of publishing houses, purchasing editors, the marketing staff, all having a say in defining publishing policies; see Boll 2016.)

The next question would be if, unlike the source system, these publishers together with the editors of the collections did not share any single 'officially' determined view that governed their presentation of Russian poetry, what image of the latter did they create through their publications?

Russian twentieth-century poetry is rarely seen outside its political context. The idea akin to the one famously encapsulated by Evtushenko that in Russia a poet is more than a poet has influenced the English reader's appreciation of Russian poets, even when their poetry had little political purport. *Twentieth-Century Russian Poetry: Reinventing the Canon* (Hodgson, Shelton and Smith 2017) is not a translated collection of Russian poetry: it is a literary, historical analysis of twentieth-century Russian poetry, but it serves as a good example of a publication in English on Russian poetry which reflects the contradiction between politicized and aesthetic views. On the one hand, the editors admit that since the collapse of the USSR, in the 1990s, there is a 'diversity of the emerging [Russian poetry] canon' and the approach to this canon formation is 'the more inclusive, less dogmatic approach' than before in the better part of the twentieth century (Hodgson, Shelton and Smith (2017): 2). On the other hand, they write explicitly that 'the aim of this collection is to investigate the state of the Russian twentieth-century poetic canon in the context of socio-political changes triggered by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991' (Hodgson, Shelton and Smith (2017): 1). Thus, there were extrapolitical factors that contributed to forming the poetry canon, yet the political factors were prioritized.

This double vision is characteristic of many collections of twentieth-century Russian poetry translations. In the preface of *Third Wave: The New Russian Poetry* (Ashby and Johnson 1992), the editors connect the literary, more specifically poetic, evolution in the USSR with the political context: Stalin's rule when 'no new unsanctioned poetic voices appeared', the thaw of the 1950s giving rise to 'a new generation of poets', such as Akhmadulina, Brodsky, Evtushenko, Voznesensky 'linking contemporary Russian literature with the poetic traditions of the 1920s', and finally a new, third, wave of Soviet poetry appearing in 'the atmosphere of stifling conservatism that characterized the Brezhnev years' of the 1970s (Ashby and Johnson (1992): 2). Thus, the selection of poetry and poets for translation is dictated by political reasoning

rather than aesthetic. Soviet poetry is presented from the same viewpoint in the explicitly named collection edited by Mortimer and Litherland (1991) – *The Poetry of Perestroika*.

Russian poetry is introduced to the English-speaking audience as a political phenomenon and thereby it is part and parcel of the political image of Russia in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods. This further prompts the appreciation of Russian poetry as an element in the ideological tug-of-war between the socialist and capitalist camps. If so, the translations are prompted by the target systems' (the United States and the UK) ideological interests. Translations are clearly facts of the cultures that host them and they 'are constituted within the target culture and reflect its own systemic constellation' (Toury 2012: 18). Indeed, the Russian poet turns out to be more than only a poet, she/he represents the Soviet or post-Soviet system, the vicissitudes of its political and social ways of life where poets (or rather, people in general) cannot speak openly. This presentation of (post-)Soviet poetry seems to reinforce the image (or the stereotype?) of Soviet Russia in the opposite ideological camp.

Aesthetic reasons

Still poetry is primarily meant for giving aesthetic pleasure. Some of the collections declare aesthetics their main concern. Gerald Smith wrote in the Preface to his collection that 'the primary aim here has been to select work that stands up as strong and interesting poetry' (1993: xxiii).

Naturally, the question of who is to be the arbiter of taste is unavoidable. Some editors and translators rely on their own taste. Smith admits that his choice 'inevitably reflect[s] the "old thinking" of a foreigner whose taste in Russian poetry was formed in the 1960s' (1993: xxii). He confessed: 'At the outset of the 1990s it is even more difficult than at most times to choose texts with confidence in their durability and value as a representative selection' (1993: xxii). Since aesthetically arguable choices are notoriously difficult to make, clearer markers, as we saw in the previous sections, were more frequently looked for, notably periods of Russian political history. In fact, even Smith's thinking has a touch of politics: he expected a new canon of Russian poetry in the 1990s to include politically marked poetry, dissident and émigré (1993).

Yet even topical collections, those focusing on poetry of a particular period for instance, still could not avoid discussing poetry as art. Editors may rely on native speakers 'informants' and their translators in addition to their own taste. Peter Mortimer writes that when, together with his co-editor Jackie

Litherland, they 'felt the stirrings of perestroika and glasnost', they started collecting poets to include in their collection: '[A Russian writer and singer] Ekaterina Shevelyova suggested some names' (Mortimer and Litherland 1991: 9–10). Carol Rumens, a translator who contributed to the same collection, explained why some of poems attracted her: 'The most interesting poems of perestroika seemed to be those that were critical of it […] These are not poems of great artistry but they are immediately moving, authentic cries from the heart' (Mortimer and Litherland 1991: 13).

The Penguin Book of Russian Verse (Obolensky 1965) (the first edition 1962) is perhaps one of the aesthetically focused collections. It is part of the Penguin poetry collections in European languages purporting 'to make a fair selection of the world's finest poetry available to readers' (Obolensky 1965: v). Although translations are in prose at the bottom of the page, they are meant to be a gateway for the reader to the appreciation of the originals placed above them.

To appreciate Obolensky's aesthetic presentations, let us see how he introduces Voznesensky (cf. the presentation of Voznesensky in Ognev and Rottenberg (1974) above):

> Andrey Voznesensky (1933–) graduated from the Moscow Institute of Architecture in 1957, and published his first verse in 1958. His brilliant experiments with rhythms, images, and sounds, and the formal qualities of his style, at once complex and concise, have earned him a leading place among the *avant-garde* poets of his country. A prominent theme of his poetry is the right and duty of the artist to follow freely the path of his own inspiration. (1965: xxx)

The presentation is purely aesthetic, no mention of his poems about Lenin or any politics. However, one might argue there is a waft of the sociopolitical theme in the closing phrase. Indeed, why would a poet be concerned in a major way ('[a] prominent theme'!) with the right and duty to create poetry as his/her inspiration leads them if it were not for some social pressure?

In his general introduction, Obolensky's description of Russian poetry in the Soviet period becomes even more politically related. He traces strong political influence on poetry since 1930 (1965: l), but he is at great pains to look at poetry primarily as an aesthetic phenomenon. For instance, Evgenii Evtushenko is appreciated by Obolensky despite 'all his preoccupation with social themes and his occasional – and artistically less successful – excursions into political verse' (1965: lii). Evtushenko for Obolensky 'is essentially a lyric poet' (1965: lii). Obolensky praises Evtushenko's poetry for its 'natural eloquence, controlled exuberance, and free-flowing rhythm' as well as 'humour, tenderness, and compassion' (1965: lii). Obolensky is full of hope

that the popularity of poets, such as Evtushenko and Voznesensky, in Russia 'augur well for the future of this poetry' (1965: lii).

Thus, *The Penguin Book of Russian Verse* (Obolensky 1965) is primarily an aesthetically organized collection and reflects the editor's view of Russian/Soviet poetry first and foremost as an aesthetic phenomenon. However, even collections positioning themselves as aesthetically grounded are not free from political reasoning. Or, one might wonder, is it just how Russian poetry, at least of the Soviet period, is and speaking of it outside the political context impossible?

Bringing new (unknown) poets to the target cultures

Translation often brings new things and poetry translation is no exception. *The Penguin Book* of Russian Verse (Obolensky 1965) saw its mission in filling gaps in the Western knowledge of Russian poetry. Correcting popular beliefs in the West that there had been no poetry in Russia before the nineteenth century, Obolensky opened his anthology with some of the earliest Russian medieval heroic bylinas and religious poems and four poets of the eighteenth century, one of whom, Derzhavin, is represented by as many as five poems. He then selected poets from the nineteenth century and the first-half of the twentieth and went all the way to the poetry of the time when the collection was made – to such poets as Evtushenko, Voznesensky and Akhmadulina. Those whom he considered more significant poets were represented by more poems. At the top of the list is unsurprisingly Pushkin with seventeen poems over thirty-one pages, followed by Blok (11 poems, 22 pages), Lermontov, Akhmatova and Mandel'shtam (10 each, 16, 9 and 11 pages, respectively), Pasternak (9, 20 pages), etc. Obolensky clearly intended not only to familiarize Western readers with a more panoramic picture of the past and present of Russian poetry than they were used to, but also to let them know about the relative aesthetic significance of the selected poets. That is why Obolensky's selection of Mayakovsky, the uncontestable leader in all Soviet poetry canons, is represented by only six poems which is fewer than selections from several poets less valued in the USSR, such as Gumilev (7), Esenin (7) or Blok, Akhmatova, Mandel'shtam and Pasternak. Some of the poets in Obolensky's collection were hardly publishable in the USSR, such as Kuzmin, Khodasevich and Tsvetaeva. Such a selection would not have been possible in the USSR; it was clearly made according to the target system (the UK) represented by the editor and the Penguin publishers (cf. Boll 2016 on the Penguin policies as regards translations of Spanish and Latin American poetry).

In the majority of translated Russian poetry collections, the tendency is to select the well-known poets. This is for a good reason: the majority of the collections try to bring those who are considered the best. However, sometimes the best are sought among the less known while the best who are known are deliberately excluded. There may be various reasons for that, including financial: acquiring the rights in translation of famous poets is more expensive than the rights of little known or untranslated poets. Yet if there are explicit explanations, they tend to be as the one given by J. Kates:

> The ready availability in excellent English translation of the work of Joseph Brodsky, Andrei Voznesensky and Yevgeny Evtushenko has encouraged us to leave them out to make room for others. (1999: 12)

Sometimes, although rarely, judging from our corpus of collections, the goal of the editors and translators is primarily to bring unknown names to the Western reader. Such is a small collection, *Written in the Dark: Five Poets in the Siege of Leningrad*, edited by Barskova (2016) of five poets who wrote during the Siege of Leningrad during the Second World War. The poets would not be very well known even to the Russian reader and include Gennady Gor, Dmitry Maksimov, Sergey Rudakov, Vladimir Sterligov and Pavel Zaltsman. The Russian editor, Polina Barskova, explains that all these poets were unacceptable in the USSR both ideologically and aesthetically, because they were inspired by the OBERIU (Union of Real Art) group, whose stylistic experiments were unwelcome in the USSR (2016: 9–11). The discovery of the poets became possible when 'the times finally changed, and when the era of *perestroika* opened the archives and created new venues for publication they appeared, from the darkness of "secret files" and writers' secret desks' (2016: 10).

The collection, albeit quite modest in volume, is interesting for the present discussion. These poems had never been published together as a collection in their original Russian (2016: 129). The editor preferred translation as a means of unearthing these Siege poets' works to publishing them in Russian. Barskova explains that the translations were the result of her work with students and colleagues in a translation workshop in the United States in 2013. Thus, the motivation for the work was rather personal and prompted by the editor's own teaching career (Barskova 2016: 23).

Theoretically, the situation is as follows: a representative of the source culture (Russia) initiated a translated publication in the target culture. She involved her American students and colleagues (together with some Russian ones offering advice). The question is: Does the collection represent the values of the target or source culture? Perhaps in this case the situation is more complex than the idea that translations are facts of target cultures only, would lead us to believe. Here, the selection of poets and poems is made

by representatives of the source culture and translations were conducted under their supervision, yet the translators were representatives of the target culture. The result is therefore a joint effort of the source and target cultures with their respective values and understanding of the both ends of the transfer. Several more collections were made in cooperation between Russian and Western editors, such as Weissbort and Polukhina (2005), Bunimovic and Kates (2008) and Boyd and Shvabrin (2008). Such cooperation also questions the unidirectionality of Toury's maxim that the translation reflects the target system's priorities.

Another variation on the same theme is *Twentieth Century Russian Poetry: Silver and Steel. An Anthology* (Evtushenko 1993). This is an example of a collection borrowed from the source culture wholesale, so to speak, and then translated into the language of the target culture. This became possible only after the Western editors started trusting Russian compilers who shed off communist ideological shackles. The target culture obtained a product which might have been not necessarily according to its expectations but definitely closer to what it saw as a realistic presentation of Russian poetry.

Only translatable

Finally, one of the unavoidable barriers on the way of poetry into the foreign is translation itself. Time and again editors complain that some forms of poetry resist translation. As we saw above, Obolensky praised Evtushenko's 'natural eloquence, controlled exuberance, and free-flowing rhythm' but added that they 'are not easy to communicate in translation: yet they are essential qualities of his verse' (1965: lii). J. Kates writes how problems rendering structural peculiarities of the writing style of one of the worthiest poets were responsible for excluding him from their collection:

> To reproduce [Lev Rubinshtein's index card-written poetry] as if it were ordinary verse would be to distort seriously the effect Rubinshtein produces. In the end, we thought it better to provide this note without the text. (1999: 11–12)

Kates continues that some poets were left out only 'because satisfactory translations of their work were not available' (1999: 11). However, some of resulting 'holes', such as Lev Losev and Anatoly Naiman, are qualified by the editor 'as a kind of hubris mark, a deliberate imperfection to encourage further translation and publication' (1999: 11).

The problem of translating poetry is of such importance that a translated collection of prominent Soviet/Russian poets' essays on poetics even included Boris Pasternak's *Notes of a Translator* (Proffer 1974: 96–101; translated by Angela Livingstone). Pasternak as a poet and a translator of poetry does believe in the possibility of poetry translation, provided certain requirements are met:

> The relation between an original and a translation must be the relation between a function and its derivative, between a tree-trunk and the new shoot struck from it. A translation must come from an author who has experienced the influence of the original upon himself long before he starts work. It must be the fruit of the original and its historical consequence. (Proffer 1974: 96)

Pasternak then asks whether translations which are necessarily repetitions of their originals are possible if works of verbal art are unrepeatable. His answer is that translations are still possible 'because ideally they too must be works of art, and must, by virtue of their own unrepeatability, stand on the same level as the originals, even while sharing their text' (Proffer 1974: 96–97). For Pasternak, poetry translation is 'not a method of becoming acquainted with individual works, but a medium for the age-old intercourse of cultures and peoples' (Proffer 1974: 96).

In practice, however, some editors seem to be less optimistic and struggle between something satisfactorily transmitted into English and yet recognizable as a rendering of its original. This negotiation reflected in peritextual materials is the result of the bidirectional dealings between the source and target cultures which complicates the picture of thinking of translations as facts of target cultures only.

Conclusion

The article problematized Gideon Toury's idea that translations are facts of target culture and bear imprints of its 'systemic constellation' by examining cases of translations of Russian poetry into English. Our analysis of the dynamic of the translations showed that Russian poetry in English translations was published in the UK and the United States but also in the USSR. The USSR-published collections were an attempt at manipulation of the perception of Russian poetry and ultimately Soviet Russia itself in the West. The presentation of translations in the peritextual materials had features that were characteristic of the source, rather than target, culture.

The features were not necessarily appreciated by the target audience. This flies in the face of Toury's claim.

Moreover, Toury's rather vague term 'systemic constellation' was made more specific by applying Niklas Luhmann's concept of CA. In the case of the USSR, translating Russian poetry was the result of the political CA represented by government-controlled publishing houses. The ideology of the political CA was clearly reflected in the peritexts framing translations.

In the case of the UK–US publications of translated Russian poetry, there were also complications vis-à-vis Toury's theory. There were at least two target cultures which exchanged translated materials (as in the case of Evtushenko's poetry collection or in the fact that the publications are used throughout the English speaking world). It is a question whether in this case the target 'systemic constellations' should be considered tantamount to the target language, that is, the English language rather than any sociocultural phenomena, or whether the target systems can be viewed as so close in their systemic constellations that they can be theorized as one target system, in the examined cases, united ideologically: the capitalist countries' translations of Soviet/Russian poetry. Indeed, there were indications that there was a common feature to the UK and US translations: the majority of selections reproduced the political image of the USSR as a state repressing freedom of poets (and perhaps, by extension, of all Russian people).

So, what sort of collections of Russian poetry made it through translation into the English-speaking world? It is the poetry that was politically contextualizable (not necessarily politically charged in itself, it can simply be used as politicizable). The contextualization was either political-ideological (approvable by the CA-carrier) or stereotypically determined (Soviet people could not speak freely during the Soviet era). The poetry is often presented thematically. The themes more often than not are determined historically or politically in connection with different periods of Russian and especially Soviet periods (e.g. the poetry of the perestroika or of the Thaw). Bringing new (unknown) poets to the target audience is yet another major motivation behind selecting poetry for translation. Unfortunately, some of the poems may be found interesting by the editors but they may not make it to the English-speaking reader because there may be no satisfactory translations (from an editor's point of view) available.

Finally, aesthetic criteria are always there but they are not always decisive. Considering translation as an indicator of how poetry is appreciated, one may wonder if some poetry is found worth translating (and thereby worth bringing beyond its language boundary and making it part of a larger, international corpus) only because it reflects political or other social phenomena. In the case of the translated Soviet poetry, is poetry appreciated for speaking despite ideological-political silencing? If so, to what extent is poetry seen as

an aesthetic phenomenon? Although ideological pressures were applied to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian poetry (Reiser 1970; Cornwell 1998: 233; Baer 2010), it is predominantly the Russian poetry of the Soviet and post-Soviet periods that seems to be assessed based on ideological criteria. For instance, Obolensky mentioned politics talking about Soviet poetry, but there is hardly any politics is found in his discussion of the nineteenth century (1965: xlii–xliii). Can an aesthetic, rather than political, collection be made? A Russian textbook *Poeziia* [Poetry] (Azarova, Korchagin and Kuz'min 2016) proves that this is possible, with only a small section on 'Poetry and Politics'. In any case, when looking at what poetry makes it into a foreign environment, translation turns out to be a useful instrument in studying poetry's social ontology.

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PART THREE

Ideological Debates on Poetry Translation

6

Merging Heterodoxy and Orthodoxy in Swahili Verse Translations

Serena Talento

Change, discourse on translation and the Swahili angle

Upon winning its freedom from British rule in 1961, Tanganyika (later, Tanzania) engaged in a process of constructing a cultural nationalism which veered towards socialism and Tanzanianization of the state machinery. In this moment of dramatic transition, the man who led Tanganyika to independence and its first president, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, and the official 'Promoter for Swahili language and literature', Samuel M. Mushi, translated Shakespeare and Sophocles into Swahili.[1] These translations provide a space for debating issues relating to poetry writing in Swahili, which in turn refract external contingencies. By zooming into the discourse on verse translation in Swahili, the following analysis explores the role of verse translation in negotiating the terms of literary import. How does the introduction, or legitimation, of an unconventional or largely considered foreign verse form resonate with the nationalist agenda of constructing a self-reliant Tanzania, and what has this example to say with regard to the dynamics of change and innovation postulated in the sociology of translation, which rest on the dichotomy between orthodoxy and heterodoxy (heresy)?

Sociological approaches to the (re)production of knowledge and the circulation of cultural goods have posited translation at the centre of a multi-relational space of intellectual, political, economic and cultural exchange, within which agents mediate between local, national and global rivalries. As a point of departure for my discussion on verse translation in Swahili, I take Pierre Bourdieu's sociological scheme which portrays the literary world – as any social space – as composed of fields. Fields refer to historically constituted spaces of production, which are at the same time autonomous and homologous with other fields, with their own rules, institutions and specific capital which are contended for by the agents belonging to the respective fields (Bourdieu 1986: 163, 1990: 87). A field is, therefore, a structured space of competitive relations; it is a site of forces, either individual or institutional, where the different forms of material and symbolic capital (agents' resources) are produced, disseminated and mobilized to allocate social agents with positions of power (Bourdieu 1991b: 5, 1993: 29–30). The struggle to obtain symbolic positioning, the conflicts between agents over resources, positions, practices of production and consumption, is a constitutive element of a field, in that they change the structure of the field, thus creating its history (Bourdieu 1989: 17, 1993: 106, 1996: 50). Struggles are directed at maintaining or overturning the current state of affairs, or *doxa*, in other words what is seen as acceptable, legitimate or 'taken for granted' and which is maintained through habitual practices (Bourdieu 1977: 168, see also 2000: 100). *Doxa* means the set of values and discourses which a field constructs as its fundamental elements and which are viewed as unquestionable. However, *doxa* is not to be taken as a calcified monolith. Being specific to a particular situated context, *doxa* is subject to changes, adjustments and transformations (Bourdieu 1993: 34). In a similar fashion, Casanova (2004: 175) does not conceive the literary world as an immutable configuration in which hierarchies and power relations are fixed once and for all, and attributes to change a specific role in describing the history of a field: 'In this sense, the only genuine history of literature is one that describes the revolts, assaults upon authority, manifestos, inventions of new forms and languages – all the subversions of the traditional order that, little by little, work to create literature and the literary world' (2004: 169).

In discussing the dynamics through which a literary field is exposed to change, Bourdieu and Casanova distinguish one of the propelling forces in the tension between conservatism and heretical break. The dichotomy between orthodoxy and heterodoxy is of crucial relevance in the understanding of the development of the structure of the literary field. Struggles to preserve or divert from the current literary state of affairs constitute the 'generative' element of the field (Bourdieu 1993: 34). Such dichotomy and the conflicts deployed by these two positions determine the legitimate categories of perception and appreciation of the literary world, and have the potential to

change the conditions and modes of production, discrediting or consecrating literary possibilities and agents. In Bourdieu's view (1977: 169), conformity is orthodoxy, or a 'system of […] acceptable ways of thinking and speaking the natural and the social worlds, which rejects heretical remarks as blasphemies'. Orthodoxy is the discourse created by agents who occupy dominant positions in the field and who strive to maintain the status quo of the field and their positions in it. Divergence from orthodoxy is heterodoxy, which refers to the discourse of newcomers or dominated agents who burst onto the literary scene and attempt to ensure their emergence, recognition and position in the field by discrediting and diverging from the current literary orthodoxy (Bourdieu 1996: 205–206). In borrowing from the religious field, Bourdieu (1996: 205, 234, 253) also refers to the break with the current norms of productions as heresy. In other words, the history of field is captured by 'the struggle between the established figures and the young challengers' (Bourdieu 1993: 60). Along similar lines, Casanova (2004: 91) points to the need of newcomer-writers to present themselves as embodying modernity, as 'being up-to-date'; if they are to find a place in the literary field, they cannot but claim to offer something new. While consecrated producers or established agents deploy conservation strategies to maintain the current principles of hierarchization as well as the distribution and evaluation of species of capital, less consecrated, or newly arrived, agents employ subversion strategies to transform the reproduction and legitimacy of the *doxa* (Bourdieu 1996: 234).

In this regard, translation can play a relevant role as a vehicle to introduce and diffuse literary modernity (Casanova 2004: 14), especially in contexts concerned with the construction of national cultures. In the mutual interplay between the construction of a national political space and literary spaces, the introduction of literary models via translation can contribute to forging (or redesigning) new national literary (and cultural) identities, which could in turn promote the construction of a nascent nation (Casanova 2004: 85, 191; Heilbron and Sapiro 2008: 43; Sapiro 2008a: 9, 2014: 73). The degree of politicization marking literary exchanges can be very explicit in authoritarian contexts, such as fascist or communist regimes, where cultural production is politicized in the service of propaganda and subjected to ideological constraints (Sapiro 2008a: 10, 2008c: 201). Indeed, although literary struggles are largely independent in principle, there is a correspondence between internal struggles and external sanctions or clashes, or between internal and external changes (Bourdieu 1993: 127), which eventually makes any 'revolution in literature […] the product of the meeting between two processes, relatively independent, which occur in the field and outside it' (Bourdieu 1996: 253). Political ruptures, economic crises or changes in the power relations at the heart of the field of power can expose the arbitrariness of *doxa* and provoke shifts in the literary field.

Is this sociological scheme transferable to the field of literary translations into Swahili? To what extent is the orthodoxy/heterodoxy paradigm applicable to a context in which the import of texts – and of 'non-orthodox' literary models – occurs in a politically centralized regime entrenched in a broader process of forging a national culture following the end of an external rule? This chapter explores the applicability of the orthodoxy/heterodoxy paradigm to the field of literary translations into Swahili in the situated context of neo-independent and socialist Tanzania. My analysis reveals the construction of a discourse on poetry translation by Swahili writers and intellectuals, which not only embodies the tension between the will to privilege endemic intellectual resources and the desire for internationalism but also offers a different angle from which to look at the way a literary field can deal with a heretical break. The East African context under study offers a model in which the dichotomy between orthodoxy and heterodoxy becomes nuanced. Nyerere's and Mushi's discourse on the practice of translation neither conforms to nor subverts the current *doxa*, but pursues a merging of conservatism and heretical break. In linking blank verse, a metrical verse form deemed unconventional, within the tenets of Swahili prosody, Nyerere and Mushi fulfil the possibility of linking heterodoxy with orthodoxy.

According to Bourdieu, the struggle 'over the power to produce and to impose the legitimate vision of the world' (Bourdieu 1989: 20) can operate through a particular use of language which aims at transforming the categories of perception of the social world (Bourdieu 1989, 1991a: 167–168). Transposed into the field of literary production, categories of perception are created and disseminated via discourses on and about a text which institutionalize a work of art (Bourdieu 1993: 110). For this reason, my analysis centres on the discourse on translation. By this I mean textual productions which comment on a specific translated text in the space of the text itself, or what Genette (1997: 5) has referred to as 'peritext', and to a 'general meta-discourse on translation circulating independently of individual translated texts', or 'extratext' (Tahir Gürçağlar 2002: 44). The terms in which translation is conceptualized, discussed and presented to the readers constitute symbolic productions through which agents and institutions create visions of the world and construct the meaning of the practice. The discourse on translation is not (necessarily) an aesthetic and literary exercise, but can reveal the conditions under which translations were produced and circulated, the positions of the cultural (re)producers within different fields, or the interconnectedness of contextual practices into which the reproduction of knowledge is inscribed (cf. Bourdieu 2002: 4; Tymoczko 2000: 24). In this analysis I look at translators' prefaces, which are considered by Bourdieu (1991b: 23, 2002: 5) and Casanova (2002: 19, 2004: 115) one of the venues for the transfer of literary capital and for consecration of the author and the

work.[2] In addition, I consider statements about translators concerning the practice of translation at a broader level.

Since attempts at conforming to or overturning the *doxa* bring to the fore the interplay between agency and structure, I also focus on the translators' 'social trajectory', understood as 'the set of successive movements of an agent in a structured (hierarchized) space' (Bourdieu 1996: 258–259). Two main variables are considered: firstly the space gained, occupied or lost by the agents in their relevant fields and, secondly, the study of the practices of agents in these fields. I thus consider Nyerere's and Mushi's positions both in the literary field and in the political field, and establish a connection between their discourses on translation and their political discursive practices. This has the aim of detecting overlaps between their modi operandi in the different domains in which they navigated, and shedding light on their pragmatic adherence to or deviation from the domain translators belong to. I track the translators' 'position-takings', namely the manifestations, strategies or agent's choices aimed at transforming or conserving the field (Bourdieu 1993: 30) – such as a preference for transition and shifts between genres, strategies and the medium selected (Hanna 2016: 94).

Nyerere, Mushi, *ujamaa* and the intellectual nation-building project

By virtue of being the son of a Zanaki chief from the northwest of the country, Nyerere was a member of that select élite who had access to English literacy[3] and was trained in Tanganyika, at Makerere University in Kampala – then the only university in East Africa – and at Edinburgh University, from where he returned in 1952 with a degree in history and economics, being the first Tanganyikan to obtain a degree outside Africa. Upon his return, he resumed his teaching position at St. Mary's Secondary School in Tabora, where he had taught for three years before his stay in Scotland. This earned him the title of *Mwalimu* (Teacher), a term of respect used throughout the rest of his life. 1952 also marks his engagement in politics. In the same year he joined an urban association of mutual help called TAA (Tanganyika African Association). Within a short time, he became its president (1953) and transformed it into the national mass political party TANU (Tanganyika African National Union, 1954) which led the struggle for independence from Britain (Kaniki 1980: 347). As the leader of TANU, Nyerere brought Tanganyika out of British rule in 1961, becoming first prime minister and then president when the country became a republic in 1962. Following the merging of Zanzibar and Tanganyika, Nyerere became the leader of the one-party state of Tanzania from 1965 until his retirement in 1985 (Kaniki 1980: 367).

