Chapter 9. The mediatory space of Italian –German translations

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Translating and interpreting, 1848–1918
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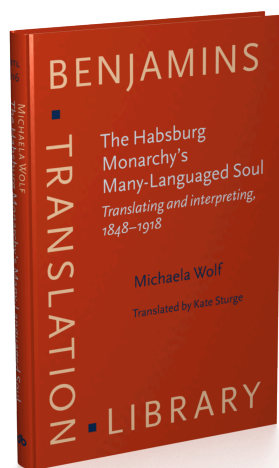
The mediatory space of Italian–German translations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.   Austrian–Italian perceptions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.   Translations from Italian in the German-speaking area

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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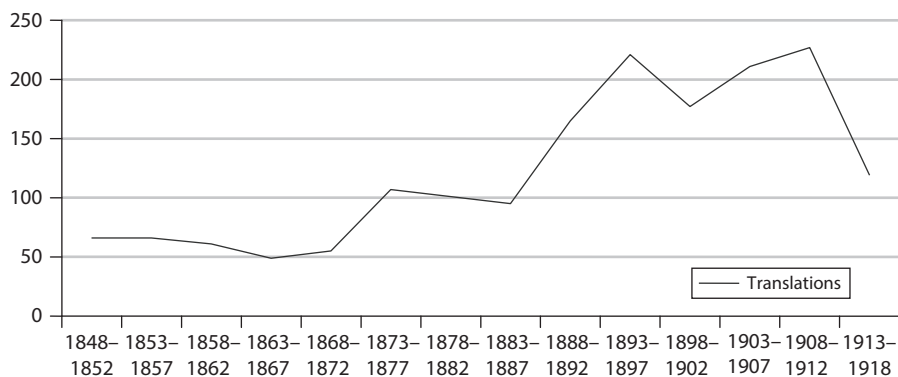

Figure 12. Total number of Italian–German translations

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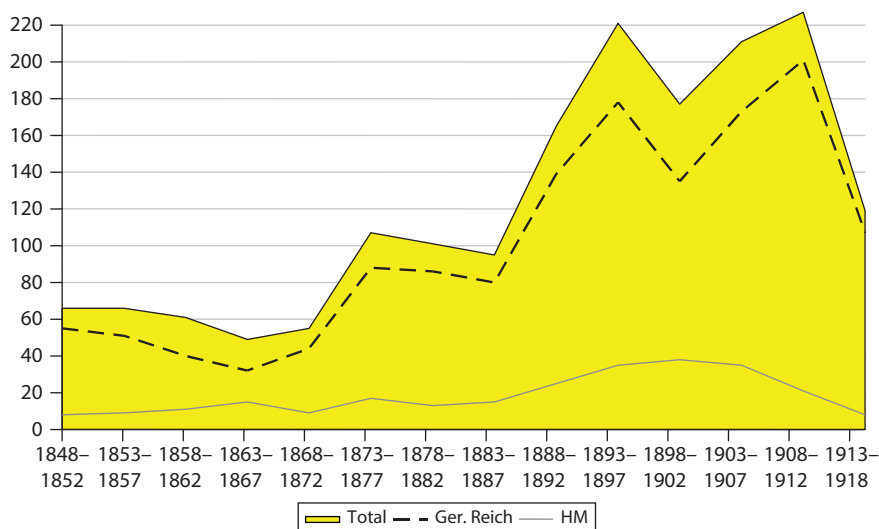

Figure 13. Number of Italian–German translations compared with total book production in the German Reich and in the Habsburg Monarchy (HM)

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

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

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

Table 21. (*continued*)

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

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

Figure 16 indicates that within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, four fifths of all translations were published in the royal residence and capital, Vienna (201 translations or around 80 per cent); Innsbruck, Brixen, Prague, Graz, Trieste and Salzburg follow at a distance. The category "other" covers those towns or cities where only one translation was published (Opatija/Abbazia, Bozen/Bolzano,
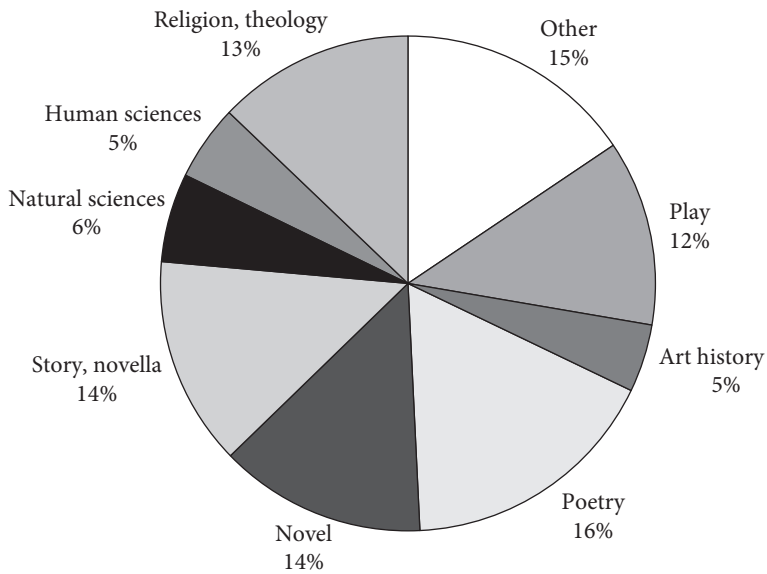
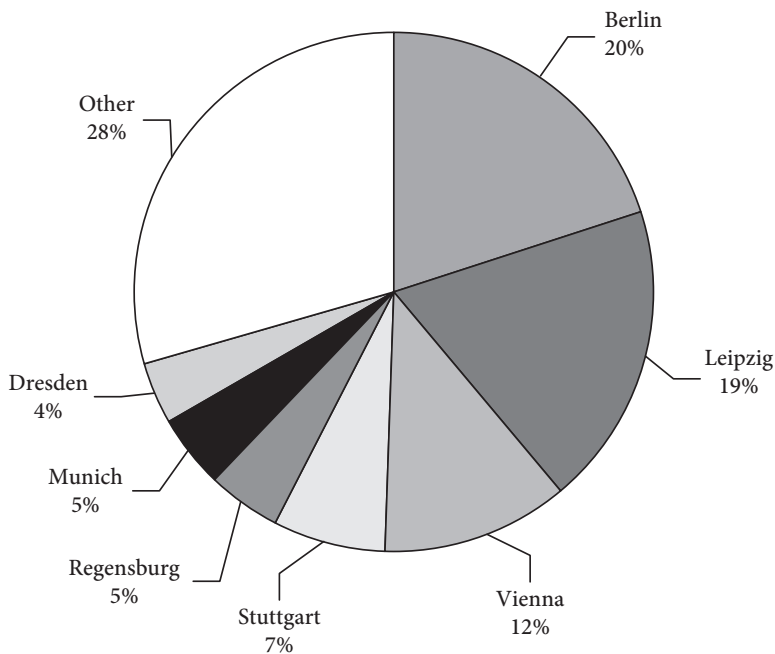**Figure 14.** Italian–German translations in the Habsburg Monarchy, by genre

