Chapter 7. "Profiting the life of the mind": Translation policy in the Habsburg Monarchy

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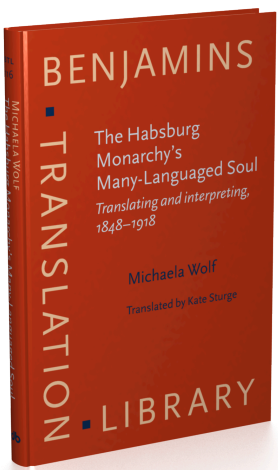

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Michaela Wolf
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CHAPTER 7

"Profiting the life of the mind"

Translation policy in the Habsburg Monarchy

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

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

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

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

1. Factors regulating translation policy

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

Censorship

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

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

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

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

Copyright

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

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

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

Bookseller licensing

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

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

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

2. State promotion of culture and literature

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Literary prizes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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