The end of British rule in Tanganyika led to a process of *Kujenga Taifa* (building the nation), under the influence of Nyerere's utopic vision of *ujamaa* (Tanzanian socialism). The fundamental dogma of *ujamaa* was *kujitegemea* (self-reliance), which can be briefly summarized in the idea that the nation had to develop on the basis of its own economic, political and cultural resources (TANU 1967: 28). *Kujitegemea* involved a linguistic policy which selected Swahili as the national language of independent Tanganyika in 1962, and the official language of the government in 1967 (Mulokozi 2003: 67). Moreover, Nyerere's education policy, elaborated in 1967 in *Elimu ya Kujitegemea* (Education and self-reliance), aimed at a 'Tanzanianization' of school curricula and syllabi in order to offer Tanzanian students literary, historical and cultural content oriented towards endogenous cultural resources (Nyerere 1967a: 4). At the end of the 1960s, the teaching of non-African literatures in eastern African school and university programmes was subjected to revision by the Ministry of National Education and the Literature Department (Sicherman 1997: 126). The project of *Kujenga Taifa* also rested on the mobilization of intellectual, cultural and artistic resources. In this respect, in 1962, Nyerere created the Ministry of National Culture to revive and valorize the cultural resources of the groups forming the Tanzanian nation. In 1964 Nyerere created the post of Promoter for Swahili within this ministry. This person was in charge of setting up cultural committees throughout the country, to encourage people to speak, read and write in Swahili. The promoter organized literary festivals in urban and rural areas, and in workplaces, and coordinated the activities of Swahili organizations (such as the Swahili Committee, the Institute of Kiswahili Research or literary associations). From March 1965 to June 1967, Samuel Mushi held this position, becoming one of Nyerere's closest collaborators (Whiteley 1969: 104). For both Nyerere and Mushi, *Kujenga Taifa* encompassed the intellectual effort through which not only a national culture, but a cultured nation could be forged. Poetry writing and performances acquired a specific political function. In 1968 Nyerere invited a group of poets to bring Swahili poetry into the service of the state (Harries 1972: 52). Led by Mathias Mnyampala, the poets formed UKUTA: Chama cha Usanifu wa Kiswahili na Ushairi Tanzania (the Society for Swahili Composition and Poetry in Tanzania), which promoted the implementation of national politics. Nyerere himself was a passionate lover of poetry and a poet. During the 1960s he exchanged poems with prominent poets of his time, such as Saadan Abdu Kandoro, the Poet Laureate of Tanzania and a political leader (a founding member of TANU and area commissioner of the party) (Biersteker 1996: 97–137, 2012: 286),[4] and the political nationalist Sheikh Kaluta Amri Abedi with whom, for instance, he co-authored poems to mourn the death of Shaaban Robert (Jhaveri 1999: 180), a founding father of modern Swahili literature. Dialogic poetic exchanges were common intellectual practice among

politically active poets during the construction of *ujamaa* (Biersteker 1996: 132), and for Nyerere it was not different; poetry writing was a significant activity for the president and linked to his political practice.[5] Samuel Mushi shared with Nyerere the idea that *Kujenga Taifa* was not merely a set of tangible procedures; the intellectual effort and the 'writing of books' played, in Mushi's view (1968a: 3), 'an important role in the building of an individual person, family, society or nation'. However, unlike Nyerere, Mushi was not involved with poetry throughout his life. Apart from Swahili verse translations of Shakespeare's and Sophocles' plays, his only other literary translation into Swahili was his translation of the classical Swahili poem *Utendi wa Ayubu* (The Poem of Job), into Modern Swahili. This was published in 1972 in the collection *Sanaa ya Utungo* (The art of composition). However, afterwards, in connection with his academic career,[6] he devoted himself to the writing of scholarly texts on political topics.

In the context so far portrayed, Nyerere and Mushi placed translation at the centre of the intellectual nation-building endeavour. In 1963 Nyerere translated *Julius Caesar* as *Julius Caezar*, which he re-translated in 1969 as *Juliasi Kaizari*. In 1969, Nyerere also translated *The Merchant of Venice*, which bears the controversial title of *Mabepari wa Venisi* (The Capitalists of Venice). In 1968, Mushi translated *Macbeth* as *Makbeth*, the following year *The Tempest* as *Tufani*, and in 1971 Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* translated as *Mfalme Edipode*. Their translations were not only among the first texts to be imported into the Swahili literary field following independence, but they were also incorporated in the Swahili literature syllabus, a potent instance of consecration which contributes to the production and distribution of a work of art (Bourdieu 1993: 121).

Linking local and global, linking heterodoxy with orthodoxy

At this juncture, it is legitimate to ask how did the importation of literary goods resonate with the tenets of the nation-building process, and especially with the dogma of *kujitegemea*? Although Nyerere envisioned a self-reliant Tanzania, his political philosophy oscillated between celebration of local cultures and attentive evaluation of exogenous cultural products. This is what can be read in his Inaugural Address:

> But I do not want anybody to imagine that to revive our own culture means at the same time to reject that of any other country. A nation which refuses to learn from foreign cultures is nothing but a country of idiots and lunatics. Mankind would not progress at all if we refused to learn from each other.

> But to learn from other cultures does not mean we should abandon our own. The sort of learning from which we can benefit is the kind which can help us to perfect and broaden our culture. (Nyerere 1967b/1962: 187)

At the literary level, Mushi (1968a: 5) considered the foundation and establishment of a national literature based on the principle of self-reliance, which was central to the nation-building endeavour. This led him to ban the use of books (especially text-books) written by 'foreigners' (1968a). Nevertheless, he considered translation as an edifying aspect of the process of construction of a national literature:

> There is a need to evolve a truly national literature which should have its roots in our cultural background. But it would be unwise to condemn all foreign literature as unsuitable for our consumption … It is, therefore, not wrong to translate certain suitable books – particularly plays and novels – into Swahili. Mwalimu Nyerere has led the way by translating Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar', and it is encouraging to see that some other people have followed his foot steps. (1968a)

The tension between the privileging of endemic intellectual resources and the desire for internationalism, inherent in the formulation of national policies, is transferred to the form of verse translation and the discursive strategies employed by Nyerere and Mushi in introducing this form. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Swahili poetic field had established a complex prosodic system, where deviation from the metrical and rhyme rules involved the rejection of a piece of poetry which was referred to as *guni*, or 'imperfect'. In his *Sheria za kutunga mashairi na diwani ya Amri* (The Principles of Poetics together with a Collection of Poems by Amri', 1954), an anthology of poems with a theoretical introduction, Abedi put great emphasis on traditional prosodic compositions based on the requirements of *mizani* (syllable count), *vina* (rhyme), *kituo* (caesura) and *kutosheleza*, the convention for a verse to be semantically self-contained. In the collection, he did not deal with *mashairi ya guni* (imperfect poems), since they 'hayatiliwi nguvu na si maarufu' (have not been much developed and are not famous)[7] (Amri 1954: 1). Abedi thus provides a clear picture of the status of *mashairi ya guni*, which did not fit into the Swahili poetic canon. Through their Shakespearean and Greek translations, Nyerere and Mushi developed blank (unrhymed) verse, a form of versification which represented a rupture with the rigidity of Swahili prosody.[8] Blank verse in the Swahili context meant using recognized poetic metres, like sixteen-syllable and fourteen-syllable verse, without necessarily applying the requirements of *kituo*, or *kutosheleza* or, above all, without any rhyme.

The awareness of what constituted the *doxa* of Swahili poetry had an impact on the discursive strategies deployed to portray the use of *mashairi ya guni* in Nyerere's and Mushi's translations. While their choice of blank verse might seem to comply with the logic of a heretical break, a closer examination of their discourse on translation reveals the extent to which heterodoxy was modulated by orthodoxy. Although, as he himself comments, Nyerere (1963: 3) started his translation as a recreation, without planning to publish it, leafing through the preface to Nyerere's first translation of *Caesar* brings to light how he laid great emphasis on explaining and discussing his metrical choices (1963: 3):

> kwa sababu 'Julius Caesar' cha Shakespeare kilitungwa kwa sheria fulani za mashairi ya Kiingereza, nilifikiri kuwa mchezo wangu utaniburudisha zaidi na mimi nikijaribu kukitafsiri kwa kufuata sheria fulani ya mashairi ya Kiswahili. (Since Shakespeare's 'Julius Caesar' was composed with particular English poetic rules, I thought that my play would entertain me much more if I tried to translate it by following particular Swahili poetic rules.)

Here, Nyerere assures the reader that his translated verses comply with the Swahili poetic canon. The same is claimed by Mushi (1971: ix) in his introduction to *Mfalme Edipode* where, commenting on 'ugumu wa kutafsiri kwa msemo wa kishairi' (the difficulties of translating with poetic language), he mentions as one of his objectives that of 'kufuata kanuni za ushairi wa Kiswahili' (following the rules of Swahili poetry). Nyerere's intention of adapting the English text to the metrical rules of Swahili prosody, expressed in the excerpt above, is sustained by the desire to preserve the modalities in which Swahili poetry is experienced and performed: Swahili classical poetry was, in fact, composed to be chanted and not read (Harries 1962: 12; Mazrui and Shariff 1976: 70). Here is how Nyerere (1963: 5) himself puts it:

> Nimesema kwamba nimejitahidi kuufanya kila mstari uwe na mizani 16. Sikusema kuwa nimefaulu, kwa sababu si jambo rahisi … Nilivyojitahidi kufanya ni kumwezesha mtu kuuimba mstari wenye jina la aina hizo [Nyerere anayarejea majina ya wahusika] kwa kulipunguza au kuliongeza mizani kwa kadiri ya wingi wa mizani ya maneno mengine ya mstari huo. Pili mashairi ya Kiingereza hukusudiwa yasomwe; lakini ya Kiswahili hukusudiwa yaimbwe. Jitihada yangu ilikuwa kumwezesha msomaji kuimba au kusoma. Ni taabu kuimba kitabu kizima! Lakini mtu akipenda, anaweza kujaribu!
>
> (I said that I endeavoured to make every line have 16 syllables. I did not say that I succeeded, since this is not an easy task … What I endeavoured to do was to enable a person to sing the line with names of this kind [Nyerere refers to names of the characters] by reducing or increasing the

> syllables in accordance with the number of syllables of other words in a specific line. Secondly, English poetry is meant to be read; while Swahili poetry is meant to be chanted. My aim was to enable the reader to sing and read. Indeed to sing a whole book is hard! But whoever wishes could try his hand at it!)

After having assured the readers that the poetry they are going to read in the text complies with orthodoxy, Nyerere switches to heterodoxy. And he uses an astute strategy. He presents to the readers a stanza of Swahili poetry, describing the rules pertaining to lines, syllables and rhymes; but shortly after, he proclaims that Swahili poetry is not restricted to this, rather, it is full of possibilities, including blank verse. What Nyerere (1963: 4) does in the following excerpt is to justify his choice of *mashairi ya guni*, strenuously defending its legitimate existence in Swahili prosody:

> Mashairi mengi ya Kiswahili ni ya aina hii. Lakini nimesema 'mengi', sikusema 'yote'. Mengine huwa hayana mizani 16; mengine huwa hayana vina vya katikati; mengine huwa hayabadilishi vina vya mstari wa mwisho; mengine huwa hayana vina kabisa, n.k. Mashairi ambayo hayana vina huitwa mashairi ya guni. Si mengi sana katika lugha ya Kiswahili, lakini yapo. Nyimbo nyingi tuimbazo ni mashairi; lakini mengine huwa yana vina, na mengine hayana vina. Katika lugha nyingine vile vile mashairi huwa ya vina au ya guni. Katika kutafsiri 'Julius Caezar', nimetumia sheria moja ya shairi la kawaida, yaani kila mstari nimejitahidi kuufanya uwe na mizani 16. Lakini mistari hii haina vina, wala haikugawanywa katika beti.
>
> (Many Swahili poems are of this kind. But I said 'many', I did not say 'every'. Some do not have 16 syllables; some do not have intermediate rhymes; some others do not change the rhyme in the last line; some do not have rhyme at all, etc. Poems without rhymes are called *mashairi ya guni*. They are not many in Swahili, but they do exist. Many of the songs we sing are poems, and while some have rhymes, others do not. In other languages, as well, poems can be rhymed or unrhymed. In translating 'Julius Caezar' I employed one of the rules of conventional [e.g., Swahili] poems, in other words I endeavoured to give every line 16 syllables. However, these lines do not rhyme, nor are they divided into stanzas.)

An identical strategy is followed in the preface to *Mfalme Edipode*, where Mushi (1971: xi) uses terms identical to those used by Nyerere:

> Sehemu nyingi za Wazee nimeziandika kwa mashairi ya guni, nikitumia mizani kumi na nne. Mashairi ya guni si mengi katika Kiswahili, lakini yapo;

> na kusema kweli, nyimbo nyingi tuimbazo ni za mashairi ya guni, ingawaje kuna mengine yenye vina.
>
> (I have written several parts of [the chorus of] the elders in blank verse, using fourteen syllables. Blank verse is not common in Swahili, but it does exist; and, in truth, many of the songs we sing are in blank verse, even though some of them do have rhymes.)

Mushi justifies the choice of verse form by appealing to 'fidelity' to the source, the effort to follow Shakespeare's model. For instance, in the introduction to *Macbeth*, he points out inconsistencies in the number of syllables of his verses and claims that this is so because he followed Shakespeare's metrical changes which marked an alteration in the characters' emotionality or in the context of performance:

> Shakespeare ameziandika sehemu nyingi za mchezo huu kwa mashairi ya guni … Mimi nimezifasiri sehemu hizo kwa mashairi ya guni, nikitumia mizani ya 16 … Lakini, sehemu nyingine, Shakespeare alibadili mizani. Katika sehemu kama hizo, kama msomaji atakavyoona, mimi pia nimebadili mizani. (Mushi 1968b: v)
>
> (Shakespeare wrote several parts of this play in blank verse … I have translated these parts in blank verse, using sixteen syllables … However, in other parts, Shakespeare changed the syllabic metre. In those parts, as the reader will notice, I have changed the syllabic metre as well.)

Like Nyerere's strategy of mentioning that poetry should be sung, Mushi's argument could represent a conservative strategy, or orthodox practice, used to mitigate the introduction of heresy. Mushi's argument echoes a convention of poetic translation practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Classical Swahili poets who translated Islamic legendary and historical stories in verse form, namely in the form of the *utendi*, documented their claim to have 'preserved the original', and to have followed the source as closely as possible (cf. Talento 2014: 47–48, 2017). While, on the one hand, both Nyerere (1969: vi) and Mushi (1968a: 7, 1968b: vi, 1969: v, 1971: ix–x) defend their right to adapt the text to the target cultural peculiarities and translate *ad sensum* and not *ad litteram*, on the other hand they feel urged to specify that the source text has been 'preserved'. Mushi (1969: v), for instance, declares in *Tufani* that 'sikuongeza habari yo yote kutokana na uzushi wangu' (I did not add any information out of my fantasy) (see also Nyerere 1969a: vi).[9]

Another strategy which could be described as conservative is that of appealing to literary authorities. In *Julius Caezar*, Nyerere (1963: 6) acknowledged Sheikh Amri Abedi (who was then also the minister of Justice), 'aliyekubali kuisoma tafsiri yenyewe, na kunipa mashauri mengi mazuri' (who

agreed to read the translation, and gave me much valuable advice). This was indeed an effective message to empower his translation: Nyerere was putting himself under the wing of an indisputable literary authority. Sheikh Amri Abedi strenuously defended Nyereres's *mashairi ya guni* against Lyndon Harries's claim that the blank verse Nyerere used bore no relation to Swahili traditional poetry (Wright 1990: 39–40). In the second edition of *Julius Caesar*, the name of Abedi is accompanied by a parade of material and intellectual collaborators, such as Lyndon Harries and John Allen, renowned Swahili scholars (Nyerere 1969: vii).

Nyerere's and Mushi's prefaces exhibit an insistence on metrical choices which can be read as an attempt to legitimate a verse form that was deemed unconventional and unacceptable in the Swahili literary field. While Bourdieu posits that the arbitrariness of *doxa* is called into question by becoming the contending object of the discourses of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, Nyerere's and Mushi's discourse on the translation of verse seems to be a strategy to mitigate heterodoxy by inscribing it within orthodoxy. Yet, Nyerere's and Mushi's discourse on verse translation resonates with Bourdieu's argument of struggles over definitions. Since *doxa* is 'the point of view of the dominant' (Bourdieu 1998: 57), what agents compete for is acquisition of the monopoly to dictate the legitimate mode of cultural production. Internal struggles in the literary field translate conflicts over the monopoly to determine the boundaries of the field, or to delimitate the population and objects entitled to belong to and circulate within that field and to take part in the struggle for literary legitimacy (Bourdieu 1993: 41, 1996: 223). This 'monopoly of the power of consecration of producers and products' (Bourdieu 1996: 224) operates either through representative actions (demonstrations by a group are an example) or through a particular use of language, through official naming, which aims at transforming the categories of perception of social reality (Bourdieu 1989: 20, 1991a: 239).

In Swahili this naming of *mashairi ya guni* as a legitimate item in the Swahili literary inventory is equivalent to establishing the boundaries of the poetic field by including blank verse. Although Bourdieu (1996: 157, original emphasis) maintains that new entrants in a field 'continually *banish to the past*' their predecessors, and displace previous artistic practices, in Nyerere's and Mushi's discourse on poetic translation there is no attempt to undermine orthodoxy or delegitimate the current *doxa*, but rather to enlarge the principles and criteria for organizing practices in that field. Nyerere and Mushi contest the current structure of a field without rejecting it, that is without referring to its principles as 'dépassés, démodés' (outdated, out-of-fashion) (Bourdieu 1991b: 34). The link to orthodoxy is established by showing that blank verse complies with pre-existing criteria in the poetic field and that their translation practice does not relegate to the past 'a whole set of producers, products and

systems of taste' as required by the logics and dynamics of imposing a new producer, product and system of taste, as field theory postulates (Bourdieu 1996: 159–160). While Bourdieu and Casanova postulate divergence, or a break with the past, as a crucial element in the history of change within a literary field, the Swahili context provides a model of synthesis between these two divergent forces in which innovativity can be fed by existing literary models. This is the reason why the use of blank verse in the translations of Shakespeare and Sophocles had to be sanctioned as extant within the Swahili literary corpus. The blurb of *Mfalme Edipode* provides an illustrative example of this synthesis between the attempt not to violate the original while mixing it with the local:

> Samuel Mushi ameuhifadhi ule moyo na tabia ya ushairi asilia wa Kigiriki na papo hapo akashikamana na mwendo wa ushairi wa Kiswahili kwa kadiri inavyowezekana.
>
> (Samuel Mushi has preserved the character and nature of the original Greek poetry and at the same time he cleaves to the manner of Swahili poetry to a great extent.)

Nyerere's and Mushi's translation practices are based on a notion of translation as a resource for synthesizing the foreign with the local, exogenous with endogenous resources, in order to come up with an endemic literary good.[10] Indeed, synthesizing was one of Nyerere's keywords in the construction of the society he had envisioned: 'There is need for a new synthesis … we have the lessons of the East and the West before us and we have our traditions'. (Nyerere 1967b: 121) And: 'We shall be working out a new synthesis, a way of life that draws from Europe as well as Africa, from Islam as well as Christianity, from communalism and individualism' (Nyerere 1967b: 116).

The discourse on the translation of poetry employed by Nyerere and Mushi illuminates their attempt to establish literary models while negotiating the terms of cultural importation. Indeed, writers from dominated literary spaces can deploy strategies to convert what is deemed as literary dependence into an 'instrument of emancipation and legitimacy' (Casanova 2004: 116). Translating Shakespeare and Sophocles offered Nyerere and Mushi a pragmatic solution to a dilemma facing the nation-building process, namely the tension between the use of internal and external (intellectual) resources. In translating Shakespeare and Sophocles, Nyerere and Mushi rejected the import of literature as a sign of cultural dependence and negotiated the terms of importation by combining self-reliance and internationalism, synthesizing foreign repertoires and local initiatives, while welcoming the synthesis as an instrument of innovation.

The process of synthesis at a literary level has to do with a convergent process of re-appropriation and re-functionalization of the uses of the work of art, which are, in the words of Sapiro (2014: 6), 'au cœur même des mécanismes de reproduction ou de renouvellement de l'espace des possibles littéraires' (at the very heart of the mechanisms of reproduction or renewal of the space of literary possibilities). In this respect, the synthesis Nyerere and Mushi achieved by merging the Swahili and English poetic repertoires worked in the direction of introducing and establishing literary models to foster the expansion of the Swahili poetic corpus, and contribute to the construction of a national literary space. In the context of tension between internal and external resources, the synthesis performed via verse translation not only provided a tool to legitimate a verse form which was more or less banned in the Swahili literary field but also set the stage for further developments through which literary regeneration and innovation could be achieved. The recognition of blank verse was not a smooth process and was initially met with resistance. Ali A. Mazrui (1967: 21), for instance, contended that Nyerere's poetic exercise might prevent Swahili readers from genuinely enjoying the poetic reading of the text.[11] On the other hand, the translations attracted a number of disciples who used blank verse as a favoured medium for the creation of plays, as Mulokozi (1975: 9) underscores:

> tangu Mwalim Nyerere atafsiri michezo miwili ya Shakespeare umezuka ushairi wa kitamthilia unaotumiwa na watunzi na watafsiri wa michezo ya kuigiza.
>
> (Since Mwalimu Nyerere translated the two plays by Shakespeare, a kind of theatrical poetry has appeared which is utilized by writers and translators of drama.)

Verse translation in the Swahili Shakespearean and Sophoclean texts not only caused a break with – or reworking of – prosodic poetry, but also functioned as a propeller for experimentation. The introduction (or better, the institutionalization) of *mashairi ya guni* within the Swahili literary field was bound to be accompanied by reflection on the place and legitimate existence of this poetic type within the Swahili literary corpus. Indeed, as Bourdieu (1991b: 25–26) argues, the evolution of the field of cultural production is sustained by a 'retournement critique' (critical reversal) on the nature, principles and items forming the field. Following Nyerere's and Mushi's introduction of blank verse, a debate erupted in Tanzania (and beyond) on the nature of Swahili poetry which shook the Swahili literary field in the 1960s and 1970s and continued until well into the 1990s (cf. Mazrui 1992; Njogu 1995). The debate centred on the legitimacy, authenticity and

compatibility of blank verse – and later free verse, namely without a fixed metre and rhyme – in Swahili poetry, and resulted in a dichotomization between traditionalists (*wanajadi/wanamapokezi*), or defenders of traditional prosodic poetry (orthodoxy), and modernists (*wanamabadiliko/wanausasa*), who accepted other poetic possibilities beyond traditional prosodic poetry (heterodoxy).

The traditionalists saw blank verse (and free verse) as bearing the stigma of European influence, and thus as a sign of the decadence of Swahili poetry (Chiraghdin 1971: 14). The word *guni* is used by them as a derogatory term. Shaaban Robert (1972: xiii), refers to blank verse as a form 'hujulikana kwa dosari ya mizani na ila katika vina' (renowned for the defect of syllables and flaw in the rhyme). Kandoro (1978: 42–43) also considered the use of this verse form as 'kukusudia kutia ila au dosari fulani katika tungo zetu, kitu ambacho si chema wala hakina sababu' (aimed at putting flaws or defects in our compositions, something which is unfair and has no motivation).

On the other hand, modernists regarded traditional and prosodic poetry as the expression of an elitist, feudalist and coastal culture which defended 'athari za kiarabu' (Arabic influences) (Mulokozi and Kahigi 1979: 10), thus preventing the inland writers and the 'common people' from participating in the cultural exercise (Mulokozi and Kahigi 1973: vi; Topan 1974: xi). Defenders of blank and free verse depict them as founded in the traditional Bantu poetic tradition and see them as enhancing a process of 'cultural decolonization' (Mazrui and Shariff 1994: 112).

In the process of nation building, which gravitated around the concepts of tradition versus innovation, self-reliance versus cultural dependence, abiding by one of the two poetic forms was the externalization of a political stance which must be read in the light of the *ujamaa* policy. Although with different effects, both traditionalists and modernists should be inscribed in the wider political context and considered as the two sides of the coin of the nation-building process. The traditionalists interpreted *ujamaa* as capitalizing on recovery of the past and tradition, while modernists can be seen as embodying a revolutionary reading of Tanzanian socialism addressing a radical reinterpretation of past and present (cf. Madumulla et al. 1999: 332).

A few years after Nyerere's and Mushi's translations, the merging of heretical and orthodox practices amplified the search for new forms and metres. During the 1970s and 1980s, a new generation of poets, such as Euphrase Kezilahabi, Ebrahim Hussein, Mugyabuso Mulokozi or Kulikoyela Kahigi, heightened the rupture initiated by Nyerere and Mushi, composing in free verse, and affirming themselves as the most eminent figures of the Swahili contemporary poetic field.

Concluding remarks

Discourses on translation help explore the ideas circulated about translation, which impinge on translation practice and which, in turn, conserve or subvert these ideas, the current *doxa*. In this chapter, I have explored the discourse on Swahili verse translation used by Julius Nyerere and Samuel Mushi as a locus where the *doxa* of the Swahili poetic space could be debated.

The imbrication of textual practices with the agents' practices in adjacent fields shows how textuality is embedded in human agency vis-à-vis the phenomenological context. Inscribed in the process of forging a national culture and a cultured nation, Nyerere and Mushi transferred the tenets of a political discourse to the discourse on and practice of translation. In translating Shakespeare's and Sophocles' verses, Nyerere and Mushi negotiated the terms of cultural import, combining the policies of self-reliance and internationalism, synthesizing foreign repertoires and local initiatives, while establishing literary models.

The analysis has focused on the procedures through which change and innovation occur in a literary field and has offered a different angle from which to look at the way a literary field can deal with heresy, namely the strategy of introducing new literary possibilities while maintaining a link with the current literary state of affairs. Nyerere's and Mushi's discourse on poetry translation tried to inscribe blank verse, a metrical form deemed unconventional within the Swahili literary field, in the realm of Swahili prosody and thus resulted in an attempt to mitigate heterodoxy via orthodoxy. As a rebuttal of Bourdieu's and Casanova's arguments concerning the modalities through which heresy is introduced in a literary field, the discourse on translation elaborated by Nyerere and Mushi provides a model of synthesis between heterodoxy and orthodoxy. Another divergence which the Swahili postcolonial context offers relates to the kinds of agents identified as the prototypical propellers of breaks. According to Bourdieu (1991b: 24), heretical breaks usually emanate from those literary agents who are newcomers on the literary stage, and who are less endowed with symbolic capital. Granted that translators like Nyerere or Mushi might be considered 'jeunes' (young) in a structural sense (1991b), contrary to Bourdieu's remark, they provide examples of introducers of heresy who are endowed with some forms of social, cultural and symbolic capital. The Swahili case has illustrated how orthodoxy and heterodoxy are not inescapably opposing forces, but can co-exist and interact in the dynamics of the development of a literary field, and how the possession of resources does not hamper participation in crucial remodellings at the heart of the field.

Notes

1 Swahili is a Bantu language which emerged on the East African coast around the ninth century (Nurse and Spear 1985: 49). It is now the official language of Tanzania and Kenya, and one of the four national languages of the Democratic Republic of Congo. It is also used in other countries in eastern Africa including Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, northern Mozambique, Somalia and the Comoro Islands. Today Swahili has pan-ethnic, inter-religious and transnational dimensions, but up to the end of the nineteenth century it was only associated with the urban coastal Muslim communities of the east African coastline between southern Somalia and northern Mozambique, including the offshore islands.

2 The study of prefaces to translations has had a notable preponderance in translation research. Cf. Hartama-Heinonen 1995, Dimitriu 2009, McRae 2012, Norberg 2012.

3 The British educational system selectively filtered access to literacy in English with the purpose of training a restricted group to become subordinate administrative officers (Mbilinyi 1980: 254).

4 An exchange of poems can be found in Kandoro 1972: 162–164.

5 Nyerere's appreciation of Swahili poetry involved him in a translation project after his retirement from the political scene nearly up to the end of his life: he translated the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in verse, namely in the traditional *utenzi* metre; they were published in 1996.