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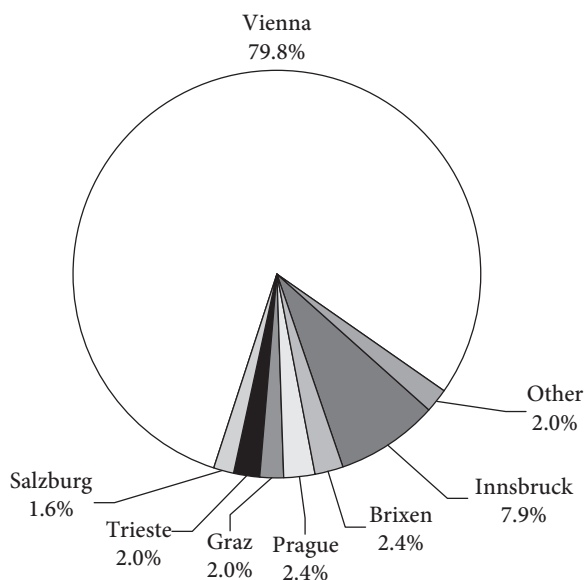
Figure 16. Italian–German translations in the Habsburg Monarchy, by place of publication

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

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

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

Table 22. Total Italian–German translations by publication type

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

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

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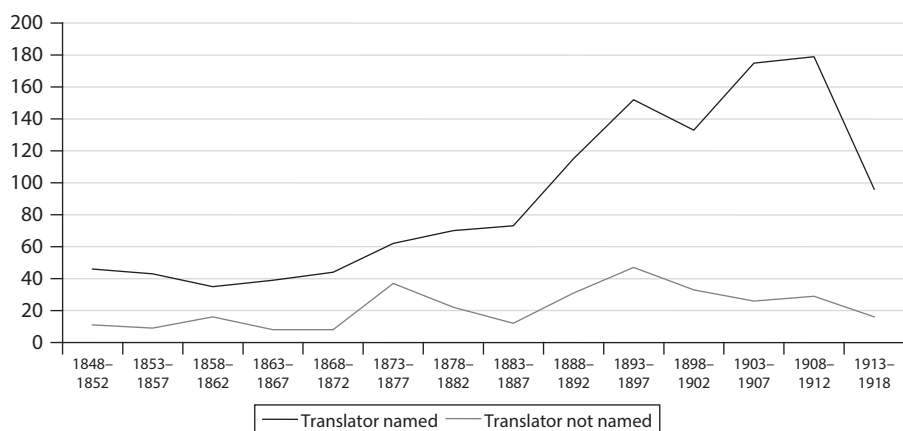
Figure 17. Naming of translators in all Italian–German translations, 1848–1918

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

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

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

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

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

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

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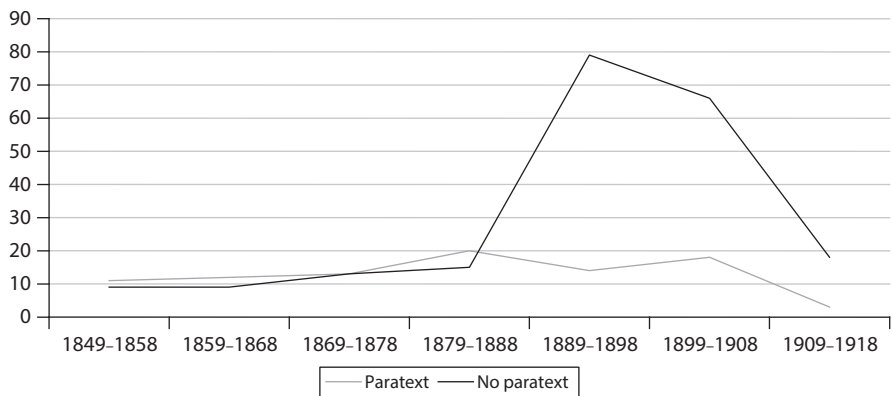
Figure 18. Italian–German translations with and without paratexts
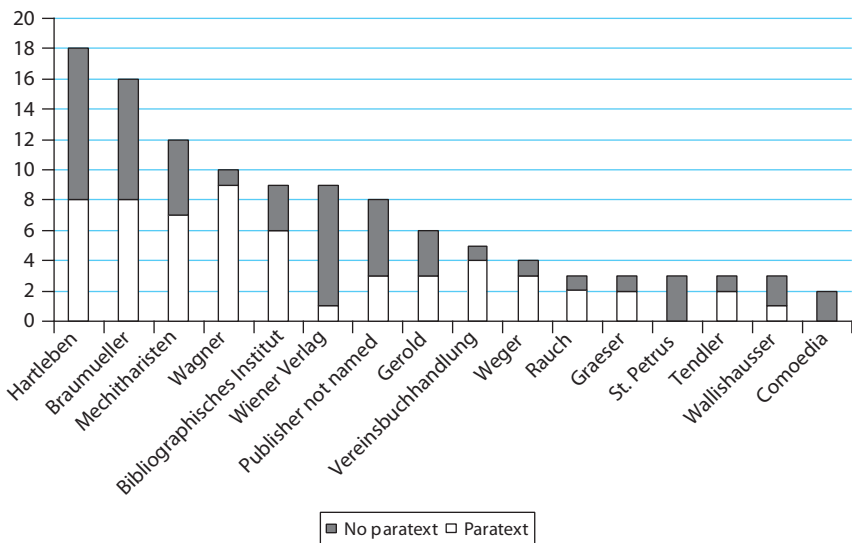(Habsburg Monarchy), by decade

Figure 19. Italian–German translations with and without paratexts
(Habsburg Monarchy), by publisher

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

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

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

3.   Transformations of the field of translation

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

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

Social fields and their rules of operation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dynamizing the Bourdieusian field

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paratexts – thresholds of the book

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paratexts regulating communication

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

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

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

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

Translators' paratexts steering reception

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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6. "der Übersetzung mußte treues Anschmiegen an den Originaltext höher stehen als stylisti-
sche Eleganz".

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

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

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

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

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

9. "gewissenhaft und genau".

10. "liebevolle Treue".

11. "die Vorzüge des Originals verloren".

12. "bescheidene Unterfangen".

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

14. "um nachsichtige Beurteilung".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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17. "im Sinne des Autors".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23. "Wunsch des Fachpublikums".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

29. "unantastbare Hauptstadt des neugeeinten Italiens".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes Because of the heterogeneity of commentaries and notes, Genette defines them in the most general terms possible: "a note is a statement of variable length (one word is enough) connected to a more or less definite segment of text and either placed opposite or keyed to this segment" (ibid., 319). Early forms of notes can be found in antiquity, having been used by the Greeks from the fifth century CE (Abel 2009, 15). Homer's texts were annotated for schools in Athens, with unknown words translated and explained. Notes in their present-day form originate in the glossaries of the Middle Ages, which became footnotes in the seventeenth century. This remains the basis of referencing practices in present-day scholarly writing, whereas modern narrative works, drama and poetry use notes far more sparingly. Although notes address the reader, they have the status of "optional" material and are only read by those with a special interest in obtaining supplementary information. In addition, recent research shows that translators' notes may tend to map the boundaries of intercultural exchange. In her study on translators' notes in the Italian translations of Anglo-American fiction between 1945 and 2005, for instance, Jennifer Varney finds that

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36. "Eine holde Mischung von Schatten und Licht liegt auf den Gesichtern derer, die an den Thüren von jenen Wohnungen sitzen, welche dunkel sind. – Leonardo da Vinci".

