Chapter 4. Translation practices in the Habsburg Monarchy's "great laboratory"

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Translating and interpreting, 1848–1918**
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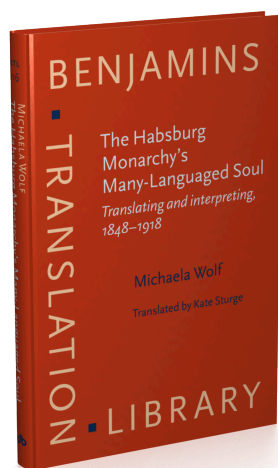
Translation practices in the Habsburg Monarchy's "great laboratory"*

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

1.   Polycultural communication

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

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

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

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

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

Habitualized translation

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

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

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

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

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

Servants

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

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

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

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

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

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

Craftspeople

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tauschkinder

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Institutionalized translation

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

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

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

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

The ban on compulsory second language use in the classroom

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.   Polycultural translation

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

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

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

Contact between government offices and the public

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Interpreting and translating in court

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sworn court interpreters

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

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

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

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

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

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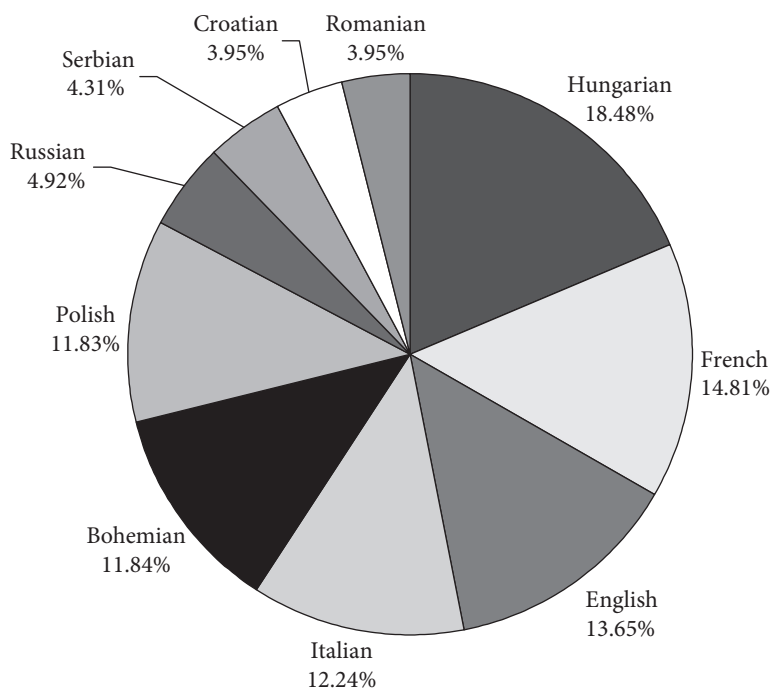

Figure 1. The ten most frequently named languages offered by sworn interpreters

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 8. Professions of sworn interpreters, 1864–1918

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

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

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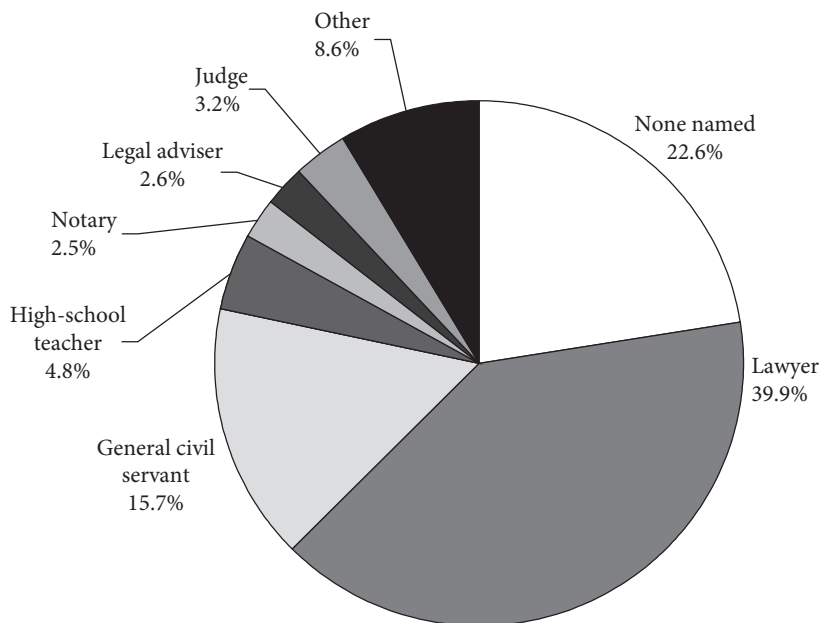

Figure 2. Professions of sworn interpreters

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

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

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

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

Translating in court

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

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

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

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

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

Translating legislative texts

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

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

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

The Terminology Commission

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

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

<div align="right">(RGBl. 153/1849, Einleitung I, VI)</div>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Reichsgesetzblatt Editorial Office

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 9. (*continued*)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Section for Ciphers and Translating

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Literary Bureau

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

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

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

The Evidence Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

General correspondence after the Compromise of 1867

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.   The training of dragomans

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The construction of Habsburg culture by means of translational practices can be
observed on the basis of two parameters: the type of translation, revealing different
nuances of this constructive momentum; and the type of involvement of agents in
the translation process, with different gradations of visibility. For large segments of
Habsburg society, the daily work of communication demanded frequent switches
of cultural contexts, ranging from the routine transfer between mother tongue and
working language up to translation or interpreting activities in the strict sense.
    Relations of cultural exchange, and their manifestations, become particularly
obvious in those translation types where cultural "translation" takes place directly
between individuals, without the intervention of texts. The key agents of these
long-term processes of acculturation were people who, as migrants over many
generations, had left accepted certainties behind them and, usually of necessity,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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