6 At the end of his mandate, Mushi became the first African professor of Political Science in Tanzania, in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the University of Dar es Salaam. He became the head of department and worked there until his death in 2011 (Mbise 1984: 55).

7 All translations of quotations and examples are mine.

8 The same happened in the Egyptian context. Hanna (2016: 54) informs us that in 1959 Abu Hadid translated Shakespeare's *Macbeth* using blank verse, 'a form that is not known in Arabic poetry', to encourage Arab writers to experiment with new literary genres.

9 In commenting on Nyerere's two translations of *Caesar*, Mazrui (2007: 134) speaks of Nyerere's endeavour to 'Swahilize his revised edition', urged by a higher consciousness to adapt the text for a Swahili audience. I would like to remark that the two translations are not substantially different, except for phonetic adaptations of the names of the characters in the play, with subsequent revision of rhymes and the position of words in the verses. Mazrui (2007) refers to the fact that the 'Swahilization' of the second translation of *Caesar* was dictated by the will to adapt Shakespearean blank verse to the Swahili metric beat and 'singability' of verses. In point of fact, those are motivations brought forward by Nyerere already in the introduction to the first translation (1963: 3, 5). Therefore, Mazrui's claim of the 'Swahilization' of the Shakespearean text should be understood as encompassing the phonetic and orthographic spheres, and not in the sense of adapting cultural referents of the source to the recipient linguistic and cultural world of the East African, Swahili setting.

10 Nyerere's syncretism is also tangible in other parts of his poetic practice. His translation of the Gospels, for instance, was done using the traditional *utenzi* metre with some innovations. Although he adhered to the pattern of eight measures per line, he did not consistently adhere to the four-line stanza, introduced rhyming couplets instead of the traditional rhyming scheme (Noss and Renju 2007: 43).

11 Here is Mazrui's comment: 'In general, it remains doubtful whether readers of Swahili verse would enjoy blank verse at the same aesthetic depth as they now enjoy poetic rhyme.'

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7

Shakespeare's Love behind the Iron Curtain: Queer Silences and Czechoslovak Sonnet Translations

Eva Spišiaková

Introduction

In November 1989, a series of largely student-led demonstrations taking place all over Czechoslovakia brought on the dismantling of the communist regime that had ruled the country for more than four decades. The process, later known in history as the Velvet Revolution due to its relatively peaceful development, was accompanied by a wave of unprecedented freedoms as the tight stronghold that the Communist Party exercised over virtually every aspect of the society suddenly dissolved. One of the first groups that immediately used this momentum in order to break the taboo around their very existence were the gays and lesbians of Czechoslovakia. This chapter looks at the era before the momentous changes of the Velvet Revolution opened the doors of the metaphorical, institutionalized closet, and explores the time period when any mentions of same-sex relationships and acts were neatly removed from any form of public discourse. While the four decades of communist control and scrupulous censorship might appear like a homogenous blanket of all-encompassing taboo, voices were nonetheless heard even within the silence; there are, after all, 'not one but many silences, and they are an integral part of

the strategies that underlie and permeate discourses', to cite Eve Sedgwick Kosofsky's seminal work *Epistemology of the Closet* (1990: 3). Same-sex love and affection during the socialist era lived between the lines and within the textual and oral omissions created in a large part through the publishing industry. Considered crucial in the structuring of the future communist society, the production of books was one of the most tightly controlled and vigorously censored areas within the former Eastern bloc, and publishers, editors and translators had to constantly negotiate the narrow spaces defined by state-imposed ideology.

In this chapter, I explore how the unspoken element of same-sex affection was expressed in translations of Shakespeare's sonnets (1609). As one of the most controversial poetry collections in literary history, the sonnets open themselves to a queer reading through the author's occasional inclusion of male pronouns and other markers indicating that one of the recipients might not have been female. The collection enjoyed lasting popularity throughout the Czechoslovak socialist period and brought several retranslations, and each of these versions compelled the translators and editors to confront the problematic content of the sonnets within the context of their ideological restrictions. One of the methods frequently used to approach works with possibly problematic content was the popular addition of forewords and afterwords where the translator, editor or often an expert in the given field would explain the questionable instances and lead the reader towards the correct, regime-appropriate interpretation. However, as Foucault points out in his *History of Sexuality*, creating discourses around taboo subjects is an incentive to talk about them (1978: 31). This chapter questions whether these paratextual materials, ostensibly written in order to neutralize problematic content, could not have unintentionally served, rather, as a vehicle for the 'outing' of the sonnets. Brian Baer (2011) explores how authors and translators in the Soviet Union skilfully adapted the constricted spaces in order to re-encode queer subtext that was invisible to the censors' eyes but could be deciphered by the attentive reader. I ask whether this subtext could be encoded in books unintentionally, through the actively prohibitive paratextual apparatus aiming at the polar opposite. After a brief introduction of the publishing policies of former Czechoslovakia, the position of homosexual minority during the communist era, and the suitability of the chosen corpus for this type of enquiry, I will use forewords and afterwords from five complete translations of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* published in Czech or in Slovak between the years 1955 and 1987 for close textual and semiotic analysis in order to identify and evaluate the translatorial or editorial commentaries related to the subject of same-sex affection or desire in the sonnets. I will argue that it is in the paratext that the sonnets speak most clearly about the tabooed subject of homosexuality and that it is through the paratext that the silence paradoxically

opens the possibilities for discourse surrounding same-sex affection and desire between men.

Publishing strategies in the former Czechoslovakia

The almost three decades that separate us now from the fall of the Iron Curtain finally brought first retrospective analyses of the impact of totalitarian governments on the publishing industry and particularly on translations within the Eastern European realm. Several studies explore the challenges within individual parts of the former Soviet bloc and its satellite states – among others East Germany (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007), Poland (Tomaszkiewicz 2002), Russia (Gallagher 2009; Kuhiwczak 2009; Baer 2011) and Estonia (Lange, 2011). While studies focusing specifically on Czechoslovakia are still scarce, the repeating patterns in the existing studies suggest that the situation in the publishing industry was similar and comparable to other parts of the political sphere of influence. This work combines these sources with a short study by Jaroslav Špirk (2008) and a collection of interviews conducted with Czech translators who worked for the majority of their lives under communist censorship (Rubáš 2012).

One of the fundamental factors influencing the publishing process in any of the former socialist countries was the importance that was given to the written word in the shaping of the future communist society, which was deeply rooted in Marxist-Leninist principles (Baer 2011: 27). As Thomson-Wohlgemuth describes, 'the entire field of book production was fundamentally reconstructed. Books were no longer viewed as mere commodities but were functionalized as a device with a purpose' (2007: 94). The perception of literature as a political tool naturally led to a tight control over the type of texts allowed to be circulated among the population, and, adding the fact that private publishing houses were virtually non-existent, we start to construct a picture of state-owned monopoly and complete control over all printed products. While this sweeping definition ignores the very real subculture of illegally printed and circulated *samizdat*[1] publications, the dominance and complete control of the state-owned publishing houses throughout this period of Czechoslovak literary history cannot be overemphasized.

The key characteristics of the regime regulations imposed onto the publishing process align with the overall traits present in the majority of industries. Party-controlled planning policies limited the amount of books approved for publication according to previously determined quotas, which were further obstructed by the restricted amount of paper each institution

could use within a year's time (Jarmila Fialová in Rubáš 2012: 80). Nationwide centralization meant that all publishing was localized in several state-controlled publishing houses, and the inclusion of a book in the publishing plan was preceded by a number of steps, including one or several evaluation reports from an external source that would confirm the book's suitability for the regime's intentions (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007: 93). The selection of translators, illustrators and editors had to likewise adhere to party-approved guidelines and had to exclude any names that were deemed unwanted by the regime. Once the text was ready for publication, the editor in chief would have to personally secure and defend it in front of a special committee at the Ministry of Culture (Eva Kondrysová in Rubáš 2012: 197).

Several of the translators in Rubáš' collection mention the fundamental importance of afterwords and forewords in the frequently arduous process of forcing books through the censorial barriers. These paratextual elements were in most cases a required part of any publication, and often took the form of short literary essays discussing the author's life and the themes of the text. While František Fröhlich clearly states that a great majority of these texts were written by competent literary scholars and have their own literary value, he likewise admits that some of them were written for the sole purpose of persuading the censorial committees to approve the less favourably judged authors (Rubáš 2012: 109). As Josef Forbelský confirms, 'Afterwords were often written so that a book would be pushed through and functioned therefore in a certain political climate. The regime took them as a form of education: "The author might be dubious, but the author of the afterword will explain it to you"' (Rubáš 2012: 93).[2] Věra Dvořáková describes what kind of text could be expected to accompany this less convenient material: 'If you look into the afterwords in books published during Communism, you will inevitably find sentences emphasising the author's devotion to ordinary people or his social empathy, or, at least, his humanitarianism' (Rubáš 2012: 50). I am interested in seeing how these paratextual features functioned in a text that occupied a particular position within the literary production of communist Czechoslovakia. While the rejection of all cultural products that came from the Western side of the Iron Curtain, and a deliberate propaganda that equated capitalist morals with negative values, were some of the key strategies of the regime, this did not always extend to literary classics. Some authors, regardless of their country of origin, lent themselves to the appropriation that in turn emphasized the spatial and temporal universality of the ideas that the communist regime aimed to promote. Baer identifies this tendency in communist publishing practices, where, 'the Soviet regime sought to claim many of the great authors of the West (Shakespeare, Hugo, Dickens) as champions of the common people, in a crude formulation as prophets of socialism' (2011: 28). It is not difficult to see why William Shakespeare, the son of a glovemaker and therefore

from a working-class background, who became world-famous through his plays that were open to all levels of Elizabethan and Jacobean society, would appeal to communist propaganda. Perhaps one of the strongest proofs of this phenomenon is the popularity of Shakespeare's sonnets on the Eastern side of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War period. Stanislav Rubáš describes the era as 'a time when the translation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* could be published in a press run of two hundred thousand copies and practically every reader of poetry knew it' (2012: 17) – a comparatively high number for a country with a population of a little more than 13 million in the late 1950s (Mueller 1959).

William Shakespeare was therefore deemed suitable for both print and theatrical productions within the Soviet bloc, however not without some necessary adjustments to his ideas. Many of Shakespeare's plays are strongly political, and some openly question the authority and status quo of power within their respective storylines. Kuhiwczak (2009) mentions a Minister of Culture in the Soviet Union who put a restriction on Shakespeare's plays in theatres as they were 'too much concerned with the struggle for power' (p. 53). Another well-known example of a clash between communist ideals and Shakespeare's writing is Boris Pasternak's subversive translation of *Hamlet*, as described by Aoife Gallagher (2009). In a Czechoslovak context, Jiří Josek records a case where a contestant was banned from a poetry recital because of her choice to present Shakespeare's sonnet number 66 (1997: 113). This deeply pessimistic poem expresses the author's tiredness with the unjust and dishonest world he lives in, and it is only the attachment for 'his love' that keeps him from committing suicide. It is not difficult to see why the communist establishment objected to a public presentation of a poem that describes a deeply hypocritical and corrupted society, and it indicates to us that the most common type of censorship occurring during the four decades of communist regime was focused on political, rather than moral issues of the population.

This chapter, however, explores how the other, potentially threatening elements in Shakespeare's sonnets – the possibility for a queer reading – were handled by the translators and the censorial apparatus present in publishing houses. In order to explain the reasons why homoerotic elements might be considered problematic by the establishment, a brief explanation of the position of sexual minorities during the communist period is necessary.

Non-heterosexuality in communist Czechoslovakia

As part of the post-Stalinist revision of Czechoslovak legislation in 1961, a new article number 244 removed private sexual acts between two consenting

adults of the same sex from the list of criminal offences. This might appear as a remarkably forward-thinking step, particularly considering the fact that a similar law partially decriminalizing homosexuality in England and Wales was passed only six years later in 1967. However, to consider this change as evidence of open-mindedness on the side of the communist regime would be a deceptive simplification. As with in-depth studies analysing the exact mechanisms of communist censorship in Czechoslovakia, research about the life and status of the non-heterosexual population during this time period is only now beginning to emerge. One of the most important sources is a collection of personal interviews conducted by Franz Schindler with Czech gay-identified men who lived for the majority of their adult lives during this era, published as part of a more extensive study of the history of homosexuality in Czech lands (Schindler, Seidl and Himl 2013), together with a similar study exploring the situation in Slovakia and that likewise builds strongly on personal narratives as its source of information (Lorencová 2006). As can be expected, these oral testimonies vary in some aspects depending largely on the respondents' gender, age, class or area where they lived; however, most of them agree on several key points that aid us in creating a coherent picture of the type of existence non-heterosexuals typically led under the communist regime. The most distinctive feature of this time period was an intentional taboo about matters related to homosexuality, and its exclusion from public domains. A key consequence of this politics of silencing was the near impossibility to find romantic and/or sexual partners in the way that typical heterosexual couples would meet their significant others (Schindler 2013: 368), which is a pattern frequently repeated in other, similarly configured societies. The enforced invisibility and constant societal pressure to adhere to a heteronormative lifestyle meant that even those who were fortunate to find a same-sex partner were forced to an existence of permanent concealment, often not speaking about their personal lives even with their closest family members (Lorencová 2006: 119). The only space where any non-heterosexual themes could be spoken about was medical discourse, and it was in the area of sexology that homosexuality first started appearing in popular consciousness, particularly in the last decade of the regime and under the pressure of the global AIDS crisis (Kolářová 2013: 414). The state-imposed blockade on information resulted in an image of homosexuality among general consciousness that was almost completely limited to sexual contact and excluded aspects of romantic affection, relationships or family life.

This informational embargo naturally impacted the publishing industry, and clear steps were undertaken in order to remove explicit mentions of same-sex desire from public discourse. Jarmila Fialová recalls that her translation of Christiane Rochefort's novel *Le Repos du Guerrier* (Warrior's Rest) (1971) was missing six pages at the time of printing due to editorial interventions, with

the reason being that the author 'talked about lesbians, and not only talked, her characters were like that' (Rubáš 2012: 80). With overt references removed from public discourse, literature that contained covert mentions of same-sex affection in the form of subtextual clues was highly important in terms of representation for the invisible non-heterosexual population. As established above, Shakespeare's sonnets enjoyed unprecedented popularity within the socialist Czechoslovak realm, which places them in a particularly interesting position if we consider the fact that the poems are so easily subjected to a queer reading.

Same-sex affection in Shakespeare's sonnets

While some of the 154 sonnets contained in the collection touch traditional Renaissance themes like political turmoil or reminding the reader of the transience of beauty and riches, the general themes of the poems are love, affection and desire in a broad variety of forms and stages. They are written in the first person and generally address their recipient as a 'you' or 'thou', and this addressee is in the majority of cases ungendered. Only a handful of poems unequivocally state who they are addressed to, either through the use of personal pronouns or by using gendered nouns. Some of these clearly address a female recipient – a 'woman' or a 'mistress' – and in some, the addressee is male –, 'man', 'lord', 'boy'. The fact that all female-addressed poems are in the last fifth of the collection led to a traditional division into a Fair Youth sequence (sonnets 1–126) and the Dark Lady sequence (sonnets 127–154). While this grouping of the sonnets is frequently contested (De Grazia 1993; Dubrow 1996), all of the mentioned translators respected and followed this tradition as will be visible from the analysis of the Czechoslovak versions below.

The possibility of a male beloved resulted in a multitude of alternative interpretations that deny or omit the presence of same-sex affection and place the sonnets firmly into a heteronormative narrative, as described by Smith (2003). However, the poems also feature prominently in collections tracing same-sex affection in literary history like Gregory Woods's *A History of Gay Literature: The Male Tradition* (1999: 93–107). This multitude of theories is caused by a variety of factors including the limited amount of information we have about the author himself and the unclear circumstances of the collection's publication; however, it is the text of the sonnets themselves that offers the widest scope for various interpretations. This is primarily possible due to the grammatical gender ambiguity of the English language,

and the importance of this semantic vagueness is highlighted particularly in translation into differently structured grammatical systems. Czech and Slovak, like most Slavic languages, have three grammatical genders, and verbs, adverbs and adjectives have to reflect the gender of the subject or object within the text. Furthermore, a number of keywords that reappear frequently in the sonnet collection, among others the nouns *lover, friend* or *youth*, do not have a gender-neutral form in Czech or Slovak. All of these inevitably compel the translators of the sonnets to make choices throughout their translation process. They either have to assign a gender to the object of affection in a much larger number of the sonnets, choosing between male or female, or they can retain the gender ambiguity that requires significant alterations of the original text.

The corpus for the following paratextual analysis will consist of five sonnet versions published in years 1956, 1958, 1964, 1976 and 1987, covering relatively evenly the four decades of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Three of these translations are in Czech and two in Slovak; as the two languages are closely related and were considered almost interchangeable during the federative years, I do not take the slight differences between them into consideration for the purposes of this chapter. These five translations are part of six full translations (meaning that they contain all 154 sonnets from the original 1609 edition) published in the years of communist rule in Czechoslovakia between 1948 and 1989; the last translation by Zdeněk Hron (1986) was excluded as this pocket-sized version has an intentionally short afterword that omits the subject of same-sex affection altogether.

The most striking textual aspect of these translations, as well as the unifying factor in all five cases, is the translators' choice in assigning gender to the originally ungendered recipient. While following the traditional division of the collection into the Fair Youth and Dark Lady sequences, all five versions translate the great majority of the sonnets in the first group between 1 and 126 as having an unequivocally male addressee through their use of nouns, pronouns and verb conjugations.[3] It is also important to note that these five versions include all 154 sonnets, which suggests that there was no attempt to remove some of the more explicit poems of the collection. All of these aspects imply that the presence of same-sex affection in the sonnets was not regarded as necessitating censorial interventions by the communist censors or editors, which is particularly remarkable given the numerous instances of the sonnets' censorship in various translations into other languages (Delabastita 1985: 119; Toury 2012: 149) as well as in more recent Czech and Slovak translations of the sonnets published after the Velvet Revolution. Given the previously established assertion that possibly problematic texts were often accompanied with afterwords or forewords that were supposed to shift them into the correct perspective, it is particularly interesting to see how

this seeming explicitness of the sonnets themselves was treated within the paratextual features in the five sonnet versions.

Paratextual analysis: Vladislav 1956

The first complete translation of the sonnets published after the 1948 communist coup d'état was the work of a young Czech translator Jan Vladislav, and the collection proved to be a lasting success. Republished numerous times in three different publishing houses, it became the most widely recognized version of the sonnets in popular consciousness, as well as the benchmark against which critics measured all subsequent translations until the Velvet Revolution (Hodek 1995: 179; Uličný 2015: 181). The foreword to Vladislav's edition was written by Zdeněk Vančura, a professor of Anglophone studies at Charles University in Prague, and whose name was presumably supposed to officialize the work of a relatively unknown translator.

The foreword begins with the expected inclusion of Shakespeare within the working-class narrative, as it lays emphasis on the author's talents that brought him fame despite of his humble origins: 'Shakespeare himself, a son from a small rural town, managed within a few years after his arrival from provincial parts of the country to London to encompass all melodic and expressive possibilities of the contemporary poetic language!' (p. 9) Turning to the themes of the sonnets themselves, the first group of 126 poems is, according to Vančura, 'the celebration of a friend, who is here described as a beautiful young man, perhaps of noble birth; at least the poet is looking up to him like to a being above him in every way' (p. 15). The relationship itself is then explained in the following paragraph:

> The friendship is expressed with words that *could also serve to romantic love*. That, however, was nothing strange in Renaissance literature. The relationship of a friend to his friend or a poet to his supporter was celebrated with expressions of *almost amorous* feeling. According to Renaissance theories, friendship was considered the most perfect of human relationships and most suitable for expressions of emotional fervour exactly because it *did not have anything in common with physical passion*. (Vladislav 1956: 15, my emphases)

Two elements in Vančura's approach are particularly interesting as they will reappear throughout the following examples. First, it is the almost euphemistic character of his allusions to homoeroticism that affirms the overall taboo surrounding the subject, as any more explicit references were

clearly unsuitable for this particular context. Secondly, it is the specific construction of the argument that immediately brings to mind Sedgwick Kosofsky's list of examples from literary criticism that attempt to remove the possibility for a queer reading from texts: 'passionate language of same-sex attraction was extremely common during whatever period is under discussion – and therefore must have been completely meaningless' (1990: 52). With a claim remarkably similar to the one written thirty-five years later primarily about Anglo-American academic criticism, the Czechoslovak editor Vančura admits that the text *could* be understood as referring to romantic love or amorous feelings, pre-empting the reader's possible puzzlement about the text; however he immediately suppresses this line of thinking with arguments relying on his own area of expertise, in this case Renaissance literature. The aim of this assertion is to lead the reader's attention away from this problem – 'It didn't happen; it doesn't make any difference; it didn't mean anything; it doesn't have interpretive consequences' (Sedgwick Kosofsky 1990: 52). The editor however already pre-empted that the reader will ask the question, and through this acknowledgement unintentionally opened the door of the closet for those who might not have followed this line of thinking during their own reading.

Blaho 1958

The first full Slovak version of the sonnets and one of only three existing ones to this date was the translation debut of a relatively unknown translator, Stanislav Blaho (Vilikovský 2014: 76). As opposed to Vladislav, the afterword to this collection is written by the translator himself, and reads as a collection of personal and contemplative reflections on Blaho's own encounters with the poems. Particularly remarkable is his addressing the possibility for same-sex affection in the sonnets:

> The friendship here is reflected in terms of love with all its pleasures and woes. I was made aware of the *unnatural tone* of the sonnets in the first part. Why are the sonnets with thoughts of love not rather dedicated to the lady with demonic powers? I do not see anything unnatural in it, if it concerns a conventional celebration of friendship that can delight and also – disappoint. Any *thoughts of unnaturalness* are clearly denied in sonnet 20. (Blaho 1958: 170, my emphases)

Unlike Vančura's historical arguments explaining the questionable parts of the sonnets through a contextualization of the poems within a historical narrative,

Blaho uses a much more personal and subjective reasoning for the lack of suspicious themes in the collection. By constructing the argument as an imagined dialogue between the translator and the reader who might perceive an 'unnatural tone' in the sonnets, Blaho compels us to agree with him on the fact that there could not possibly be anything suspicious about the poems. Using sonnet 20 to assert the lack of any sexual attraction between the author and the recipient of the sonnets is an interesting decision, as the poem describes the presumably male addressee to be as beautiful as a woman, although not in possession of the character flaws frequently attributed to them (l.1–8). The narrative then changes to a tale of Nature falling in love with the addressee, equipping him with 'one thing to my purpose nothing'. The final couplet in lines 13–14, 'But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure, | Mine be thy love and thy love's use their treasure', was frequently interpreted as a proof of the platonic nature of the author's love towards the recipient (Booth1977: 163; Ingram and Redpath 1978: 50; Rowse 1984: 43). However, the sonnet was likewise used to prove the opposite, particularly in more recent critical commentaries (Duncan-Jones 1997: 150; Paterson 2010: 60). While it is improbable that a great number of readers would have access to contemporary Shakespearean scholarship from behind the Iron Curtain, a note like this might compel readers to return to this 'famously puzzling' (Duncan-Jones 1997: 150) sonnet and question the 'clear denial' that Blaho so confidently asserts in his afterword.

Vrchlický and Klášterský 1964

While the previous two translations were aimed at a general readership and especially at lovers of poetry, which was emphasized by their small, intimate formats and relative shortness of paratextual material, the following sonnet translation was clearly addressed to a scholarly audience. Published as a part of a six-volume collection of Shakespeare's complete works in 1964, this nearly 800 page long hardback volume is equipped with a wealth of paratextual material including not only detailed notes on individual lines from the plays and poems but also essays on Shakespearean prosody, a glossary of historical terms and even several family trees explaining the complicated relationships in Shakespeare's historical plays. An interesting addition from the point of view of translation studies is an essay by the well-known Czech translation theorist Jiří Levý (p.682–717), who analyses the issues encountered when translating Shakespeare's iambic pentameter into the Czech language.

The sonnets themselves, sandwiched between Shakespeare's other narrative poems, were not specifically made for this collection, as they were

compiled together from two existing translations. The majority of them are the work of the celebrated romantic poet Jaroslav Vrchlický, whose partial translation of the sonnets was discovered more than forty years after his death in 1921. Sonnets 108 to 140 (with the exception of number 130), which were missing from Vrchlický's version were substituted by an already existing full translation of the collection by Antonín Klášterský (1923), originally published in the interwar period as the first complete sonnet translation in the Czech language.

The majority of the commentaries to the six-volume collection were provided by Otakar Vočadlo, the founder of Slovakia's first Department of British and American studies at Comenius University and another famous name in Czechoslovak academic circles that would vouch for the high standard of the publication. Like all commentaries, the afterword directly attached to the sonnets cites a number of English works on the sonnets as well as other supporting sources, and the question of the male recipient in the sonnets is likewise addressed in considerable detail. The section opens with the reassurance that 'the adoration of a friend corresponds to the Renaissance Platonic cult of friendship and it is not necessary to suspect the poet of *unnatural inclinations*' (p.602, my emphasis). This statement is then supported with a list of 'numerous examples of ardent friendly relationships' (Klášterský 1923.) where Vočadlo lists iconic male pairs such as Achilles and Patroclus, Damon and Pythias or David and Jonathan. Citing C.H. Herford's essay *Shakespeare's Treatment of Love and Marriage* (1921), Vočadlo closes this segment with the following conclusion:

> Shakespeare's plays too describe selfless friendships (for example Antonio in TN and MV); they, however, attest to his completely normal, healthy relationship with love, with which he is noticeably different from dramatists of the later Stuart age with their inclination towards *abnormal bonds.* (Vrchlický and Klášterský 1964: 602, my emphasis)

Vočadlo's use of famous male friendships brings to mind David Halperin's well-known essay *How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality* (2000), where the author recognizes these close male friendships as one of the elements of premodern homosexuality (2000: 99), and uses historical and literary examples that align with Vočadlo's in several points. Halperin says about the ardent language often accompanying these friendships that:

> It is difficult for us moderns, with our heavily psychologistic model of the human personality, of conscious and unconscious desire, and our heightened sensitivity to anything that might seem to contravene the strict protocols of heterosexual masculinity, to avoid reading into such

> passionate expressions of male love a suggestion of 'homoeroticism' at the very least, if not of 'latent homosexuality' – formulations that often act as a cover for our own perplexity about how to interpret the evidence before us. (2000: 101)

Vočadlo's use of these historical and literary pairs as an argument against Shakespeare's 'unnatural inclinations' suggests that neither he, nor the editors or censors of this collection perceived the possible homoeroticism in these relationships and that the regime itself found this type of reasoning to be adequate and sufficient. His arguments, written from the position of 'us, the heterosexual majority', might appear persuasive particularly within the academic setting of his writing; however, for a reader attuned to the possibility of a queer reading, this list could serve as a confirmation of a homoerotic interpretation of the sonnets. An interesting proof of the fact that the Czechoslovak gay and lesbian community was aware of the same-sex romances in classical literature might be the fact that the secret meeting place for gay men in Slovakia's capital city Bratislava used to be the fountain depicting the Greek god Zeus kidnapping Ganymede, a young boy whom he famously made into his lover after the capture (Lorencová 2006: 131).

Saudek et al. 1976

The fourth example of paratextual information in this chapter comes from a version of the sonnets published in 1976. It is another collaborative translation, with the core consisting of thirty-five sonnets translated by one of the largest names in Czechoslovak Shakespearean studies, Erich Adolf Saudek, whose early death cut short both his attempt to translate the complete works of Shakespeare and his translation of the sonnets. Six translators were invited to contribute to this collection and finish the whole corpus of 154 poems. An interesting feature of the paratextual apparatus is the fact that this is the first bilingual version of the sonnets published in Czechoslovakia, with the English original of the sonnets on left pages mirroring the translations on the right. It is necessary to point out however that English did not occupy its current position of lingua franca within the Soviet bloc of countries, as the first language taught in schools from primary level in all educational institutions was Russian. While there certainly were Czechoslovak readers who spoke English, this was a decidedly lower percentage compared to the current situation (Insoma 2002). The number of people who therefore could effectively juxtapose the original with the translation and judge its accuracy would be comparatively small, especially given the complexity of Shakespeare's Elizabethan English.