> the narrative produced by the translators' notes could be said to recount the story of growing permeability in the target culture. It plots the gradual loss of cultural specificity (expressed in the translator's note via strategies of denial and omission) and a move towards the development of intercultural homogeneity (expressed through rationalizing strategies that seek justification for increased target-culture receptivity).   (Varney 2008, 48)

The corpus of German-language translations from Italian includes ten translated works with notes: eight with footnotes containing short comments, and two with scholarly footnotes. The latter, translations of texts from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, appeared in a series dedicated to art historical sources (Braumüller of Vienna, 1871 and 1873) and were translated by the art historian Albert Ilg, who also added an extensive introduction to each translation explaining the texts' genesis and their reception over the centuries. In this apparatus, a concentrated form of cultural capital is deployed by the translator through the translation itself (which presumes deep knowledge of the subject), the introduction (which vaunts his knowledge by forming an independent text), and the footnotes (which demonstrate his subject-specific competence).

Of the comment-style footnotes, half are supplied by translators and half by editors. Interestingly, all the translators' notes are found in poetry, whereas the notes by editors appear in a story, two specialized texts, and one excerpt of a tragedy. The translators' notes are mainly explanations of individual passages, but also include further information on the author's biography or the writing of the work. They serve to explicate the text, and can be interpreted as the translators' attempt to ensure an appropriate reception by the reader. The editors' footnotes contain source citations from the text's original edition and information on its significance in its original context. These seek to give high symbolic value to the translation as well as promoting their own particular periodical or publisher.

Publishers' advertisements and reviews Such promotional intent is more obvious in the publishers' advertisements and press reviews, which are designed primarily to boost sales. Genette categorizes this form of paratext as a public epitext, initially located "anywhere outside the book" although it can later become part of the peritext (Genette 1997, 344), as appears to have happened in the present corpus. Four publications in the corpus contain a paratext that could be defined as a publisher's advertisement in the narrow sense. On the title page verso of *Tragödien der Seele* by Roberto Bracco (*154*), the Wiener Verlag praises another of Bracco's plays as a great success. The comment in this advertisement that the comedy in question is a "perennial part of most theatres' repertoire" points to the author's high degree of legitimacy and thus his symbolic capital. The second case is in D'Annunzio's *Novellen* (*350*), where Deutsches Haus alerts readers to "the judgements of outstanding

contemporaries on Deutsches Haus titles". Two further texts include press reviews, one lauding the first edition of Marianne Zucco-Cucagna's poems *Vita sensitiva* (*1318*), the other the Italian original of Adolfo Marconi's legal commentary *Die Executions-Novelle in der Praxis* (*785b*). Unsurprisingly, both praise their texts in the highest terms. The publishers note that these are only short excerpts from the reviews – the implication is that far more extensive praise for the translations exists, potentially boosting their symbolic capital even more.

The constructive work of paratexts, in summary, occurs on various levels. The translation process in the narrower sense is (at least apparently) made transparent by the paratextual intervention, ascribing its various agents more or less significance depending on the degree of compliance with the paratextual conventions. Inextricable from such disclosure of the translation process is the production of an image of the agents involved. This image is not static: although a discourse of the translator's subservience continues to dominate, a more confident translator increasingly appears in the paratexts as time goes on. The trend is largely independent of genre, and finds expression partly in the translators' efforts to legitimize their own work. Accordingly, the principle of faithfulness to the original gradually loses ground to concepts of greater autonomy. On the level of the work's reception, it is mainly the prefaces that produce readings able to construct a particular perception of the Italian "other". Striking here are the North–South discourse, drawing on Goethe's picture of the "land where the lemon trees bloom", and (in just one case) an attempt to portray a more subtle Italian reality that does justice to nationalist political concerns.

The Habsburg space of mediation

No reconstruction of the entire space of Italian–German translational mediation in the context of the Habsburg Monarchy can be more than an outline – the economic, social, political and cultural tapestry of the Monarchy is too complex for any exhaustive analysis to be feasible, especially in view of the changes across the period. The remainder of this chapter therefore looks only at Vienna, as a focal point of the Monarchy's intellectual life. This is justified by the clustering of translations from Italian in that city, which is not to say that other centres can be simply ignored. The analysis applies the distinction between "field" and "space of mediation", discussed above, in an examination of the agents of translational mediation.

Requirements for a history of the Habsburg mediatory space

Due to the interaction of different forces within it, the space of mediation – a social space with specific properties – takes the shape of a concentrated configuration of power. Just as in the social fields described by Bourdieu, the positions from which individual agents act depend on the objective structures of the space and vice versa. The shape of that mutual dependence does not remain static but changes constantly, a process constitutive of the mediatory space. One source of this dynamism is the antagonism between representatives of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" in the space. The defenders of orthodoxy or a conservationist approach tend to be those who "more or less completely monopolize the specific capital" in their battle for important positions, "whereas those least endowed with capital … are inclined towards subversion strategies, the strategies of *heresy*" or heterodoxy (Bourdieu 1993b, 73). The dynamic nature of the space also arises from efforts to accumulate legitimacy, which may consist in selecting cultural products or become manifest in the social networks that help to position agents in the space. In the following, I discuss the agencies involved in the constitution, or temporary constitution, of the space of mediation in the context of Italian–German translation in the Habsburg Monarchy. This discussion will address the mechanisms at work within the space and add to the arguments favouring the concept of a "translational space of mediation", inspired by cultural studies, as opposed to a "field" or "sub-field" of translation in the Bourdieusian sense.

Before translating begins

The practical work of translation is preceded by mediation activities that depend on a range of factors, one of which is translation policy. As I have shown, translation policy was not made explicit in the Habsburg context, but can be reconstructed from various elements of formal or informal regulation. In its institutional form, translation policy appears in the actions of certain agents possessing a concentration of different forms of capital, who influence the production of translations by selecting texts or publishing translations in particular series or with particular companies. Those agents include publishers, and writers in their capacity as mediators (such as Isolde Kurz, Max Kalbeck or Otto Hauser; see Chapter 7). In the wider sense, translation policy also includes the absence of adequate legislation (the Austrian Monarchy never having signed the Berne Convention), of state promotion for translations, and of media attention. The issue of media coverage touches on the mechanisms of consecration effective in the dynamic space of mediation.