As in the case of the 1958 translation, this version has a relatively short afterword written by one of the contributors to the collection, the poet and translator Jarmila Urbánková. Like Blaho, Urbánková accompanies the sonnets with words of praise that read as a much more personal and subjective statement than the essays by Shakespearean scholars. The subject of affection in the first part of the sonnets is addressed in the following segment:

> Surely the least understandable part for today's reader is the fervent celebration of the beautiful young friend, that we would rather ascribe to a woman. […] There is however nowhere a hint of any *sick passion* – it is only the desire for a strange, unconditional fellowship, that every human strives for in the depths of his/her soul, and an artist particularly so. […] The admiration of the physical beauty permeates the admiration of the spiritual perfection of the young friend, which however was not completely without blemishes and brought the older partner suffering as well. It is possible to imagine such a relationship, and we are reminded of it in its modern similar version, the beautiful film 'Death in Venice', a masterly rewriting of Mann's novel. (Saudek et al. 1976: 172, my emphasis)

Urbánková's appeal to see the relationship in the sonnets as a type of universal experience that is ultimately familiar to all of us is supported with her likening of the poems to Luchino Visconti's film *Death in Venice*, which was available in Czechoslovak cinemas shortly after the time of its production in 1971. The film as well as Mann's novella narrates the story of a German writer who visits Venice in an attempt to escape his writer's block, and becomes captivated and gradually obsessed with a beautiful young boy, all the while the city succumbs to a cholera epidemic. Compared to a similar strategy taken in the 1964 version, Urbánková's example would certainly be more accessible and easily recognizable by the general public than Vočadlo's selection of classical examples aimed primarily at academic audiences. However, given the fact that both Mann's novel and the film adaptation can be read as having queer elements (Davis 2008: 175), the apparently clear argument against the presence of 'sick passion' in the sonnets leaves the same amount of ambiguity for an attentive reader. To those who already perceived these elements in the film or Mann's novella, Urbánková's commentary might again serve as a further proof of a potential for a queer reading of the sonnets.

Sedlačková 1987

The last paratextual example in this chapter is the 1987 work of another Slovak translator, Anna Sedlačková. Aside from the fact that she is a teacher

of English in Eastern Slovakia, very little is known about this translator as her version of the sonnets was simply sent to the publishing house *Slovenský Spisovateľ* without further explanations (Feldek 2007: 195). The foreword to this edition was entrusted to the Slovak translator and former ambassador of Slovakia in the UK between the years 1992 and 1997, Ján Vilikovský. His paratextual commentary resembles the two other academics in this list, as it offers an in-depth analysis of Shakespeare's life and work, the poetics of sonnets and Elizabethan society. The love in the sonnets is addressed in the following section:

> We are possibly sinning if we read the sonnets too literally, and particularly with a modern vision which equals love with lust and often only with sex. For Elizabethans, this word had much wider connotations. […] When it comes to the *more extreme interpretations*, let us not forget that in Tudor times, this was considered a serious crime, punishable by death. Testimonies of these relationships would be put on paper only by very unreasonable people – and only a madman would let them circulate amongst friends, no matter how intimate. (Sedlačková 1987: 185–186, my emphasis)

Despite the fact that this translation was published a mere two years before the fall of the Iron Curtain, and information about homosexuality in the midst of the AIDS crisis was slowly reaching even Czechoslovak audiences, Vilikovský is still unable to name the 'more extreme interpretations' by their actual name. The method for ensuring the suitability and moral appropriateness of the sonnet likewise changes from the previous examples, as it both condemns what the author perceives as the current sex-obsessed society and claims that Shakespeare could not have published a homoerotic poetry collection because of the legal restriction of his age, echoing another common strategy identified by Sedgwick Kosofsky – 'Attitudes about homosexuality were intolerant back then, unlike now – so people probably didn't do anything' (1990: 52). Vilikovský's rhetoric is the most forceful one of the paratextual samples in this work, almost accusing the reader who might have seen a romantic attraction in the Fair Youth sonnets as committing a *sin* in the eyes of the author; however his argument, hinging on legal restrictions, could hardly persuade the invisible gay community that was living and in many cases enjoying romantic relationships even under the watchful eyes of the restrictive regime.

Conclusion

Considering all five examples presented in this chapter, there are a few points I would like to highlight as a conclusion to this chapter. First, while all of them

use different strategies to address the subject of same-sex love in the sonnets, they were all facing the same, complicated predicament; on one hand, it was doubtlessly necessary to offer an explanation for the unconventional themes of the sonnets, but on the other, a direct mention of same-sex desire or even affection was not part of the institutionalized discourse, and as such could not appear in the paratext. The varying language of the euphemisms, starting from Vančura's 'almost amorous' and gradually growing more explicit through the discourse of 'unnaturalness', 'abnormality' and 'sick passion' not only copies the standard homophobic discourse that was – and is – present in Western societies, but also reveals how despite the seeming informational vacuum during the socialist period, the pressure to talk about sexual minorities intensified as the arguments denying it had to grow stronger with this tension.

The emphasis on friendship and platonic affection that the majority of commentators use in order to steer the attention away from the possible homoerotic desire is not only a well-known practice in literary criticism worldwide, but played an essential role within the socialist narrative that glorified the bonds of comradeship based on equality and loyalty, and that was used as part of the ideological propaganda within the genre of socialist realism. In this sense, the translators and scholars who provided the afterwords and forewords to Shakespeare's sonnets fulfilled their role of ameliorating the possibly dangerous elements within the poems and reinterpreting them in a way that was acceptable for the regime's ideals.

However, if we see the sonnets as a text open to a queer reading operating within a silenced space where words like 'homosexuality' cannot be spoken outside of the deeply negativistic medical discourse, the paratextual material becomes the only place where the queerness of the sonnets resurfaces with its own voice – and while it is a voice blurred by euphemisms, it still serves as a confession on its own. While the sonnets themselves, full of ambiguous poetry dedicated to a male recipient, contain their potential for a multitude of interpretations, the paratext – known to readers for its propensity to follow ideological intentions – is clear in its denial of the unspoken. The sonnets could be seen as the imaginary closet for the same-sex affection and desire available to attentive readers, but it is in the afterwords and forewords where the real possibility for homoeroticism *comes out,* in an action that 'can bring about the revelation of a powerful unknowing as unknowing, not as a vacuum or as the blank it can pretend to be but as a weighty and occupied and consequential epistemological space' (Sedgwick Kosofsky 1990: 77). Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the authors of these paratextual material 'outed' the sonnets through their inevitable attention paid to that which cannot be spoken about, creating a discursive space for a queer reading within the literary silences.

Notes

1 *Samizdat*, from Russian *самиздат* 'self-published', is the secret publication, copying and sharing of books and other printed media that were forbidden or censored by the political regime, particularly common in the countries of the former Eastern bloc.

2 All translations from Czech and Slovak are mine unless stated otherwise.

3 A full analysis of fifteen Czech and Slovak translations of the Sonnets will be a part of a forthcoming work (Spišiaková 2018).

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PART FOUR

Quantitative Approaches to Poetry Translation

8

Semi-Peripheral Relations – The Status of Italian Poetry in Contemporary Sweden

Cecilia Schwartz

In the field of world literature, interrelations between semi-peripheral languages tend to be overlooked or even marginalized (cf. D'haen 2012: 153). One of the reasons for this disregard lies in the scholarly interest in peripheral literatures that until recently were excluded from international literary discussion. But instead of exploring these literatures' interrelations, which would merit serious attention, a more common perspective is to investigate how authors from the literary periphery are received, translated and packaged in (hyper)central languages. From such a polarized view, literatures from semi-peripheral languages are far less intriguing and tend to recede into the shadows. The situation adheres to David Damrosch's description of recent changes in the canon of world literature, as the former two-tiered system consisting of 'major' and 'minor' Western authors has been replaced by a new system comprising three different levels: a hypercanon, consisting of the 'major' Western authors; a countercanon, composed of 'contestatory' voices of writers in peripheral languages; and finally a 'shadow canon' that includes the old 'minor' authors 'who fade increasingly into the background' (Damrosch 2006: 45). In order to describe the scholarly field of world literature, I suggest that Damrosch's three-tiered system could be combined with Heilbron's model of the world system of translations (1999), as shown in Figure 8.1:

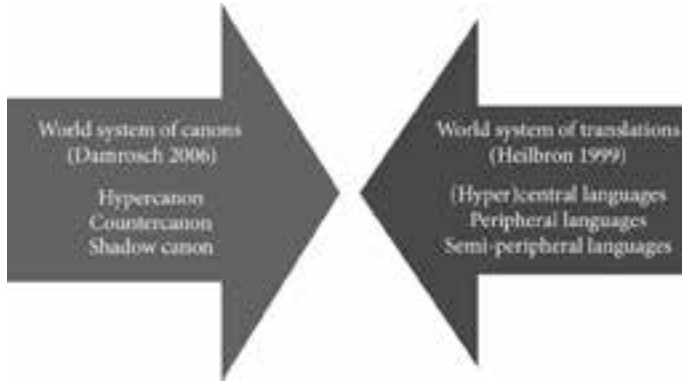


FIGURE 8.1 *The world system of canons and translations.*

If the semi-peripheral literatures are less studied, their interrelations are even more ignored. This does not mean that semi-peripheral literatures are and always have been completely invisible in the field of literary studies; comparatists working in between these literatures have made many important contributions towards a better understanding of their interrelations, but without the transnational framework and, as Pieta observes, often in languages other than English, meaning that they do not reach a broader audience (Pieta 2016: 355).

This chapter aims to highlight a semi-peripheral relation, namely the one between Sweden and Italy – a relation that is not controlled by any major power imbalances, even though Italy, in terms of age and literary patrimony, is superior to Sweden. But the glow from the Renaissance, when Italy enjoyed the status of the very first capital in the world republic of letters (Casanova 2004: 11), is slowly fading. At least since 1978, Italian literature has had a stable position in the semi-periphery of world literature (3–3.5 per cent) together with Spanish, and Swedish. Except from these languages, there have been several changes: after the fall of the Berlin Wall, for instance, Polish and Czech lost their semi-peripheral position and were replaced by Japanese and Latin (Lindqvist 2016: 182–183). Today, according to the figures of the UNESCO *Index Translationum*, the literary semi-periphery includes Russian (4.5 per cent of worldwide translations), Italian (3.0 per cent), Spanish (2.4 per cent), Swedish (1.7 per cent) and Japanese (1.3 per cent).[1]

Even though Italian and Swedish literature have an almost equal status, the relation between them is characterized by relatively great historical, cultural and geographic distances, which indicate that their literary exchanges very much rely on the efforts of the mediators involved in the literary circulation. This chapter aims to investigate the status of Italian poetry today with a particular focus on the translators of poetry, based on an impression that Italian poetry, once very present, has now disappeared from the Swedish book market.

The status of translated poetry in Sweden

In modern-day Sweden, poetry is, after the novel, the literary genre published most by Swedish writers. Poetry that is originally composed in Swedish actually accounts for 17 per cent of the total amount of literary works, which indicates that poetry as a genre is flourishing. But when it comes to translated literature, the share of poetry decreases to 4 per cent, while the novel accounts for almost 90 per cent of translations.[2] This is not a Swedish trend: it is well known that poetry does not circulate as widely as prose (cf. Venuti 2011: 127).

A similar imbalance is visible in terms of languages: in 2016, which was an ordinary year for the Swedish book market, English accounted for 70 per cent of the translations, while translations from central languages such as French and German accounted for 5 per cent each of the total of translations. Semi-peripheral Italian, ranked the sixth most translated language, had a share of 1.2 per cent of the translation market in Sweden.[3]

Combining genre and language, fourteen volumes of Italian poetry were published during the years 2011–16. Of these fourteen publications, hardly any left any traces in terms of interviews, articles or reviews. This has not always been the case; in its heyday, Italian poetry was much more visible in Sweden, not least due to the series of translational anthologies published by Italica, a small publishing house run by Giacomo Oreglia and the Italian Culture Institute in Stockholm. Italica collaborated with some of the most prestigious names of the Swedish literary field, as, for instance, Anders Österling, who happened to be the permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy. Their collaboration led to the consecration of Quasimodo first in Sweden and then globally due to the Nobel Prize to the Sicilian poet in 1959. However, their efforts for consecrating Eugenio Montale were, at least until 1960, less intense, as a result of Österling's initial scepticism towards the *ermetismo* of the Genoese poet. Österling would later change his mind, which might have been one of the reasons for garnering Montale the Nobel Prize in 1975, the ultimate consecration of the poet even globally.[4]

Why has Italian poetry become so invisible in today's Sweden? To obtain a complete picture of the situation one would have to take into consideration issues regarding the media, the general status of Italian poetry, sales figures and the diversification of cultural forms of expression. This chapter will, however, focus on the mediators involved in poetry translation: mainly the translators, but also, to some extent, the publishing houses. This focus has been chosen since translated poetry, which fully belongs to the 'pole of small-scale circulation' consisting of 'upmarket literary works including novels, short stories, poetry or drama' (Sapiro 2008: 169), seldom depends on commercial profits, which makes it entirely dependent on the mediators who are involved in the process. In this perspective, translators are extremely

important because 'once the translation has been done, the position of the translated text (or author) and notably its degree of legitimacy, will depend on the translator's position. The greater the prestige of the mediator, the more noble the translation, and the greater its consecrating power' (Casanova 2010: 300).

Drawing on their capacity to consecrate, Casanova distinguishes three different kinds of mediators: the charismatic consecrator, the institutional consecrator and the ordinary mediator. The most powerful type of mediator is represented by charismatic consecrators, who 'consecrate on their own behalf', while 'institutional consecrators […] belong to the academic or scholarly establishment, for example academic translators' (2010: 301). The ordinary mediator consists in 'almost invisible protagonists of the literary universe […] translators and/or specialists of the literary field which they provide with information about literary innovations in the countries they visit or know'. Casanova's model is, however, approximate and leaves many questions unanswered. What to do, for instance, with the charismatic consecrators who are part of an institution as well? And what about the consecrating power of literary critics who only operate in the media?[5] Another issue, that Casanova does not take into consideration, is obviously the publishing houses' power to consecrate. For the purpose of this chapter, Casanova's model will do as a starting point of the analysis, but it will be complemented with a more fine-grained tool for examining the translators involved in the Swedish circulation of Italian poetry.

In the subfield that Andrew Chesterman has called 'sociology of translators' (Chesterman 2009: 16),[6] very few studies have been carried out on larger groups of literary mediators. This chapter draws on the works of Jacob Blakesley (2016), Francis R. Jones (2011) and, centrally, Isabelle Kalinowski (2001, 2002), who have contributed to a sociological comprehension of the underlying factors regarding translators' vocations and motivations.

Kalinowski's analysis of the collective biography of Hölderlin's French translators (2001) shows that language skills were of less importance than the translators' own position and contacts with French publishing houses. Another crucial factor was that 92 per cent of the Hölderlin translators were men, even though translation is a profession in which women are overrepresented, at least in France at the time Kalinowski published her study (Kalinowski 2001: 27). Moreover, Kalinowski reports that only 10 per cent of the group of thirty French Hölderlin translators in the years 1925–98 consisted in translators 'exclusifs', that is, translators who dedicated themselves exclusively to translation (Kalinowski 2001).

Drawing on Kalinowski's results and on Casanova's model of the capacity of mediators to consecrate in the name of their position, this chapter will investigate the following variables: translator's gender, language skills and

position. With regard to the variable of position, I intend the translators' other occupations, their academic level, and their recognition and prestige in the Swedish literary field. Prestige relies, for instance, on the authors they have translated. Furthermore, the translators' language skills will mainly be measured according to the other languages from which they translate. It is also interesting to discover whether they translate as a part of what Jones calls 'a linguist pattern career' or a 'poet pattern career' (Jones 2011: 183), since the former usually involves language teaching, non-literary translating and interpreting while the latter, involving original poetry writing, is rather associated with more prestige in the literary field. The gender of the translator is another crucial indicator of the importance of a text, since men operating in the literary field tend to be where cultural capital can be gained (Moi 1991; Krais 1993). The gender issue, which is generally downplayed in the field of world literature, merits some more attention. According to Kalinowski, women are more unlikely to feel that they have the 'right' to translate the most consecrated authors and as a consequence classical works are usually translated by men (Kalinowski 2002: 53). A previous study of Swedish mediators of Italian poetry during the years 1948–68 highlights the gender aspect as a key factor: there was actually a significant discrepancy between poetry translators and prose translators, with male dominance in the former category and female dominance in the latter (Schwartz 2016: 84–85). The male dominance underscores that Italian poetry was once a source of symbolic capital for translators in the Swedish literary field. But what about today? Is Italian poetry equally attractive for male translators? If the number of male translators of Italian poetry has diminished, this could indicate that the genre has lost its former status.

Statistical data of Italian poetry in Sweden: An overview

Before delving deeper into the analysis of the translators, we need to consider some statistical data regarding the number of titles,[7] publishing houses and translators.[8] I have compared the last two decades, 1995–2015, with the period spanning 1957 to 1977. If the recent decades were chosen in order to focus on poetry in contemporary translations, the previous time span was chosen as a frame of comparison because it clearly represents what I call a golden age of Italian poetry in Sweden (cf. Schwartz 2016). Table 8.1 shows some statistical data from the chosen periods.

Surprisingly, Table 8.1 shows that there has been a significant *increase* in titles of Italian poetry as well as translators and publishing houses involved

Table 8.1 Statistical data drawn from Italian poetry in Swedish translation

Years	1957–1977	1995–2015
Number of titles[9]	22	34
Number of translators	12	29
Number of publishing houses	9	17

in the mediation process. At first glance, these numbers lie in contrast to the impression of Italian poetry's invisibility in Sweden; they actually suggest an unexpected flowering of the genre in the last two decades. Yet a more in-depth analysis modifies the somewhat positive picture.

The titles published in these two periods can be divided into two categories inspired by Jones's terms *single-poet titles* – volumes including just one author – and *multi-poet titles,* which include two or more poets in the same publication.[10] The outcome of this division, seen in Table 8.2, shows an interesting difference between the two periods that somewhat modifies the picture.

What has happened in recent years is that multi-poet titles – such as anthologies and collections with Italian poetry – have decreased, especially as the four titles mentioned in Table 8.2 only involve three or four poets each, while the eight multi-poet anthologies published in the former time span could include up to fifty-five different Italian poets. According to Jones, multi-poet translators usually have a greater long-term commitment to a region's poetry (Jones 2011: 65). Thus, the decrease in multi-poet projects from Italian in recent times indicates less commitment from the Swedish translators in Italian poetry as a whole. One could argue that translators who concentrate on single poets are more dedicated, but as we will see soon the many single-poet titles in the time span 1995–2015 were often performed by occasional translators, which highlights the fact that mediators with a broader overview of Italian poetry have become rare. The fact that, in the last two decades, the Swedish book market has not had a single collection or anthology with a

Table 8.2 Number of single-poet titles and multi-poet titles

Years	Single-poet titles	Multi-poet titles
1957–1977	14	8
1995–2015	30	4

Table 8.3 Number of Italian poets translated into Swedish (male and female).

Years	Male poets	Female poets	Total poets
1957–1977	79	3	82
1995–2015	23	6	29

special focus on Italian poetry[11] has obvious consequences for the number of poets translated, as shown in Table 8.3.

Two important results can be deduced from Table 8.3: first, the total number of Italian poets translated into Swedish has declined dramatically, from eighty-two to twenty-nine. In spite of this remarkable regression, the number of female authors has increased from three to six poets, or, expressed in percentage, the share of female Italian poets translated into Swedish increased from 4 to 21 per cent. Despite the increase in female translators in the later period, the overall tendency to leave out female poets from the transnational circulation is still dominating.

The decline in quantity in recent years is parallel to a more arbitrary selection of poets. In the first period, which coincides with the Swedish rediscovery and exploration of Italian poetry after the Second World War and the fall of the fascist regime, the two most translated poets were Montale and Quasimodo (3 titles each) – both highly esteemed poets even outside Italy. In the last two decades the most translated Italian poets were Corrado Calabrò (5 titles) and Cesare Ruffato (3 titles) – two minor poets in Italy.[12]

The astonishing fact that Calabrò is far more translated than, say, Andrea Zanzotto or Alda Merini, is not explained by the presence of a faithful translator and publisher, as in the case with Cesare Ruffato.[13] And Calabrò's case is quite the opposite, since he has had no fewer than seven different translators through the years. A closer look at the seven translators involved in the five projects clearly shows that they are all interconnected to each other, forming a network around the Swedish Academy.[14]

Number of translators and publishing houses

In the period 1900–2015, a total of fifty-seven individuals translated Italian poetry into Swedish. More than half of them (29) were translators active in the period 1995–2015, while only twelve were active in 'the golden age'. Going from twelve to twenty-nine, the contemporary period shows an increased number of translators involved with volumes of Italian poetry (Table 8.1). At the

same time, there seems to be a shortage of translators and other mediators from Italian to Swedish: in a recent study, which included interviews with small publishing houses, one of the editors whose house had focused on contemporary Italian literature complains that there is a shortage of 'bridges' between Sweden and Italy (Hedberg 2016: 25). How does this relate to the increase in poetry translators? As suggested by Jones, a way of studying a translator's involvement with a region's poetry is to count how many projects that person has been involved with (Jones 2011: 65). In addition, co-translations are likely to indicate 'a shortage of translators with bilingual expertise' (Jones 2011: 183). If we combine these two measures, we get the following results in Table 8.4.

If the average of titles/translator was 1.8 in the years 1957–1977, the subsequent analysed period shows an average of 1.2 titles/translator. Translators are thus becoming more numerous, but at the same time, less committed. Accordingly, the increase in the number of co-translations indicates a shortage of bilingual translators. I will discuss this issue more thoroughly momentarily, but first we must take a closer look at the publishing houses (Table 8.5).

In the first period, nine houses were involved in publishing Italian poetry, a number that is almost doubled in the second period (17). What sort of publishers are they? In order to classify the publishers I have divided them into four groups according to the total number of published titles[15]: large (more than 1200 titles), medium (301–1200), small (50–300 titles) and extra-small publishing houses (less than 50 titles).[16] The publishing houses of the two studied periods are distributed as follows, in Table 8.6.

Table 8.4 Average of titles/translator and number of co-translations

Years	Titles/translator	Co-translations
1957–1977	1.8	3
1995–2015	1.2	8

Table 8.5 Number of publishing houses

Years	Number of publishing houses
1957–1977	9
1995–2015	17

Table 8.6 Number of titles published by large, medium, small and extra-small publishing houses

Years	*Large publishing houses*	*Medium publishing houses*	*Small publishing houses*	*Extra-small publishing houses*	*Total number of titles*
1957–1977	5	2	13	2	22
1995–2015	0	11	6	17	34

Table 8.6 shows that there has been a significant change from the first period to the second: the most striking results are that large publishing houses that somewhat engaged in Italian poetry in the former period have now abandoned it, while extra-small publishers have increased dramatically. Small publishers are generally deprived of economic capital, but on the other hand, 'they retain a small, incipient amount of symbolic capital in the form of esteem or admiration from a small number of "discoverers": avant-garde critics and writers, enlightened booksellers and informed readers' (Bourdieu 2008: 136). However, Bourdieu's distinction between smaller and larger publishing houses is not fine-grained enough for the situation emerging in my corpus, because the most striking differences are to be found *within* the category of small publishing houses. There are, on the one hand, small but well-established houses as the ones described by Bourdieu above, which are often associated with very high prestige and recognition in the literary field. These firms mainly collaborate with consecrated mediators in the literary field. Even though they are small, the publishers are visible in some restricted but influential literary circles, and their publications can even receive reviews in the press.[17] In addition to these agents, even smaller firms exist: one-man or family-run businesses with a less than fifty titles.[18] These extra-small firms correspond to the category of publishers that Bourdieu chose to omit from his study, arguing that they 'have not yet made a name for themselves and have yet to exercise any real influence in the field' (Bourdieu 2008: 128). In a very restricted study, such as the present, an exclusion of these firms would have been erroneous since they nowadays dominate the publication of Italian poetry in Sweden. It is illuminating, however, that Bourdieu underscores these houses' lack of influence, which is confirmed by the fact that the extra-small firms in my survey are nearly invisible in the Swedish literary field. For instance, only five of seventeen volumes with Italian poetry published by such firms in the last decades got any reviews at all, while twelve of seventeen volumes published by small and medium firms received reviews.[19] Moreover, in the few cases in which the extra-small publishers

issues were reviewed, this tended to occur when there were consecrated agents – individuals with high prestige in the literary field such as writers and intellectuals – involved as translators or authors of the preface. For instance, a volume with Giuseppe Ungaretti's poems, published by the extra-small house Themis, had a preface of the distinguished critic Anders Olsson, who (at the time of writing) is not only a member of the Swedish Academy, but also its permanent secretary pro tempore. Another example is the first Swedish volume dedicated to the poetry of Andrea Zanzotto, which included some words of remembrance by Antonio Tabucchi. Now, it is exactly this category of extra-small publishers that has increased in the publication of Italian poets in Sweden, going from two in the golden age to ten in the last two decades. The invisibility of these editors is definitely one of the explanations for which Italian poetry, in spite of the increased number of books and translators, seems so absent in current Sweden.

Since these very small publishers often lack in symbolic capital, it is questionable whether they illustrate Bourdieu's axiom that 'to publish is to consecrate' (Sapiro 2008: 155). I would instead suggest, following Kalinowski, that it is doubtful whether some of these texts can be understood as mediated at all (Kalinowski 2001: 25–26). In Broomans and Jiresch's six-phase model of cultural transfer (Broomans and Jiresch 2011), it is presumed that a literary mediation process often follows a certain chronology consisting of six subsequent phases.[20] One of the most important observations is that the mediation process is not fulfilled after a work has been translated. Rather, it is placed in quarantine, waiting for attention and reception in the target culture. If this does not occur, the mediation process is interrupted. I argue that many of the translated poets published by extra-small publishers end up in *limbo*, in which they find themselves translated and published, but hardly read by anyone. Since their publishers' positions in the literary field are so peripheral, the innovation in the field that is often associated with prestigious small-scale publishers' activities does not occur.

Collective biographies of translators: A comparison

Creating a collective biography of the Swedish translators who translated Italian poetry means considering them as a group, even if they might not have considered themselves a community.[21] However, since my aim is to investigate the status of Italian poetry in present-day Sweden, I argue that an analysis of the population that engages in this occupation is essential, not least because it is a way of avoiding case studies of individual, more or less

powerful mediators. The translators have been analysed according to the following variables: position, language skills and gender.

Position: Cultural and symbolic capital

In order to define the translators' positions, I have mapped out their cultural capital with respect to occupation and academic degree, as well as their symbolic capital, here intended as official recognition and previously translated authors.

Occupation

The power of translators to consecrate foreign poetry is closely related to their position, which in turn depends on their cultural capital. According to Kalinowski, the majority of the French Hölderlin translators had other professions from which they gained their prestige and power to consecrate; for instance, a third of them were poets themselves. The category of poet-translators has been investigated thoroughly by Jacob Blakesley (2016). The choice of focusing on poet-translators is sustained by the fact that they are often more influential than ordinary translators, not least because 'their translations sometimes acquire an autonomous life of their own' (Blakesley 2016: 14). More crucially, this group has 'dramatically increased in quantity over the twentieth century' (Blakesley 2016).

In my corpus, however, the number of poet-translators is not overwhelming. Among the translators who engaged in Italian poetry translation during the years 1957–1977, five of twelve (42 per cent) were poet-translators.[22] In the more recent period, 1995–2015, six individuals (21 per cent) had published their own poetry.[23] In short, the slight increase is only related to the number of individuals; but in terms of percentage, there has been a decrease. The remarkable increase observed by Blakesley was not confirmed in my corpus, but then one should keep in mind that my results only regard Italian poetry and do not necessarily indicate that Swedish poets do not translate from other languages. However, it should be noted that in Sweden poet-translators are not particularly worshipped. The Swedish Academy member Göran Malmqvist actually argues that poet-translators are 'dangerous', since they often 'want to "improve" the text they are translating' (Ståhlberg 2013, my trans.), and the leading Swedish publisher of poetry, Jonas Ellerström, who is also a translator himself, repudiates the widespread idea that poetry has to be translated by poets as 'nonsense' (Ellerström 2002: 7). He continues:

> It is true, however, that mainly poets translate poetry. One reason can be that they often are conspicuously interested in other poetry than their own,

> and see themselves as included in a worldwide network of writers who are all working with concentration, musicality and universal experiences as their primary goal rather than fluidity, intrigue and characterization. But to be brutally honest, it is sometimes a question of favours, favours in return, flatter and machinations that are intimately intertwined with the possibilities of an international career, especially in situations including festivals and readings, that the poetry genre offers. (Ellerström 2002: 7, my trans.)