The political, cultural and other relationships between the cultures involved play an important role in these preliminary stages, affecting the instigation, process and outcome of mediation. Regarding the selection of texts for translation, a first point of interest is their position in the "source culture". The source culture's dispositions

and power structures are usually subject to completely different rules from those of the target culture; nevertheless, the degree of the author's legitimacy in his or her source culture is enormously influential in the decision to translate a work, as the analysis of the paratexts has indicated. That decision ultimately emerges out of the tension generated by encounters between cultural representatives who have to interact afresh through negotiation, but also draw on existing lines of tradition. This is exemplified by the translation of "classics", with four new translations of Dante between 1865 and 1903 and four of Manzoni plus six of Verga between 1879 and 1909. Gouanvic rightly observes that some works gain additional prestige through the fact of being translated: translated works enjoy greater legitimacy because they have been judged worthy of dissemination in a foreign cultural space (Gouanvic 1997b, 35). The same applies to some contemporary literature, for example the numerous translations of Gabriele D'Annunuzio's works (27 translations between 1894 and 1915, mostly in periodicals); Roberto Bracco was also much translated (7 translations between 1896 and 1909), as were Neera (i.e., Anna Radius-Zuccari) (7 between 1897 and 1909) and Matilde Serao (6 between 1890 and 1907).

However, Gouanvic's point requires qualification inasmuch as many texts with high prestige in their source context may not be disseminated, or only to a lesser extent, in the target context – usually for political reasons. Examples from the corpus would be the nationalist writings of Mazzini, Garibaldi or Pellico, for whom only one translation each is listed (and no standard work by the first two authors).[37] Investigating the literary market of nineteenth-century Germany, Wittmann concludes that authors were only able to achieve social recognition if they acted as "propagandists for the views that were bringing the bourgeoisie new self-respect during the post-1850 period of political and social reaction" (Wittmann 1999, 280). This applies in equal measure to the Habsburg context, as is shown by its dearth of translations of nationalist literature, indicating an avoidance of cultural contact. Even decades after the Italian state was founded, the new Italy's literature was by no means guaranteed an unprejudiced reception in the Habsburg context.

No detailed account is possible of the procedures by which texts were selected for translation. Some information can be gleaned from the paratexts in the period, which in certain cases foreground the autonomous action of the translators, in others provide information on publishers' decisions, with an emphasis on the source-context prestige of the author, work or edition. The individuals and institutions that André Lefevere calls "patrons" bear the main responsibility for the production of

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37. These are an 1870 translation of a Garibaldi novel, *Die Herrschaft des Mönchs oder Rom im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (*588*; see Bachleitner and Wolf 2010b) and an 1859 translation of a biography by Mazzini, *Kriegsbilder für Stadt und Land. Leben und Thaten Napoleons III und die Briefe Orsinis und Mazzinis* (*813*).

translations in their respective form. Such patrons could be "persons [or] groups of persons, a religious body, a political party, a social class, a royal court, publishers, and, last but not least, the media" (Lefevere 1992, 15). This far from complete list would also include those mediators central to the transfer-related literary market – in the Habsburg context, people who worked primarily as writers, literary critics or journalists while carrying out translations "on the side". One such was Otto Eisenschitz (1863–1942), a leading journalist on numerous Viennese periodicals, dramaturge and director of the Theater in der Josefstadt, and the author of numerous plays and novellas. His translation work from Italian gave preference to contemporary authors such as Roberto Bracco, Guglielmo Ferrero, Antonio Fogazzaro, Marco Praga and Giovanni Verga. Eisenschitz's activities as an arts and cultural journalist, and especially as a dramaturge and director, positioned him not only at the interfaces of various fields, but also in an in-between space of mediation that forced him to engage in constant negotiation. This garnered him sufficient social and symbolic capital to make his own decisions regarding the selection of works for translation. Of his 16 translations, the majority appeared with the respected fiction specialist Wiener Verlag, a publisher with which Eisenschitz evidently had good connections. The Wiener Verlag translations were published between 1900 and 1905 (Wiener Verlag was established in 1899 and closed down in 1908; see Reyhani 1971 and Hall 1985, 90–3), while Eisenschitz's work as a translator, mainly from Italian, extended over 20 years, from 1895 to 1914.[38] It seems that even the best social networks may be very short-lived in the space of mediation.

Otto Hauser (1876–1944) is a special case, having published novels, stories and poetry but achieving recognition mainly as a translator. Hauser translated from 30–40 languages, publishing annotated translations of, among other things, Danish, Dutch, Serbian and Japanese poetry. Despite his extensive network of relevant acquaintances, which he nurtured through correspondence, Hauser cannot be described as a classic cultural mediator: he was a maverick, a reclusive observer of society though confident in his own judgement, who kept his distance from the Viennese literary circles of his day (see van Uffelen 1995, 178). Even so, every now and again Hauser entered into polemical disputes with other cultural facilitators or translators, for example attacking Rudolf Borchardt on his Dante translation (Borchardt 1908/1959, 368–70). This suggests that he was in fact interested in encouraging the recognition of other literatures in the German-speaking world.

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38. Eisenschitz was born in Vienna in 1863 and killed in the concentration camp Theresienstadt in 1942. He also translated for German book publishers and periodicals. Between 1891 and 1914, a total of 28 translations by him appeared, 16 in the Habsburg Monarchy and 12 in the German Reich.

Two important cultural mediators from Vienna's theatrical and musical milieu were Alfred von Berger and Max Kalbeck. Alfred von Berger, a renowned professor, director, editor, and author of plays, stories and poetry (discussed in Chapter 7 in his capacity as a literary prize juror), was a true cultural multifunctionary. Though his translation work was minor in quantitative terms, an extensive network of social relationships – manifested in regular attendance at the "intellectual rendezvous" of the Villa Wertheimstein salon (Bartl 1990, 101) – gave him great social capital. Over time, this in turn yielded substantial symbolic capital and thus a central position in the space of mediation. Yet von Berger's very multifunctionality shows that he acted in various different fields at once, and could not contribute to the establishment or consolidation of a specific space of mediation despite his valuable mediatory work.

Max Kalbeck made useful contacts while studying art in Munich, including a long-standing friendship with Paul Heyse. In 1880, he moved to Vienna on the advice of Eduard Hanslick and worked there as a music and literature reviewer, then as the head of the *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*'s music and arts section. Kalbeck attained some fame as a poet, biographer and especially the retranslator and adaptor of numerous libretti for operas by Massenet, Mozart, Smetana, Tchaikovsky, Wolf-Ferrari, and others. As mentioned in Chapter 7, his membership in the juries of various literary prizes completed his profile as a classic cultural multifunctionary. These areas of work gave him access to a large web of agents crucial to the mediation of cultural products. Kalbeck's translation *Mozart's Don Juan. Nach dem italienischen Original des Da Ponte für die deutsche Bühne frei bearbeitet und mit einem Vorwort versehen von Max Kalbeck* ("Mozart's *Don Juan*. Freely adapted for the German stage after Da Ponte's Italian original and furnished with a preface by Max Kalbeck"; *318d*, 1886) includes a paratext that parades this remarkable social and symbolic capital, reflecting the multiple strata of mediation that underlay his work.