Not least of all, this last reason for poets to engage in poetry translation might explain why the group of contemporary poet-translators from Italian into Swedish do not have a particularly strong position as poets themselves and therefore consider translation a way of promoting their own existence in the literary field.

One occupation that was more commonly held among the translators in the years 1995–2015 was language teaching at university level. Almost a third (8 translators) of the community was active as language teachers, two of who teach (or taught) Swedish in Italy, and five who teach (or taught) Italian in Sweden. In addition there were two translators, who taught art history and literary history. Teaching was equally frequent among the poetry translators in the first time span in which three individuals were also active as language teachers, but only one of them actually taught Italian. The increase in the number of language teachers indicates that poetry translation has become more of an activity related to a 'linguist pattern career' and is therefore deprived of the charismatic aura it enjoyed in the former period. Obviously, this too has contributed to lowering the visibility of Italian poetry in Sweden. It could be argued, however, that these language teachers belong to the category that Casanova calls institutional consecrators. But this is only correct to some extent, for, as Kalinowski underscores, language specialists in the academy rarely devote themselves to literary mediation, and among those who do, they occupy the most dominated positions in the academic field: they are often women with little possibility of attaining any influential position. Typically, they had entered late into the academic world, and generally they had few scientific publications. Kalinowski actually emphasizes that translation is regarded as 'disqualifiante dans une carrière universitaire, du moins dans les disciplines des langues' (disqualifying in an academic career, at least in language departments) (Kalinowski 2002: 52). This suggests that the increase in university teachers among those who translate Italian poetry is not really associated with prestige: as institutional mediators their positions in the institutions that provided them with cultural capital (universities) were not particularly strong.

Interestingly, there are some university professors from disciplines other than Italian and/or literature on the recent list of translators, including Nordic philology, art history and philosophy. In addition, several mediators enjoyed

prestigious positions in Swedish high culture: a famous diplomat, a well-known painter, a photographer, a philosopher and a former manager of the Swedish Institute in Paris. Taken together, these results indicate that, as a collective, contemporary poetry translators have a much more heterogeneous profile than their former colleagues.

In the period from 1957–1977, the individuals who translated Italian poetry formed a homogeneous group, at least with respect to their other occupations. Nearly all of them were closely related to the literary field as they were poets, writers and critics. Their contacts with publishing houses were generally excellent, and their names figured time and again on the cultural pages of the daily press and literary reviews.

Academic degree

Cultural capital regarded in terms of university degrees confirms that poetry translators usually hold high academic degrees. In France, where most translators are either full-time professionals or academic scholars, Kalinowski argues that translators tend to rely on academic titles and develop an interiorized censorship: 'The idea of defining oneself as a translator and of translating this or that type of texts is therefore very unlikely to be imposed on individuals who have not experienced a certain educational or academic past' (Kalinowski 2002: 51,my trans.).

About twice as many translators in the first group of my corpus, percentage-wise, had doctoral degrees as translators in the second group. Thus, it is relevant to note that the most prolific young translator has highlighted, in a recent interview, the fact that he is an autodidact: 'As for Italian literature, I taught myself the language in order to read certain authors in their original versions' (Tarabbia 2015).

Official recognition

One of the most prestigious recognitions in the Swedish cultural field is to be elected into the Swedish Academy. The number of chairs is limited to eighteen, and the commitment is lifelong, which means that these individuals form a very exclusive group[24]. As a result of the many scandals that are currently surrounding the Swedish Academy, and that have caused eight of the 18 to withdraw and/or resign, it is doubtful, at least for the time being (June 2018), that the Academy will be able to regain its former prestige in Sweden and internationally. It should also be added that the Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf recently changed the rules so that a member who wishes to leave the Academy is now permitted to do so. It is therefore noteworthy that two of the translators of Italian poetry in the golden age were also members of

the Academy and were therefore involved in selecting Nobel Laureates. One of them, Anders Österling, was the Academy's permanent secretary during this particular period, which made him an extremely influential mediator of Italian poetry (cf. Schwartz 2016). None in the time span 1995–2015 were members of the Academy. There are however, four individuals among the contemporary translators who have been awarded honorary doctorates, compared to two in the former group. On the other hand, three individuals in the former community had been awarded a total of six prestigious translation prizes.[25] In the years 1995–2015, however, only two translators were prize winners, but not necessarily for their translations of Italian poetry. To sum up, the translators in the later time span, compared to the translators in the golden age, were lacking in prestige in terms of official recognition.

Previous translations

As suggested in Table 8.4, the number of occasional translators has increased in later years. A closer look at the translators that were active in the years 1957–1977 reveals that among these twelve names, only three were occasional,[26] while more than double the number of translators in the years 1995–2015 (13 of 28, or 46 per cent) translated only one book of Italian poetry.[27] This result is apparently in agreement with Anaïs Bokobza's study on Italian literature translated into French in the years 1986–2002 (Bokobza 2008: 211–230), which shows that 53 per cent of the translators were occasional, having translated just one title each. But these occasional translators from Italian into French usually translated a commercial novel commissioned to them by a publishing house with low symbolic capital.[28] In this chapter, we are dealing with what is supposed to be the opposite, that is, a literary genre with high prestige – poetry – belonging to the autonomous pole.

The ten translators who were active in the years 1957–77 translated a total of eighty-two Italian poets. Among those, the most recurrent authors were highly regarded names of the modernist pantheon such as Montale, Quasimodo, Pavese, Saba, Ungaretti and Pasolini. Moreover, in addition to their translations of Italian poets, these mediators translated the works of other canonical authors such as Beckett, Catullus, Ibsen, Jiménez, Lucretius, Ovid, Pasternak, Pessoa, Shakespeare, Soyinka and Swift, just to mention a few. The contributions of these translators consist exclusively of high-prestige genres such as classical texts, theatre and poetry, and rarely of contemporary novels. Not surprisingly, the two translators who also translated prose were women.

The barrier between prose and poet translation can be seen as having become much weaker if we consider the collective bibliography of the translators in the last two decades, in which half of the group has translated prose. While the earlier group had mainly translated highly prestigious authors

and genres, the more recent translators of Italian poetry show a remarkably varied and heterogeneous bibliography: one and the same translator could have translated everything from manga comics to Marcel Proust, from the children's writer Gianni Rodari to the Polish Holocaust writer Hanna Krall, from the Swedish picture book author Gunilla Bergström to the novelist and poet Elsa Morante. Another striking result is that they translated relatively few Italian poets, at least compared to their predecessors: twenty-nine authors distributed among twenty-nine translators. While the former group covered the whole panorama of the foremost Italian poets of their time,[29] the latter instead engaged in a more arbitrary set of authors, including many peripheral names of the Italian repertoire.

Language skills

With respect to language skills, it is enlightening to consider translators across a broader time span. If we look at all the translators of Italian poetry who were active in the years 1900–2015 and combine them by their year of birth, we get Figure 8.2.

Figure 8.2 clearly shows that there are two peaks, one consisting in translators born between 1880 and 1889 and another 1930 and 1939, which says something about the high status that Italian literature enjoyed when they were young, that is, in the first decade of the twentieth century and then again in the 1950s and '60s. Combining year of birth and the number of languages, the story becomes even more intriguing, since three different groups can be singled out: the

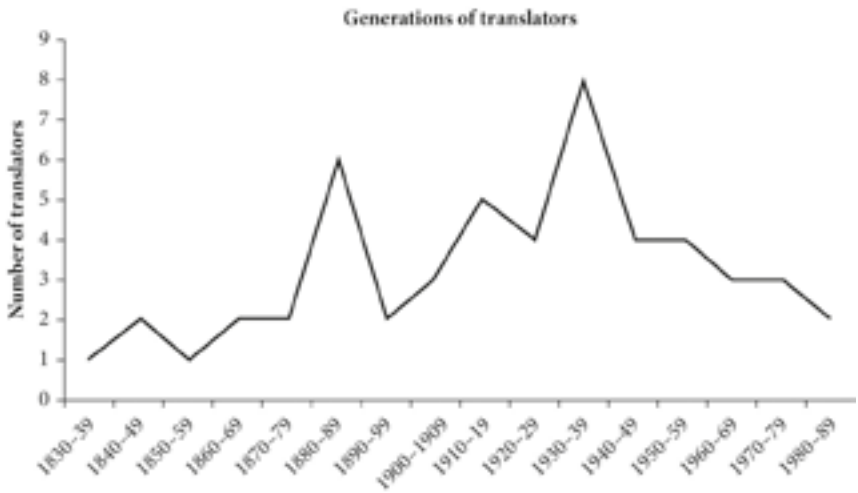


FIGURE 8.2 *Year of birth of the translators of Italian poetry active, 1900–2015.*

classicists, the multilingual and the bilingual. Among the seventeen translators born in the nineteenth century – referred to as the 'classicists' – ten translated from at least one language other than Italian, mostly from Greek or Latin. Their selection of Italian poets was also mainly canonical authors such as St. Francis of Assisi, Dante, Petrarch, Lorenzo de' Medici, Angelo Poliziano, Michelangelo, Gaspara Stampa, Torquato Tasso, Ugo Foscolo and Giacomo Leopardi.

Of the translators born in the first half of the twentieth century (1906–56), 88 per cent translated from at least one language other than Italian. There are good reasons to name this generation multilingual, since 48 per cent translated from three, four or even five languages in addition to Italian. Consequently, it is also in this group that we find most translators born outside of Sweden: some in Italy, but also in countries such as Poland, Romania, Finland and Greenland.

A third generation, consisting of ten individuals born in the period 1958–1984, is discernible when year of birth is combined with language skills. This group is distinguished from its predecessors in that 80 per cent translate from only one language other than Italian. Interestingly, these trends seem to go against the accessibility of Italian in the Swedish education system, since the latter generation is precisely the one that had occasion to study this language at school or even at university, which requires no student fees in Sweden.

What other languages did Swedish translators translate from, in addition to Italian, during the years 1900–2015?

Not surprisingly, Figure 8.3 shows that the most common languages translated by Swedish translators of Italian poetry were French and English, followed somewhat distantly by Spanish and German. More interesting is the presence of the ten other languages appearing in the last three bars in Figure 8.3, indicating the broad linguistic knowledge of the polyglots.

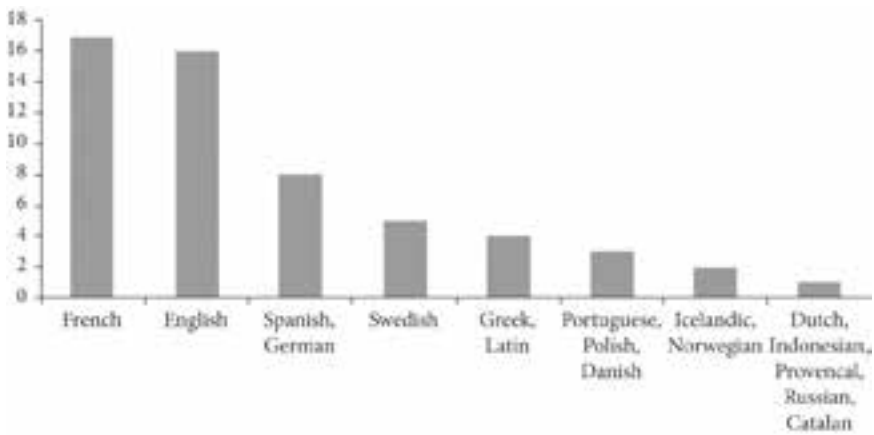


FIGURE 8.3 *The most common additional languages among translators, 1900–2015.*

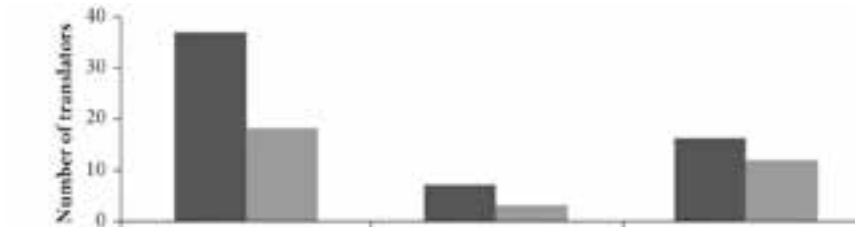
Bearing in mind these results, it is not surprising that the translators active between 1957 and 1977 are the most skilled linguistically: half of them translated from four or more languages. This contrasts greatly with the translators active between 1995 and 2015: here, not one translator translated from four or more languages, with the majority (54 per cent) translating exclusively from Italian.

The translator's gender

In studies of world literature, the gender issue tends to be neglected, with regard both to the authors who obtain access to the international market and to the mediators who are involved in transnational circulation (Higonnet 2009). Even though the Swedish book market has been extremely male dominated until only recently (cf. Svedjedal 1994), translators from modern languages have often been female. This has a historic explanation: in the late nineteenth century, language skills were part of a young woman's education if she was born into a wealthy family. Since girls were excluded from higher education, they rarely learned classical languages as boys did. On the other hand, they obtained access to modern languages, which turned out to be necessary for many sectors around the beginning of the last century, for instance, in the foreign sections of the daily press. In early 1900, many women were employed as translators in order to provide Swedish readers with foreign news (Hatje 1993). This tradition has contributed to a female predominance among Swedish translators from Italian: of 354 works translated in the years 1950–1999, 71 per cent were translated by one or more women, 25 per cent were translated by one or more men and 4 per cent were co-translations of men and women.[30] But when it comes to Italian poetry the picture is quite contrary, as Figure 8.4 shows.

The male dominance among poetry translators is evident no matter what time span we examine. For the whole period, 1900–2015, the share of female translators was only 33 per cent; in the golden age, it slightly declined to 30 per cent; and in the last decades, despite rising to 43 per cent, the rate still remained under 50 per cent.

However, in the two specific periods of time that this chapter deals with, the number of female translators grew from three to twelve women. In fact, three-quarters of the female translators of the whole period (1900–2015) entered the field only in the last two decades. In addition, the last period is distinguished from the other by the fact that women were involved in more volumes than men, both as co-translators and as sole translators. Four of the five most prolific translators in this period were women. As we have seen, the increase in the number of women in the later period is related to their presence in higher education. From a feminist point of view, this change is of



	1900–2015	1957–1977	1995–2015
Male	37	7	16
Female	18	3	12

FIGURE 8.4 *Number of male and female translators of Italian poetry into Swedish.*

course very promising. On the other hand, since femaleness is deliberately connected with lower symbolic capital (Moi 1991), and male translators tend to dedicate themselves to consecrated authors (Kalinowski 2002: 53), the increase in women should instead be understood as a confirmation of the picture deriving from the results of the current analysis: that Italian poetry has lost part of its former high status in the Swedish literary field.

It is also striking that the most prestigious translators tend to be men: only male translators in my corpus, both time spans included, have received official recognition in terms of honorary doctorates, translation awards and membership in the Swedish Academy. This confirms the picture described by Michaela Wolf of the discrepancies between male and female translators: 'Women, despite constituting a numerical majority in the field, still lag behind men in terms of recognition and all other of Bourdieu's forms of consecration' (Wolf 2006: 137).

This can be seen in the two most prolific translators between 1957 and 1977, with regard to the number of Italian authors that they translated: Anders Österling and Estrid Tenggren, who had very different status in the literary field, owing in part to their difference in gender (the former a man, the latter a woman). The poet, critic and permanent secretary of the Swedish Academy, Anders Österling was an incarnation of the charismatic consecrator, while Tenggren, who was working full-time as a proof reader, embodied the ordinary mediator. The dynamics between these two agents' translations of Italian poetry would require a separate case study. However, Österling illustrates the huge impact that a single mediator can have. According to Rosendahl Thomsen, when a very prestigious mediator chooses to consecrate a work or an author, this can lead to the recognition of a whole literary field and, as a consequence, to a change in the position of a national field in world literature (Rosendahl Thomsen 2008: 55). Österling's translations of Italian poetry, and especially that of Quasimodo and Montale, led to the global consecration not only of these two authors but also of Italian literature.

Likewise, among the translators in the years 1995–2015, two male translators are professional translators of Italian poetry: Ingvar Björkeson (1927) and Gustav Sjöberg (1982). Despite the significant age difference between them, it is worth noticing that their translator profiles are very similar: both men focus on classics and other consecrated authors, confirming what Kalinowski has called 'la masculinisation de la traduction des "classiques"' (the masculinization of the translation of the 'classics') (Kalinowski 2002: 53).

Concluding remarks

The survey presented in this paper started out from an impression that Italian poetry was nearly non-existent in today's Sweden. This impression turned out to be false, at least if one considers the numbers of titles translated, publishing houses and translators involved in poetry translation projects. Even when these figures were compared to the golden age of Italian poetry in Sweden, they turned out to have increased remarkably: there are now more titles, more translators and more publishing houses concerned with Italian poetry than ever.

The differences between the earlier and later periods that were analysed lie in the mediators' commitment, concentration and power to consecrate. In terms of position, most translators in the period 1957–77 are closely related to the charismatic pole and/or the institutional pole, while their successors move between the ordinary and institutional pole, seeking to strengthen their position by translating poetry rather than the opposite. The heterogeneous biographies and bibliographies of contemporary poetry translators indicate that the activity of translating Italian poetry is more of a hobby or spare-time occupation than a profession, especially if compared to those in the former period and to those who translate Italian prose into Swedish.

The absence of committed experts has opened the field to a greater number of occasional translators with little involvement with Italian literature and poetry. The typical translator's profile in the golden age was that of a man who translated canonical authors from several languages – a man with high prestige, which was gained from his position in the literary field, and with a long-lasting commitment to Italian poetry that was published by small but highly regarded publishing houses. His counterpart in the last two decades is a man or woman who translates from fewer languages, and, among many other activities in the cultural, educational or even political field, occasionally does some poetry translating for small or extra-small publishers. This change in the poetry translator's profile – together with the increase in extra-small publishers – is parallel to the marginalization of Italian poets in Sweden. They still exist, yes, but precisely as the minor Western authors in Damrosch's canon model that I referred to at the beginning of this chapter: they have ended up in the shadows.

In the long run, however, I argue that the translation field of poetry, populated and governed by less institutional or consecrated mediators could lead to positive effects. Instead of focusing on the great canonized names, the transnational circulation of poetry could lead to innovation of the target field and a fresh start for poets who have not managed to enter into the Pantheon in their source culture. Perhaps the real innovation happens outside the book market. It is significant that one of the most innovative initiatives with respect to Italian poetry in Sweden took place in the literary magazine *OEI*, which in 2015 published an issue with Italian poetry. The guest editor and translator was the aforementioned Gustav Sjöberg, who underscored that the issue aimed *not* to present a 'canonized or canonizing selection' of Italian poetry: 'On the contrary, the work [with the volume] has constantly aimed to criticize the still predominant mythological construction, according to which […] there exists "good" or even "interesting" literature' (Sjöberg 2015, my trans.).[31]

Notes

1 I thank Jacob Blakesley for sharing these statistics.

2 The average of 4 per cent is based on the statistics given for the years 2011–2016 by of the Swedish National Bibliography, http://www.kb.se/samlingarna/Bibliografier/statistik/

3 It should be noted that I am not observing trends into Swedish worldwide, which would include the Swedish publishing industry and Swedish translations published in Finland as well.

4 For more in-depth analysis of the consecration of Quasimodo and Montale in Sweden see my previous studies (Schwartz 2015a, b).

5 For this mediator, a complementary category has been suggested, the media consecrator (Schwartz 2016).

6 The area, which belongs to the research field sociology of translation, 'covers such issues as the status of (different kinds of) translators in different cultures, rates of pay, working conditions, role models and the translator's habitus, professional organizations, accreditation systems, translators' networks, copyright, and so on. Questions of a different kind under this heading are those relating to gender and sexual orientation, and to power relations, and how these factors affect a translator's work and attitudes'. In addition, according to Chesterman, 'The sociology of translators also covers the public discourse of translation, i.e. evidence of the public image of the translator's profession, as seen e.g. in the press, or in literary works in which one of the central characters is a translator or interpreter […]. Under the same heading I would place research on translators' attitudes to their work, as revealed in essays, interviews, translators' prefaces and notes, etc. Here too I would place the wide field of translators' ideologies and translation ethics: curiously, this is entirely absent from Holmes' map.

An extension of this strand would include the study of voluntary, activist translators' (Chesterman 2009: 16–17).

7 The number of titles does not account for possible reprints and new or revised editions, nor have non-poetry books by poets been taken into consideration.

8 The statistical source is the Swedish database Nationalbibliografin (National Bibliography) http://www.kb.se/samlingarna/Bibliografier/nationalbibliografin/

9 The average of 1 title/year in 1957–77 and 1.5 titles/year in 1995–2015 could be compared to the average of 6.2 titles of Italian poetry translated into French and published in the period 1986–2002 (Bokobza 2008: 220).

10 Jones uses them for what he calls 'archetypal network patterns for translation teams' (Jones 2011: 57).

11 There have been some journal issues dedicated to Italian poetry, though, but those are not included in my corpus, which focuses only on the book market. One example that merits being mentioned, however, is the literary magazine *OEI*, which in 2015 published an impressive issue dedicated to contemporary Italian poetry.

12 Calabrò and Ruffato are not among the canonized poets in contemporary Italy. For instance, none of these authors appear in Garzanti's 1,700-page volume *Enciclopedia della Letteratura* (2011), nor in anthologies such as Cesare Segre's and Carlo Ossola's *Antologia della poesia italiana. Novecento* (2003). In Giulio Ferroni's *Storia della letteratura italiana. Il Novecento* (2004), ten words are dedicated to Cesare Ruffato (Ferroni 2004: 695), while Calabrò is not mentioned.

13 The case of Ruffato is easily explained by the fact that he has been sustained by an individual translator, Gertrud Olérs-Galli (in 1999, 2003 and 2004), who is an anonymous presence in the Swedish literary field and has not published anything except for these Ruffato collections.

14 The poet and academy member Kjell Espmark wrote a preface to one of Calabrò's Swedish volumes, and vice versa the Italian poet wrote the prefaces to two of Espmark's books published in Italian. Moreover, one of the translators is the daughter of Per Wästberg, another member of the Academy while a third translator, Enrico Tiozzo, has translated several volumes by academy members into Italian. Calabrò also wrote the prefaces to two of Espmark's books published in Italian. However, the phenomenon is not entirely Swedish: a search on Worldcat shows that Calabrò has been translated into numerous European languages: Danish, English, French, German, Hungarian, Polish, Romanian, Spanish and Swedish. Moreover, Calabrò was officially nominated for the 2013 Nobel Prize for Literature, https://www.versiliatoday.it/2013/10/07/calabro-i-candidati-al-premio-nobel-la-letteratura-il-plauso-camaiore/. It is also worth mentioning that Calabrò is a prominent Italian politician.

15 With number of titles I intend the *total number of titles* published by the house, including all other genres. The figures are mainly based on the number of titles that appear in the online database Libris.

16 The measure was chosen following Åsa Warnquist's (2007) sociological study of Swedish publishers of poetry in the years 1976–95. By counting the number

of titles of poetry (unfortunately she does not include translations) published by the firms in her corpus she distinguishes three groups: 1) big publishers of poetry; 2) middle and small publishers of poetry; 3) publishers who publish their own poetry (2007: 68–69). Since the third category indicated by Warnqvist is not very relevant when it comes to translations, I have preferred to make a distinction in Warnqvist's second category, which I find too extensive.

17 The names of these small firms were, in 1957–77: Coeckelberghs, FiB:s Lyrikklubb, Italica and Zinderman and in 1995–2015: Atrium, Heidrun and Zinderman.

18 These publishing houses were, in 1957–77: Danelius and Topelius and in 1995–2015: 2 kronor förlag, Alastor, Aura Latina, Cartaditalias bokserie, Constantiu Mara, Euroeditor, Il foglio, Hovidius, Themis and Urbis.

19 All Swedish titles and/or the authors' names were checked in the digital archive Mediearkivet. When the only reviews were found in the online journal *Tidningen Kulturen*, the title was accounted as not reviewed. This was the case with two titles in the category of very small publishers.

20 The phases are discovery, quarantine, translation, publication, reception and post-publication reception (Broomans and Jiresch 2011: 10–14).

21 Cf. Jones's division of different levels of poetry translators' networks (first-order, second-order and third-order networks) based on the degree of interaction and relations among the actors (Jones 2011: 25–27).

22 Sture Axelson, Kurt Högnäs, Arne Lundgren, Östen Sjöstrand and Anders Österling. The last two names are present in the former standard anthology of Swedish poetry *Svensk dikt. Från trollformler till Lars Norén* from 1978[1989], while only Österling remains in the new standard anthology *Svensk poesi* (Bonniers 2016).

23 Johanna Ekström, Ida Andersen, Roger Fjellström, Gustav Sjöberg, Carl Henrik Svenstedt and Lars Huldén. None of these names appears in the standard editions of Swedish poetry mentioned in the previous footnote.

24 As a result of the many scandals that are currently surrounding the Swedish Academy, and that have caused eight of the 18 to withdraw and/or resign, it is doubtful, at least for the time being (June 2018), that the Academy will be able to regain its former prestige in Sweden and internationally. It should also be added that the Swedish King Carl XVI Gustaf recently changed the rules so that a member who wishes to leave the Academy is now permitted to do so.

25 Four to Arne Lundgren, one to Anders Österling and one to Göran O. Eriksson.

26 Nanny Nilsson, who was an esteemed artist, though, and Leo Bosco, a co-translator whose name does not occur in any other situation.

27 Huldén, Huldén, Åström, Olsson, Ekström, Lappalainen, Fjellström, Johanson, Swedenmark, Swedenmark, Saverio Alonzo, Zekeli and Sandels.

28 Bokobza also reflects briefly on the background of these translators, saying that they could be scholars or others who have been offered a translation project thanks to private or professional contacts (Bokobza 2008: 223).

29 At least if we accept that many of the eighty-two Italian poets translated into Swedish in those years were exclusively represented in anthologies.

Moreover, it should be noted that Mario Luzi, who happened to have two volumes of poetry translated in 1979 and 1994, escapes my two classification periods.

30 These figures are based on my list of Italian works translated into Swedish in the years 1900–1999 (Schwartz 2013: 141–174).

31 'Tvärtom har arbetet hela tiden avsett att kritisera den alltjämt förhärskande mytologiska konstruktion enligt vilken det […] skulle finnas "bra" eller ens "intressant" litteratur'.

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9

Reading Distantly Poetry Translation: Modern European Poet-Translators

Jacob Blakesley

The sociology of translation came to prominence only towards the end of the twentieth century. It has shown itself an approach capable of opening new perspectives on several related fields: the question of literary influence; the role of translation in creating new literary genres; the function of translation for poets; and the circulation of what Pierre Bourdieu termed 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu 1993: 75).

One of the leading theorists in the field of the sociology of literature is the Italian scholar Franco Moretti, who has developed a method of interpretation called 'distant reading', opposed to 'close' or formalist reading (2013). As Moretti has controversially described close reading:

> It necessarily depends on an extremely small canon … At bottom, it's a theological exercise – very solemn treatment of very few texts taken very seriously – whereas what we really need is a little pact with the devil: we know how to read texts, now let's learn how not to read them. (2013: 48)

Moretti's claim that close reading deals with only a very limited selection of texts is incontrovertible, and as he argues, reading 'more' books is not the 'solution':

> 'I work on west European narrative, etc.' Not really, I work on its canonical fraction, which is not even 1 per cent of published literature. And again, some people have read more, but the point is that there are thirty thousand nineteenth-century British novels out there, forty, fifty, sixty thousand – no one really knows, no one has read them, no one ever will. And then there are French novels, Chinese, Argentinian, American. (2013: 45)

So, for Moretti, 'distance, let me repeat it, is a condition of knowledge: it allows you to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes – or genres and systems' (2013: 48). In fact, Moretti accepts to be defined a scholar of 'formalism without close reading' (2013: 65): as a sociologist of literary forms, he studies what he calls 'the great unread' (2013: 45), the '99.5%' of published books that have fallen into oblivion, with the help of quantitative methods and interpretative schema drawn from evolutionary theory, geography and so on. Distant reading, then, is a catch-all term that can be applied to the study of translations, by means of external analysis. I follow Moretti in his use of statistical approaches to world literature within the framework of world-system theory, drawing as well on both literary critics and sociologists like David Damrosch, Pascale Casanova, Gisèle Sapiro and Johan Heilbron. Instead of examining individual translations using the method of close reading, I shall be investigating national and international translation trends using statistics. I will show which European poets translated the most and from which languages, as well as significant differences in translation trends between different languages. I aim to demonstrate translation patterns in and across different European literary fields. This will go some way to answering questions such as: What does it mean that waves of translations occur between specific source and target languages? When do these take place? What is the literary, historical, political and editorial context for them? How do these contexts change over time?