Significant mediators in the domain of science and scholarship were Albert Ilg, Hans Semper and Julius Glaser. Albert Ilg (1847–1896) was an author, art historian, director of the museum of art history in Vienna, and arts editor at various Viennese newspapers. He was known for his publicity work in a literary and artistic club that he founded (with others including Adam Müller-Guttenbrunn, Hans Grasberger and Edmund Wengraf) with the objective of combating the ills of public life and art (see Rossbacher 1992, 457–8). Ilg published two extensively annotated translations of important art historical works (*102*, *282*) with Braumüller Verlag. His influence as a mediator was well established by 1888, when he edited a collection of sources on medieval and early modern art for the Viennese house Graeser; he also encouraged Graeser to publish many other art history sources (translations *531*, *854* and *948* in the corpus are by Ilg).

Hans Semper (1845–1920), professor of art history at Innsbruck University, also wrote on art as well as editing or translating many works including Giorgio

Vasari's biography of Donatello (*1246*). Semper won several prizes for his writing, and was a member of some important international scholarly associations. Added to his international renown as a critic, this brought him substantial symbolic capital and made him a significant broker in the domain of knowledge transfer.

It was as part of a campaign to abolish capital punishment that the lawyer, professor and one-time Minister of Justice Julius Glaser (1831–1885) translated Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene*, as *Über Verbrechen und Strafen* (*75*; see Sinzheimer 1953, 129–31). The importance of that translation is underlined by the appearance of a revised edition 25 years later, in 1876. Another frequent visitor to the Villa Wertheimstein salon (Bartl 1990, 99), Glaser was in contact with many of the figures of "intellectual Vienna", confirming his social and symbolic capital in the field.

As these examples show, academic mediation followed different criteria from its literary counterpart, since its cultural products were shaped by factors and agents largely absent from other fields and it deployed sets of capitals specific to the scientific and scholarly field. Yet the very specificity of this form of mediation makes it particularly interesting for the reconstruction of a translational space of mediation.

Literary salons, too, may be regarded as vehicles of mediation preceding the actual writing of a translation. As a confluence of societal and artistic trends, the salon generally brought together progressively minded people from different social classes to communicate within a socially specific framework (the definition is Peter Seibert's, 1993, 3–4). This does not mean it was always socially open in a "downward" direction. This may be one of the reasons that few translators (at least not Italian–German ones) regularly attended the Viennese salons of the turn of the century, apart from certain extremely prominent figures such as Hofmannsthal or Rilke. In principle, however, the salon could act as a site for mediating translations in the narrower sense, as can be seen in the example of Berta Zuckerkandl's salon, among the best known in Vienna. Zuckerkandl used her salon as a channel of communication between Austrian and French national literatures, promoting numerous translations, theatrical productions and publishing contacts. These activities can certainly be described as translation policy measures, in the course of which Zuckerkandl herself also translated around 120 plays into German. Many were published by Paul Zsolnay, one of her salon guests, and some were staged by another regular visitor, Hermann Bahr, during his time as director of the Hofburgtheater (Essen 1999, 208–9). This case demonstrates that the salon, as a "social microcosm" (Heyden-Rynsch 1992, 11), could form a network of social relationships in which concentrated cultural, social and symbolic capital came into play. In this sense, the salon exemplifies the in-between space in which actors and their works take up new positions in a complex process of negotiation.

Translators – the primary bearers of responsibility for mediation?
As I hope to have shown, Bourdieusian categories such as capital and habitus en-
able us to draw a nuanced picture of translation-related social schemata of percep-
tion and action, but it remains very difficult to retrace the interaction of individual
agents in the space of mediation as a basis for the properties of the actual cultural
product. The weak structures of the mediatory space, which distinguish it from the
social field as described by Bourdieu, can be attributed to various factors associated
with the activity and roles of translators.

Firstly, most translators in the Habsburg Monarchy's space of mediation were
not full-time professionals but also worked in, or at the interfaces of, several other
fields. The majority of the translators for whom biographical data could be found, 55
per cent, were writers or journalists, while 12 per cent were professors at an Austrian
university. For 10 per cent, the profession "translator" is named in the biographical
sources, and as this label is given first, we may conclude that it was the primary
activity of the person concerned. The remaining translators were employed as high
school teachers, theologians or musicians or in the military, and several also worked
in politics. For the great majority of the translators (60 per cent), several different
activities are named, mostly with a logical connection to translation ("writer and
editor", "professor of literary history and poet") but sometimes showing less obvious
combinations ("art historian, physician and translator", "engineer and writer").[39]

As these multiple roles indicate, individual translators took up positions within
different fields or their intersections. This contributed to the difficulty of building
up durable positions within the space of mediation – although it is worth not-
ing that translating could give writers or journalists additional capital which they
could deploy to enhance their position in the space of mediation. That is less true
of the writers who translated only as a source of extra income. A typical example
of the "migratory" character of translators' professional situation in the period is
Cajetan Cerri (1826–1899). Cerri was born in Bagnolo, near Brescia, and came to
Vienna aged 13. He later taught Italian at the Vienna Conservatory, then joined
the civil service and attained a high position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
where his responsibilities included the Italian press review in the Literary Bureau
(see Chapter 4). He edited the Graz-based ladies' paper *Iris* and the arts section of

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39. These combinations indicate changes that had occurred in the mediatory space as a space
of translation since the eighteenth century. In his study of eighteenth-century translators' pref-
aces, Helmut Knufmann proposes a typology of translators that includes "learned translators",
"language educators", "amateur and hobby translators" and "non-specialized writers or profes-
sionals" (Knufmann 1967, 2681–2682). By the second half of the nineteenth century, however,
such categories had ceased to reflect the employment of translators.

Corriere italiano, and wrote several volumes of poetry. Cerri was also an arts correspondent for the literary periodical *Dioskuren* and won several prizes, including the sought-after Gold Medal for Art and Science. His translations into German included nineteenth-century poetry (Aleardo Aleardi, *6*, and Giovanni Prati, *1053*) and sixteenth-century art history (Ludovico Dolce, *465*, and Francesco Bocchi, *135*); he also translated into Italian. Cerri's enthusiasm for the 1848 revolution, which rested in part on his personal acquaintance with Silvio Pellico, was later replaced by a loyal devotion to the Habsburg dynasty. His wide spectrum of activities as a cultural mediatior on several different levels shows the apparent impossibility of attaining a lasting and stable position in the field or space of mediation, even for a figure like Cerri, who mediated between only two cultural spheres and possessed both a rich network of social relationships and a high degree of symbolic capital.

There is no evidence in the period of a body representing the interests of the translating profession; such an association would indicate the profession's consolidation and strengthen translators' position in the space of mediation.[40] However, many of the translators listed in the corpus belonged to the journalists' and writers' association Concordia (see Stern 1909).

Another, and related, indication of the weak structure of this "field" is the fact that most of the translators identified made very few translations, at least from Italian into German. This further hampered the emergence of the long-term relationships that are needed for a field to take shape. Almost two thirds (61 per cent) of all the translators in the corpus made just one translation, while a further 18 per cent made two each. One translator made five translations, another made six, and one – as a conspicuous exception – made 16 (Otto Eisenschitz). These figures reflect the almost complete absence of any official translation policy in the Habsburg Monarchy, since they apparently result from the lack of translation prizes, translation stipends or other promotion measures that would have helped agents both practically and in terms of symbolic capital. Taken together, all these factors militated against autonomization, the key feature of the Bourdieusian field.

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40. Writing in the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* in 1879, Eduard Engel reported that in Germany "a literary magazine recently carried the tragicomic appeal by one of these poor translation proletarians from Bielefeld to establish a 'society for the protection of German translators'" (Engel 1879/1990, 224). It seems no one ever answered that call. Theo Hermans notes the important role of professional associations in establishing translation norms (Hermans 1999, 85), which in turn may help determine the positions that can be taken up in the field or space.

"Imposing new values:"[41] *Agencies of mediation and distribution*

At the interface of production (the protagonists of which clearly include translators) and distribution, there are important institutions and actors, such as publishers and the editors of series or journals, that also form part of the "patronage system". Further agencies of distribution are book fairs, libraries, educational institutions and media, all of which are influenced by or themselves implement the logic of advertising. In the historical context examined here, subscription libraries, salons, reading circles and coffee houses are also of relevance. The particular fabric of these social institutions is key to the social location of each translated work. In the following, I discuss some of them in the setting of the Habsburg Monarchy, focusing on the relationships between the individuals and institutions involved. It is impossible here to offer a precise picture of the distributory mechanisms of Habsburg translations – to reconstruct the constraints of the translation market alone (and only for a short period of time), we would need details of exact sales, numbers of theatre tickets sold, the various advertising formats, the criteria for engaging arts journalists, paths to acquiring editorial positions, and much more (see Bourdieu 1995, 49). In view of this, I propose only to trace some general patterns of translation distribution in the Habsburg mediatory space.

The most important agents in this phase of the translation business are publishers. Wittmann describes publishing companies as "gatekeepers of fame and success", whose importance grew steadily during the nineteenth century with the rising numbers of writers crowding onto the market to offer their wares (Wittmann 1999, 161). This role appears to conflict with the continued rigidity of Habsburg press legislation: publishers still had to watch carefully over the content of their publications, since post-publication confiscation threatened far worse economic damage than had the previous system of pre-publication censorship (see also Wolf 2001). However, publishers seem to have had precise knowledge of these issues, based on years of experience, which assisted them in their primary role as agents of commercial mediation. As publishing became more and more market oriented and technology more efficient, book production in Habsburg Austria – as elsewhere, though somewhat later than in Germany – underwent an industrialization that was accompanied by differentiation and specialization among publishers.

These wider developments are reflected in the landscape of the Monarchy's translation publishing. The 306 translations from Italian in the corpus appeared in 13 different towns and cities, with 84 publishers and 18 different journals. Vienna accounted for the bulk of translation, with 51 publishers and 16 periodicals

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41. The epigraph to Peter de Mendelsohn's study of the S. Fischer house quotes Fischer himself: "It is the publisher's most important and most gratifying mission to impose on the audience new values that it does not desire" (Mendelssohn 1970, 5).

publishing 198 translations – around two thirds of the Monarchy's total German–Italian production. Without diminishing the importance of other cities, we can infer from this clustering of publishers in one place not only a concentration of various forms of capital, but also the presence of multifarious networks highly conducive to the production of translations. These conditions permitted the coexistence of different types of production and circulation that obeyed different logics. Here, Bourdieu posits two poles, "the anti-'economic' economy of pure art" and the "'economic' logic of the literary and artistic industries which, since they make the trade in cultural goods just another trade, confer priority on distribution, on immediate and temporary success … and which are content to adjust themselves to the pre-existing demand of a clientèle" (Bourdieu 1995, 142). In the Habsburg context, examples of publishers located at the "pure art" pole are Anton Schroll (established 1884; see Verlag Anton Schroll 1984), focusing on architecture and art history (1 translation, *47*), and L. W. Seidel, which published mainly in military science and history after its split from Braumüller (see Junker 2001, 362–4; 2 translations, *55*, *786*). At the "economic" pole, examples are Hartleben (18 translations, mainly novels and short fiction), Braumüller (16, focusing on art history), Mechitharisten (12: religious writings) or Wiener Verlag (9: novels, novellas and dramas). According to Bourdieu, the logics behind the production and distribution mechanisms of the publishers at the extremes of this spectrum and everywhere in between determine the length of the production cycle, with a short production cycle and thus quick turnover required by commercial publishers, whereas less commercial companies are willing to risk a long production cycle in order to build a new market that does not yet exist. The different logics also govern publishing policy in the narrower sense, especially the selection of manuscripts (Bourdieu 1995, 146). However, in the selection phase publishers are not the only relevant agents, as I have shown. Eugen Guglia, for example, hints in his preface that he instigated his translation project himself: "With this little book, I try to give the German public an idea of D'Annunzio as a pure lyric poet" (*344*). In general, Guglia worked hard to introduce D'Annunzio to the German-speaking world, as is shown by his other translations of the author (*344a*, *347*, *365*, *366*, *373*; for further detail, see Vignazia 1995, 152–3).

Literary agents are commonly considered the mediators *par excellence*. Historically, it is not easy to retrace their role in translation publishing, in the absence of written documentation of their exact activities, but they had certainly taken up a firm place in the literature business by the end of the nineteenth century, and as such may be counted among the important actors in the field of mediation. In his study of literary agencies, Andreas Graf finds that 205 companies were established in the German-speaking world between 1868 and 1915, eight of them in Vienna and one in Budapest (Graf 1998, B 178–9). Table 25 lists the nine agencies

identified by Graf for the Habsburg area. According to Graf, who uses data from the writers' almanac *Kürschner's Literatur-Kalender*, the first Austrian agency was founded in 1872 by A. F. Heksch and described itself as a "correspondence and translation bureau". In *Lehmanns Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger*, discussed in my analysis of private translation bureaus (Chapter 6), Heksch does not appear in that year but not until 1876, advertising solely "Hungarian", and as a full bureau in 1881: "Translation bureau for Hung., Fr., It. language, also editing and administration of the 'Illustrated Guide to the Danube'" (*Lehmanns Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger* 1881, 1220). In 1882, the bureau's address changed and Heksch added Serbo-Croat and Romanian as source languages. The 1885 entry, finally, adds English, Polish and Russian and again gives a new address. It was in 1885 that Alexander F. Heksch died, aged only 39. It is not clear from the available records whether he also worked as a literary agent, so that the data from *Kürschner's Literatur-Kalender* cannot be confirmed. Yet the very fact that *Kürschner's* listed the Heksch translation bureau under literary agencies shows how closely the literary mediation of agencies is connected with that of translation in the narrower sense.