The overall definition of world literature followed in this chapter is that provided by David Damrosch, who argues that 'world literature is not an infinite, ungraspable canon of works but rather a mode of circulation and of reading' (2003: 5). According to Damrosch, works become part of world literature 'by a double process: first by being read *as* literature; second, by circulating out into a broader world beyond [their] linguistic and cultural point of origin' (2003: 6). In short, it is through translation that poetry, like Eliot's *The Waste Land* or Apollinaire's *Alcools* or Montale's *La bufera ed altro* become part of world literature.[1]

I seek to uncover and address some of the contrasts in the way translation is practised by writers within a select group of three European poetic canons: English (British and Irish), French and Italian. I have chosen these particular traditions because they offer notable contrasts as well as similarities: their

interrelationships are profound and widespread. And they provide a test-bed for my methodology, the results having, I hope, the potential to generate hypotheses and ideas for future avenues of macro- and micro-level research.

In the world system, translations are unevenly distributed, in terms of source languages and target languages as well as genre. Gisèle Sapiro comments that this is not a 'mechanical reflection' of the book production of various countries, but naturally 'also depends on cultural and political factors' (Sapiro 2012). The relative weights of national literatures depend on their symbolic capital, on how many canonized classics they have, as Pascale Casanova observes: 'Age is one of the chief aspects of literary capital: the older the literature, the more substantial a country's patrimony, the more numerous the canonical texts that constitute its literary pantheon in the form of "national classics"' (2004: 14). The weight of symbolic capital has changed over time, such that where French was once the leading source language, dominant in literature roughly until the Second World War, it has now lost its place to English. Likewise, while Russian was a source language for many translations worldwide during the Cold War, it drastically declined in importance after the fall of the Soviet Union, although Russian fiction is appearing more often in English translation today.

The linguist Abram de Swaan developed what he termed 'the global language system', situating the world's 7,000 languages within a hierarchy (2001: 1–6). This has been applied to the world system of translations by Johan Heilbron (2009: 253–274). Borrowing Swann's four levels, Heilbron has categorized all languages as either hyper-central, central, semi-central or peripheral, ranging from the most hegemonic to the least hegemonic. This classification is not static, but is a 'dynamic constellation' as Heilbron notes: 'Central languages can lose their centrality, peripheral languages can progress in the international ranking' (2009: 263). Heilbron classifies them according to the number of translations they gave rise to, basing his analysis partly on the international and unreliable *Index Translationum* (see below). I would correct his analysis, making it less specific: English, the 'hyper-central' language, is at the overall numerical summit, although with variable figures depending on the target languages. We do not know the exact figures, because there are no reliable global statistics,[2] but English 'has a clearly hegemonic position in cross-cultural communications' (Pym and Chrupala 2005: 28). The vast majority of the top fifty languages with the most literary translations, according to UNESCO – for example, the languages with the most receptivity to literary translation – are dominated by English (*Index Translationum* 2018).

Following English nowadays are the two languages with what Heilbron and Sapiro call a 'central' position: French and German. Behind these two categories are a handful of 'semi-central' languages such as Italian, Russian and Spanish. Lastly, there are all the rest of the world's languages (with different symbolic

capitals), lumped together in a peripheral position, from Arabic and Chinese to Welsh and Wajarri. Indeed, Alexander Beecroft has emphasized 'the general isolation of even very populous non-European languages from any kind of global literary system' (2014: 256), except, as he says, for Arabic, Chinese and Japanese. We will see whether this disproportionate rate of translation also applies to the poets in my corpus. However, it is certainly the case that based on translation rates, English, French and Italian have unequal degrees of centrality across the world. And their centrality is affected by geography and local context, including past (and present) histories of colonialism. Nevertheless, as we shall see when comparing the translations in my corpus of poet-translators, the overall picture is less one of hegemonic English and more one of variation.

My corpus covers the translations of poet-translators, obviously only a very small proportion of all translators, and so numerically far more manageable. Most of the reasons why poet-translators make an interesting category for my purposes will emerge, but I would stress here that in terms of publishing one is dealing with a modern phenomenon. My corpus shows that translations by poet-translators dramatically increased in quantity over the twentieth century, as the growth of national and international book markets offered modern poets commercial incentives to translate. At times, to be sure, there is a fine line between a poet who translates (included in the corpus) and a translator who composes poetry (not included, if the translator does not appear in the representative anthology or anthologies which form the basis of the analysis). We can think, for example, of a poet-translator such as W. H. Auden. He published fifteen translations of poetry, opera libretti, drama, personal memoir and narrative, from seven languages: ancient Greek, Croatian, French, German, Icelandic, Italian and Swedish. Auden is included in my corpus of English-language poets, having been born in York and spent the first half of his life in England. On the other hand, there are plenty of translators who may compose original verse but who are much more recognized for their translations. For our purposes, the fundamental distinguishing characteristic is that of canonization through anthologization. If a writer has been anthologized in one of the chosen poetry anthologies (see below), then he or she is deemed to be a poet-translator, even if such a figure has published more translations than books of original verse. The poet-translator is not a mere derivative imitator: one reason the study of poet-translators is so fascinating is that their translations sometimes acquire an autonomous life of their own. We can think of Yves Bonnefoy's version of *King Lear*, Seamus Heaney's recasting of *Beowulf*, or Salvatore Quasimodo's translation of ancient Greek poetry, *Lirici greci*.

Despite the flourishing of Translation Studies as a discipline, there has been little research in comparative assessments of modern European

poet-translators, and none at all from a quantitative perspective.[3] There is unfortunately no reliable comparative data on the contemporary publication of translations. Literary scholars rarely incorporate such statistics in their work – or else they, like many translation studies scholars, rely on the figures of the UNESCO *Index Translationum*, which, as already noted, are often erroneous. Gathering statistics about translations by poets is a real necessity in order to situate the translations themselves within their proper context: their poetics, the poetics of the time, the historical period and political situation, and economic stability. Without adopting a quantitative perspective, we cannot see the wood for the trees: we cannot see the larger picture and its patterns. As Anthony Pym remarks:

> The history of one translation is inseparable from the history of the numerous translations that contributed to its setting. This means that research must at some stage seek information on properly translational contexts. It must ask what translations were generally carried out, when, where, by whom and with what frequency. (1996: 169)

In my study, the statistical evidence to support arguments about the influence of specific literatures and poetries on other national literatures and poetries was gathered through bibliographic research based on national and international library catalogues and databases. No pre-existing body of statistical data was available, owing to the lack of comparative figures, the unreliability of records (UNESCO) and the absence of systemized collecting activity.[4] But these lacunae reflect a wider problem with the status of translated works. It is readily apparent how often monographs devoted to poets fail to discuss their translations, and normally cite few or none of them in their bibliographies, as in the case of those devoted to the two most prolific English and Italian poet-translators in this chapter.[5] Even reference books dealing with translators fail to provide comprehensive information. The valiant effort of Henri Van Hoof in his *Dictionnaire universel des traducteurs* (Universal dictionary of translators), collected over more than thirty years, is characterized by omissions and lack of detail (1993). Of the ten most prolific European poet-translators with whom I am concerned, this volume cites only two (1993: 152 and 183).[6]

The data gathered for this chapter comes from several sources: the catalogues of the national libraries of France, Italy, England and Ireland; worldcat.org and Google Books. I do not aim to give a comprehensive overview of pan-European translation trends, but rather to offer new data and analysis for a number of issues. It is important to note that the poet-translators examined often did not restrict themselves to the translation of poetry but ventured into fiction and theatre translation as well. As Sapiro points

out, 'variations between different categories of books are an indicator of the relative autonomy of cultural fields' (2012: 34). So, as we will see, translation rates for a specific target language in different genres change depending on the 'autonomy' of the respective literary field.

In order to establish a corpus of canonical modern poet-translators, I have relied on what theorists like Wendell Harris call a 'selective canon' (1991: 112), constituted by anthologized writers: in this case, poets in prominent anthologies belonging to each linguistic tradition (English, French and Italian). So, I have chosen one, or in some cases two,[7] comprehensive anthologies of English, French and Italian poetry:

Anthology of Twentieth-Century British and Irish Poetry, edited by Keith Tuma (Tuma 2001) (Oxford)
Antologia della poesia italiana. Novecento, edited by Cesare Segre and Carlo Ossola (Segre and Ossola 2003) (Einaudi)
Poesia italiana del Novecento, edited by Ermanno Krumm and Tiziano Rossi (Krumm and Rossi 1995) (Skira)
Anthologie de la poésie française du XXe siècle, vol. 1, edited by Michel Decaudin (Decaudin 2000) (Gallimard)
Anthologie de la poésie française du XXe siècle, vol. 2, edited by Jean-Baptiste Para (Para 2000) (Gallimard)

I chose anthologies published from 1995 onwards, which were not sectorial, thematic, or regional, but rather 'chronological', in Niccolò Scaffai's classification (2006: 91), and which included over fifty poets apiece. The advantage of this approach is above all methodological. These anthologies have sold well enough to be still in print ten or twenty years later. They are frequently mentioned in critical publications and studied in university courses. The biggest drawback is that neither the number of poets, nor the number of poet-translators, is constant. I circumvent this by generally comparing percentages and not numerical figures, for example, the percentage of English poets translating from one language to the percentage of French and Italian poets translating from the same language.

My three data sets include between 101 and 268 poets apiece, almost all of them born between 1860 and 1970, belonging to the three languages and literary canons already specified: English, French, and Italian. However, there is no one-to-one identity between language and nationality. Poets who are born in one country (e.g. Morocco) emigrate when young to another country (France) can often be regarded as being of either nationality (Moroccan or French), depending on how they are fitted into their respective anthologies and canons. Here too arises the issue of poets operating within postcolonial settings: Francophone poets who have no link with France, English-language

poets with no link to the UK, or Italian-language poets with no link to Italy, all of whom are included if anthologized in the respective anthologies.[8]

There are several sections to this chapter. The first section is dedicated to comparative statistics about individual poet-translators. The second section is dedicated to translations by source language, which shows translation trends among the respective corpora. The third section focuses on poetry translation in the corpus as a whole. The fourth part follows, evaluating the careers of poet-translators. The fifth section compares the translation activity of poet-translators by gender. Lastly, we review which authors have been translated the most across the entire corpus, in an attempt to determine the symbolic capital of world authors.

Comparative statistics about poet-translators

There are 495 poets in my corpus. A slight majority of these poets – 260, or 53 per cent – translated at least one volume, from any genre. This figure, however, doesn't reflect the fact that the separate corpora of English, French and Italian poets are different in size, as mentioned earlier. Thus the actual percentage of translating poets varies by language. Italian poets were most frequently poet-translators: 72 per cent of them, to be exact. French poets follow distantly at 51 per cent, while English-language poets were least likely to translate a volume, only 39 per cent having done so. In short, Italians translated 85 per cent more often than English poets and 40 per cent more often than French poets.

The next question is how much all these poets translated. The 260 translating poets across the corpus combined for 2,175 titles, or 8.4 translated books on average. Despite the lead in the percentage of poet-translators, Italian poets typically did not publish the most translations. Rather, French poets actually translated the most prolifically, with 8.9 translations on average, for a total of 1,235 translations. Next came Italian poets, with 607 translations, averaging 8.3 volumes of translations each, and last were English language poet-translators with 333, or 6.8 translations apiece. The productivity of French poet-translators is evident in the table of the ten most prolific poet-translators, visible in Table 9.1.

As is clear, the majority of the most productive poet-translators are French, with only two English poets (including the bilingual author Samuel Beckett) and one Italian poet rounding out the list. Meanwhile, we can see, by another measure of productivity, that French and Italian poets translate more than English poets do: about half of Italian and French poet-translators translated five or more books. This is significantly more than the number of English poets in the survey who did so.

Table 9.1 Ten most prolific poet-translators in the entire corpus

Language	*Poet-translator*	*Published translations*
French	Jacques Ancet (1942–)	70
French	Armel Guerne (1911–1980)	61
French	Philippe Jaccottet (1925–)	56
French	Guy Lévis Mano (1904–1980)	41
English	Edwin Muir (1887–1959)	38
French	Bernard Noël (1930–)	36
Italian	Piero Jahier (1884–1966)	34
French	Alain Lance (1939–)	34
English-French	Samuel Beckett (1906–1989)	31
French	Henry Deluy (1931–)	31

Meanwhile, if we focus only on poetry translations, the top translators of poetry in our corpus are practically all French, as we can see in Table 9.2. The only non-French poet here, Diego Valeri, is tied for last place.

Moreover, there aren't any English poets present at all on this list, with the most prolific English-language poet-translator Seamus Heaney appearing only in twentieth place, since neither Edwin Muir nor Samuel Beckett translated much, if any poetry.

In short, in all measures of translation productivity, English poet-translators come up last. This demonstrates that poets in the most hegemonic literary system (English) do not usually translate as much as their colleagues in central (French) or semi-central (Italian) literary systems.

Furthermore these two tables of poet-translators are idiosyncratic, insofar as they do not correspond with received poetic canons. In fact, these are not the most influential *poets*. There is Ancet instead of Char; Guerne instead of Apollinaire; Mano instead of Éluard; Muir instead of Eliot; Jahier instead of Montale; Beckett instead of Larkin. Jaccottet is the only poet here to fit firmly into a modern poetic canon (his *Pleiade* was published in 2014). In short, this suggests that the most prolific poet-translators are rarely the most prominent *poets*.

Table 9.2 Most prolific poet-translators of poetry in the entire corpus

Target language	*Poet-translator*	*Poetry books translated*
French	Jacques Ancet	57
French	Guy Lévis Mano	38
French	Henri Deluy	31
French	Alain Bosquet	26
French	Bernard Noël	22
French	Abdellatif Laabi	22
French	Jacques Darras	16
French	Philippe Jaccottet	16
French	Lorand Gaspar	15
French	Eugène Guillevic	15
French	Silvia Baron Supervielle	15
Italian	Diego Valeri	15

Translations by source language

Now that we have the raw numbers about who translates the most, we can move to interesting questions about translation currents to and from each national literature, as seen in the translations carried out by poet-translators. The competition here is largely between the source languages of English and French. Historically speaking, until the Second World War, French was the prestigious language of culture, as Pascale Casanova has shown in her previously cited monograph. Yet, owing to the shifts in political power and symbolic capital, English overtook French after the War, largely because of the economic and military power of the United States. In the following section, we shall see how this balance is reflected in translations by our European poets, through looking at statistics in the three principal literary genres – poetry, fiction and theatre – along with total figures.

English-speaking poets translated the most books from French (101), followed by German (69) and then other languages far behind, as seen in Figure 9.1.

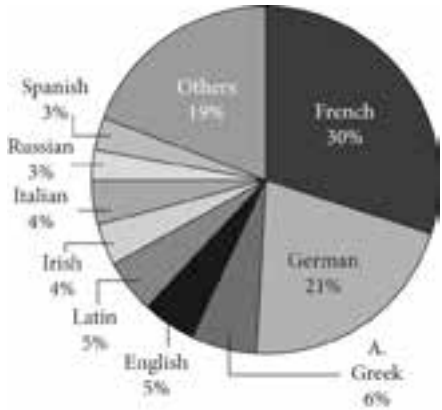

FIGURE 9.1 *Percentage of all translations in English corpus, by source language.*

The most dominant source languages for translations into English vary by genre. For instance, English poets translated much more German fiction than French fiction. Nearly half of all foreign fiction was translated from German, while only about a quarter from French. This was owing to the numerous English translations of Franz Kafka (7 translations), Lion Feuchtwanger (7), Gert Hofmann (4), Robert Walser (4) and the Brothers Grimm (4). Such canonical French novelists as Balzac, Flaubert, Stendhal and Proust were simply not translated by English poets.

Yet English poets translated far more poetry from French than from German: 27 per cent to 8 per cent. The leading French authors here are Tristan Tzara (6 volumes translated), Saint-John Perse and Stéphane Mallarmé (4 each), and Pierre Jean Jouve (3). In terms of theatre translations, there were more from ancient Greek than any other language (33 per cent), especially

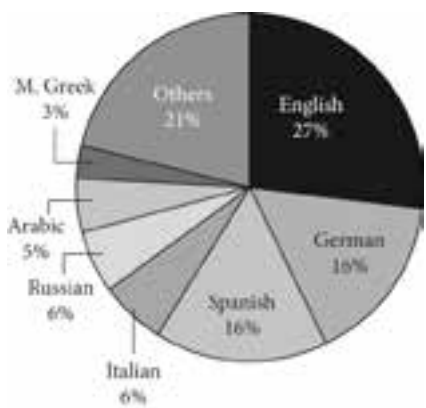

FIGURE 9.2 *Percentage of all translations in French corpus, by source language.*

FIGURE 9.3 *Percentage of all translations in Italian corpus, by source language.*

Sophocles (6), Euripides (5) and Aeschylus (3); French came close in second, with 31 per cent and numerous translations from Molière (6), Racine (4) and Samuel Beckett (3).

If we turn now to French poet-translators, we find that they translated, on average, more titles (of any genre) from English (27 per cent) than any other language, with German and Spanish tied in the second place at 16 per cent.

But these percentages hide a crucial fact, which can only be seen if we examine these figures by literary genre. English as a source language dominated translated fiction into French: 38 per cent of the total compared to German at 22 per cent. So, there are plentiful translations of fiction by Lawrence Durrell (11), William Burroughs (8), Melville (6), Henry Miller (5), Lewis Carroll (4), Robert Louis Stevenson, Vita Sackville-West and Elizabeth Von Arnim (3), as well as a large German-language component here – Christa Wolf (9), Ingo Schulz (5), Friedrich Dürrenmatt and Ernst Jünger (4), Volker Braun (3), Robert Musil (3) and Heinrich von Kleist (3). The English dominance is even stronger for theatre translations into French, where English is the source language for 47 per cent of all translations, with the next closest languages, ancient Greek and German, at 9 per cent. This is thanks to the overwhelming presence of Shakespeare, who accounts for twenty-six theatre translations into French. Yet, when we turn to the genre of poetry, things are different. Here, the most popular source language is Spanish, at 26 per cent, with a quarter more titles than from the second leading source language, English. There could be several reasons for this, and one naturally thinks of the strong links between Spanish and French surrealist poetry. There are numerous French translations of Spanish-language poetry by José Ángel Valente (18), Alejandra Pizarnik (11), Federico García Lorca (9), Antonio Gamoneda and Roberto Juarroz (8), Octavio Paz (6), Luis de Góngora (5) and Pablo Neruda (5).

While no source language had overwhelming supremacy across all literary genres for English and French poets, this is not the case with Italian poets, as Figure 9.3 illustrates. For Italian poets, French was the most important source for all literary genres, from poetry (37 per cent from French, with second-place English far behind at 17 per cent), through fiction (French at 46 per cent, whereas English is at 34 per cent) and theatre (French at 35 per cent; ancient Greek in second place at 30 per cent).

Overall, Italian poets translated 41 per cent of their texts from French, substantially more than they translated from English (at 26 per cent). Italians translated symbolist and twentieth-century French poetry in earnest: Guillaume Apollinaire, Charles Baudelaire and Stéphane Mallarmé (6); Paul Verlaine (5); René Char, Jacques Prévert, Arthur Rimbaud and Paul Valéry (4); Paul Éluard, André Frénaud and Jules Laforgue (3). In fiction, they preferred the novels of Gustave Flaubert (9), Marcel Proust (7), Stendhal (6) and Honoré de Balzac (5). In terms of theatre, the French playwrights they most frequently translated were Molière (6) and Racine (3).

This brief review of translations by source languages definitively shows that the translations carried out by European poets fit into clear translation trends. What this effectively means for the scholar of translation studies is that the individual translations should be placed within the relevant context of the broader cultural and literary trends at work. A translation into a specific language can be common or uncommon based on existing trends, and therefore analysed appropriately within this context.

Poetry translation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

Throughout the twentieth century and beyond, there has been an impressive increase in poetry translations produced by all three groups of poets in the corpus. From the start of the twentieth century until the end of the Second World War, there was a clear supremacy of non-poetry translations. For example, only 10 per cent of all translations published by English-language poets up to 1945 came from poetic genres. For Italians, the rate was about twice as much. For French-language poets, the rate was 25 per cent. In short, no more than one out of every four translations published by English, French and Italian poet-translators during the first half of the twentieth century was a collection of poetry. But during the heart of the century, from 1946 to 1989, the rate increased for all languages. The English 9 per cent skyrocketed to 52 per cent; the Italian percentage doubled to 38 per cent; the French percentage rose dramatically to 44 per cent. Then, and at

the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, the corresponding rates for English and French poets went all the way up to more than two-thirds – so 68 per cent of all translations published by both French and English poets were poetry collections. However, Italian poets still published a majority of non-poetry, with poetry accounting only for 42 per cent.

In fact, just as there were many poets who did not translate poetry, there were many poets who translated *only* poetry. In fact, 47 per cent of English poet-translators translated exclusively poetry. This is more than double the amount of French poets translating exclusively poetry (23 per cent), and about four times the amount of Italian poets translating exclusively poetry (12 per cent). In short, there was a clear tendency for English poets to dedicate themselves to this particular genre of translation. As the numbers before revealed, however, while English poets may have translated poetry often enough, they still didn't translate many volumes of it.

On the whole, European poet-translators were very likely to publish at least one volume of poetry translations, with anywhere from 72–73 per cent (French and Italian poets) to 82 per cent (English poets) doing so. Even so, the most prolific translators of poetry are the French, who translated 50 per cent more poetry books on average than English and Italian poets did: six to four. Moreover, twice as many French poets, by percentage, as English and Italian poets translated ten or more volumes of poetry. Overall, 74 per cent of poet-translators in my corpus translated one or more books of poetry, whereas only 26 per cent did not translate any poetry books at all.[9]

Translation careers of poet-translators

European poet-translators start at all ages, from nineteen (David Gascoyne) to ninety-five (Léopold Sédar Senghor). The youngest and most precocious in our corpora, Gascoyne, was nineteen when he first published his translation, Salvador Dali's *Conquest of the Irrational*, and he would continue with two more translations in his next year. Other young translators include Valery Larbaud (20 years old), Fausto Maria Martini and Jean-Paul de Dadelsen (both 21). On the other side of the parabola were poets like René Char, Michel Leiris and Michel Deguy, all of whom published their first and only translations when in their mid to late 70s. Both Tonino Guerra and Gherasim Luca published their translations only when in their 80s, and the aforementioned Senghor at 95. Figure 9.4 shows how many poets (on the y-axis) began their translation career at specific ages (x-axis):

FIGURE 9.4 *Number of poet-translators, by age at first published translation.*

Naturally, the poets beginning to translate the earliest in their lives tended to translate the most. The cohort of poets initiating their translating in their 20s averaged fourteen translations over their careers, more than those starting in their 30s (11 translations) or those beginning in their 40s (only 6 translations) and so on.[10] So, for example, Philippe Jaccottet and Jean-Claude Schneider both began at twenty-two, and translated 56 and 25 books respectively; Henri Deluy and Cesare Pavese started at twenty-three, and translated 31 and 22 books, respectively, and so on. However, the top two most prolific poets, Jacques Ancet and Armel Guerne, each began their distinguished translation careers a couple years on either side of thirty (33 and 28, respectively).

Figure 9.5 shows a representation of how many translations each poet published according to his/her chronological age at first translation. The bunched-up nature of the chart shows the clear prevalence of poet-translators initiating in their 20s and 30s. Overall, the median age at which poet-translators debuted with their first translations is 38.

Other poets, nevertheless, began translating later, and not merely those aforementioned poets publishing at retirement age and beyond. Rather, we can think of poets who published their first translations during the prime of their lives. Samuel Beckett published the first of his thirty-one translations – his translation of his English novel *Murphy* into French – when he was forty-one. Eugenio Montale published his first translation, John Steinbeck's *In Dubious Battle*, when he was forty-four; fourteen more translations would follow. Eugène Guillevic was fifty-seven when he published the first two of his nineteen translations, both devoted to the Ukrainian national poet Taras Chevtchenko. Yeats's first translation, *Oedipus Rex*, was published when he was sixty-three; two more would follow. The first of Vénus Khoury-Ghata's six translations – a volume by the Syrian poet Adonis – was published when she was sixty-nine.

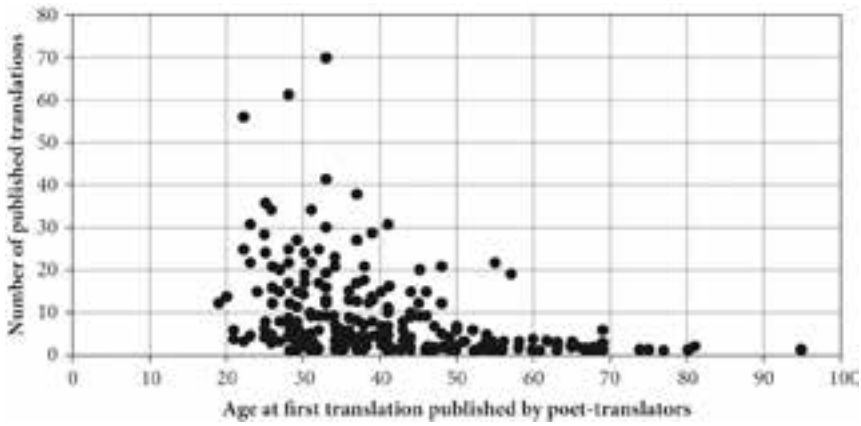

FIGURE 9.5 *Number of published translations per poet, according to age at first published translation.*

Poetry translation as literary initiation

One common assumption, held by both critics and some poets themselves, is that poets translate as literary initiation. We can assess this claim by seeing how often poets translated a book of poetry before publishing a volume of their *own* poetry.[11] Out of the 260 poets who published translations, only 6 first published a volume of translated poetry before their own debut poetry collections: Roger Caillois, Henri Deluy, Abdellatif Laâbi, Valery Larbaud, Pierre Morhange and C. H. Sisson. The other 254 poet-translators published their own work before publishing a book of poetry translations. In fact, we could rephrase this to say that only 6 out of 495 poets – our entire corpus – published poetry translations before original poetry, since 235 poets did not publish poetry translations at all. This conclusively demonstrates, then, that the majority of modern European poets published collections of original poetry *before* collections of poetry translations.

At the same time, however, we must bear in mind that the most common genre of debut translations by poet-translators in our corpus is poetry. For 62 per cent of our poets, poetry was the genre of their first translation. Far behind the second-most common genre was fiction, for only 26 per cent of poets. In other words, while it was highly likely that the first translation published by a poet-translator was a collection of foreign poetry, this translation almost always came after his/her volume of original verse.

We can also view this initiation in terms of age cohorts, focusing this time solely on poetry translations. The three corpora – French, Italian and English poet-translators – all showed different profiles in this respect, as visible in

Figure 9.6. French-language poets, on average, published more and more poetry translations the older they grew: early in their careers, during their 20s and 30s, only about one-third of their translations were poetry translations. But this percentage rose to nearly 50 per cent during their 40s, above 50 per cent in their 50s, above 60 per cent in their 60s and 70s, and above 70 per cent in their 80s.

The same linear growth cannot be traced in Italian or English poet-translators. While Italian poets in their 30s translated poetry just as often as French poets in their 30s, Italians did not go on to publish much more poetry in their 40s and 50s like their French peers. The only decade during which Italians translated 50% or more poetry was during their 80s, but the sample size here is very small (fewer than 10 translations). Clearly, during most of their lives, Italians did not translate a majority of poetry, unlike the French. A third and different trend emerged in English poets. During their 20s and 30s, they translated poetry much more often than their international peers – more than half of their translations were poetry, even three-quarters; but this percentage plummeted in their 40s and 50s to less than 40 per cent. The amount of poetry English poets translated then rose again to above 50 per cent during their later decades.

In other words, English poets more often translated poetry when they were young and aiming to position themselves in the literary field; or when they had achieved renown and were in retirement. French poets on average waited until they achieved more symbolic capital. And Italians never translated an overwhelming amount of poetry in the same way that their international peers did.

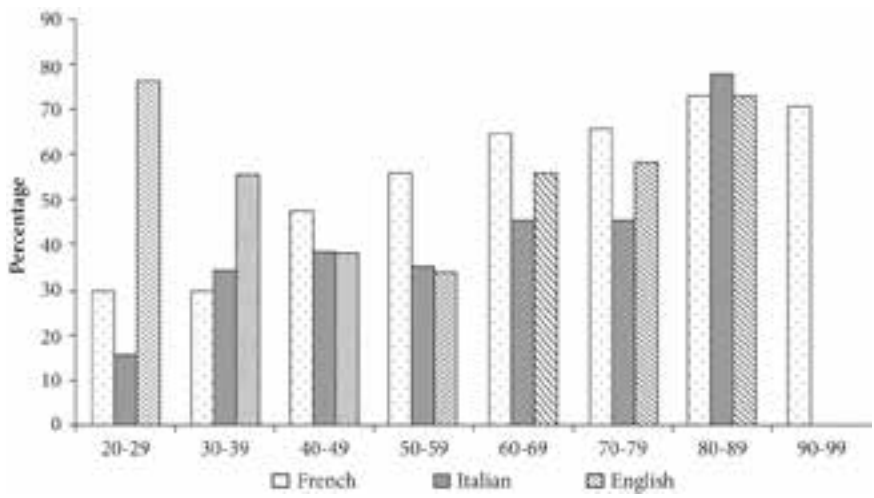

FIGURE 9.6 *Percentage of poetry translations by English, French and Italian poets, per decade.*

Poet-translators by gender

Up until now, I have focused solely on poet-translators, without looking specifically at their gender. It will be seen that there are interesting conclusions to be drawn about the different trends in translation between male and female poet-translators in my corpus.

First of all, however, it must be emphasized that the corpus of 495 poets is heavily tilted towards male poets: only 11 per cent are female poets (56), reflecting the heavy gender disparity in poetry anthologies. So, for example, only 7 per cent of the poets in the French anthology and 8 per cent of those in the Italian anthologies are female poets. While the equivalent percentage of female poets in the English anthology is three times higher, at 24 per cent, it still means that more than three out of every four anthologized English poets are male. This gender imbalance – or bias, more accurately – has been criticized by Lucia Re, in her article that discusses Italian anthologies, but whose conclusions are relevant to all anthologies per se:

> The systematic exclusion of women demonstrates the hegemonic design of the anthology in both cultural and in social terms … it represents the sedimentation of decades and centuries of prejudice in Italian literary culture, whereby the work of women came to be thought of as qualitatively inferior to men. (1992: 588)

I did not redress this in terms of the choice of anthologies or deliberately adding Italian female poets, because the aim of this chapter is to study different poetry canons, and while female poets have been systematically discriminated against, it would distort my study to analyse poets who have not entered standard canons.

In this section, we will look at how many female poets translated, how often they translated, from how many languages they translated and whether they translated as much poetry as (or more or less than) their male peers.

We have seen that the percentage of poet-translators in the entire corpus is 53 per cent. Broken down by gender, 54 per cent of the 439 male poets translated a book, while only 41 per cent of the fifty-six female poets in my corpus translated at least one book. A majority of female poets, then, did not translate any books at all. Moreover, the 23 female poets who did translate combined for merely 125 translations, an average of only 5.4 per person, far lower than the corresponding average for male poets, 8.7 translations. Nevertheless, these absolute numbers must be examined by tradition as well, since the corpus is weighted towards French poets (268) compared to English (126) and Italian poets (101). In fact, the percentage of female poet-translators shows a striking difference when

compared across traditions. On the one hand, a higher percentage of male French and English poets translate than female French and English poets (52 per cent vs. 44 per cent and 42 per cent vs. 30 per cent, respectively), and either 66 per cent more (male French poets) or 300 per cent more as many books (male English poets) than their female peers. However, the group of female Italian poets in the corpus not only translated more often than their male Italian peers (75 per cent to 72 per cent), but more often percentage-wise than French and English poets of any gender. They also translated more books on average (9.2) than male English and Italian poets, and female English and French poets, being out-translated only by male French poets.

Yet the most prolific poet-translators in the corpus were all men. There are only two female poets among the top-seventy most prolific poet-translators in our corpus: Vivian Lamarque, tied in fifteenth place, with twenty-seven translations; and Silvia Baron Supervielle, tied in twenty-seventh place, with twenty-one translations. Vivian Lamarque, born in the Trentino region of Italy in 1946, was a high school teacher, whose own poetry has won various prizes. Silvia Baron Supervielle was born in Argentina in 1934, but emigrated to Paris at the beginning of the 1960s, and adopted the French language.

In terms of poetry translation, eighteen female poet-translators translated at least one poetry book, while only five female poet-translators did not translate any poetry at all. This percentage – 78 per cent – is slightly higher than the percentage of male poets translating poetry books, which is only 73 per cent. But male poet-translators translated, on average, two more collections of poetry than female poet-translators (5.4 books vs. 3.3).

The most prolific female poetry translators were Silvia Baron Supervielle, with fifteen poetry translations, and the only female poet with ten or more poetry translations; Liliane Wouters, with seven poetry translations; Vénus Khoury-Ghata with six, and Elaine Feinstein, with five. It is significant that three out of these four poets resided on the outskirts of their respective linguistic communities. Supervielle was born and raised in Argentina, moving to Paris in her late 20s. Wouters lived her entire life in Belgium. And Khoury-Ghata was born and lived in Lebanon until moving to France in her late 30s. One might wonder whether the fact of not possessing the hegemonic mother tongue – whether because a non-native speaker, or a diasporic speaker of a mother tongue – was one of the reasons impelling them to become translators.

Female poets began their translation careers much later than male poets: their median age of first translation publication is a decade older than male poets: forty-eight compared to thirty-eight. Moreover, only one of the twenty-three female poets – Daria Menicanti – published a translation before their own poetry, and this was not of poetry either. These statistics show how difficult it was for female poets to enter the male-dominated field of poetry translation irrespective of nationality.

Translated authors

Finally, I will consider the symbolic capital of foreign writers in different national traditions. I will look at this from two different vantage points: the most translated authors overall in our corpus, and the most consistently and widely translated authors into the three languages of our corpus.

Table 9.3 shows the most translated authors (both poets and non-poets), calculated as those who were translated five or more times.

Of the widely translated authors 22–23 per cent are French and German. English authors are close behind, at 18 per cent, with the next closest language, Spanish, at 11 per cent. However, the English total is much exaggerated by the popularity of Shakespeare and his fifty-four translations. There is no overpowering hegemony of English here. In fact, there are more German-language (19) and French-language (18) authors than English-language (15) on this list. The symbolic capital possessed by French, German

Table 9.3 All authors translated five or more times in the entire corpus, by source language

Source language	*Authors*	*Translations*	*% of 83 authors*	*% of 746 translations*
German	19	174	23	23
French	18[12]	133	22	18
English	15	163	18	22
Spanish	9	100	11	13
Russian	7	44	8	6
A. Greek	4	45	5	6
Arabic	2	16	2	2
Italian	2	15	2	2
Latin	2	14	2	2
Hebrew-Greek[13]	1	18	1	2
Hungarian	1	8	1	1
Swedish	1	6	1	1
Portuguese	1	5	1	1
Czech	1	5	1	1
Total	83	746		

and English writers, however, is unsurpassed by those writing in other languages. Nevertheless, if we limit ourselves to poetry, there are far more French, Spanish and German poets extensively translated than English poets in the above list of eighty-three authors: the French-language Apollinaire, Baudelaire, Char, Jouve, Mallarmé, Perse, Rimbaud, Tzara, Valéry and Verlaine; the Spanish-language Borges, Gamoneda, Góngora, Juarroz, Lorca, Neruda, Paz, Pizarnik and Valente; and the German-language Bobrowski, Braun, Brecht, Celan, Goethe, Hölderlin, Novalis and Rilke. English, on the other hand, is represented only by Blake, Coleridge, Lawrence, Shakespeare and Whitman.

If we limit this to only twentieth-century poets, English comes up short. While 8 Spanish, 6 French and 5 German twentieth-century poets are extensively translated, there is only one English poet – D.H. Lawrence – represented here. We can note that even twentieth-century Arabic poets are more translated – Adonis and Mohammed Bennis – as well as twentieth-century Russian poets like Osip Mandelstam and Marina Tsvetaeva. And other twentieth-century poetic traditions are just as well represented as English, with single poets widely translated: Czech (Vladimír Holan), Hungarian (János Pilinszky), Italian (Giuseppe Ungaretti) and Portuguese (Fernando Pessoa).

Conclusion

In closing then, isolated studies of poet-translators do not provide an overall context in which to situate their work. This chapter has gone some way to providing that context. We have demonstrated that the most prolific poet-translators are rarely the most prominent *poets*, with few exceptions. We have seen that Italian and French poets consistently translated more than English poets from the beginning to the end of the twentieth century and that translation trends differed meaningfully in many respects from one language to another. The hegemonic role of English, developing throughout the century, does not dominate systematically the whole corpus of translations. Yes, English was translated in a significant portion, about equally, by French and Italian poets: 26–27 per cent of their translations. However, it was the dominant source language only for French poets. On the other hand, both English and Italian poets translated more from French than any other language.

Yet these figures change by genre. The dominant source languages of fiction and theatre translations differ among all three of the traditions. French poets translate more fiction from English; English poets more from German; and Italian poets more from French. And if we cast our eyes on translated theatrical works, here the leading source language shifts from ancient Greek (English poets) to French (Italian poets) to English (French poets). Instead, if

we turn to poetry, French is the hegemonic language for both English and Italian poets, whereas Spanish is the leading language for French poets.

We have seen that the earlier poets begin to translate, the more they will end up translating. Poets do begin translating at young ages: but for every David Gascoyne, whose first translation was when he was nineteen, there was a Silvia Baron Supervielle, whose first translation was when she was forty-eight. But this is dependent as well on the nationality of the poet: we have seen how Italian poets translated much earlier in their careers than English and French poets.

Moreover, my data suggests that the common idea that poets debut in their literary careers as translators is wrong. Another career trend I identified was that French poets translated more poetry the older they grew, while English poets translated more poetry when they were young, and then only late in their lives went back to translating an impressive amount of verse. In comparison, Italian poets almost never translated a majority of poetry in any decade of their lives.

Looking at the careers of poet-translators has also demonstrated differences between male and female poets, which would otherwise be difficult to perceive, if using a close reading perspective. Overall, male poets consistently translated more than female poets, including more poetry books, and from more source languages (especially Greek and Latin). Yet, here too, contrasts emerge based on the national tradition we are examining: female Italian poets, for example, go against the above trends, and translate slightly more often and more books in general than male Italian poets.

While further research on poet-translators within other languages might offer different results for a specific tradition, it would not change the relative statistics among the three traditions I have chosen. Now that these figures are to hand, I hope we may see further study of national and international translation networks, and further analysis of the connections between poets and translators of different countries. We need to investigate how national literatures change in tandem with translation trends and flows, through analysing the operation of publishing houses and their lists, and the circulation of 'symbolic capital'. Moreover, such work needs to be situated chronologically, so that we can study trends over time. My analysis has, of course, used a 'distant' or statistical approach, but has suggested further lines of inquiry relating to the function of translation for poets and the spread of literary influence across genres and languages. Yet I do not think that distant reading is an approach that needs to substitute close reading. As Bourdieu recommended, what is needed is both a micro- and a macro-analysis: both internal and external analyses simultaneously. In this sense, the use of statistical analysis and close reading can complement each other, and together fill a current gap in research on modern poet-translators.

Notes

1 A few final methodological notes. The focus is on the comparison of translated *books* or book-length works (chapbooks are included); a book in two volumes is considered two translations. First editions are counted, but not subsequent ones; print-runs are not usually known, so are ignored. Only sole translations or translations carried out with one other collaborator are counted; books with three or more translators are not considered, since the focus is on the primacy of translation authorship. I do not include poems published in journals, little magazines or anthologies; while this means that the overall picture cannot therefore be fully comprehensive, it does allow concentration on substantive publications as discrete objects of study. Some book-length translations will have eluded me because they were published by small presses and did not make their way to national libraries.

2 The *Index Translationum* records 2,317,229 translations over the years 1979–2016 (verified as of 27 July 2017 at UNESCO's *Index translationum* website), of which 55 per cent were translations from English, but for its unreliability see below.

3 My previous publications that began this new line of inquiry are 'Examining Modern European Poet-Translators "Distantly"', *Translation and Literature* 25.1 (2016): 10–27 and 'Poet-Translators in Modern Italy: A Statistical Survey', *Testo a fronte* 47 (2012): 31–41.

4 The best effort in this direction has been Gisèle Sapiro's work as author and editor: her volume *Translatio* (2009) is pioneering, although problematized by the use of the *Index Translationum* statistics.

5 Margery McCulloch, *Edwin Muir: Poet, Critic and Novelist* (1993) and Alberto Giordano, *Invito alla lettura di Piero Jahier* (1973).

6 Armel Guerne (p. 152) and Philippe Jaccottet (p. 183). While the entries for Guerne and Jaccottet go into more specifics, there is no attempt at comprehensiveness.

7 I have chosen two Italian anthologies, so that there would be at least 100 Italian poets in my corpus. This opens up an interesting question about how many poets are considered canonical in different cultures.

8 My practice has been to include all anthologized poets regardless of their country of origin: after all, what we are speaking about here is the 'selective canon' by language, and it would be inappropriate to exclude poets on account of an *a priori* restriction about nationality. Indeed, languages and literatures cross borders and are not confined to one country. Investigating the relationship of English or French or Italian poetry to other national poetries begs the question of what a national poetry is, and if such a moniker is accurate. Indeed, this is often not terminologically precise, since nation states frequently change borders (e.g. the dissolution of numerous colonial empires in the twentieth century, including those of England, France and Italy).

9 Naturally, these figures refer to the percentage of poet-translators, not to the larger group of all poets in the corpus, many of whom did not translate at all.

10 I recognise that there is a difference between the date of composition and the date of publication; however, for my purposes, what is important is the date of publication, since this is the common variable that can easily be studied across a wide corpus of works.

11 I am consciously eliding here the question of individual poems and poetry translations, not collected in volumes, but published in magazines or circulated among friends.

12 I have counted Beckett twice: first as a French author accounting for fourteen translations into English; and second, as an English author accounting for nine translations into French.

13 This is *The Bible.*

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PART FIVE

Microsocial Approaches to Poetry Translation

10

Octavio Paz and Charles Tomlinson: Literary Friendship and Translation

Tom Boll

In a letter of 1970 to the English poet Charles Tomlinson, Octavio Paz wrote that 'meeting you is one of the good things to have happened in my life' (1970c).[1] It is an unguarded statement, testimony to a friendship that generated strong affective bonds and a wide range of professional engagement: the two poets met repeatedly, corresponded, translated each other, exchanged works and collaborated on two extended poems, *Renga* (1972) and *Airborn/Hijos del aire* (1981). Yet if Charles Tomlinson was a good thing, Paz's disclosure implies that there had also been plenty of bad things. The most active years of their friendship, from the mid-1960s through the 1970s, saw Paz involved in an embattled and peripatetic public life: from his resignation as Mexican ambassador in India after the Tlatelolco massacre of 1968, periods adjusting to the demands of academic teaching in Austin, Texas, and Cambridge, England; and his return to Mexico and the founding of the magazine *Plural*, which became a focus for political opposition to the governing *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (Institutional Revolutionary Party).

This embattlement is evident in Paz's letters to Tomlinson. They fall into a common pattern in which the friendship is presented as antidote to a hostile world, both proximate and distant. He reports that reading and translating Tomlinson's poems has provided relief from a wide range of adverse circumstance: a combination of toothache and the stupid declarations of

Jaime Sabines in one letter; the prison-like architecture of Churchill College in another; the irritability of the Times Literary Supplement and his Cambridge students; or the cultured illiteracy of the Mexican reading public (1968a, 1970a, 1987). The friendship was clearly involved, albeit antagonistically, in a wider social scenario.

This involvement should breed caution about any distinction between the public and private spheres. As the conjunction of toothache with the declarations of Jaime Sabines suggests, the division between inner and outer is not easily drawn. As in many literary friendships, the exchanges between Paz and Tomlinson are a hybrid of public and private. They are a defence against a hostile public world but they also act as a provisional form of socialization for ideas and works that will eventually be left to fight for their existence in the public sphere proper.

Relations between the intimate ties of friendship and the wider structures of society have been a preoccupation of sociologists since the founding of the discipline. Greco, Holmes and McKenzie trace debate back to Georg Simmel who identified friendship as a distinct social form (*Wechselwirkung*) that involves emotional ties which contribute to social stability (2015). Later scholars, such as Giddens (1990) and Ghisleni and Rebughini (2006), have continued to see friendship as an increasingly important form of social interaction in modern society. As Mary Holmes explains, the loss of tradition in modernity means that 'people deal frequently with unfamiliar situations in which they cannot rely on calculation or on habitual routine action' (2010: 141). Friendship becomes a more ad hoc way of establishing norms of social interaction, sharing knowledge and engaging in collective forms of activity.

Michael P. Farrell sees a rise of these 'pseudo-kinship groups' among artists with increased urbanization in the nineteenth century (2001: 12). He traces the development of a number of collaborative artistic circles, identifying the common dynamics of their formation, interaction and eventual dissolution. Farrell pays particular attention to pairs of artistic collaborators, observing the ways that they engage in reciprocal exchanges of confidence which establish the necessary trust to produce what he calls a stage of 'instrumental intimacy' where cognitive processes merge in collective artistic production (2001: 157).

The presence of these friendship circles is well documented in the history of Modernism, which presents a particularly fertile instance of artistic innovation resulting from the displacement of traditions caused by geographical and linguistic migrations. Octavio Paz himself collaborated with André Breton and the Surrealists, his later work with Charles Tomlinson frequently occurring in the shadow of that allegiance. However, friendship is not simply a way of compensating for the disruptions of modernity, providing by alternative means the habit and routine that have been lost. The dynamics of modern friendship shape the particular character of the literary works that they generate.

As Paola Rebughini's research suggests, the exchanges of friendship in contemporary society involve articulations that are typical of literary production. Friendship involves a form of 'discursive intimacy' in which emotions 'cease to be simply *embodied* and become instead a part of the narration of the self' (2011). Friendship thus plays a vital role in the construction of identity. It is an 'elastic and negotiable interpersonal space' in which 'doubts and fragility' are exposed and 'friends reciprocally play the role of witness to the other person's existential story' (Rebughini 2011). For Axel Honneth these exchanges are a means of acquiring 'affective approval or encouragement' which become the initial model of a broader social recognition, providing the confidence to operate in the public sphere (1995: 118). One can then trace a direct link between the kinds of reflection on selfhood and identity that occur in friendship and their expression in public form through a literary genre such as lyric poetry.

Simmel saw trust as the primary mechanism that regulates social relationships (Simmel 1978: 178–79). Yet trust entails risk, an exposure to the contingencies of others, the consequences of which are never entirely predictable. Niklas Luhmann notes that trust in others involves an 'internal attribution', an exercise of judgement which, if the trust is broken will result in self-reproach (1990: 98). It is this element of risk and the engagement of personal judgement that give friendship much of its meaning. Trust is another manifestation of elective affinity, a choice that we make. By involving risk, friendship also provides a basis for unpredictable and complex forms of collective action. The exposure to the contingencies of others is a way of discovering new articulations of self. Jack Barbalet argues that trust has a 'creative capacity' (2009: 369), and as Luhmann declares, 'Without trust only very simple forms of human cooperation which can be transacted on the spot are possible […] Trust is indispensable in order to increase a social system's potential for action beyond these elementary forms' (1979: 88). Trust is thus a precondition for innovative collaboration, acting as a 'bridge' between the present and new possibilities of collective activity in the future (1979: 10).

The interactions between Paz and Tomlinson played out versions of self and world view that would be presented for public examination in their published works. Translation was a persistent mode of that interaction from the initial creation of the friendship to its later articulation. Translation is a particularly revealing social exchange as it involves a representation of another identity and form of expression at the same time as it provides opportunities for the translator to assert their own preoccupations and stylistic habits. It acts as both a recognition of the other and a call in turn for recognition of one's own forms of articulation. It can erase the boundaries between self and other but also define them. Translation is thus both a vehicle of interaction and a means of narrating identity which incorporates language, style, cultural tradition and world view.

I propose to consider the ways that an understanding of the dynamics of friendship can illuminate discussion of Paz and Tomlinson's translation of each other's work. My discussion will consider two related questions. First, what role does translation play in the development of their friendship? And second, how can sociological perspectives on friendship enrich understanding of what is at stake in the translations in terms of selfhood, identity and artistic repertoire? Drawing on the letters that Paz wrote to Tomlinson, which are held in the Harry Ransom Center in Austin, Texas, I will focus on two key periods of their interaction: the translations that initiated their friendship, and then their collaboration on *Airborn/Hijos del Aire* (1981). I will trace the ways that translation acted as a form of reciprocal exchange for the two poets, establishing the necessary trust to engage in ever closer forms of collaboration even as it articulated antagonism and divergent artistic purpose.

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Charles Tomlinson first came across Paz's poetry in 1960 in the short selection included in J.M. Cohen's *Penguin Book of Spanish Verse* (Tomlinson 1995: 153). He extended his acquaintance three years later while travelling in Mexico where he picked up a copy of *Salamandra*. He describes experiencing Mexico City through the poem 'El mismo tiempo' (The Same Time) and went on to translate a series of shorter poems from the collection, including 'Paisaje', which would appear in his own *American Scenes and Other Poems* of 1966 as 'Landscape' with the epigraph '*After Octavio Paz*' (Tomlinson 1985: 149; Tomlinson 1995: 154).

In 'Paisaje', Tomlinson encountered a poem that dealt with 'a landscape beyond the merely personal' and which also embodied 'a common theme of Paz's work, a world both solid and light' (Tomlinson 1995: 154)[2]. He describes being attracted to the 'almost ascetic rigour' of Paz's use of echoes. His attempt to find a 'parallel music' is apparent in the first three stanzas of the poem (1995: 155):

Peña y precipicio,
Más tiempo que piedra,
Materia sin tiempo.

Por sus cicatrices
Sin moverse cae
Perpetua agua virgen.

Reposa lo inmenso
Piedra sobre piedra,
Piedras sobre aire.

(Rock and precipice,
More time than stone, this
Timeless matter.

Through its cicatrices
Falls without moving
Perpetual virgin water.

Immensity reposes here
Rock on rock,
Rocks over air.) (Paz 1988: 66–67)[3]

The Spanish combines internal (*piedra*/*materia*) and line-end patterns of assonance (*precipicio*/*cicatrices; tiempo*/*inmenso; cae*/*aire*). Tomlinson aims for a similar density of sound: 'this'/'timeless'/'cicatrices'; 'here'/'air'. Yet this patterning is achieved by inserting lexis ('this', 'here') which has consequences for the poem's thematic proposition of a world beyond the merely personal. 'This/timeless matter' of stanza one (literal translation: 'timeless matter') explicitly situates the scene in proximity to the perceiving consciousness, an effect which is repeated in stanza three where 'immensity reposes *here*' (emphasis added; literal translation: 'immensity reposes'). Tomlinson's 'here' can be read as a physical and as a temporal marker: the perception occurs not only in this place but at this moment, a fleeting encounter of the human and contingent with the incommensurable.

By attending to the formal, musical patterning of Paz's poem, Tomlinson performs a kind of feint by which his own particular version of Paz's thematic proposition is allowed to surface. This articulation of the themes of 'Paisaje' is informed by his reading of Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Tomlinson has described 'The Primacy of Perception' in interview as 'one of our great defences of poetry' (Rasula and Erwin 1975: 416). Merleau-Ponty's essay proposes that any attempt to conceptualize the world must be traced back to pre-reflective acts of perception. Perception is 'a nascent *logos*' which is bound to the body 'as the field of perception and action [*pratique*]' (Merleau-Ponty 1964: 25 and 16). For Merleau-Ponty, 'being is synonymous with being situated' (1976: 252). Experience is thus localized in a particular place and at a particular time.

Paz's Spanish is less anxious to situate the observer. 'Reposa lo inmenso' (immensity reposes) hovers between a specific observation and a general rule where Tomlinson locates the perception, here (and by implication, now). The use of the neuter article 'lo' further disembodies the perception as a 'quality of immensity': a property of the material world is abstracted from the specific experience of it. That quality of immensity rests on stone which in turn rests on air, and the poem concludes with self and world rendered insubstantial:

'Las rocas no pesan/Más que nuestras sombras' ('The crags weigh/No more than our shadows') (Paz 1988: 66–67).

Tomlinson's interests lie in a different direction and he admits to ambivalence in his translation of Paz. The Mexican poet was a 'different person' in an English which performed 'a form of reincarnation', a circumstance that, in Tomlinson's account, led him intuitively to one of Paz's key themes: 'the way in which words make us aware of who and what we are' (Tomlinson 1995: 157). Paz is both promulgated and transformed by a process that is interpretative and reflexive. Tomlinson accepts that potentially hostile gestures are at work in translation: when one poet reads another, 'an instinct, which is almost predatory in its starkest form, leads that poet shamelessly to seek those points of contact, all of those nutritive possibilities that might feed his own work' (1995: 157). Thus in his translation of 'Paisaje', Tomlinson was attracted to both music and theme which he nevertheless transformed in the direction of his own interests and preferences.

This ambivalence is at work in a translation that allows for an intimate artistic engagement with another poet's work at the same time as it operates in the absence of any norms of personal interaction. Tomlinson had no direct contact with Paz at this stage. Indeed, he did not even request permission for the publication of his translations in the magazine *Encounter*. When he then received a letter from Paz, he expected a telling off (Tomlinson 1995: 157).

To his surprise Paz was delighted by what he judged an 'excellent' version of 'Paisaje' (Paz 1966). The question of permission didn't surface and Paz announced the beginning of 'a friendship' (1966). A predatory re-working of Paz's poem in the direction of Tomlinson's own interests combined with negligence about copyright might seem a curious starting point for a friendship. Yet the translation also functioned as a gesture of recognition, which was clearly appreciated by Paz. It took its place in a wider dynamics, which would not only involve patterns of reciprocation but also allow for appropriation and disagreement, which persisted across a number of collaborative projects, individual poems and translations.

Michael P. Farrell describes one of the early functions of exchanges between collaborative artistic pairs as 'validating one another's identities as serious professionals' (2001: 151). However appropriative, and unauthorized, Tomlinson's translation and publication of Paz in *Encounter* marked him as a poet worthy of attention for English readers. Indeed, occurring as it did unbidden and outside any interpersonal relationship, it can be read as a generous initial move. Paz's response reciprocated the gesture, admiring 'Landscape' and providing his own translations of a number of Tomlinson's poems: 'Ute Mountain', 'Head Hewn with an Axe', 'Farewell to Van Gogh', 'More Foreign Cities', 'What It Was Like' and 'The Cavern' (Paz 1968a).

Farrell sees these types of exchange as typical of the early formation stage of collaborative pairings: 'A balanced exchange process, characterized by reciprocity and gradual escalation of both critical and supportive interaction, is necessary to move to the most creative stage of the dyadic interaction' (2001: 152). This gradually escalating process of interaction allows the pair to establish 'norms of exchange' that will provide a basis for the developing relationship (2001: 169). Farrell likens the process to a 'romantic courtship' (2001: 155). One can read the uncertainties of a new relationship in the early letters and translations from Paz to Tomlinson: they don't know each other well and so cannot easily judge appropriate forms of reciprocity. A form of seduction is at work that involves a number of gestures, impulses and desires: there is both an exposure and an assertion of self in Paz's letters.

These different impulses are evident in the first draft of translations that Paz produced in February 1968. He tended to translate Tomlinson according to his own predilections, and described accentuating the Platonic implications of the poem, 'The Cavern' to suit his own taste, saying that he had 'taken liberties' but was happy with what he had produced, adding breezily that 'these infidelities seem like fidelities to me' (Paz 1968a). However, just as in a romantic seduction, the demand to 'Look at me' vied with worries – 'Am I worthy?'. The self-assertion of the first draft soon gave way to doubts. Less than a month later, Paz reported that he had revised the translations, adopting a more literal approach that attempted to remove 'philosophical, abstract' language. He provided an extended discussion of his translation of the poem's final line: 'the self's unnameable and shaping home' (Paz 1968b). Unhappy with his initial translation of 'self' as *ser* he rejected various 'pedantic' options in favour of *criatura*: literally a created being. 'Our languages carry the trace of the Platonic, Christian excision, the division of body and spirit', he declared, suggesting it was the poet's mission to heal that division (Paz 1968b). He thus reframed his own doubts as a common, shared purpose for himself and Tomlinson. One could argue that this retreat from the Platonic first draft is itself played out on a predominantly philosophical plane. Yet it clearly responded to a genuine doubt on Paz's part. His reflection on *ser* here suggests that for all the breezy Platonism of his first letter, he had his doubts, doubts that perhaps pre-dated and certainly exceeded this specific example.

Paz's doubts about his first translation of 'La caverna' revolved around a single item of lexis that was granted an emblematic status, reflecting on the kinds of philosophical question about ideal and embodiment that had surfaced in Tomlinson's translation of 'Paisaje'. With the revisions to his translation of Tomlinson's 'Farewell to Van Gogh', which are included in the same letter, he engaged in a more extended stylistic engagement with Tomlinson's work and revision of his own.

Tomlinson's English employs an argumentative syntax:

> The quiet deepens. You will not persuade
> One leaf of the accomplished, steady, darkening
> Chestnut-tower to displace itself
> With more of violence than the air supplies
> When, gathering dusk, the pond brims evenly
> And we must be content with stillness. (Tomlinson 2009: 41)[4]

The second person address and involved sequence of negation and qualification – from 'not' through 'more … than' to 'when' – foregrounds a narrative of perception and conception, unfolding over time.

Tomlinson's syntax articulates his phenomenological intellectual concerns. For Merleau-Ponty, perception is experienced 'in action' [*pratiquement*]:

> The idea of going straight to the essence of things is an inconsistent idea if one thinks about it. What is given is a route, an experience which gradually clarifies itself, which gradually rectifies itself and proceeds by dialogue with itself and with others. (Merleau-Ponty 1976: 12 and 21)

Tomlinson's second person address and intricate, argumentative syntax articulates this experience and the 'task' of building knowledge on perception, an unfolding process, which is bound to succession (Merleau-Ponty 1976: 25).

Paz approached the poem from a different perspective. Where 'La caverna' provided an initial opportunity for Paz's Platonic preference, the first draft of 'Adios a Van Gogh' suggests a blank materialism:

> Se agrava la quietud. Ni una hoja
> De la torre ya en sombra del castaño
> Cabal y bien cumplido te hará caso: obedecen
> Al aire y ahora su violencia se sosiega:
> La noche se acumula: el estanque colmado
> No desborda: lo inmóvil nos congrega. (Paz 1968a)

> (The quiet deepens. Not one leaf
> Of the tower now in shadow of the chestnut,
> Upright and well accomplished, will pay you attention: they obey
> The air and now their violence calms down:
> The night gathers: The full pond
> Does not brim over: immobility draws us together.)[5]

Lines four to six employ a paratactic syntax with a sequence of colons and a succession of bald statements. Without Tomlinson's narrative of a perception

unfolding through a process of argument, the speaker is left with a world of objects in disconnection, dead and spiritless, separate from each other and from the consciousness that perceives them.

Paz described the first draft as an 'imitation' but reported that his second draft was more literal, preserving in part Tomlinson's syntax:

las mueve
La violencia del aire sosegado
Ahora que el estanque junta noche y se colma
Sin desbordar. Lo inmóvil nos congrega. (Paz 1968b)

(they are moved by
the violence of the calmed air
Now that the pond gathers night and fills
Without brimming over. Immobility draws us together.)[6]

The syntax of the second draft is not a calque but Paz has attempted to portray an argument unfolding through a continuous sequence from 'las mueve' to 'sin desbordar', rather than a paratactic aggregation of physical objects. His translation attempts to communicate a conceptual working out of perception in the succession of the poem.

These translations were the means through which the friendship between Paz and Tomlinson was enacted in its early stages. Through a process of recognizing each other's work at the same time as they asserted their own predilections, the two poets tested out the potential for relationship. Paz began by parading his own Platonic preference but the second drafts display a deepening engagement with Tomlinson's work. From worries over the status of *ser* in 'The Cavern', Paz moved on to a more involved consideration of Tomlinson's syntax in 'Farewell to Van Gogh' and the proposition it enacts of a phenomenological poetic.

Farrell describes these types of early exchange as a way of building the trust, mutual understanding and commitment that can eventually provide a basis for more intimate, and what for Luhmann would be more complex, forms of artistic collaboration: 'Through gradual escalation of the depth of self-disclosures and the value of the exchanges, the pair test one another's readiness to expand the scope of the relationship' (2001: 151). One can read Paz's first translations of Tomlinson as the first stage of this escalation. He reciprocated Tomlinson's translation of 'Paisaje' with his own initial translations of a selection of Tomlinson's poems. The second drafts, however, introduced doubts about his own predilections and practice. They acted as both a further form of self-disclosure and also

a deeper recognition of the world view and stylistic characteristics of Tomlinson's poems.

This disclosure was expanded in the letters that accompanied the translations as Paz reflected more widely on his own artistic identity, confiding criticisms that had been made of him in Latin America. He recounted that when he met Gabriela Mistral she declared that Paz was European while she, Neruda and Vallejo were genuinely Latin American, 'terrestrial' poets. Paz reported that this judgement was delivered with 'affection and a certain pity' (Paz 1968b). He was then surprised to be described as an earthy, 'telluric surrealist' when he went to Paris, only to be accused of being too French (*afrancesado*) when he returned to Mexico (1968b). This uncertainty about his terrestrial, Latin American status is a reflexive turn of the questions about materialism and idealism that were provoked by his translations of 'The Cavern' and 'Farewell to Van Gogh'. One can read his confession in various ways: as a sharing of uncomfortable experience it works to establish intimacy; yet as a form of self-exposure it also allows him to review and revise ways he might relate to these criticisms.

These issues were re-played in his correspondence with Tomlinson over the ensuing years. Tomlinson provided an alternative tradition, or social configuration, which was made up of his own work and the enthusiasms to which he introduced Paz: for Wordsworth, Blake, Constable and Cézanne. Issues that came up in the early translations would return repeatedly. When Paz thanked Tomlinson for introducing him to Wordsworth, he praised the mix of the concrete and spiritual that he found in work that was an alternative to German, French and rhetorical Spanish (1968c). As he read more of Tomlinson's poems, and encountered his paintings, what he found repeatedly was the delineation of a psychological or perceptual field, a phenomenological concern that his earlier translations reached towards hesitantly. In one letter he described Tomlinson's poems and paintings 'operating at the level of perception and sensibility' with the mental element inseparable from the material; while in another, he referred to sight as 'the organ of understanding and contemplation' (1968e, 1970b). At one point, Paz described adopting Tomlinson's viewpoint as he read his poems: 'Yes, sometimes, cuando leo a [when I read] Tomlinson I feel all window – and there, outside reality is solid and flows, space pulsates as time' (Paz 1969a). Paz brings together Tomlinsonian perceptual alertness with a form of animated, epiphanic instant that echoes his own prose work, *El laberinto de la soledad* (The Labyrinth of Solitude), which refers to the 'flow of reality' (1985: 210). The mix of Spanish and English enacts a merging of cultural and intellectual identities, splicing the two poets' visions of space and time as Paz both recognizes the other and narrates a version of his own self.

Tomlinson clearly had a vivifying effect on Paz's imagination. His letters repeatedly played on the English poet's name, addressing him as 'Dear Guru', 'Tom Words (worth Li son)', 'Charles the Just', 'Charles the Magnanimous' and 'venerable hermit' (Paz 1968d, 1968e, 1969a, 1969b, 1971).[7] But with that exposure to Tomlinson's influence came vulnerability. The opportunity to present and reflect on identity also carries risk. Paz commonly played out contrasts between the two poets in his letters. At one point he declared that his own work tended to eloquence and oratory, while Tomlinson leant towards sententiousness and didacticism (Paz 1968b). Yet when Tomlinson produced his own comparison, claiming that Paz liked *trouvailles*, or lucky finds, while Tomlinson admired beauty, Paz was clearly offended. He described himself as being stung by the comment, ending the letter: 'Gnashing of teeth, grinding of jaws, and the green trickle of furious bile from the edge of Octavio's mouth' (Paz 1969b). Paz's response reveals a vulnerability to criticism from which Tomlinson was habitually portrayed as a relief. No doubt his offence was genuine but it is also a playful expression of that offence. It demonstrates the way that for Paz their friendship was not simply a retreat from a hostile world but a place where he could entertain, and be entertained by, threats to his sense of self. There is a playfulness around attitudes that could easily be more entrenched in the public sphere.

Disagreements are not erased by friendship. Indeed as the two poets grew closer one can also see attempts to differentiate self from other. Tomlinson expressed admiration for Paz, who reciprocated the vivifying effect that Tomlinson had on his own work. Tomlinson declared that 'after talking to Octavio, you want to sit down and *make* something' (cit. in Grogan 1992: 145). In Tomlinson's case, that something was frequently quite different from Paz's creations.

Critics have noted this antagonism. Ruth A. Grogan sees a combination of 'affection and philosophical difference', detecting in the reference of Tomlinson's poem 'Assassin' to 'the contaminations of contingency' an expression of his 'misgivings about the transcendence of time' in Paz (1992: 145 and 148). Richard Swigg also declares that Tomlinson is suspicious of 'the Pazian flight into extravagance where time's processes are overleaped too readily' (1994: 186). Tomlinson's critique was based nevertheless on a thorough engagement with Paz's work. Grogan reports that he had read most of Paz's prose in Spanish at the time he composed 'Assassin' and she relates the poem back to several statements in *The Labyrinth of Solitude* and *Alternating Current* (1992: 148–150). Grogan concludes that 'Assassin' is the product of 'a quarrel with another. But this "other" is a friend whose work has been so absorbed and modified that the poet might almost be said to be quarrelling with himself' (1992: 158–159).

Tomlinson pursued a continuing discussion with Paz on the issues of perception and embodiment that had arisen in their first translations of each other. He returned repeatedly to Paz's poem, 'Lo idéntico', which discovered in the music of Anton Webern an experience in which 'Todo es ninguna parte/ lugar de las nupcias impalpables' (All is nowhere/place of impalpable nuptials) (Paz 1988: 244–45)[8]. In 'Traducciones y colaboraciones'(Translations and collaborations) Tomlinson refers to Merleau-Ponty's 'Primacy of Perception' and imagines Webern's retort to Paz:

> Everything is situated […] In your poem, you imagine black gardens and a bough of smoke. I, on the other hand, hear relations everywhere, unlike you who dissolve into space. And you also hear the ghost of relation in 'Place of impalpable nuptials'. (1995: 169)

The friendship between the two poets was characterized by these contentions. In Tomlinson's poem 'In the Fullness of Time', subtitled 'A Letter to Octavio Paz', he chides Paz for his vision of time:

> Tell us, too, the way
> Time, in its fullness, fills us
> As it flows: tell us the beauty of succession
> That Breton denied. (2009: 168)[9]

The poem reflects on their chance first meeting at Rome airport in 1967 and friendship as a 'consent to time'. The very ground or foundational myth of the friendship thus becomes drawn into one of the contentions that would characterize its consequent unfolding.

Just as encountering and translating Tomlinson placed Paz's artistic identity at stake, his sense of his own place within Mexican, Latin American and Spanish-language literary traditions, so too Tomlinson's contentions detected a figure and a tradition against which he sought to define himself. While expressing admiration for Breton's essays, he also expressed ambivalence 'as an English sceptic' towards his literary theory (1995: 171). Breton was a form of *éminence grise* in the two major artistic collaborations that Tomlinson conducted with Paz: *Renga* and *Airborn/Hijos del aire*. Paz had collaborated with Breton and other members of the Surrealist circle in the 1940s and '50s. One can read Tomlinson as objecting to Breton at an intellectual level but also attempting to wrest one friend from the pernicious influence of another.

This drama surfaced in the collaborative poem, *Renga*, which Paz and Tomlinson composed with Jacques Roubaud and Edoardo Sanguineti in a Paris hotel in the spring of 1969. Suspicious of Paz's proposed combination of Buddhism and Breton in which '"the poet's ego [is dissolved] in the vaster,

more powerful reality of language"', Tomlinson asserted that 'the hardness of what is real refuses/that syntax of deliquescence' (Tomlinson 1995: 171; Paz et al. 1972: 84).

Although the relationship between Paz and Tomlinson was well established by the time of *Renga*'s composition, there was less familiarity across the group as a whole. Tomlinson described *Airborn/Hijos del aire*, written jointly with Paz, as 'much more of a conversation than *Renga* had been' (Tomlinson 1995: 171) and in a letter towards the end of the collaboration, Paz referred to it as 'settling old scores with *Renga*' (1978a). *Airborn* also involved translation as an intimate part of its composition. In *Renga* the four poets had written alternate sections of between two and four lines, each (apart from Sanguineti) producing a sonnet at the end of each sequence. They then retrospectively translated the whole poem into their own language. Harris Feinsod claims that the actual process of multilingual composition in *Renga* 'restricts and even eschews translation' (2017: 329). *Airborn* involved a more intricate interplay of collaborative writing and translation in what Anthony Stanton has described as 'stricter and more intimate forms of experimentation' (2001: 76).[10] It was composed of two sequences under the headings 'House' and 'Day', each comprising four sonnets. For the first three sonnets of each sequence, the two poets shared the task of composition, taking it in turns to write alternate quatrains and tercets. They then translated each other's individual stanzas. The resulting collection places the Spanish and English texts en face, each made up of alternating stanzas of composition and translation of the other's composition. As Michael Edwards points out, the method leads to a work that is both 'creative and derived' (1988: 124). Both the versions of self that each poet wishes to articulate and the versions that they offer of each other become intertwined.

For Farrell, creative advances are more likely when pairs of artists break away from larger groups (2001: 114 and 151). Paz and Tomlinson had certainly built up a store of intimacy and trust through their exchanges of translation, works and (at least on Paz's side) confidence. These escalating exchanges build up to what Farrell terms a stage of 'instrumental intimacy', which is characterized by a 'merging of cognitive processes' (2001: 23). Although Farrell does acknowledge the role of productive antagonism in creative circles, and a frequent differentiation of roles at this stage, there is a form of teleology in his scheme whereby collaborations work towards the eventual erasure of difference (2001: 83 and 21). With Paz and Tomlinson the divergences of artistic purpose, and stylistic articulation of that purpose, continued as they responded to, and translated each other, in what is nevertheless a collaborative work that draws on advanced exchanges of trust and intimacy.

Tomlinson recounts the occasion for the poem in which, at the end of a visit to his home, Paz and his wife had missed their train. In a nearby pub,

the two poets came up with the idea of composing a collaborative sequence of sonnets by airmail. Michael Edwards describes 'this warmly personal-impersonal groundwork' as the basis for 'an authentic duologue' (1988: 122). Yet in his account of the genesis of the sequence, Tomlinson cannot resist a dig at Paz, describing the sun-filled light, fresh breeze and variable cloud of the day: 'Not even a Buddhist could have doubted that we were in England, place of palpable nuptials' (1995: 173). This definition by antagonism persists in the poem, which they began in April 1970. Both in their poetic dialogue and translations of that dialogue, the two poets wrestled to assert their own memories, world views and stylistic repertoires.

Edwards notes these differences in the published work and sees Tomlinson 'doing most of the steering' (1988: 123). However, Paz's letters reveal that he frequently took an executive role, making decisions about the arrangement of the sections. At one point, he suggested that Tomlinson wasn't happy with his sections of the initial sonnet, 'House I', and had substantially revised them (Paz 1977a). Paz recommended that Tomlinson re-assign the revisions, a rejected tercet becoming the initial quatrain of 'House III':

> A self awakened in the press of things:
> hacked into elm-bark there I left behind
> initials, date: and the marks remain:
> they fix a childhood and a war in Spain. (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 17)[11]

Paz declared that in his subsequent quatrain 'I follow your impulse and talk about Spain', although it was an impulse he had orchestrated by assigning the section this position (1977b). He then referred in his own quatrain, not to Tomlinson's Spanish Civil War, '*del olmo imaginario*' (of an imagined elm) but his own experience (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 16-17). Paz had attended the Second Congress of Antifascist Writers in Valencia in 1937 where was caught up in the bombardments. He directs 'House III' to a war whose '*escombros*' (*'debris'*) and whose '*palabra rota*' (*'broken word'*) he witnessed first-hand (1981: 16-17). His translation of Tomlinson's subsequent sestet then continues with this memory. Tomlinson expresses a desire to return to the aspirations of his youth: 'So that to taste again my hope's true fragrance'. Paz translates, 'Por gustar otra vez su aroma de verdad' (to taste again its fragrance of truth) (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 16–17). Syntactically, that 'su aroma de verdad' ('its' instead of 'my', or rather Tomlinson's, fragrance of truth) relates to the war itself. Thus for Paz the sonnet becomes concerned not with Tomlinson's memory but a pivotal moment of his own political formation. Paz has recounted sheltering from a bombardment near Valencia and local farmers sharing bread with him, an experience that taught him the meaning of the word *fraternidad* (fraternity) (Paz 2003: 424). Tomlinson's metaphorical 'leaven

of that miraculous first bread' thus acquires a personal association with a wider political significance in Paz's translation ('levadura del pan milagroso y primero') (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 16-17).

Beyond the back and forth of composition, Paz's translation creates a Spanish poem in parallel to Tomlinson's. These poems assert different experience and memory as a foundation for the lyric self and for its political disposition. There is more is at stake, however, than different memories and life experiences. The very status of memory itself becomes subject to debate in the sequence as a point of discrepancy between the world view of each poet. Paz opens 'House II' on the theme of memory as insubstantial:

Casa por la memoria edificada
– blancos intermitentes – , más pensada
que vivida y más dicha que pensada,
casa que dura el tiempo de decirla, …

(House that memory makes out of itself
between the spaces of blank time – more thought
than lived and yet more said than thought,
house that lasts as long as its own sound takes:)
(Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 14-15)

Michael Edwards sees Paz accepting 'a nudge, almost an admonition' from Tomlinson in the next quatrain, which encourages the poem 'to go where it does' (1988: 122–123). Paz was certainly enthusiastic about Tomlinson's continuation of the sonnet, which attempts to ground the insubstantial quality of a memory that is more thought than lived and more spoken than thought in a more bodily perception:

house, you began in milk, in warmth, in eating:
words must re-tongue your first solidities
and thought keep fresh your fragrance of bread baking
or drown in the stagnation of its memories. (Paz and Tomlisnon 1981: 15)

Paz particularly admired 'first solidities', 're-tongue' and 'sweet stagnation'. However, he did not feel able to follow their suggestion in his translation, confessing, regretfully ('What a shame: I love it!'), that he had taken liberties with Tomlinson's stanza (Paz 1978a):

en leche tú comienzas, en calor y comida,
repiten las palabras tus substancias primeras,
el pensamiento guarda tu olor de pan intacto
o flota en el estanque de sus recordaciones. (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 14)

Paz's present tense, 'tú comienzas' (you begin) for Tomlinson's 'began' places the house in the disembodied present of memory and the endlessly repeatable actions of a general rule. Tomlinson reaches back to an event, a house as it entered memory, with a historical existence independent of the recollecting self. The distinct conceptual frame of Paz's translation is reflected in his lexical choices. The tactile qualities of 're-tongue' and 'solidities' are diminished by 'repiten' (repeat) and the conventional abstraction 'substancias' (substances), 'primeras substancias' suggesting a transcendent, pre-historical essence rather than a first, historical experience of something. The removal of the present participle 'baking' from 'keep fresh your fragrance of bread baking', rendered as 'guarda … intacto tu olor', also foregrounds memory, reducing the independent, active presence of the outer world. Paz employs a lexis that supports his initial proposition of a memory more thought than lived and more spoken than thought. His syntax reinforces this vision by placing the speaker in a more passive relationship to experience. For Tomlinson, 'words must re-tongue ', implying either a chain of cause and effect that has been perceived by the speaker or a personally inflected moral injunction. Paz does without the 'must' in 'repiten las palabras' (words repeat), ceding the perception of the poet to a verbal activity that happens beyond his control.

Translation is an opportunity for Paz to pull the poem back from Tomlinson's admonition about the embodiment of experience, back to a vision of selfhood, and the words that articulate it, as insubstantial. Indeed, Paz's response went beyond the translation, asking Tomlinson to revise his English text. The first draft of Tomlinson's quatrain referred to 'sweet stagnation', accentuating his tendency to embody his conceptualizations in a language that evokes sense impression. Paz wondered if '*sweet* isn't too much', repeating his request in a later letter (1978a, 1978b). The adjective was eventually dropped from the published version.

This to and fro is repeated throughout the sequence. The two poets played complementary if antagonistic roles in which Paz took executive responsibility for the final edit of the poem while Tomlinson pursued an admonitory critique. That critique reaches a climax in 'Day II' where Tomlinson felt that 'Paz was in imminent danger of launching himself into the tempestuous waters that recalled Breton's sea of language' (1995: 173). This debate had surfaced in *Renga* where Tomlinson felt that the scepticism of English poetry imposed a sense of responsibility that resisted Breton's 'vaster, more powerful reality of language' (Paz 1974: 172). For Timothy Clark, the linguistic disorientation of *Renga* 'challenges Tomlinson's phenomenological poetic and the kind of referentiality his project assumes' (1999: 67). In 'Day II' Tomlinson aimed to 'counteract this danger' by 'cautiously indicating the walls that surrounded us in the sequence *House*: the limits within which we live' (1995: 173). The sonnet begins with Paz's offending quatrain:

Rompe la madrugada en oleaje
promiscuo – consonantes y vocales –
golpeando los diques del lenguaje
y estalla sin llegar a ser palabra. (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 24)

Tomlinson's translation endeavours both to control and accentuate this *oleaje* which has irked him:

Day dawns through a promiscuous succession
of waves – vowels and consonants – and breaks
down the dykes of language to explode
endlessly outward and become no word. (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 25)

The '*oleaje promiscuo*' becomes a 'promiscuous succession / of waves'; it is broken down into a narrative succession that can be observed rather than merely submitted to as an overwhelming force, its promiscuity mitigated, brought to account by the poet's perceptive acuity. This analytic process is further articulated by the insertion of the adverb 'through' for Paz's less specific preposition '*en*' (in). By having the dawn break through this succession, Tomlinson creates a spatial relation between the two substantives and foregrounds the capacity of the perceiving subject to discriminate and structure experience. Yet, while Tomlinson appears keen to mitigate the effects of this '*oleaje*', he also accentuates its violence in the second half of the quatrain. For Paz, the dawn is '*golpeando*' ('beating' or 'beating against' the dykes of language); in Tomlinson's version it breaks them down. While for Paz it '*estalla*' ('explodes' or in the more figurative sense 'breaks out'), in Tomlinson it explodes '*endlessly outward*'. The adverb '*outward*' provides a typically Tomlinsonian spatial context for the action but at the same time it succumbs to an inflation. As the vowels and consonants of Paz's dawn don't reach a state of language ('*sin llegar a ser palabra*'), one could read the dykes of language as remaining intact. He recounts a tentative, and unsuccessful, attempt to formulate poetic expression from an experience of the inchoate. Tomlinson imputes a more grandiose, overwhelming purpose.

Tomlinson initially responded with the following tercet:

This presence is all absences until
we hear it wash against our panes, our walls
and shape the architecture it must shrink to fill. (Paz 1977b)

Paz was mystified by the final line: 'You say that the dawn (and light and sounds) must "shrink" the architecture that they must "fill". I don't understand. Assuming that the dawn reveals the architecture that earlier was obscured (although, to be fair, not by the dawn but by the night) I changed the line as follows: it remakes architectures that to raise up it weighs down' ('rehace

arquitecturas que para alzar oprime' in Paz's Spanish). It is understandable, given Tomlinson's attachment to physically embodied perception and temporal succession that Paz should understand this quatrain as an account of the way that objects emerge from the darkness. Yet Tomlinson's 'This presence is all absences until ' can be read as an airier and more impatient argumentative gesture, implying that Paz's previous stanza was simply so much activity to no end. As in 'House II', Paz detected the manifestation of Tomlinson's polemic in what seemed an exceedingly dense act of perception. Once again, he used the translation process to question Tomlinson's own writing, referring to the conjunction of 'shape', 'shrink' and 'fill' in a further letter as 'strange and ambiguous […] eccentric and syntactically confusing'. He suggested (in English) that Tomlinson revise the line as 'and shapes the shadow into architecture' or 'and turns the shadows in architectures' (Paz 1978b). Tomlinson eventually responded by removing 'shrink' from the line, clarifying a relationship between shadow and light: 'And shadows shape the architecture light must fill' (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 25).

In the final sonnet, 'Day IV', Tomlinson reflects on one of the chief points of contention in the sequence:

> What is more palpable, the thing we saw
> or the images its recollection brought
> into the mind to ask us what we are? (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 29)

It is both a gracious acknowledgement of Paz's attachment to memories that are more thought than lived, more spoken than thought (one cannot imagine Tomlinson really entertaining this as a question left to his own devices) and a further quiet dig. He summons the doubts about Paz's attachment to the impalpable that he first raised after his translation of 'Lo idéntico'. 'Friendship is more palpable than both', he concludes (the allusion to 'Lo idéntico' deflected in Paz's version by translating 'palpable' as 'real' (Paz and Tomlinson 1981: 28-29)). In his continuing debate with Paz about the status of the given, their friendship is presented as a ground against which the importance of such disagreements is diminished.

Airborn is a remarkable manifestation of the ways that, while friendship provides a basis for artistic collaboration it can also accommodate divergent purposes. The conditions for this work were built through the early exchange of translations and disclosure that established the necessary trust for both poets to respond to each other and at the same time feel confident that they could pursue their own preoccupations without risking betrayal. Their very first translations offered mutual recognition at the same time as they put their own identities at stake. In his early translations and letters to Tomlinson, Paz reflected on different aspects of his self: his reputation, his intellectual

preferences and the stylistic articulation of his world view. As the relationship developed, they settled into a form of interdependence which accommodated a productive antagonism. In *Airborn* Paz directs, responds to and sometimes ignores Tomlinson's admonitions as he pursues his own preoccupations.

An account of the dynamics of social interaction between Paz and Tomlinson makes a reading possible of their collaboration and mutual translation which addresses questions of identity as well as artistic practice. It opens perspectives in which both their attachment to each other and their divergence, even critique of each other, can emerge. Their example suggests a social understanding of translation as interpersonal negotiation rather than simply cultural conformity. While both poets are aware of their respective traditions and deploy that awareness in their exchanges, the kind of intricate sparring that goes on in *Airborn* cannot be easily reduced to generalizations about English or Latin American or Mexican poetry. Their stances and articulations are by this stage of the relationship defined in opposition to each other. Their friendship provides insight into the way that translation has operated in Modernism and beyond as a form of intercultural transmission and transformation. The history of Modernism is littered with allegiances, fallings out and excommunications which complicate any understanding of artistic collaboration that would resort to the standard categories of movements and manifestoes. Paz and Tomlinson reveal that common projects not only emerge from the contingencies of friendship and disparate purpose but that they are able to incorporate discrepancy, critique and a desire for differentiation. Their translations articulate the complexities of intimate social interaction as public artistic work.

Notes

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2 My translation.

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5 My translation.

6 My translation.

7 'Tom Words (worth Li son)' merges Tomlinson and Wordsworth's names with the eighth-century Chinese poet Li Po, admired by Matsuo Basho and Ezra Pound.

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