Table 25. Literary agencies founded in Vienna and Budapest, 1880–1909 (Source: Graf 1998, B 178–9)

Established	Name	Owner / manager	Location
1872	Korrespondenz- und Uebersetzungsbureau	A. F. Heksch	Vienna
1880	Helios. Lit. Abt. d. lit. u. graph. Instituts Helios	Josef Graf	Vienna
1884	Internationales literarisches Vermittlungsbureau	Brothers Nevai	Budapest
1885	Epsteins Litterarische Agentur	Epstein	Vienna
1900	Litterarisches Bureau	(Mühlgasse 3)	Vienna
1900	Litterarisches Institut "Die Handschrift"	–	Vienna
1904	Literaturanstalt "Austria"	Georg Jantschge	Vienna
1906	Observer. Unternehmen für Zeitungsausschnitte	–	Vienna
1909	Lipman's Zeitungskorrespondenz	Arthur Lipman	Vienna

There is no doubt that the emergence of literary agencies brought a new level of quality to the literature business. From now on, literature was not regarded as a purely aesthetic product, but also as a commodity capable of institutional recognition. According to Graf's analysis of advertisements in *Kürschner's*, the agencies also took on translated works. Some specialized in foreign literature; others worked solely on the sale of rights to German and international literature (Graf 1998, B 183–4). The importance of literary agencies in the period examined here should not be overstated, as they were mainly short-lived institutions and by no means established actors in the space of mediation. Nevertheless, their efforts certainly contributed to the realization that a professionalized market – which the late nineteenth-century

literary market indubitably was – required channels of mediation that could handle the growing need to place literature successfully as a commodity.

Another influential instrument of distribution was the subscription list, a historical source hitherto almost entirely neglected by translation studies. In the final decades of the eighteenth century, it had become a standard part of the literature business to seek subscribers who would advance money for a book to be published. The importance of the subscription system arose partly from the retail book trade's reluctance to take risks on literary innovations – the move to subscriptions, especially for untested genres and multivolume or encyclopedic works, thus enabled important gaps in the market to be filled (Sarkowski 1982, 227). The subscription phenomenon can be studied as part of the patronage system not least because for many years it was usual to publish the names of important subscribers in the introduction to the work (Speck 1982, 49). For this reason, the average numbers of subscribers are probably less revealing than the exact composition of the subscription lists, which may allow conclusions to be drawn about individual readers' or purchasers' positions in the field (or space of mediation) alongside other agents. Lawrence Venuti, for example, drawing on Speck's work, notes that the subscribers to Alexander Pope's *Iliad* translation increasingly came from the bourgeoisie, with the work supported only secondarily by an aristocratic public (Venuti 1995, 66). Max Peyfuss's detailed analysis of Greek, Serbian and Romanian historical works around 1800 also finds that subscription was mainly a practice of middle-class readers, and especially the commercial classes (Peyfuss 1985, 345). It seems that early nineteenth-century merchants were seeking to acquire cultural capital through a subscription, an established component of the public sphere, in order to improve their position in their own field. A systematic analysis of the subscribers to translations in this period might therefore say much about the deployment of capital by agents who were not necessarily active in the space of mediation, but who impacted on other fields through their *enjeux*. In turn, knowledge of subscribers' influence on the buying, selling and reading of translated literature would enhance our understanding of the power relationships at work in the space of mediation.

Vehicles of distribution in the narrower sense are booksellers, some of them specializing in sales of particular literary or scientific domains; advertising, for which barely any information is available in the context discussed here (a study of blurbs would be interesting, for example) and which was briefly mentioned in the discussion of publishers' epitexts; and theatre managers, who were, and still are, decisive figures in the dissemination of cultural products. This becomes obvious in Feichtinger's study of nineteenth-century premieres of plays by Italian authors at the Hofburgtheater. Feichtinger identifies a hiatus in the performance of Italian works between 1839 and 1887 (with one exception, in 1857), and attributes it principally to the personal interests of the respective theatre managers, especially

Heinrich Laube. A secondary explanation is the weakness of Italian drama, which presented no great incentive to translate, while Feichtinger also cites the political context, given that since Alfieri, Italian literature had been dominated by the Risorgimento – a focus that by no means encouraged translation, at least not into German (Feichtinger 1964, 309–10). Salons, another site of distribution, have already been mentioned; they activated processes of legitimation, with commissions awarded and prices discussed or even fixed. For Bourdieu, salons are crucial to cultural exchange, being "places where writers and artists can gather together as kindred spirits and meet the powerful" and, as each party tries to influence the other, also "genuine articulations between the fields" (Bourdieu 1995, 51).

A detailed reconstruction of all these mediatory activities would only be possible through exhaustive studies of the various types of historical sources. Vignazia's study of translations of D'Annunzio, or Karl Zieger's of the reception of Émile Zola by turn-of-the-century Austrian reviewers (Zieger 1986), show that analysing publishers' correspondence in literary or other archives, a range of media sources, and more would be required for a comprehensive view of the activities of agents involved in the translation business in the widest sense and the tensions and power relationships within the space of mediation.

Reception in the Habsburg communication network

Naturally, the increasingly differentiated network of production and distribution I have described needs reception to fulfil its purpose. Reception covers such varied factors as the book market, the reading public, various types of publication (anthologies, series, literary histories), consecration mechanisms (reviews, prizes, etc.) and many more.

The state of the book market is the basic starting point of any attempt to identify translated literature's position in a field or space. From the eighteenth century, the factors regulating that market underwent enormous change, which can be examined in terms of its historical, structural and local aspects. Particularly relevant for the nineteenth century were rising literacy rates, innovations in print technology, the expansion of distribution networks, the differentiation of publication venues, and more broadly the "reading revolution" (Wittmann 1999, 186). Political interventions with a strongly regulatory thrust were also important, such as – in a positive sense – the privileges accorded to the production of books considered "useful", or – in a negative sense – ineffectual copyright legislation and the continuation of statutory constraints on publishing even after the abolition of pre-publication censorship. Through the cultural practice of reading, the public itself plays a crucial role in this network of communication. It is a contingent role, based on readers' changing deployment of their capitals in combination with their own particular habitus: what offer of information does the individual reader accept

at any one moment, and with an eye to what position-taking in the field does she or he process and redeploy that information? The book market's differentiation in the period was driven significantly by the particularization of reading behaviour, which also led to the fading of the cultural consensus that had prevailed in the eighteenth century. The translations produced in the Habsburg Monarchy testify to these same developments through rising numbers of translations, from all different languages, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the growing fragmentation into smaller genres. The translations also reflect changing motivations for reading, from "active communication within civic culture through reading" (Wittmann 1999, 290) to a more passive uptake of reading material, driven by the more socially heterogeneous composition of the readership and the increasing crystallization of different tastes and preferences.

Another aspect relevant to the space of mediation is the range of different venues for the publication of translations, which casts light not only on the positioning of an author, genre or literary movement within the literary field but also (or especially) on the functional mechanisms underlying every translation process. Reception is influenced by anthologies and series along with reference works and textbooks such as literary histories.

To anthologize is to reorganize texts by different writers and from different epochs, genres, movements or particular thematic domains. The anthology rests on selection mechanisms that are embedded in a patronage system, and contributes importantly to the image readers receive of its subject, in this case Italian literature. In his brief comments on anthologies of translated and non-translated literature, Harald Kittel addresses the question of selection, with other aspects such as different cultures' divergent concepts of literature and the blurring of traditional genre classifications (Kittel 2004). Elisabeth Arend-Schwarz (1993, 99) asks whether analysing anthologies could reveal a canon of authors and works – though this would mean comparing anthologies with translations in monographs and periodicals and is not relevant for the present corpus, which contains no anthologies purely of translations from Italian. That very fact may indicate that the activity of mediator figures was minor in the Habsburg Monarchy when compared to neighbouring Germany, where numerous translation anthologies were published in this period. It also illustrates the, at most, sketchy translation policy of Austrian publishers.

However, when it comes to the publication of series Austrian companies show a greater propensity for translation policy efforts. In her study of series in nineteenth-century Austria, Christina Ruland (1998) finds 109 series in total, although many of these were short-lived. The series she studies emerged in the wake of a change in reading habits whereby religious literature, mainly in the shape of tracts, gradually lost ground to entertainment. This trend is visible in the themes

of the series, which cover mainly fiction but also everything from popular science to "practical" publications (jobs, sports, travel, etc.). Probably the most important translation project in this area was the Hartleben series "Belletristic Reading Cabinet of the Latest and Best Novels of All Nations in Careful Translations", which included 1,008 translations, mainly French novels, between 1846 and 1879 (Bachleitner 2000, 323). Seven translations from Italian appeared in this series – just 0.7 per cent of all translations from Italian between 1848 and 1918. The low number is explained partly by the fact that translation from Italian did not gain momentum until the 1880s, for the political reasons already discussed, and that no translation policy existed specifically for Italian, in contrast to the unofficial policy regarding French that can be glimpsed in the Hartleben example.

Another series specializing in translations was Wallishausser's "Viennese Theatre Repertoire", though this included none of the publisher's three Italian–German translations (*18*, *318c*, *871*). From 1851, Stöckholzer von Hirschfeld published the series "Romantic Reading Room" with several translations, albeit none from Italian. Some series held a prominent place in their publisher's lists, making them an important economic factor. For translations published in these series, it was probably economic capital rather than symbolic capital that determined their position in the literary field – almost all were translated popular or middlebrow works of Italian or other literatures. Certainly, series are powerful instruments, due to their selection mechanisms, and important categories of the space of mediation. Especially when they gather numerous translations, they contribute to the vitality of the space by helping to modify its relations of exchange.

Literary criticism is another factor of reception that shapes mediation, and thus the positioning of translations in the literary field. The capitals of the newspapers and magazines that publish reviews of translations, and of the reviewers themselves, affect both readers' perceptions of particular translated texts and the production of new translations. These complex dynamics deserve detailed investigation through micro studies of the interaction between authors, epochs, themes and genres and of the reciprocal effects of reception and instigation. Those processes are closely bound up with the agencies of "intellectual consecration and legitimacy" (Bourdieu 1969, 105), discussed in the context of paratexts as elements that guide and control the reception of translations and in the context of literary prizes as directly consecrational mechanisms. We may note here that, with very few exceptions, in the Habsburg context the battle for legitimacy was fought out via other fields (such as the literary field) and their mechanisms, not directly via a field of translation or mediation, since the institutionalized framework of translation itself was relatively weak.

4.   The translational space of mediation: Conclusions

This chapter's portrait of Italian–German translating in the period from 1848 to 1918 and of the context of the translations' production, distribution and reception, based on the notion of a Habsburg "translational space of mediation", required us first to address the historical context of distribution within which the translations emerged and upon which they impacted. This revealed that in the Habsburg collective imagination – the outcome of conflicts between, on the one hand, uncritical convention and the transmission of older topoi and stereotypes, and, on the other, a rational, critical interrogation of these categories (Heitmann and Scamardi 1993, 1) – the image of Italy was made up of sedimented layers of perception originating in different historical periods. The view of Italy disseminated by Goethe's *Travels in Italy* remained highly relevant. In some circles and some cultural manifestations, it was underpinned or intensified by ideas drawn from classical Rome and the heyday of the Italian Renaissance. During Romanticism, attitudes to the southern lifestyle and landscape were dominated by a sense of yearning that attracted writers, musicians and visual artists alike; later, these comparatively positive images were gradually overlaid by the prevailing political and ideological tensions between Italy and the Monarchy, which in turn were consolidated by negative historical experiences.

A detailed corpus analysis may provide a setting to discover how far these trends and imagological formations influenced the selection and presentation of Italian writing in translation, and what mechanisms of cultural construction they display. My investigation of the corpus of 1,741 Italian–German translations, according to particular parameters and focusing on the 306 that were published in the Habsburg Monarchy, reveals certain tendencies in translational transfer during the period. The main trends in the German lands (from 1871 the German Empire) were also to be found in the Habsburg Monarchy. In both areas, a professionalized book market was taking shape, dense social networks were accumulating around publishers, and newspapers and literary magazines were becoming increasingly important vehicles for translation publication. However, there are distinctions between the German and Habsburg situations especially in two respects. Firstly, the convention of naming translators in books and periodicals seems to have been less widespread in the Habsburg setting, although because Austria's translation production was relatively minor compared to that of its German neighbours, the particular habits of a few publishers may impact disproportionately on the statistics. Secondly, the gender composition of translators differs. In the Habsburg Monarchy far fewer women translators were named, which implies that women lacked the social capital to present themselves as translators. Thus, while across the whole German-speaking area women tended to be better represented in the translation of novels than other genres, in the German Empire translations were concentrated in

the hands of a smaller number of women, such as Maria Gagliardi (9 translations between 1899 and 1913) or Katharina Brenning (8 translations between 1892 and 1910); both women published with a limited number of companies, indicating close-knit communication networks.

This reconstruction of the Habsburg translational space of mediation rests on my argument that Bourdieusian field theory is unable to fully capture the process of mediation. I have therefore added the figure of the third space, after Homi Bhabha, to Bourdieu's model. This is capable of accounting not only for the temporary nature of the space of mediation, but also for the position-taking of the principal agents and their actions in a "space between" that cannot be conceptualized in the Bourdieusian framework due to the difference in underlying functions. Starting from this, my examination of the paratexts generated in the Monarchy's translational space of mediation offers insights into the translatorial habitus of the period. The explicitly argued declarations of the translator's own strategies in the prefaces, especially, and the wider views of translation they reveal, indicate a translatorial habitus that is moving away from the discourse of subservience. Of course, referencing an emancipatory discourse in the prefaces does not necessarily mean the translator is more assertive than before, and the appearance of this discourse does not necessarily mean a radical change in the translator's habitus. In fact, it is important to note the persistence of stable images of self and other, and the recourse to repertoires that may result both in a tendency to change and a perpetuation of particular imagological elements.

Attention to a changing translatorial habitus as manifested by the paratexts is inextricable from attention to their contribution to cultural constructions. This contribution becomes evident in paratextual manipulations of the reading process, through which particular perceptions of self and other are constructed in the context of Italian–Habsburg transfer. The constructive efforts of the paratexts suggest a gradual departure from patterns of translatorial behaviour long taken for granted and, in part, an instrumentalization of paratexts in pursuit of interests that may be interpreted as clues to the intimate political relationship between Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy.