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Literary
Translation in
Periodicals

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Literary Translation in Periodicals

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Volume 155

Literary Translation in Periodicals

Methodological challenges for a transnational approach

Edited by Laura Fólica, Diana Roig-Sanz and Stefania Caristia

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Towards a transnational and large-scale approach to literary translation in periodicals

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Translation history, literary translation and periodical publications have been analyzed extensively within the fields of Translation Studies, Comparative Literature, and Media Studies, with numerous conferences and publications devoted to literary translation and the periodical. However, the relationship between these three topics still remains underexplored, and national approaches and disciplinary boundaries have inhibited the development of conceptual and methodological insights regarding literary translation and media. *Literary Translation in Periodicals. Methodological Challenges for a Transnational Approach* contributes to the analysis of innovative concepts and methodological issues in a flourishing interdisciplinary field, namely that of translation history, literary translation, and periodical studies within the larger field of print culture.

In this respect, this book pursues two goals in particular. The first is to highlight the innovative theoretical and methodological issues intrinsic to analyzing literary translation in periodical publications on a small and large scale – with or without digital tools – and to shed light on the qualitative implications for research. The second goal is to contribute to a developing field by providing several case studies on translation in periodicals over a wide range of geographical spaces and periods (Europe, Latin America, and Asia in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries) that go beyond the more traditional focus on national and European periodicals and translations. Of course, the book does not ignore the European analytical tradition – as some chapters will certainly address it – but rather, it views it from a transnational perspective. This transnational approach fosters an in-depth theoretical and methodological discussion based on underexplored case studies, for instance, less-canonized magazines, such as the *Devětsil* Czech magazines that circulated within the European avant-garde (Forbes, Chapter 16); genres unexplored because of their connection to popular classes during the interwar period, such as the Italian *rotocalchi* – illustrated journals for the general

public (Guidali, Chapter 6); multilingual magazines from the Philippines (Ortuño Casanova, Chapter 10); or well-known Ibero-American journals like *Création* or *La Gaceta Literaria*, which have been recently analyzed from a new perspective that emphasizes translation, multilingualism, and visual components (Ehrlicher, Chapter 11). Not only do these case studies tackle underexplored areas, they also show the diversity of these journals in terms of audience (more literary and highbrow in the case of *Création* or *La Gaceta Literaria*, more popular in the case of *rotocalchi*), as well as the various challenges of comparing case studies that deal with very different periodicals. In this respect, this book does not engage with the debate between highbrow and lowbrow literature or between “little” versus “big” periodicals (Stead 2016). Instead, it focuses on empirical shifts and the transnational features of these periodicals.

This book also includes both well-known and innovative techniques, such as social network analysis, geo-visualization, and the use of big data to encourage a large-scale analysis and trace the history and evolution of literary translation in periodical publications over time. For example, we delve into the presence of translation in Mexican modernist periodicals (Popea, Chapter 5) as well as in Belgian avant-garde journals (De Clerck, Chapter 15 and Hacke, Chapter 4). The variety of periods and spaces explored highlight both common theoretical issues and specific methodological questions. Thus, our aim is to dive deeper into an interdisciplinary field that considers how culture, translation, and media theory conceptualize textual, contextual, and paratextual dynamics, as well as how sociological approaches to translation and publishing history can help us understand the journal as a network of social practice.

State of the art overview

Despite the interrelatedness of Periodical and Translation Studies, the analysis of translations circulating in periodical publications remains fragmented, underexplored, and often subject to national frameworks. The relevance of translation in periodicals has been analyzed from the perspective of Translation and Media (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009; Hernández Guerrero 2009; Schäffner 2012; Valdeón 2005; Van Doorslaer 2009, 2010), but this approach often focuses on news media, translation in journalistic periodical publications, or the role of journalist-translators in our global world. Meanwhile, translation in periodicals has been less explored through the cultural and historical lens, a gap which this book aims to fill.

In that respect, there has been increased interest in the field of Periodical Studies since Sean Lathan and Robert Scholes foresaw the rise of the field in *PMLA*, the Modern Language Association Journal (2006). Numerous conferences, research

networks, and societies, such as ESPRit, the European Society for Periodical Research, have been created since. As Lathan and Scholes pointed out: “this development was driven by the cultural turn in departments of language and literature and by the development of digital archives that allow for such studies on a broader scale” (2006: 517). Periodicals help to build modern culture and capture the cultural atmosphere of an era. Moreover, they focus on the reception of literary works, international cultural exchange, cultural flows, and channels of literary transfer.

In recent decades, periodicals have attracted the interest of scholars in the sociology of literature, who have highlighted the specificity of the “journal” form, in both the literary field and the history of publishing. Periodicals can also be seen as alternative means of publication (Verdaasdonk 1989) and as weakly institutionalized networks in the literary field (Aron 2008), that is, as “formations”, as described by Raymond Williams (1981). We can distinguish these “formations” from “institutions” based on the promptness with which they are constituted and dissolved and the way in which they integrate a small group of people (Altamirano and Sarlo 1983; De Marneffe 2007). Among the specificities that define periodical publications is the fact that journals, by definition, tend to be programmatic (Tarcus 2007) and seek to take part in their *hic et nunc*. In addition, their syntax – that is, how the textual and visual material is presented – can matter more than the content itself (Sarlo 1992). This is why their iconic aspect is so important from a semiotic perspective. On a European scale, the study of so-called “little magazines” expands the field of modernist studies, providing an underexamined resource that illustrates new features of the modernist avant-garde (Brooker and Thacker 2005; Brooker, Thacker et al. 2013). In this respect, there are numerous articles in collective volumes that analyze European literary and cultural magazines, both the well-known (e.g. *Criterion*, *Mercure de France*, and *La Revue Blanche*) and the lesser known (e.g. *Der Wahre Jacob*, *Ileana*, and *Le Spectateur catholique*). Although these articles are vibrant examples of the current literature in this field (Stead and Védrine 2008, 2018), literary histories still tend to relegate periodicals to the periphery, underestimating their contribution and function in structuring the transnational literary field.

The field of Translation Studies has attracted a growing number of researchers from different fields, from Computational Linguistics to Comparative Literature, Sociology, and Cultural History. Transfers and exchanges in culture, literature, translation and publishing extend beyond national borders; developments often come as a result of international spaces or international and multinational publishers working on a global scale. However, most translation histories are confined to national academic traditions (Glick Schiller, Amelina et al. 2012) and to national literatures. These works privilege certain periods, literatures, authors, and titles, as well as the histories of the world’s most relevant translations, authors and

publishing houses. In many cases, they focus on describing publishing and translation activity, as well as the production of books and the importing of foreign literatures, through a strictly national lens. There is no shortage of volumes, dictionaries, and compilations that concern a single geographic area (e.g. Maurice Friedberg 1997 in Russia; Ruiz Casanova 2018; Lafarga and Pegenaute 2004, 2009, in Spain). And while the *Diccionario histórico de la traducción en Hispanoamérica* (Lafarga and Pegenaute 2013) proposes a transnational approach to the history of Ibero-American translation, this approach seems somewhat unbalanced (Pagni 2014).

A transnational approach to literary translation and periodicals

Why should the history of publishing or translation be limited to a specific country? How can we overcome methodological nationalism in empirical studies and avoid the tendency to focus on allegedly monolingual cultures, where the circulation of multilingual materials is often overlooked? Furthermore, is it even possible to speak of a strictly “national” publishing and translation process? Or does research on book commercialization and the book market imply, given its very nature, the transcendence of spatial and temporal borders? Undoubtedly, the relevance of the matter – as highlighted by Donald Sassoon (2006) and Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (2009) – lies in the fact that a transnational focus (Bender 2002) is beneficial to all research on local and national publication. In this collective volume, this transnational approach manifests itself as: (1) collecting case studies from a wide range of languages and regions; (2) examining the role of the translator as a transnational cultural mediator (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018); and (3) analyzing key features of journals circulating across borders. It goes without saying that journals travel across borders and offer alternative ways of transferring literature and ideas. Journals also experience faster channels of publication than books. Moreover, the collective authorship of the journal and its very format allow us to perceive its international identity and relationship to foreign cultures and literatures in a clearer way: not only through translation, but also through the review of foreign literature and references to other international journals. Finally, the dynamic character of the journal implies that each journal may act as a node for the creation of a transnational network that allows for the circulation of texts and publishing models (Stead 2019; Vaillant 2019).

Likewise, many of these exchanges emanate not only from the centre to the periphery (the direction receiving the most attention), but also the other way around and via other routes – for instance, from periphery to periphery (Müller, Locane and Loy 2018). This has been demonstrated in studies on the Global South and other less-studied inter-peripheral relations, as proposed by Johan Heilbron (1999, 2010) when he referred to the position of one language and one literature

in the international book market. These exchanges have manifested themselves in studies on the circulation, translation and publishing of Bulgarian literature in Spain and Latin America (Ikoff 2018), Korean (Torres-Simon 2015) literature in Spanish and Catalan, and Scandinavian literature in Czech (Vimr 2018), for example. Efforts to make small translated literatures, such as from Catalan, more visible are worth mentioning as well (Bacardí and Godayol 2011).

Considering the contributions from the History of Translation (Pym 1998; O'Sullivan 2012) and the Sociology of Translation (Casanova 1999; Heilbron and Sapiro 2002; Heilbron 1999; Sapiro 2006; Wolf 2007), this book focuses on literary translation as a historical product that serves a specific function within the target culture (e.g. Hermans 1985; Lefevere 1992; Toury 1995) and as a form of cultural transfer (e.g. Espagne and Werner 1987; Espagne 2013) that challenges the source-target binarity, that is, the idea that cultural transfers are binary rather than triangular or multidirectional. Furthermore, this volume calls for a greater focus on the translator as an "agent" (Buzelin 2011; Chesterman 2009; Delisle 1999, 2002) or, more specifically, as a "cultural mediator" (Meylaerts, Gonne, Lobes and Roig-Sanz 2016; Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018) who plays an important role in disseminating foreign literatures from a transnational perspective. This role stems from the translator's main features: multilingualism and the performance of manifold roles and activities across linguistic, artistic, and geographical borders. Global literary approaches have a tendency to reduce intercultural entanglements to networks involving Europe or the Western world (Rotger, Roig-Sanz and Puxan-Oliva 2019). The present book sheds light on multiple connections (Europe, Latin America, and Asia), questions the Eurocentric approach, discusses concepts such as "transnational", "cosmopolitanism", and "internationalism", and attempts to move beyond binary exchanges.

A Big Translation History

This book also proposes a "Big Translation History", (Roig-Sanz and Fóllica 2019, forth.; Hitchcock 2013) that is, the study of Translation History using a big data approach, thereby promoting a different way of studying history based on, in the case of this book, an empirically driven study of periodicals. At the intersection of Translation History and computational technology, "Big Translation History" aims to develop a young, innovative research path in translation studies (the study of translation history in the age of big data), which has already been somewhat developed in Literary Studies (Moretti 2000, 2005; Jockers 2013). It also seeks to explore both theoretical and methodological questions, as well as case studies addressing a translation history that can be analyzed computationally with a large amount data.

In recent years, big data, technological improvements, and a transnational shift in the Humanities have allowed all kinds of collaborative, large-scale, high-profile digital research projects to flourish. These include research on periodicals (e.g. *Revistas Culturales 2.0*, led by Hanno Ehrlicher at the University of Tübingen, *AhiRA* led by Silvia Saïtta at the University of Buenos Aires, *WeChangEd* led by Marianne Van Remoortel at Ghent University, *CIRCE* led by Carla Gubert at the Università degli studi di Trento), and on literary translation (e.g. *TSOcc* led by Christine Lombez at the Université de Nantes and the ERC Starting Grant Social Network of the Past led by Diana Roig-Sanz at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya). The ERC Starting Grant Social Network of the Past, for example, combines literary translation and periodical research in the study carried out by Laura Fólica, who analyses literary translation in Ibero-American periodicals (1898–1959) using digital tools and a large-scale, transnational approach to shed light on unnoticed texts, mediators, and networks (Roig-Sanz and Fólica 2021). Undoubtedly, all these projects are inspiring examples of periodical and translation research that uses digital archives within a digital humanities approach, but there is still much more to be done. In that respect, *Literary Translation in Periodicals* presents pioneering research devoted to introducing an interdisciplinary perspective on how digitization and big data are changing research methods in Literary Translation.

Points of criticism in the study of periodicals and literary translation

Naturally, applying concepts and theoretical frameworks from other disciplines and epistemological traditions can be quite challenging. Therefore, this book reviews theoretical concepts from the fields of Sociology of Literature and Comparative Literature, such as “literary field”, “strategies”, “trajectory”, “symbolic capital”, “agent of consecration”, “cultural transfer”, “system”, “network”, and “voice” from a transnational perspective for the purpose of studying literary translation in periodicals. Although these concepts are widely applied in analyses of periodical and translation studies, it is still essential to assess their applicability to different corpora in order to consider the possibility of defining a common theoretical framework for the study of literary translation in periodicals.

On a methodological level, research on literary translation and media also faces criticism for its examination of both periodical studies and literary translation in periodicals. Periodicals have specific characteristics and their own logic and dynamics. Thus, studying periodicals on a large-scale poses the challenge of not losing the specificity and dynamics of each journal. In this respect, we identify several methodological constraints. The first constraint has to do with the heterogeneity of the periodical genre, which include newspapers and magazines,

literary supplements, weeklies, etc. This confronts us with challenging differences, not only at the literary level (e.g. different genres or different levels of attention for translated authors), but also in terms of aesthetics. There may also be significant differences in ideology, formats, periodicity, economic resources, and types of readers. The second constraint has to do with national approaches to building digital periodical catalogues, which are mostly hosted by national libraries. These catalogues often present journals from a single country and rely on national philological criteria for literature, which often miss the transnational character of multilingual publications like *Création/Creación. Revista internacional de arte* (with texts in Spanish, French, English, Italian and German) or *Disk, RedD and Pásmo* (with texts in Czech, German and French), all of which are analyzed in this book. Other methodological constraints include the quality of current digital tools, such as Optical Character Recognition (OCR), Transkribus or Tesseract, and their capacity to read digital documents in languages other than English, as well as the difficulty of extracting metadata from source material, cleaning it, and then elaborating databases and visualizations as tools for data exploration using machine learning and data mining. There is also the fact that there is no common standard for cataloguing journals, such as the Marc21 format for cataloguing books in national libraries, or unique identifiers, such as the International Standard Serial Number (ISSN), for periodicals published before 1975. Then, there is the question of how to store and preserve datasets in sharing infrastructure, such as EUDAT Collaborative Data Infrastructure, and how to transition from a quantitative to a qualitative perspective of a large corpus of periodicals and select samples for close reading. Thus, this book argues for the need to establish general criteria for the classification and interpretation of data (Caristia 2019).

In terms of literary translation, however, this book addresses a complex phenomenon at the cross-section of translational, literary, political-social, and historical-cultural problems. This, too, poses certain methodological constraints. For starters, literary translation in periodicals is marked by a sense of freedom because the material is often heterogeneous and highly unstructured. For instance, one may consider the myriad of ways of presenting translators, who are sometimes credited and sometimes not, and the relationships with source texts, which are not always carefully referenced and can even be mediated by a third and often unacknowledged foreign language. Another issue has to do with where literary translations appear in the different sections of a journal, which may lead to diverging roles and betray the implicit representations of foreign literatures as translation, resulting in invisibility. Moreover, translation in periodicals may either include or exclude a theoretical discourse on the translation, for example a “Translator’s Note” explaining the translation’s goals and strategies. Finally, literary and stylistic approaches to translation often dissociate translations from the contexts of their publication.

Suffice it to say that, translations are often analyzed in their textual dimension as objects that are independent of any paratextual, literary, political, social, historical or cultural context. This narrow approach is usually limited to the analysis of translations by renowned writers who also practiced translation themselves, thus setting the focus on the writer/translator and not the publication as a whole. This reinforces the canonization of “the select few”, but does not consider the flow of translations or the implications of the transfer of foreign literature in periodical publications. That said, an increasing number of researchers are taking context into account (Guzmán 2019; Stead 2019). This book addresses these issues and offers different textual, stylistic, and semantic analyses of the translation of foreign literatures.

In short, the study of translations published in journals raises questions at the crossroads of different research fields. While translation is one of the main topics of research in cultural transfer, periodicals are usually used in comparative studies on the circulation and reception of foreign authors and works within one or more national fields. Thus, it is the status of periodical publications, both as platforms for foreign literary texts and key agents in the process of shaping foreign literatures, that needs to be questioned.

Theoretical and methodological challenges

The fields of Translation Studies and Periodical Studies are evolving considerably, and literary scholars and cultural historians have become familiar with new theoretical perspectives from disciplines other than Literature, such as Sociology, Anthropology, Cultural Studies, and Global History. However, many of these works seem particularly inclined to explore case studies without reviewing the theoretical frame they refer to or the methodological challenges inherent to the interdisciplinary field and topic in question. This book offers a new scholarly approach to the following theoretical and methodological challenges:

1. *How to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches?* This book questions methods, goals and limits of quantitative analysis of translations in periodicals, taking into account the specific features and intrinsic heterogeneity of literary and cultural periodicals. The research in this book illuminates key concepts related to data analysis such as “uncertain data” (Guidali, Chapter 6), “aggregated data” (Malta et al., Chapter 12), “metadata” and “clean data” (Ikoff and Martínez, Chapter 13), and techniques for studying datasets, such as “topic modelling” and “words clustering” (Ortuño Casanova, Chapter 10), “weighted analysis” (Caristia, Chapter 7), “multi-correspondence analysis” (Malta

et al. Chapter 12), “Levenshtein distance” and “regular expression” (Ikoff and Martínez, Chapter 13). Likewise, it also underlines the importance of combining quantitative and a qualitative approaches to promote critical thinking from both perspectives and to avoid a biased interpretation of the large-scale analysis (Lombez, Chapter 8; Popea, Chapter 5; Penso, Chapter 9; Ortuño Casanova, Chapter 10). As Melanie Hacke (Chapter 4) points out: “The database is a helpful tool, but it only really comes alive when complemented by in-depth qualitative analysis, since the historical reality is always more complex and ambiguous”.

2. *How to combine sociological and hermeneutical approaches?* This book aims to bring nuance to the antagonism between sociological and hermeneutical approaches and to set a good example for developing a synthesis of both in the study of translation in periodical publications. As agents located in a social space and laboratories for artistic and literary creation, journals facilitate experimentation with different approaches in order to question the functioning of literary spaces and the interactions between geographical-linguistic spaces. The strategies applied to create personal identities within the local space, the role of translators and publishers in the creation of journals and discourse on foreign literature – and, by way of reflection, of national literature (Chevrel 1977) – are approached from both a sociological point of view and an aesthetic and cultural perspective. This book reviews existing theoretical concepts such as “literary field”, “agent of consecration” (Sisto, Chapter 3), “symbolic and literary capitals” (Caristia, Chapter 7), “system” (De Clerck, Chapter 15; Hacke, Chapter 4), and “network” (Forbes, Chapter 16; Mus, Chapter 2) as a metaphor but also as a research perspective (social network analysis) in order to further its application within Literary, Periodical and Translation Studies and beyond. On a textual level, the notions of “editorial enunciation”, individual and collective “voices” (Mus, Chapter 2; McMartin and Brems, Chapter 14), and “paratexts” (Popea, Chapter 5; Forbes, Chapter 16; Ehrlicher, Chapter 11) are also studied from a close-reading approach.
3. *Does the digitalization of journals and the creation of digital catalogues change the way we do research?* This collective volume analyses how the digitalization of literary journals has changed the archives, compelling us to abandon a national approach to literary history (Ehrlicher, Chapter 11). Furthermore, it discusses the quality of current digital tools and their capacity to read digital documents in languages besides English, such as Optical Character Recognition (OCR), Tesseract (Ikoff and Martínez, Chapter 13; Penso, Chapter 9) or Transkribus (Ortuño Casanova, Chapter 10). This book also emphasizes different projects on digital newspaper libraries and repositories that need to be revisited in order to detect inconsistencies and the lack of or dispersion of

data, such as the meta-catalogue WorldCat (Ikoff and Martínez, Chapter 13), or digital repositories from national libraries, such as Biblioteca Nacional de España, Biblioteca de Catalunya or Biblioteca Nacional de México. In general, library archives do not record the contents of periodical publications exhaustively. In most cases, they merely provide the name of the publication, the number of issues available, and the names of authors per article. For that reason, even though many magazines are digitalized, it is still difficult to conduct a detailed, large-scale and automatic analysis of literary production in a given timeframe. And without a quality-control analysis, it is next to impossible. As we do not yet have a standard for organizing data for these types of queries, we face a heterogeneous field of software, many of which are incompatible with each other. In that sense, the need to create better, freely accessible tools for exploring digital periodicals is a must (Ikoff and Martínez, Chapter 13).

4. *How does the shift towards big data change Translation Studies?* This book discusses the use of data mining and big data approaches to support conventional research, allowing scholars to save time and effort by conducting more thorough searches and better managing information. It also considers new modes of presenting and creating historical documents (as in Ortuño Casanova, Chapter 10; Malta et al., Chapter 12). This will allow scholars to revise analytical frameworks, assumptions and theoretical positions on the basis of more data and newly revealed patterns and connections on a large-scale. Digital methods enable us to ask specific questions that could not be asked otherwise and allow us to analyze a large amount of data on a specific issue. *Literary Translation in Periodicals* aims to provide a better understanding of key research concepts such as “digitalization”, “large-scale content analysis” and “data-driven analysis”, “Machine Learning”, and innovative tools to code or explore data, such as TEI (Text Encoding Initiative), Stylometric, GIS (Geographic Information System) tools (Penso, Chapter 9), or Elastic Search, Google Ngram or SQLite (Ikoff and Martínez, Chapter 13). This “digital turn” will not only allow us to ask methodological questions arising from our own research practice, it will also encourage empirical studies based on cases located in very different geographical spaces and periods, allowing us to identify common features and theoretical questions that extend beyond the singularity of each corpus.

It should be noted that the four theoretical and methodological challenges mentioned above run through the four parts the book in an organized fashion. Part I will discuss existing theoretical frameworks, such as the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu (1992, 2002), applied to exciting new contexts, such as the intersections between the Italian and the German literary field during the interwar period through the analysis of literary translation in periodicals. This section aims

to define the mechanisms of selection, publication and consecration of foreign literatures (Sisto, Chapter 3) and the role played by translators and translations in particular (Wilfert-Portal, Chapter 1). At the core of the reflection conducted in this part (Mus, Chapter 2) is the possibility of a specific methodology for the study of translations published in journals that considers specific features such as paratext. This book will explore how we can combine intertextual and historical-sociological questions in the study of translation, and how we can lay the groundwork for a theoretical discussion on the synthesis of hermeneutical and sociological approaches, which we do not consider as antagonistic.

Part II will focus on methods of quantitative analysis, exploring possibilities for the study of foreign contents and translations in periodicals. This second part aims to address some of the above-mentioned challenges, such as the collection, classification and interpretation of data when working with a heterogeneous corpus of periodicals, which will allow us to reflect on the relationship between qualitative and quantitative approaches. The chapters in this section span more than two centuries and cover a wide range of corpora related to different historical, political and geo-linguistic contexts, raising numerous methodological questions. Melanie Hacke (Chapter 4) discusses problems and potential solutions in the construction and exploitation of databases to understand the mechanisms of reception of foreign literatures in British Romantic Review Periodicals. Marina Popea (Chapter 5) applies an innovative quantitative approach to examine the role played by translation in the elaboration of the editorial line of two Mexican periodical publications at the turn of the 18th-century. Fabio Guidali (Chapter 6) analyzes translations of foreign novels published in Italian *rotocalchi* in the 1930s and contributes inspiring solutions for handling uncertain data and the problem of pseudo-translations. Stefania Caristia (Chapter 7) proposes an experimental method for a weighted analysis of translations in periodicals, looking specifically at post-WWII Italian periodicals. Finally, Christine Lombez (Chapter 8) gives an interesting example of the items that are useful for describing and classifying translations published in French periodicals during the German occupation in French territories.

Following the theme of quantitative analysis, Part III offers insight into problems and challenges related to the digitalization of periodicals, the creation of digital catalogues and the analysis of large corpora using digital tools, machine learning and data mining from a big data approach. Within an interdisciplinary approach rooted in literary and data engineering and applied statistics, Andrea Penso (Chapter 9) seeks to create a methodological paradigm that can be extended to the study of the reception of English novels in other national traditions through a combined use of Digital Humanities tools, Sociology of Literature and Comparative Literature. Rocío Ortuño Casanova (Chapter 10) investigates the perception of China in the Philippines, and describes the challenges of exploring

translation in the digital repository of Filipino periodicals (1880–1935), including the use of OCR and the multilingual features of periodicals written in Spanish, English, Japanese, Tagalog and Cebuano. Within the Ibero-American context, Hanno Ehrlicher (Chapter 11) considers magazines “transcultural artefacts” that cannot be considered through the lens of a national philological paradigm alone. Applying a statistical model, Joana Malta, Pedro Lisboa, Luís Crespo de Andrade (Chapter 12) discuss new findings and trends in Portuguese cultural magazines. Finally, using machine learning and big data approaches, Ventsislav Ikoff and Pablo Martínez (Chapter 13) explain the pipeline they created to work with meta-data from Spanish translations in periodicals indexed in the WorldCat catalogue and the National Library of Spain and Catalonia.

Finally, Part IV proposes different case studies for a qualitative analysis of translation in periodicals based on a variety of historical, geographical and linguistic contexts, all of which situate agents and their networks in the transnational space. The contributions in this section illustrate the strategies and modalities employed by periodicals to achieve an international dimension, including but not limited to translation. The relationship between national and international, as well as between textual and paratextual elements is focused and problematized. Elke Brems and Jack McMartin (Chapter 14) examine the Anglophone Dutch journal *Delta* and the translation activity of James Holmes. By observing Holmes’s practice from different perspectives (textual, peritextual, epitextual), their chapter defines the concept of “voice” and explores the relationship between the translator’s individual voice and the periodical’s collective voice, which is conceived as a polyphonic environment. Ernest De Clerck (Chapter 15) studies the publication and review of foreign literatures in Late-Romantic periodicals, reflecting on how translation played a role in the definition of national discourses about modern cultural identity. His chapter considers how periodicals used these discourses as a way to gain readers and position themselves in the competitive field of periodicals. Megan Forbes (Chapter 16) presents a study on multilingual periodicals from the Czech interwar avant-garde, reconstructing their transnational network. She observes the practice of multilingualism and the way in which periodicals dialogue with foreign cultural and literary movements, considering not only translation but also visual aspects.

Conclusion

The specific features of literary translation in periodical publications and the growing interest in both fields point to a pressing need for an appropriate and interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological approach. This collective work stresses the need for a more developed conceptual focus on the process of literary

translation in periodical publications from a transnational perspective, as well as for a methodological discussion on the creation of interdisciplinary teams for collective research and data sharing.

As stated above, this book aims to offer a flexible approach to classical periodization and raises methodological issues for transcending traditional and linguistic frontiers. This book looks at a broad geography of literary translations in periodical publications, combining experience with large- and small-scale analysis. It also draws attention to the activities of lesser-known periodical publications and mediators (e.g. translators, but also critics, editors, etc.). Likewise, we aim to gather qualitative results through the use of various quantitative models, treating metadata as a relevant and unexplored source of information. Finally, this book reviews the benefits of combining inputs from Sociology of Translation, Cultural Mediation and Social Network Analysis, Digital Humanities, and Discourse Analysis, by embedding close and distant reading. Of course, there is still much work to be done in this thriving field of research, for example, a gender perspective in literary translation in periodicals is still needed, as is an examination of the different ways to measure the real or relative impact or “success” of a publication, but this book is already a step forward.

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PART I

**Conceptual and theoretical perspectives for
studying translation in periodicals**

De la traduction comme *publication* et comme *glocalisation*

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Dans ce chapitre, je propose une petite théorie de la traduction comme publication. La plupart du temps oubliée par les *translation studies*, cette dimension de la traduction est pourtant cruciale, parce qu'elle permet d'établir que les traductions relèvent, tout autant que de l'herméneutique, de l'esthétique ou de la théorie culturelle, d'une histoire matérielle, économique et géopolitique. Cette perspective matérialiste et géopolitique permet de penser la place de la traduction dans la mondialisation. La traduction littéraire n'est pas une circulation culturelle, mais en réalité une localisation ; la traduction n'est pas une pratique des marges, mais au contraire une pratique des centres, et notamment des métropoles, qui concentrent le pouvoir et dans lesquelles les traductions jouent un rôle symbolique et politique crucial.

Keywords: traduction, mondialisation, transferts culturels, glocalisation, nationalisme, histoire du livre, édition, métropole culturelle

Les traductions sur lesquelles se penchent les études de traduction, au sens le plus large,¹ sont, presque toujours, des traductions *publiées*, sous forme imprimée, ou plus récemment sous forme électronique.² Or ces études ont beaucoup trop peu tenu compte de l'importance cruciale de ce fait, de même d'ailleurs, symétriquement, que l'histoire des choses publiées (l'histoire du livre, l'histoire de la presse périodique) n'a que très peu abordé la question de la traduction (Vivet, Chartier,

1. C'est-à-dire en incluant la linguistique, la philosophie, la littérature comparée, la traductologie, la sociologie de la culture, l'anthropologie ou l'histoire.

2. Les cas d'études portant sur des traductions non publiées, très rares, s'inscrivent d'ailleurs presque toujours dans la perspective de leur publication postérieure, à titre de brouillon ou de manuscrit, ou replacent ces manuscrits à l'intérieur de l'ensemble de la pratique d'un traducteur, et donc dans la perspective d'autres traductions, quant à elles publiées.

et Martin 1986 ; McKitterick 2009 ; Börsenverein des deutschen Buchhandels 2001). Ma contribution à ce travail collectif visera donc au contraire à soutenir que, bien que l'essentiel des traditions d'étude de la traduction littéraire l'aient négligé jusqu'ici, la traduction que l'on étudie en littérature, en philosophie, en traductologie, en histoire, concernant le XIXe et le XXe siècles, ne relève principalement ni d'un processus linguistique, ni d'un processus esthétique, ni même d'une dynamique idéologique, mais *d'abord* d'une logique de *publication*. Une fois ce point crucial établi, en puisant pour les besoins de la démonstration notamment dans mes propres enquêtes empiriques, je m'efforcerai d'en déduire quelques conséquences générales qui me paraissent devoir être utiles à l'ouverture d'un livre sur la traduction littéraire dans les revues.

Que les traductions littéraires étudiées par les études sur la traduction relèvent d'une logique de la publication

La première évidence qui s'impose immédiatement à celui qui aborde le vaste continent des études de traduction concerne leur orientation langagière : il s'agit d'abord, et avant tout, de s'interroger sur la traduction comme passage d'un texte, rédigé par son auteur premier, s'il en est un, dans une langue donnée, vers une autre langue. Cette orientation principale est susceptible, bien sûr, de traitements différents. Les linguistes interrogent les traductions principalement sous la forme de comparaisons terme à terme entre des phrases, ou des membres de phrase, issus de deux versions d'une même œuvre, l'une dans la langue source et l'autre dans la langue cible. Cet exercice a pour enjeu final la compréhension, à travers cette opération, de ce qui relève des langues en elles-mêmes (de leurs différences, plus ou moins radicales, de leur co-traductibilité plus ou moins complète, de leur in-traductibilité), ces caractéristiques propres émergeant une fois écartés les erreurs de traduction, les efforts d'adaptation culturelle, les singularités des traducteurs.

Les herméneutes lisent quant à eux la traduction comme une opération d'interprétation du sens, peut-être la plus complète qui soit, et font ainsi du passage d'un texte d'une langue à une autre, le noyau pratique de la visée métaphysique de la langue absolue, de la parole vraie (par exemple Meschonnic 1999). Les anthropologues et les historiens culturalistes, mais aussi les praticiens de la traduction confrontés aux difficultés concrètes de la transposition de mots et de formules intrinsèquement liés aux conditions locales de la production du texte source, pensent cette opération de transposition linguistique comme inévitablement *culturelle*, inséparable d'un effort de transposition contextuelle qui fait du traducteur un passeur – toujours incomplet – entre des cultures en partie au moins incommunicables les unes aux autres. Réciproquement, ils pensent les manières de traduire sur

un mode culturel, puisque dans leurs choix fondamentaux elles seraient solidaires des consciences culturelles nationales (par exemple Berman 1984 ; Parisinou et Hardwick 2000). À cette focalisation sur la transposition linguistique dans les études sur la traduction, quelles qu'en soient les modalités disciplinaires, on peut objecter qu'en oubliant qu'elle ne repose en fait que sur l'étude de traductions imprimées, elle rend invisible ce qui différencie son corpus de celui de l'interprétation et de la traduction orale, un phénomène pourtant autrement plus universel et qui devrait donc être incontournable pour comprendre la traduction comme transposition linguistique. En dehors de l'interprétariat organisé comme une profession, né dans un contexte judiciaire d'abord et ensuite dans celui de la politique de la science internationale à partir du milieu du XIXe siècle, les situations de traduction orale, pour soi ou pour d'autres, sont à la fois incomparablement plus fréquentes dans l'histoire et beaucoup plus difficiles à constituer en archives. C'est bien pour cela que les deux historiographies, sur la traduction et l'interprétariat, sont très séparées, ce qui a notamment contribué à minorer les questions liées à l'économie des échanges linguistiques dans l'ensemble des disciplines des sciences sociales (par exemple Dow 2007 ; Federici et Tessicini 2014).

On peut faire le même genre de remarque pour ce qui concerne une autre manière d'aborder la traduction littéraire, qu'on pourrait appeler traductologique. Il s'agit, dans ce cas, finalement, de contribuer théoriquement ou pratiquement à l'élaboration de doctrines et de méthodes pour *bien* traduire, et donc, puisque l'horizon est celui de la littérature, de réaliser de *belles* traductions. Une bonne partie des études de traduction liées aux disciplines littéraires (qu'il s'agisse d'histoire littéraire, de littérature comparée, voire plus récemment de la *World literature*) relève aussi, en partie au moins, de la *critique* littéraire appliquée aux traductions, même quand il s'agit d'en faire l'histoire. Tout en proposant une synthèse formidablement informée et ambitieuse, c'est tout de même dans cette perspective que se situe ultimement l'*Histoire des traductions en langue française* parue sous la direction d'Yves Chevrel et de Jean-Yves Masson aux éditions Verdier entre 2012 et 2018 (Chevrel et Masson 2012). La difficulté de cette perspective est qu'en insistant sur la traduction comme un problème esthétique, elle la rabat aussi dans une certaine mesure sur une question d'éthique : bien traduire, faire justice à l'œuvre d'art en la traduisant, faire œuvre d'art en traduisant, élever la traduction au rang d'art impliquent finalement une position *éthique* du traducteur, une *éthique de la traduction* (Pym 1997 ; Venuti 2002), qui ne peut que renvoyer à la responsabilité individuelle du traducteur comme artiste. Or si l'on observe le processus de traduction du point de vue du réalisme sociologique, on peut contester cette représentation très individualiste de la traduction : le traducteur n'est en réalité jamais le seul « auteur » de la traduction publiée, mais un élément d'une chaîne de responsabilité, parmi lesquelles bien sûr l'éditeur, le directeur de collection ou tout

autre coordinateur éditorial, souvent maître des principaux choix d'orientation concernant la traduction, mais aussi le critique littéraire, qui contribue à informer par ses choix et ses condamnations les normes en vigueur dans un système littéraire donné, sans parler naturellement des lecteurs eux-mêmes, dans la mesure où ils pèsent sur les choix éditoriaux par leurs décisions réelles ou supposées.

L'un des apports majeurs des *translation studies* (Venuti 2010 ; Malmkjaer et Windle 2011), notamment d'inspiration post-moderniste, a été de décloisonner radicalement ce rôle du traducteur, en encastrant son travail dans une série de contextualisations finalement politiques et géopolitiques : parce qu'elle met en cause la supposée organicité de la langue en la forçant à se soumettre à des formulations issues de langues étrangères, parce qu'elle insère le forain dans le domestique culturel, parce qu'elle interroge par sa pratique même la conception bourgeoise-romantique de l'auteur inspiré en le doublant d'un auteur second potentiellement envahissant, parce qu'elle peut rompre l'embargo linguistique qui fonde le pouvoir des élites religieuses ou sociales (la maîtrise du latin dans le monde catholique, la maîtrise de l'anglais dans l'économie globalisée contemporaine...), parce qu'elle a souvent servi à l'affirmation de femmes auteures dans le monde très masculin de la littérature, la traduction multiplie les « scandales » (Venuti 2002) et permet de faire naître une « zone » où les pouvoirs se brouillent et s'effilochent, où peuvent advenir du neuf, de l'incertain et donc de l'émancipation (Apter 2006). La force théorique de cette perspective, accompagnée d'un grand nombre d'études empiriques ponctuelles, parfois extrêmement fouillées, a considérablement enrichi notre connaissance de la traduction et des traducteurs, et contribué à leur redonner – un peu – de visibilité dans les sciences sociales.

Pourtant, aussi sophistiqué soit-il, le retour au politique auquel procèdent les *translation studies* post-modernistes n'en reste pas moins une *réduction* : l'instance du marché, les logiques du commerce de l'imprimé y disparaissent, et l'utilisation rituelle du mot-totem *capitalisme*, qui impose de manière très idéologique et an-historique une interprétation politique des formes de l'échange, n'y change rien. Les *translation studies* ne rendent presque jamais compte des logiques spécifiquement matérielles et pécuniaires de la traduction, de son rapport au marché littéraire, et c'est pourquoi elles se limitent en réalité le plus souvent à l'étude d'œuvres canoniques, ou promeuvent un canon subversif tout aussi élitiste que le précédent. Elles s'avèrent bien mal à l'aise pour rendre compte des 99,99% de la littérature que sa mémoire institutionnalisée n'enregistre presque jamais (Moretti 2000a ; Moretti 2000b ; Thomsen 2008) parce qu'ils relèvent de la consommation quotidienne, de la production industrielle ou proto-industrielle.

Spécificité de la traduction imprimée par rapport à la traduction orale, complexité de la « responsabilité » et de l'auctorialité de la traduction tout au long de la chaîne éditoriale, rôle écrasant des logiques du commerce et du capital dans la

production des traductions que, tout de même, l'on met en vente sur des marchés : ces angles morts des études sur la traduction ont un point commun, celui d'oublier que les traductions dont on parle sont, dans leur immense majorité, des *publications imprimées*. Et les conséquences heuristiques de cette évidence invisible sont majeures, à mon sens. Si les traductions sont des publications, alors elles relèvent aussi

1. d'une histoire matérielle : les traductions ne sont jamais des « textes », purs systèmes de signes, mais des objets qui ont un poids, une taille, une couleur, imposent des manipulations particulières et diverses formes d'*hexis* qui informent d'une manière ou d'une autre leur « lecture » ;
2. d'une histoire économique : la traduction est aussi un produit que l'on vend et que l'on achète, qui a un prix de vente et un coût de revient, qui s'inscrit d'une manière ou d'une autre dans le droit de propriété, ses aléas et ses transformations ; elle relève d'une logique de marquage, de *branding*, liée à la griffe d'un éditeur, à la valeur monétisable d'une signature d'auteur ; elle s'inscrit dans les jeux de l'offre et de la demande et donc aussi du calcul de rentabilité ;
3. d'une géographie concrète, et non métaphorique : les traductions sont produites quelque part, là où traducteurs, éditeurs, imprimeurs se rencontrent et travaillent, dans des contextes urbains qui constituent l'infrastructure nécessaire pour des opérations de publication exigeantes ; elles sont donc aussi soumises à des conditions politiques et juridiques particulières, qui dépendent des formes de contrôle politique de la librairie, de la situation du droit d'auteur international et national au moment de la publication, et des politiques de la littérature instituées par l'État dans lequel la publication s'opère.

Quelques thèses sur la traduction littéraire, du fait qu'elle est une publication

Si l'on comprend bien les implications du fait que les traductions littéraires que nous étudions le plus communément sont, quoi qu'il en soit par ailleurs, des *publications*, alors un certain nombre de *topoi* des études de traduction méritent reconsideration. J'en évoque quelques-uns, dans ce qui suit.

Que la traduction littéraire n'est pas une circulation culturelle

Il est très fréquent de trouver, dans les études littéraires, historiques ou sociologiques, l'idée que les traductions sont des circulations culturelles, ou des circulations entre des cultures. Cette idée permet souvent d'utiliser les traductions

comme des signes, comme des marqueurs de relations entre des « cultures », et très souvent des « cultures » entendues comme nationales. La difficulté majeure de cette perspective est que, si l'on décrit avec quelque réalisme le processus de la traduction littéraire en tenant compte du fait qu'il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une transformation textuelle mais de la *production d'un imprimé* tout à fait spécifique, alors la traduction *n'est pas une circulation*.

Lorsqu'une traduction est publiée, sous la forme d'un volume ou d'un article dans un périodique, elle n'est pas le résultat du déplacement de l'œuvre depuis son lieu d'origine : sa forme physique, son titre, son contenu sémiotique (les lettres dans ses pages, l'organisation des chapitres, la forme précise de ses phrases) sont originaux, fondamentalement nouveaux, et leur lien avec la publication initiale est fondé sur le partage d'un nom d'auteur et sur la relation que l'on peut établir, du point de vue du *sens*, entre les deux publications, même si leur lettre est tout à fait différente. En ce sens, le livre ou le chapitre publié comme traduction ne résulte d'aucune circulation. Au contraire, il est une production locale, nouvelle, particulière, qui a été rendue possible par une circulation *antérieure*, celle du livre ou du chapitre dans sa forme originale : l'instance traductrice a en effet disposé, d'une manière ou d'une autre, d'un exemplaire de l'ouvrage premier, ou d'un exemplaire d'un manuscrit envoyé par l'auteur premier, et c'est en cela seulement qu'il y a eu une circulation littéraire, *préalablement* à la traduction. Si l'on veut repérer des circulations littéraires, il faut tenter de suivre la circulation des livres et des revues en langue originale, où qu'ils aillent,³ de pister les pérégrinations, les exils et les sociabilités des auteurs, mais la traduction ne nous est en fait d'aucun secours.

Au contraire d'une circulation, précisément, la traduction peut apparaître comme une opération qui vise à *limiter*, voire à *interrompre* des circulations littéraires : lorsque la passion pour les romans sentimentaux anglais frappe le public des grandes villes du continent européen, à partir des années 1740, ce sont bien des livres en langue originale qui traversent la Manche pour satisfaire la soif de lecture des continentaux ; mais, presque aussitôt, et pour des raisons commerciales tout à fait évidentes, l'un des exemplaires de l'œuvre première, porté en toute hâte par un coursier à cheval, sert à lancer l'entreprise d'une traduction rapide, dont l'effet est précisément, en mettant à la disposition des lecteurs continentaux une version traduite, bien plus accessible pour la plupart des lecteurs, de rendre inutile et donc très peu rentable la circulation des livres en langue originale (Mc Murran

3. En cela, d'ailleurs, il n'y a pas de différence majeure entre circulation intra-nationale et circulation internationale, à part du point de vue des douanes. Les circulations de l'imprimé sont tout aussi révélatrices des rapports entre grandes villes et petites villes, entre villes et campagnes, entre petites villes et petites villes, que des circulations entre « cultures nationales ». Là encore, le nationalisme méthodologique peut s'avérer trompeur.

2009). Rendue possible par la circulation préalable des œuvres en langue originale, la traduction tend à *interrompre* la circulation des imprimés entre les différentes zones linguistiques.

De la même manière, lorsqu'au cours des premières négociations internationales pour parvenir à un accord multilatéral et à une législation uniforme sur le droit d'auteur international, à partir du congrès littéraire international de Bruxelles en septembre 1858, les participants non-francophones aux discussions évoquaient à la fois la nécessité de protéger les œuvres littéraires de toute reproduction non autorisée mais aussi la nécessité de ne pas limiter trop durement le *droit à traduire* les littératures à succès dans leurs langues. Ils cherchaient notamment à limiter le droit d'un auteur sur les traductions de ses livres : si l'auteur n'avait pas lui-même déclenché l'extraduction de son livre quelques années après sa publication, les éditeurs des pays potentiellement cibles auraient gagné le droit de traduire l'œuvre sans en référer à l'auteur étranger, à la fois pour étancher la soif de lecture de leurs lecteurs, passionnés notamment de littérature parisienne, mais aussi au nom de l'alphabétisation, grâce à la diffusion du livre à bas prix (Foucher 1858 ; Basamalah 2009). Il s'agissait notamment de limiter la circulation des œuvres littéraires en français, pour favoriser la production de copies locales de ces œuvres sous la forme de traductions.

La distinction entre circulation et traduction ne relève pas ici d'un pinaillage terminologique, ni même d'ailleurs seulement d'un souci de réalisme dans la description des processus réticulaires qui construisent la vie littéraire ; décrire la traduction comme une *circulation*, c'est en fait aussi renforcer l'un des « scandales » propres à la pensée de la traduction, la disparition du traducteur et de son auctorialité propre.

Si l'on veut être juste, en effet, il faut dire qu'entre une traduction et l'œuvre première dont elle se réclame (par le partage de l'auteur premier, celui dont le nom est cité sur la page de titre,⁴ par une mention de *copyright* ou de droit de reproduction), les ressemblances *textuelles* immédiatement constatables sont peu nombreuses : il s'agit bien de deux *textes* différents, qui ont très peu de points communs du point de vue des mots qu'ils utilisent, et qui peuvent même bien souvent varier considérablement du point de vue de leur sens, et même lorsqu'il s'agit de prose

4. Et encore... puisqu'il suffit qu'il y ait eu nécessité de passer d'un alphabet à un autre pour que le nom de l'auteur ne soit pas *vraiment* le même, mais bien aussi une traduction, dont l'identité complète avec l'auteur premier n'est pas réellement et sans aucun doute démontrable avant que la science bibliographique ait inventé, à la toute fin du XIXe siècle, les fichiers d'autorité qui subsument les différentes graphies du nom d'un auteur sous une forme universelle de référence.

narrative.⁵ À ce titre, l'instance traductrice *doit* bien être reconnue comme autrice d'un nouveau texte, de même que l'instance éditoriale *doit* être reconnue comme responsable d'un nouveau livre, même si les liens avec le texte/livre premier sont évidemment (souvent) très nombreux.

Il en va notamment de l'auctorialité propre du traducteur, une cause qui mobilise beaucoup de praticiens et de théoriciens de la traduction. Comment alors parler de *circulation* littéraire quand on parle de traduction ?

Que la traduction n'est pas une manifestation de la « frontière », mais bien une production des hypercentres

Une part de la séduction de l'idée de circulation littéraire vient de l'imaginaire territorial du post-modernisme et de son insistance sur le rôle subversif de la traduction. Dans la perspective des *translation studies*, la traduction pose un problème majeur à la politique moderne de la littérature parce que celle-ci se fonde sur un principe territorial, alors que par définition la traduction est un phénomène de la frontière (et comme ces études sont la plupart du temps écrites en anglais, il faudrait préciser *border*, et beaucoup plus rarement *frontier* [par exemple Pym 2000]).

La liaison avec les études post-coloniales pousse par exemple Homi Bhabha à écrire, avec d'autres théoriciens de la migration et de la globalisation comme processus d'hybridation généralisée, que la traduction est l'art de vivre sur des frontières (Bhabha 1994) et qu'elle est donc une mise en cause *per se* des abus de pouvoir que constituent les territorialisations étatiques. Dans une perspective proche, *The Translation Zone : a New Comparative Literature* d'Emily Apter (2006), se fonde sur une spatialisation métaphorique complexe de la traduction comme *zone*, « a broad intellectual topography that is neither the property of a single nation nor an amorphous condition associated with postnationalism, but rather a zone of critical engagement that connects the "I" and the "n" of transLation and transNation », qui est aussi une interpolation du poème d'Apollinaire, où « zone » désignait « a psychogeographical territory identified with the Paris periphery where bohemia, migrants and marginals converged. » Et c'est sur ce statut périphérique, marginal, que repose le pathos de la traduction comme libération, individuelle et collective : « Cast as an act of love, and as an act of disruption, translation becomes a means

5. Une part essentielle de l'histoire de la traduction s'inscrit bien sûr dans la pratique des « belles infidèles », et même une fois que le principe de la « fidélité » a été admis comme une norme à peu près générale dans le monde atlantique, à partir du milieu du XIXe siècle, sous l'effet de la structuration du droit d'auteur international et de l'industrialisation de la littérature, les coupes et les transformations portant sur la trame narrative des œuvres n'ont évidemment pas disparu, et de loin.

of repositioning the subject in the world and in history ; a means of rendering self-knowledge foreign to itself ; a way of denaturalizing citizens, taking them out of the comfort zone of national space, daily ritual, and pregiven domestic arrangements » (Apter 2006: 158). La traduction serait donc *per se* une pratique des marges, un choix de l'éloignement du centre, une éthique de la frontière, de même qu'elle constitue, scandale permanent, une mise en cause de l'autorité/auctorialité, qu'elle fomente l'hétérogène dans l'homogène, et donne à espérer la fondation d'une « éthique de la différence » (Venuti 2002).

Le rayonnement de cette *doxa* ne se limite par ailleurs pas aux vastes bibliothèques du post-modernisme anglophone. Bien plus tôt, et dans une perspective qui se réclamait cette fois de Walter Benjamin, et donc d'une filiation germanophone sur la traduction, Antoine Berman, dont le livre sur la traduction en Allemagne à l'époque du romantisme fait toujours autorité dans les études de traduction, suivait une ligne non pas politique ou critique mais philosophique et esthétique, et affirmait lui aussi que « l'essence de la traduction [était] d'être ouverture, dialogue, métissage, décentrement » (Berman 2002 [1984]: 16). La territorialisation culturelle⁶ de la traduction s'impose donc comme une ressource rhétorique fondamentale des études de traduction lorsqu'elles font de la traduction une opération située à la frontière des *territoires* culturels, à leur périphérie, c'est-à-dire aussi à leur zone de moindre densité et de fragilité, là d'où peut naître la subversion parce que l'hybride et le métissé y survivent encore.

D'un point de vue empirique, pourtant, il est très difficile de s'appuyer sur ce genre de formulations, bien qu'elles soient très fréquentes et semblent constituer le « fond de la langue » d'une bonne part des études culturelles. En quoi la traduction en français d'un roman de Léon Tolstoï, par exemple, dans les années 1880, constituerait-elle une mise en contact de deux « espaces » et manifesterait-elle une logique de frontière ? Il ne peut s'agir de « la France » et de l'Empire Russe : le français, langue dans laquelle le roman est traduit, déborde largement le cadre de la France, et encore n'est-il pas la langue quotidienne d'une part significative des Français des années 1880, lorsque cette traduction intervient ; et il en allait naturellement de même pour le russe dans l'Empire russe. Il ne peut s'agir non plus de la « culture russe » et de la « culture française » : on voit mal en quoi, par principe, tel roman de Tolstoï serait porteur de l'ensemble des traits qu'on attribue à la « culture russe », même en imaginant que quelque chose de tel existe, et pourquoi sa traduction mettrait en jeu « la culture française », dans son ensemble, et non tel traducteur, tel éditeur, ou tels critiques. Tolstoï était d'ailleurs un romancier qui s'inspirait lui-même beaucoup des romanciers dits « réalistes », ceux qui avaient

6. Au sens de l'articulation de son inscription spatiale avec les logiques de pouvoir.

publié leurs œuvres en français et en anglais des années 1840 aux années 1860, à Paris et à Londres, et dont le rapport avec la « culture russe » paraît bien douteux.

Représenter la traduction comme une opération située à la frontière entre des *langues*, des *cultures* ou des *littératures*, produisant de ce fait une relativisation, une subversion, une mise en cause du pouvoir que la littérature instituée incarnerait, implique de croire à une représentation *territoriale* des cultures, des langues et des littératures, issue dans une large mesure de l'anthropologie culturaliste du premier XXe siècle – et dénoncée depuis plusieurs décennies par les anthropologues eux-mêmes (Gupta et Ferguson 1992). Si la traduction est un fait de frontière, c'est parce que la littérature est répartie par les spécialistes des *translation studies*, implicitement ou explicitement, en *littératures*, toutes liées à un territoire, et censément l'expression d'un pays, l'émanation d'un peuple. Par quoi l'on voit que les études de traduction, tout en se voulant *post-*, sont toujours façonnées par le nationalisme méthodologique fondateur des études littéraires dans leur ensemble, au moins dans le monde académique occidental.⁷

Mais, à bien y réfléchir, le culturalisme des études de traduction, qui se fonde sur un usage invariablement métaphorique de la *localisation* de la traduction, est une condition de son succès public, puisque c'est le moyen de continuer à parler la langue nationaliste des champs du pouvoir.

Pourtant, si l'on reconnaît que les traductions dont nous parlons sont d'abord des *publications imprimées*, la question de leur géopolitique peut se poser de manière très différente, en s'appuyant sur un effort de *localisation concrète* : si les traductions sont des publications, alors il est possible de donner un peu de consistance à la métaphore de la frontière, puisque, précisément, on sait *localiser* une publication. Les livres publiés, mais aussi les périodiques, mentionnent en effet dans la grande majorité des cas un *lieu d'édition*, qui est une ville. C'est une piste bien plus réaliste et empiriquement bien plus productive, en fait, que les notions très vagues et idéologiques de « cultures » et de « littératures nationales ».

En effet, si le livre est localisé, dans la tradition éditoriale, par une ville, c'est que cette localisation correspond *au concret de la pratique de l'édition*, étroitement liée au système technique et au contexte social de la ville. Pour publier un livre, il faut disposer d'une infrastructure élaborée, qui chaîne un imprimeur et ses fournisseurs, un ou des libraires, un auteur et son environnement, un ou des correcteurs, un ou des organes de presse susceptibles de faire la promotion du livre, des institutions littéraires ou académiques susceptibles d'en évaluer la grandeur, des réseaux de revente pour la circulation de seconde main, des juristes pour en

7. La puissance de cet imaginaire, ou de ce langage de la territorialisation nationale est si grande qu'un spécialiste de la traduction aussi réaliste que Jacques Michon s'y retrouve piégé, dans un chapitre pourtant très précieux d'un collectif de bibliologie (Michon 1996 : 265).

assurer les droits d'exploitation et de diffusion, et naturellement un public, sans parler de tous les liens utiles avec les autorités publiques, qu'on publie dans un contexte de contrôle politique sourcilieux ou dans un contexte libéral. Dans le cas d'une traduction, il faut y ajouter un ou des traducteurs, l'infrastructure qui rend possible le travail sur les langues étrangères, soit des bibliothèques, des librairies ou des collections privées où figurent des dictionnaires, mais aussi et surtout, en réalité, des « naturels de la langue » installés sur place, à bonne fin de traduction littérale ou de vérification. Le lieu optimal pour l'articulation de ces différents acteurs, de ces différentes médiations, et ce depuis le XVe siècle au moins, c'est la ville, et au cours du XIXe siècle plus encore que jamais auparavant, avec le développement du capitalisme d'édition et l'extension du lectorat urbain.⁸

En réalité donc, la seule focalisation qui permette de géo-politiser vraiment la traduction est la focale urbaine, parce que, d'un point de vue empirique, c'est à cette échelle seulement qu'il est possible de documenter l'inscription territoriale d'une traduction : dans les répertoires bibliographiques du temps, comme sur les pages de couverture des livres imprimés, depuis les débuts de l'imprimerie occidentale, la définition d'un livre passe par la mention d'une ville comme *lieu d'édition*. Si l'on veut décrire une géopolitique intellectuelle, rapporter des productions intellectuelles à des territoires, c'est-à-dire des localisations investies de pouvoir, le cadre urbain est en fait celui qui permet de s'en tenir à la leçon des sources, et aussi de tenir à distance les assignations identitaires produites par les pouvoirs du temps, et notamment les pouvoirs nationaux qui s'efforcent de nationaliser l'ensemble des relations sociales.

Or il se trouve que je dispose d'un matériau empirique qui permet de procéder effectivement à ce test, sous la forme de deux bases de données concernant l'intraduction vers le français et vers l'allemand à la fin du XIXe siècle, qui recensent, en s'appuyant sur le dépouillement de catalogues bibliographiques d'époque, des notices d'ouvrages de littérature traduits comportant dans leur mention d'édition un *lieu d'édition* explicite.

J'ai développé ce point ailleurs (Wilfert-Portal 2012a) ; je me contente donc d'en énoncer les conclusions, sous la forme d'abord de deux cartes, qui résument la localisation de l'intraduction littéraire vers l'allemand et vers le français au cours de la décennie 1890, puis de quelques commentaires.

8. Ce principe de localisation, qui pourrait bien ouvrir des paysages entiers de recherches à mener, correspond dans une certaine mesure à l'histoire urbaine des sciences et des savoirs développée depuis deux décennies, que ce soit dans une perspective néo-marxiste, fondée sur la notion de capital, à la suite de l'histoire postcoloniale des sciences, ou dans la perspective pragmatiste de la sociologie des épreuves (Romano et Van Damme 2008).

Les villes d'édition de traductions littéraires de l'allemand vers le français - 1891-1900

Fond de carte : cartothèque en ligne (http://www.histgeo.ac- Aix-marseille.fr/webghp/carte.php?num_car=1063&lang=fr, 23 janvier 2013).
 © histgeo.ac- Aix-marseille.fr, 3 janvier 2013
 Source : Base de données constituée à partir du dépouillement systématique du Catalogue général de la Librairie française.
 Institut d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (ENS-CNRS), février 2015.

Villes d'édition	Nombre de traductions
Paris	126
Tours	15
Toulouse	10
Paris, Genève	9
Limoges	6
Lausanne	5
Paris, Neuchâtel	5
Liège	4
Alger	3
Bruxelles	3
La Chaux-de-Fonds	2
Tournai	2
Berlin	1
Gann	1
Orad	1
Genève	1
La Chapelle-Montligeon	1
Le Havre, Marseille	1
Lille	1
Neuchâtel	1
Paris, Bruxelles	1
Paris, Lille	1
Paris, Limoges	1
Rennes	1
Strasbourg	1
Zürich	1
Total général	265

Figure 1.

Les principales villes d'édition de traductions littéraires vers l'allemand (≥1%) - 1891-1900

Fond de carte : cartothèque en ligne. © histgeo.ac- Aix-marseille.fr, 3 janvier 2013
 Source : base de données constituée à partir du dépouillement systématique du catalogue *Finlands' Färdhans-Katalog* *Täterezeichnis und Sachregister*
Neunter Band 1891 bis 1895, 1896, Leipzig.
 Institut d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (ENS-CNRS), février 2015.

Villes d'édition	Nombre de titres
Berlin	663
Leipzig	637
Stuttgart	448
Wien	144
München	142
Halle	128
Dresden	121
Berlin, Leipzig	70
Buckapest	68
Paderborn	55
Basel	46
Freiburg i.B.	43
Breslau	32
Köln	26
Teschen	26
Naumburg	21
Prag	19
Regensburg	16
Hamburg	17
158 autres villes	455
Total général	3314

Figure 2.

Ces deux cartes présentent un profil très semblable, concernant la géopolitique de la traduction. Une fois que l'on tient compte de la différence structurelle entre le système urbain du monde germanophone et du monde francophone européens à la fin du XIX^e siècle, elles présentent la même leçon : la traduction littéraire se pratique avant tout dans les très grandes villes, et tout particulièrement les villes qui dominent le système éditorial de la langue concernée. L'écrasante domination de Paris et le rôle très mineur des villes belges et suisses dans l'intraduction vers le français, la domination du trio Berlin/Leipzig/Stuttgart dans le domaine de l'intraduction vers l'allemand, montrent que la traduction littéraire ne s'effectue nullement à la *frontière*, dans les zones de contact linguistiques, là où le pouvoir des centres s'estomperait, là où le relâchement de la norme, des productions centrales et standard serait propice à l'innovation, à l'invention, à la subversion esthétique et politique. La traduction, au moins dans le cas francophone et germanophone de la fin du XIX^e siècle, est un phénomène des très grands centres éditoriaux, un phénomène spécifiquement métropolitain, et à ce titre particulièrement lié aux foyers du pouvoir littéraire et politique.

Le cas spécifique de la traduction depuis le hongrois et le suédois vers l'allemand doit achever d'en convaincre les sceptiques :

Les principales villes d'édition de traductions littéraires du hongrois vers l'allemand (>1%) - 1891-1900

Villes d'édition	Nombre de traductions
Berlin	52
Leipzig	37
Wien	18
Berlin - Leipzig	12
Stuttgart	10
Breslau	5
Dresden	5
Budapest	4
Halle	4
14 autres villes	15
Total général	162

Les principales villes d'édition de traductions littéraires du suédois vers l'allemand (>1%) - 1891-1900

Villes d'édition	Nombre de traductions
Leipzig	29
Stuttgart	26
Berlin	24
Berlin - Leipzig	16
Halle	13
Dresden	8
Wien	8
Teschen	7
Budapest	3
München	3
13 autres villes	16
Total général	153

Fond de carte : cartothèque.cn.lirmm.fr, © hisgeo.ac.uk-marseille.fr, 3 janvier 2013

Source : base de données construite à partir du dépouillement systématique du catalogue *Hinrichs' Fingführ-Katalog Titelverzeichnisses und Sachregister Neunter Band 1891 bis 1895, 1896, Leipzig*, Institut d'histoire moderne et contemporaine (ENS-CNRS), février 2015.

Figure 3.

Ces cartes le montrent : Budapest ne comptait à peu près pas pour l'intraduction de la littérature en hongrois vers l'allemand, et Vienne n'était pas et de loin son principal foyer non plus : à nouveau, Berlin et Leipzig tenaient de loin le haut du pavé, de même que pour le Suédois, pour lequel aucune ville baltique, pourtant bien plus proche sur le plan « culturel » de la source, ne comptait le moins du monde.

Et l'on peut trouver bien sûr d'autres cas de cette métropolisation de la traduction, tout à fait indifférente à la frontière politique ou linguistique. Jacques Michon évoquait ainsi en 1995 le fait que les traductions des romans anglophones vers le français qui se trouvaient sur les tables des librairies québécoises étaient très largement produites à Paris, y compris pour les auteurs canadiens anglophones (Michon 1996) : la centralité parisienne, un siècle plus tard que les données regroupées sur mes cartes, caractérise toujours la traduction depuis l'anglais, et y compris pour une marge aussi éloignée que le Québec, et qui n'a probablement que très peu de rivales au titre de « frontière culturelle ».

Que la traduction littéraire est étroitement liée à la production de l'identité esthétique nationale, et à ce titre à une forme apparemment paradoxale, mais très puissante, de mondialisation

La traduction littéraire, si on l'envisage comme une *publication imprimée*, n'est donc pas une *circulation* culturelle, mais bien plutôt une localisation, qui lui résiste ; la traduction littéraire, si on l'envisage comme une *publication imprimée*, n'est donc pas tant une opération héroïque de contrebandier des langues rusant avec les douanes du "Pouvoir" aux frontières des "Cultures", qu'une activité typique des institutions les plus puissantes du système éditorial qui organise la littérature dans un système linguistique donné, et donc souvent au plus proche du Pouvoir. Je voudrais, maintenant, ajouter une troisième thèse à cette petite « théorie » de la traduction comme *publication*, dans la continuité bien sûr de ces deux-ci, mais distincte d'elles : que la traduction littéraire n'a que très peu participé, la plupart du temps, à une mondialisation culturelle supposée araser les différences et « réunir les peuples » par le déploiement d'une culture humaine partagée, mais qu'elle a au contraire puissamment contribué, dans de très nombreux cas, à la production des nationalismes et des « identités » culturels, si répandus dorénavant de par le monde qu'ils en constituent le *vrai* visage de notre... mondialisation.

Remontons un peu le cours du temps. On a souvent fait de la Renaissance l'âge d'or de la traduction en Europe. Or elle n'est, du point de vue de la traduction, qu'un moment d'accélération d'un mouvement plus ancien, initié en fait au XIII^e siècle, et par lequel des princes d'Europe ont cherché par la traduction à concurrencer le pouvoir ecclésiastique, appuyé principalement sur le monopole de l'interprétation des textes sacrés et des œuvres antiques. Engagé dans une lutte

contre la papauté, notamment, mais aussi d'autres pouvoirs ecclésiastiques comme l'Ordre du Temple, le roi Philippe le Bel, à la tête de la monarchie la plus puissante d'Europe, lança ainsi un programme de traduction en français d'œuvres antiques, confiant à Johan d'Antioche, à Jean de Meung la traduction de Cicéron, de Boèce. Jean le Bon, cinquante ans plus tard, poursuivit ce programme en faisant traduire par Pierre Bersuire, bénédictin et secrétaire royal, l'*Histoire romaine* de Tite-Live. Charles V fonda non seulement la Bibliothèque royale (ancêtre de la Bibliothèque nationale de France), mais il la nourrit de traductions commandées à Nicolas Oresme et à d'autres auteurs (plus de soixante sont entreprises) ; la *Politique* et l'*Éthique* d'Aristote connaissent ainsi, parmi d'autres textes, leur première version française. Ces traductions nourrissent directement une partie de la politique royale (notamment la création du franc), mais elles transforment aussi la langue : Oresme est l'inventeur des termes « *politique* », « *souveraineté* », parmi d'autres mots absents jusque-là d'une langue peu nourrie d'abstractions politiques et philosophiques parce qu'essentiellement mobilisée pour la littérature de cour. Côté anglais, lorsque Henri II Plantagenêt avait commandé la traduction en langue anglo-normande de romans à sujets antiques ainsi que celle de l'*Historia Regum Britanniae* de Geoffrey de Monmouth, l'enjeu était d'établir un ensemble de textes en langue vulgaire qui constitueraient des références mobilisables par des laïcs dans les débats et les combats politiques, et donc construire une culture commune à la société politique aristocratique qui entourait les grands princes d'Europe tout en les délivrant de la médiation ecclésiastique. Entreprendre ce genre de traduction était coûteux, long, complexe, mais l'investissement en valait la peine. Les princes contribuaient ainsi à faire naître de hautes cultures indépendantes de celles de l'Église, orientées vers la légitimation de leurs dynasties, la mobilisation de leurs élites et l'armement conceptuel et intellectuel des États modernes naissants. À condition bien sûr que ces traductions soient publiées, qu'à ce titre elles soient mobilisables dans les controverses politiques et religieuses, qu'elles puissent servir à l'éducation des princes et des autres nobles du royaume, et qu'elles contribuent à forger, au service du monarque, une haute culture autonome susceptible de rivaliser avec celle des autres princes et celles de l'Église.

Cette lutte par la traduction contre la culture impériale latine induit aussi rapidement une concurrence entre les princes eux-mêmes, et donc entre les langues vernaculaires dans lesquelles leur lutte idéologique se construit : l'avance considérable des cours princières italiennes, elles-mêmes en concurrence pour capter la légitimité des Anciens et monopoliser la dynamique renaissante, suscite à partir de la fin du XVe siècle une lutte entre les princes de l'Europe du Nord-ouest pour s'approprier une part de cette culture nouvelle et la mettre au service de leurs sociétés politiques. Prébendes, chaires dans les universités, positions curiales attirent les lettrés italiens, les professeurs byzantins et les poètes et penseurs régnicoles

qui traduisent les lettres grecques, latines, mais aussi italiennes, affirmant ainsi œuvrer à la gloire de leur souverain, mais aussi contribuer à l'amélioration de leur langue et l'inscrire dans une lutte européenne pour la prééminence intellectuelle. La *Deffence, et Illustration de la langue françoise* de Joachim du Bellay, publiée en 1549, remercie longuement François I^{er} pour son rôle de protecteur des arts et des lettres. Elle affirme surtout la capacité de la langue française à accueillir toute la pensée humaine. Dans le même temps, la traduction vers l'anglais fleurit à l'époque élisabéthaine, parfois à partir de traductions intermédiaires, françaises ou italiennes : Christopher Marlowe traduit Pétrarque, Edmund Spenser Du Bellay, Philemon Holland se consacre à Tite-Live, Pline, Plutarque et Suétone. La reine Élisabeth 1^{ère} elle-même donne l'exemple en donnant des versions anglaises de Plutarque et d'Horace. Et c'est encore dans le cadre royal que la Bible officielle de l'anglicanisme, dite *King James Version*, si essentielle pour la fixation de la langue anglaise, est publiée en 1611.

La traduction représenta donc une part de l'effort d'accumulation de pouvoir symbolique dans lequel se lancèrent les princes et les monarques européens, de même qu'elle constitua un lieu de concurrence entre les confessions religieuses (Wilfert-Portal 2018a).

À la fin du XVIII^e siècle encore, lorsque les lettrés germanophones, engagés dans une lutte résolue contre l'esthétique classique « française » cherchent à affirmer la valeur de l'allemand comme une langue littéraire majeure, c'est la traduction (et la théorie de la traduction) qui s'impose comme l'outil de la reconquête. Autour de Johann Gottfried von Herder tout d'abord, qui inventa, contre les « belles infidèles » à la française, la « fidélité » nécessaire du traducteur, et prétendait ainsi faire de la traduction vers l'allemand une appropriation du monde par la culture germanique, autour de Wilhelm von Humboldt, dont le *Sur la traduction* date de 1816, puis de Goethe qui prôna les vertus des échanges entre langues modernes en vue de créer la *Weltliteratur*, s'engagèrent des campagnes idéologiques de grande ampleur autour de la traduction. D'un seul geste traductif, il s'agissait de conquérir une langue littéraire allemande, de définir la théorie de la traduction et d'asseoir la position des écrivains allemands dans le système littéraire européen, en remettant en cause la domination du français et des Français (Wilfert 2018b).

À chaque étape, en réalité, la traduction a donc été un outil de lutte, contre l'empire du latin d'Église, contre l'empire du français de cours, et donc aussi un travail de particularisation. Cette dynamique particularisante, qui a dominé la littérature européenne à l'époque moderne, relevait d'abord d'une logique de concurrence politique, d'affrontement entre des pouvoirs religieux et laïcs. On peut alors se demander si, au contraire, la montée en puissance d'un *marché* européen du livre, à partir du milieu du XVIII^e siècle, n'a pas inversé le processus et amené à une puissante uniformisation littéraire mondiale, portée précisément

par la traduction (Moretti 2000a ; Sassoon 2006) ou au moins à la constitution d'un système international inégal et hiérarchisé dans lequel la traduction est l'outil majeur de l'invention d'une littérature universalisée, déracinée de ses particularismes, pour évoquer la thèse principale de Pascale Casanova (Casanova 2008). Dans le *Manifeste du Parti communiste*, Karl Marx avait clairement fait le lien entre le développement du capitalisme, qui révolutionnait le monde par le marché, et le développement d'une littérature mondiale :

Par l'exploitation du marché mondial, la bourgeoisie donne un caractère cosmopolite à la production et à la consommation de tous les pays. Au grand désespoir des réactionnaires, elle a enlevé à l'industrie sa base nationale. Les vieilles industries nationales ont été détruites et le sont encore chaque jour. Elles sont supplantées par de nouvelles industries, dont l'adoption devient une question de vie ou de mort pour toutes les nations civilisées, industries qui n'emploient plus des matières premières indigènes, mais des matières premières venues des régions les plus lointaines, et dont les produits se consomment non seulement dans le pays même, mais dans toutes les parties du globe. À la place des anciens besoins, satisfaits par les produits nationaux, naissent des besoins nouveaux, réclamant pour leur satisfaction les produits des contrées et des climats les plus lointains. À la place de l'ancien isolement des provinces et des nations se suffisant à elles-mêmes, se développent des relations universelles, une interdépendance universelle des nations. Et ce qui est vrai de la production matérielle ne l'est pas moins des productions de l'esprit. Les œuvres intellectuelles d'une nation deviennent la propriété commune de toutes. L'étroitesse et l'exclusivisme nationaux deviennent de jour en jour plus impossibles et de la multiplicité des littératures nationales et locales naît une littérature universelle. (Marx 1994 : 165)

C'est une antienne que l'on entend bien sûr régulièrement, qui associe étroitement le marché international et l'uniformisation culturelle, et qui s'est exprimée à travers une très vaste bibliographie, depuis au moins le milieu des années 1990 et ce que certains ont pu désigner comme un « tournant global » (Caillé et Dufoix 2013) des sciences humaines et sociales. Pourtant, le processus ainsi résumé, celui du triomphe de l'uniformité par les mécanismes du marché, dont la traduction des littératures dominantes serait le très puissant opérateur, n'est pas du tout aussi évident qu'il n'y paraît. Revenons à ce sujet sur l'évolution connue au cours du XIXe siècle. Il est sûr qu'à la faveur de la « révolution consumériste » (Kendrick, Brewer et Plumb 1982), engagée dans le royaume de France, le royaume d'Angleterre, les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse et quelques grandes villes atlantiques, le livre, et tout particulièrement le livre de fiction, est devenu, au cours du XVIIIe siècle, un objet de consommation. Cette révolution de la lecture a contribué à révolutionner la traduction, en l'arrimant étroitement aux logiques d'un marché du livre, et singulièrement littéraire, en pleine expansion, mais aussi en pleine dérégulation.

Jusqu'au milieu du XIXe siècle environ, la fièvre de lire active partout la traduction, fait connaître les œuvres dans toute l'Europe, et de manière d'autant plus fébrile que le droit d'auteur est une invention récente et balbutiante. L'éditeur qui traduit ne jouit alors jamais que d'un monopole très temporaire, puisque toutes les traductions concurrentes sont possibles, et l'avantage revient donc toujours à celui qui va le plus vite, inévitablement au mépris du plus élémentaire souci de la qualité. C'est dans ce contexte que Rousseau, Choderlos de Laclos, mais aussi Paul de Kock ou Benjamin Constant sont traduits vers l'allemand, que le roman gothique, Walter Scott et Maria Edgeworth sont traduits en français, ou, plus tard, qu'Émile Zola, Alphonse Daudet, Lord Byron ou Oscar Wilde sont traduits en russe, et encore souvent à partir de contrefaçons belges, américaines ou hongroises (Wilfert-Portal 2018b).

La dégradation profonde du statut de la traduction, devenue tâche ancillaire, répétitive, alors qu'elle pouvait être conçue jusqu'au milieu du XVIIIe siècle comme une recreation, un enrichissement de la langue et une contribution à la *translatio studii*, correspond à la fois au développement du marché du livre et de la littérature, qui fait de la fiction en prose, puis de la poésie au début du XIXe siècle, une très bonne affaire commerciale. Au déclin symbolique de la traduction et des traducteurs correspond évidemment aussi leur multiplication : au début du XIXe siècle, le taux de traduction dans la production de fiction en français et en anglais semble supérieur à 25 à 30% (Wilfert-Portal 2012b) et s'il baisse ensuite au cours du siècle pour ces deux foyers les plus actifs de la nouvelle littérature de marché, il ne cesse d'augmenter pour les autres pays d'Europe qui, comme l'a montré Franco Moretti dans son *Atlas du roman européen* (Moretti 2000a), importent massivement le roman français et anglais en traduction, au point d'évincer l'essentiel de la production locale.

Mais l'étonnant est que cette extension de la traduction suivant le marché de l'imprimé se déploie de manière synchrone avec une évolution qui lui paraît opposée. Avec la révolution esthétique romantique, dont les prodromes datent des années 1750–1760, au moment précis où le langage du national envahit la vie politique des pays de l'Europe de l'ouest, la légitimité esthétique se trouve mise sens dessus dessous : dorénavant, pour les romantiques au moins (et en 1850 ils l'ont emporté partout en Europe), la bonne littérature vient du peuple, des paysans, des campagnes, parce qu'elle vient des récits immémoriaux qu'il a tirés de son autochtonie et de sa langue. Dans ce cadre, la traduction, liée symboliquement à la mobilité, et qui repose sur l'importation de l'étranger dans l'imagination et dans la langue, peut être présentée comme un danger. La montée en puissance de la figure de l'écrivain patriote, prophète de la nation et gardien de sa langue, tend à rendre très suspecte l'activité du traducteur. Qu'il s'agisse d'un fourrier de l'étranger qui favorise une concurrence déloyale envers les créateurs nationaux, lors des

périodes de récession de l'édition (dans les années 1840 en Allemagne, lors de la crise de la librairie des années 1890 en France), ou d'un corrupteur de la langue et des âmes, comme lors des poursuites intentées contre l'éditeur Henry Vizetelly pour ses traductions londoniennes d'Émile Zola dans les années 1880, ou lors des censures répétées imposées aux traductions viennoises de Flaubert au cours des années 1850–1870, le traducteur est un danger pour les littératures nationales.

Apparemment, la thèse de Marx paraît donc juste : le capitalisme de la littérature, notamment sous la forme de la multiplication des traductions publiées, semble mettre en péril les « identités » culturelles nationales, et les écrivains, pour rester les porteurs de l'âme de leur peuple, ne peuvent que chercher à repousser la contamination par la langue étrangère ou le parasitisme de l'activité traductionnelle.

Pourtant, en réalité, la situation est beaucoup plus complexe qu'il n'y paraît. Contrairement aux apparences, la nationalisation des littératures européennes entretient des liens étroits avec l'imposition des logiques de marchés, et la traduction y a tenu une place importante. Dès les années 1830–1840, le système européen de la traduction littéraire, fondé sur l'absence de toute régulation internationale, se heurte en effet à la structuration progressive des communautés professionnelles des écrivains, autour du droit d'auteur, et à la montée en puissance d'un capitalisme d'édition. Les auteurs britanniques et français, qui connaissent alors un succès paneuropéen, commencent à faire du respect de leurs droits d'auteur à l'étranger une priorité, et les éditeurs nouveaux, londoniens, parisiens, belges ou saxons, autour du Börsenverein de Leipzig, engagés dans des investissements lourds pour élargir les publics, cherchent à tirer profit de leurs investissements, tant à l'export (gagner de l'argent en vendant des droits de traduction) qu'à l'importation (tirer profit de ses investissements dans les auteurs à traduire en s'assurant que la traduction qu'on vient d'entreprendre ne sera pas immédiatement concurrencée par des traductions concurrentes à bas coût).

À partir de 1850, la traduction littéraire se trouve donc prise dans un processus de structuration internationale : elle passe par des accords internationaux (l'accord de 1851 entre la Belgique, la France et le Royaume Uni), l'invention d'organisations internationales non gouvernementales comme l'Association littéraire et artistique internationale, en 1878, et la fondation d'une organisation internationale, le Bureau international de la Propriété intellectuelle, lors de la Convention de Berne, en 1886 (Wilfert-Portal 2018b). En utilisant l'outil de la convention multilatérale et la machinerie d'une organisation, il s'agit d'imposer un droit international de la traduction fondé sur le principe de l'assimilation de l'étranger au national (dans chaque pays signataire, l'œuvre d'un étranger doit être protégée par la loi au même niveau que l'est l'œuvre d'un national, ce qui exclut sa traduction non autorisée), mais aussi d'approfondir ces droits et d'en étendre progressivement l'application au monde entier.

À ce titre, cette organisation internationale a en réalité accéléré et accentué la nationalisation de la littérature. Dans beaucoup de pays d'Europe, en effet, le droit d'auteur n'est pas institutionnalisé avant la fin du XIX^e siècle, et il l'est principalement sous la pression des acteurs du nouveau système international du livre. La construction du droit d'auteur international signifie donc *aussi* une active nationalisation de la vie littéraire dans toute l'Europe : partout des corpus de droit doivent être élaborés, partout le statut de l'auteur national doit donc être construit, partout les éditeurs, les libraires, les écrivains sont ainsi engagés dans une structuration nationale des professions des lettres, et donc incités à structurer les littératures nationales à l'articulation de l'État et du marché. C'est pourquoi la Convention de Berne a connu de très nombreuses révisions, à Paris en 1896, à Berlin en 1908, à Berne en 1914, à Rome en 1928, à Bruxelles en 1948, intégrant peu à peu tous les pays d'Europe, approfondissant à chaque étape la convergence des droits et durcissant dans le même mouvement la nationalisation de la vie littéraire (Wilfert-Portal 2018b).

Alors même, donc, que le romantisme et son apologie des identités esthétiques nationales ancestrales pouvaient faire de la traduction littéraire une forme de contestation en acte des nations et des peuples, une forme de décadence de l'esprit et des arts, alimentée notamment par l'appétit du gain et le cosmopolitisme du commerce, la forme même de la géopolitique de la traduction européenne s'appuyait sur une nationalisation profonde de la propriété intellectuelle, du commerce du livre et des professions intellectuelles. La construction d'un marché international du livre et de la littérature était précisément fondée sur la généralisation de la forme nationale comme cadre de l'organisation des producteurs, des consommateurs et des régulateurs des biens symboliques, et la traduction y tenait une place tout à fait cruciale.

Mais il est un autre angle par lequel l'opposition entre nationalisation littéraire et traduction, si présente dans l'ensemble des études de traduction, peut être radicalement interrogée. La synergie entre nationalisation et traduction ne concerna pas seulement, et de loin, les questions de droit, de balance commerciale et de propriété. La publication d'une traduction peut contribuer en effet directement à la nationalisation active du système littéraire dans lequel elle est introduite, et le traducteur lui-même peut y avoir un rôle directeur de producteur de frontières, par l'ensemble des opérations *symboliques* qu'elle implique.

C'est le cas par exemple de la traduction du *Triomphe de la mort* de Gabriele d'Annunzio en français, au milieu des années 1890. Elle est le résultat d'une opération montée par le nouveau directeur de la *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Ferdinand Brunetière, dans le cadre de la concurrence entre sa revue et la toute récente *Revue de Paris*, mais aussi entre la *Revue des Deux Mondes* et les « jeunes revues » du Symbolisme, qui avaient depuis 1890 largement fait fond sur leur « internationalisme » littéraire pour s'imposer dans le champ littéraire parisien. Traduire le

nouvel auteur à succès venu de la scène littéraire napolitaine et romaine, pour la revue parisienne, c'était montrer qu'elle n'était pas à la traîne de l'innovation, mais c'était aussi lutter contre un « cosmopolitisme » littéraire dont l'orientation très « nordique » paraissait désastreuse à son directeur : d'Annunzio fut alors l'objet non seulement d'une traduction, mais d'une campagne littéraire coordonnée autour de cette traduction, les autorités de la *Revue* prenant la plume pour affirmer qu'il était le symptôme d'une « renaissance latine » à laquelle la littérature française, forcément latine, devait participer (Loué et Wilfert-Portal 2006).

L'importance de l'opération, le crédit symbolique des signatures qui y furent associées, expliquent l'ampleur des réactions qu'elle suscita, et notamment qu'elle contribua décisivement à inscrire le sujet de la « latinité » au premier plan des débats intellectuels parisiens d'alors. À ce titre, la traduction du *Triomphe de la mort* participa directement à la construction du « nationalisme » littéraire français, au cours des années 1890 et à son articulation étroite avec l'idée de la latinité française (Wilfert-Portal 2016). Sortie de sa seule dimension trans-linguistique, la traduction, comme *publication*, parce qu'elle peut faire travailler une part essentielle des institutions d'un champ littéraire autour de la question de la nationalité de la littérature, peut être un puissant ferment de nationalisation.

Et dans l'affaire, il ne s'agit pas seulement d'une vaste manipulation des entrepreneurs de littérature, des directeurs de revue et autres conférenciers nationalistes habitués des tribunes académiques, qui auraient en quelque sorte piégé l'auteur et son traducteur. On sait, par la correspondance entre d'Annunzio, son traducteur Georges Hérrelle et le directeur de la revue, conservée à la Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes, que toute l'opération a été chaotique, conflictuelle, et d'abord parce que Brunetière avait acheté les droits du roman à venir avant qu'il soit écrit, et sans vraiment connaître l'inspiration fortement « nordique » des récits du romancier romain, beaucoup trop dostoïevskien et zolien en réalité pour son projet « latin ». Tout au long du processus, la négociation pour la publication du texte fut marquée par des échanges tendus, de plus en plus médiatisés par le traducteur, parce que le directeur de la revue et le romancier italien ne parvenaient plus à s'entendre. Et le traducteur accomplit très bien la tâche que Brunetière lui avait assignée, de produire un d'Annunzio lisible pour les Français – du moins le jugeait-il ainsi.⁹ La définition de ce qui était traduisible et de ce qui était intraduisible, de ce qui était lisible ou pas pour les Français, dépendait donc des arrangements entre le

9. Georges Hérrelle était loin d'être le seul dans ce cas ; pour ce qui concerne la traduction vers le français, autour de 1900, en tous cas, il n'était pas beaucoup de traits plus communs aux traducteurs que de contribuer activement à la production des frontières esthétiques nationales, un travail crucial, même si souvent invisibilisé, au temps de la domination du « nationalisme » sur le champ intellectuel parisien (Wilfert-Portal 2007).

directeur de la revue, stratège global de l'opération, et le traducteur, premier agent du filtrage national dans l'opération de traduction.

Enfin, le plus frappant peut-être dans cet effet nationalisateur de la traduction, quand on la reconsidère dans l'ensemble de son processus de *publication*, c'est qu'elle fut très loin de faire accéder d'Annunzio à l'empyrée des auteurs universalisés par le pouvoir consacrant de Paris, supposée capitale du cosmopolitisme littéraire (Casanova 2008) : le succès – amer – obtenu à Paris lui permit d'apurer une partie de ses dettes, pour lesquelles il avait dû quitter Rome, mais aussi et surtout de s'appuyer sur sa légitimité nouvelle de héraut de la « Renaissance latine » pour relancer son activité d'entrepreneur littéraire et culturel à Rome, à cheval entre champ littéraire et champ politique, notamment par la fondation de la revue *Il Convito*. Il en rédigea le préambule, dans lequel il appelle à la défense de Rome et de la Latinité contre les Barbares, soit à la fois les foules incultes du socialisme et les envahisseurs de l'étranger. Il est frappant que dans ce texte, si important pour la relance de sa carrière littéraire et le démarrage de sa carrière politique (il est élu député aux élections qui suivent, en 1898), il fût si peu fait mention de l'Italie, et tant de la latinité de Rome. Le capital symbolique acquis à Paris servait ainsi à devenir un efficace porte-parole de la nation à Rome, dans les termes mêmes qu'avaient utilisés les entrepreneurs culturels parisiens autour de la traduction de son roman (Loué et Wilfert-Portal 2006 : 110–111).

Conclusion

Notre *habitus* de lettrés, notre orientation idéologique, notre participation à l'Europe universitaire orientent beaucoup d'entre nous qui étudions la traduction dans l'histoire vers une perception *a priori* *morale*ment favorable de la traduction littéraire, au fond toujours plus ou moins comprise comme la manifestation d'un esprit implicitement ou explicitement internationaliste ou cosmopolite. Ma perspective n'est évidemment pas d'inverser le signe de cet *a priori*, ni de tirer une quelconque joie mauvaise de la mise en péril des certitudes : le point de vue que j'ai soutenu ici n'était nullement moral, ni porteur d'une quelconque évaluation politique, qui induirait une condamnation ou une approbation. Je me suis efforcé de pratiquer une forme de réalisme socio-historique concernant la traduction, en suivant quelques-unes des implications liées au fait qu'elle relève presque toujours de la sphère de la publication imprimée, ce que les études sur la traduction ont le plus souvent tendance à minorer.

Si l'on suit cette piste, selon moi, trois idées classiques liées à la traduction se trouvent au moins fragilisées, et peut-être réfutées : celle que la traduction relève-rait d'une pratique de la *circulation* culturelle, alors qu'elle relève d'une *localisation*

culturelle ; celle que la traduction serait la manifestation du travail des marges et de leur puissance de subversion, alors que je la repère d'abord aux centres des systèmes éditoriaux et renforçant leur domination ; celle (conséquence pour une part des précédentes, d'ailleurs) que la traduction favoriserait la mondialisation culturelle, qu'elle prenne la forme de l'universalisation ou de l'uniformisation, quand je la vois contribuer activement, à travers les systèmes de droit et de marché comme à travers les campagnes littéraires qu'elle peut alimenter, à la nationalisation de la littérature.

À ce titre, et c'est ce qui m'intéresse avant tout ici, la traduction *comme publication imprimée* est bien l'un des terrains historiques les plus féconds pour tenter de dépasser non seulement certaines limites de la théorie – principalement d'inspiration post-moderniste – de la traduction littéraire, mais aussi et surtout certaines limites de la théorie dominante de la mondialisation, qui en constitue pour une part le soubassement. Contre l'idée que la mondialisation – au moins la mondialisation moderne et contemporaine (Hopkins 2002) – est caractérisée par l'articulation entre intensification des circulations, capitalisme, recul de l'État et cosmopolitisation des personnes et des biens, la traduction comme publication imprimée permet de penser que le capitalisme de l'imprimé n'a cessé de s'appuyer sur la puissance de l'État et de contribuer à l'extension de son domaine et de sa puissance d'intervention ; que la consommation de biens culturels nés d'une manière ou d'une autre sous d'autres cieux n'est pas synonyme de dénationalisation, mais bien souvent de l'inverse ; que la traduction littéraire a tout autant contribué à produire les frontières culturelles typiques d'un monde organisé en systèmes nationaux à la fois concurrentiels et coordonnés entre eux que participé à la relativisation des frontières par le partage universel ou l'uniformisation. Bien sûr, je n'ai pu, à chaque fois, dans les exemples que j'ai pris, que raisonner par cas, avec tous les risques possibles de montée en généralité non contrôlée ; il vaut donc mieux penser que ces développements s'efforcent de jouer le rôle d'échardes dans le pied de la grande théorie post-moderniste plutôt que celui de la vaste architecture alternative.

On peut toutefois, pour finir, évoquer un théoricien de la mondialisation de la culture, venu de la sociologie, dont la proposition de modélisation, particulièrement dynamique, me paraît ajustée à une pensée de la traduction littéraire comme publication. Roland Robertson, dès les années 1990, proposa le terme de « *glocalization* » pour penser ce qui lui paraissait être une dynamique fondamentale de notre monde, depuis au moins plusieurs décennies (et comme historien, on pourrait proposer bien sûr d'étendre son raisonnement au moins aux trois derniers siècles), la production *conjointe* de la mondialité (la connexion distante, les flux intenses, l'universalisation) et de la localité (l'« identité culturelle », le pittoresque et le typique, l'enracinement et les frontières culturelles et politiques) (Robertson

1992). C'est peut être une bonne manière de modéliser le rôle de la traduction/publication depuis un peu plus de deux siècles en Occident : elle a été l'un des truchements les plus efficaces d'une mondialisation dont la forme fondamentale, à bien y regarder, a consisté avant toute chose en la généralisation à l'échelle du globe du principe national comme mode d'organisation de la vie politique et culturelle.

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Translation, monolingualism and multilingualism as symptoms of literary internationalisation after the First World War

A case study of Belgian periodicals in the immediate after war period

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In what way can a specific medium – a literary magazine – represent, weaken or strengthen a specific practice such as translation? I will answer this question by discussing a number of Belgian avant-garde periodicals: *L'Art libre* (1919–1922), *Lumière* (1919–1923), *Ça Ira!* (1920–1923), *Ruimte* (1920–1921) and *Het Overzicht* (1921–1925). Based on this research corpus, I will defend the hypothesis that the significant presence of translations can be explained by the combination of (a) the specific format in which they were published, namely, the periodical and (b) the ubiquity of the notion of internationalism immediately after the war, which was represented as an ideal and whose multiple definitions – including monolingualism, multilingualism, and translation – determined the ways in which foreign languages were integrated in periodicals.

Keywords: periodical research, Belgian literature, translation, multilingualism, avant-garde

Internationalisation and literary magazines: Old and new research questions and objects of research

To what extent does the international circulation of literatures in translation find its expression in a corpus of artistic magazines? Such a question may sound problematic today as artistic magazines have become scarcer and their impact is much smaller compared to one hundred years ago. Does the internet instead fulfil this role of international circulation? And how representative are translations still as an

instrument for the reception of a work or an author in a more and more globalized (that is, Anglophone) world?

Given this evolution, it is all the more remarkable that academic research dealing with periodicals peaked at a time when their influence was already beginning to wane. One reason for this is that periodicals have long been treated as ephemeral and hence inferior publications, playing only a marginal role in the literary system. With the (poly)systemic vision of literature (in line with Itamar Even-Zohar and others), scholars emphasized how change and dynamics in fact come into being at the borders of the literary system, rather than in the (more stable) center. The consequence of this new perspective of literature as a system brought with several critical new scholarly approaches: on the one hand, several types of literary institutions became far more implicated in analysis. In 1996, De Geest already remarked that “tijdschriften een grotere rol [krijgen] toebedeeld in de literaire evolutie” [periodicals are allotted a bigger role in the literary evolution] (De Geest 1996: 11). On the other hand, national literatures were framed more and more in an international perspective. The absence of such a perspective was remarkable, especially in a locale such as Flanders with its relatively weak institutional position *vis-à-vis* the literary centers of Amsterdam or Paris. Again De Geest, in a text from 2003:

In het licht van die nadrukkelijke internationale oriëntering van de literatuur in Vlaanderen is het des te verbazender hoe het literair-historische onderzoek bijna exclusief voor een eng nationalistisch standpunt heeft geopteerd; het onderzoek naar de aanwezigheid van buitenlandse literaturen (via vertalingen, overzichtsartikelen, recensies en andere metateksten) is nog maar nauwelijks aangevat.

(De Geest 2003: 26)

In the light of this expressly international orientation of the literature in Flanders, it is all the more surprising how the literary-historical research opted almost exclusively for a narrow nationalist viewpoint; research into the presence of foreign literatures (through translations, survey articles, reviews and other metatexts) has hardly begun.

In the meantime, a lot has changed: in several international research centers and academic journals, these and other similar research questions are being highlighted. In Belgium alone, there are several examples, e.g. in the main objectives and/or individual research projects of the Brussels-Liège-based CIEL (Collectif Interuniversitaire d'Étude du Littéraire)¹ or in the Leuven-based re-

1. “Le projet CIEL découle de l’association du Centre d’Histoire de la littérature belge en langue française de l’Université libre de Bruxelles (dir. Paul Aron) et du Centre d’Études de la littérature francophone de Belgique de l’Université de Liège (CELIFRAB, dir. Jean-Marie Klinkenberg et Benoit Denis).” [The CIEL project (Centre interuniversitaire d’Étude du Littéraire) results from the association of the “Centre d’Histoire de la littérature belge en langue française” from the

search centers CETRA (Centre for Translation Studies)² and CERES (Centre for Reception Studies).³ My own research, conducted at the University of Antwerp, shares a systemic vision of literature, where text and context are understood to be mutually important.

In this contribution, I raise the question of in what way a specific medium (a literary magazine) can represent, weaken or strengthen a specific practice (translation)? My answer will be based on a selected number of periodicals that were started during the Belgian avant-garde: *L'Art libre* (1919–1922, created in Brussels), and *Lumière* (1919–1923), *Ça Ira!* (1920–1923), *Ruimte* (1920–1921) and *Het Overzicht* (1921–1925), all four of which were published in Antwerp. Each of these magazines were born from a multilingual social context (French-Dutch): *L'Art libre*, *Lumière* and *Ça Ira!* were written in French, whereas Dutch was the main language of communication in *Ruimte* and *Het Overzicht*. Due to several reasons (cf. infra), the signifier ‘translation’, although traditionally considered an invisible practice, is *explicitly* thematised in the five periodicals.

The restrictedness of my answer does not only have to do with the selection of the number of titles, but also with the type of publications. Given that the value of periodicals as active players has been recognized, this means indeed that a periodical can never be seen as a *pars pro toto*, as a microcosm reflecting the entire literary system. Remieg Aerts (1996: 78), for instance, states clearly that periodicals are not a “kleurloos venster” [colourless window] or a “doorgeefluik” [serving-hatch] but that they themselves determine the cultural reality by means of their organisation and content. For strategic reasons, periodicals prefer to maintain this illusion. For instance: in review sections or sections of current affairs, the reader can have

Université libre de Bruxelles (dir. Paul Aron) and the “Centre d’Études de la littérature francophone de Belgique” from Liège University (CELIFRAB, dir. Jean-Marie Klinkenberg and Benoit Denis)] (see <http://ciel.philo.ulg.ac.be/cielcms/default.aspx>)

2. From the Mission Statement 2019–2023: “[...] Advocating an open notion of “translation” (e.g., textual transfer practices such as interpreting, adaptation, localization, rewriting, etc.), CETRA wants to expand the field of Translation Studies and embrace recent methodologies (e.g., digital humanities) in order to strengthen its intrinsic intellectual vitality as well as its relevance for the humanities and for society. [...]” (see <https://cetra.blog/>)

3. “The Centre for Reception Studies (KU Leuven) explores the various ways in which literary and cultural texts are received by reading communities, translators, professional critics, journals, writers and creative artists working with other media. Studying the historical and/or geographical circulation of these texts, we want to probe into the process of how reading (in the broadest sense of the word) can generate new meaning(s) in the afterlife of literary works through time and space. The Centre favours an interdisciplinary approach that combines reception studies, translation studies, history of the book, adaptation studies and hermeneutics.” (see <https://receptionstudies.be/>)

access to a brief “overview” of the literary news. These overviews are always selective and hence coloured. Nevertheless, in *Ça Ira!*, for example, we can read a recommendation of the editorial board to read the section “La vie des lettres”, because it is “*le miroir le plus fidèle de l’activité littéraire d’aujourd’hui*” [the *most faithful mirror* of the literary activity today] (An. 1921: 72, emphasis added). The active role fulfilled by magazines is also proved by other aspects such as the creation of new genres (such as the “chronique” or the “roman-feuilleton”) and new professions (such as the writer-journalist). Some researchers, such as Alain Vaillant (2010: 267), make a plea to study literature and press not adjacent to each other but rather interconnected in what he calls a “système médiatique global”.

Such a mediatic system certainly existed in the context of the (mainly francophone) artistic magazines in Belgian literature after the war. Because of the peripheral position of francophone Belgium in relation to Paris, the institutional literary infrastructure has long been relatively weak in Belgium. For publishing houses, it was difficult to compete with Parisian publishers. Periodicals, on the other hand, had the advantage that they require a minimum of logistics and hence can be set up quite easily. This is why periodicals have always played an important role in Belgium – likewise in the Dutch-speaking part of the country –, and this is all the more true for the period immediately after the war, when literary life had to be created anew from scratch.

In *Lumière*, Roger Avermaete writes: “Aujourd’hui, la vie des revues est particulièrement intéressante: d’abord parce que nous sommes à une période d’évolutions et même de révolutions, période de crise aiguë dont la répercussion est forte sur les hommes d’idées et de rêves” (Avermaete 1919: 27) [Today, the life of periodicals is particularly interesting: first, because we are in a period of evolutions and even of revolutions, a period of sharp crisis, which has a great repercussion on men of ideas and of dreams]. Willy Koninckx, one of the collaborators of *Ça Ira!*, seems to share this opinion when he writes: “Les revues couvrent la terre comme une masse de petits lapins” [Periodicals are covering the landscape like a bunch of small rabbits] (Koninckx 1920: 8). Therefore, one should not be surprised that Paul Aron concludes seventy years later that “c’est aux périodiques que l’on doit l’essentiel de l’ouverture internationale de nos lettres, leur participation aux courants de l’avant-garde et jusqu’à l’existence même d’une activité scripturale dans le pays” [the international opening of our literature, its participation in avant-garde movements and even the mere existence of any literary activity is due to periodicals] (Aron 1991: 55). The 1919 cover of the magazine *Haro!* (1919–1920)⁴

4. For De Marneffe (2007: 105–106), the French-Belgian periodical *Haro!* is a typical “revue de combat”: “Leurs collaborateurs se distinguent par leur liberté de ton, mais aussi par la violence de leurs propos, traits typiques d’une “parole pamphlétaire” (Angenot 1982). Ces revues

shown below illustrates both the ubiquity of literary periodicals and their active role: each periodical seemed to have its own truth...

Figure 1. La vérité: ils finiront par m'étouffer si je n'y mets le feu (*Haro !* 1919, n° 4) [The truth: these [journals] will do me in by suffocation if I don't set them on fire]

Many terms are in circulation to refer to this kind of periodical publications (periodical, magazine, petite revue, revue de combat, journal, etc.) and, consequently, indicate a relation to more conventional literary publications. For a long time, there has been a strict dividing line, both in literary studies and in literary institutions, between literature and journalism, or, put in stronger terms, between the

adoptent un format “journal” plus propice à une diffusion large et qui les rapproche de la presse d’information contre laquelle elles luttent avec provocation.” [Their collaborators distinguished themselves by their freedom of tone, but also by the violence of their words, typical features of a “parole pamphlétaire” (Angenot 1982). These periodicals adopt a “journal” format that is more conducive to broad dissemination and makes them resemble to the news media against which they are provocatively fighting.]

industrial dimension of mass media and the artistic dimension of the classic literary genres. This distinction is relevant only to a small extent for the corpus under scrutiny here. Each of the periodicals considered here had, to a greater or lesser extent, a certain artistic ambition, as shown by the design of the publications or the strong ties between the periodical and the literary groups and movements which they represented.

Of the periodicals at hand, *L'Art libre* is the publication which bears closest resemblance to the classical journalist genre, as shown, amongst other things, by its format (quite large for a journal), the periodicity (initially bimonthly, then monthly), the lay-out (a lot of information on one page) and the sectional organization. Taking this into consideration, *L'Art libre* was the most exemplary title from the corpus that fulfilled the classical role of the press as a place where information from the (national and international) literary news was presented, whether or not by means of translations, by means of different features and chronicles. Although selective, the attention *L'Art libre* paid to foreign literatures (in various features) can be considered as relatively extensive. German, English, Dutch, Flemish and Russian literature were discussed the most, followed by sporadic contributions about Czech, Swiss, Italian and Belgian literature. The two other French language magazines – *Lumière* and *Ça Ira!* – shared a similar balance between artistic and social goals, although on an artistic level, *Ça Ira!* took more radical (Dadaist) positions. Roughly speaking, this configuration is similar in *Ruimte* and *Het Overzicht*: where the latter defended the more radical avant-garde, such as constructivism, and the former instead aligned with expressionism.

However, the attention paid to foreign literatures – and, as a consequence, to language and translation – was prominently visible in *each* of the five publications. The collaborators labelled themselves explicitly as “internationalist” because they presented themselves in variable degrees as supporters of the French semi-political *Clarté* movement. Although *Clarté* was founded during the war by Paul Vaillant Couturier, René Lefebvre, and Henri Barbusse in France, it had a great international following for a number of years: in Belgium alone there were *Clarté* groups in Brussels, Antwerp, Aalst, Ghent, Mechelen, Ostend, and Liège. It follows that each of the periodicals of this research corpus is also representative of the brief but intense politicisation of the literary system in the immediate after war period (1918–1925). The connection with *Clarté* provides the corpus thus with a certain degree of coherence, but there are also a number of important differences: the place of publication, the chief language used, and the aesthetic ideas propagated by the periodicals – all these factors are relevant for the question I answer here.

In what follows, I want to focus on the way that international literatures find their way into periodicals, and how the medium “periodical” contributes to their (re)presentation. Therefore, it is important to define the periodical not in a narrow

way as a “public volume of articles” but to take a broader definition. Researchers such as Vandevoorde (2005: 1) prefer to talk of the “virtuele dimensie” [virtual dimension] of a periodical, in which the unpublished texts are also included; others, like Pluet-Despatin (1992: 125–136) make a distinction between a public space (the publication itself) and a private space (including reports of the editorial board, meetings and correspondence between collaborators, etc.). In short, the answer to the question of how periodicals in the Belgian postwar period deal with internationalisation cannot be found solely in the study of individual articles. Let us consider the example of *Lumière*.

1. When talking about literary or artistic *internationalisation*, there is a clear resonance with the notion of *internationalism*, which should be situated in a left-wing political context referring to the internationalist idea(s) of the Communist party, also represented in *Clarté*. Hence, the internationalisation of literature is always, in one way or another, linked to a social commitment. For instance, the special issue of *Lumière* about Russia (1922, n° 9–10, see also Mus 2011) went hand in hand with several social initiatives. The aim was to mobilize readers and to collect money for the famine in Russia. These were concrete cultural practices crossing the border of the ‘periodical’ in its narrowest definition.
2. Secondly, the print version of the periodical makes many references to the existence of the periodical’s activities beyond publication. For instance, on the first page of an issue, the reader can find an editorial description of the periodical’s organization. In the first issues, the description contains information about the issue, volume, release date, title, address and the editor-in-chief (Roger Avermaete). From 1920 on, there are also explicit references to foreign “satellites”: regional representatives who entirely belong to the periodical or the “groupe Lumière”. The task, then, is to detect how, on a discursive level, the image and identity formation of the periodical and its international outlook is modelled by the editorial board. Indeed, there is never a guarantee of a one-to-one correspondence between the discourse and the reality outside. One cannot be certain that the names of the regional representatives correspond to real persons. In the example shown below, there is a reference to an English collaborator, but on further consideration it appears that he has not written a single article. The main goal was indeed to carry out an international(ist) identity and to create an illusion of immediacy (see also Mus 2010).

3^e Année. N° 5

15 Février 1922

LUMIÈRE

Rédaction - Administration : 160, Avenue d'Amérique, Anvers

JORIS MINNE

SECRÉTAIRE

ROGER AVERMAETE

DIRECTEUR

HENRI VAN STRATEN

SECTION GRAPHIQUE

REPRÉSENTANTS RÉGIONAUX :

MARCEL MILLET

(France)

L. CHARLES-BAUDOUIN

(Suisse)

LIONELLO FRUMI

(Italie)

IVAN GOLL

(Allemagne)

LEIGH HENRY

(Angleterre)

RAFAEL LASSO DELA VEGA

(Espagne)

SERGE MILLIET

(Brésil)

VIRGIN DAHL

(Suède)

SOMMAIRE :

LA SOCIÉTÉ

Ici on danse ! ROGER AVERMAETE

LES LETTRES

Le Poème d'un soir de Printemps L. CHARLES-BAUDOUIN

Procréation BOB CLAESSENS

Fête HENRI BRESSLER

Poème SÉBASTIEN DONGRIE

Cabaret GUILLERMO DE TORRE

Ni fleurs ni couronnes LAURENT TISSIER

Théo Variet (suite et fin) JOSEPH BILLIET

Notes critiques MARCEL MILLET

ROGER AVERMAETE

ARMAND HENNEUSE

BOB CLAESSENS

WILFRIED HALLEMANS

FRANK V. D. WYNGAERT

LES ARTS PLASTIQUES

De l'utilité du jury ROGER AVERMAETE

Notes critiques R. A.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Hors texte : « Jeune fille » d'après le tableau de

Dans le texte : bois gravé LE FAUCONNIER

» » » » » HENRI VAN STRATEN

» » » » » JORIS MINNE

» » » » » IAN CANTRÉ

Figure 2. *Lumière*, outtake from the front page of February 15, 1922 (n°5)

3. Thirdly, it is clear that periodicals actively give shape to the literary discourse by exhibiting a proper poetics and creating new genres, in this case the numerous columns (“chroniques étrangères”), drawn up by the regional representatives and regular collaborators. By making an appeal to correspondents “on the ground” and due to its topicality and periodicity, the reader gets an image of foreign literature that is synthetic and up to date. For Marie-Eve Thérénty, periodicity, collectivity and topicality are the characteristic features of what she calls a “journalistic matrix” (quoted in van Nuijs 2015: 9). I will add here two other key characteristics: brevity (the limited space for a contribution, in comparison to book publications) and fragmentation (one text split up over subsequent issues, published issue after issue). Obviously, these characteristics codetermine the structure of different types of texts, e.g. a frequent use of cliffhangers in fiction at the end of each episode. But brevity and fragmentarity also pave the way for an increased use of translation. In the next section, I explore this phenomenon in detail.

Poetic and genre characteristics as triggers for translation

I defend here the hypothesis that the (relatively) significant presence of translations can be explained by the combination of (a) the specific format in which these translations were published, namely the periodical and (b) the ubiquity of the notion of internationalism immediately after the war, represented as a kind of ideal.

1. The format of the periodical

It goes without saying that translation is not the only means to establish international contacts. Anthony Pym (s.d.) reminds us that:

Translation is only one of several things that can happen when the boundaries of languages and cultures are crossed. Worse, it is quite possibly the most expensive, indeed the most luxurious option. Here are some of the other things that can happen when we go beyond a common first language, if we may momentarily allow reduction to a border of two sides:

1. One side adopts the language of the other.
2. Both sides adopt a *lingua franca*.
3. The contact situation adopts and develops a pidgin (which may become a creole).
4. Both sides develop passive capacity in the language of the other (so both speak their own language).
5. Both sides learn each other's language and use code-switching.⁵

Practical factors (the availability of good translators, the high cost of the translations) can explain why translation is very often not an obvious option. However, the literary periodical is in a uniquely advantageous position in relation to the economics of translation. Because most published pieces are short, the cost of translation is naturally lower than when faced with translating longer literary works. In this case, the brevity of the texts becomes an important asset to mitigate cost and to ensure a quicker turnaround in terms of executing original translations.

2. The post-war notion of internationalism

What does it mean to be an “internationalist” writer or artist? The vagueness of this epithet can be explained by two factors. On the one hand, the notion of “internationalism” was mobilized in a polarised political context and was

5. This is not an exhaustive list, partially based, according to the author, on an enumeration listed in a paper written by Lambert (1989).

subsequently *transposed* to a literary context (cf. *supra*). Although the borders between the literary and the political system were not absolute at that time, the result was a semantic vagueness regarding the notion of internationalism. On the other hand, political or artistic internationalism was defined in relation to the connected notions of nationalism, supranationalism, universalism, and cosmopolitanism.

Disclosing every dimension of this debate would lead me too far astray. It suffices here to offer two examples of articles, published respectively in *Ça Ira!* and *Het Overzicht*, which represent two extreme positions of the debate.

In *Ça Ira!* Paul Manthy⁶ does not limit himself to a simple *ex negativo* definition of internationalism (as the antithesis of nationalism), but puts the notion in a Hegelian tripartite relationship above nationalism (thesis) and cosmopolitanism (antithesis). Whereas nationalism has too narrow a view, cosmopolitanism risks denying the local rootedness. According to Manthy,

[Cosmopolitanism] nie les races et leur droit d'avoir une vie propre. Il voudrait effacer toutes leurs différences effectives, il voudrait créer une uniformité, mais qui serait sans puissance, ayant perdu la différenciation nécessaire à la vie. (Manthy 1920: 64)

[Cosmopolitanism] denies races and their right to have a proper life. It would like to efface all their effective differences, it would like to create a uniformity, but one which would be without strength, having lost the differentiation which is necessary to life.

By contrast,

[L'internationalisme] réunit les deux catégories précédentes, les complète l'une par l'autre, et rejette leurs affirmations unilatérales. Elle [la synthèse, l'internationalisme] est l'union pacifique des peuples libres, de tous les peuples du monde, chacun lui apportant le trésor de ses qualités particulières et de son génie distinct.

6. The article entitled "Lieux communs" is not signed, but three other texts with the same title appeared later (in issues 10, 11 and 12). They are signed each time by Paul Manthy, which suggests that he is also the author of the first text, especially since he is mentioned as author of the article in question in the table of contents of the reissue. It is important to emphasize that Manthy's vision is only *one* voice in the concert of *Ça Ira!*, which we can not generalize. In the case of Manthy – who expresses himself very explicitly on some political questions – this contrast is all the more striking. In this regard, Dumont openly wonders "dans quelle mesure l'ensemble de l'équipe de *Ça Ira* a-t-elle partagé les convictions communistes de Paul Manthy. On peut se poser la question" [to what extent did the whole team of *Ça Ira!* share the communist convictions of Paul Manthy. We can ask ourselves the question]. He notes that in the preface to the reissue of the magazine, Paul Neuhuys has omitted his name: a significant gesture? See also G.-H. Dumont (2001).

Elle est le monde qui demain règnera, quand aura disparu l'égoïsme bourgeois.
(Manthy 1920: 65)

[Internationalism] reunites the two previous categories, one completes the other, and rejects their unilateral affirmations. It is the peaceful union of free people, of all the people of the world, each of them supplying the treasure of its particular qualities and of its distinct genius. It is the world that will govern tomorrow, when bourgeois egoism will have disappeared.

On the other hand, the internationalism discussion seems to be completely beside the (artistic) point for critics like Herwerth Walden, the animator of *Der Sturm*. In 1923, he publishes a “Oproep tot aandacht” [call for attention] in *Het Overzicht*:

Het internationalism is “de bon ton” geworden, en men aanziet de kunstenaars als de aangewezen ponteniers om de bruggen tussen de volken te leggen. [...] Geen hersenen zijn het die over zulke problemen nadenken, omdat het geen problemen zijn. Geen kunstenaars zijn het die kunst met gewoonten verwarren. – Kunst die niet eens iets met individuen te stellen heeft; kunst die ver boven het verstand zweeft; kunst zou met de geografiese en ekonomiese organisatie's van mensen iets te maken hebben? Of is horen en zien soms ooit een nationale of internationale eigenschap geweest?
(Walden 1923: 40)

Internationalism has become the thing to be done, and one considers the artists as the appropriate mediators to build bridges between people. [...] Those who think about those problems do not have any brains, because these are not problems. Those who mingle art with manners are not artists. – Art that has nothing to do with individuals; art that floats far above the mind; art would have something to do with geographic and economic organisations of people? Or has hearing and seeing ever had a national or international quality?

However, within the internationalist periodicals, the discussion turns around the question of which place national particularisms can and should have in an internationalist view on literature. Can one still adhere to the idea of a German, English, French or Flemish “genius”, “spirit”, or “soul”? And, if so, to what extent? What is important here is that the different possible answers to this question have an influence on the way in which foreign languages are integrated in the periodicals. Broadly put, there are three options: monolingualism, translation, and multilingualism. I elaborate below on this threefold division by means of the other options suggested by Anthony Pym (see 2.1).⁷

7. In Mus (2013) I gave the initial impetus to this three-partition, that I will nuance and elaborate in detail in what follows.

Monolingualism, multilingualism and translation

1. Both sides speak their own language

Several leading internationalist voices, such as Henri Barbusse in France, expressed the wish to create a multilingual magazine, although this ambition never became reality. In Belgium, Raymond Lefebvre suggests in *L'Art libre* the idea of founding a publishing house that would publish several books in the original language each month. Such a multilingual editorial project likewise never became reality, although periodicals did regularly develop a publishing house as a parallel activity. In this regard, De Marneffe writes:

Le groupe revue s'implante alors dans le domaine éditorial, et un véritable « label » se dégage, avec des spécificités propres: le catalogue des « Éditions Ça Ira » affiche des auteurs plus radicaux, la société coopérative « Lumière » (lancée par Frans Smits) entretient l'idée de la possibilité d'une littérature bilingue. Ces éditions conservent cependant une dimension artisanale, dans la mesure où elles fonctionnent avec peu de moyens, parfois à compte d'auteur. *Lumière* va jusqu'à développer ses propres presses (imprimerie Loki) afin de s'autonomiser par rapport aux imprimeurs. (De Marneffe 2007: 271)

The periodical group establishes itself in the editorial domain and a veritable “label” emerges, with its own specificities: the catalogue of the “Éditions Ça Ira!” showcases more radical authors, the cooperative society “Lumière” (launched by Frans Smits) supports the idea of the possibility of a bilingual literature. These editions, however, preserve an artisanal dimension, insofar as they operate with little means, sometimes at the author's expense. *Lumière* goes so far as to develop its own presses (Loki printing) in order to become autonomous from printers.

In a magazine such as *Het Overzicht*, the multilingualism did materialize. On the one hand, several poems were published side by side in the original language. The simple fact that many languages were printed side by side was “proof” of the internationalist commitment. In some cases, there were so many different – sometimes relatively peripheral – languages in the periodical that the primary objective of the editors seemed to be no longer of a communicative nature, but of an ideological one. Offering a platform to print foreign languages and literatures was in and of itself a social and artistic statement. On the other hand, rhythmic, phonetic and form-technical arguments can justify the publication of poems in the original language, even if the audience does not have a knowledge of the foreign language.

Although other genres were always printed in Dutch, the multilingualism of *Het Overzicht* is quite unique within the Belgian context. There are only a few exceptions, such as the magazines *Oesophage* (1925) and *Marie* (1926–1927) which included, amongst others, the poetry of Jean Arp in the original German. There

were nonetheless other foreign journals in which multilingualism was also the norm. This was the case, for example, for *De Stijl* (1917–1932), with whom *Het Overzicht* maintained close links. In other periodicals, even chronicles (non-fiction) were published in a foreign language. The Yugoslav journal *Zenit* (1921–1926), which included the Belgians Michel Seuphor and Edmond Vandercammen amongst its collaborators, is such an example. *Zenit* exhibited a “volonté de rassembler des collaborateurs de divers pays, dont les textes ont été assez régulièrement publiés dans leurs langues originales” [desire to bring together collaborators from various countries, whose texts had been published regularly in their original languages] (Subotic 1989: 108).

An even more radical application of multilingualism is evident in the decision of some artists to deploy intratextual multilingualism. Such was the case of the multilingual poetry of Michel Seuphor in *Het Overzicht*. Bier (1991: 310–311) summarizes the situation as follows:

La revue [*Het Overzicht*] devient véritablement polyglotte en mai 1923 avec les vers français de Dermée et C. Arnauld, les poèmes phonétiques en «mots inconnus» de l'Allemand H. Behrens-Hangeler, spécialiste des listes absurdes, et les six premiers épisodes de «Te Parijs in Trombe», relation hétéroclite du départ précipité, «en trombe», de Seuphor pour la capitale française.

The magazine [*Het Overzicht*] became truly polyglot in May 1923 with the French verses by Dermée and C. Arnauld, the phonetic poems in “unknown words” by the German H. Behrens-Hangeler, specialist of absurd lists, and the first six episodes of “Te Parijs in Trombe”, the heterogeneous relationship of the rushed departure “en trombe” of Seuphor for the French capital.

Of course, here too, one could add many foreign examples: probably Seuphor was inspired by the multilingual Zurich Dada “nonsense” poems, that drew upon anthropological works, using fragments and phrases from global indigenous languages to inform their experiments in non-meaning.

2. Both sides adopt a lingua franca

It is no coincidence that multilingualism could thrive in Flemish, i.e. Dutch language, magazines – in other words, in publications in which the main language was not a widespread international language. The three other magazines of the research corpus were written (monolingually) in French. The explanation for this is sociological rather than ideological: on the one hand, French offered far more international possibilities than Dutch; on the other hand, many magazines were coordinated by young people who came from a bourgeois milieu, where the language of instruction was French. In his memoirs, Roger Avermaete (editor-in-chief of

Lumière) summarizes the choice of French as a “Tatsache” (1952: 28). For others, the hegemonic place of France for both political and artistic ambitions was used as an argument to call into question the value of French as lingua franca. In this way, the use of French can indeed also be interpreted according to the first option of Pym’s list: “one side adopts the language of the other”.

Of course, the choice of French was never completely neutral. In addition to (or lurking behind) the pragmatic considerations, some collaborators did profess a positive reasoning for using French. In 1919, Roger Avermaete writes that “il est certain que le français, de par le nombre de ceux qui le parlent, et de par son importance littéraire, est une des grandes langues du monde” [it is certain that French, by the number of those who speak it, and by its literary importance, is one of the great languages of the world] (1920: 115). On other moments, the reader of *Lumière* could find more explicit and subjective statements such as: “Missembourg [...] nous affirmait que la langue française restait la plus belle et la plus chatoyante des pelouses linguistiques [...]”. [Missembourg [...] told us that the French language remained the most beautiful and the most shimmering of all linguistic grasslands [...]] (Varèze 1919: 11).

For other internationalists, “France” was not a nationalist reference to the French nation, but simply the country of “l’esprit nouveau” [new spirit]. France was the place where a new artistic wind blew, one which exceeded the boundaries of the nation and lead to a “new European spirit in arts and letters”.⁸ The consequence of this was that this spirit – unbound to any concrete nation – had to be reflected in how foreign languages were treated in the periodicals. A prolonged debate ensued from this, turning around a specific point of disagreement: how could and should the French language deal with realia and proper names? In the Parisian journal *Le journal du peuple*, a journalist criticized the way in which proper names were translated in *L’Art libre*.

[...] l’orthographe des patronymes russes transcrits à l’allemande est pour les Français le comble du ridicule. Qu’est-ce que ce Petrow-Wotkin ? Le russe ne comporte point de w dans son alphabet; or si en allemand, le v se prononce f, est-ce donc la faute aux Français ? J’eus la surprise d’y lire le nom de: Valérien Brjussoff... Connais pas. À bien chercher, je dénêche le célèbre romancier et poète Valeri Brussef... SSollogub pour Sologoub ! Bunin pour Bousine ! Mereschkowski pour Méréjkovski ! Je m’arrête là, voyant que l’on ne saurait davantage relever les bévues de quelqu’un, après ce qui précède. C’est le cas de le dire: il faut tirer l’échelle.

(An. 1921: 2)

8. See the publication from 1920: D. Coster, P. Colin, F.-M. Huebner, D. Goldring, R. Guarnieri, 1920. *De Nieuwe Europeesche geest in kunst en letteren*. Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus & Visser.

[...] the orthography of Russian surnames, transcribed in the German way, is for the French the height of stupidity. Who is this Petrow-Wotkin? The Russian language does not have a w in its alphabet; now, if in German, the letter v is pronounced as F, is the fault due to the French? I was surprised to read the name of: Valérien Brjussov... Don't know. Having looked well, it turned out to be the famous novelist and poet Valeri Brussev... SSollogub for Sologoub! Bunin for Bounine! Mereschkowski pour Méréjkovski! I will stop here, because after this there is no need anymore to point to the blunders of someone else.

The editor-in-chief of *L'Art libre* defended himself in saying that “[...] il est bien certain que la seule règle dont il faut s’inspirer, est la nécessité de suivre le plus exactement possible la langue originale. On ne traduit pas un nom propre, on le transcrit” [it is quite certain that the only rule that one should use is the necessity to follow as precisely as possible the original language. One does not translate a proper name, one transcribes it] (Olivier 1921: 173).⁹ Colin notes, not without irony, that out of respect for the Russian people, *L'Art Libre* does not just want to adapt to “la mode de Paris” which, “comme chacun le sait, est capricieuse” [as everybody knows, is capricious] (ibidem). Colin goes a step further when he generalises this haughty Parisian attitude to other foreign literatures, of which this “querelle d’orthographe” (ibidem) can be regarded as a “symptôme” (ibidem). That turns out to be true: there is a similar reproach hurled by Felix Berteaux following the publication of *Allemagne*, the monograph of Colin that appeared in 1923. Berteaux claims to be “shocked” by the way Colin spells certain German words (1923: 108). Those errors would be illustrative because they “trahissent un laisser-aller de l’esprit” [betray a *laisser aller* of the mind] (ibidem).

Language, orthography and translation reflected the power relations that were determined on more stable institutional levels, and were then in turn put into question in periodical publications. The “mode de Paris” Colin is referring to did also play a role in the “Académie royale de langue et de littérature françaises de Belgique” [Royal Academy of French language and literature of Belgium]. In his inaugural speech at the foundation of the Academy, the minister of Sciences and Art Jules Destrée declared that his ambition was to provide Belgium with “une littérature à elle” [a literature of its own], but at the same time he wanted to cultivate the “pureté de la langue française” [purity of French language]. Michel Biron (1994: 191) explains that his linguistic norm was meant to “faire la part entre le français ‘universel’ et les français régionaux (désignant notamment le français de Belgique)” [distinguish between “universal” French and the regional French varieties (designating in particular the French of Belgium)].

9. Jacques Olivier was one of the pseudonyms of Paul Colin.

A similar spelling debate took place in Dutch-language magazines. For example, the magazine *Ruimte* was deliberately written in a simplified spelling, by which the employees set themselves apart from the older generation (especially the representatives of *Van nu en straks*): “orthographe simplifiée, art moderne” [simplified orthography, modern art], according to Avermaete (1929: 221). And outside the Belgian context too, orthography could be seen as a symptom of an underlying ideology. In the multilingual journal *Zenit*, internationalism was not only defended on the basis of the inclusion of texts in different languages (Serbian, German, French, Dutch ...) but also on the basis of which alphabet was used to write in Serbian: the contributions of local authors were printed either in either Latin or in Cyrillic script, and sometimes both were used side by side). Such considerations played a part in the decisions of the editor-in-chief Ljubomir Micic, who wanted to limit the Eurocentric influence in his magazine to make the voice of the Balkans more prominent. Yet another example can be found in Italy, where Marinetti called for a free expressive orthography in his technical manifesto for the literature, for example by repeating a vowel or consonant as he applied it in his *Parole in Libertà*. The idea, according to Van Haute (2009: 81), was “dat onomatopeeën en vrije orthografie de tekst een directheid gaven die met een conventionele prozaïsche beschrijving veel omslachtiger zouden geweest zijn” [that onomatopoeia and free orthography gave the text a directness that would have been much more cumbersome with a conventional prosaic description]. There were also discussions about this matter within the numerous progressive movements: Paul van Ostaijen was not convinced by Marinetti’s proposal, whereas Jos Léonard was more in favour.

3. Translation

This brings us to the option of “translation”, a notion that was thematized in a twofold way in the review sections of many periodicals: firstly, by mentioning that an author’s work has been translated (into French or Dutch), then an (evaluative) comment about the translation strategies. Some examples taken from *L’Art libre*: “très mauvaises traductions” [very bad translations], “l’excellence des traductions” [the excellency of the translations], “très bien traduit” [very well translated], “parfaitement traduit” [perfectly translated], and “très consciencieuse traduction” [very conscientious translation], etc. This binary structure is significant because it reveals something about the *status* of translation. In this regard, Delabastita writes (2008: 236–237):

Whatever their origin and their features, texts may be labelled as “translations” or not. The absence of such a status label may be as relevant as its presence. When it is used, the label may be accompanied by complementary information that specifies which type of translation we are allegedly dealing with and which type of relationship (e.g. types of “equivalence”) is supposed to obtain between source text and target text (e.g. qualifications such as “free”, “literal”, “word for word”, “creative”, “revised”, and so on).

In order to see it as a worthy manifestation of the internationalist ideal, there were explicit efforts to counter the cliché of the “traduttore traditore” idea and replace it by the idea of a faithful translation – whatever that may mean.

As a consequence of this, several synonyms were used to refer to translation, such as “transcription” or “transposition”. Sometimes, even the notion of “adaptation” was used as a synonym for “translation”.¹⁰ This is striking, given the fact that this notion does not stress the idea of “neutral transposition” but rather underscores the element of “change”. The reason is that the translator is supposed to be capable of doing justice to certain aspects which remained implicit in the source text. Let us read the comments of the critic Paul Colin about the French translation of *Le jardinier d’amour* (a book by Tagore):

Le jardinier d’Amour frappe aussi par la sobriété des moyens poétiques qui, dans la langue originale, doit être balancée certes par le rythme de vers. Ici, dans l’adaptation de Mme Mirabaud, certains d’entre eux revêtent un caractère de sentences qui n’est pas, d’ailleurs, pour déplaire, mais qui confère aux poèmes une netteté d’intention à laquelle Tagore n’a jamais été, je crois, très attentif.

Le jardinier d’amour is also remarkable for the sobriety of the poetic instruments, which, in the original language, definitely has to be balanced by the rhythm of the verses. Here, in the adaptation of Mme Mirabaud, some of them hold a meaning which is not, by the way, unpleasant, but does give them a clear intention for which Tagore has never been respectful, I think.

4. The contact situation adopts and develops a pidgin – creole ...

Finally, there was indeed a monolingual alternative: the use of an artificially created universal language – not a pidgin or creole, but a language artificially constructed

10. In *Lumière*, Julien Van Hamme (1920: 95) studies the same problem in the musical domain, by means of the transcription of pieces of music. He rejects this kind of transcription: “qu’on dise plutôt on ‘transforme’ ce serait peut-être plus sincère” [one should say “transforming”, this would be more sincere] and adds: “On transcrit, transforme plutôt, on adapte, on arrange, on trafique dans l’art comme on trafique dans le beurre” [One transcribes, rather transforms, one trades in art as one trades in butter.]

out of different other languages, such as Ido or Esperanto. Since the existence of these languages at the end of the nineteenth century, they have enjoyed considerable success, precisely because they sought to reflect the internationalist ideal. Such magazines did exist, but they were more socially or politically oriented than literarily or artistically.

In addition, other art forms such as graphic arts and music, were occasionally framed within a similar idea. There were positive connotations to their great expressiveness: they were able to transcend individual language. The so-called “group of five” (Jozef and Frans Cantré, Joris Minne, Henri Van Straten and Frans Masereel), whose works were mainly printed in *Ruimte* and in *Lumière*, were undoubtedly the most famous graphic artists. Masereel also provided the French translation of the poem cycle *Calamus* (W. Whitman) with illustrations. In a letter to Masereel, the translator Leon Bazalgette clearly stated that his work signified much more than just accompanying illustrations: “Mon vieux Masereel, c’est vous qui êtes le traducteur du *Calamus*” [My old Masereel, it is you who are the translator of *Calamus*] (quoted in Van Parys 1995: 486).¹¹ According to Minne, then, the wood engravings and lithographs of the “group of five” were the perfect means to communicate in an unambiguous way:

Wij weigerden beroep te doen op halve tonen. In onze geest mocht wit nooit licht betekenen en zwart zou nooit schaduw nabootsen. De vormttaal gebruikt, zou zo eenvoudig maar ook zo krachtig, ja heftig mogelijk, worden opgebouwd. Wij betrachtten also een zeer evenwichtig afgewogen spel van witte en zwarte partijen, die de basis werd voor het idee dat wij wensten uit te drukken. (Minne 1964: 19)

We refused to call in half tones. In our minds, white should never mean light, and black would never imitate shadow. The language of form would be built up as simply, but also as vigorously, yes, as violently as possible. We thus pursued a very balanced game of white and black parties, which became the basis for the idea that we wished to express.

De Marneffe (2007: 293) sees the real effects of this in the meetings between Dutch-speaking and French-speaking Belgian artists, which were much more likely to take place in the graphic art circles than in a literary environment.

In the (primarily) literary magazines, graphic art was the most important of all other artistic forms of expression. Music was discussed too, but to a lesser extent. In *Lumière*, some articles are devoted to the new musical movements, represented

11. The quote of Bazalgette becomes even more relevant in the light of the harsh criticism of Gide, who blamed Bazalgette to have misinterpreted *Calamus*, by “heterosexualizing” Whitman’s poems. Therefore, he undertook to do a new translation of *Leaves of Grass*. For more information, see Kanes 1962.

by Debussy, Schoenberg or Stravinsky. The cliché of music as an art “affranchi [...] des mots, [qui] [...] est bien plus près de la nature et de l’essence des choses [...]” [an art freed [...] from words, [which] [...] is much closer to nature and the essence of things [...]] (Leemans 1920: 110) does definitely exist, the question of music as supra-national art par excellence is mentioned only rarely by the contributors. For others, such as Jean Karol, music, just as literature, can possess a national hallmark. Peter Benoit, for instance, is qualified as “flamand pur, [...] de sang et d’âme” [pure Fleming [...], in blood and in mind], of whom the music is “l’éternel chant flamand, ses compositions sont la synthèse du caractère des gens de Flandre: rudesse et naïveté” [the eternal Flemish song, his compositions are the synthesis of the character of the people of Flanders: harsness and naivety] (Karol 1919: 78–79).

Conclusion

Periodicals and translation played a crucial role in the literary system in the Belgian post-war period in many ways: (1) Because not only social but also artistic life had to be rebuilt, periodicals provided a convenient way for (mainly young) artists to give shape to and publish their ideas in a relatively quick and cheap way. (2) At the same time, the signifiers “internationalisation” and “internationalism” were ubiquitous in the “social discourse” (Angenot 1989) of the early twenties. This tendency, too, can be deduced from periodicals, which for a very long time had been the medium par excellence for featuring separate sections on foreign literatures.

Due to their periodic and non-official nature, periodicals show us the way(s) in which the meaning(s) of “internationalisation” and “internationalism” were highly debated. Indeed, it was not always clear which linguistic attitude had to be used to give shape to this internationalism. In this article, we have defined a number of possible attitudes on the basis of a limited corpus of periodicals published in Antwerp and Brussels: (a) intra- or intertextual multilingualism; (b) monolingualism, either via an existing language (French, with or without a foreignizing (Venuti) orthography), either via an officially created language (Esperanto) or through a different semiotic system (music, graphic art); or (c) translation. Both the concept and the practice of translation are omnipresent in the studied corpus. This can be explained not only by its link with internationalism, but also by the format of the magazine in which the translations appeared. Due to the limited length of the articles (in comparison with book publications), translations became a financially feasible option.

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Literary journals and book series as agents of consecration

Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka in the Italian literary field (1908–1938)

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If “texts circulate without their contexts” (Bourdieu 1999), how can a translated author acquire symbolic capital in a new literary field? A very significant agent of consecration can be found in literary journals and book series that, according to their own position in the field of reception, may have an interest in including some foreign authors in their repertoire, so sharing and potentially increasing their respective symbolic capitals. By discussing the case of Thomas Mann’s and Franz Kafka’s Italian trajectories and the development of the Italian literary field in the first decades of the 20th century, this paper proposes a new theoretical perspective on the relationship between translated literature and national literary history, based on the experience of the research project *LTit* (www.ltit.it).

Keywords: translations, literary periodicals, book series, publishing houses, sociology of literature, sociology of translation, literary field, symbolic capital, German literature, Italian literature, national literary history

Translated literature and national literary history: A theoretical perspective

Conventional Italian literary history – like most other national literary histories – takes as its research object a selected corpus of texts mainly produced by Italian authors in Italian language within the current Italian borders. However, it generally does not take into consideration another very large corpus, produced in Italian language as well: that of translated literature. The reasons are well-known: the disciplines that study Italian literature were established during Italy’s struggle for national unity, the *Risorgimento*, on the basis of a notion of literature that was strongly influenced by political issues, such as the so called *questione della lingua*

[language question] or the role of literature in the formation of a national conscience: the need to distinguish between Italian and foreign literature was then crucial. No further revisions and improvements of the principles governing this vision and division have so far questioned the axiology established in 1870 by Francesco De Sanctis' *Storia della letteratura italiana*. Much later, translated literature would become the object of other disciplines, like translation studies or comparative literature, but mostly from oblique perspectives, with the result that the huge corpus of translated literature in Italy is still absent from most literary history: in the current academic division of labour the Italian translations of *Don Quixote*, *Faust* or *Du côté de chez Swann* are of only minor interest for Spanish, German and French Studies, and almost ignored by Italian Studies.

Starting from a case study of German literature in Italian translation, our research group *LTit – Letteratura tradotta in Italia* (*Translated literature in Italy*: www.ltit.it) tries to develop a theoretical approach that sees translated literature as an integral part of the target literature.¹ Itamar Even-Zohar highlighted this issue over forty years ago:

As a rule, histories of literatures mention translations when there is no way to avoid them, when dealing with the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, for instance. One might of course find sporadic references to individual literary translations in various other periods, but they are seldom incorporated into the historical account in any coherent way. As a consequence, one hardly gets any idea whatsoever of the function of translated literature for a literature as a whole or of its position within that literature. Moreover, there is no awareness of the possible existence of translated literature as a particular literary system. The prevailing concept is

1. Our research began thanks to a project called *History and Digital Maps of German Literature in Italy in the 20th Century: Publishing, Literary Field, Interference*, which was funded by the FIRB/Futuro in Ricerca program of the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research for the years 2013–2018, and was based at the Istituto Italiano di Studi Germanici in Roma, Sapienza Università di Roma and Università per Stranieri di Siena. Its core group of investigators included Anna Antonello, Anna Baldini, Daria Biagi, Stefania De Lucia, Irene Fantappiè and myself as PI. We also collaborated with the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, the Centre de Sociologie Européenne in Paris, the Fondazione Arnolfo e Alberto Mondadori in Milan as well as with other research projects on translated literature headed by Francesca Billiani (Manchester), Daniela La Penna (Reading) and Antonio Bibbò (Manchester). Our IT partners for the development of the database and website were DigiLab (Sapienza Università di Roma), SSWA Web Agency (Milan) and HCE Web Agency (Venice). With the volume *La letteratura tedesca in Italia. Un'introduzione 1900–1920* (Baldini et al. 2018) we have started a book series entirely dedicated to critical studies dealing with foreign literature in Italian translation (for a complete list of our publications see www.ltit.it/progetto/publicazioni). Presently, the project is going on at the Università 'Gabriele d'Annunzio' di Chieti-Pescara, where it has been funded within the PON-AIM program of the European Social Fund.

rather that of “translation” or just “translated works” treated on an individual basis. Is there any basis for a different assumption, that is for considering translated literature as a system? Is there the same sort of cultural and verbal network of relations within what seems to be an arbitrary group of translated texts as the one we willingly hypothesize for original literature? (1990a: 45–46)

We took this provocation to literary history seriously, as many researchers had already done (Hermans 1985; Lefevere 1992; Pym 1998 and others), and imagined that within a couple of decades it should be possible to write handbooks of Italian Studies that include not only the usual domestic works but also the main works of world literature in their most significant Italian translations. These works would also no longer be framed within generic international movements such as romanticism, realism, expressionism, modernism or postmodernism, as usually happens now, but within the actual cultural and material context that produced their translations, so introducing a certain author or text into the Italian literary system.

Before appealing to any theory, it is experience itself that tells us that what the “scholastic reason” (Bourdieu 2000: 9–27), with its disciplinary division of labour, has separated, is actually part of the same process of production: in a library, as in a bookshop, Italian and translated literature stand together, not only in the same language, but under the same publishing brands, in the same book series, often marked by the same names of translators, editors or prefacers. In fact, those who select the works to be translated are often Italian *litterati*, who work in Italian publishing houses; those who translate them are Italian translators, who are often connected to Italian literary movements; and those who interpret these works are Italian critics, on the basis of Italian or Italianized literary values. The product of this enormous – material and symbolic – collective work constitutes, in our view, the main link between national and world literature. In this way, world literature no longer appears as a unitary and shared repertoire, but as a plurality of repertoires, which have progressively been created within each culture: an Italian world literature, a French world literature, a Chinese world literature, and so on; different and only partially overlapping repertoires, which nevertheless represent the concrete historical manifestation of world literature in the *hic et nunc* of each national culture.

The premise for such a change of perspective is the theoretical work done within translation studies and sociology of literature in the last decades. Even-Zohar was the first to suggest thinking of translations not as individual items but as a system, by adopting the concept of “translated literature” (1990b). What makes translated literature a system, he argues, is the way in which the texts to be translated are selected: the principles of this selection are in fact common to all translations, and also, he adds, to most domestic production. So, he concludes, translated literature should not only be considered a system, but should be seen as an integral part of the each national literature.

Pierre Bourdieu's studies allow us to make a leap from the helpful structuralist abstractions of polysystem theory, to the more historicizing and discriminating perspective of sociology. Now the characters on stage are no longer "source texts", "target literatures" or "principles of selection", but "agents" who "take position" in a certain "field" according to its "specific logic" (Bourdieu 1996). The notion of translation itself is specified in a "series of social operations", those of *sélection*, *marquage* and *lecture*. In his seminal conference paper, *Les conditions sociales de la circulation internationale des idées* Bourdieu provides a detailed description of these operations, which may be – and actually has been – regarded as the outline of a large scale research program in sociology of translation (see Casanova 1999; Heilbron and Sapiro 2002a and 2002b; Fukari and Wolf 2007; Sapiro 2008; Sapiro 2009):

So the sense and function of a foreign work is determined not simply by the field of origin, but in at least equal proportion by the field of reception. First, because the sense and function of the original field are often completely unknown, but also because the process of transfer from a domestic field to a foreign one is made up of a series of social operations. There is a process of selection [*sélection*] (what is to be translated, what is to be published, who it will be translated by, who will publish it), a process of labelling and classification [*marquage*] (often the placing of a label on a product that previously has no label at all) by the publishers, the question of the series in which it is to be inserted, the choice of the translator and the writer of the preface (who in presenting the work will take some sort of possession of it, and slant it with his own point of view, and explain how it fits into the field of reception, only rarely going so far as to explain where and how it fits into its field of origin, as the difficulties presented by such an enterprise are too large); and finally the reading process itself [*lecture*], as foreign readers are bound to perceive the text in different ways, since the issues which are of interest to them in the text are inevitably the results of a different field of production. (1999: 22)

According to Bourdieu, if one wants to explain literary production, one has to consider it not as the creative activity of individuals or as a unitary and cohesive whole, but as a field of spatially and temporally differentiated forces (Bourdieu 1996: 124), in which agents (writers, critics, translators, etc.) and institutions (publishing houses, book series, journals, awards, educational institutions, etc.) are positioned (on the basis of their specific properties: economic capital, symbolic capital, political capital, age, gender, etc.) and take position (on the basis of more or less conscious strategies: publishing a novel rather than a collection of poems, a literary manifesto rather than a detective story, etc.). From the spatial point of view, the main opposition, which affirmed itself in France in the second half of the 19th century, is that between a "pole of large-scale (or mass) production", where the "heteronomous" logic of the market dominates and "commercial" literature is

produced, and a “pole of small-scale (or restricted) production”, where the “autonomous” logic of art prevails and “avant-gardes” produce “research” literature (we may find the same opposition also in other artistic fields, e.g.: mainstream vs. indie music). From a temporal point of view, the main opposition is that between the dominant (already consecrated by the heteronomous or the autonomous forces of the field), which represent “orthodoxy” (i.e. the recognised and legitimised ways of making literature), and the dominated (usually “new entrants”, either in the field of large-scale or in that of small-scale production), who cannot compete with the dominants on the level of orthodoxy, and are therefore more inclined to verge on “heresy” (that is on new, unprecedented, even shocking ways to conceive and practice literature).

In this field of tensions – which could be further differentiated – no actor or structure ever has a fixed position. Quite the opposite: in order to gain recognition (either in the field of large-scale production or in that of restricted production), they must continually “take position”, by publishing a new work, by founding a new journal or by collaborating with a publishing house (it goes without saying that, in this integrally relational logic, even not taking a position has to be considered a form of position-taking). Translating a foreign work – that is selecting it, transferring it into Italian, placing it in a book series, applying one’s own brand to it, writing a preface, proposing an interpretation of it – is nothing but one of many ways to take position in the field.

If the functioning of the large-scale production field is easily explained on the basis of the “logics” of market or politics (Heilbron and Sapiro 2007), it is more difficult to account for the dynamics that inform the field of restricted production, where books – and translations – are made according to the “specific” logic of literature, that is on the basis of an agent’s interests which respond to a shared “illusio”, the belief in the rules of the literary game in force in a given place and at a given time. It is on this particular area of the literary field that Bourdieu’s – and our own – interest is predominantly focused. In fact, more than the commercial translations we are interested in studying those translations which are often decisive for the long term consecration of a certain work: translations carried out in the field of restricted production, where the production of literary value is concentrated, namely through the collective work of what Bourdieu calls “avant-gardes”, that is every organised group of new entrants struggling for recognition. It is here that those interests that Bourdieu defines as “specific” (since they belong to a certain field and are apparently meaningless outside it) are generated, which may induce agents and institutions to attribute a value to the act of translating a certain author (even unknown ones, such as Thomas Mann or Franz Kafka in the 1920s) or a certain work (even hard-to-sell ones, such as *The Magic Mountain* or *The Trial*).

During our five-year research project we became convinced that there is no intrinsic or extrinsic *need* to translate this or that author or work. Only works that an agent, or group of agents, has an interest in translating are actually translated. All complaints about the “delay” or the “absence” of certain translations is the product of a scholastic illusion, that is of the belief, usually shared only by a restricted community, that a certain text *should* be translated. Over 99% of foreign literature is not translated: if this is the rule, then every published translation should be regarded as an exception and explained as such. Thus, each translation published in Italy has its own story, which involves different agents, institutions, relations, struggles, position-takings, opposing notions and practices of literature, and in some cases produces some change in Italian literary history.

We have conceived our website *LTit* (www.ltit.it) with the purpose of collecting the data we need to tell these stories, as well as the overall story of the Italian system of translated literature. We do not just need to highlight single data, but relations among data, and especially the active role of agents and institutions. So we have organised the data on three levels – people (authors, translators, mediators), publishing (publishing houses, book series, journals) and texts (original works, translated works, published works) – but have also made extensive research and written specific essays about the most significant among them. Thanks to this enhanced data set, we have now a dedicated instrument to trace what Bourdieu calls the “trajectories” of most agents and publishing institutions involved in the translation of German literature in the evolving Italian literary field of the 20th century: a “social trajectory” is in fact defined as “the *series of positions* subsequently occupied by the same agent or the same group of agents in successive spaces (the same thing is true for an institution, which has only a structural history)” (Bourdieu 1996: 258).

The method we have adopted allows us to investigate our main research question, that of literary consecration, or, to use Bourdieu’s terminology, that of specific (literary) capital. Given that a very large number of texts are translated, which of them have a recognised value, what kind of value, and attributed and recognised by whom? We focus mainly on the field of restricted production, because here we may most probably find the works that were read by Italian writers and had an influence on the development of Italian literature, that is those works which are more likely to be included in a history of Italian literature extended to translations: we have called this restricted set of authors and text “repertoire”, a notion we have taken and adapted from Even Zohar (1990b: 17).

In the following pages I would like to give an illustration of how we usually proceed in our research. I have chosen the case studies of the first translations of Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka in Italy because they give me the chance to explore two different forms of consecration in two different areas of the literary

field: for while Kafka was translated only within the field of restricted production up to 1935, Mann was also published in the field of large-scale production, and was involved in a political controversy, so that the composition of their respective symbolic capital and their degree of consecration differed to a significant extent. By taking into account the literary journals and book series that selected, labelled and eventually consecrated their texts as well as their public personas, I'll give a sketch of the Italian literary field which may be valid for most of foreign authors who were translated (or not) in the first decades of the 20th century.

Thomas Mann's trajectory in the Italian literary field (1908–1929)

Let's first follow Thomas Mann's trajectory across the Italian literary field. According to available bibliographies, 117 texts dealing with Mann (Mirabelli 2012: 63–79) and 29 translations (Schneider 2008: 235–239) were published by Italian periodicals and publishing houses in the years between 1908 and 1938: a corpus of around 150 items. If we want to consider each of these items as a position-taking regarding Mann, we need to try and position each agent and each institution in the field. We need to find out when each of them entered the field and what the trajectory of these works and their author was, as well as reconstruct the symbolic capital they accrued, the sectors of literary society in which they were recognised, and the repertoire of both domestic and foreign literature that they legitimated.

It is a long and hard task, especially when we are dealing with agents and institutions that have barely been studied before, meaning that we need to do specific archival research. However, by entering these data in *LTit* we hope that such a work will have to be done just once, and that a reliable set of records will be soon available for scholars with similar interests. Of course it is a work in progress, and it will take a long time to complete it, if ever. In the meantime, however, our archive of data is growing, for we are systematically analysing a large amount of book series and periodicals. For instance, through this research on Thomas Mann's trajectory we have found some of the first Italian translations of his works, e.g. that of *Tonio Kröger*, which had not been listed in the above cited bibliographies² (we may suppose that the omission was due to the fact that the periodicals in which they were published, *Il Mondo* and *Rassegna Italiana Politica Letteraria e Artistica*, did not belong to the field of restricted production, that is to those consecrated journals on which scholars mainly focus their interest).

2. For these translations see http://www.ltit.it/scheda/persona/mann-thomas__665: "Edizioni".

Since it would be long and boring to go through all 150 items, I'll focus mainly on the translations and on the place where they were published, in order to identify the most significant points along Mann's Italian trajectory.

But first we need to know what happened abroad, at least in his homeland, Germany, and then in France, where Paris was the capital of international literary consecration. In Germany, Mann published most of his major stories and novels in the first two decades of the century – *Buddenbrooks* (1901), *Tonio Kröger* (1903), *Der Tod in Venedig* (*Death in Venice*, 1912) – and in the 20s he was one the most active supporters of the new democracy of the Weimar republic: his most recent works were the novel *Der Zauberberg* (*The Magic Mountain*, 1924) and the story *Unordnung und frühes Leid* (*Disorder and Early Sorrow*, 1926). In France, the first translations of his works, all short stories, appeared in the 1920s, first published by Stock (*Tonio Kröger*, 1924), and then by Kra (*La Mort à Venise*, 1925, *Tristan*, 1927, *Désordre*, 1929), while the novels would only be published after Mann was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1929. Ideally, we should also check the most recognised periodicals, such as the *Nouvelle Revue Française*; still, we may already suppose that Mann's symbolic capital was not much higher then in France than in Italy.

Let's now come back to the Italian literary field. Here the first traces of Thomas Mann are from 1908: a short, anonymous article appeared in the *Nuova Antologia*, a very old and prestigious review (est. 1866), which the new avant-gardes (in Bourdieu's sense), who were at that time establishing their own circuit of restricted production, regarded as quite old and dusty. Given the position (and the large readership) of the *Nuova Antologia*, an interest in Thomas Mann might, we may suppose, have arisen both in the field of large-scale production and/or in that of restricted production: but no-one published any of his works and just a very few articles were written in the following years.

In 1915 the first significant Italian essay about Thomas Mann was published, once again in the *Nuova Antologia*. This essay has an interesting story. It was written by Alberto Spaini (1892–1975), a young journalist from Trieste who had made his literary apprenticeship in Florence, in the circle of *La Voce* (1908–1916) headed by Giuseppe Prezzolini (1882–1982) and Giovanni Papini (1881–1956), one of the most important avant-garde journals in Italy around 1910 and among the most influent institutions in the newly founded field of restricted production (Baldini et al. 2018: 25–31).³ Spaini had also been one of the first students in Italy who graduated in German Literature, and his professor in Rome had been another founder of the field, the writer and critic Giuseppe Antonio Borgese (1882–1952, see Baldini et al. 2018: 80–82). Just before his graduation, he had spent a couple of years in Berlin, where he had completed the first Italian translation of Goethe's

3. On Alberto Spaini see http://www.ltit.it/scheda/persona/spaini-alberto__91.

Le esperienze di Wilhelm Meister (*Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, 1913–15) on behalf of Prezzolini. There he frequented the local literary avant-gardes, from the Expressionists to Thomas Mann, and developed a great interest in new forms of contemporary literature, both in Germany and Italy. Spaini wrote his essay on Mann while he was in Berlin, and sent it to Prezzolini, asking him to publish it in *La Voce*. But Prezzolini refused, maintaining that Mann was a “stubborn, heavy and boring German” (Baldini et al. 2018: 266–267). The reason why Prezzolini, who was usually very interested in foreign literature, gave such a superficial judgement may be explained by the state of the field: but we will return to this later. Because of this refusal, Thomas Mann was, at least temporarily, banned from the field of restricted production. Prezzolini's refusal was only partially compensated by the praise of Benedetto Croce (1866–1952), the most prestigious among the founders of the field, who in 1920 reviewed the German edition of Mann's *Reflections of an Unpolitical* in his journal *La Critica* (1903–1944), a main institution of the field of restricted production. However, Croce had no interest in Mann as a novelist, but just as an essayist.

In 1920, Thomas Mann was finally translated: two short stories appeared in the popular weekly magazine *Il Mondo* (1915–1922), and a longer text, *Tonio Kröger*, was published in the monthly *Rassegna Italiana Politica Letteraria e Artistica* (1918–1943), which imitated the format of the *Nuova Antologia* but had no comparable prestige. Both periodicals were quite new, having been founded during the war; both of them were aimed at a general audience and had almost no recognition in the avant-garde circles. In both cases, the translator was Rosina Pisaneschi (1890–1960),⁴ the wife of Alberto Spaini. Just like her husband, Pisaneschi was well acquainted with the logic of the field of restricted production, was familiar with Prezzolini and his circle, had graduated with Borgese, had published her translation of *Wilhelm Meister* in a book series edited by Benedetto Croce, and was well able to find her feet in the contemporary German literary production. In the after-war years she was trying to earn her living as a translator, and we may suppose that *Il Mondo* and *Rassegna Italiana* were the only periodicals that would pay some money for texts of the still unknown Thomas Mann (Sonzogno, the popular publishing house of *Il Mondo* had published two novels by Heinrich Mann, Thomas' older brother, in 1919, who was therefore stably positioned in the field of large-scale production). With periodicals such as these, the author's name was of little importance: they just needed to be regularly fed with works of fiction (which were usually published without any introduction or comment) in order to entertain their readership. So, Thomas Mann finally entered the Italian repertoire, but he was first positioned in the field of large-scale production, whereas the most

4. On Rosina Pisaneschi see: http://www.ltit.it/scheda/persona/pisaneschi-rosina__644.

influential agents of consecration in the field of restricted production continued to ignore him.

At this point, it is worth pausing to consider the role of Alberto Spainì and Rosina Pisaneschi. They are two quite forgotten literary mediators who, however, played a crucial role in the importation of avant-garde German literature into Italy. Spainì, in particular, in the 1920s established himself as one of the first professional translators from German into Italian, and was the first to translate works of Wedekind (*Fuochi d'artificio* [Fireworks], 1920), Büchner (*La morte di Danton* [Danton's Death], 1928), Brecht (*L'opera da tre soldi* [The Threepenny Opera], 1930), Döblin (*Berlin Alexanderplatz*, 1932) and Kafka (*Il processo* [The Trial], 1933). Spainì and Pisaneschi are the kind of literary figures that we are trying to bring back to light with both our website and our research project (see Baldini et al. 2018: 113–140 and 141–169). For instance, for almost 20 years they were the most committed agents investing in Thomas Mann in the Italian literary field: we have found evidence that around 1920 Spainì, who was earning his living as a cultural journalist, had also translated Mann's *Altezza reale* (Royal Highness), that he had sent it together with his wife's translation of *Tonio Kröger* to Mondadori and other major publishing houses, and that after five years he was still waiting for an answer. As we will see, their engagement in importing unknown German authors like Mann, Brecht or Kafka is not a question of far-sightedness or good taste, but may be only be explained by following their trajectories across the Italian literary field, and by putting them in relation with the positions of the main agents and institutions involved in the transfer of foreign literature (see Section 3 below).

Around 1922 we see the first signs of a recognition of Mann in the field of restricted production. The most important avant-garde journal of that time, *La Ronda*, based in Rome, and another, less prestigious literary journal, *L'Esame*, based in Milan but well connected with *La Ronda*, translated five non-fictional texts: an essay on *Goethe e Tolstoj* and four "letters" on contemporary German literature respectively. So Thomas Mann finally entered the field of small-scale production, although in a peripheral position and rather as an essayist and a literary correspondent from Germany than as a writer and a novelist: a categorization that may well have been influenced by Benedetto Croce's 1920 review.

In 1926, two years after the French translation of *Tonio Kröger*, an entire book by Thomas Mann was first issued in Italy. The publishing house was not a major one, but the relatively new house founded by Giuseppe Morreale in 1921. Morreale printed two collections of short stories: *Tristano, Ora greve e altri racconti* (Tristan, A Weary Hour, and Other Tales), translated, once again, by Alberto Spainì and Rosina Pisaneschi (in which we find some texts which had previously appeared in periodicals), and *Tonio Kröger*, in a new translation by Guido Isenburg (about whom we know very little). Morreale, who was actually a Milanese businessman,

had no literary capital, and tried to acquire it by publishing authors and texts that no other publishers were interested in. He established a number of book series dedicated to foreign literature (*I tedeschi, I francesi, Gli spagnoli*, and so on), and among other things he published *The Conscience of Zeno* and other works by Italo Svevo (1861–1928), who until then had been forced to pay in order to be published. So, whereas Mondadori had Pisaneschi's translation of *Tonio Kröger* in his hands and hesitated to publish it (he was about to become one of the biggest publishers in Italy, but still had no book series dedicated to foreign literature), the small Morreale published a new translation of the same text. The situation was actually rather awkward: three out of seven short stories that appear in Italy between 1920 and 1926, were translated twice (*Das Wunderkind* [*The Child Prodigy*], *Der Kleiderschrank* [*The Wardrobe*], *Tonio Kröger*). And Thomas Mann still had no recognition in the field of restricted production: neither of Morreale's translations were reviewed in the journals of the avant-garde.

Things began to change in 1927. In July that year the journal *Il Convegno* published the longer story *Disordine e dolore precoce* (*Disorder and Early Sorrow*). *Il Convegno* (1920–1940), based in Milan, was undoubtedly an institution of the field of restricted production: in a similar position as *L'Esame*, it operated according to the autonomous logic of literature, so that it was the first journal to dedicate complete issues to authors like Joyce, Proust, Rilke, Svevo and Mann; but it received very little recognition from the avant-garde, since neither its director Enzo Ferrieri (1890–1969) nor any of his collaborators were consecrated writers or critics; it also didn't have a specific poetics to fight for, in the way that "militant" journals such as *La Ronda* had. The translation was published with great emphasis: a whole issue of the journal was dedicated to it, and in the following issues a number of essays on Mann were also published. The translator, this time, was Lavinia Mazzucchetti (1889–1965), another of those relatively unknown though very influential agents, whom we are trying to bring to light. Among the many women who operated as literary mediators or translators at this time, Mazzucchetti was one of the few who succeeded in standing out as a public persona, both as a reviewer for renowned journals and in the quite unprecedented (for a woman) role of book series director (Antonello and Sisto 2017). Mazzucchetti was the same age as Spaini and Pisaneschi, and had had a similar trajectory. She graduated in German literature in Milan and then earned her living as a cultural journalist, writing reviews for *I libri del giorno*, the prestigious literary journal published by Treves, which was then the most important publishing house for literature in Italy, also based in Milan, and a main institution of the field of large-scale production. So Mazzucchetti had an interest in staying up to date on the latest developments in German literature. We could say that in the 1920s Spaini and Mazzucchetti were the first professional Italian experts in German contemporary literature; and

in the 1930s Mazzucchetti established herself as one of the main consultants for German literature for Mondadori and other publishing houses – a very influential position. From 1920 on, Mazzucchetti was also personally in touch with Thomas Mann, who in 1925 sent her the freshly published German edition of *Disorder and Early Sorrow*. She translated it and sent it to Treves but received no answer, just like Spaini with Mondadori. So Mazzucchetti decided to send it to *Il Convegno*, with which she had been collaborating for years. As a periodical, *Il Convegno* was more or less in the same position as Morreale as a publisher: it was free to publish all authors and texts that both commercial and avant-garde journals were not interested in. So, the only three translations of Thomas Mann published between 1927 and 1929 appeared in *Il Convegno*: after *Disordine e dolore precoce*, the *Discorso su Lessing* (*Speech on Lessing*) and an excerpt from the novel *La montagna incantata* (*The Magic Mountain*), both published in 1929.

Thomas Mann's first major Italian translation, which appeared in 1929, was due to Lavinia Mazzucchetti's decision to found a book series of her own, *Narratori Nordici*, published in Milan by Sperling & Kupfer and dedicated to German contemporary writers who hadn't been translated into Italian, yet. Since both commercial and avant-garde publishers had no interest in authors such as Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Stefan Zweig or Jakob Wassermann, the new book series, operating in the logic of the field of restricted production, was meant to introduce them to the Italian readership, by translating not their major novels, which would be too expensive for such a small enterprise, but a selection of short stories considered to be representative of their production. The first issue of the series was – not surprisingly – *Disordine e dolore precoce*, followed in the same volume by another short story, *Cane e padrone* (*Master and Dog*). If we were to say that Mazzucchetti founded her book series just so that she could finally publish Thomas Mann, we would not be so far from the truth. This book was the most advanced and effective position-taking on Thomas Mann in the Italian field of restricted production before the writer was awarded with the Nobel Prize, in November 1929. Following the award, all major Italian newspapers published articles on Mann, celebrating him as one of the most important authors of the moment, but only Lavinia Mazzucchetti's *Disordine e dolore precoce* was available on the book market.

As we have seen, all the effort to translate Thomas Mann's fiction was made over twenty years by a very small group of specifically "interested" literary mediators: the young couple Spaini and Pisaneschi, then Guido Isenburg, and finally, and more effectively, Lavinia Mazzucchetti. All of them had to face the fact that just a few journals and even fewer publishing houses were willing to print their translations, neither in the field of restricted production (see Prezzolini's refusal) nor in the field of large-scale production (see the eloquent silence of both Mondadori and Treves). In the end they had to publish them with new venues that were positioned

at the periphery of the field of restricted production, such as Morreale's publishing house and Enzo Ferrieri's *Il Convegno*, who did not have the power, however, to really consecrate an author like Thomas Mann, who was still relatively unknown to the avant-gardes, nor to introduce him to a broader readership.

A sketch of the Italian literary field (1900–1930)

In order to explain the lack of interest of Italian literary institutions in Thomas Mann (and most other foreign authors) in the first decades of the 20th century we need to analyse the state of the literary field and what was considered the legitimate definition of literature at the time.

Our research (Baldini et al. 2018: 57–89) has pointed out that around 1900 the Italian field of publishing was polarized between “bourgeois art” and “social art” (Bourdieu 1996: 71), that is between a circuit of production mainly made by and for a bourgeois readership, who shared the hegemonic national values, and a circuit of production mainly made by and for a popular readership of workers and radicals. The pole of “bourgeois art” was dominated by the Treves publishing house, established in 1861, whose most prominent writer was Gabriele D’Annunzio. In the series *Biblioteca Amena* Emilio Treves (1834–1916) published both the most important contemporary foreign authors, from Flaubert to Tolstoy, as well as popular authors such as Georges Ohnet and Xavier de Montépin, who had no recognised literary status. Up to that time, there was no such a distinction, simply because there was no pole of what Bourdieu calls “autonomous” literature: all literature was “commercial”, and there was nothing wrong in a writer making money with literature. The field of “social art” was instead dominated by Edoardo Sonzogno (1836–1920), whose publishing house was as old as Treves’, but who mainly published classical authors (Dante, Manzoni, Cervantes, Poe, etc.), contemporary *feuilleton* (such as the adventures of Arsène Lupin) and political authors (like Felice Cavallotti, a prominent socialist). Other publishers generally adopted the same logic as the hegemonic Treves and Sonzogno. So both fields had their own repertoire: as far as German literature is concerned, Treves used to translate commercial fiction, that is authors who had enjoyed considerable success in Germany or France, but who are nowadays excluded from the literary canon, such as Elisabeth Werner, who was then the most translated German author; on the other hand Sonzogno used to publish classical authors like Goethe, Schiller, and Wagner as well as political writers, like Heinrich Mann, whose *I poveri* (*The poor*, 1917) and *Il suddito* (*The Patrioteer*, 1918) were translated in 1919 as novels that denounced the corruption of society in Germany, Italy’s enemy during WWI. Neither had any interest in publishing a complex and sophisticated author such as Thomas Mann.

Around 1910, the field underwent a dramatic transformation, as a group of new avant-garde intellectuals founded a few pioneering book series that, together, succeed in establishing a circuit of restricted production, where authors and texts were selected, labelled and read mainly according to a specifically literary, rather than commercial, logic. These new pioneers were the writers and critics we have already mentioned, and who still belong to the Italian literary canon: Benedetto Croce, Giovanni Papini, Giuseppe Prezzolini and Giuseppe Antonio Borgese. They have been thoroughly studied for their critical and literary production, but – as we are trying to show – they also had a crucial role as founders and directors of book series, which in turn were structurally connected to journals that fostered specific visions of literature and culture: Benedetto Croce founded the journal *La Critica* and the book series *Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna* (1902–now), as well as many other book series for the new publisher Giovanni Laterza; Giovanni Papini founded the journals *L'Anima* (1911) and *Lacerba* (1913–1915) and the series *Cultura dell'anima* (1909–1938), as well as a number of other book series for the new publisher Rocco Carabba; Giuseppe Prezzolini founded the journal *La Voce* and the series *Quaderni della Voce* (1910–1938), as well as his own publishing

Figure 1. Polarization between large-scale and restricted production in the Italian publishing field around 1910: dominant book series of translated fiction and main symbolic oppositions

house, Libreria della Voce; Giuseppe Antonio Borgese founded *Il Conciliatore* (1914–1915) and the series *Antichi e moderni* (1912–1935), once again for the publisher Rocco Carabba; and so on.

Between 1909 and 1914 these new enterprises succeeded in publishing over 400 books, which is not much in comparison with large-scale publishing, but is enough to constitute a structural and symbolic alternative to it (see Figure 1). Bourdieu's notion of "restricted production" should in fact be taken literally: the agents who selected, translated, edited, introduced and discussed these books were, at least at the beginning, just a few dozen. However, they succeeded in establishing a circuit of production where the specific logic of literature prevailed upon the market logic, and the new logic of "pure art" prevailed upon the old logic of bourgeois and social art. It was within this circuit that the specific literary values of translators like Spaini and Pisaneschi were formed, that is their interest in selecting, labelling and reading foreign contemporary authors such as Mann and Kafka. Moreover, the founders of this circuit, who mutually recognised each other, gained the power to establish what was to be recognised as literature and what was not. In our project, we have tried to reconstruct these mostly unwritten "rules of the art" (Baldini et al. 2018: 1–56). One very important rule concerns the novel. The novel as genre, and fiction in general, was considered to be trivial, false, mechanical and commercial. Novels were too compromised by the market: so, with a few exceptions, those who made the rules in the field of restricted production, that is its "*no-mothêtes*" (Bourdieu 1996: 62), did not write or translate any novels, and of course they did not publish them in their periodicals or book series. In their opinion novels were the kind of commercial fare that could be left to Treves or Sonzogno. So this new avant-garde brought great innovation to the repertoire of translated literature, but they only selected and consecrated those authors and texts that they would appropriate and associate with their own literary production, which was then characterised by nonfictional genres such as diaries, autobiographies, essays and above all a sort of philosophical prose which owed much to Nietzsche. Among German authors Nietzsche, Novalis, Hebbel and Goethe – whose novel *Le esperienze di Wilhelm Meister* they read (in the sense of Bourdieu's *lecture*) as an "ideal autobiography" (Baldini et al. 2018: 143–148) – were the first ones that they consecrated within the borders of the newly established field of restricted production.

This rejection of the novel, that is of fiction, was a fundamental rule of the field that continued to have an influence up until the 1930s and 40s, and was, in our opinion, the main reason why Thomas Mann could find no publishers even within the field of restricted production. This same rejection hindered the translation of authors who chose the novel as a means of literary innovation, such as Hermann Hesse, Alfred Döblin or Robert Musil.

However, as we saw, everything began to change around 1929. That this was also the year of Mann's Nobel Prize is just a coincidence: it is reasonable to suppose that commercial publishers would have begun to translate his novels even if he had not won it. From 1929 on, dozens of novelists, no matter whether they were German or from other countries, began to be regularly translated. The numbers are impressive (see Rundle 2010). In a little more than ten years, hundreds of novels were translated, from an ample selection of countries and periods and including a wide range of genres: finally, Italy had a large and varied repertoire of novels (Sisto 2019: 237–276). This structural revolution originated from commercial publishing: pioneering publishers such as Gian Dàuli (1884–1945) with his *Modernissima* and Alfredo Polledro (1885–1961) with his *Slavia*, as well as industrial publishers such as Arnoldo Mondadori (1889–1971) realized that a new readership was ready to invest in very different kinds of fiction. So they launched a number of new book series for every taste: from detective stories and women's popular fiction to more sophisticated literary products. Gian Dàuli's series *Scrittori di tutto il mondo* [Writers from all over the world], launched by *Modernissima* in 1929, was arguably the most artistically innovative series in the field of foreign contemporary fiction; but the most successful was Mondadori's *Medusa*, established in 1933. These new series needed to be fed with the products of “new” novelists such as (to cite a few German examples) Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Alfred Döblin, Hans Fallada, Jakob Wassermann, and Erich Kästner. So they finally – and all of a sudden – published a very large number of them.

Of course, not all these book series had the same symbolic capital. Some of them gained recognition within the field of restricted production, others did not. In fact, as the structural revolution took place in the field of large-scale production, another revolution, a symbolic one, was fostered in the field of restricted production: some avant-gardes fought to rehabilitate the novel as a genre by overcoming that rejection of fiction that had been a rule in the field of restricted production since the 1910s. Giuseppe Antonio Borgese was at the head of a group of writers and critics who, since the beginning of the 1920s, sought to change this rule; another was Massimo Bontempelli (1878–1960), with his periodical *900*. After them, a new generation of authors, like Alberto Moravia (1907–1990), Vitaliano Brancati (1907–1954), Elio Vittorini (1908–1966) and Cesare Pavese (1908–1950), began to experiment in an organized way with the novel. At the beginning of the 1930s, the big question within the field of restricted production was no longer whether the novel had literary value or not, but what kind of novel the avant-gardes should invest in: the psychological novel, metaphysical novel, neorealist novel, or collective novel, to name just some. Some new entrants in the field of publishing, usually with little economic capital, such as *Slavia* (est. 1926), Bompiani (est. 1929) and Frassinelli (est. 1931), therefore began to import the novels of authors that were

recognised as “literary” within the field of restricted production, such as Joyce, Sinclair Lewis, Dos Passos, and Babel’. They also made alliances with periodicals which shared the same interests, such as *Il Convegno*, *Il Baretto* (1924–1926) or *Solaria* (1926–1934). In their book series, they published some of the most significant foreign novels of those years, which were also the most imitated within the literary avant-garde. Among those translated from the German we may mention *La signorina Elsa* by Arthur Schnitzler (1929), *Berlin Alexanderplatz* by Alfred Döblin (1931), *Fabian* by Erich Kästner (1933) and *Il processo* by Kafka (1933).

Figure 2. State of the publishing field around 1930: dominant book series of translated fiction and new entrants

Figure 2 is a sketch of the field of literary publishing in Italy around 1930. Not all book series are represented, since I have focused on those that included foreign contemporary fiction. Positioned to the left are the more “commercial” book series from publishing houses such as Sonzogno, Treves and Mondadori; and to the right the more “autonomous” series from publishing houses such as Slavia, Frassinelli, Bompiani and, later, Einaudi. This diagram is of course an approximation, and includes some compromises: it is difficult, for instance, to position Mondadori, who published both “commercial” and “autonomous” book series.

Thomas Mann's trajectory in the Italian literary field (1930–1938)

Figure 3 shows the positions of most German novelists in the Italian literary field, depending on the book series in which they were published. Each of them had a different degree of specific recognition, ranging from Leo Perutz, who was just published as an author of detective stories, to Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka. Even if the sketch is quite rough (for a more refined representation of the field of publishing see Bourdieu 2008: 131–32), it is worth noting that Thomas Mann seems to have had a lower specific capital than Schnitzler or Kafka: his recognition was not so “pure” as Kafka’s, since translations of Mann’s novels were spread across the entire literary field, from the pole of heteronomy to that of autonomy.

Figure 3. Positionings of German novelists in the Italian literary field according to the book series: e.g. Leo Perutz, Thomas Mann and Franz Kafka

Between 1930 and 1933, in fact, after the award of his Nobel Prize, that is after Thomas Mann’s symbolic capital had been certified *abroad*, no less than six different Italian publishers brought out some of his short stories and even his major novels, often in more than one translation: Treves (*La morte a Venezia/Le confessioni di un cavaliere d’industria*, 1930), Barion (*I Buddenbrook*, 1930 and *Altezza reale*, 1933), Edizioni del Quadrante (*La morte a Venezia/Fiorenza*, 1930), Bietti (also *La morte a Venezia/Fiorenza*, 1930), Modernissima (*La montagna incantata*,

1932) and Corbaccio (*Altezza reale*, 1933). Treves was still the most prestigious publishing house in the field of large-scale production, although it was about to undergo a severe crisis and would close in 1938, whereas Barion was specialised in cheap popular editions.⁵ However, most of these operations were due to a single literary mediator, the publisher and writer Gian Dàuli, founder of *Modernissima* and *Edizioni del Quadrante*, who gave Bietti the license to publish *La morte a Venezia*, and in 1932 sold his book series *Scrittori di tutto il mondo* to the publishing house Corbaccio, which was able to carry it on for a few more years. Dàuli's initiatives are mainly positioned in the field of large-scale production, but they gain recognition also in the field of restricted production, thanks to a daring selection, good-quality translations, experienced editors and legitimizing prefaces.

In 1933 a new change occurred: Arnoldo Mondadori started his own series of contemporary foreign fiction, *Medusa*, that published up to 30 volumes a year (as many as all other publishers put together) and in a short time overwhelmed its competitors: many of the book series that had been established around 1930 went out of business by 1935. Lavinia Mazzucchetti became one of Mondadori's regular collaborators, so he was also in a position to acquire the rights to all works by her friend Thomas Mann: the tetralogy *Giuseppe e i suoi fratelli* (*Joseph and his Brothers*) appeared between 1933 and 1937 in *Medusa*, and no other publisher was able to translate his works until the end of the WWII.

So Mann became an established author, a leading name in the most important Italian book series dedicated to foreign contemporary fiction, that also managed to be, and be perceived as, a commercial series. This is why Mann gained remarkable symbolic capital in the national literary field, but was not really recognised in the field of restricted production: he was much appreciated by bourgeois readers (young Primo Levi was a passionate reader of *La montagna incantata* and *Giuseppe e i suoi fratelli*), but was practically ignored by the avant-gardes, whose models were rather novelists like Schnitzler, Döblin, Kästner or Kafka.

Franz Kafka's trajectory in the Italian literary field (1927–1938)

As we have seen, Kafka was recognised with the greatest specific capital within avant-garde publishing. With the help of an article written by Simone Costagli (2014) my intention is to quickly sketch his trajectory in the Italian literary field, comparing it to that of Mann in order to explain the difference in capital between them.

5. Unfortunately, the archives of these publishing houses were destroyed during WWII, so we do not have much information about who made the decisions in the editorial board and it is difficult to name any individual agents who worked in these firms.

In Italy Kafka was discovered in 1927, three years after his death and almost twenty years after the first articles about Thomas Mann had appeared: the first Italian article about Kafka was written, once again, by Lavinia Mazzucchetti, who had, as we saw, a specific interest in establishing herself as an up-to-date specialist of German contemporary literature. The article was published in Treves' book magazine *I Libri del giorno*, a few months before her translation of Mann's *Disordine e dolore precoce* would appear in *Il Convegno*. Its title is significant: *Franz Kafka e il Novecentismo*. In contrast to her treatment of Mann, Mazzucchetti immediately positions Kafka in relation to a contemporary Italian avant-garde, the so-called *novecentisti* led by Massimo Bontempelli. Bontempelli, who had started his periodical *900* in 1926, called for a new literature that would go beyond naturalism, by exploring the dimension of the absurd and the irrational, and by expressing a truer reality that may exist beyond the reality we perceive: a poetics that was something between early German romanticism (Hoffmann) and contemporary French surrealism (Breton). In her article, Mazzucchetti argues that Kafka's stories can be read as a form of *novecentismo*, that is as a kind of experimental literature, in which form is more important than the content. So, from the start, Kafka was read (*lecture*) through the "specific" categories of the Italian avant-gardes, and recognised within the field of restricted production: but, for this same reason, Mazzucchetti considered him to be beyond the grasp of the common reader, and so, contrary to what she had done for Thomas Mann, she did not actively engage to publish him in Italian.

However, although a handful of Kafkaian texts were published in *Il Convegno* in 1928, the Italian avant-gardes continued to ignore him until the summer of 1933, when his novel *Il processo* was published in Carlo Frassinelli's *Biblioteca Europea*. This was a very important book series, probably the most autonomous in the Italian publishing field of the 1930s. Only nine volumes were published in the series, but they were all rigorously selected within the specific logic of literature and in a few years they would enter the repertoire of the most recognised works of narrative fiction. Among them we find Babel's *L'armata a cavallo* (*Red Cavalry*, 1932) translated by Renato Poggioli, Melville's *Moby Dick* (1932) and Joyce's *Dedalus* (*A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, 1933), both translated by Cesare Pavese, and two volumes by Kafka: *Il processo* (1933) and the collection of short stories *Il messaggio dell'imperatore* (*A Message from the Emperor*, 1935). The series had been launched in 1932 by Franco Antonicelli (1902–1974), an intellectual who was near to the avant-garde group of the antifascist Piero Gobetti (1901–1926) and his journal *Il Baretto*. Among those who collaborated with Antonicelli were the young Cesare Pavese and Leone Ginzburg (1909–1944), who were then near to the journal *Solaria* and to the newly established avant-garde publishing house Einaudi (1933), both anti-fascist. The translator is, once again, Alberto Spaini, who also

wrote the preface. According to Spaini, Kafka should be read as an “ultra-realist” writer, who denounces in his powerful descriptions the oppressive structures of contemporary society. This interpretation (*lecture*) of Kafka, a realist, social and antifascist Kafka, fitted in well with the positioning of the Turin avant-garde that introduced him in Italy within the field of restricted production, that is to say, the Gobetti-Einaudi-*Solaria* circle.

Just one year later another translation, that of the short story *La metamorfosi* (*The Transformation*), published by another avant-garde, was positioned very differently. This avant-garde was based in Florence and its leader was the elder Giovanni Papini, who in the 1920s had converted to fascism, to Catholicism and to a mystical form of Christianity. Some of his followers had founded a literary journal called *Il Frontespizio* (1929–1940), which was printed by Papini’s publishing house, Vallecchi, and was used to spread his ideas and poetics. As we saw above, Papini was against the novel and in favour, instead, of a form of diaristic and autobiographical prose, a mix of personal essay and fiction, that was meant to touch the very truth of things. This is why the *Frontespizio* group was especially interested in the small collection of aphorisms *Considerazioni sul peccato, il dolore, la speranza e la vera via* (*Sin, Hope, Suffering, and the True Way*), which Max Brod had selected from Kafka’s large opus because they seemed to explicitly deal with religion. An excerpt of the *Considerazioni* was published in *Il Frontespizio* in 1933, translated by a young follower of Papini, Rodolfo Paoli (1905–1978). One year later, Paoli also translated *La metamorfosi* for Vallecchi. In his preface, he presented Kafka as a religious author, who despised naturalism and tried to describe the “metaphysical” side of reality. According to Paoli, although Kafka was Jewish, his vision of religion was akin to a catholic one: before God, man is but a worm, who can but humbly accept God’s plan, even if he does not understand it. This is why the book did not have the conventional beetle on its cover, but a worm. As to Kafka’s poetics, Paoli showed that he respected the rule of rejection of fiction, by suggesting that his works are not novels, but a sequence of fragments, of epiphanies, weakly connected into a longer narrative: his “metaphysical novels” are really “poems”. Compared to Antonicelli and Spaini’s Turinese Kafka, the one offered by the Papini-Vallecchi-*Frontespizio* circle was quite a different: this Kafka was not at all interested in society or oppression, but rather in religion, that is in the relationship between man and God. He was not a realist but a metaphysical writer, who apparently shared the position and poetics of his Florentine mediators: simplifying slightly, we could say that theirs was an antirealist, catholic and fascist Kafka.

We could go on – at least until 1938, when Mussolini’s antisemitic laws caused both Mann and Kafka to be banned from the Italian publishing field – but I think my point has been made. By following the Italian trajectories of these two German authors, we can see how literary journals and book series contributed in

constituting their symbolic capital and positioning them within the literary field. Up to 1935, Mann gained widespread recognition across the field, from the heteronomous to the autonomous pole, but did not achieve specific recognition within the avant-garde circles. Kafka, on the other hand, was still unknown to the wider readership, but enjoyed a very high specific recognition in the field of restricted production, especially on the part of the new entrants. Young writers who started their trajectory in the 30s were obliged to engage with Kafka, be he a Turin realist or a Florence metaphysicist. Dino Buzzati (1906–1972) and Tommaso Landolfi (1908–1979) explicitly acknowledged Kafka's importance for their work; while, to cite just two examples, Franco Fortini (1917–1994) was strongly influenced by the Florentine interpretation of Kafka, and Italo Calvino (1923–1985) by the Turinese interpretation.

Short remarks on methodology

On the basis of our research experience and of the cases I have discussed here, I can now try and answer some methodological questions.

We have found that the possibilities that quantitative analysis may open for the study of translations in journals depend mainly on the research question asked and on the expertise available in the research group. We are not sociologists, so it would have been rather difficult to adequately cope with quantitative analysis; furthermore, we did not really need to, given the kind of research questions we were asking, that is whether and how we may study translated literature as an integral part of the national literature that produces it. So, our practical solution was to qualitatively analyse the largest possible quantity of data. This is what the website *LTit* should help to do.

We also tried to combine intrinsic and extrinsic perspectives, hermeneutical and sociological questions, as I have shown by analysing the opposing Italian lectures of Kafka's *La metamorfosi* as position-takings in the field. In practical terms, some members of our group (Antonello, Baldini, myself) adopted a more sociological approach while others (Biagi, De Lucia, Fantappiè) adopted a more hermeneutical one (see Baldini et al. 2018: 91–111, 113–139 and 141–169): by sharing both the object and the methodology it was then easy to compare our results step by step.

The main question, however, is whether it is possible to formulate a specific methodology for the study of translations published in journals. This depends, as I said, on the research question we are asking. As far as our own research question is concerned, I would say that we did not really need a specific methodology. On the contrary, our experience with translated German literature in Italy convinced

us that it is better not to isolate a research object, e.g. translations in periodicals, if it is not strictly necessary for the research task in hand. At the beginning, we also tried to study translated literature as a separate system with its own rules and history, but in time we have found that these rules and history are basically the same as those of the national literary field as a whole. If we want to explain each translation (or non-translation) as a position-taking that responds to specific literary interests, and understand how authors are assigned a position and a symbolic capital within the field, we need to investigate the structure and the history of the field of reception in its entirety. In the end, our research object turned out to be the Italian literary field itself, and Bourdieu's sociology of literature, integrated with current translation studies theory, proved to be the most effective approach.

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PART II

Measuring foreign literature

Qualitative implications of quantitative analysis
of translation in periodicals

Metadata mining

The reception and translation of foreign cultures in British Romantic review periodicals (1809–1827)

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Building on a quantitative survey that charts the presence of foreign cultures in the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*, this essay pursues a closer understanding of the ways in which British Romantic review periodicals engaged in intercultural mediation. After a brief introduction of the project, the essay zooms in on some of the methodological issues related to the construction and analysis of the database. As it is the first time that such quantitative research is being undertaken, particular attention is given to the difficult balance between distant reading of metadata and close readings of specific review articles, the selection of a representative corpus, and the position of the database within existing research.

Keywords: bibliometrics, British Romanticism, close reading, *Edinburgh Review*, France and Britain, periodical studies, *Quarterly Review*, reception, translation, *Westminster Review*

By building on a quantitative survey that charts the presence of foreign cultures in the *Edinburgh Review* (ER) and *Quarterly Review* (QR), the doctoral project on which this essay is based pursues a closer understanding of the ways in which British Romantic review periodicals engaged in intercultural mediation. After a brief introduction of the project, I will zoom in on some of the methodological issues related to the construction and analysis of the database, as it is the first time that such quantitative research is being undertaken.

State of the art

The project focuses on an understudied but prominent aspect of British Romantic periodicals: their reviews of foreign books, and their attitude towards other cultures and languages more generally. Such a study is timely, as during the last two decades Romanticist scholars have shown increased interest in periodicals. After Jon Klancher's seminal *The Making of English Reading Audiences, 1790–1832* (1987) had pioneered the field, Mark Parker's 2000 monograph convincingly argued that Romantic journals and magazines should be considered valuable research objects in their own right, instead of merely serving as supporting background information in the study of canonical texts. Periodicals not only acted as the predominant purveyors of scientific, economic and social information in Romantic Britain, but also played a crucial role in the development and dissemination of Romantic literature (Schoenfield 2009: 1). During the past three decades, scholars have therefore shed light on a wide variety of aspects of periodical culture: the collaborative tension between poetry and periodical criticism (Newlyn 2000), the economic side of periodical publishing (Erickson 1996), the periodical's collective voice and its relation to the contributor's individual identity (Schoenfield 2009), the nexus between periodicals and empire (Fang 2010; Christie 2016), the influence of popular metropolitan culture on literary magazines (Stewart 2011), celebrity and performativity (Mole 2013a, 2013b), or periodicals as performative media (Esterhammer 2013, 2015). Several monographs and essay collections have been specifically devoted to the *ER* (Demata and Wu 2002; Fontana 2008; Christie 2009) and *QR* (Shattock 1989; Cutmore 2007).

Nevertheless, few scholars have studied the role of the review as a cultural mediator. J. H. Alexander and Peter France both produced short articles (published in 1990 and 2009, respectively) that have paved the way for a closer analysis of the subject: both articles point out the prominence of foreign texts reviewed and/or translated in the *ER* and in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and underline the urgency of a "much more thorough and systematic study" (Alexander 1990: 18). In his most recent book Diego Saglia (2018) has tried to meet this need with a short chapter on the reception of European literatures in Romantic periodicals. Christopher Stray's 2007 essay, which includes a small quantitative survey of the presence of classics in the *QR*, should also be mentioned here. In addition, works that do not concentrate on periodicals, but examine the general reception or translation of foreign cultures in Britain, are equally valuable. While Peter Mortensen (2004) and Esther Wohlgemut (2009) examine the cosmopolitan and Europhobic impulses in Romantic Britain, Rosemary Ashton (1980), Marcus Tomalin (2016), and Diego Saglia and Ian Haywood (2017) study the reception of specific national cultures. Lastly, scholars as Peter France and Kenneth Haynes (2006), Frederick Burwick

(2008), Padma Rangarajan (2014), and Tom Toremans (2017), look into the practice of translation during the Romantic period.

Although several of the studies listed above include chapters or remarks on Romantic periodicals' engagement with foreign languages, none has yet performed the more thorough systematic study proposed by France and Alexander. Moreover, when faced with the extensive amount of source material that the topic inevitably requires, the majority of reception scholars have either tended towards a bibliometrical method, or towards a qualitative analysis, rather than combining the two. While book historians such as Bill Bell (2007) or Quincy Bayard Morgan and A. R. Hohlfeld (1949) quantify instances of translation and reception, others carry out close readings of specific case studies. My work therefore attempts to integrate these two approaches. Even though no such combined analysis has yet been undertaken in the field of British Romantic Studies, there are multiple examples of similar projects across other languages: Andrea Penso's online database (2018) charts the Italian reception of English eighteenth-century novels, the University of Nantes's project "Traduire sous l'Occupation" (Lombes et al. 2017) studies the practice of translation in review periodicals during the German occupation of France, and Stefania Caristia's doctoral dissertation (2019) examines the position of French literature in twentieth-century Italian reviews.

Foreign cultures in the *Edinburgh Review* and *Quarterly Review*

As their name suggests, the *ER* (est. 1802) and *QR* (est. 1809) appeared four times a year, and contained reviews of newly published books, both in fiction and non-fiction. These review articles easily ran into 30 to 40 pages, since more often than not the book under review functioned as a pretext to write about a topical issue related to the book's subject. That way, the essay-like reviews, as Walter Bagehot (1879: 5) termed them, did not only provide an evaluation of the newest books, but also an opinion on current affairs. In this sense, the Romantic quarterlies can be compared to contemporary magazines as *Time* or *The Economist*; in contrast to newspapers they do not report on the latest events, but offer readers an interpretation of them. The quarterlies' editor and publisher employed an ever-varying set of anonymous contributors, most of whom identified with a certain ideological current: while the *ER* was associated with the liberal (or "Whig") party, the *QR* was the organ of the conservative (or "Tory") party – it was even founded with the specific aim of offering an alternative counter-voice to the *ER*. As a result of this ideological opposition, the *ER* and *QR* regularly reviewed the same books, but offered a different opinion on the same topic. Because of the frequent polemics between them, the Romantic critic William Hazlitt once compared them to

the famous duo “Tweedledum and Tweedledee” (*Political Essays* xxxii). Hence, contrary to what many titles of Romantic periodicals (*The Mirror*, *The Spectator*, *The Repository*, and even the etymology of the word “magazine”, as a storehouse of information) suggest, periodicals were not objective windows to the cultural and political reality of their time. They should not be regarded as objective witnesses of their time, since the information they present is necessarily colored, selective, and limited. Instead, they are mediators that interpret the ideas circulating in books and society for a broad middle-class audience.

The *ER* and *QR* were aimed at busy middle-class professionals (and their families), who looked to the journals for a digest of the most recent publications and current affairs. As most readers did not have the time to actually read the books under review, or would only read a book after the review had sparked their interest, their first reader-response took place within the medium of the periodical. The writer and critic Thomas Carlyle even compared this digressive movement with the capitalist mechanization of modern life, where machines, bureaucratic systems, and periodicals “grind the meal for society” (1829: 443) and throw it ready-made into the public’s mouths. As Marc Schoenfield and Jon Klanderer have convincingly argued, periodicals thus envisaged a certain kind of readership, or, in Benedict Anderson’s words, an imagined community (Anderson 2006 [1983]). By articulating their views on socio-political reality, periodicals created a ready template of identity for their readers, that closely corresponds to Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus (Bourdieu 1984). Though many early-nineteenth-century readers read multiple periodicals from various ideological currents, most readers identified with the specific set of dispositions of one particular journal: apart from the literary taste for certain books that the periodical adhered to, readers also found their socio-political identity exemplified in the writing of the editors and contributors.

Given the share of foreign cultures in British Romantic periodicals, it seems odd that no analyses of the topic have appeared as yet. As the next section will demonstrate, in the *ER* and *QR* about a quarter of the reviews in each issue deals with foreign books. Even reviews of English books show significant engagement with non-British cultures, as travelogues and books on foreign or colonial politics were among the most frequently reviewed genres. (Auto)biographies of foreign celebrities, such as socialites residing at the European courts, famous authors, or international politicians, were equally popular. During this era of colonial exploration, empire-building, and war, there was a keen interest in other cultures. Global conflicts as the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802), and the Napoleonic Wars (1803–15) equally impacted the Romantics’ views of other cultures. Nevertheless, import costs made foreign books costly and hard to come by. The same was true of travelogues, which were more expensive due to their illustrations and occasionally larger format. For information about distant cultures readers therefore relied on

the mediation of the periodicals they bought, borrowed, or read at coffee houses. The periodicals' representation of foreign cultures, however politically colored, thus distinctly determined the ways in which the British audience conceived of them. During the Napoleonic Wars the book trade's predicament intensified, as Napoleon's Continental Blockade, his strict censorship system, and the general difficulty of travel and trade in a war situation made it difficult for British publishers to import books or to travel to the Continent themselves. In 1809, the tax on foreign books that had been levied since 1787 was increased to pay for the costs of war. Yet even in the confusion of these war years editors and publishers did their best to procure foreign intelligence and to ensure the process of cultural transfer.¹ Hence, to use Bruno Latour's terms, Romantic periodicals were responsible for trans-lating (in the sense of the Latin *transferre*; to bring across), accumulating, displaying, and commodifying indigenous knowledge for a wide audience (Latour 1987, Leask 2002: 21). It is precisely this process of cultural mediation that makes the often overlooked late-Romantic prose culture so intriguing. As both distributors and mediators of information about other cultures, periodicals are ideal research objects for the study of cultural transfer.

Database and results

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which cultural transfer is at work in the *ER* and *QR*, the project is divided into two major parts: a quantitative analysis of the presence of foreign cultures in the periodicals, and a more in-depth historical analysis of a selected number of review articles. The quantitative component consists of an extensive database that records the interaction between the British and other national literary systems, as represented in the *ER* and *QR*. The

1. The following letter provides a good example of periodicals' efforts to obtain interesting books for review. In March 1809 the *QR*'s publisher John Murray asked diplomat Stratford Canning, then accompanying Robert Adair in Constantinople, to send him any interesting foreign works he could lay hands on. Canning replied: "With regard to the comission [sic] which you have given me, it is, I fear, completely out of my power to execute it. Literature neither resides at Constantinople nor passes through it. Even were I able to obtain the publications of France and Germany by way of Vienna, the road is so circuitous, that you would have them later than others who contrive to smuggle them across the North Sea. Every London newspaper that retails its daily sixpennyworth of false reports, publishes the French, the Hamburgh, the Vienna, the Frankfort, and other journals, full as soon as we receive any of them here. This is the case at all times; at present it is much worse. We are entirely insulated. The Russians block up the usual road through Bucharest, and the Servians prevent the passage of couriers through Bosnia. And in addition to these difficulties, the present state of the Continent must at least interrupt all literary works" (qtd. in Smiles 153–154).

database spans the period 1809–1827; in 1809 the *QR* begins publication, 1827 marks the start of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, a periodical that only reviews non-British works and thus heralds a new era in periodical publishing.

The database is primarily constructed as a Microsoft Excel document, in which the metadata of each review article were entered (see Appendix 1 and 2). This was easy to do through Proquest's *British Periodicals Online*, which has digitized both periodicals. I thereby focused on parameters that could help measure the presence of other languages, such as "Is the work under review a work originally written in English, a work in a foreign language, or a translation?," "What is the original language of the work under review?" As reading all review articles in the corpus – some 2000 – was not possible, I selected a sample of approximately 150 articles for in-depth qualitative analysis, the second component of the project. Nevertheless, while constructing the database, we did scroll through every review and scanned it for quotations from other languages, as well as for translated fragments. Since it was common for Romantic book reviews to quote long passages from the book under review, many of these quotations can be found. It is needless to say that this method is not perfectly reliable, but it can still yield a good idea of the languages that are most frequently quoted and translated. These parameters allowed me to document, among other things, the ratio between reviews of British and of non-British works, the relation between foreign works reviewed in translation and those reviewed in their original language, the amount of translated passages and foreign-language quotations within the articles themselves, or the disciplinary distribution of non-British texts.²

Although more examples will be explored in the section on "Methodological challenges", Figures 1 and 2 already demonstrate how the results of the database can be displayed and analysed. Figure 1 shows the different types of reviewed works.

Since there are no significant differences for this parameter, the results for the *ER* and *QR* are displayed in the same chart. As already mentioned above, about a quarter of the articles in each issue deals with non-British works, while 74% reviews works originally written in English. Interestingly, too, most foreign works are reviewed in the original, rather than in translation. In the section on "Close and distant reading", I will seek to offer an explanation of why this is the case for French books.

2. I first set out by inventorizing three four-year periods within the period 1809–1827, which I hoped would be representative of the late-Romantic period. After I had compiled these samples, however, it turned out to be necessary to get the entire data set, in order to ascertain whether certain trends would persist. Luckily, I was fortunate enough to be able to hire three MA students to complete this task; my thanks therefore go to Lukas De Coster, Astrid Dewaele, and Stiv Vadahi, who entered the remaining seven years into the database.

Figure 1. Types of works reviewed in *ER* and *QR*, 1809–1827

Figure 2.1 and 2.2 display the spread of the original languages of reviewed books, for the *ER* and *QR* separately.

Figure 2.1 Original languages of reviewed works, *ER*, 1809–1827

Both charts confirm that a quarter of the reviews deals with foreign works, among which French unsurprisingly prevails as the dominant language of the period, followed by Latin, ancient Greek, German, Italian, and Spanish. Examining the evolution of these data through time shows that books in modern languages are

Figure 2.2 Original languages of reviewed works, QR, 1809–1827

reviewed more frequently as time goes on, while the classical languages are in decline. As my doctoral thesis aims to argue, these evolutions spring from the quarterlies’ (at times slightly different) reactions to shifts in Britain’s educational system, (inter)national politics, literary movements, etc.

Methodological challenges

Corpus selection

The project originally set out as a comparative analysis of the *ER* and *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* (*BM*, est. 1817), a literary magazine with a Tory outlook. Yet when constructing the database, it soon became clear that *BM*’s miscellaneous format was not compatible with the homogeneous format of the *ER*. While the *ER* and *QR* are wholly made up of book reviews, *BM* also includes essays, original poetry and prose, humorous sketches, etc. It was therefore not possible to enter *BM*’s metadata into the database by means of the same criteria that had been used for the *ER*. I accordingly substituted *BM* with the *QR*, the most prominent Romantic quarterly after the *ER*, and, like *BM*, the *ER*’s Tory rival. This allows for a much more unified corpus. It initially seemed unfortunate to have to leave behind such a rewarding research object as *BM*, for the magazine contains regular features centring on foreign literature, such as the “*Horae Germanicae*” or “*Horae Hispanicae*”. Luckily, a few months later Ernest De Clerck joined our research team, where he concentrates on the reception of foreign cultures in the literary magazines *BM*,

The London Magazine, and the *New Monthly Magazine*. Our PhD projects are thus complementary, and work together towards a more thorough and representative description of the international scope of British Romantic periodical culture.

Besides replacing *BM* with the *QR*, I decided to include the radical Benthamite *Westminster Review* (*WR*, est. 1824) into my corpus, which can consequently represent the three main political currents in Romantic Britain: conservative, liberal, and radical. But as the *WR* was only founded in 1824 – much later than the *ER* and *QR*, I could only include a few years of it in the database without too greatly exceeding the period originally intended for research. The *WR*'s later start date also makes it less suitable as an object of comparison to the *ER* and *QR*. On top of that, the *WR* does not show any quantitative patterns deviant from those in the other two quarterlies; yet just as with the *ER* and *QR*, a closer analysis of the articles' content shows that the periodicals did evaluate foreign books differently, according to their particular cultural and ideological perspective. Taking these issues into account, I chose not to extend the *WR*'s sample beyond 1827: instead, I plan to include the *WR* into my doctoral dissertation only as an excursus, in which my argument will be based on a close reading of a number of articles, rather than on database analysis. This analysis of the *WR* can still function as a point of reference for the debates pursued by the *ER* and *QR*.

Diachronic evolutions

When looking at Figure 1, an obvious research question manifests itself: how does this graph evolve chronologically? Does the number of foreign books that is reviewed increase or decrease over time? My hypothesis was that something would change, especially after the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. First, Napoleon's Continental Blockade, his strict censorship system, and the general difficulty of trade in a war situation, made it hard for publishers and booksellers to import foreign works during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. I therefore expected that the post-Waterloo period, during which communication with the Continent opened up again, would feature more reviews of foreign books. Many critics support this view. In his monograph on the reception of the French language in Britain, Marcus Tomalin writes "the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars resulted in a flurry of transnational European interactions, both political and cultural, on a scale which had been impossible since the outbreak of the French Revolution, and, gradually, the [...] literature of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany became increasingly admired in Britain" (2016: 152). Diego Saglia affirms this when he treats "the newly intensified interest in Continental literatures between the mid-1810s and the mid-1830s" (2018: 18). The *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* makes a similar statement, albeit adding that this openness is slightly

belated: “Though the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 had once more made possible both travel on the Continent and importation of books from abroad, considerable interest in foreign works did not seem to develop until the late 1820s” (Houghton et al. 1972: 130). In her book on Romantic cosmopolitanism, Esther Wohlgemut even specifically refers to the *ER*: “As other British periodicals limited their reviews of foreign literature as a precaution against charges of Jacobinism during the Napoleonic wars, the *Edinburgh Review* remained unapologetically international in scope” (2009: 6).

On the other hand, various scholars argue the opposite, i.e. that the internationalism of the Enlightenment was followed by a period of increasing xenophobia and patriotism. For Peter Mortensen, for instance, the Romantic era was characterized by Europhobia: “During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in Britain, new nationalist narratives began to displace older universalist and cosmopolitan forms of understanding” (2004: 19). Reception scholar Lucy Newlyn writes that “Romantic writers experienced Anglocentric fears that the infiltration of foreign literary tastes into national culture might threaten identity on a larger and more pervasive scale” (2000: 44). Marilyn Butler’s seminal literary history *Romantics, Rebels and Reactionaries: English Literature and its Background, 1760–1830* (1981) states that around 1800 “the English cultural habit moved from internationalism to Francophobia, and deep-rooted popular modern English Toryism was born” (1981: 98). Rather than characterizing British Romantic writing as a transnational activity, these critics point to its nationalist tendency to isolate itself from its European neighbors.

As the quotations cited above confirm, Romanticist scholars have not yet reached a consensus about the state of international cultural relations during the early nineteenth century. This lack of agreement can be partly put down to the complex and ambiguous historical reality, where attestations both of xenophobic and cosmopolitan feelings can indeed be found, but should equally be attributed to the lack of research that has been done on the topic. The database does not provide an immediate solution either. The amount of reviews of foreign works stays between 20% and 30% throughout the period 1809–1820, only to undergo a slight – but statistically insignificant – drop in the 1820s (See Figure 3).³

3. As there are few noteworthy divergences between the *ER* and *QR* here, I chose to display the results for both periodicals within the same graph.

Figure 3. Chronological evolution of reviews of foreign books in the *ER* and *QR*, 1809–1830

Since critics as Mortensen, Newlyn, and Butler are primarily concerned with the relationship between France and Britain, the diachronic evolution of the quarterlies' reviews of French books (Figure 4) should likewise be examined.

Figure 4. Chronological evolution of reviews of French books in the *ER* and *QR*, 1809–1830

This graph diverges somewhat from the general pattern of Figure 3. Overall, reviews of French books make up some 15% of each issue. During, and especially

after the Napoleonic Wars, there is increased interest in French books, with the share of French rising to 20% – this seems to link up with the belated openness pointed out by *The Wellesley Index*. Except for a sudden drop in 1828, the number normalizes again after 1824.

The lack of correspondence between these findings and the secondary sources at first puzzled me. Was the dataset too large or too small? Should statistically insignificant fluctuations be considered as qualitatively meaningful changes? Did I need additional material, such as lists with the numbers of books imported during this period or statistics of lending libraries – and would tracing these seldom-found documents not be a doctoral project in itself? Could the data of only three periodicals be used to make claims about the wider Romantic period? However, it soon became clear that when placed in their historical context, the graphs below can endorse the arguments of Tomalin, Saglia, Wohlgemut, and *The Wellesley Index*, albeit by arguing for a persistent and steady cosmopolitanism rather than for a full-blown revolution in transnational contacts. First, we perceive signs of a growing openness towards other cultures: interest in French books intensifies around Waterloo, and, as mentioned earlier, classical languages are in decline, while books in modern languages are reviewed more frequently during the late-Romantic period. Secondly, if Romantic society was indeed becoming as isolationist as Butler, Mortensen and Newlyn contend, periodical literature would reflect this shift somewhat more strongly than by a slight drop in reviews of foreign books in the 1820s. Moreover, Butler, Newlyn and Mortensen's claims are aimed at the period 1800–1820, while the decrease in the *ER* and *QR* only sets in around 1824. Additionally, in the very period of the late 1820s, we witness the foundation of several magazines devoted entirely to non-British literature, such as the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (est. 1827) and the *Foreign Review* (est. 1828). As Ernest's project shows, the new culture of weekly and monthly literary magazines that emerged during the 1810s and 1820s equally gave a fresh impetus to Britain's interest in European literatures. It could be argued that the task of reviewing foreign literature, which previously belonged to the established quarterlies, is supported and even partly taken over by these new publications. This could help to explain the slight decrease in the number of foreign books reviewed. Lastly, of course, not all foreign books were reviewed positively, but the constant number of foreign book reviews throughout the Napoleonic Wars attests to the fact that the *ER* and *QR* did their best to keep their readers informed about Continental literature, despite the difficulty of obtaining foreign intelligence.

Accordingly, the project can show that the remarks of scholars as Newlyn, Butler, and Mortensen do not apply to periodical culture. This argument can be illustrated further by a remark that Marcus Tomalin makes when writing about the position of French in Britain: "Whenever nationalism and foreignness are

contested, appearance and reality are frequently divergent” (2016: 2). Indeed, when we think about the presence of foreign cultures in Romantic Britain, anecdotal evidence, often based on our knowledge of certain canonical works, is quick to offer us an image of an increasingly nationalist Britain. For instance, the stories of canonical Romantic poets William Wordsworth, Robert Southey or Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who in their youth eagerly travelled the Continent and imbibed the ideas of the French Revolution but later turned into staunch patriotic conservatives, are widely disseminated in both academic and lay circles. Their lives are too easily extended to the whole nation, which is equally perceived as having cut itself off from the Continent after the turn of the century. Canonical authors’ stereotypical representations of certain cultures, such as John Keats calling French “the poorest [language] ever spoken” (1899: 265) or William Hazlitt’s evaluation of Goethe’s works as “insipid and preposterous” (1816: 105), have also determined our view of Romantic Britain’s international outlook. Lastly, the general tendency of thinking about the Romantic period as a period of growing nationalism still inhibits more nuanced research. We nevertheless need to look beyond these obvious and readily available sources, and dig deeper into sources that have hitherto been overlooked, such as periodicals. When we then pitch traditional suppositions against the bibliometric data of the periodicals, the picture can change markedly.

Close and distant reading

A third and last difficulty is the combination of the distant reading method of the database with a more traditional analysis of the periodicals in their historical context. How can these two methods best be combined in order to arrive at productive conclusions about the reception of foreign cultures? The following case study, on the reception of French culture, is intended as an example of how challenging – but above all useful – it can sometimes be to integrate bibliometrics with close reading.

Revisiting Figure 2.1 and 2.2, we perceive that 15% of all reviews in the *ER* in the time period 1809–1827 deal with French works. There is very little difference with the *QR*, where this is 14%. As French was the lingua franca of the time, French books are usually reviewed in the original. Here however, a difference can be discerned between the *ER* and *QR*. In the *ER* 84% of the reviews of French books review the books in the original, while only 16% reviews French works in translation. In the *QR* 76% is reviewed in the original French, and 24% in translation. A similar pattern can be detected in the amount of French quoted within the reviews themselves. In the *ER*, out of a total of 515 fragments from foreign languages that occur in the reviews, whether translated or untranslated, 216 are from French; this is almost half, 42%. For the *QR* this is only 30% (176/578). Even if both quarterlies devote an equal amount of articles to French books, the presence

of French within the reviews themselves is notably bigger in the *ER*. Lastly, within these fragments quoted from the French, the ratio between those that are translated and those that are left untranslated can be examined. Of the 216 fragments taken from the French in the *ER*, only 33% (72) are translated, while the remaining 67% is cited in the original French. In the *QR*, almost half (82/176, or 47%) of the French fragments are translated, even though most readers would have been able to understand them in the original.

It is of course hard to draw any conclusions from these data without first consulting the review articles themselves. I therefore selected some 50 reviews of French works for closer analysis, thereby preferring books reviewed in both the *ER* and *QR*, as these best illustrate the antagonism between the two periodicals. A closer investigation of this selection confirmed that even though the *ER* and *QR* review an equal amount of French books, they use a different rhetoric on France.

Since its outset in 1802, the *ER* was regarded as a Francophile publication. This had much to do with the first article of its first number, written by the journal's editor Francis Jeffrey. It was a review of the French author Jean-Joseph Mounier's *De L'Influence attribuée aux Philosophes, aux Franks-maçons, et aux Illuminés, sur la Revolution de France* (1801). Mounier's book combatted the popular belief that the Revolution was a conspiracy organized by French philosophers (such as Rousseau, Mably, Condorcet), freemasons, and illuminati. The *ER* agreed with Mounier that this conspiracy theory was pure nonsense, but disagreed with Mounier on another point: they thought that he had underrated the agency of the French philosophers (and intellectuals in general) in the Revolution. By alerting their readers to the shortcomings of the French monarchy, the writings of the French philosophers had helped to trigger the Revolution. However, the *ER* writes, the philosophers should not be blamed for their deeds, as it is only the natural function of philosophers, writers, and journalists, to provide and interpret information for the people, and so to guarantee the free circulation of knowledge in society. Sometimes, this free circulation of knowledge inevitably leads to social change, of which the French Revolution is an extreme case.

Accordingly, the Mounier article has often been read as a programmatic statement of the *ER*'s editorial policy and liberal political agenda. The *Edinburgh* reviewers see themselves acting the part of the French philosophes. They too are mediators that select the most relevant information from recently published texts, and interpret it for the people. Moreover, in a political climate dominated by Tories, this new periodical associated with the Whig minority could offer an alternative voice to that of the establishment, just as the philosophes had questioned the righteousness of the French monarchy. Even so, we need to bear in mind that the *Edinburgh* reviewers were liberals and not radicals: as they still very much belonged to the gentlemanly upper middle class culture, the social change

they were aiming for was parliamentary and electoral reform (which they achieved with the Reform Act of 1832), not universal suffrage; and certainly not the violent and bloody social revolution of 1789, from which they distanced themselves.

Thus, from the very start, the topic of France is connected with discussions on the role of the press in influencing the public opinion. After the Mounier article, the *ER* confirmed its sympathy for French culture by its resistance to Francophobic perspectives on the Revolution, and by its defence of French Enlightenment figures such as Rousseau and Voltaire. The *ER*'s support for reform and democracy was continually attacked by the conservatives of the *QR*, whose articles made clear that they wished to preserve the current limited franchise and traditional social hierarchies. The *QR*'s reviews of French books therefore tend to stress issues such as the necessity of the aristocracy and clergy, or the danger of French society gatherings as breeding grounds of anarchy. While the *ER* and *QR*'s basic evaluation of the French books they reviewed often did not differ greatly, the reviewers did add small political touches to their articles that ideologically differentiated the periodicals' positions towards France.

Two reviews of the same book, reviewed in the *ER* as well as in the *QR*, can function as an exemplary illustration of the reception of French culture in both journals. *Biographie Moderne, ou Dictionnaire Biographique*, a biographical dictionary listing all persons involved in the French Revolution and its aftermath, was reviewed in the *ER* in 1809, and in the *QR* in 1812. The book appeared in French in 1806, and was translated into English in 1811. The American lawyer Robert Walsh reviewed the French original for the *ER* in April 1809. After his studies in the United States, the young Walsh travelled Europe for a few years (1806–9), during which he contributed a number of articles to British as well as to French newspapers. Among these were two reviews for the *ER*, both on French topics: the review of *Biographie Moderne*, and a review of *Code de La Conscription*, a book that explained the system for military service under Napoleon. This last review disapproves of Napoleon's harsh conscription laws. It contains an undertone of dread at the strength of the French army, and concludes with a Francophobic warning to Britain to be wary of Napoleon's dream to conquer the world.

Walsh's review of *Biographie Moderne* begins by recounting the book's publication history. Its authors published a first edition in 1800, but its circulation was stopped by the police. The edition under review is a later modified version, but even that was suppressed, and "The copy now before us was secreted, and given to the individual from whom it has passed into our hands." (Walsh 1809: 212) Walsh hopes that the passage of time will allow French historians to judge objectively of the French Revolution. But that can only happen, "should our neighbours ever enjoy that *rare felicity* of a free press" (Walsh 1809: 214, original emphasis). In a long footnote to this remark, Walsh elaborates on the ills of French censorship.

Walsh then goes on to discuss why he thinks the French Revolution failed. He claims that those in power, those “best able to fashion public sentiment” (Walsh 1809: 218) – the king, the higher classes; everyone in positions of local or national authority – should have tried to placate the mob earlier. They should have let their voice be heard, instead of allowing revolutionaries to direct public opinion. Instead, they looked on indifferently during the first phase of the revolution, as they did not think they themselves were in danger:

If those who were upon “the slippery heights” of the kingdom of France, had been less confident of their security, and more attentive to the progress of public opinion [...] they might have stood firm upon the basis of their own authority, – in spite of all the machinations of philosophers and deists, encyclopedists and levelers, to whom their misfortunes are so piously and loyally ascribed.

(Walsh 1809: 217)

This is a clear allusion to the *ER*’s 1802 review of Mounier: after it was too late, Walsh argues, the higher orders blamed the failure of the Revolution on the conspiracies of philosophers. However, Walsh points out that it was not a conspiracy, but their own apathy and failure to act that lay at its roots. With this reference to Mounier, Walsh returns to the idea of freedom of the press articulated in the *ER*’s first issue: only if all political parties take their share in influencing public opinion, can the circulation of information and thus the process of social change function normally. Each worldview should be represented in the press, so that the individual reader can use them to forge his own social, political, and personal identity.

Since it reviews the English translation of the book, the *QR*’s article on *Biographie Moderne*, reviewed by Robert Southey, appeared three years after Walsh’s review. Nevertheless, it is clearly written as a response to Walsh’s article, and to the *ER*’s views on the press in general. The fact that Southey was made Poet Laureate in 1813 makes this case extra interesting, as the review was written at a crucial point in his career, when he was creating an authorial identity for himself. As a young man, Southey was an ardent supporter the French Revolution. However, his work for the *QR* and the increasing social unrest in Britain gradually turned him into a conservative. He came to think that the divide between rich and poor in Britain was growing dangerously wide: it threatened social cohesion, and a revolt of the poor against the rich was likely. With such a social divide, he thought, parliamentary reform and extension of the franchise would only lead to anarchy. Instead, he believed that liberty for all should come from the current ruling classes, who knew what was good for the people and would lead the country to prosperity.

Southey’s fear of a popular insurrection in Britain was fed by the assassination of Britain’s Tory prime minister Spencer Perceval in May 1812, which occurred while he was writing the review. When news of the murder spread, crowds of

hungry workers gathered in the streets and rejoiced at Perceval's death, since they blamed him for the depression and unemployment that Britain was going through. The army had to be called upon to restore order. Though the murderer had acted alone, motivated by a personal grievance against the government, the joy of the crowds initially made it seem as if the assassination had been part of an organized social revolution. Southey also seems to have thought this; to him, the event was "like a dream [...] a sort of nightmare that overlays and oppresses my thoughts and feelings!" (Letter to Grosvenor Bedford, 14 May 1812, Southey 1849: 283).

Southey's anxieties concerning the possibility of a revolution in Britain are reflected in his review of *Biographie Moderne*. Like Walsh, Southey explains why he thinks the enactment of the pure ideals that started the Revolution had failed. The main causes lie with the press and with selfish ambitions of those in power. He writes:

A feeble court, surrounded by false servants, suffered (during the first heats) a set of journalists to abuse the liberty of the press – an abuse which must overthrow any government that permits it. The liberty of the press or death, was the motto of one of these writers, who continually inveighed against the king and queen, till such invective brought on their destruction. The government that suffers itself to be insulted with impunity, is from that moment in danger. (Southey 1812: 437)

Thus, contrary to the *ER*, whose motto can (with some exaggeration) be described as "the liberty of the press or death", the freedom of the press is here portrayed as the greatest danger rather than the greatest good for society. I would argue that Southey's reasoning in this article was instigated by Walsh's remark on the fatal indifference of the upper classes: by letting revolutionaries and demagogues control the press during the first phase of the revolution, the monarchy had let its power slip. Soon, the republican party "saw the consequence of having inflamed an ignorant and ferocious people" (Southey 1812: 415), but "wanted strength or courage to try the only means of averting it – that of punishing the Septembrizers, and curbing the press" (Southey 1812: 415). Interestingly, the "only means of averting" lawlessness, is to exercise stricter censorship over the press. Southey seems to take Walsh's advice one step further: not only should the monarchy have tried to influence public opinion earlier, they should have taken control of the press and made it their mouthpiece, censoring other political voices.

In a letter to the *QR*'s publisher John Murray, Southey touches on the link between the article and his fears of a popular insurrection following the assassination of Perceval. The letter offers a good insight into Southey's motives for writing the article:

I have laid the first stone of an article for our next number upon the French revolution – a subject most mournfully well-timed. The direful state of the populace

which this late deplorable event has disclosed, tho it may have surprized me less than it has done most people, has alarmed me more deeply, because I have long distinctly seen the causes which were at work to produce it. [...] At this moment, nothing but the army preserves us from the most dreadful of all calamities, an insurrection of the poor against the rich, and how long the army may be depended upon is a question which I scarcely dare ask myself. Of this I feel certain that unless the most vigorous measures be speedily taken against those who by their speeches and writings are instigating the mob to rebellion, it will be too late; and they who may survive the coming horrors will see that the abuse of liberty is uniformly and inevitably punished with the loss of liberty. Its danger I will show in the *Quarterly*, but I believe the best means of stirring up the public mind is through the newspapers. (19 May 1812, qtd. in Smiles 1891: 202)

The last sentence of the above quotation contains an interesting line of thought. Similar remarks can be found in other letters, for example: "I am going to write upon the French Revolution for the *Quarterly Review* – a well-timed subject: the evil is, that it is writing to those readers who are in the main of the same way of thinking. Our coteremporaries [sic] read, not in the hope of being instructed, but to have their opinion flattered" (Letter to Grosvenor Bedford, 14 May 1812, Southey 2013: letter 2094). Both quotations show that Southey is not satisfied with the limited circulation of the QR, which would primarily be circulated among the higher and middle classes, the majority of whom shared his conservative views. Ideally, Southey wants to reach the lower classes through the mass media of the newspapers, in order to advise them against a revolution.

Even though Southey thought press freedom a mortal danger rather than, in Walsh's words, a "rare felicity", he did take Walsh's warning about influencing the public opinion seriously. There even is evidence that Southey liked Walsh's critique of French politics, which was harsher than the *ER*'s usual discourse on France: "I thought those articles upon the Conscription and the Revolutionary Biography could not come from any ordinary writer in that journal; they were in so much wholesomer a stream of thought and feeling, and accordingly they appear to be the work of an American, by name Walsh" (Letter to C. W. Williams Wynn, 6 July 1809, Southey 1856: 151). Southey noticed that Walsh was more Francophobic than the typical *Edinburgh* reviewer. Earlier in the same letter, Southey returns to the topic of influencing the public opinion, and calls the editors of the *ER* Jacobins, and "such unballasted politicians, that the public mind could not be worse guided" (151).

My analysis of other reviews of French books confirms that discussions of French culture do not centre around France itself, but as a rule come back to the radical idea of democracy that France had come to stand for since the Revolution. Almost all reviews of French books, whether they discuss a work of science,

literature, or politics, revolve around the question of the ideal form of the French democratic state. This tendency to focus on politics was a natural consequence of the ongoing British debate on parliamentary and electoral reform, which the outbreak of the French Revolution had intensified. Radicals hoped that a popular revolution in Britain would lead to more votes for the working classes. After years of intermittent protest, most of which was subdued by the conservative government's repressive measures, a Reform Act was passed in 1832. As many radicals were inspired by the example of France, a person's ideological standpoint could easily be gauged by asking his or her opinion on the situation in France. The same can be said of periodical publications, whose views on France betrayed the journal's political leanings. Even though the public debate on ideal government forms was less a concern for the wealthier middle classes that bought the quarterlies than for the working classes, it remained a central issue in periodical culture for the whole late-Romantic period.

Reviews of foreign-language works hence function as sites to explore political identity. As already indicated at the beginning of this article, periodicals did not mirror the politico-cultural reality around them, but, to use a particularly apt term, translated it through the lens of their own ideology. When reading the *ER* and *QR*'s evaluations of French books side by side, it can be demonstrated that each periodical interpreted the French Revolution in their own way. Even if William Hazlitt criticized the too moderate Whig party for being "but the fag-end of a Tory" (1819: xxx), the Whigs of the *ER* to a certain extent endorsed French revolutionary models, often linking them to the liberal movement for reform in Britain. The conservative *QR* is much more reactionary, and blames the *ER* for being overly Francophile. For the *QR* reviews of French books served a polemic purpose: they were mostly triggered by articles on similar topics in the *ER*, to which the *QR* responded with anti-French sentiments. Consequently, when foreign texts are reviewed they undergo a process of translation and mediation as well as a transformative acculturation, in which they are lifted out of their source culture in order to serve contemporary debates in the target culture. The *ER*'s Francophilia is not as manifestly borne out by the data, but when we lay the metadata side by side with what is written within the reviews themselves, we can interpret the *ER*'s choice to review French books in the original, and to use much French in the reviews itself as a sign of their sympathy for French culture. The *QR*'s tendency to review French works and quote French fragments in translation can be said to arise out of a fear of being perceived as too sympathetic towards French ideas about democracy. Moreover, its habit to translate French can be interpreted as an act of distancing, or even as an act of appropriation, of moulding French ideas to its own conservative standards. The fact that the *QR* reviews an equal amount of French books as the *ER* can be interpreted in several ways. First, as French was the

dominant foreign language on the book market, it would be commercially unwise not to cater to the tastes of the public. Secondly, a close reading of Walsh's and Southey's reviews of *Biographie Moderne* makes clear that reviews of French works were deployed in the ideological struggle between the quarterlies.

Caution should however be used in generalising the case of French texts to the reception of all foreign cultures in the *ER* and *QR*. The majority of reviews of foreign-language texts are indeed used to explore social, political, or cultural issues, but these issues vary depending on the language or subject of the book under review and on their immediate societal context. For instance, while reviews of French books in this late-Romantic period usually revolve around the state of Europe after the Revolution, reviews of classical works debate the position of classics in education, and articles on non-European topics focus on colonial administration and exploration. The quarterlies' regularly conflicting perspectives on this wide range of topics once again confirm that distant and close reading should always go hand in hand, and cannot be relied on separately.

Conclusion

In a field that is still largely dominated by studies of canonical Romantic authors, research projects on periodicals can fill in previously overlooked gaps about the position of other cultures in early-nineteenth-century Britain. Nevertheless, a research project that aims to combine bibliometrics with literary-historical analysis should be aware of methodological challenges. First, the corpus should be carefully selected so as to enable comparative analysis between the periodicals, both on the level of their metadata and their content. Secondly, we should be mindful that seemingly contradictory or insignificant evolutions in the data can be relevant too. As the section on "Diachronic evolutions" illustrates, the constant number of reviews of foreign books can help to nuance previous researchers' claims about Romantic Britain's increasing cultural isolation. In cases like these, the need for scholarly collaboration manifests itself. The complementariness of Ernest De Clerck's and my doctoral project is an excellent example of this: as each focuses on only three periodicals, our projects are necessarily limited, but regularly discussing and comparing our work allows us a broader overview of the Romantic periodical market. On a larger international level too, collaboration is vital, as this volume repeatedly emphasizes. Through conferences and essay collections as these, global researchers in periodical studies can exchange methodologies and results across the various languages and forms of translation they investigate. Over time we can hence develop a framework for the study of translation in periodicals, from which future students and researchers can profit. I hope to make my database publicly

available in the coming months – in this respect an online platform that provides a standard for setting up, storing and exchanging databases would be an appealing prospect for the future. Lastly, the case of French book reviews in the section on “Close and distant reading” demonstrates that the liberal *ER* and the Tory *QR* use a different discourse on France, even if the metadata suggest that both periodicals are equally interested in French culture.

We should nevertheless be careful not to ascribe too much agency to the periodical as a coherent and unified body. Chance factors to a large extent determined the way multiple voices and circumstances combined into the polyphonous but seemingly authorless periodical.⁴ When analysing metadata or performing close readings of individual reviews, we should keep in mind that the periodicals’ selection and evaluation of books is considerably more arbitrary than the consistent editorial and ideological policy we tend to take for granted leads us to suspect. Much depended on the editor’s personal preferences (e.g. the *QR*’s William Gifford’s fondness for classical literature), contributors’ individual viewpoints, the books rival periodicals were reviewing, the state of the literary marketplace, and the general hastiness of periodical publishing. Moreover, as much as contributors writing for multiple periodicals did their best to adopt the journal’s style and “personality”, behind this mask their individual views inevitably shone through. Even though editors corrected and modified articles, not every contributor embodied the core political views of the journal as strongly, as is the case for Robert Walsh, who is more Francophobic than the typical *Edinburgh* reviewer. As both Mark Parker and David Stewart have pointed out, in spite of the seemingly unified corporate identity they assume, periodicals were inherently collective ventures made up of a multiplicity of voices, which at times contradicted each other. In sum, the database is a helpful tool, but only really comes alive when it is complemented by in-depth qualitative analysis, since historical reality is always more complex and ambiguous. It is important to “mine” the data further, so as to arrive at more valuable conclusions.

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Appendix 1. Database criteria

- periodical code: volume number, issue number, article number
- What is the title of the periodical?
- In which year was the article published?
- What is the title of reviewed book(s)?
- What is the running title of the article?
- Who authored the review?⁵
- page numbers
- What type of text is the work under review? (English work, translation, work in foreign language)
- if translation: is the translator's name mentioned?
- What is the original language of the reviewed work(s)?
- Does the review contain fragments in a foreign language?
- Does the review contain translated fragments?
- Does the review contain explicit comments on translation? (This parameter could only be filled in for the articles that were selected for close reading)

5. Articles were published anonymously until the 1860s, but projects as *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (Houghton et al.) or Jonathan Cutmore's *Quarterly Review Archive* have compiled lists of author attributions based on correspondence and other historical evidence.

- In what genre/field can the work under review be classified?⁶
- What is the gender of the author(s) whose book is being reviewed?
- Does the article contain any references to foreign cultures?

Appendix 2. Screenshot database

Code	Periodical	Year	Title
ER 14_28_6	Edinburgh review	1809	1. Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a New Translation of his Utopia, his History of King Richard III, and his Latin poems. By Arthur Cayley the Younger. 1808. 2. 'A Most Pleasant, fruitful, and witty work of the best State of a Public Weal, and of the New Isle called Utopia: written in Latin by the right worthy and famous Sir T. More, and translated into English by Raphe [sic] Robinson, A. D. 1551.' A New Edition, with copious Notes, and a Biographical and Literary Introduction. By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin. 1808.
ER 14_28_7	Edinburgh review	1809	Tales of Fashionable Life. By Miss Edgeworth. 1809.
ER 14_28_8	Edinburgh review	1809	Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne, et Démembrement de cette République. Par Cl. Rulhiere. 1807.
ER 14_28_9	Edinburgh review	1809	Voyages à Peking, Manille, et l'île de France, faits dans l'Intervalle des Années 1784 à 1801. Par M. De Guignes. 1808.
ER 14_28_10	Edinburgh review	1809	Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum Libri VII. &c. Juxta Ed. Amstelodamensem. Codicum MSS. Collationem, Annotationes, Tabulas Geographicas adjecit Thomas Falconer. 1807.

6. As the Romantics did not yet think of genre in our present-day terms, this category is somewhat anachronistic. Moreover, genre (e.g. travelogue, poetry) and subjects (e.g. politics, law) are here used indiscriminately. For now "Genre" should therefore be regarded as a mere working category, which will be reconsidered once the database is published online.

Running title	Author	Page nos	Reviewed work	Translator mentioned
Memoirs, &c. Of Sir Thomas More	anon.	360–375	English translation	yes
Miss Edgeworth's Fashionable Tales	anon.	375–388	English	NA
Rulhiere – Anarchie de Pologne	anon.	388–406	work in a foreign language	NA
De Guignes, Voyage à Pekin, &c.	anon.	407–429	work in a foreign language	NA
The Oxford Edition of Strabo	Richard Payne Knight	429–441	edition and/or translation of classical work	NA

Original language	Foreign-language fragments	Translated fragments
Latin	no	Latin
English	no	no
French	no	French
French	French	French
Latin	Latin	no

Comments on translation	Genre	Gender of reviewed author	Reference to foreign cultures
no	(auto)biography/memoirs/letters	male	no
no	literature	female	no
no	international politics/politics of foreign countries	male	yes
no	travel account/anthropology	male	yes
no	geography	male	yes

Shaping translation in two Mexican cultural magazines

A case study in the use of quantitative methods for the analysis of translation in periodical publications

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This article examines various kinds of metadata that allow us to explore the ways in which translation was showcased in two turn-of-the-century Mexican literary periodicals: the *Revista Azul* (1894–1896) and the *Revista Moderna* (1898–1903). It describes the methodological challenges that arise when approaching such uncharted territory, especially those related to the creation of datasets of translated texts, and argues in favour of the integration of qualitative and quantitative analysis in their treatment. More precisely, it demonstrates the importance of implementing descriptive statistics in order to establish distinctions in the uses of translation that would not be evident at first sight due to the size of the corpora. Combined with content analysis, these inform us about the contribution of each magazine to the institutionalisation of literary activity and to cultural renovation. Ultimately, this also reaffirms the importance of data visualisation in this process.

Keywords: translation, cultural periodicals, Mexico, *Revista Azul*, *Revista Moderna*, exploratory data analysis, descriptive statistics, data visualisation

Exploratory data analysis is detective work – numerical detective work – or counting detective work – or graphical detective work. John Tukey

The editors of turn-of-the-century Mexican literary magazines such as the *Revista Azul* (1894–1896) and the *Revista Moderna* (1898–1903) established translation as a key component of their activity. In fact, this is one of the main characteristics shared by those publications. Situated at a turning point for Mexican letters, they unsurprisingly included important amounts of foreign texts in their pages. Although those were at times featured in the original language, this cultural import was mostly carried out through translation. This practice was therefore at the core of both *Revistas* and contributed greatly to their respective editorial lines. As

such, it is a crucial yet heavily understudied component of turn-of-the-century cultural periodicals in Mexico.

Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera and José Juan Tablada, who were among the founders and leading figures of the *Revista Azul* and *Revista Moderna* respectively, were pioneers in the articulation, from the pages of cultural magazines, of aestheticist discourse in Mexico. Both were fierce advocates for the autonomy of literature and art, and both endeavoured to make their respective publications the epitomes of this new way of conceiving literary activity. Of course this also entailed changes in how translation was considered and practised, in a context of growing institutionalisation of culture and increased circulation of texts.

Understanding how translation was used in the magazines edited by those figures is fundamental in order to assess the role it has played in cultural change and in the definition of modern Mexican (and Latin American) letters. More specifically, my initial hypothesis was that in the context of the emergence of the modern literary field, translation became increasingly codified, visible, and acknowledged in the *Revistas*, developing into a practice that was valued in itself. In textual terms, this implied moving away from the playful and rather free modalities in use during the nineteenth century and adopting a more literal approach to translation. Other elements which I expected to contribute to the growing visibility of this practice were more standardised ways to identify and/or sign translations, a progressive lengthening of the texts, and an increasingly prominent location within the issues. From this new vantage position, translations functioned as vectors of cultural capital as well as ideo-aesthetic components of the editorial line, and an actualisation of the *Revistas*' universalist vocation.

However, with 396 and 284 translated texts or fragments respectively, the *Revista Azul* and *Revista Moderna* conform large and wildly heterogeneous corpora, in which trends become difficult to identify at first glance. This is also related to the eclecticism proper to *modernista* poetics, of which both *Revistas* are important – if dissimilar – exponents.¹ In this context, I argue that quantitative approaches may be particularly useful in order to identify patterns and test first-sight impressions and hypotheses. They can help us build a systematic approach to the phenomena mentioned above (increased length, more visible position, clearer identification) and give an accurate account of their evolution in time. The present article will discuss the elaboration of this corpus and the related datasets, as well as the variables retained for quantitative analysis. Most importantly, we shall observe how descriptive statistics can contribute to a more precise characterisation of the

1. For studies tackling this aspect of *modernismo*, see for instance Onís (1988) and Yurkievich (2007) in its section titled “El modernismo: genitor de la vanguardia”. About its relationship with translation, see Costa (2011).

phenomena at hand and how data visualisation functions as a fundamental tool in order to explore and present the data.^{2,3}

The principal aim of this article is to examine some potentialities of data analysis for the study of translation in periodical publications, focusing on what numbers can tell us about how this activity was considered and practised in magazines. This method could be successfully applied to other corpora of periodicals, given that it is suitably adapted, in order to study the same or different aspects of the publication of translations. The possibilities offered by such an approach are very vast, and I merely endeavour to give one example of the benefits that quantitative approaches present for the study of cultural phenomena. This shall be illustrated through the case of two turn-of-the-century Mexican magazines, as they were published at a moment when a shift in the conception of translation occurred. The elements presented hereafter are only a few aspects of this change, whose complexity and all-encompassing nature prevent it from being treated in its totality in an article.

We shall also observe how, while the *Revista Azul*'s and the *Revista Moderna*'s practices surrounding translation may appear, at first, very similar (albeit with different contents), a thorough examination of the place allocated to translated texts, as well as the space occupied by them in each issue and the format of their signature are telling, when put in perspective, of meaningful differences. Interestingly enough, the conclusions that can be drawn from those indicators are not merely quantitative; rather, I argue that they denote deep trends and processes related to the manner in which translation was considered and treated in the periodicals, which in turn inform us of the role of those magazines in the institutionalisation of literature and its evolution.

This article is structured as a case study in order to illustrate what quantitative methods can bring to the study of literary translation in cultural periodicals, especially in relatively large corpora. Thus, I shall demonstrate that data analysis can actually offer valuable insights into cultural processes and that it might be

2. All data analysis and plotting for this article was carried out using R version 3.5.0 (Vienna: R Foundation for Statistical Computing, <https://www.R-project.org/>). The corresponding datasets and source code are available at https://github.com/Mpopea/Shaping_Translation. This also contains complementary information and plots that could not be included in the present publication due to space constraints. This is the reason why figure numbering does not appear to be completely regular throughout the article. It is, however, in the code file, and the logic behind it is explained at the above URL.

3. I am indebted to Thomas Lansdall-Welfare who prompted me to adopt a more rigorous approach to my data, and to Matthieu Wilhelm and Laura González Salmerón, whom I would like to thank in particular, for reviewing my article and code, and offering valuable comments and suggestions.

particularly suited for objects that evolve in time such as periodicals. I will also exemplify why it is important to integrate quantitative and qualitative methods and how it can be done. At this point, it should be noted that, as mentioned above, the design of the variables and the kind of analysis undertaken respond to the particularities of the corpus and of the studied material. Ultimately, they should always be tailored to the needs of the investigation.

The *Revista Azul*, *Revista Moderna* and the emergence of the modern Mexican literary field

The cultural context of turn-of-the-century Mexico, in which the two magazines were published, is one of fast-paced changes. Porfirio Díaz's regime, which started almost two decades before the publication of the *Revista Azul* and outlived both periodicals, sought to establish, through strict rule and an ideology derived from positivism called *cientificismo*,⁴ a stability that would propitiate economic development. The influx of foreign investments fostered industrial growth in various sectors. The press is one of the areas that underwent an important transformation at the end of the nineteenth century. After years of state subsidies to multiple newspapers in exchange for their allegiance, the government decided, in 1896, to end this politics and invest in one single brand-new periodical: *El Imparcial*. The first Linotype machines and rotary presses were introduced on this occasion, marking the beginning of the press industry in Mexico.

At the same time, literary and artistic activity was also becoming modern. With transportation improvements came a better and faster access to foreign publications, from which translations could be done. The newly professionalised press allowed some writers to make a living and fostered literary activity, at first through literary supplements. On the other hand, however, art and literature strove to break free from their ties with the press and become fully autonomous, as exogenous factors (e.g. political allegiance, public morality, sales) were perceived as detrimental to true artistic expression. Gutiérrez Nájera referred to journalism as a disease and a form of slavery, although it was also his means of subsistence.⁵

In order for truly autonomous art to exist, it required its own spaces and instances, and modern literary magazines were one of them. The *Revista Azul* was, in this context, the first to profess an exclusively aestheticist principle, although it was the Sunday supplement of a newspaper where Gutiérrez Nájera worked and

4. For more details on the ideological aspects of the late 19th century in Mexico, see Hale (1989).

5. "Vamos remando en las galeras de la prensa", *Revista Azul* 1.7: 1. All subsequent references to the *Revistas* will indicate the volume, issue and page number in the same format.

which was subsidised by the government: *El Partido Liberal*. Nevertheless, the autonomy of the editors in terms of programme was considerable and their main contribution was to open a space within the literary field for later magazines, and to establish the bases of aestheticist discourse in Mexico. By affirming in the first issue that “el arte es nuestro Príncipe y Señor”,⁶ and that this constituted their only programme, the editors of the *Revista Azul* discursively created the autonomous pole of the literary field, although they never came to fully occupy this position.⁷ The *Revista Azul* eventually disappeared along with *El Partido Liberal* when state subventions were cut off.

Walking in the steps of the *Revista Azul*, the *Revista Moderna* was a project that arose from the impossibility, for the poets labelled as decadents, to publish in the mainstream press due to censorship of what was considered, at the time, as scandalous content. In an 1893 open letter, José Juan Tablada called for the creation of a temple dedicated to the veneration of art, a metaphor for that self-governed literary space, which was to take the form of a periodical.⁸ The creation of the *Revista Moderna*, however, had to wait until 1896, most likely due to the lack of funding, which was eventually privately assumed by Jesús E. Valenzuela and, later, by Jesús Luján. It occupied the autonomous pole of the literary field and conducted numerous experiments with poetics which contributed to the advent of new verse forms and to the aesthetic renaissance of Hispanic letters in those years. The *Revista Moderna* as such stopped existing in September 1903, when it was transformed into a more general magazine titled *Revista Moderna de México* in exchange for public funding.

Various of the collaborators of the two *Revistas* were the same, and although both magazines proclaimed that their quest of beauty was independent from any school or movement, which they substantiated through the inclusion of dissenting voices and diverse trends in their pages, the main poetics represented in them was Latin American *modernismo*. It would exceed the limits of this article to provide an accurate definition of what *modernismo* was and meant for the evolution of Latin American culture. Nonetheless, it can be said, for the purposes of this piece, that

6. *Revista Azul*, I.1: 1.

7. Pierre Bourdieu elaborates at length on the notion of literary field in *Les règles de l'art: Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (1998) and defines the concept of autonomous pole in *Raisons Pratiques* (1994: 74).

The *Revista Azul* never actually occupied the autonomous pole of the Mexican literary field due to its ties with the government. Throughout the first half of the 20th century at least, this would often prove a challenge to cultural magazines.

8. “Si la *Revista Moderna* fue antes un proyecto, es hoy un hecho, y [...] su publicación se verá realizada en breve días.” (Tablada 2002: 110)

it was the first essentially modern and international literary movement in Latin America. Its main goal was the renovation of continental letters through the inclusion of literary elements from traditions other than the Spanish. Part of this formal and thematic innovation happened with the help of translation, mostly of French authors, although by no means exclusively. The *fin-de-siècle* period was marked by intense debates in the cultural sphere and the *modernistas* were often accused of being immoral, frivolous and of favouring foreign letters over local culture.

The challenges of creating the datasets

The first issue encountered in my research was the absence of metadata about the translations published in Mexican literary periodicals. Scholars from the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) have produced rigorous indexes for some of the magazines (notably the *Revista Azul*, *Revista Moderna* and *Revista Moderna de México*).⁹ While those constitute a valuable complement, as they provide factual information on the authors and texts published in the periodicals, they do not contain the granular data that is necessary for a detailed analysis of the kind that occupies us here.

More specifically, they lack some information proper to translations and useful for their analysis (such as the original language when stated, the manner in which the translation is identified and how it is signed). Furthermore, both the *Revista Azul*'s index and the *Revista Moderna*'s omit certain contents that happen to be translations most of the time: the *gacetillas*. In this context, those take the form of short, edifying quotations from well-known writers and intellectuals; they usually appear in small groups, with no title or context, at the bottom of the pages, with no purpose other than filling in blank space. They are nevertheless significant in various ways – as the result of a selection process, they indicate what the core ideological values of the magazines might be, and the choice of authors and original languages can also be telling – and should as such be included in the dataset. However, the particular nature of those fragments causes them to stand out from the rest of the corpus. This matter will be addressed later on. Finally, I also needed to record information that does not appear in the indexes, such as the length of the texts and their position within their respective issue. For these reasons, I had to create my own database of translated texts.

Of course, the process of creating the datasets involved various challenges, the first of which was to define the variables. Unsurprisingly, the input variables were

9. Those are Díaz Alejo and Prado Velázquez (1968), Valdés (1967), and Clark de Lara and Curiel Defossé (2002).

the issue number, date and issue length. Because issue numbering often restarts with each new year or volume of the publication, an “absolute issue number” category had to be created.¹⁰ As output variables, I chose to include the title of the translated text (as it appeared in the magazine), its author, translator, position in the issue (the data recorded here corresponds to the first and last page numbers), its length (to distinguish instances in which translations do not occupy a whole number of pages), original language and language it was translated from (which are not the same in the case of indirect translations – the latter was only recorded when explicitly stated), as well as the author’s nationality.¹¹

The question of the literary genre of the text is thorny: some texts appear to be translated into a different genre than the original’s (the shifts between poetry and prose are more frequent than I expected, responding in part to the exploration of non-traditional poetic forms such as prose poetry and free verse, and one case of drama translated as poetry was also found). Moreover, the porosity of the genres themselves complicates the matters further; for instance, should prose poetry and poetical prose be put in the same category or should they be distinguished? The many nuances of prose writing are problematic as well, especially for publications in which fiction and reality are often intertwined. The genre of the chronicle, popular among *modernistas*, is itself hybrid. So are some fictionalised autobiographic and travel writings. Additionally, it would certainly be reductive to group all the varieties of essay-writing under the same category.

Indeed, even considering this wide variety of possibilities, the genre of the text is not always easy to ascertain when the original is not available. The source is almost never indicated in the magazines studied here, and many texts seem to come from French periodicals of the time. Finding the original and determining its genre therefore involves investigative work which is hardly compatible with a one-person team capacity. To this should also be added the instances in which the original is in an inaccessible language (such as Russian in this case), making identification impossible. It thus becomes difficult to classify the texts in a way that would do them justice and be productive for the analysis. Of course, the decisions regarding such matters are up to each researcher and should ultimately be motivated by the kind of analysis to be conducted and the available means. Because

10. Thus, the first issue of the second volume of the *Revista Azul*, which appeared weekly and whose volumes were six month long, corresponds to issue n. 27 in absolute terms. The numbering goes on until the last issue published, n. 128. The same system was applied to the *Revista Moderna*, which was published fortnightly during its years 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6, and monthly in year 2.

11. A more recent and complete version of this database also includes information on both author and translator (dates of birth and death, gender, nationality), as well as the date of publication of the original text. Those categories are, however, irrelevant for my argument here.

this is the main focus of my current research, I have for now only recorded the instances in which the translations were poetry (including prose poetry).

Similar issues arise when collecting the data for other variables. The language from which each translation was made is rarely mentioned (two occurrences in the *Revista Azul* and five in the *Revista Moderna*). Most times it can be quite safely deduced. However, this hardly provides reliable data for the study of indirect translations. Since seeking an intermediary text would be, at this stage, a preposterous task, I have opted, for the time being, for recording the language in which the original text was written and published, even if I suspect the translation to be an indirect one, as an indication of the literatures with which the *Revistas* are engaging.

Categorical variables are not the only ones to be problematic, but among numerical variables, the sole difficulty is the length of the translated text, which has to be estimated when a text does not occupy a whole number of pages. Such an estimation can be delicate, especially when working with digitised versions of the periodicals. There is no clear limit between the texts other than blank space, and it would require considerable resources in order to precisely define such limits and individually measure each text on the paper copies of the magazines (which can also be of difficult access). I have therefore endeavoured to calculate the approximate amount of page space occupied by each translated text by comparing and contrasting it with adjacent contributions. In this way, I could determine the percentage of page space occupied by the translation with some accuracy; of course the quality of the digitised images at the National Newspaper Library in Mexico is not good enough to obtain more than an estimate (the degree of cropping is particularly variable in the digital version), but I do not expect the error to exceed 5%. Alternatively, another useful – if painstaking and slow – way to calculate the length of the text would be to count its lines.

Showcasing translation: The increasing visibility of translated texts in the *Revista Azul*

Translation is omnipresent in the *Revista Azul*; as mentioned above, the total number of translated texts or fragments published in it is 396, spread over almost two years and a half and 128 issues. With an average of three translations per issue (or 2.27 if we do not consider the *gacetillas*), this is one of the highest concentrations of translations that I have encountered so far, especially considering that each issue is only 16 pages long. Only 5 of the 128 issues contain no translation at all.¹² In the rest of them, translations appear in different forms, both independently and

12. Those are issues number 27, 41, 59, 92 and 126, almost evenly spread across all volumes.

within essays, reviews and as epigraphs. For practical reasons, and because they are not necessarily significant in themselves, embedded quotations have not been included in the dataset, although they can constitute an interesting complement in the qualitative phase of the analysis. It can, for instance, be helpful to know if a certain author or work appears as a recurrent reference in the periodical, or if they appear at specific moments. French poet and founding figure of aestheticism Théophile Gautier is present throughout the publication span of the *Revista Azul*, for which he functions as a paradigm in terms of poetics. The *Revista Moderna*, in turn, only contains references to him in its first issues, swiftly moving forward to other sources of inspiration related to decadentist aesthetics.

The two kinds of translations published as self-contained units in the *Revista Azul* are proper translated texts and *gacetillas*. Defined above, the latter present a particular kind of challenge for quantitative analysis, since they appear in high numbers but are extremely short and endowed with next to no symbolic capital. Thus, including them alongside other kinds of translations in statistics tends to give too much weight to materials that could otherwise be defined as marginal. Moreover, both *Revistas* use them at the beginning of their publication span before abandoning this practice altogether (the *Revista Azul* at the end of its third volume and the *Moderna* after only the first), creating an internal imbalance. For these reasons, all the statistics have been run twice: the first time, with the complete dataset, and the second, with the *gacetillas* filtered out, in order to contrast the results.¹³

Average length of the translated texts: A variable to be used warily

As a measure of the amount of physical space occupied by translations in a magazine, the average length of the translated texts might be an indicator of their importance – or at least their visibility – in said periodical and of its evolution in time. As I increasingly observed comparatively longer translations when collecting the data for the *Revista Azul*, I formulated the hypothesis that, in this magazine, translations became longer (and therefore more noticeable) as time passed. Rigorous statistics, however, reveal the complexity of the phenomenon.

I have calculated the average length of translations in each volume of the *Revista Azul* and the results show that translations are on average longer in the last two volumes of the magazine (that is, from November 1895 onwards). While it does make

13. The R files (analysisRA and analysisRM) therefore contain all the statistics and plots in two versions (with and without *gacetillas*). This is in order to provide accurate chart labels - the figure numbers are the same, but "-w/o" is appended to distinguish the plots with filtered data. The corresponding CSV files are dataRA and dataRM respectively.

sense to include the *gacetillas* when calculating the average length of translations over time (their disuse does imply a re-centring on longer, more meaningful pieces), it is worth ascertaining that the corresponding results were not obtained only as a consequence of their inclusion. When *gacetillas* are taken into account, the average length goes from 0.88 pages in volume 1, to 1.05, 0.98, and finally 1.68 and 1.69 (see Figure c1b).¹⁴ When regular translated texts are considered exclusively, it appears that this increase is less marked, and that there is actually a drop in average length in volumes 2 and 3, although translated texts are indeed longer in the last two volumes of the *Revista Azul*.¹⁵ This indicates that there is a higher concentration of *gacetillas* in volume 1,¹⁶ in which other translations are already 1.56 pages long on average. It also points to an increased presence of translation at the very beginning of the publication of the magazine, compared to its “middle” volumes. This phenomenon appears to occur sometimes in literary periodicals, due to either the need to fill in the space when the number of established collaborators is limited and/or the magazine’s notoriety is incipient, or to the use of translations as a source of cultural capital and tool to formulate a recognisable aesthetic programme.

The genre of the translated texts is also a factor to examine when delving into the length of such contributions. Indeed, poetry is often inherently shorter than short stories and essays (which are the other genres to be widely represented in both *Revistas*) and even more so compared to pieces of drama or novel sections, which appear more rarely. As a consequence, it has to be taken into account when assessing the length of the translations. In the present context, poetry represents 30.4% of all the regular translated texts in volume 1, 27.1% in volume 2, 20.3% in volume 3, and 15.8 and 16.7% respectively in the last two volumes.¹⁷ It is therefore far more pervasive at the beginning of the publication, and there seems to be a steadily

14. Figure c1b is part of the complements that can be found in the analysisRA file on GitHub (https://github.com/Mpopea/Shaping_Translation). This is where you will retrieve all the plots that have not been reproduced in this article due to space constraints and which are indicated with a “c” (for “complement”) added before the figure number. An index of all figures, explaining their numbering, is also included online.

15. The average lengths without *gacetillas* are as follows: 1.56, 1.39, 1.37, 1.68 and 1.69. See Figure c1b–w/o.

16. This is of course confirmed when calculating the proportion of *gacetillas* in the total of translations in the respective volume.

17. Because the issue of the genre of the texts has not been solved altogether, I have opted for a temporary solution allowing me to tackle the question of poetry translation. Since poetry is one of the genres that are easier to detect and identify, and because it is at the core of my doctoral research, I have classified the texts as either poetry, *gacetillas*, drama or simply “prose”, for the time being. I have thus been able to obtain quite definitive numbers for poetry translation (which includes prose poetry but not poetic prose). In the cases in which the genre of the

growing interest for prose translation. While this factor might account for part of the rise in average length in the last two volumes, it does not appear to be directly correlated to it, as the proportion of poetry is in constant decline while the average length of the translations does not increase consistently. This would even suggest the presence of some rather long drama and prose translations in volume 1 in order to compensate the relatively high proportion of poetry.¹⁸ A chart of the evolution of the average length per genre would be helpful in order to clarify those processes.

At any rate, the average length of translations is at its highest at the end of the lifespan of the magazine, at which stage those occupy a greater proportion of the available space. In order to be more precise, I also calculated the average length of the translations in each issue of the *Revista Azul*. The corresponding plot confirms the results obtained with the calculation of the average per volume, namely a slight tendency towards longer texts published in translation as time passed (Figure 1). When the *gacetillas* are not taken into account, this tendency is merely visible in the second half of the publication (see Figure c1–w/o).

Figure 1. Average length of translations in each issue of the *Revista Azul* (including *gacetillas*)

translation is different from that of the original (only two occurrences), I chose to take that of the original into account.

18. This can also be perceived in a chart representing the sum of the lengths of all translations in each issue (see Figure c1c). Most of the peaks in total length appear to happen either at the beginning or at the end of the *Revista Azul*. Apart from this, this chart is not too telling, and while the sum of the lengths can be a useful complement, I have found it too vague to be used as a primary indicator (as it does not take into account the actual amount of single translations.)

In summary, careful examination shows that the increase in average length does depend in some measure on the *gacetillas*, although not exclusively. While they play a considerable role in lowering the average length in the volumes in which they are in use (and particularly so in the first one), the rise observed in the last two volumes seems to be independent of them. Additionally, the abolition of the *gacetillas* marks an important turning point in terms of how translation is used, and it should not be considered as a mere detail or technicality. Indeed it means that translation stops being used in its most instrumental modality (that is, as an invisible practice with a purely practical goal). As mentioned above, literary genre is another factor to be taken into consideration. Thus, length is a relevant variable but it cannot be used alone as a measure of importance. It can, however, yield interesting insights, in combination with other variables such as the genre, position, or signature type, discussed below.

A more straightforward complement: The position of translated texts

Another numeric variable that, I argue, reflects the visibility given to translation is the position of the translated texts within each issue. When the first or second contribution is a translation, the attention is inevitably drawn to this practice. Because of the differences in length of each translation, I chose to rely on the starting page of each text in order to measure this, and, as for the length, to calculate the average both per volume and per issue. Here, although the inclusion of the *gacetillas* might seem misleading (the fact that they were often published in group but inventoried separately might give the false impression that some positions in the magazine were far more favoured than they actually were), the results are almost identical with and without the *gacetillas*, as figures c2a and c2a-w/o show. In both cases, after a slight augmentation between the first and second volume, the average starting page decreases until reaching its lowest level in the last volume.¹⁹ This means that the translations appeared more towards the front of each issue as time passed, with the exception, once again, of the first volume, thus corroborating the idea that translation was rather visible at the beginning of the magazine's publication span. Just like the average length, the evolution of the position does indicate that there is a more marked change in the last two volumes, in which translations appear on average one page to one page and a half earlier than in volume 1. The scatter plot representing the average position per issue illustrates the same tendency (Figure 2).

19. Considering the *gacetillas*, the average starting pages are: 8.51 in vol. 1, 9.01 in vol. 2, 8.69 in vol. 3, 7.67 in vol. 4, and 7.15 in vol. 5. Without them, they are 8.64, 9.37, 7.75, 7.67, and 7.15 respectively.

Figure 2. Average position of translations in each issue of the *Revista Azul* (including *gacetillas*)

A comprehensive visual outline of the situation: The bubble chart

In order to have a general view of the phenomena discussed so far, I have designed a bubble chart representing all the translations published in a determined magazine. In Figure 3, the trends mentioned above are observable, this time without the intermediary of the average. This kind of chart is very helpful in order to get an overview of what happens in a periodical over time, since it combines an array of variables; each point corresponds to one translation, its size being proportional to the length of the text, and its vertical situation replicating its position in the magazine. The chart can therefore be seen as representing the space of the periodical on the y-axis, with the front pages at the bottom and end pages at the top, each issue being a vertical “slice” of the whole. The x-axis functions as a timeline, as it corresponds to the issues in chronological order. As such, the bubble chart forms a unique pattern representing the “general character” (Tukey 1970: 5–10) of the publication of translations in a determined magazine. In other words, it is like its specific footprint, which is distinguishable from that of any other periodical. It constitutes what John Tukey calls a “distant-view graph”, which he likens to a picture of a crime scene, offering a general view of the situation and pointing to aspects worthy of further inquiry (1970: 5–10).

The bubbles can be coloured based on various variables; in Figure 3, I have chosen to distinguish the different volumes, but other options such as position, translator or genre are also possible.

Figure 3. Length and position of translations in the *Revista Azul* (including *gacetillas*)

As a visual representation of the translations themselves and of their evolution throughout the periodical's whole publication span, this kind of chart can provide more precise information about the phenomena under scrutiny. In the case of the *Revista Azul*, we observe, for instance, that translations start being published on the first page only in the last volume, in which four translated texts open their respective issues. Of course, this should be complemented by an analysis of the actual contents of the magazine, through which it can be determined that the reason for the previous absence of translations on the first page was that, for most of the first year, an article by Gutiérrez Nájera would occupy the first position in the magazine, while Carlos Díaz Dufóo, the other editor, closed it. This tradition was even maintained for some time after Gutiérrez Nájera's death in February 1895, after which the first place was usually occupied by Díaz Dufóo himself or some close collaborator (often Ángel de Campo). For this reason, the opening contribution was, in the *Revista Azul* even more so than in other periodicals, endowed with a particular solemnity. The fact that a translation would be deemed worthy of such a highly symbolic position is telling of the importance that it is given in the last volume of the *Revista Azul*.

The bubble chart also shows that those opening translations tend to be rather long texts (the data confirms that three of them are three pages or more in length, with one culminating at 6.1 pages, over one third of the issue), and that there is, in general, a greater concentration of longer translations at the beginning of the last three volumes. It would even seem that those longer translations have progressively moved from the second half of the magazine to its first half, especially in the last two volumes, in which the concentration of translations on pages 8–16 has considerably decreased. The colouring based on position can help visualise this

kind of trend (as in Figure c3b)²⁰. When the translations published in the first 25% of the magazine (pages 1–4) and in the next-to-last 25% (pages 9–12) are viewed separately, this becomes even clearer (Figure 3c).

Figure 3c. Length and position of translations in the *Revista Azul*, pages 1–4 and 8–12 only (including *gacetillas*)²¹

Unsurprisingly then, when examining the percentage of translations that appear on the first 4 pages in each volume, we observe a steady increase, from 17.6% to 38.9%. The proportion of translations located within the first four pages of the *Revista Azul* doubled in the two years of its publication, with more than a third of the translations appearing at the beginning of their issues in the last volume.²² The proportion of translations published between pages 9 and 12, in turn, drops from 31.5% to 14.8% over the same period, although this reduction only concerns the last two volumes. Thus, although the hypotheses formulated on the basis of the visualisation have to be corroborated, this kind of chart is a very useful means to identify general trends and determine which aspects to examine further.

20. Figure c3b can be found among the complementary material at https://github.com/Mpopea/Shaping_Translation.

21. See footnote 2, p. 123.

22. When considering only regular translated texts, the process appears to be similar, except for the fact that the proportion of translations within the first four pages does not grow in vol. 2.

The average length of the translations published in this page range of the *Revista Azul* also increases, in accordance to what can be observed in the bubble chart. It goes from 0.69 pages in vol. 1, to 1.22, 1.58, 2.48, and 2.35 in subsequent volumes.

Categorical variables: The importance of the signature type

Numeric variables are not the only tools at our disposal in order to assess the visibility of translation in a determined periodical. The manner in which translations are presented and identified does of course play an important role in showcasing this practice. Indeed this last point is rather specific to the kind of publications studied here, as they often tend to omit the credits to the translator and/or even the mention that the text is a translation at all. There can be various reasons for this, the most common of which is probably that the translated text was either plagiarised as a translation from another (usually foreign) Spanish-speaking periodical, or quickly translated from a francophone or anglophone magazine as a way to create contents more effortlessly. Repeatedly accused of plagiarism himself, Gutiérrez Nájera, who edited the *Revista Azul*, mentioned the pressure to produce abundant content for the periodical press as an explanation for plagiarism, often through translation.²³ The recourse to other periodicals and to translation makes plagiarism more difficult to detect for the readers; it is also the case for researchers, and an in-depth study on this topic would be required in order to affirm to what extent the *Revistas* engaged in this practice. It can be said, nevertheless, that they maintain at least an ambivalent treatment of their translations; even when the translation is identified as such, credit is seldom given to the translator. Actually, 84.5% of the translations remain anonymous in the *Revista Azul* and 69.01% in the *Revista Moderna*. Ultimately, this is related to the fact that translation, just like literature in general, is a practice that was just being institutionalised at the time of the publication of the *Revistas*. Its boundaries, conventions and usages were not well-defined and important variations can be observed in the way translations were presented in periodicals and how much liberty could be taken with them. In this, it is significant that the proportion of anonymous translations is lower in the *Revista Moderna*. Data from other periodicals would be needed in order to affirm that this is a general trend of the period.

At the same time as translations become longer and appear earlier on in the pages of the *Revista Azul*, they also become identified as such more often. Within the format of this magazine, this can be done either implicitly, through the joint presence of the author's and the translator's names, or, more frequently, explicitly, by indicating that the text is a translation (or even both). The explicit mention

23. In a satirical letter written to himself and mocking his accusers, Gutiérrez Nájera affirmed: "Sé de buena tinta que escribes trescientos sesenta y cinco artículos al año, cuando no es bisiesto. Pues bien, suponiendo, y ya es mucho suponer, que hayas robado sesenta y cinco al año, siempre te quedarán trescientos más o menos malos, pero tuyos". Later on, he added: "Tú plagias con descaro porque quieres escribir más de lo que humanamente puedes" (2002: 78 and 80).

allows the translator to remain anonymous, while the magazine still benefits from the symbolic capital of the translation itself. It can take various forms, the most common of which are “Traducido para la « Revista Azul »” and “Traducción para la « Revista Azul »”, often printed in capital letters, in parenthesis or square brackets under the title of the text. The first such mention is to be found in issue n. 34 (vol. 2), with three previous occurrences of mentions formulated in short prefatory notes. This introduces the idea that the translation was made *especially* for the magazine, thus creating a certain sense of exclusivity, albeit rudimentary. It can also be quickly noted that the parenthesis were not used for this mention past the middle of the third volume, at which point square brackets became the norm and translation stopped, symbolically, being a parenthesis.

As a result, translations can be categorised in three broad groups: signed translations, anonymous translations that are identified as such, and anonymous translations with no mention whatsoever (which I label as “anonymous unidentified”). Overall, the most represented group is by far the latter. However, their evolution in time is, once again, significant. One option to explore this aspect is to plot the frequency of each signature type in each volume (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Frequency of each signature type over time in the *Revista Azul* (including *gacetillas*)

The spectacular drop in anonymous unidentified translations is probably the most visible feature of this chart, confirming the hypothesis that translation was progressively given more visibility in the *Revista Azul*. However, it should be noted that this phenomenon is due mainly to the progressive disuse of the *gacetillas*, without which the anonymous unidentified translations maintain a rather stable level (see Figure c4–w/o). The other two signature types are not impacted by

gacetillas, which are by definition anonymous and unidentified. We can notice in both charts the – less dramatic – decrease in signed translations and the rise of anonymous translations that are identified as such, whose proportion of the total therefore increases.

This illustrates the fact that translations in the *Revista Azul* remain overwhelmingly anonymous (see figure c4g, contrasting anonymous translations – either identified or not – and signed translations) but are increasingly identified as translations, although in most cases not through the translator's signature. Figure c4h shows that identified translations (either through signature or mention of the translation process) and unidentified translations almost come to a tie in the last volume. Moreover, when only regular translated texts are considered (as in Figure c4h–w/o), identified translations are actually more numerous in volumes 2 and 3.²⁴

Identified translations are not only becoming more visible as they augment in number. They are also published earlier in their respective issues than the other translations. Figure 5, in which the anonymous identified translations are highlighted in red, illustrates this tendency particularly well. Contrary to my expectations, the anonymous identified translations appear, on average, before the signed ones.²⁵

Explicit mention thus seems to be emphasised more than implicit indications of a translation. The calculation of the average starting page for each signature type over time shows that while anonymous identified translations appear earlier in each volume (until reaching their lowest average just before page 4 in the last two volumes) and anonymous unidentified translations remain constant in the second half of the issues, signed translations actually recede slightly (Figure 5e).

However, this was not so at the beginning of the *Revista Azul*, as in the first volume, signed translations were the ones to appear first, on average. In fact, of the 9 regular translated texts to appear on pages 1–4 throughout vol. 1, 8 were signed by their translator. This initial interest for showcasing signed translations reverts completely from volume 2 onwards, as they become both less numerous and located further away from the front pages.

24. Another way of visualising those processes is to rank all the single translators/signature types for each volume, which I did in figures c4b to c4f. This also allows us to track the evolution of the work of single translators, and appreciate their diversity, which appears to be much greater at the beginning of the publication and to decrease steadily.

25. While the anonymous unidentified translations appear last, on average on page 9.47, and the signed translations are close by (with an average starting page of 8.08), the anonymous identified translations are far in front, on page 5.24. Although those numbers correspond to the averages for all translations, the only difference when omitting *gacetillas* is that the starting page for anonymous unidentified goes back by a few tenths of a page.

Figure 5. Position of anonymous identified translations in the *Revista Azul* (including *gacetillas*)

Figure 5e. Evolution of average starting page of translated texts per signature type in the *Revista Azul* (including *gacetillas*)²⁶

Conjointly, anonymous identified translations are also considerably longer than the other kinds of translations, with an average length of 2.26 pages, versus 1.45 for anonymous unidentified translations (or 0.9 if we include the *gacetillas* here), and 0.77 for signed translations (see also Figure c5d). This confirms the hypothesis that translation was progressively given more visibility in the *Revista*

²⁶. See footnote 2, p. 123.

Azul through various mechanisms operating in conjunction (position, length, mention). Signed translations are by far the shortest, which, again, appears to be linked to their genre. In effect, the versions signed by their translator are overwhelmingly poetry throughout the *Revista Azul* (52 of them are poems out of 61, which corresponds to 85.2%).²⁷ We see once again that an indicator such as the average length is only relevant when considered alongside other variables such as the genre, and that caution is required before drawing any conclusions based on it. Finally, this is also indicative of the fact that poetry translation was not particularly emphasised in the *Revista Azul* (with the notable exception of its first volume), since, as I mentioned just above, those texts were also pushed back in the pages of the issues as time went and their average length was reduced.

Based on those statistics and charts, it can be concluded that translation did, in the *Revista Azul*, become more and more visible with time, with longer translated texts appearing earlier in the pages of the magazine and being more clearly identified. This illustrates how the different variables that have been discussed here are linked, and can therefore be considered as indicative of an editorial project. Two important components of this evolution were the discontinuation of *gacetillas* and the diminution of the amount of poetry translation, leading to a progressive focus on anonymous but identified prose translations. This might be related, in part, to the death of Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera halfway through the second volume, as this tome seems to constitute a point of inflection from the point of view of the frequency and position of signed poetry translations. Being a poet himself, it is likely that Gutiérrez Nájera would have favoured those contributions at the beginning of the publication, although it is difficult to affirm this with complete certainty, as the documents related to the making of the *Revista Azul* were lost. A second twist can be located at the end of the third volume, when *gacetillas* were abandoned and the emphasis on longer identified anonymous prose translations became more marked.

Thus, the uses of translation indicate that, from being a merely instrumental and invisible practice, it gradually became an abstracted vector of cultural capital in itself. In this, it is telling that the texts that were anonymous but would contain the mention of the translation process were given priority over signed ones with no mention. Poetry translation, signed most of the time, was usually carried out by a poet. As such, it might have been conceived as more of an individual poetic project (which the prevalence of the signature itself would support), bestowing

27. The proportion of poetry among the signed translations even increases steadily in time (except in volume 4), until it attains 100% of the signed translations in the fifth volume. (The percentages are 76.2% in vol. 1, 87.5% in vol. 2, 90.9% in vol. 3, 83.3% in vol. 4, and 100% in vol. 5). The second most represented genre among signed translations is drama.

cultural capital upon the translator rather than the magazine that would publish it. This practice was not new, as poetry translation would often be used as a way, for a poet, to demonstrate technical virtuosity during the 19th century. In contrast to this, the mention of the translation process, rather than the translator's signature, seems to become progressively more meaningful in itself, in the *Revista Azul*. The very notion of translation became a source of added value, as a realisation of the magazine's universalist vocation, a factor of exclusivity, and a worthy component of literary activity in general, as translation grew into an increasingly institutionalised practice.²⁸ In this, an important step was made towards establishing literary translation not as a means to make new content available or to display individual skill, but rather as a source of symbolic capital and an activity valued in itself. After the exploration of the data, my initial hypothesis that translation became more visible in the *Revista Azul* was confirmed. However, many nuances had to be added to it, which proved crucial for a better understanding of the broader processes and a more comprehensive account of their complexity.

Same variables, different results: Translation in the *Revista Moderna*

Created less than two years after the discontinuation of the *Revista Azul*, the *Revista Moderna* came to fill the gap left by its predecessor. It occupied a similar position in the literary field of the time (in this case, its autonomous pole), and shared with it its aestheticist discourse and various of its collaborators. It also presented some resemblance in terms of structure, although the editors implemented strategies to move away from the literary supplement format. In relation to translation, it also displayed an important concentration of translated texts and fragments (although they were slightly less concentrated than in the *Revista Azul*, with an average of 2.6 translations per issue, and 14 issues out of 110 with no translation at all), including *gacetillas* during its first year.²⁹

28. This is not to say, of course, that signed translations played no role in this process. On the contrary, the work of the first specialised literary translators, such as Balbino Dávalos, were fundamental in establishing translation as a codified and valued practice. It came as a surprise that their work, although present, would not be more emphasised in the *Revista Azul*.

29. It should be noted that the *Revista Moderna* was published between July 1898 and August 1903, each calendar year corresponding to one year in the publication's numbering (thus, years 1 and 6 are shorter than the rest). It appeared fortnightly and was composed, like the *Revista Azul*, of 16 pages, except during its second year, when it appeared monthly and comprised 32 pages. For this reason, the position is expressed, in this case, in percentage of issue length, in order to be able to compare and plot year 2 with the others. The total number of translated texts or fragments is 284, of which 49 are *gacetillas*, all published during the first year.

As such, and after a first review of the *Revista Moderna*'s production of translations, I expected it to follow some similar trends to those of the *Revista Azul*, continuing its project: lengthening of the translations, reduction of the average starting page, increase in identified translations etc. Now that the definition of those indicators and how they are calculated has been established, the analysis will proceed more swiftly through these aspects of the question. If there are indeed some similarities between the *Revista Moderna*'s production of translations and the *Revista Azul*'s, they are not as extensive as I first expected, and a detailed analysis soon unveils the differences between both periodicals.

One common point between the two magazines is that translations in the *Revista Moderna* do become longer with time. One example of this is the more frequent publication of poems in bilingual versions, on pages facing each other or in parallel on the same page. Those include the "Sinfonía en blanco mayor" by Théophile Gautier, in Dávalos's version in November 1898, "Medaille antique/Medalla antigua" by José María Heredia (transl. Joaquín D. Casasús), Francisco M. De Olaguibel's version of "Ici-bas... /En el mundo..." by Sully Prudhomme, Baudelaire's "Hymne à la beauté", translated by Tablada as "Himno a la belleza", another Casasús version, this time from Latin ("Seculare Carmen ad Dianam/Himno a la belleza" by Catullus), one case of reversed translation (from Spanish into French, of "La flauta de Pan/La flûte de pan", by Argentine author Leopoldo Díaz), and "Proud Music of the Storm" by Walt Whitman, translated by Amado Nervo in the penultimate issue.³⁰ With one instance only in the *Revista Azul*, we can say that this modality was introduced but not normalised in the first of the two magazines. Beyond the spatial dimension, the publication of bilingual versions is also interesting from the point of view of the underlying conception of translation, since a dialogue between original and translation is created and the reader is invited to go from one to the other, and to appreciate the translation as a process rather than a finished result. The bilingual versions often imply a greater degree of literacy too, since the reader is able to see the original and compare both form and content. This is well illustrated by Dávalos's translation, which he also included in an anthology that he published later, in 1913. In this volume, the translation does not appear alongside the original, and it is considerably freer (Dávalos 1913: 14).

Going back to the increasing length of translations in the *Revista Moderna*, it can be said that they have an initial average length of 0.27 pages in year 1 (or 0.76 without the *gacetillas*), which changes to 1.3, 2.31, 1.56, 2.68, and 2.64 in subsequent years (see Figure c6b). In fact, this is a rather steady increase, except for year 3 in which the values are above what would be expected. While the difference between year 1 and 2 is explained in part by the disuse of *gacetillas*, those do not

30. *Revista Moderna*, I.8: 12–13, II.9: 5, II.10: 16, II.11: 2–3, V.9: 10, VI.12: 11, VI.15: 6–13.

account for the rest of the increase, nor does the proportion of poetry, as in the *Revista Azul*. Here, the proportion of poetry varies, but without any kind of clear pattern.³¹ Therefore, translated texts become significantly longer as time passes, and the chart representing the average length per issue is probably the scatter chart which displays the strongest tendency (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Average length of translations in each issue of the *Revista Moderna* (including *gacetillas*)

However, this is not part of a joint process of visibilisation like in the *Revista Azul*, as translations do not appear earlier on in the pages of the magazine. Both the average position per year and per issue reveal that there is no such tendency here (see Figures c7a and c7b). Moreover, the bubble chart shows that translation is almost completely absent from the very first pages in the second half of the *Revista Moderna*'s publication span (Figure 7). While no translation could have occupied the first page, as it was almost exclusively dedicated to photographs of artworks, it is significant that there would be as little as 2 translations located within the first 4 pages in all of year 5 (compared to 11 and 7 in the previous two years), and that in the last year, the frontmost translation appeared on page 3.

31. Poetry represents 16.9% of the translated texts in year 1, 46.7% in year 2, 18.8% in year 3, 28.6% in year 4, 29.4% in year 5, and 17.2% in year 6.

Figure 7. Length and position of translations in the *Revista Moderna* (including *gacetillas*)

Additionally, none of the translations that appear in the first 4 pages in the last year are signed. The signature types are the same in both *Revistas*,³² which also share some basic characteristics on this account: in the *Revista Moderna* too, anonymous unidentified translations are the most common type (based, however, mainly on the *gacetillas*), anonymous identified translations are the longest (2.26 pages on average), and almost two thirds of the signed translations are poetry. Except for this, the situation is contrasted on the front of signature types. The main difference is the visibility given to signed translations; while in the *Revista Azul* they were located far behind anonymous identified translations, they appear, in the *Revista Moderna*, in the first place.³³

Nevertheless, the variation of this indicator in time, shows that the average position of all signature types oscillates a little, with signed translations being always in front of the others *except in year 6*, in which anonymous unidentified translations make a strong comeback (see Figure c9f). Actually, when considering the position of signed translations only (highlighted in red in Figure 8), it appears that they are consistently placed first until the last year of the magazine, in which they are also evidently less numerous.

32. Anonymous identified, anonymous unidentified and signed.

33. 53% into the issues, on average, while anonymous identified and anonymous unidentified appear later, at 63.2% and 63.4% respectively (without considering the *gacetillas*).

Figure 8. Position of signed translations in the *Revista Moderna* (including *gacetillas*)

Year 6 of the *Revista Moderna* is particular on various accounts. It contains a cluster of anonymous unidentified translations at the forefront (see Figure c9a), has signed translations at their lowest (see Figure c8h), is the only year along with year 1 in which there are more unidentified than identified translations (Figure 8j), and even the two most prolific translators (Balbino Dávalos and José Juan Tablada) are absent from it (see Figures c8k and c8m).

Figure 8j. Identified v/s unidentified translations over time in the *Revista Moderna* (including *gacetillas*)

Indeed, this might be a sign that something unusual is happening. Overall, the plots presented so far for the *Revista Moderna* show an important degree of variation in time, and it can seem arduous to make sense of them. Actually, what they appear to indicate is that there are distinct phases in the publication span of the *Revista Moderna*. The bubble chart illustrates this particularly well, as various of the years are so distinguishable visually. The scattered, tiny translations of year 1 stand apart from the still small but more concentrated versions in year 2. In turn, the cluster of very long translations at the beginning of the issues in year 3 contrasts starkly with the subsequent absence of translations in the same page range (1–4). Translations in the last two years appear to be both longer and more centred in terms of position. The fact that the length and periodicity of the magazine also changed from one year to the next (as well as the discontinuation of the *gacetil-las*, which happened between years 1 and 2) confirms that the *Revista Moderna* rethought its editorial project on a yearly basis.

The question of how to interpret those phases remains, though, and this is another case in which the integration of quantitative and qualitative research is fundamental. In effect, the data as such offers no explanation of what is or is not happening, and only a thorough inspection of the contents of the magazine and a cross-examination of varied sources can give a hint as to the reasons behind those sudden changes. As I mentioned earlier, it is not always possible to make a definitive claim regarding such phenomena in the absence of archival material related to the making of the *Revistas*. However, I believe that there is a rather strong case in favour of an interpretation of those phases as linked to the financial situation of the *Revista Moderna*.

The *Revista Azul* benefited from the stability derived from public funding, as the Sunday literary supplement of an official newspaper, *El Partido Liberal*. The editors did not have to worry about the pecuniary aspects of their enterprise and its format, periodicity and quality were remarkably regular. The *Revista Moderna*, in contrast, was a more precarious venture. Founded by Bernardo Couto Castillo, it would not have outlived its first issue if it was up to him alone, as he did not even pay the whole of this first instalment. The delay between the first and second issues (one month and a half instead of a fortnight) is telling of those difficulties. In this interval, Jesús E. Valenzuela took over the publication and financed it mainly with his own capital (Campos 1996: 39). As a result, 1898 was a year of great financial instability for the magazine. Valenzuela himself affirmed that at that time, “la *Revista Moderna* pasaba por una crisis horrible” (2001: 127). It is likely that the amount of unidentified translations during this period is due to the impossibility to commission new translations and/or pay contributors. As I mentioned earlier, anonymous unidentified translations are sometimes recycled from other periodicals; whether with or without their knowledge and consent remains unclear.

In 1899, a new sponsor, Jesús Luján, started supporting the *Revista Moderna*, bringing considerable improvements. Thanks to him, “¡El periódico tendría oficinas propias, papel superior, más ilustraciones y quienes lo redactábamos seríamos mejor y más puntualmente retribuidos!” (Tablada 1993: 30). Here, Tablada makes a direct allusion to the question of the remuneration of contributors, although it is impossible to say whether this covers translations or not. Nonetheless, this improved situation might well have facilitated the profusion of longer translations that can be witnessed in year 3. This prosperity did not last, however, and in 1902, the editors appear to be in a delicate situation again. They raised the price of the issue and of the subscription, and included, for the first time, advertisements in the pages of the *Revista Moderna*. Despite those measures, the crisis hit the *Revista Moderna* once more, leading the editors to accept reorienting the magazine towards a wider readership in exchange for support from Ramón Corral, then Secretary of the Interior of the Porfirian government (Valenzuela 2001: 134). It was the end of the *Revista Moderna*, which became the *Revista Moderna de México* (1903–1911). Years 1 and 6 of the *Revista Moderna* were therefore years of crisis, during which funding was scarce. Those are also the only two years in which unidentified translations outweigh identified ones (that is, either anonymous identified or signed), if we consider the *gacetillas* in year 1. While the situation in year 1 is debatable (because of the weight of the *gacetillas* and of the reasonable amount of signed translations), year 6 definitely has an end-of-an-era feel to it. We see here how the decisions affecting translations do not depend only on the editors’ choices in terms of poetics, but also respond to external factors that have to be taken into account.

Conclusions

Despite their similarities, the *Revista Azul* and *Revista Moderna* differ quite significantly in certain aspects of their publication of translations. The process outlined in this article has demonstrated that data analysis was helpful in order to reach this conclusion, illustrating the fact that descriptive statistics and data visualisation are important tools in the study of large corpora of translated texts published in periodicals. This case study has shown that even similar magazines (from the same city, period and literary movement) can present widely different scenarios with regards to translation and the evolution of its uses in time. The differences can be very subtle and reveal complex nuances in the periodicals’ projects and editorial lines. The situation of signed translations in both *Revistas* is a good example of this, as it indicates an increased visibility of the figure of the translator in the *Revista Moderna*, whereas the *Revista Azul* seemed to showcase, instead, the practice in itself. This, in turn, speaks of the respective function of each of

the *Revistas* in the development of modern literature in Mexico; while the *Revista Azul* opened the way and created, discursively, a space for autonomous art to exist, which is consistent with an appraisal of translation as one generic kind of literary activity, the *Revista Moderna's* contribution was to experiment with poetics and bring formal renovation about. This task was accomplished by *modernista* poets, who, we have seen, usually signed their translations, as those were also part of a personal search for innovation in terms of versification. This explains the steady presence of poetry translation in the *Revista Moderna*, as well as its emphasis on signed (poetry) translations, while the *Revista Azul* privileged anonymous identified prose pieces.

Another good illustration of this discrepancy is the difference between the general evolution of translations in time in both periodicals: while trends seem to be more defined and steady in the *Revista Azul*, indicating deep, progressive processes that might be the result of deliberate editorial decisions, the *Revista Moderna* displays a greater volatility in various aspects, with important changes from one volume to another. This ultimately points at the magazine's financial instability and to the conglomerate of distinct *modernista* voices, each of which contributed with a fragment of their own personal project, resulting in a more uncoordinated kind of formal exploration. While Balbino Dávalos mostly translated French poetry written in verse, Rasch (pseudonym for an unidentified translator) was interested in Stéphane Mallarmé's figure and contribution to the form of the prose poem (including his prose renditions of Edgar Allan Poe's poetry), Tablada endeavoured to adopt formal elements of Japanese poetry, and Amado Nervo translated Whitman's free verse. I would therefore argue that the erratic nature of literary change explains, in part, the lack of very defined trends in the *Revista Moderna*.

Thus, quantitative data analysis not only allows us to visualise how each magazine's project evolves in time, but it can also point to the effects of extraneous factors related to the publication. As we saw in the case of the *Revista Moderna*, this kind of approach can reveal elements external to the deliberate decisions of the editors, such as general circumstances affecting the life of the periodical. As a result, comparable magazines might not only produce different results, but also present problems that are altogether dissimilar.

Consequently, the analysis should be tailored to the needs of the object, and the particular questions that this object poses should be addressed specifically. In this, it follows the principles of exploratory data analysis as defined by Tukey, since successive stages of the exploration focus on increasingly specific aspects of the data. This is crucial in order to be able to make finer distinctions. To this end, the bubble chart of the whole production of translations functions as a particularly effective starting point, indicating different aspects worthy of further exploration while providing a general representation of the periodical. It fulfils remarkably

well Tukey's assertion that "one of the great features of graphical impact – one of the reasons for which arithmetic can never serve ALL the functions of graphs – is the graph's ability to show you what you were not looking for – what you may even have been very reluctant to see" (1970: 5–6). In the present case, it has been of singular utility in detecting the fact that the *Revista Moderna* displayed wild differences between volumes and should rather be approached from the angle of distinct phases. As a result, it allows for the next steps in the exploration to be adapted. This is one of many cases made here for the usefulness of data visualisation, which is, additionally, an excellent tool for communicating the results of such research projects.

Finally, I would like to point out that the two datasets used here were, in broad terms, alike (similar sources, exact same variables, same mode of collection) yet what they tell us about the two *Revistas* is very different. This is where qualitative analysis comes in, as it is indispensable to interpret the results obtained through data analysis, instil meaning to the trends that we observe and orient further data exploration. This is what Tukey defines as detailed understanding: "a detective investigating a crime needs both tools and understanding. If he has no fingerprint powder, he will fail to find fingerprints on most surfaces. If he does not understand where the criminal is likely to have put his fingers, he will not look in the right places. Equally, the analyst of data needs both tools and understanding" (1970: 1–1).

Of course, those two facets of the analysis should always go together, and close-reading, which I have not had space to illustrate here, is yet another layer of the process of analysing the publication of translations in periodicals. Because the corpora are often big, quantitative analysis is a good first step in order to find our way into the data, but it is not sufficient alone. This case study illustrated why this kind of analysis has to be complemented by a close examination of the actual contents of the magazines as well as other sources related to their history, such as diaries, chronicles and archival material when available.

Space constraints did not allow me to develop various aspects which would have deserved more attention; I did not explore all the possibilities offered by the variables chosen for my case study, let alone introducing other variables such as language. The size of the corpus is considerable and the possibilities are almost endless. I hope, however, to have given a good sense of how data analysis can be conducted and of its benefits. This is indeed work in progress; this article has illustrated some of the possibilities offered by descriptive statistics and data visualisation for the study of translation in literary periodicals in a specific context. These methods can (and shall) be expanded upon and applied to bigger corpora, which is an exciting development to which I very much look forward.

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A historian's approach to quantitative analysis

The case of translated short stories in Italian women's *rotocalchi* (1933–1938)

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The study of translated short stories in Italian illustrated magazines can contribute to the creation of a homogeneous methodology for analyzing literature in periodicals. This chapter, based on the woman's magazine *Lei*, argues that a quantitative analysis of translations should always result in a proportion between translated and non-translated texts and that it has to consider both the subjective dimension of the enquiry and potential disturbing features. At the core of the methodological proposal, stands the creation of sets of numerical results as an answer to the uncertain origin of many short stories, and a *vertical close reading*, which entails the identification of all the texts with the same origin in order to investigate the incidence of internal trends.

Keywords: illustrated magazines, *rotocalchi*, Italian Fascism, magazine *Lei*, translated short stories, close reading, quantitative analysis, research methodology, manual data extraction, translated short stories

Introduction

If I can't be sure of the actual events any more, I can at least be true to the impressions those facts left. That's the best I can manage. (Barnes 2011: 4)

Both major and minor projects for digitizing periodicals have multiplied lately, allowing us not only to speed up the access to existing documentation and do full-text research on it, but also to begin coherent collections of sources aggregated online – the so-called “invented archives” (Rosenzweig-O'Malley 2011: 168) – and to make connections between sets of information easier. This has even led to controversial approaches aiming at revolutionizing the study of literary texts, such as Franco Moretti's “distant reading” (Moretti 2013; Jänicke-Franzini-Cheema-Scheuermann

2015). Nevertheless, in some cases automatic data mining just cannot work properly if the amount of data is not massive and the single subjects need a more elaborate interpretation, which calls for a decisive choice by the researcher, all the more important when the volume of data can statistically be considered of little relevance. There is also a risk inherent in useful and ambitious digitization projects, because the research clearly tends to concentrate for reasons of convenience on those periodicals that have already been digitized and are freely accessible. This results in the marginalization of those magazines and newspapers that have not yet enjoyed financial support for conversion into digital format and maybe never will, but still stubbornly strive for their survival, showing unexpected longevity (Brake 2012). This is mostly the case of popular and illustrated periodicals, for many of which digitization is not in sight, since they were seldom collected in public libraries at the time of their publication and are perhaps still deemed of less significance today. Yet popular and pulp magazines are a valuable source for exploring habits, social change, cultural models, ways of engaging with modernity, as well as the success or the failure of a political narrative. Furthermore, they offer an interesting insight into genre fiction, which traditionally played a pivotal role in illustrated magazines as an element of leisure, maybe even of escapism into a dream world, and are therefore a precious subject of study as far as literary translations and the international circulation and reception of authors and genres are concerned.

In order to assess the presence of both national and translated literature in periodicals, a close reading must be complemented with – or rather preceded by – a quantitative investigation, even if automated content analysis cannot be carried out. Its purpose is not only to evaluate the circulation of foreign literatures in a given cultural field, but also, by reflection, to study national literature through the kind of contamination and transfers related to imported and translated literary products. In fact, translations tell us a lot about the target culture, as they shed light on the influences a national culture is subject to, its openness and its ability to enhance external cultural triggers, but also on strategic options for the editorial sector (Sisto 2013; Sisto 2018). For those cases in which automatic data mining to extract information from textual sources is not feasible and preponderant, a quantitative analysis needs to establish sound methodological foundations.

The present chapter discusses a set of issues linked to the research on literature published in popular magazines and suggests possible solutions to them. The selected case study refers to Italy in the 1930s, at a stage when the publishing sector flourished¹ and a real “translation industry” (Rundle 2000: 72) came to life.

1. See Forgacs 1990. For general guidance on Italian publishing industry, see Tranfaglia and Vittoria 2000; Cadioli and Vigni 2018.

The fact that historiography on translations in book form is notably rich,² but still scarce as regards to translations in periodicals, which were proportionally even more abundant,³ ensures that this research also intends to contribute towards filling a gap in the national history of culture.

Translations in *rotocalchi* as a subject of study

At the root of the boom in translations in Fascist Italy was a growing desire for distraction, typical of post-war societies, and the consequent flourishing of escapist literature, to the extent of a demand that Italian authors were unable to meet, either in terms of numbers or of genres, as they still offered mainly sentimental or erotic novels, whereas the public was also eager to read detective and adventure stories (Bordoni 1993). Relying on foreign authors was the quicker – and most profitable – solution, since publishers took advantage of low copyright rates and were aware that translations were well received by the reading public. Moreover, for a long time the Fascist regime, in power since 1922, did not oppose translations. The authorities were indeed willing to project a liberal image of themselves, especially abroad, and had no interest in damaging the main publishers, who had always proved to be faithful to the Fascist government, though certainly more out of interest than political conviction. Moreover, it was at this stage that a generation of experts in foreign literature came to light: they often had an academic background and had travelled abroad, and could therefore be hired by publishing houses as reliable mediators, further contributing to the spread of translations.

The approach to translation differed from the present standard, in terms of the tendency to reshape and even recreate the texts, resulting both from the belief that translations are an expression of the translator rather than of the author⁴ and Fascist censorship, which made it necessary to avoid sensitive issues such as politics, divorce, and suicide. If one adds to this the more pragmatic need to foster the understanding of the texts by a wider audience and to adapt foreign literature

2. Points of reference on this topic are Billiani 2007 and Rundle 2010. See also Ferme 2002. The relationship between Germany and Italy in particular is well investigated: see at least Rubino 2002 and Rubino 2010. The outstanding project *Letteratura tradotta in Italia* (<http://www.ltit.it/>) has been also put online recently.

3. Literary translations in periodicals have been studied only as far as intellectual journals are concerned (Esposito 2004). Allow me therefore to refer here to Guidali 2019a, which is also the basis for the present contribution.

4. This conviction was supported by Benedetto Croce's aesthetics (Croce 1939: 60). On translators in interwar Italy, see Cembali 2006.

to their taste, it is more than evident that genre literature was considered easier to manipulate than highbrow prose, and a place where an “oblique” translation could be placed (Federici 2018: 56) for an ideological, political, moral – rather than purely linguistic – adaptation (Del Zoppo 2013: 382).⁵

The 1930s were also a prosperous time for the Italian publishing industry (Forgacs and Gundle 2007) and especially for the popular magazines (Piazzoni 2020), which were collectively named *rotocalchi* after their printing process (*rotocalcografia*, in English rotogravure). As part of a general trend in Europe and in North and South America towards the popularization of the press, *rotocalchi* were characterized by low production costs (and thus low selling prices), copious use of photographic images and functional and attractive aesthetics, and they targeted mainly urban middleclass women.⁶ Their content – current events, cinema, theatre, women’s fashion and glamour, tips on etiquette, literature, sports and so on – was entertaining and escapist, if possible without any direct reference to political issues, especially not to thorny ones, and was largely conveyed through high-quality photographs. The main publishing houses were able to present a wide range of magazines: Rizzoli issued the literary magazine *Novella*, the cinema magazine *Cinema Illustrazione*, the humorous weeklies *Marc’Aurelio* and *Bertoldo*, the variety magazines *Il Secolo illustrato*, *Piccola* and *Lei*, the sports periodical *Il calcio illustrato*, and the political and cultural weeklies *Omnibus* and then *Oggi* in the late 1930s (Mazzuca 1991); Mondadori did not enter the field of weeklies until a later stage, but soon caught up with its main competitor Rizzoli thanks to best-sellers such as *Le grandi firme* and later *Il Milione*, the women’s periodical *Grazia*, the humorous magazine *Il Settebello*, and *Il cerchio verde*, dedicated to crime fiction (Decleva 2007); Vitagliano gave birth at an early stage to *Eva* and *Zenit* (Carotti 2007).

Though evidently specific in content, tone and target, these magazines were generally very successful: already in 1933, Rizzoli’s weekly *Novella*, for instance, declared the astonishing circulation of 170,000 copies per week, which was a remarkable feature in a country in which levels of literacy were still relatively low and the audience for books and newspapers still small. It is interesting to note that *rotocalchi*, although they began to blossom in a critical phase in which civil liberties had been restricted, spread political disengagement and hedonism, thus ambivalently introducing readers to cultural models that deviated from the moralistic and regimented Fascist cultural model, without being a complete alternative to it

5. On Fascist censorship see Fabre 1998; Fabre 2007; Fabre 2018; Bonsaver 2007. The case of German literature is once again significant as shown in Barrale 2015; Barrale 2018.

6. As a general reference, Stead and Védrine 2018. For the English context, Bingham 2004; for the French context see the cases investigated in Brizot and de Veigy 2009 and Chabrier and Thérenty 2017; for the German context see at least Ferber 1982.

(Mosconi 2009).⁷ This interplay between modernity and tradition was possible because the regime did not formally start to take action in the magazine sector until 1937 (Piazzoni 2009: 104–112), allowing popular periodicals a relatively freer space – even for the publication of literature – compared to books and newspapers, which were closely monitored from the mid-1920s onwards.

The present chapter explores the case of Rizzoli's weekly *Lei*, established in Milan in the summer of 1933, as a starting point for a discussion on research methods on the presence of literature in periodicals. *Lei* ('She' or 'Her' in English) virtually completed its experience in November 1938, at the same time as the introduction of racial laws, when the regime imposed a change of title into *Annabella* as part of the campaign in favor of the pronoun *voi* in the T-V distinction instead of the allegedly extravagant (and grammatically feminine) *lei*. The magazine was edited by Filippo Piazzini and dealt primarily with fashion, cinema, housekeeping advice and social life, presenting those topics within the framework of a luxurious iconography – mainly pictures of Hollywood movie stars or of ordinary women posing as models for clothes – (Pelizzari 2015), but made more and more room for literature in its 12 or 16 pages. In fact, in the first few months the magazine published only one short story and an installment of a serialized novel for every issue; nonetheless the number of short stories later increased to three or four in addition to a serial by a well-known middlebrow author every week. The literary sections were certainly very popular and the editorial board was obviously eager to accommodate the readers' taste but it is also true that in the second half of the 1930s the regime imposed a more severe surveillance system on any kind of publishing, not to mention a more intense engagement with topics basic to Fascism, such as maternity or colonialism, and a more solemn and serious tone. This turn implied cutting down on lighter sections concerning current issues and paradoxically paving the way for a wider resort to sentimentalist prose.

In its early days, the magazine featured a variety of genres, and even short stories by writers with high cultural capital, many of whom foreign, such as Selma Lagerlöf, Knut Hamsun, Heinrich Mann, nonetheless it soon focused merely on paraliterature and love stories, which were homogeneous (if not repetitive) both in their plots and characters. *Lei* therefore published amongst others Milly Dandolo, Mura, Carola Prosperi, Giorgio Scerbanenco, Teresa Sensi, but also German, American, French, Hungarian and Russian writers, hybridizing middlebrow and genre literature.⁸ *Lei* has been chosen as an optimal case study for meditating on

7. On women in interwar Italy, see De Grazia 1992. For a literary perspective see Pickering-lazzi 1995.

8. On the use of middlebrow as a critical category for the Italian interwar context see D'hoker and Bonciarelli 2017 and Guidali 2019b.

literary translations in periodicals and the methodological issues pertaining to it, which have been condensed into seven problem areas as follows:

1. The definition of the corpus. For a quantitative analysis of translations, it is advisable to include in the tally not only translated texts, but all the short stories and novels published in a magazine, which means also texts by Italian authors in the case of *Lei*.
2. The subjective dimension of the investigation and the need to focus on the role of the researcher, that is to say on the responsibilities he or she bears in extracting information from a literary text when its origin is dubious.
3. The identification of disturbing features of which a researcher must be fully aware – mainly the presence of a number of installments of serialized novels that influence the tally of literary texts.
4. Meditation on the need to have or, on the contrary, to refuse a default rule in the case of uncertain origin of a text.
5. The role of pseudo-translations and the influence of the paratext and material aspects in creating an atmosphere that amplifies the impression of translated literature, that is to say the function of editorial choices that alter and distort the perception of data.
6. The creation of various sets of numerical results that can indicate a range of a minimum and a maximum number of translated texts. The outcome of the research is hence a discursive process rather than a mere figure.
7. The combination of what may be defined as *horizontal distant reading* and *vertical close reading*. The former entails an analysis of the corpus as a whole, as if every issue of a periodical were placed one beside the other and had the same specific weight. The latter consists of identifying all the texts with the same cultural and linguistic origin and studying them as sub-corpora, in order to investigate authors and genres and the incidence of internal trends in the magazine's diachronic evolution.

These given points, which are deemed to be applicable to other contexts in the interwar period, can contribute to the creation of a homogeneous methodology for analyzing literature in periodicals. The bottom line of the proposed procedure is nevertheless an awareness of the fact that the objectivity and the completeness of data in this field is doomed to stay slippery: all a researcher can do is get closer to the feeling the reader of a magazine had. Disappointing as this assumption can be, it is not a limit but rather an opportunity, because sensing perceptions is what counts more from a cultural perspective. Historians can legitimately interrogate the literature published in magazines not as a collection of texts, but as a component of a broader cultural framework along with the articles, columns, and the iconography. Though maintaining the text as a reasonably central feature, historians

do actually concentrate on the non-linguistic mechanisms of intercultural communication with the intention of overcoming the contraposition between a classic analysis of author and work of art on the one hand and the postmodern diarchy of text and reader on the other (Klein-Lataud 1997: 31).

Seven proposals for seven problem areas

1. A quantitative analysis of translations cannot concentrate exclusively on those texts where a version from a foreign language is given, but should also take into consideration texts linked to the literature of the country in which the periodical is published. In this way, it is possible to account for the weight of a foreign literature in a given literary field. Moreover, a quantitative analysis should serve as a basis for research on national literature and culture and not just aim to explore the circulation and the mediation of translated texts. Establishing what proportion of the total amount of published literature in a periodical was translated – and not only the proportion of foreign literatures to one another – is a way to sense the evolution of the relationship between national and international cultures at different stages and any phases of growth or decrease.

This assessment should not be expressed in absolute numbers, but according to a proportion, considering that growth in the number of translated texts may not automatically mean a corresponding growth in the proportion of translated literature to the total amount of prose, if the number of literary texts has also increased. This is the case of *Lei*, for instance, in 1934 and 1935. While in 1934 the number of foreign short stories stood at 108 and in 1935 it decreased to 92, nevertheless the percentage of translated literary texts in that two-year period remained perfectly stable at 34.8%. This was due to the fact that in 1935 a lower number of novellas was published, thus confirming that the decrease in the presence of translated literature between 1934 and 1935⁹ was only apparent.

This way of selecting the corpus without excluding national literature not only appears more appropriate from a methodological point of view, as errors of judgment from a misleading perspective can be avoided, but it also involves assuming the same perspective as the editorial board that created the magazine in question. In fact, literary selections are an instrument available to writers, editors, publishers and critics for affecting the structure of their own particular literary field; this same intervention can take place by publishing either

9. As will be explained at point 6, this is a reference to the first series of results.

national or translated literature, as the case may be. Groups of translated and non-translated texts should therefore be studied in their relationship to one another, also from a quantitative point of view, in order to acknowledge the cultural choices made by the editorial board of a magazine and assess changes in style and genre.

2. Once the corpus has been identified, the practice of analysis allows attention to shift to the difficulties the researcher may encounter. The task of the investigator is to locate a novella in a magazine, then proceed with the extraction of information and the creation of a set of data, as shown in 1. Providing data about literary translations in *rotocalchi* is nonetheless a far from banal or straightforward task, since in many popular weeklies readers were just provided with the names of the authors of the short stories, while both the names of translators and the source language were hardly ever mentioned.

This is not surprising, considering that, differently from readers of highbrow literature, those who read illustrated magazines were hardly concerned with the identity of the translator of a text, as they were most probably absorbed by the enjoyment and rapid consumption of a novella, above and beyond any conscious aesthetic considerations. On many occasions, the translators themselves were not interested in admitting that they had contributed to shaping popular periodicals, which were still surrounded by a dark aura of prejudice. They wanted to be officially mentioned in highbrow publications only, while remaining as anonymous collaborators in middlebrow magazines. Besides, the editorial board of a weekly, as in the case for Rizzoli's *Lei*, worked as a real assembly line, where any single issue had to be put together without any delay according to the same principle as Agatha Christie's "perfect sausage machine" (Ramsey 1967: 24) as far as her detective novels were concerned. It is therefore not surprising that mistakes and inaccuracies often appeared on the pages of a magazine. It is also possible that some novellas were anonymously translated in-house by the editorial board in order to cut costs and times, and this could happen in Italy, especially for French texts, as knowledge of the French language was widespread at the time.

With neither the names of the translators of a foreign novel or short story or an indication of the source language, the researcher has to take responsibility for subjectively supposing the provenance of a text in the case of ambiguity, that is when even the name of the author provides inconclusive evidence. It is therefore necessary to add to the role of the investigator who collects and interprets the data, in this case by allowing her/him to assign a nationality to authors published in a magazine. In order to take a decision, the investigator builds on available information, which often comes down to the mere name of the author (and even in such cases the clue can be questionable, as shown

below at point 5), and of course on his or her personal knowledge of the international literary context of the time in question. Any researcher might take a different decision, thus leading to adjustments in the quantitative analysis. For this reason, investigations on the presence of literature in periodicals should provide for the possibility that a so-called observational error may occur, that is to say not a mistake, but a variation in the measured value, which depends on both the measurement process and the person who measures.

The case of Osip Dymov (alias of the writer Yosif Isidorovich Perelman), the author of several short stories published by *Lei* in 1934, is well suited to explain this point. Dymov was born in Czarist Russia, immigrated to the United States, then came back to Europe and lived as an American citizen in Germany in the early 1930s, when Rizzoli's weekly translated and published his literary texts. When deciding that Dymov's short stories in *Lei* had to be counted as German, I chose to emphasize the fact that they had probably been first published in German periodicals (pending a more detailed investigation). The first place of publication of a short story does appear to be more indicative than the mother tongue of the author, especially when this same author may write in several different languages. Nevertheless, a different decision – maybe grounded on Dymov's American passport or on his Russian origins and mindset – would have been justifiable and admissible. As a matter of fact, the reader of this same chapter would probably have taken a different stand and come to the latter resolution. A similar case concerns the well-known author Michael Arlen (alias of Dikran Kouyoumdjian), of Armenian origin, born in Bulgaria, then a naturalized British citizen who also worked in the United States. For the present enquiry, I decided to include his short stories in the British group of literary texts, as they most likely came to *Lei* from British periodicals. This confirms that such cases are purely a matter of interpretation, and interpretation is subjective and sometimes even arbitrary.

3. One feature that may disturb the research is inherent in the popular periodical press, that is to say the publication of serialized novels, with single installments of the same novel appearing in a variable number of issues. *Lei* was no exception to this general rule. In the mid-1930s, it presented serialized novels by Carola Prosperi (*Il secondo amore, Domani ci ameremo*), Tito A. Spagnol (*Nannetta a Hollywood, La notte d'Amburgo*), Teresa Sensi (*L'amore degli altri, Quando tu non ci sei...*), Cesare Meano (*Mare sotto la luna*), Mura (*Quella che passa*), Milly Dandolo (*La prigioniera, Romanzo di Anna*), Giorgio Scerbanenco (*Il terzo amore*) and so on, which of course enormously influence the tally of literary prose. In these cases what we have to establish is whether the novel as a whole, though divided into episodes, should be considered the base unit, or else every single episode of every issue. The methodological

recommendation here is to follow the latter option, dealing with the single portions of the serialized novel as the base unit.

As can easily be imagined, such a choice impacts on the final result of a quantitative analysis. This, for instance, is the reason why German literature accounts for an incredibly high percentage in *Lei* in 1933, as shown in Table 2 (whose structure will be explained later on). Starting with the first issue of the weekly in the month of July, through twenty-three weeks until December the magazine published Hans (Johannes) Richter's *Estate al lago*, a German novel that had just been issued by Rowohlt and does not appear to have been published in Italy in book form (Richter 1933). It could be argued on the one hand that the choice to count every single installment distorts reality, as Richter's novel was actually selected only *once* by the editorial board. On the other hand, for a historian what stands out is the fact that a *foreign* short story has been considered so captivating and intriguing as to go on for months – and this rarely happened in *Lei*,¹⁰ nor was it a general feature in Rizzoli's magazines. The assessment of the data must therefore be weighed: what counts is not only the quantitative figure – the fact that only one novel was involved – but also the quality of it, that is to say the centrality that arises from a publication spread over several months, which must be taken into account.

4. As already stated, of course the kind of subjective choices presented at points 2 and 3 has a great impact on the measurement results. Indeed, it should be considered that for every single year, a magazine such as *Lei* published more than two hundred short stories and novels, figures that have very little to do with real big data. The presence or the absence of a couple of units – which can easily occur when a short story is assigned, for instance, to Russia instead of Germany, as in the previously mentioned case of Osip Dymov – can make a difference and can be reflected in a shift in the proportions of translated literatures in the magazine in question. In fact, if a large volume of data is not available, every observational error or every different interpretation can have statistical significance. It follows that linguistic, territorial and cultural overlaps prevent straight and objective calculations and thus heavily affect the outcome of an investigation. Flexibility is needed, above all when studying periodicals in the interwar period, an epoch characterized by the high mobility of intellectuals.

For a researcher facing interpretative choices, I believe that there is no general rule that should be followed in all circumstances, although I posit that assigning an origin to a novel according to its (presumable) source is methodologically

10. Longer novels by Vicki Baum (*Sosta di ballo*), Alice Duer Miller (*Il potere della vedova*) or Ursula Parrott (*La morte è un sogno*) were divided into two installments at most.

correct, as a way to reconstruct at least the circulation of literary works. A historian does not conceive of relationships between literatures as mere relations between texts, but examines publishing as a constellation, thus dealing with authors, mediators, translators, publishers, editors, and booksellers. Rather than relations between texts, a historian tends to take into consideration the links between complex cultural spaces. Nonetheless, the reference to the original country of a novel or a short story should not be considered mandatory and must be confirmed case by case.

5. A further problem is the fact that, on many occasions, it is difficult – if not impossible – to identify the authors of many literary texts published in popular periodicals. Several writers (not only Italian ones) made use of pen names, as an affectation or as a way to save face, if they were intellectuals or literary figures who wrote short stories just for the money and were ashamed of openly sinking to the level of popular magazines. Moreover, there were cases of fictitious translations, or pseudo-translations, which are a very problematic feature for the researcher.¹¹

As far as *Lei* is concerned, it can be assumed that there were some fake translated texts actually written by Italian authors under a foreign-sounding pen name. In such cases, pseudo-translations and similar literary mystifications are not easy to detect. On the one hand, the name of the novelist could simply be that of an unknown – but actual – foreign writer, about whom there is no available information; on the other hand, even a thorough close reading of a novella could hardly be conclusive. A short story published in *Lei* under the name of Elena Faber may serve as an example. The novella is about an acclaimed middle-aged writer who meets a charming younger girl during a train journey and falls in love with her, but dejectedly finds out at the railway station that she is already engaged and has actually never had the intention to flirt with him, contrary to his previous impression (Faber 1936). Though not being particularly outstanding, this short story is certainly emblematic. First, Elena Faber is possibly a *nom de plume*, since no author of this name has been identified so far (though, in such cases, it is as well to be open to new findings). Secondly, the short story is passed off as a Hungarian tale (it is set by Lake Balaton and its protagonists have emblematic Hungarian names), nonetheless it seems to be lacking in the brilliance, irony and even insolence typical of short stories by the eminent Hungarian authors *Lei* was publishing in the mid-1930s, such as Ferenc Herczeg, Gyula Pekár or Ferenc Molnár. The suspicious element is the thinly veiled melancholy it expresses, which is

11. The question is outlined in Robinson 1998. For considerations on the relationship between pseudo translations and paratext see Collombat 2003.

alien to all Hungarian texts published in the magazine (the homogeneity of the texts will be highlighted below at point 7). This shows that only a researcher who has read dozens of comparable short stories can suppose something to be a pseudo-translation in the event of a lack of reliable paratextual elements. Furthermore, the paratext can provide a feeling of exoticism to the whole issue, which does not necessarily mirror the presence of translated novels. In *Lei*, for instance, Hollywood stage pictures lend credibility to short stories with an American setting, regardless of whether they are genuine American literary products or supposedly pseudo-translations. The paratext – the author's and potentially the translator's name, captions, the iconography, the layout – can be a source of information about a text, but can also be deceptive.

6. In the light of the above, inasmuch as calculating the number of translated novels and short stories in periodicals is not an effortless operation, it is apparent that the figures a researcher obtains by collecting data are rounded down. This can be exemplified once again from the weekly *Lei*: when an Italian author publishing a short story in the weekly used a pen name and this same pen name has an Italian form, it is obvious that the text has to be included among the Italian ones. This is the case of several short stories in *Lei* by Flora Riccardi, which is likely to be a pseudonym: Flora Riccardi was, indeed, the name of a counterfeiter from a well-known family of 19th-century Italian forgers (Castracane 2011: 123), and no author of this name is to be found elsewhere. Even though the author cannot be identified beyond any doubt, Flora Riccardi's novellas are unequivocally Italian, thus the minimum number of Italian literary texts is quite precise. The same does not apply to foreign short stories. In that case, only those novels whose authors can be identified beyond doubt can be counted. Short stories by an unrecognized author could indeed either be the work of a foreigner writing under a *nom de plume*, or of an Italian writing under an alias with exotic flair. As a consequence, if the number of those short stories certain to be by Italian authors will always be basically accurate, the number of foreign short stories is rounded down or could be subject to substantial fluctuations. In order to put forward a methodologically solid solution, quantitative research concerning short stories in magazines should deliver not just one, but two series of results. The first series should indicate the number of texts that can be unequivocally linked to a specific national literature, while the second series should take into consideration all of the short stories and novels that are theoretically linked to a specific literature, even those by unidentified authors. This second series of results, at risk of encompassing short stories written under pen names that only sound foreign, but actually covering authors of the same nationality as the magazine itself (in

the case of *Lei*: texts written by Italians under exotic-sounding aliases), is one step closer to the readers' feelings.

Using this two-series system, the researcher can approach the perception readers had when they leafed through the magazine. Considering both sets of figures, the result of the analysis is not a number, but a range between the most objective value (which is rounded down) and a hypothetical one. In this way, no figure can simply be taken for granted, but should be described by a discursive process, which makes it necessary to discuss the result dialectically according to a weighted perspective.

As Table 2 shows, according to the analysis of the weekly *Lei* between 1933 and 1938, for every country of provenance of a novel or short story the * column indicates the proportion, out of the total amount of published literature, of those texts whose cultural and linguistic origin has been determined without any doubt, while the ** right column shows the percentage of short stories that *probably* come from a certain country, including those by unidentified authors who *seemingly* come from that same country. It can be concluded that in the first months of publication, there was a majority of translated novellas in *Lei*, amounting to 74.4% of the total amount of literary texts, or even 77% if we consider the reader's perception, that is to say if we also add potential pen names that sound foreign, but between 1934 and 1936 the percentage of translated short stories fell drastically to within a range of 18.3% to 24.8%. It can also be observed that in 1933 translations from German stood out, coming to way more than a half of the total amount of published literature in the magazine, though they fell to below 10% the following year, then almost disappeared between 1936 and 1938. The opposite trend can be observed as far as American short stories are concerned: although in *Lei* only around 2% of the short stories was American in 1933, there was a first peak in translations of American prose in 1935 within the respectable range of 13.3% to 18.2%, followed by a decrease in 1936, and then again a higher percentage in 1937 and 1938, which even overtook the previous highest values, to within the range of 16.6% to 21.7% in 1938. This means that, in the last year of publication of *Lei*, one in five short stories was or could be perceived as American. Such data, on their own, have little to tell until they are included in a wider context. Not until then, do they become very useful in locating cultural and political trends, or at least in supposing them. The first issues of *Lei* denote a strong international ascendancy, giving the impression of being in tune with international culture and meant for the educated bourgeois woman who appreciates highbrow literature (for instance the previously mentioned short stories by Selma Lagerlöf, Knut Hamsun, Heinrich Mann), but also enjoys reading genre novels. *Lei* soon departed from this approach, not only focusing exclusively

on genre fiction, extremely homogeneous from the point of view of both plots and characters, but also decreasing the number of translations. Italian fiction had already gained the upper hand by 1934, as the figures ranging between 65.2% and 56.5% demonstrate, and then reached a peak coming to between 81.7% and 75.2% in 1936 (for Italian short stories, the latter value is always lower as it is higher for translated texts). It is likely that this variation can be traced back to the attacks on translations by the Writers' and Authors' Union for purely nationalist and protectionist reasons (Rundle 2004). These polemics had no direct consequence at that particular time because of the regime's lack of action, nevertheless they drove Rizzoli's best-selling magazine, *Novella*, for instance, to explicitly – and polemically – declare it was “an *Italian* periodical” (‘una rivista *italiana*’) in February 1934.

Beyond the general decrease in the number of translations, Table 2 also demonstrates a dramatic shift in the circulation of foreign literature: as German translations became marginal in the middle of the decade, their place was taken by American authors (such as Alice Duer Miller, Viña Delmar, Sophie Kerr, Dorothy Parker, Ursula Parrott, Adela St. Rogers, Octavus Roy Cohen, Albert Payson Terhune and so on). Moreover, the figures indicate a turning point: analyzing the presence of literature in *Lei* for groups of months through a detailed visualization of the data as shown in Table 3, it appears that from January to October 1935 translated stories accounted for a range of 41.4% to 49.7% – approximately half of the total amount of published literature – then almost disappeared between November 1935 and July 1936 (ranging from 13.3% to 15.4%), subsequently increasing again, though never reaching the previous peaks (within a range from 26.2% to 31.6% in the second half of 1936). The selection of this sub-corpus has been made considering that precisely between November 1935 and July 1936 the League of Nations adopted economic sanctions against Fascist Italy because of the Italian colonial invasion of Ethiopia. It is therefore hard to believe that the fluctuation shown in Table 3 was random, although there is no official documentation in the archives to prove the existence of higher orders from the regime, either against translations or against *rotocalchi* in general in those months, as already mentioned. In the absence of documentation from Rizzoli's internal archives,¹² the figures allow us to suppose either a political stance from *Lei*'s editorial board – that is to say a cultural boycott against foreign countries and their literature in response to the economic sanctions – or a precautionary avoidance of translations in order to discourage any intervention by the censor and its subsequent

12. The Archivio Storico Rizzoli (Milan) only keeps records of Rizzoli's periodical publications after World War II.

economic damage, and to silence anti-foreign polemics. The data therefore tell us that *Lei* suffered the consequences of the increasingly stiffer nationalistic position that characterized the Fascist regime in the mid- and late 1930s. The same can significantly be said for another weekly by Rizzoli, *Novella*, as illustrated elsewhere by the same kind of quantitative analysis (Guidali 2019a). Nevertheless, the number of foreign short stories increased again in 1937 and 1938, demonstrating that an undeclared arm-wrestling contest was underway and that the editorial board strove to publish foreign authors, above all American ones. It is very telling that the percentage of foreign short stories in 1935 (within a range of 34.8% and 43%) was well over the percentage of foreign short stories in 1938 (within a range of 27.2% and 33.3%), nevertheless the proportion of American authors on the total amount of literature was rising significantly (within a range of 13.3% and 18.2% in 1935; within a range of 16.6% and 21.7% in 1938), apart from the previously mentioned digression in 1936. "Foreign" increasingly meant "American".

It is significant that similar assumptions, though not directly data-driven, cannot be made until after a reliable quantitative analysis and an assessment of the data in the framework of the cultural and political context of the time. In spite of the methodological challenges they involve, such figures are the only way to estimate on objective grounds the changing presence of translated literature in periodicals and an essential element on which to base an exhaustive qualitative analysis.

7. What has been presented so far is a sort of *horizontal distant reading* – a kind of analysis that does not take into consideration specific texts, but the corpus as a whole. The following step is a *vertical close reading*, which would imply aggregating texts with the same linguistic and cultural origin in order to examine them (without invading areas of expertise pertaining to historians of literature) as far as genres, structure of the plot and recurring character types are concerned. In so doing, it is possible to establish whether a specific foreign literature is generally the source of a distinguishing kind of novel, or whether genres, structure of the plots and recurring character types are a transversal feature.

With regard to *Lei*, a vertical close reading was necessary to ascertain a sort of hand-over from German to American literature in the mid-1930s, as both involved the same kind of short stories. All literary texts translated from German and those by American authors have in common urban settings, a documentary-style realism, and sexual disinhibition. This shows that *Lei*'s editorial board focused on the kind of literary product rather than primarily on its provenance, as also Christopher Rundle has confirmed (Rundle 2018). The fact that the room for German fiction rapidly narrowed can therefore be

explained not necessarily by an ideological stance but by an editorial choice. In fact, *Lei* published novellas by Heinrich Mann, Dinah Nelken, Gina Kaus, Hans Natonek, all antifascist or “undesirable” authors, but had also featured the novel by Richter, who was a prominent Nazi writer. The kind of literary product selected by *Lei*’s editorial board and enjoyed by the readers, and evidently related to the New Objectivity, had been banned in Germany by the Nazi authorities. *Lei*’s editorial board therefore evidently turned to American fiction, which could live up to the expectations of the public.

If the vertical close reading of *Lei* is further adopted for the whole corpus, it becomes evident that every linguistic and cultural context was singled out by the editorial board for a precise kind of short story. Settings, narratives and character types are indeed extremely homogeneous whenever the short stories come from the same country. Every literature – to be exact every national middlebrow and genre literature – was a *brand*, a promise to the reader. What mattered was the atmosphere of the short story that came from the plot and the depiction of the characters, always following a limited number of patterns. Apart from the previously mentioned contiguity between German and American short stories, it is also true that short stories by French popular authors (like Jean Fayard, André Birabeau, or Henri Falk) feature frivolous upper-class women obsessed by ageing and looking for a flirt with men younger than their rich husbands, while all Hungarian short stories either follow the nostalgic Austro-Hungarian cliché or present perky and astute Budapest women. The vertical close reading based on national sub-corpora hence reveals that the branding of non-Italian fiction by cultural and linguistic origin led to the coexistence of different types of female characters in the same magazine, none of which actually matched the Fascist role model.

Conclusion

The problem areas and the solutions introduced in the present chapter confirm that in the field of translated literature in periodicals methodological challenges are inextricably linked to the kind of enquiry a researcher carries out. Indeed, the outcome of a quantitative analysis is likely to change if one changes his or her research method or depending on the accuracy of the calculations and the choices made. This means that the kind of quantitative analysis that is carried out virtually affects the kind of qualitative research and its results. For this reason, what has been proposed here is not meant to impede different choices, and this method of analysis, though presumably applicable to several situations, is likely to be adapted in relation to the different contexts under examination. The outcome

of a quantitative investigation, however, can never be a mere number, but must be a discursive process, as demonstrated by showing multiple sets of results, which may not be thorough, but are certainly representative. Coming to terms with this uncertainty may seem relativistic, but it is actually often more than historians can expect when they are faced with popular periodicals, which are extremely difficult to decrypt as “cultural objects” (Stead 2018). A researcher can therefore conscientiously draw comparisons, recognize political and literary trends and macroscopic patterns, and discover international cultural models through a vertical close reading of the texts, after having recognized the various national realities as sub-corpora that should be investigated individually. In the event that even credible assumptions about the perception of a certain phenomenon can be made, he or she has certainly done an honest day's work.

Table 1. Sample of manual data extraction (*Lei*, vol. 2, Number 22, 29 May 1934).

Date	Issue number	Author	Origin	Translator	Title	Kind of literary product	Pages
29 May 1934	22	André Birabeau	France	Unreported	“Una lettera d’amore”	Short story	3
		Teresa Sensi	Italy	–	“Parallele”	Short story	4–5
		Sapper [H. C. McNeile]	Great Britain	Unreported	“Il nostro caro buon Enrico”	Short story	7
		Carola Prosperi	Italy	–	“Il secondo amore”	Serialized novel	7–9
		Hilde Bock	Germany	Unreported	“Il vestito di velluto rosso”	Short story	13–14
		Milly Dandolo	Italy	–	“Teresa e suo marito”	Serialized fictional column	14

Table 2. Presence of literature in *Lei* (1933–1938). Little inconsistencies in the numbers are due to rounding off to one decimal place.

Year of publication	Italian authors		Translated authors															
	Total of Italian authors		Total of translated authors		Origin of the authors on the total amount of translations													
					France		Germany and Austria		United States		Great Britain		Hungary		Russia		Others ^d	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**
1933 ^a	25.6	23	74.4	77	2.3	4.2	55.8	54	2.3	2	0	4.2	4.7	4.2	7	6.3	2.3	2
1934	65.2	56.5	34.8	42.5	5.7	6.9	2.9	8.5	8.6	8.9	4.3	5.6	6.2	6.5	4.3	4.4	3.7	3.2
1935	65.2	57	34.8	43	5.3	4.7	5.3	8.3	13.3	18.2	2.1	1.9	2.1	2.8	0	1.4	6.3	5.7
1936	81.7	75.2	18.3	24.8	1	0.9	3.7	3.8	8.4	12.1	0.5	0.5	3.1	2.8	1.6	1.4	2.6	2.3
1937 ^b	70.2	64.7	30	35.2	4.2	4.6	0.9	1.3	16.3	21	3.7	3.4	1.9	2.1	0.5	0.4	2.5	2.4
1938 ^c	72.7	66.8	27.2	33.3	2	2.8	0	0.5	16.6	21.7	5.6	5	2.5	2.3	0	0	0.5	1

a. From July 15.

b. Issue 5 was missing

c. January–November (the first issue of *Annabella* is published on November 15, 1938).

d. Authors coming from other countries or impossible to link to a specific foreign literature.

*Texts that can be unequivocally linked to a specific national literature.

**Texts theoretically linked to a specific literature, including those by unidentified authors.

Table 3. Presence of literature in *Lei* at different stages between 1935 and 1936. Little inconsistencies in the numbers are due to the rounding at one decimal place

Year of publication	Italian authors		Translated authors															
	Total of Italian authors		Total of translated authors		Origin of the authors on the total amount of translations													
					France		Germany and Austria		United States		Great Britain		Hungary		Russia		Others ^a	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**	*	**
Jan.-Oct. 1935	58.6	50.3	41.4	49.7	6.6	5.6	4.6	9.5	16.5	20.7	2.6	2.2	2.6	3.4	1.3	2.2	7.2	6.1
Nov. 1935-July 1936	86.5	84.7	13.3	15.4	0.7	0.7	2.8	2.8	4.2	5.7	0	0	2.1	2	1.4	1.4	2.1	2.8
Jul. – Dec. 1936	73.8	68.4	26.2	31.6	1.9	2.6	4.9	5.3	11.7	15.8	1.9	2.6	2.9	2.6	1	0.9	1.9	1.8

a. Authors coming from other countries or impossible to link to a specific foreign literature.

*Texts that can be unequivocally linked to a specific national literature.

**Texts theoretically linked to a specific literature, including those by unidentified authors.

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At the intersection of quantitative and qualitative

Propositions for a weighted analysis of translations in periodicals

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This chapter discusses methodological issues related to the quantitative analysis of translations in periodical publications and the possibilities to conjugate quantitative and qualitative approaches. I will propose a model for a weighted analysis of translations in periodicals as well as the first results of its application on a heterogeneous *corpus* of nine-teen Italian literary and political-literary periodicals of the post Second World War period (1944–1970). Building on a systematical analysis of the networks of Italian periodicals, this method takes into account some fundamental characteristics in the life of periodicals, and in particular their diffusion and their symbolic capital in the literary field. It thus quantitatively measures qualitative phenomena.

Keywords: quantitative/qualitative, weighted analysis, Italian periodicals, literary translation, symbolic capital, networks of periodicals, Italian literary field

Quantitative analysis of translations published in the periodicals of a national literary field is a fundamental tool to having a global vision of international networks, of the dissemination tendency of foreign literatures as well as of their evolution. Scholars in history of cultural and literary transfers have often highlighted its interest for periodicals studies (on Italian periodicals history, see Hermetet 1995, Sullam 2016, and the chapters by Guidali in this volume). However, if a quantitative approach allows, at least potentially, to neglect subjectivity when treating data, its use implies that one questions how it relates to qualitative analysis. Indeed, since the interest of quantitative analysis is not to erase the specificities of the research topic – i.e. the practices in publishing translations in periodicals – it cannot ignore its own multiple dimensions.

As we approach periodical publications, we can easily see the difficulties arising from data collection and referencing. In fact, it is difficult to consider all content published in a periodical as equally representative, if we take into account that each can have a different value based on a multitude of factors: the textual and extra-textual context, its position in the table of contents, and different strategies put in place to highlight parts of the content (e.g., fonts, notes, commentaries, absence or presence of names of translators and authors). Indeed, we cannot deny the hybrid nature of data: their classification in time-series flattens their multi-dimensional nature. Unique difficulties in identifying the literary genres of texts are a testimony to such complexity (see Caristia 2019a), as the relatively frequent impossibility of determining a geo-linguistic origin of texts and authors, since journals don't always follow the same criteria when publishing foreign contents. And yet we must organise the data in series to perform our analysis.

Starting from these premises, this chapter exposes a weighted analysis model of translation in periodical publications and the first results of its application on a heterogeneous *corpus* of Italian literary periodicals. This model has been developed in order to take into account the qualitative differences existing within the *corpus* and to reduce the deformation margin caused by statistical analysis on the amplitude of the dissemination of translated foreign literatures in a national field.

Theoretical framework

The importance of literary journals in the dissemination and consecration of foreign works and authors in 20th century Italy has been largely proven, especially for the first half of the century (see for example Esposito 2004). As for the second half, some fundamental studies have classified hundreds of titles (Luti 1986; Mondello 2013), while scholars have focused on some of them by examining their issues as well as editorial and personal archives, giving rise to the establishment of digital catalogues¹ and the publication of several anastatic reprints. Their critical interest is undeniable, but the method inevitably reflects the conception of periodicals as simple supports for the expression of contents. Thus, they untie the wide variety of meanings of periodical's contents from their form and from the material and intertextual context. Monographic studies on specific journals are also numerous. They focus on journals' history, their organization and their framework in the historical/political/cultural context (see for example Di Nicola 2012; Zancan 1984). However, these studies neglect the presence of foreign literatures, or mention it only as a sign of a generic opening towards the international, without having

1. E. g. CIRCE – Catalogo Informativo Riviste Culturale Europee: <https://r.unitn.it/it/lett/circe>.

analysed the social dynamics and the literary and socio-cultural implications of the transfer and the reception of foreign works.

Some recent scholarly works have focused on 20th-century Italian literary space and its periodicals inspired by Pierre Bourdieu's theory of the literary field. Based on the observation of the history of the modern French literary space, Bourdieu's theory would seem useful for analysing the reality of the peninsula (Antonello 2012; Fantappiè, Sisto 2013; Billiani and La Penna 2016; La Penna and Billiani 2016; La Penna, Billiani, and Milani 2018; Baldini et al. 2018). We must note, however, a lack of theoretical reflection on the actual likelihood of applying Bourdieu's theory of the field to the Italian space, as there is currently no systematic study of the Italian literary field. Similarly, with the exception of the analyses by Boschetti (Boschetti 2009) and Antonello (Antonello 2016), most of the existing work focuses on only one (or two) periodicals, while a theoretical reflection and a large-scale analysis, in Bourdieu terms, of the space of Italian periodicals of the 20th century remains to be done.

Moreover, as De Marneffe pointed out (De Marneffe 2007), Bourdieu did not delve into the question of literary transfers or periodicals as a specific object. In line with Bourdieu, Gisèle Sapiro names periodicals among other examples of "semi-institutionalized networks" and defines them as "agents of consecration", "support" and "instruments of autonomy" of the field, insofar as they allow "dialogue and criticism between peers, sheltered from the constraints of the current affairs and the market" (Sapiro 2016). Boschetti defines them as "agents of legitimation among others (whose specific features are related to the state of the production field in which they are placed)" and "strategie(s) of institution(s), which make a group exist" (Boschetti 2006: 64–65), "instruments, particularly effective, of symbolic struggle, in that they can give a group both visibility and opportunity to fully take part in cultural life, with manifestos, theorisations and 'programs' that create the image of a collective tendency" (Boschetti 2007: 48). But neither Boschetti nor Sapiro gives any indication about the particular and specific mode of operation of the space of periodicals.

How, then, to approach a space of periodicals having its own logic, to restore its internal dynamics, without being limited to certain significant cases? By questioning the possibility of discussing the space of periodicals in terms of "field", De Marneffe exposes four problems: the difficulty of recognizing their limits; non-specificity (given the hybrid nature of periodicals, where the literary, political, economic dimensions can be intertwined); the logic of solidarity (and, therefore, not necessarily of conflict and competition, the struggles being played out in the literary, political, artistic, etc. fields); and the problematic relationship to time:

This space of periodicals does not constitute as such a “field of struggles”, it is rather at the crossroads of different fields which are external to it. The “field” that would most appropriately cover the space of periodicals would be the “cultural field”, in the broad sense. But the space of periodicals sometimes focuses on the “literary field”, sometimes it moves towards the “artistic field”, or widens to the “intellectual field”. In any case, the issue is always outside the space of periodicals: in one (or more) other field(s). Because of their formal malleability, because they are immediately inclined to evolve with the publication of their issues, periodicals have the possibility of constantly reorienting themselves, while maintaining a certain continuity (of title, of editorial board, of “hard core”, or simply by the permanence of the director), they can successively aim at different fields.²

(De Marneffe 2007: 25–26)

De Marneffe then considers the space of periodicals in terms of networks: “complex reality, constantly reconfiguring” (Ibid., 45), any journal is part of the network according to relational, human and intertextual logic. The notion of network is thus useful for identifying the “position” (Bourdieu 1992) of each periodical in the entire space where it is situated, both with respect to other periodicals and to the literary, intellectual and possibly political field, thereby incorporating the plurality of its dimensions. The reconstruction of the networks, both in synchronic and diachronic perspective, allows for identifying the periodicals’ positions in the different fields and their evolution over time. On the one hand, the exchange of collaborators and the participation in common projects create an interpersonal network, which connects periodical publications to each other as well as to the literary and political fields (through their links with political parties and movements, publishing houses, institutions, and the daily press); on the other hand, De Marneffe stresses the importance of intertextual networks, established by the reprint of articles, citations, the polemical response, commentary, the review of issues of other periodicals, that are so many ways through which a periodical declares an affinity with or a distance from other publications.

Paul Aron effectively enumerated the ways in which it is possible to reconstruct the network and its successive reconfigurations. He emphasizes how the

2. “Cet espace des revues ne constitue pas en tant que tel un ‘champ de luttes’, il se situe plutôt à la croisée de différents champs qui lui sont extérieurs. Le ‘champ’ qui recouvrirait le plus adéquatement l’espace des revues, serait le ‘champ culturel’, au sens large. Mais l’espace des revues se focalise parfois sur le ‘champ littéraire’, parfois il se déplace vers le ‘champ artistique’, ou s’élargit au ‘champ intellectuel’. De toutes façons, l’enjeu est toujours *hors* de l’espace des revues : dans un (ou plusieurs) autre(s) champ(s). Par leur plasticité formelle, par le fait qu’elles sont d’emblée portées à évoluer au fil des parutions, les revues ont la possibilité de se réorienter sans cesse, tout en conservant une certaine continuité (de titre, de comité de rédaction, de ‘noyau dur’, ou simplement par la permanence du directeur), elles peuvent viser successivement différents champs.”

positions taken by the periodicals can be made clear in the discourses they hold, but also elsewhere: “in the form of the periodical, that is, in the texts it publishes, in its choice of genre and in its criticisms, in the choice of paper, typography and illustration which make it a unique product”, as well as in the composition of the editorial board, in its means (financing, advertising, subscriptions), in its explicit or implicit links (Aron 2009: 12).

Network of Italian periodical publications after World War II³

The reference *corpus* includes nineteen literary and political-literary Italian periodicals,⁴ published between 1944, after the fall of the fascist regime, and 1970. In 1944, as the German army retreats, many new journals are created: first in Naples and Rome, then later in Florence, and under the control of the “Psychological Warfare Branch” of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories. To break with the journals that marked the last years of the fascist regime, characterized by an explicit distinction between literary activity and political activity, many new publications are organized according to an interdisciplinary structure. Their editorial boards are composed of specialists in different fields (e.g., literary, historical, philosophical, political, artistic, etc.); their volumes show the desire to develop a dialogue between different human activities; their titles emphasize the interest in historical and political events alongside literary and artistic work. As Italian political and editorial life reorganizes itself in both big and small cities, different periodical publications emerge, often with little economic and symbolic capital. Their editorial boards very often show a heterogeneous composition from the point of view of aesthetic and politico-ideological orientations, and one can generally notice a wide participation of the same poets, writers and literary critics who wrote in the periodicals of the previous period. Consequently, the proclamations of cultural and literary renewal that can be found in a large majority of new periodicals collide with the inherited cultural and political influence of previous decades.

3. The Italian periodicals network has been reconstructed building on the systematic analysis of a *corpus* of thirty-six periodicals of the post-World War II period and of their interpersonal and intertextual connections, observing both the synchronic dimension and the diachronic evolution of the networks since the fascist period (See Caristia 2019b).

4. The reference *corpus* for the quantitative analysis includes the following periodicals: *Aretusa*, *Mercurio*, *Rinascita* (1944–1955), *Il Politecnico*, *Poesia*, *Prosa*, *La Rassegna d'Italia*, *Sud*, *Il Mondo* (1945–1946), *Letteratura* (1946–1947 and 1953–1968), *La Cittadella*, *Paragone*, *L'Approdo*, *La Chimera*, *Nuovi argomenti*, *Il Contemporaneo* (1958–1964), *Tempo presente*, *Il Verri*, *Questo e altro*.

The analysis of the intertextual and interpersonal network shows, at least between 1944 and 1947, the existence of strong links between periodicals that claim different orientations. Now it is obvious that the interlacing of these networks does not necessarily translate into a perfect uniformity of positions. On the one hand, it becomes clear that the common collaborators of different publications often tend to diversify their contributions, according to the editorial lines of the periodicals that publish them. On the other hand, the articles of the same author can take on semantic meanings depending on the periodical which publishes them, because of the effect produced by the peritext (the strategies of the layout and the proximity to other contents – texts, images, etc. –, the titles and editorial notes, the use of specific typefaces).

Nevertheless, the post-World War II period is characterized by the fact that several periodicals belong to shared networks. This can be on a local scale, as in the space of Florentine literary and cultural periodicals – *Belfagor*, *Il Ponte*, *Il Mondo*, *Società* – for example: this network presents some strong links with the cultural and political circles of the Tuscany region; it is a sort of rather closed social enclave, with few and weak links with the outside world. Or it can extend on a national and international scale, as in the Roman milieu: here one can observe some multiple interdisciplinary networks between different periodicals – whether literary or interdisciplinary –, often inherited from the thirties, as well as with some important publishing houses, such as Mondadori, which is based in Milan and is the publisher of the Roman magazines *Prosa* and *Poesia*. Moreover, in the 1940s, the city of Milan welcomed many intellectuals who were previously based in Florence (Carlo Bo, Giansiro Ferrata, Eugenio Montale, Giancarlo Vigorelli, Elio Vittorini, Franco Fortini, etc.) or in Naples (Francesco Flora among others), which become the nodes of new networks.

Furthermore, one notes important links with the academic world, the Italian field of restricted production being strictly related to the academic field, as well as with political parties and movements. Indeed, during the period following the fall of the fascist regime the literary debate concentrates on the theme of the autonomy and heteronomy of the literary field, in consequence of its invasion by political authorities. Starting in 1946, some periodicals that were active during the 1920s and 1930s are re-created (e. g. *La Fiera letteraria* in Rome, *Letteratura* in Florence), while others purposely display links of continuity with pre-war activity. They aim to reaffirm the immortal values of art and tradition and to proclaim the legitimacy of continuity with the previous period, showing the autonomy of literature vis-à-vis historical and political events. These periodicals are distinguished from new publications for the rejection of an interdisciplinary structure. They gradually ally with each other by intensifying intertextual and interpersonal links. A strong polarization thus occurs in the space of periodicals, between literary journals on the

one hand, sharing a very tight network of intertextual and interpersonal relationships, and political-literary journals on the other. The dialectic between autonomy and heteronomy of literature structures the space of periodicals.

The struggle between the “autonomist” and the heteronomous positions causes a crisis in the space of periodicals which leads, between 1946 and 1948, to the death of a large majority of the periodicals born during the Liberation, because of the implosion of the editorial boards, political conflicts and economic difficulties. Periodicals that resist the reconfiguration of the space around 1948 are endowed with a large economic capital, privileged relationships with publishing houses and roots in the industrial and academic world, or they are linked to political parties and movements. Political-literary periodicals are located on the margin of the network of literary journals (this is the case of periodicals such as *Il Ponte* or *Comunità*), or undergo a real ostracism (this is the case of *Rinascita*, the official journal of the Communist Party). A rapid process of regaining autonomy in the literary field occurs, a process which is, however, partial, insofar as any literary discourse referring explicitly to the communist ideology is rejected, while the Catholic or liberal cultural orientations retain their legitimacy (as the creation of the weekly *Il Mondo* in 1949 will demonstrate). Between the end of the forties and the beginning of the following decade, several literary periodicals are created, refusing any explicit political and ideological discourse (*Letteratura*, *Paragone*, *L'Approdo*, among others). Thanks to the links maintained with the academic world and to the construction of an extensive network involving the most renowned signatures of the literary field, these publications have a high symbolic capital, while their economic capital ensure a wide dissemination (the most obvious case is *L'Approdo*, a literary journal published by RAI and whose contents are also transmitted on the radio and, later, on television) along with stable and lasting activity.

Starting in the mid-fifties, the space of periodicals goes through a new reconfiguration, which shakes things up and poses, in a new way, the question of politics/literature dualism, without entailing a new heteronomy of the space of periodicals and of the literary field. New periodical publications appear, such as *Nuovi argomenti*, *Ragionamenti* or *Officina*, which contest the demarcation between literary and political-literary periodicals in the network. Coming more directly from the literary and cultural field than from the political field, they lead a heteronomous discourse on literature, discussing and rejecting the critical paradigms and literary canons of hermetism and neorealism, which have dominated so far. At the same time, the communist and liberal poles of the network of periodicals are also renewed, by means of the creation of the Marxist weekly *Il Contemporaneo* and of *Tempo presente*, a monthly serial related to the *Congress for Cultural Freedom*, while the political-ideological line of *Il Ponte* abandons its anti-communist position. In the same way, the autonomist pole is revamped by the appearance of *Il Verri*

and by the emergence of the debate on the neo-avant-garde: in 1963 the founding of Gruppo 63 and the creation of several periodical publications (*Malebolge*, *Marcatré*, *Galleria*, *Quindici*) make the literary neo-avant-garde official.

Many transformations within the Italian literary field, and especially in the space of periodicals, mark the end of the 1960s: on the one hand, the neo-avant-garde crisis reunited around Gruppo 63 is explained by the death of the literary journals related to it. On the other hand, the gradual affirmation of a new generation of writers and literary critics in the 1960s, and the creation of new periodical publications proposing very different formulas from traditional ones, lead to a re-configuration of the space of periodicals. This is the case, for example, of journals of the Marxist-Leninist left, created by literati, but publishing little literary content and privileging theoretical-political production. Finally, as noted by Elisabetta Mondello, a “crisis” of literary periodicals can be seen at the turn of the decade, at least concerning the role they assign to literary criticism as a form of “cultural mediation”. Mondello also observes that new phenomena emerge, such as that of the underground edition, located outside the official editorial system. She notes, however, that this crisis is far from involving all the periodicals of the time (Mondello 2013). From this point of view, if talking about a crisis could seem excessive in that the official circuit was not necessarily affected, a change is nevertheless undeniable. The selection made for composing our *corpus* – certainly limited – aims at best representing the diversity of the aesthetic and ideological tendencies of the Italian literary field during this period (Hermetism, “rondismo” and “post-rondist” traditionalism, Catholicism, Communism, non-communist Marxism or autonomous pseudo Marxism, liberal-socialism, neo-avant-gardism...).

A heterogeneous *corpus*

Our *corpus* is heterogeneous not only from the point of view of aesthetic and ideological positions. The variety also concerns other crucial aspects in the life of journals. The geographical position of periodicals, for example, can range from major publishing centres (Rome, Milan) to small provincial towns. The structures of the editorial boards are different: one goes from journals that are the expression of small groups of intellectuals and writers to publications with several editorial offices based in various cities of the peninsula and having correspondents in foreign countries. The periodicity is also different: the corpus consists mainly of monthly or bimonthly periodicals, but it also includes quarterly (*Nuovi argomenti*, *L'Approdo*), three fortnightly (*Il Mondo*, *La Cittadella*, *Sud*), a publication having held a weekly periodicity during the first six months of its life before becoming a monthly (*Il Politecnico*) and titles without fixed periodicity (*Poesia*, *Prosa*).

The target audience does not always coincide: the majority of periodicals included in the *corpus* are aimed at a moderately or highly educated readership, belonging to the upper-middle social class. Nevertheless, unlike strictly literary journals, political-literary publications generally seek a wider audience of readers who are not necessarily specialists in literature. Communist Party-related publications, in particular, are aimed at party activists and supporters and at an intellectual class whose fields of interest go beyond the limits of the literary field. Finally, the periodicals analysed differ in terms of economic and social capital (some of them benefit from the economic support of political parties and major publishing houses, from which they can also exploit the interpersonal network), as well as from symbolic capital within the literary field.⁵

On the other hand, weekly and broad-circulation magazines have been excluded from our *corpus*, as their specific operating logics make it difficult to take a quantitative approach to the frequency of publication of foreign texts. We have also excluded journals that do not publish translations in Italian (for example, the international magazine *Botteghe oscure*), that publish very rarely (*Belfagor*), or that never publish translations (*Officina* is an example). Of course, a quantitative analysis that takes into account the publication of critical texts on foreign literatures and includes periodicals that do not publish translations would potentially give different results in terms of dissemination of foreign literature in Italy.

Translations in Italian periodicals: A quantitative analysis

2863 translations have been counted. It is not that much over a 27-year period. They have been divided into several categories, which follow the geographical and linguistic origin of the authors, each of them noted by an acronym: **Fr** French literature; **Eng** English and Irish literature; **USA** literature from the United States; **Germ** German and Austrian literature (including the Czech literature in German); **Spa** Spanish literature; **Hisp** Hispano-American literature; **USSR** groups texts by authors from Russia and former Soviet countries; **East** authors from the satellite countries of Eastern Europe, even they were active before the creation of the USSR (excepted Yugoslav and East German authors); **Braz** groups Brazilian and Lusophone literature. **Oth** groups texts from those authors coming from countries and linguistic areas rarely appearing in the studied periodicals. These last five categories (“Hisp”, “USSR”, “East”, “Braz” and “Oth”) are bigger, due to the limited

5. By means of “symbolic capital”, we consider the legitimacy, the notoriety and prestige accumulated in the literary field thanks to the recognition by peers, also determining a power of consecration (Bourdieu 1992: 247).

number of texts from each country of the related areas. The need for grouping data into sets which are sometimes very heterogeneous has been necessary after their accounting, in order to avoid an unreasonable spread of the number of rather unrepresentative categories. The difficulty in determining the degree of representativeness of the series is intrinsic to this kind of analysis: it is clear that empiric observation implies a bit of arbitrariness and that this choice of grouping may not be significant for an analysis on other types of data and on another *corpus*.

A further explanation on Francophone, non-French authors and on exiled or emigrant authors is necessary: they have mostly been classified according to the country where they published the majority of their productions, excepting Soviet and East European authors exiled to Western Europe countries who, even as they did not publish in the USSR because of the censorship, still maintained their mother tongue for their literary writing.

Concerning those authors who published in several languages, periodicals usually indicate the one used in the original text. Nevertheless, the difficulty arose with those foreign authors installed in Italy who wrote both in Italian and other languages, such as Juan Rodolfo Wilcock,⁶ or Gustaw Herling.⁷ They collaborate tirelessly with *Tempo presente*, a journal which generally indicates, in a space at the end of each issue, the names of translators of published foreign texts. When the periodical does not clarify if the texts have been translated or were written directly in Italian, they have not been considered as translations and consequently they have not been counted. Apart from Italian-speaking foreign authors, when a periodical does not specify whether the texts are translations or have been written in Italian, they have been counted as translations.⁸

6. Multilingual Argentinean poet and translator of Italian-British origin, Wilcock moves to Italy during the second half of the 1950s and, since 1960, starts to publish his poetic works in Italian and to practice translation into Italian, while he abandons translation into Spanish.

7. Polish writer who fought with the English army in Italy during World War II. Hostile to the Polish communist regime his works were banned in Poland. He married Lidia Croce, the daughter of Benedetto Croce, and settled in Naples since 1955.

8. On uncertain data, see the chapter by Fabio Guidali in this volume, proposing to build two sets of data. One would classify only the texts that the researcher can recognize as translation, the other would classify the texts which could have been perceived as translations by the readers. While this method seems particularly effective in reporting translation publication trends in magazines where pseudo-translation is frequent, it is difficult to apply it to a big and multi-dimensional *corpus* of literary periodicals, because of the variety of behaviours that periodicals put in place when publishing foreign texts. In our case, the difficulty does not concern so much identifying the origin of the foreign authors (the names of foreign authors are always explained, and their texts are therefore perceived as foreign), but rather defining the translation status and

Even so, it can be seen how quantitative analysis, despite the attempts of rigor, unavoidably implies some arbitrariness. Still, the systematic study of the periodical publications, necessary to leading such analysis, allows highlighting some specific characteristics of each one, and even some common attitudes within the whole *corpus*, regarding the practice of the publication of translations. Thus, one can deduce some interesting tendencies and relate them to the theoretic debate on translation at that very time, as for Italian periodicals of the post-war period. Of particular note is the widespread habit of indicating the names of translators of poetic texts and literary prose, given the great attention paid to poetic translation in 20th-century Italy, which has been practiced by many writers, critics and poets. On the other hand, the name of the translator is very often omitted when publishing critical, theoretical or not strictly literary texts (in this sense, *Tempo presente* represents an exception, as well as *Prosa*, where criticism and theory of literature are also considered as examples of literary prose). As we can see, one of the interests of the quantitative analysis is its epistemological potential.

Another remark on the data selection is necessary, in particular regarding political-literary journals. The texts on subjects that are not properly literary (philosophical or political texts and interviews) have been counted together with the literary texts, when their authors are writers, poets or critics. On the contrary, those non-literary texts, signed by people not belonging to the literary field (politicians, journalists, scientists, philosopher, historians, artists, filmmakers, specialists in plastic and visual arts, etc.) have been excluded. This choice stems from the fact that the published translations come from very different genres, and that this variety (whether accepted or not) is a characteristic feature of the Italian periodicals of the post-war period when the literary work meets other activities and perpetually challenges boundaries between different fields (especially between the literary, the philosophical and the political ones), as well as between genres (between prose and poetry, but also between criticism, theory of literature and literary creation). These texts contribute to feeding the Italian debate and to creating an image of foreign literatures. On the other hand, all the contents which do not constitute, strictly speaking, translations (advertisements, book and magazine reviews, images, etc.) have not been accounted for. While they undeniably represent important elements in understanding cultural transfers, their specific mechanisms are different from those of translation.⁹

the original language of the texts, as each journal does not always follow a coherent line when presenting foreign texts.

9. Texts signed by Italian authors have also been excluded. Their forms are extremely different (editorials, feature articles, critical articles, book and periodical reviews, short reading notes, polemical notes, etc.). It would be difficult to take them into account in this type of analysis. This

Through the quantitative analysis of data, we can observe, from a synchronic point of view, the space occupied by each literature in the global space that journals devote to the publication of translations (See Graph 1). The relative frequencies of each group (i.e. the quotient of the translations from each group by the total number of translations published in the analysed periodicals), correspond more generally to the publication of foreign texts in Italian periodicals, always published in translation, except for the French texts, which are published in the original language in many periodicals of the *corpus*. Given that educated Italian readers at the time are generally able to read French, many journals tend to publish French texts without translation, at least until the mid-fifties (although some journals still did it in the 1960s, e. g. *Paragone*). It should also be noted that this concerns, in particular, poetic texts and, less frequently, literary and critical prose, thus a certain reticence with respect to translating practice of poetry can be deduced. Therefore, the next chart does not take into account the entire dissemination of French and Francophone literatures in the examined periodicals.

Graph 1. Synchronic distribution of translations in Italian periodicals (1944–1970)

The supremacy of Western literatures is undeniable (French, English, German and North-American constitute 57,7% of the total). A certain variance occurs, however, namely a fairly high number of Spanish, Soviet and East European texts (they represent a novelty compared to the previous period), or some coming from “other” areas. With respect to the published authors, we find both contemporary authors and consecrated authors of the first half of the twentieth century or past centuries. The variety in the range of authors translated for each geolinguistic area is directly proportional to the number of published texts. Also, it depends on the

does not prevent a quantitative analysis that only takes into account creative literary texts to assess the relationship between Italian and foreign texts (see the chapter by Guidali in this volume).

characteristics of each publication. Indeed, if the selection criteria of the authors vary according to the programmatic lines of the periodicals, they are also conditioned by their social capital. This implies contacts with foreign authors, allowing the possibility of obtaining the texts and the publication rights, but also the collaboration of translators who can provide a journal with a different degree of variety of linguistic and cultural origins. Periodicals with weak social and economic capital, such as *La Cittadella*, for example, show a modest capacity of diffusion of the contemporary literature: the number of foreign texts is very small, their publication is sporadic and often concerns authors of the past (one finds translations of Rimbaud, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Charles Péguy, Leo Tolstoy, Gustavo Adolfo Becquer), or who had already been published in Italian periodicals before the war, like Federico García Lorca.

On the basis of the same data we can observe the diachronic evolution of the publication of translations during the analysed period (Graph 2).

Graph 2. Diachronic evolution of the distribution of translations in Italian periodicals (1944–1970)

We can observe a huge variety in the provenience of the translated texts during the first post-war years (1944–1948). Although extremely minor and sporadic, the texts from the least represented areas reflect the opening up of new horizons that accompanies the intellectual effervescence of the post-war period. Indeed, periodicals' enterprise during these years has been marked by the opening to a transnational dimension, according to a desire for cultural renewal and for the reconstruction of symbolic bridges with Europe – and not only – that were destroyed during World War II and, previously, limited by Fascism's autarkic rhetoric. Many periodicals claim to follow this transnational dimension, through publishing translations and organizing their content in such a way that no typographical borders separate the texts of different origins, which is a symbolic way of erasing linguistic and national distinctions. But the transnational inclination also manifests itself through the reports of the foreign press and the critical attention paid to

contemporary foreign works. Still, the fulfilment of this programmatic intention is subject to several factors depending on different fields, such as historical and ideological transnational conflicts, as well as the ability of each publication to equip itself with a rich and complex social network that may allow to have at its disposal translators in many languages and to obtain the contribution of foreign authors.

The partial sharing of the network can also be observed by looking at the presence of texts by foreign authors and the critical discourse on non-Italian literatures. Periodicals located at different poles of the field often share their international, interpersonal and intertextual network. They publish or comment on a large sample of the same foreign authors, and they review the same foreign journals and periodicals, which shows a sharing of foreign sources used by literary criticism in selecting authors and works to present to the readers. Nevertheless, the interpretation of foreign works may diverge, and the reference to the same foreign sources may give rise to different or even opposite readings. The French periodical *Les Temps modernes*, founded by Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in 1945, for example, is commented on in the press review sections of several Italian publications. However, if those periodicals that defend the autonomy of literature tend to report, in particular, on its literary contents, interdisciplinary periodicals give more space to its political contents. From the point of view of the history of reception and cultural transfers aimed at detecting the semantic implications of the transfer of foreign literatures, a hermeneutical approach is therefore necessary.

The sharing of the international network is particularly evident during the period of the Anglo-American occupation of southern Italy, when all new journals are based on the same (small) range of foreign sources, namely the French journals published in the free zone (in Algeria and London in particular), the English publications and the Italian magazines based in London (in particular *Il Mese. Compendio della stampa internazionale*). Only one periodical in our *corpus* seems to stand out: *Rinascita*, the communist publication which, in its press review section, also reports on Soviet periodicals published in England for Western audiences, such as the *Soviet war news* or the *Moscow news*. Conversely, we can notice a constant reduction of English and Irish literature during the whole period, and the general decrease of international exchanges during the Cold War, between 1949 and 1955, when the texts mainly come from European countries. During this phase, the average rate of publication of translations decreases from 21 to 3 texts per periodical per year, for a total of 153 translated texts, compared with the 1129 translated texts published during the years immediately following the war period (1944–1948). At the same time, the interlacing of the international networks of periodicals located at different poles of the literary field also decreases to a minimum. While literary periodicals share the range of published foreign names and their intertextual sources, the foreign signatures that they have in common with

political-literary periodicals are truly restricted. This reflects the cleavage that occurred within the Italian network of periodicals during these years.

Finally, we can see an increment in the number of translations of texts from Spain and from Extra-European countries after 1956, i.e., when Italian periodicals start becoming interested in those countries involved into decolonization conflicts, as well as in political revolutions in Third World nations. Such an increment is consistent with the overall growth in the number of translations published (13 per periodical per year for a total of 1581 texts). The redefinition of the alliance and opposition mechanisms that govern the space of periodicals is also evident in the international network of periodicals: the repertoire of published and commented authors changes and exchanges intensify. The reconfiguration of the space of periodicals, with the disappearance of former actors and the creation of new publications, as well as the rise of a new generation of mediators, determine an alteration in the dynamics of transfer of foreign literatures, which can be observed in the distribution of published authors.

Nevertheless, this phenomenon is far from being massive. These evolutions are borne notably by the newly created periodicals, such as *Il Contemporaneo*, which constitutes a gradual way of accessing Hispanic-American literature (7% of published translations) and focuses on the publication of less represented European and extra-European literatures. It becomes one of the major dissemination channels for the authors from non-aligned countries and ex-colonies. In addition to the extensive place given to Spanish (24%) and Soviet and East European poetry (29%), its pages offer anthologies of Arab, African, Cypriot, Algerian, Congolese, Angolan and Portuguese poets, as well as Chinese, Yugoslav and Turkish texts (18%). *Il Contemporaneo* thus distinguishes itself both from the old communist publications, which until now had favoured the dissemination of Soviet and French authors and of a restricted repertoire of poets and writers of other origins, and from autonomist journals, broadcasting mainly Western European literatures.

Among the old periodicals, some will adhere to the new trends, others will continue along well-worn paths. The innovation concerns more interdisciplinary periodicals, where we find a greater number of texts by non-European authors, as the political factors carry remarkable weight in the changes already underway and on which the extra-literary criteria often play a relevant role in the selection of foreign authors. On the one hand, the upheavals that hit the USSR at that time and the phenomenon of massive emigration of political refugees to Western countries, encourage the increase of the publications of dissident authors from the Soviet and satellite countries. On the other hand, the debating of the politics of the two blocs, the growth of anticolonial movements, or the revolutions in Third World countries, coincide with the opening of the pages of Italian periodicals to Hispanic-American, North African and Asian literatures. At the same

time, interdisciplinary journals (especially *Tempo presente* and *Il Contemporaneo*) frequently present some “Lettere” from cities around the world, usually signed by foreign correspondents. These journals thus mark the keen attention paid to the literary and political news of various countries, against an ahistorical conception of literary and intellectual work. In “autonomist” literary periodicals, on the contrary, the sporadic appearance of sections devoted to Portuguese and Spanish-American literatures is noticed.

A proposition for a weighted analysis of translations in periodicals

These sets of data hide some differences, sometimes remarkable, between the periodicals. They may show a situation that does not seem very consistent with the reality of the dissemination of translated literatures through the periodicals. An example is the case of the data related to texts from Soviet and satellite countries, which are concentrated into a very small number of periodicals, namely in the periodicals linked with the Italian Communist Party first, and secondly in *Tempo presente*, gathering dissident writers together after 1956. Data related to periodicals publishing a very high number of texts disproportionately condition the global data, so that existing differences in the *corpus* are smoothed out.

In order to better describe the real situation of the dissemination of translated literatures, one should weigh data according to the actual diffusion of the periodicals through the audience of Italian readers. This may allow for evaluating the incidence of the publication of foreign literatures in the Italian public and the literary debate. The required sets of data (circulation, number of sales and subscriptions) are often difficult to obtain – or at least to gather for this work. Nevertheless, the study of periodicals allows access to useful information for qualitatively evaluating some elements, such as their diffusion and their own symbolic capital. On the basis of these elements, one has to create a weight to be assigned to each periodical, in order to rebalance the distribution of the publication rates of translated texts according to the possibility that these texts reach Italian readers, have an impact on the militant literary criticism and attract the attention of the big publishing houses.

Thus I built a rating scale (from 1 to 10) that helps measure qualitative phenomena, namely the diffusion and the symbolic capital of each periodical, by converting them into a synthetic note that will be used to weigh their publication rates. Two notes have been assigned to each periodical (See Table 1).

The first one has been evaluated on the basis of the circulation (when this data was available) or taking into account other elements that determine a journal's dissemination: price, ideal target public (elitist and specialist, or wide and diversified), distribution channels (sale by subscription, in book shops or newsstands),

Table 1. Weight assigned to periodicals on a scale from 1 to 10 and indexes used for the weighted analysis

	<i>Aretusa</i>	<i>Mercurio</i>	<i>La Cittadella</i>	<i>Il Politecnico</i>	<i>Rinascita</i> (1944–1948)
Diffusion	2	5	1	7	5
Symbolic c.	4	5	1	5	7
Scores	6	10	2	12	12
<i>Sud</i>	<i>Poesia</i>	<i>Prosa</i>	<i>Letteratura</i> (1st series)	<i>Il Mondo</i>	<i>La Rassegna</i> <i>d'Italia</i>
2	1	1	2	2	3
1	3	2	4	3	5
3	4	3	6	5	8
	<i>Rinascita</i> (1949–1955)	<i>L'Approdo</i>	<i>Letteratura</i> (3th series)	<i>Paragone</i>	<i>La Chimera</i>
Diffusion	8	10	2	5	2
Symbolic c.	2	9	5	9	3
Scores	10	19	7	14	5
	<i>Il Verri</i>	<i>Tempo</i> <i>presente</i>	<i>Il</i> <i>Contemporaneo</i>	<i>Questo e altro</i>	<i>Nuovi</i> <i>argomenti</i>
	5	6	6	3	7
	8	5	5	3	9
	13	11	11	6	16

support of publishing houses or other structures (such as political parties) that allow a national distribution beyond a close circle.

Periodicals possessing weak economic capital, and whose diffusion is limited to a regional scale, such as *La Cittadella*, *Sud*, *Il Mondo*, obtain a note less than 5, as well as high-price periodicals, sold exclusively by subscription and addressed to a very limited public of expert readers, such as *Letteratura*, *Prosa* and *Poesia*. On the other hand, a note more than 5 is assigned to those periodicals whose interdisciplinary inclination, reduced price and support from political parties or other institutions assure a wide diffusion on a national scale and to a readership that does not specialize in literature. A note more than 5 is also assigned to journals such as *Rinascita*, *Il Politecnico* or again *Tempo presente*, whose interdisciplinary structure, reduced price and support by the Italian Communist Party (for the first two) and the Congress for Cultural Freedom (for the third) ensure a wide circulation at the national (or even transnational) level and to an audience of non-specialist readers of literature. Similarly, a high note is assigned to *L'Approdo*, which was

economically supported by RAI and whose content reaches a wide audience by means of its broadcast on the radio and, subsequently, on television.

The second note concerns the symbolic capital of a journal, established according to the degree of legitimacy in the literary field during its life span. I measured it by essentially building on the presence of each journal in the intertextual network, as this can be conceived as a sign of visibility and legitimacy among peers. I also took into account periodicals' abilities to impose their name, their themes and the authors they publish on the contemporary debate, as well as their institutionalization degree (in particular when the editor, redactors and main collaborators are confirmed authors or academics acknowledged as authorities, disposing of a high consecration and canonization power according to the recognized values in the literary field).

Of course, the evaluation of symbolic capital has also taken into consideration the journal's life span and its social capital, defined as the capacity to dispose of a huge number of collaborators that allow it to obtain a legitimacy among its peers, thanks to the quality of its contents or the collaborators' aura within the literary field. I agree with Boschetti's remark about the fact that the construction of a network would not be sufficient in ensuring a periodical the success and the accumulation of symbolic capital (Boschetti 2006). As an example, the Roman journals of the post-war period show a remarkable ability to create a rich and multidirectional network, both on a national and a transnational scale. Nevertheless, the immediate impact of the short enterprise of *Prosa* on Italian literature has been very limited. Its program aimed at combining "modern classicism" developed during the first half of the century and a non-traditional conception of the novel. But it did not find support either from the most traditionalist critics, or from the new entrants who promote a renewal of aesthetic values and literary canons and aspire to establish a link between the literary creation and historical events. *Poesia* is more "protected" as it concentrates on the publication of poetry, which benefits from a greater margin of autonomy than the prose with respect to the invasion of political discourse. Yet, its lifespan is only four years. A similar discourse is available for *Mercurio*, which develops a rich network, capable of gathering the most important writers and intellectuals in Rome. It also publishes many foreign authors, including those who will become the leading writers of the century, such as Ernest Hemingway and Jean-Paul Sartre. Moreover, the interdisciplinary structure, open to politics, philosophy, sciences and visual arts corresponds to recognized values in the literary field of its time. Hostile to "formalism", *Mercurio* encourages a renewal in literary creation by favouring prose with realistic tendencies (but not only) and subjects linked to current historical events, without appearing as radically revolutionary (both in politics and in literature). However, the journal will not withstand the crisis caused by the political turmoil of the time, due to the lack of economic

capital and a strong editor (Di Nicola 2012). It ceases to be published in 1948, after having brought to light some of the main lines of post-war Italian literature.

On the other hand, a long life span does not suffice as an indicator of a high specific capital in the literary field. Interdisciplinary and political-literary journals may have a high symbolic capital in some of the fields in which they are situated, but they may lack legitimacy in the literary field. Thus, the success of a periodical as *Rinascita* (created in 1944 and publishing until 1991) stems from a series of factors unrelated to the values recognized in the literary field. The symbolic capital fluctuates and depends on variations in the configuration of the space of periodicals and of the literary field. So two notes have been assigned to *Rinascita*. A first, higher note, is related to the immediate post-war period, when the invasion of the literary field by the political field allowed the conversion, in the literary field, of the capital acquired in the political and intellectual fields. Then, as the literary field regains its autonomy, the communist literary criticism and its journals are ostracized in the space of literary journals, and they disappear from the interpersonal and intertextual network of the literary periodicals. This demonstrates a loss of legitimacy of *Rinascita* in the literary field, which can be witnessed in the trajectory of Italian and foreign authors who are published in its pages: if they had not been consecrated before in Italian literary field, they are subject to the same ostracism (the case of Louis Aragon is a good example, contrary to Paul Éluard, who has been consecrated as a poet in the 1940s by the authorities of autonomist criticism. See Caristia 2018).

On the contrary, a publication such as *Paragone* creates, in the 1950s, an important place in the literary field, by debating the central themes that haunt writers of the time and by publishing renowned authors. At the same time, *Paragone* may count on the support of some important publishing houses, and its director, Anna Banti has been able to renew both the editorial board and the editorial line according to the successive reconfigurations of the field (See Guarneri 2006; Italia 2012). The score assigned to it, therefore, is based on these factors. A similar discourse can be made for journals created after 1956: *Il Verri* and *Tempo presente*, for example, do not have the same symbolic capital. The first was able to propose an unprecedented aesthetic and poetic line. By promoting a literary and philosophical renewal, it refused the dominant lines of the Italian literary field of the time, without renouncing some traditional characters (e. g., the material and graphic organization of its issues, which are not avant-gardist). Thus it focused the attention of other periodicals on the young authors it published and vouched for the perspectives opened by the neo-avant-garde, while not limiting itself to this horizon and respecting the principle of autonomy of the literary field from ideologies and politics. On the contrary, *Tempo presente* remained close to the defence of less innovative aesthetic values and did not succeed in occupying a central place

in the literary life of its time nor in becoming a real consecration instrument. This is attested to by its relatively low presence in the intertextual network of Italian periodicals, as well as by its impromptu closure, due to a scandal concerning the financing received by the CIA (see Carlucci 2006).

The note assignment, which infers no judgment whatsoever of any values on the periodicals' work, is not based on the posthumous consecration of the journals, but only on the capital they disposed of during their life spans. This evaluation is clearly subjective, since it is conditioned by the point of view of the observer who builds and uses the rating scale. The scale should be discussed and evaluated by other scholars, in order to check its reliability and validity in the representation of the measured phenomenon. In our case, it is only a matter of proposing a quantitative analysis for the study of the periodicals in which the sets of data needed to assure the analysis' objectivity are not numerically available. This method will have to be improved in order to evaluate its precision for the representation of the periodicals' weights.

The sum of the two notes, divided by 100, corresponds to the weight used for recalculating the publication rates of each journal. The indexes obtained, which produce some variables originating in the quantification of qualitative phenomena, have then been multiplied by the rates. Thus, we can observe the synchronic distribution of translations within the examined *corpus*, considering the weight of the different titles in the Italian literary field and their dissemination to the Italian-speaking reading public (see Graph 3).

Graph 3. Weighted synchronic distribution of translations in Italian periodicals (1944–1970)

When comparing with the previous chart, it is possible to note a rise in the French literature as well as in the Hispano-American literature. Indeed, the first one is published more or less in the set of the *corpus*, while the second one, which is

widely published in *Tempo presente* and *Il Contemporaneo*, also finds space in journals with medium or high symbolic capital such as *Il Verri* and *L'Approdo*. Consequently, the weight of the translations of texts from Hispano-American authors becomes more important than that of all translations from less represented literatures (OTH), which are rarely published. Asian, Scandinavian, Yugoslavian, Greek and African literatures have mostly been published in the periodicals situated in a marginal position, with low symbolic capital and limited diffusion capacity. From 1956 on, we can find these literatures in political-literary periodicals that open their pages to other authors coming from those countries involved in decolonization conflicts or political revolutions and proposing an alternative way to the ones of the opposed blocs of the Cold War. For this reason, these periodicals are different than the recognized and institutionalized ones, as they redraw the borders of European and worldwide literature beyond the classical borders including France, Germany, the UK and the USA. During the sixties, the publication of “peripheral” literatures extends to all the periodicals of the *corpus*, even if quantitatively limited with respect to the preponderant literatures (See Table 2). On the other hand, we can also observe a reduction of the space for English and Spanish literatures. This is due to the fact that English literature is more present in the periodical publications of the immediate post-war period – having a reduced weight because of the material difficulties of the time, such as the high price of the paper – or in the periodicals of the 1950s, with a high symbolic capital but a modest diffusion. Concerning the translations from Spanish writers and poets, they are mainly published in the periodicals of the post-war period and, later, in *Il Contemporaneo* and *Tempo presente*.

Graph 4. Weighted diachronic evolution of the distribution of translations in Italian periodicals (1944–1970)

Table 2. Weighted and not weighted relative frequencies of publications of translations in Italian periodicals (1944–1970)

	FR		ENG		USA		EAST	
	Not weigh.	Weigh.	Not weigh.	Weigh.	Not weigh.	Weigh.	Not weigh.	Weigh.
1944	9,62	12,26	38,46	33,02	7,69	7,55	9,62	8,02
1945	13,17	13,34	15,30	14,34	21,35	29,51	2,85	2,60
1946	17,86	19,51	21,57	20,45	22,88	25,31	0,44	0,51
1947	6,57	9,43	34,27	28,30	6,10	5,85	0,47	1,13
1948	14,52	14,65	8,06	8,06	1,61	2,93	45,97	42,86
1949	23,08	23,28	23,08	20,69	3,85	4,31	3,85	4,31
1950	11,11	14,89	11,11	10,64	11,11	10,64	22,22	21,28
1951	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	20,00	22,22	0,00	0,00
1952	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	30,77	21,36	0,00	0,00
1953	17,50	21,16	35,00	32,14	2,50	3,19	0,00	0,00
1954	56,00	72,19	12,00	9,27	12,00	5,90	0,00	0,00
1955	23,33	13,84	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	33,33	25,26
1956	24,49	23,32	16,33	16,08	28,57	31,10	18,37	17,49
1957	25,53	23,04	10,64	12,07	4,26	4,06	14,89	14,47
1958	15,38	16,51	4,62	4,44	3,85	3,79	0,77	0,72
1959	17,68	16,32	3,87	5,43	0,55	0,64	8,29	8,06
1960	16,59	16,60	8,29	8,66	4,88	4,73	12,68	11,36
1961	27,89	24,87	1,59	1,44	15,54	19,52	5,58	7,11
1962	10,69	11,93	0,76	0,75	12,98	12,89	5,34	6,93
1963	10,43	10,53	23,48	21,93	15,65	13,86	8,70	10,06
1964	33,62	44,09	1,72	2,23	21,55	17,32	8,62	8,18
1965	25,00	25,35	5,56	6,34	5,56	4,75	5,56	4,36
1966	18,33	14,42	1,67	1,46	26,67	29,68	21,67	21,63
1967	30,00	25,69	20,00	20,05	16,00	16,35	4,00	5,49
1968	24,24	22,21	28,79	32,57	12,12	10,66	28,79	28,98
1969	13,79	14,13	10,34	11,43	31,03	28,92	3,45	3,14
1970	7,35	6,35	0,00	0,00	10,29	10,74	0,00	0,00

Looking at the diachronic evolution of weighted data (see Graph 4 and Table 2), a slight reduction of the incidence of English and Irish literatures during the Cold War period can be seen (1947–1955, from 15,69% to 14,11%). We can also observe the reduction of the weight of American texts at the beginning of the fifties. At

Table 2. (continued)

	USSR		GERM		SPA	
	Not weighted	Weighted	Not weighted	Weighted	Not weighted	Weighted
1944	13,46	18,87	17,31	15,57	0,00	0,00
1945	7,83	8,58	12,46	10,41	5,69	5,04
1946	3,92	6,16	7,63	8,67	20,48	15,23
1947	1,88	3,68	44,13	39,15	3,76	7,36
1948	1,61	4,40	1,61	2,93	4,03	3,66
1949	15,38	17,24	19,23	18,10	0,00	0,00
1950	11,11	10,64	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
1951	40,00	37,04	20,00	22,22	10,00	9,26
1952	0,00	0,00	46,15	55,34	15,38	18,45
1953	20,00	15,97	17,50	21,56	2,50	2,00
1954	20,00	12,64	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
1955	3,33	3,46	16,67	24,91	20,00	29,07
1956	0,00	0,00	6,12	6,18	0,00	0,00
1957	2,13	2,03	22,34	25,07	3,19	3,04
1958	12,31	12,92	6,92	8,03	13,85	14,10
1959	4,97	5,23	12,71	10,46	9,94	10,26
1960	25,37	29,90	8,29	8,14	4,39	2,94
1961	5,58	5,03	6,77	6,69	25,90	23,73
1962	8,40	8,98	7,63	7,13	33,59	31,62
1963	19,13	18,92	4,35	4,67	5,22	6,97
1964	9,48	9,00	12,07	8,85	4,31	4,09
1965	2,78	2,18	33,33	38,02	5,56	4,95
1966	3,33	3,66	23,33	25,81	3,33	2,19
1967	22,00	23,49	6,00	7,42	0,00	0,00
1968	0,00	0,00	4,55	4,48	0,00	0,00
1969	3,45	3,59	17,24	14,57	0,00	0,00
1970	2,94	2,71	33,82	34,43	1,47	1,35

that time, English and North American literatures are mainly published in the international journal *Botteghe oscure*, which generally presents its contents in the original language (or in English or French translation when publishing authors of little-known languages such as Korean or Indian) and never in Italian translation.

Table 2. (continued)

	BRAZ		HISP		OTH	
	Not weighted	Weighted	Not weighted	Weighted	Not weighted	Weighted
1944	0,00	0,00	1,92	2,36	1,92	2,36
1945	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	21,35	16,17
1946	2,61	1,74	1,31	1,09	1,31	1,34
1947	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	2,82	5,09
1948	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	22,58	20,51
1949	0,00	0,00	3,85	4,31	7,69	7,76
1950	0,00	0,00	22,22	21,28	11,11	10,64
1951	0,00	0,00	10,00	9,26	0,00	0,00
1952	0,00	0,00	7,69	4,85	0,00	0,00
1953	0,00	0,00	2,50	2,00	2,50	2,00
1954	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
1955	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	3,33	3,46
1956	0,00	0,00	4,08	3,89	2,04	1,94
1957	0,00	0,00	14,89	14,19	2,13	2,03
1958	0,77	0,72	27,69	25,85	13,85	12,92
1959	3,87	6,11	27,07	26,34	11,05	11,14
1960	0,49	0,56	8,29	7,43	10,73	9,69
1961	1,20	1,08	5,58	6,59	4,38	3,95
1962	0,00	0,00	3,05	2,19	17,56	17,56
1963	0,00	0,00	13,04	13,06	0,00	0,00
1964	0,86	0,97	2,59	2,60	5,17	2,68
1965	8,33	8,32	5,56	3,56	2,78	2,18
1966	0,00	0,00	1,67	1,15	0,00	0,00
1967	0,00	0,00	2,00	1,51	0,00	0,00
1968	0,00	0,00	1,52	1,10	0,00	0,00
1969	17,24	21,30	3,45	2,91	0,00	0,00
1970	0,00	0,00	26,47	28,43	17,65	15,99

However, unlike those from English and Irish authors, the periodicals of the *corpus* intensify the publication of Northern American texts translations during the sixties. They can be found in periodicals with a medium (*Il Contemporaneo*, *Tempo presente*, *Il Verri*) or index (*L'Approdo*), so that, over the whole period, the weight

of North American literature exceeds that of English literature. This also concerns German literature, which is present in all the periodicals of the *corpus* throughout the examined period: literary journals with a high symbolic capital publish classical German authors between the immediate post-war period and the 1950s, then opening their pages to contemporary poets during the 1960s. At the same time, German literature finds a place in the political-literary journals linked to the PCI, which publish texts by Bertolt Brecht, among others. From a global point of view, it can be said that the weighted analysis redefines the ranking of the most translated literatures in Italian journals, while it confirms the primacy of French literature.

A drop in the space for Soviet literatures can also be seen during the same period (from 15,03% to 12,60%), whereas the weighting of the data increases their relative frequency between 1944 and 1948 (from 4,69% to 7,10%). Indeed, over the post-war period, when the Soviet Union benefits from its crucial contribution to the anti-Nazi war, authors from Soviet countries are published in periodicals located at various poles of the literary field. But during the Cold War years, translations of texts from Soviet countries are only published in the Communist Party's official journal *Rinascita*, which was excluded from the network of literary periodicals with high symbolic power and therefore suffering a lack of legitimacy in the literary field. More space for Soviet literatures is given after the "thaw", when they are also published in journals endowed of symbolic capital which translate and disseminate writers critical of the communist regimes and socialist realism, such as Boris Pasternak. This also counterbalances the increase in the publication of translations by authors from satellite countries. The weighted analysis allows to relativize the influence of data from a unique journal compared to the global data.

We can then compute the average publication rate of every literature per periodical per year. It allows for mitigating the distortion caused by the composition of the *corpus*, which is not stable over the years because of the appearance or disappearance of certain periodicals. Thus the rise or drop in a given literature will not depend so much on the number of analysed periodicals, but, more precisely, on the contribution of the periodicals that have been created or have ceased their activities (See Graph 5).

The drop in publication rate of foreign texts can be observed between 1947 and 1948, during the worsening of the international geopolitical conflicts and of the Italian political situation. Moreover, during the following years and until 1956, it is noticeable that only the west European literatures keep a remarkable presence in the space of Italian periodicals, while a new opening to the international literatures occurs after the "thaw".

This weighted analysis method clearly needs to be improved. The scale should be checked further. It thus may be a useful tool for the quantitative study of a larger *corpus*, for analyses that consider qualitative characteristics of periodical

Graph 5. Diachronic evolution of frequencies of publication of translations per periodical (1944–1970)

publications. Descriptive statistical tools may indeed help for observing huge amounts of data, provided that the specificities of the analysed subject are taken into account. In tandem, this method may include other criteria having repercussions on the relevance of the publication of translations in the periodicals, such as the methods of publication and presentation of translated texts, for example through the position of translations in the issues (including if they are published in foot notes, serving as an accompaniment to the original texts). The scales may be created according to the aspects that one wants to investigate the most. For example, one may create a scale measuring the symbolic capital of the translators. Analogously, one may establish a grid in order to weight the texts according to their genres.

Furthermore, one may quantitatively analyze the evolution of the critical reception of foreign literatures, weighting critical articles that have been published about foreign authors and works, according to the symbolic capital of the critics who sign the articles, to the genre and the type of the examined articles, and to their size. Such analysis would consist in assigning a different weight according to several criteria, such as the length of the articles, their position in the issues, the genre (editorials, studies, reviews, references, quotes, etc.), in other words, in quantifying some qualitative criteria, a work that has just been sketched out here. It may be possible to broaden the *corpus* and compare such results with the ones that one would obtain with an analysis of some types of support other than literary periodicals, or to apply this method in a transnational scale in order to measure the flows of translations and their weights into the international diffusion of literatures. The quantitative and qualitative approaches, which should not be considered antagonists, can be combined, provided that we are aware of their respective limits.

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Les traductions littéraires dans les périodiques français sous l'Occupation et leur exploitation dans la base de données TSOcc

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Durant la période de l'Occupation militaire allemande en France (1940–44), les revues culturelles et littéraires fleurissent, qu'il s'agisse de publications officielles, soutenues par les pouvoirs publics (voire publiées directement par l'Occupant), ou encore de feuilles sorties dans la clandestinité, en zone libre ou occupée, jusqu'en Afrique du Nord (Alger, Tunis, Rabat). Après avoir retracé l'historique du programme de recherches international TSOcc (Traductions sous l'Occupation) (www.tsocc.univ-nantes.fr) réalisé sous notre direction, nous proposerons un état des lieux du dépouillement des périodiques effectué dans le cadre de ces travaux et évoquerons les problèmes méthodologiques posés par l'exploitation de ces données bibliographiques. On s'intéressera également à l'orientation idéologique des divers périodiques dans leur rapport aux textes sources, à la place accordée aux traducteurs, et à la réflexion théorique sur la pratique de la traduction dont ils se font souvent l'écho.

Keywords: traduction littéraire, revues, deuxième guerre mondiale, occupation allemande, France, collaboration, résistance, idéologie, programme de recherches TSOcc, base de données

Durant la période de l'Occupation allemande en France (1940–44) lors de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, les revues culturelles et littéraires publiant des traductions connurent un essor spectaculaire, qu'il s'agisse de publications légales parfois dirigées directement par l'Occupant (comme, en France, les *Cahiers de l'Institut allemand*, ou bien *Deutschland-Frankreich* qui paraît en version bilingue grâce aux bons offices de l'Institut Allemand de Paris sous les auspices de son directeur, Karl Epting), de publications légales paraissant en zone Sud (dite « libre » jusqu'en 1942) se distanciant ponctuellement de Vichy et tentant de contourner la censure

en pratiquant une forme subtile de légalité subversive (Cariguel 2007), ou encore de feuilles sorties dans la clandestinité, en zone libre ou occupée, jusqu'en Afrique du Nord (*Tunisie française littéraire* à Tunis, ou *Aguedal*, paraissant à Rabat). Des titres géographiquement périphériques comme *Pyrénées – Cahiers de la pensée française*, paru à Toulouse entre l'été 1941 et le printemps 1944, ou comme *Fontaine* dirigé par Max-Pol Fouchet à Alger, offrent également de très intéressants panoramas sur la littérature européenne en traduction, qui témoignent d'une prise de liberté de plus en plus sensible à l'égard des interdictions officielles et des diverses listes ou instances de censure alors en vigueur.¹

Identifier les œuvres traduites en français durant toute cette période est l'enjeu du programme TSOcc (www.tsocc.univ-nantes.fr) réalisé sous notre direction. Il se fonde sur un dépouillement extensif des publications en France et en Belgique occupées (périodiques et volumes), afin de retracer la trajectoire des intermédiaires ou importateurs littéraires (Wilfert-Portal 2002)² tels que les critiques, les enseignants, les poètes, divers amateurs, etc., et d'analyser les discours tenus sur la traduction dans la presse (au sens le plus large) durant les années 1940–44. Parce que les textes traduits parus dans les journaux ou les revues ont échappé en majeure partie jusqu'ici au radar bibliométrique, une base de données numérique inédite est actuellement en cours de finalisation afin de compléter le champ littéraire français et francophone des années dites « noires ». Les résultats obtenus à

1. Si la traduction en français sous l'Occupation relève bien, pour ses circuits officiels, d'une pratique effectuée « sous contrainte », pour reprendre l'expression utilisée par I. Popa dans ses travaux sur la traduction dans les pays de l'Est durant la période communiste (Popa 2010, 2016) et se situe dans un cadre de contrôle étroit de l'imprimé qui suscite aussi l'existence de forces centrifuges ou dissidentes, de réelles différences existent néanmoins entre les deux situations historiques. En effet, durant l'Occupation allemande en France, la logique qui prévaut est une logique d'importation surveillée : il s'agit de traduire le plus d'auteurs allemands possibles en français afin de réorienter idéologiquement le lectorat. La liste Matthias de traductions prioritaires, constituée sous les auspices de l'Institut allemand de Paris, a servi dès les débuts de cadre à cette entreprise. La réalisation puis la diffusion de traductions réalisée hors de ce cadre imposé (soit dans les revues ou éditions clandestines comme *Les Lettres françaises clandestines* ou les Editions de Minuit, soit dans les publications de zone sud qui, tout en étant légalement autorisées, se distanciaient régulièrement de Vichy et étaient d'ailleurs régulièrement inquiétées pour cela par la censure) s'effectuait par des circuits parallèles, reposant le plus souvent sur des réseaux personnels. C'est le cas notamment de Jean Wahl qui joua un rôle essentiel pour la constitution de l'anthologie consacrée aux écrivains et poètes américains, publiée en 1943 par *Fontaine*, ou celui de Georges-Emmanuel Clancier, collaborateur de cette même revue, qui transmettait clandestinement à Alger depuis Limoges des textes provenant de la zone occupée.

2. Cf. également « Les revues en temps de guerre : L'importation littéraire dans les revues parisiennes du "Roman russe" à la Grande Guerre », conférence prononcée au séminaire TIGRE (ENS), 20 avril 2013.

ce stade du travail sont prometteurs et laissent augurer, à la faveur du volume de données rassemblées, de nouvelles lectures possibles des modalités de la vie littéraire en France et en Belgique dans un contexte historique très particulier, celui de l'Occupation militaire allemande.

Historique du programme TSOcc – quelques remarques préliminaires

Les travaux que nous avons menés entre 2009 et 2019 dans le cadre du programme ANR HTLF (*Histoire des Traductions en Langue française* 2012, 2019) ont pour la première fois révélé à grande échelle l'importance capitale du rôle joué par les revues dans la diffusion de la traduction en langue française. Or un point était resté étonnamment aveugle, devenu ensuite l'enjeu du programme TSOcc : la période de l'Occupation, qui vit une étonnante floraison de périodiques entre 1940–44, dans lesquels parurent également nombre de traductions. Il s'agissait donc de combler cette lacune, d'autant plus qu'elle se situe dans un moment particulièrement délicat de l'histoire littéraire française et francophone, à un véritable tournant historique.

Le problème d'identification des titres de périodiques publiés entre 1940 et 1944 contenant des traductions s'est posé dès le début : où les trouver et comment les recenser ? L'équipe TSOcc (composée de germanistes, de comparatistes et d'historiens français, allemands et belges) a procédé au début selon une méthode des plus empiriques en recourant à des bibliographies rétrospectives, notamment le précieux *Panorama des revues littéraires sous l'Occupation* d'Olivier Cariguel comme point de départ³ et en exploitant également, pour la Belgique, les travaux sur l'édition pendant l'Occupation effectués par Michel Fincoeur (1997, 2006) ; puis en piochant dans la rubrique « revue des revues » (lorsqu'elle existe) des périodiques déjà dépouillés, ce qui s'est révélé, par effet de rebond, une source très utile pour découvrir de nouveaux titres (assez nombreux à vrai dire) non répertoriés par Cariguel et par le dépôt légal français. Certains titres ont, en dépit de moyens assez restreints, connu une diffusion et une reconnaissance qui peuvent surprendre a posteriori. C'est le cas par exemple de *Tunisie Française Littéraire*, supplément littéraire hebdomadaire de *Tunisie française*, publié à Tunis sous les auspices d'Armand Guibert et de Jean Amrouche entre le 16 novembre 1940 et la fin juin 1942. Même si son existence fut brève, *Tunisie Française Littéraire* sut se

3. Vu la période troublée de la guerre, le dépôt légal fonctionne assez mal (comme en témoigne le nombre de revues identifiées par l'équipe mais non répertoriées dans le catalogue de la BNF par exemple...). Un ouvrage tel que celui de Cariguel est très utile mais ne recense pas tous les périodiques (il ne s'intéresse pas aux journaux par exemple).

positionner comme un carrefour intellectuel où vinrent débattre des sensibilités souvent diamétralement opposées (ainsi Albert Camus affirmant que « le sabre est toujours vaincu par l'esprit » (25/01/1941) et Marcel Sauvage faisant dans un article hagiographique l'éloge du sourire du Maréchal Pétain). Selon Morgan Corriou (2005 : 516), « la vie littéraire tunisienne et plus largement nord-africaine, grâce à la diffusion de *Tunisie Française Littéraire*, est marquée par le développement nouveau de pages de grande qualité. *Tunisie Française Littéraire* devient une référence. Celle-ci, par son rythme hebdomadaire, suscite dans l'intellectualité d'Afrique du Nord un mouvement constant. » A. Camus complimentera d'ailleurs J. Amrouche sur son activité à *Tunisie Française Littéraire* (Corriou 2005 : 513). *Tunisie Française Littéraire* témoigne également d'une volonté de profiter des bouleversements dus à la guerre pour tenter d'imposer Tunis comme un centre culturel de plein droit, tout comme *Fontaine*, sa consœur à Alger au même moment (Vignale 2012), se tenant à distance de la métropole et de cercles littéraires parisiens considérés comme corrompus. Et cela passe aussi par l'affirmation de l'importance de la traduction comme moyen de créer un capital symbolique nouveau (notamment en ce qui concerne, pour l'Afrique du Nord, les littératures autochtones – berbère, kabyle, etc.).

La question de la localisation et de l'accès aux périodiques fut également un problème récurrent pour l'équipe. Ainsi, et en dépit de son importance historique et littéraire,⁴ *Tunisie française littéraire* n'est recensée nulle part, seul un heureux hasard nous a permis de découvrir ce titre conservé aux Archives Diplomatiques de Nantes. Nombre de périodiques appartenant aux collections de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France (*Vivre*, *Quatre Vents*, *Le Divan*) sont incommunicables en version papier et n'existent pas encore sous forme numérisée. D'autres collections (*Pyrénées*, *L'Afrique littéraire*) sont incomplètes et/ou réparties sur plusieurs sites (le n°10 de *Pyrénées*, dont il reste seulement un exemplaire, est uniquement consultable à la Bibliothèque Municipale et du Patrimoine de Toulouse). *Pyrénées* est d'ailleurs une assez bonne illustration du décalage qui peut exister entre le rayonnement (objectivement modeste) d'une revue provinciale en temps de guerre, sans cesse en lutte pour sa survie du fait de la censure et du rationnement en papier,⁵ et son intérêt a posteriori pour les chercheurs. En effet, elle témoigne d'une évolution de plus en plus perceptible entre un attachement initial aux valeurs maréchalistes et une prise de distance subtile au fur et à mesure des années de guerre, qui la fait entrer peu à peu dans une forme de légalité subversive en publiant des traductions d'auteurs (notamment anglo-saxons) a priori interdits par les listes de censure

4. Cf. ici C. Lombez, « L'Afrique du Nord, un nouveau centre littéraire entre 1940 et 1944 ? L'exemple de *Tunisie française littéraire* (Tunis) au miroir de la traduction », article à paraître.

5. Ce dont témoignent les documents la concernant conservés aux Archives Nationales.

Otto⁶. De ce point de vue, *Pyrénées* est le reflet assez fidèle des changements de l'opinion générale en France, qui, après 1943, se met à envisager sérieusement la possibilité que l'Allemagne perde, *in fine*, la guerre, et s'éloigne de la politique de Collaboration préconisée par Vichy (Lombez 2018).

Plus d'une trentaine de publications contenant des traductions littéraires (prose, poésie, théâtre) ont été identifiées et dépouillées rien que pour la France (O. Cariguel avance le chiffre total de 85 revues parues sous l'Occupation dans sa bibliographie, toutefois, il ne les discrimine pas en fonction des traductions), mais le recensement continue et de nouveaux titres viennent encore s'ajouter régulièrement.⁷ On citera ici quelques périodiques (terme regroupant à la fois les journaux, les revues, les suppléments littéraires des quotidiens) qui proposent un maillage territorial assez complet puisque comprenant la zone occupée, la zone libre (jusqu'en 1942), et l'Afrique du Nord (Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie) : *Comoedia* (Paris), *Cahiers du Sud* (Marseille), *Fontaine* (Alger), *Confluences* (Lyon), *Méridien* (Rodez), *Pyrénées* (Toulouse), *Le Mot d'Ordre* (Marseille), *Tunisie française littéraire* (Tunis), *Le Figaro* (Paris, puis Clermont-Ferrand), *Panorama* (Paris), *Deutschland-Frankreich* (Paris), *Poésie* (Villeneuve lès Avignon), *Les Lettres françaises* (Paris), *Messages* (Paris), *Pariser Zeitung* (Paris), la *NRF* (Paris).

Les divers lieux de parution durant l'Occupation (zone nord occupée par les Allemands depuis l'armistice de juin 1940, zone sud dite « libre » administrée par le gouvernement du Maréchal Pétain, et Afrique du Nord) et les conditions mêmes de publication (légalité, légalité subversive ou clandestinité) sont souvent révélateurs d'orientations idéologiques très diverses, la marge de manœuvre des rédacteurs semblant s'accroître à proportion de leur éloignement de Paris et de la métropole (un phénomène très frappant dans le cas de *Fontaine* paraissant à Alger). Les Archives Nationales gardent les traces des démêlés de certains titres avec la censure (cas de *Confluences* ou des *Cahiers du Sud*) et de la difficulté d'obtenir des autorisations de publication (cas de *Pyrénées*), ce qui témoigne de la mainmise constante des instances officielles sur la presse écrite en général et du regard attentif qu'elles portent plus spécifiquement sur les périodiques à vocation littéraire ou culturelle, et sur les traductions qui y paraissent. L'enjeu de la traduction n'échappe pas, en effet, à la puissance occupante qui prit parfois des décisions radicales en ce domaine. Ainsi, la publication de la version française du *Mythe du XXe siècle*

6. Lombez, Christine, « Une revue littéraire régionale sous l'Occupation : le cas de Pyrénées (Toulouse, 1941–44) ». In *Circulations intellectuelles, transferts culturels et traductions dans la presse francophone durant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, (C. Lombez dir.), article à paraître.

7. Ainsi nous avons récemment trouvé dans des rapports d'activité de l'Institut allemand de Paris (actuellement conservés aux Archives Diplomatiques de Berlin) des titres de journaux inconnus à ce jour et non répertoriés dans le catalogue général de la BNF.

d'Alfred Rosenberg, la « bible idéologique » d'Hitler, se vit reportée *sine die*, le chef de la propagande nazie Joseph Goebbels craignant – à juste titre – que la radicalité de cet ouvrage ne vienne compromettre l'image de l'Allemagne en France.

Les traductions dans les revues en temps de guerre

De nombreuses traductions paraissent dans les périodiques français sous l'Occupation, couvrant divers genres littéraires, mais où on a pu déceler une place de choix accordée à la poésie. Les modalités de présentation du texte étranger en traduction sont des plus diverses. Ainsi, le rapport aux textes source témoigne de certaines hésitations. Ils sont parfois présents mais plus souvent absents faute de place (problème de rationnement du papier ou de moyens, comme dans le numéro spécial de *Poésie 41* consacré à la poésie espagnole où P. Seghers précise que les versions originales n'ont pas pu être imprimées par manque d'argent). Il n'est pas rare non plus de trouver les textes originaux en petit caractères en rez-de-chaussée de la page, voire en notes (ex *Fontaine* n°25, 1942 ; n°26, 1943 ; n°32, 1944 ; n°34, 1944). Cela pose la question de l'importance donnée à la version originale, spatialement et typographiquement « écrasée » par la traduction, comme on peut le constater dans le document ci-après (il s'agit du numéro 32 de *Fontaine* paru en janvier 1944) :

Figure 1. *Fontaine*, n. 32, janvier 1944. [crédits photo BNF C. Lombez. Tous droits réservés]

Parfois, l'inverse se produit et c'est la traduction qui se trouve écrasée par une version originale spatialement dominante, ce qui est également un indice intéressant

des priorités retenues par la rédaction de la revue. C'est par exemple le cas dans le poème d'A. Machado « Y escucho los cantos » publié dans le numéro 1 de *Poesie* 40 :

Figure 2. *Poesie* 40, n. 1, octobre-novembre 1940. [crédits photo BNF C. Lombez. Tous droits réservés]

De même, les modalités d'insertion de la traduction dans les périodiques sont très révélatrices d'une volonté d'orienter la lecture, comme en témoignent des rubriques telles que « Connaître l'Europe », « Bibliothèque européenne » contrôlées par l'Occupant dans *Comoedia*, ou « Présences européennes » dans *La Gerbe*, titre collaborationniste dirigé par Alphonse de Châteaubriant, etc. La récurrence de la notion d'Europe est ici à mettre en lien avec la « Nouvelle Europe » sous domination allemande à laquelle aspirent les Collaborateurs (cf. A. Fabre-Luce et son

8. Pour une étude plus détaillée des auteurs (principalement allemands) apparaissant par exemple dans la rubrique « Bibliothèque européenne » de *Comoedia*, nous renvoyons à notre article de 2014 cité en bibliographie. Si l'éventail de références, large, inclut aussi des ouvrages d'histoire et de philosophie (K. Jaspers, Fichte, Kierkegaard, les Présocratiques), l'écrasante majorité des œuvres évoquées dans cette rubrique demeure littéraire, qu'il s'agisse de la littérature allemande (très nettement prédominante, avec des classiques tels que Goethe, Schiller, Grillparzer, Grimm, E. T. A Hoffmann, Hölderlin, etc. mais aussi des contemporains comme I. Seidel, F. Sieburg, G. Britting, E. Jünger ou même B. von Schirach), italienne (d'Annunzio, G. Papini), espagnole (le *Lazarillo de Tormes*, Unamuno, Ortega y Gasset), anglaise (Shakespeare, Shelley), hongroise (C. de Tormay), finlandaise (J. Linankoski, J. Ahno, P. Haanpää), suédoise (S. Lagerlöf), norvégienne (S. Undset), flamande (Multatuli), portugaise (Eça de Queiroz) ou encore danoise (Andersen).

Le choix des langues et des auteurs assure également la construction d'une image spécifique de l'étranger renforcée par l'action des listes de censure *Otto* qui excluent du marché éditorial toute une partie de la littérature européenne. Outre la liste *Matthias* établie par les Allemands dès le début de l'Occupation, qui prévoyait la traduction d'environ 500 titres allemands tous domaines confondus, et dont un peu moins de 300 furent réalisées,⁹ on constate, dans des périodiques légaux parus en zone occupée, l'élimination pure et simple de langues considérées comme adversaires, notamment l'anglais (sauf les auteurs « classiques » antérieurs à 1850) et le polonais (1942, 2^e liste *Otto*), auxquelles vient s'ajouter le russe en 1943. On perçoit assez rapidement un changement progressif en faveur des auteurs allemands, et l'émergence d'œuvres italiennes (Dante, Boccace, D'Annunzio, plus une longue série de *minores*) ou espagnoles (poésie populaire, vieux romances, Góngora) est très révélatrice ; les langues scandinaves (suédois, danois, finnois) et orientales (chinois, japonais, langues indiennes) sont également représentées. Pourtant, dans les faits, la réalité est moins simple qu'il n'y paraît : les périodiques de la zone sud (*Les Cahiers du Sud*, *Poésie*, *Pyrénées*) ou de l'Empire colonial (*Fontaine*, *Aguedal*) continuent ainsi à publier de la littérature anglophone, y compris contemporaine (T. S. Eliot, J. Steinbeck, G. Stein, etc.). Cela s'explique partiellement par une censure vichyssoise parfois moins rigoureuse qu'au nord, mais surtout, pour le cas de l'Afrique du Nord, par le débarquement allié (Opération Torch) du 8 novembre 1942 qui eut pour effet de couper politiquement les colonies de la métropole. Quant à Lorca, poète espagnol antifasciste s'il en est, il connut une réception étonnante en France durant les années d'Occupation, y compris en zone nord, comme en témoigne un article qui lui est consacré dans *Comoedia* publié le 11 septembre 1943¹⁰ (Lombez 2019c).

La visibilité du traducteur dans les périodiques est également un réel sujet d'intérêt. Il est parfois difficile de savoir *qui* a traduit et on en est souvent réduit à des conjectures (dans le cas d'articles sur un auteur contenant des traductions sans mention explicite du traducteur : ce dernier est-il le même que le critique signataire ?). Nombre de noms de traducteurs apparaissent pour la première fois (ou bien, dans certains cas, on découvre ponctuellement des vocations de traducteurs que l'on ne soupçonnait pas jusque-là),¹¹ comme le révèle le sommaire du volume

9. Cf. le point de vue d'un contemporain en 1943 : « J'ai sous les yeux la liste des ouvrages allemands traduits en français depuis l'armistice : plus de deux cents cinquante volumes » (Blond 1943: 111). Les chiffres sont confirmés par les dossiers que nous avons consultés aux Archives Diplomatiques de Berlin.

10. Pierre-François Lacome, « Un poète de sa vie – F. García-Lorca », *Comoedia*, 11/09/1943.

11. Ainsi, Jean Wahl, célèbre professeur de philosophe en Sorbonne après 1945, fut également traducteur de poésie pendant la guerre et coordonna depuis les USA (où il était en

Traduire, collaborer, résister. Traducteurs et traductrices sous l'Occupation (Lombez 2019a). Cependant, on ne dispose pas toujours d'informations précises sur le compte de ces traducteurs afin de retracer l'origine de leur parcours en raison des réticences de la famille à parler, surtout dans le cas de choix politiques problématiques de leur ascendant durant la guerre. C'est le cas notamment pour André Meyer ou René Lasne sur lesquels il a été difficile d'obtenir des renseignements, mais où les archives (françaises et allemandes) ont finalement livré de précieuses informations. Ainsi, dans le cas d'A. Meyer, critique antisémite dans diverses revues collaborationnistes et traducteur prolifique de l'allemand durant l'Occupation, les Archives Diplomatiques de Berlin ont révélé une trajectoire biographique complète en raison de sa demande de naturalisation allemande déposée en 1943 et conservée dans les dossiers de l'ambassade du Reich à Paris... Parfois, comme avec Pierre Darmangeat ou Jean Wahl, respectivement traducteur et coordinateur d'une anthologie de poésie espagnole et de poésie américaine dans *Pyrénées* et *Fontaine*, l'inverse se produit grâce à la coopération et l'intérêt des descendants (Lombez 2019a : 123–136 ; Giocanti 2019 : 401–420). Pour prendre l'exemple atypique d'un traducteur d'origine étrangère comme Rainer Biemel (Lombez 2019b : 71–82), un Roumain germanophone de Transylvanie connu en particulier pour ses traductions de Rilke durant l'entre-deux-guerres, critique et traducteur de l'allemand très actif dans la revue *Pyrénées* entre 1941 et 1942, il a fallu exploiter les rares sources existantes (parfois contradictoires d'ailleurs, Biemel étant présenté soit comme un agent de la propagande allemande, soit comme un traducteur engagé), la fille de R. Biemel n'ayant pas souhaité fournir de données plus précises à son sujet.

Les périodiques des années 1940 se font souvent le reflet d'un intérêt, d'une pratique et d'une réflexion théorique sur la traduction en plein essor (notamment dans le cas de la poésie), aussi bien sous forme d'articles de fond que sous forme de remarques apportées à la faveur de la publication de telle ou telle traduction. On peut même parler dans certains cas d'amorce d'un discours ou d'un regard traductologique dans des titres comme *Poésie*, *Je suis partout*, *Fontaine*, *Confluences*, *Deutschland-Frankreich*, *La Chronique de Paris*, *Le Mot d'Ordre*, *Tunisie Française Littéraire* : diverses traductions sont comparées, discutées, parfois des polémiques nourries éclatent à propos de l'art de traduire la poésie. Deux exemples parmi les plus emblématiques se trouvent dans *Poésie* 41 n°5 où Pierre Darmangeat conteste la lecture élogieuse que Paul Valéry fait de la traduction de St Jean de la Croix par le Père Cyprien de la Nativité. Selon Darmangeat, « le plus sûr moyen de trahir un poète étranger c'est de vouloir le traduire en vers réguliers, exactement rimés [...]. Il faut, par une implacable ascèse, renoncer à tout *agrément extérieur* pour

exil) l'importante anthologie de littérature américaine moderne publiée à Alger par *Fontaine* à l'été 1943.

tâcher de garder, à chaque mot du texte que l'on traduit, un peu de sa charge spirituelle. »¹² En 1943, P. Darmangeat est à nouveau au centre d'une controverse qui l'oppose à A. Golea, chroniqueur littéraire du *Mot d'Ordre* à Marseille, qui critique sa conception de la traduction comme « reflet », où il voit une forme de trahison. Plusieurs lettres ouvertes se succèdent entre le 19/06 et le 18/08, dans lesquelles chacun fait valoir avec force ses arguments (Lombes 2018). Dans *Tunisie Française Littéraire* (18/10/1941), Jean Amrouche évoque pour sa part la dernière traduction en date du *Romancero gitano* de Lorca par Félix Gattégno publiée par l'éditeur Charlot à Alger en 1942, et procède à une mise en perspective de cette version et de celle, plus ancienne, déjà donnée en 1935 par son complice Armand Guibert dans les *Chansons gitanes*. Étranges « à-côtés » de la guerre...

La base de données TSOcc: Une nouvelle image de la vie littéraire francophone sous l'Occupation

Dès le début du programme TSOcc, la constitution d'une base de données numérique a été décidée afin d'exploiter scientifiquement la collecte bibliographique déjà entamée en amont du programme de recherches. La création de cette base de données inédite a été l'objet de multiples réflexions et questionnements au sein de l'équipe, notamment sur le plan de la représentativité : quel poids donner par exemple aux publications dans les périodiques par rapport aux publications en volume ? Le nombre de traductions parues dans les périodiques excède, semble-t-il, en l'état actuel des recherches, celui des publications en volumes. Cela s'explique sans doute par les circonstances propres à la guerre, qui rendent les revues plus « maniables », plus facilement diffusables (et donc privilégiées en tant que support) que le livre. Il est de ce fait essentiel de tenir compte d'un tel différentiel lors de futures statistiques effectuées à partir de la base. De même, s'est posée la question de la gestion des catégories pertinentes, notamment sur le plan générique (faut-il les préciser ou non si l'édition ne le fait pas ?). Ensuite, il s'est agi de déterminer quel type de texte traduit serait retenu dans la base de données. Uniquement les versions intégrales, ou bien aussi les citations d'œuvres au fil de l'eau (très présentes par exemple dans les articles), mais le plus souvent incomplètes ? Enfin, que faire des rééditions, réimpressions ou retirages ?

Finalement, il a été décidé après discussion commune de scinder la base de données en deux catégories distinctes (périodiques et volumes)¹³ afin d'éviter le

12. *Poésie* 41, n°5, août-septembre 1941, p. 79.

13. Dans le cas des volumes, et afin de pouvoir ensuite faire des recherches par titres de texte traduit, les traductions sont détaillées titre par titre dans la grille de saisie et la référence de

risque d'écrasement et de perspectives quantitatives faussées, la même logique économique ne prévalant pas dans le livre et dans la presse, et les réseaux de diffusion n'y étant pas les mêmes. Pour tout ce qui touche à l'identification générique des textes collectés, on a opté pour l'insertion de cette rubrique afin de pouvoir procéder ensuite à des statistiques par genre (ce qui confirme la proportion majoritaire de la poésie parue en traduction durant l'Occupation). Ont été retenues à cette fin trois catégories pensées volontairement larges : poésie, théâtre, prose. La base de données TSOcc ne retiendra dans sa version finalisée que les traductions identifiables et/ou identifiées (par un titre notamment), en laissant donc de côté les citations de textes tronquées qui apparaissent souvent au fil de l'eau dans des articles critiques. Difficilement retraçables (le plus souvent elles ne portent pas de titre et aucune référence n'est indiquée), elles ne seraient guère exploitables. Par ailleurs, suivant l'exemple de la base de données « Intraduction » réalisée par Blaise Wilfert-Portal et son équipe pour la période 1840–1915,¹⁴ il a été convenu de restituer dans une colonne dédiée toutes les informations (sur la langue, le nom du traducteur si non indiqué ou pseudonyme, etc.) initialement absentes de la source indigène mais que l'on aurait pu identifier par d'autres moyens (par exemple, on sait que la langue originale de R. Tagore est le bengali, même si cette précision est absente de la notice dans laquelle l'auteur apparaît. Elle sera donc réintroduite dans la colonne « langue source restituée »). De même, seront indiqués les marqueurs de traduction (« traduit de », « adapté de », « d'après », « traduction inédite », « traduction intégrale », etc.) figurant dans cette même source afin d'avoir en main tous les éléments de description de la traduction à l'époque de sa parution et éviter ainsi autant que possible des biais rétrospectifs lors de l'exploitation des données. Les réimpressions (même traduction publiée chez un même éditeur) ou rééditions (chez des éditeurs différents) seront mentionnées comme telles, afin de pouvoir distinguer les anciens des nouveaux titres parus durant la période de référence. On a également considéré qu'une même œuvre étrangère publiée dans deux traductions différentes correspondait à deux éditions différentes, identifiées comme telles dans la base.

Suivant un principe de fragmentation maximale selon lequel « plus les données sont fractionnées en colonnes discrètes, plus les possibilités de recherches spécifiques et de croisements des données sont grandes » (Wilfert, Guérin 2012: 59), près d'une trentaine d'items pertinents pour décrire les traductions référencées ont été finalement inclus dans la grille de saisie qui a été élaborée collectivement :

l'ouvrage est ensuite indiquée dans une rubrique « notes ».

14. Consultable en ligne à l'adresse <http://intraduction.huma-num.fr>

nom et prénom de l'auteur (à répéter le nombre de fois nécessaire en cas d'auteurs multiples),
 nom de l'auteur (restitué),
 pseudonyme de l'auteur,
 titre de l'œuvre,
 sous-titre,
 titre original,
 titre original (restitué),
 nom du périodique,
 lieu de publication,
 date,
 tomaison,
 page,

nom et prénom du traducteur (à répéter le nombre de fois nécessaire en cas de traducteurs multiples),
 nom du traducteur (restitué),
 pseudonyme du traducteur,
 langue source,
 langue source (restitué),
 marqueurs de traduction,
 texte uni/bilingue,
 genre (poésie, prose, théâtre),
 source (localisation et cote de l'ouvrage),

notes (rubrique permettant d'inclure d'autres informations d'ordre général non répertoriées ailleurs : par exemple la profession d'un traducteur – diplomate, enseignant, poète, etc., ou le cadre de publication d'une traduction, s'il s'agit d'un numéro spécial – thématique – d'une revue).

Les trois illustrations ci-dessous permettront d'avoir une idée plus précise de la grille de saisie utilisée par l'équipe (il s'agit ici du recensement des traductions de poésie parues dans les périodiques français – une grille avec une nomenclature un peu différente existe également pour les publications en volume).

Actuellement, et pour les seules quatre années d'Occupation en France, le nombre de références recensées (périodiques et volumes confondus) dépasse les 2500 (aux alentours de 600 pour la seule collecte de traductions de poésie dans les périodiques, près de 1200 en y incluant les volumes). Ce chiffre n'est que provisoire cependant car il sera complété par les références à venir procurées par nos collaborateurs belges, dont on sait déjà qu'elles sont importantes (près de 1200 références déjà collectées pour les volumes). Les prévisions initiales sont donc à revoir sensiblement à la hausse, un signe qui confirme l'importance majeure prise

Excel (Échec de l'activation du produit) - LOMBEZ GrillebiblioTsooc périodiques'

Fichier Accueil Insertion Mise en page Formules Données Révision Affichage Dites-nous ce que vous voulez faire. Christine Lombez Partager

K74 "Litanies de Notre Seigneur Don Quichotte"

	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
	Nom/Auteur	Prénom/Auteur	Pseudo/Auteur	Nom auteur (restitué)	Nom/Auteur	Prénom/Auteur	Pseudo/Auteur	Titre
2	Si anonyme, laisser vide							Titre du texte, de l'article, du poème, de la nouvelle
3								
4	Salinas	Pedro						"La Voz a ti debida (Garcilaso)"
	Lorca	Federico						"Verlaine"
5	García Lorca	Federico						"Narcisse"
6	García Lorca	Federico						"Nocturnes de la fenêtre"
7	García Lorca	Federico						"Chanson andalouse"
8								"La connaissance de soi"
9	Chandidas							"Qu'il est miraculeux ton amour"
10	Chandidas							"Soyez sages en paroles, mais fous en vérité"
11	Chandidas							"O bien-aimé"
12	Chandidas							"O ma sœur, il est venu me chercher"
13	Tagore	Rabindranath						"Poèmes de Kabir"
14								

Feuil1

Figure 4.

LOMBEZ GrillebiblioTsocc périodiques - Excel (Échec de l'activation du produit)

Fichier Accueil Insertion Mise en page Formules Données Révision Affichage Dites-nous ce que vous voulez faire. Christine Lombez Partager

K74 "Litaines de Notre Seigneur Don Quichotte"

	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	
	Sous-titre	Titre original (restitué)	Périodique	Lieu	Date	Tome/son	Page	Nom/Traducteur	Prénom/Traducteur	Nom/Traducteur (restitué)	Pseudo
2			Titre du périodique		jour, mois et année	tome, ou numéro pour les revues et périodiques					
3											
4			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	sept-40	n°227	422-427	Brau	Suzanne		
5			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	janv-41	n°231	6-7	Emié	Louis		
6			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	janv-41	n°231	7	Emié	Louis		
7			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	janv-41	n°231	8-9	Emié	Louis		
8			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	janv-41	n°231	9	Pomès	Mathilde		
9			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	juin-juillet 1941	n°236	37	Daumal	René		
10			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	juin-juillet 1941	n°236	53	Chatterjee	M. M.		
11			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	juin-juillet 1941	n°236	53	Chatterjee	M.M.		
12			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	juin-juillet 1941	n°236	54	Rolland	Madeleine		
13			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	juin-juillet 1941	n°236	54	Rolland	Madeleine		
14			Les Cahiers du Sud	Marseille	juin-juillet 1941	n°236	49-52				

Feuil1

Figure 5.

LOMBEZ GrillebiblioTsocc périodiques - Excel (Échec de l'activation du produit)

Fichier Accueil Insertion Mise en page Formules Données Révision Affichage Dites-nous ce que vous voulez faire. Christine Lombez Partager

K74 "Litanies de Notre Seigneur Don Quichotte"

	Z	AA	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF
	Traduit de	Langue (restitué)	Genre	Texte uni/bilingue	Marqueurs de traduction	Source	Notes
2	Langue source					Lieu de consultation, cote ou référence exacte, lien Gallica	Autres informations pertinentes, autre(s) publication(s) du texte, etc.
3							
4	spa		Poésie		Traduit par Suzanne Brau	BNF M-446	Extrait de l'Épilogue III
5	spa		Poésie			BNF M-446	"Federico García Lorca" par Louis Emié. L'article finit sur un large extrait traduit de "Noces de Sang" (traduction de Francis Norman)
6	spa		Poésie			BNF M-446	Federico García Lorca par Louis Emié. L'article finit sur un large extrait traduit de "Noces de Sang" (traduction de Francis Norman)
7	spa		Poésie			BNF M-446	Federico García Lorca par Louis Emié. L'article finit sur un large extrait traduit de "Noces de Sang" (traduction de Francis Norman)
8	spa		Poésie			BNF M-446	Federico García Lorca par Louis Emié. L'article finit sur un large extrait traduit de "Noces de Sang" (traduction de Francis Norman)
9	san		Poésie		Traduit par René Daumal	BNF M-446	Extrait des Upanishads (IV, 4, 10-21). Numéro spécial consacré à l'Inde
10	ben		Poésie		"Adaptés en français par Amrita"	BNF M-446	Numéro spécial consacré à l'Inde
11	ben		Poésie		"Adaptés en français par Amrita"	BNF M-446	Numéro spécial consacré à l'Inde
12	ben		Poésie		Traduit par Madeleine Rolland	BNF M-446	Numéro spécial consacré à l'Inde
13	ben		Poésie		Traduit par Madeleine Rolland	BNF M-446	Numéro spécial consacré à l'Inde
14		ben	Poésie		"Adaptation française de la traduction bengalie de IL Tagore"	BNF M-446	Numéro spécial consacré à l'Inde. Les séquences LXVII, LXVIII, LXXXIII sont traduites en versets proches de la prose. La traduction du poème XVII est de M. M. F. F.

Feuille1

Figure 6.

Figures 4-6. Grille de saisie de la base de données TSOcc

par la traduction en France et en Belgique durant la guerre, et nous motive à poursuivre (et à étendre) notre effort collectif de recherche.

La base de données TSOcc (mise en ligne prévue à l'automne 2020) sera composée à terme :

1. D'une interface de consultation publique interrogeable par rubriques et mots-clés et permettant l'établissement de statistiques (par année, par auteur, par éditeur, par langue, etc.)
2. D'une interface d'édition pour pouvoir modifier et compléter la base au fil du temps (accès restreint aux membres autorisés)
3. D'un espace qui offre la possibilité de laisser un commentaire et de proposer des références manquantes qui pourront être suggérées par la suite (principe « collaboratif »). Cette fonction sera soumise à validation.

Si une approche quantitative et sérielle a été jusqu'ici utilisée pour mener les travaux qui ont été décrits plus haut, elle se double aussi d'un regard qualitatif indispensable, dans la mesure où il ne s'agit pas de voir uniquement dans les traductions des textes hors-sol, des documents ou objets d'Histoire, ni encore moins de les priver de leur propre « histoire ». Ainsi, des analyses comparatives de traductions ont été effectuées dans plusieurs publications déjà réalisées par les membres de TSOcc afin de rendre compte des diverses stratégies mises en place pour transmettre ce qui demeure avant tout un objet littéraire, une création artistique nécessitant un regard spécifique sur ses mécanismes de fonctionnement. De même, les traducteurs, dans le sillage du « Translator's turn » en traductologie (Chesterman 2009 ; Munday 2014), ont été placés au premier plan de nos préoccupations, comme l'illustre la publication du volume déjà évoqué de portraits de traducteurs et de traductrices actifs sous l'Occupation (Lombé 2019a). En effet, toute traduction est indiscutablement le résultat d'une subtile alchimie entre un contexte historique, économique, sociologique et la personnalité particulière du traducteur (ses affects, son horizon intellectuel, sa place dans le champ littéraire, etc.). Ne pas en tenir compte reviendrait à ôter leur substance aux textes littéraires traduits et à appauvrir la lecture que l'on fait du phénomène traductif – ce qui est d'autant plus vrai en temps de guerre où sensibilités et prises de position (même dans le domaine de la traduction qui, on l'a vu, n'est jamais dénuée d'arrière pensées) sont de part et d'autre exacerbées. En aucun cas, les possibilités de traitement informatique des données dont nous disposons aujourd'hui (dont l'utilité est par ailleurs incontestable pour nos travaux) ne doivent, à nos yeux, prendre le pas sur ce qui demeure une activité profondément humaine, avec ses doutes, ses défaillances et aussi ses réussites. Il s'agit donc avant tout pour le chercheur de créer un rapport équilibré entre les deux approches, quantitative et qualitative, afin d'enrichir le regard que nous portons sur la traduction littéraire et de valoriser sa place dans les sciences

humaines d'aujourd'hui. Nous espérons avoir pour notre part trouvé, au sein du programme TSOcc, le juste équilibre entre ces deux exigences.

Lorsqu'elle sera effective, l'exploitation de la base de données TSOcc permettra d'affiner considérablement le rôle joué par les revues dans la production puis la diffusion des traductions en français durant la période de l'Occupation. En effet, du point de vue quantitatif, l'interrogation des données par mots-clés offrira la possibilité de savoir quels auteurs et langues ont été le plus fréquemment traduits, quels sont les périodiques qui ont publié le plus grand nombre de traductions entre 1940 et 1944, où ils étaient situés (centre ou périphérie), quels étaient leur rapport aux instances de consécration de l'époque. On a déjà pu s'apercevoir que, profitant du reclassement des valeurs littéraires (Sapiro 1999) enclenché par les conséquences de l'Occupation (de nombreux auteurs cessant de publier, soit par choix, soit par obligation), certaines revues ont voulu s'instituer de manière très assumée comme de nouvelles instances « consacrantes » et que la traduction littéraire a joué un rôle de premier plan dans cette nouvelle dynamique : c'est le cas notamment de titres paraissant en Afrique du Nord (*Fontaine*, *Tunisie française littéraire*, *Aguedal*) qui, pour certaines d'entre elles, ambitionnent de reprendre le flambeau de revues parisiennes jadis prestigieuses, telles la *NRF*, alors complètement compromises car sous le contrôle de l'Occupant. Si, en l'absence de données chiffrées (sur les tirages ou les abonnements notamment), il est difficile de se faire une idée du poids réel de telle ou telle revue durant son existence et d'apprécier son rayonnement au sein du lectorat cible, néanmoins, la présence de certaines personnalités alors en vue – parmi lesquels se trouvent aussi des traducteurs – (P. Seghers et A. Guibert pour *Poésie*, J. Ballard pour *Les Cahiers du Sud*, M. P. Fouchet pour *Fontaine*, J. Amrouche pour *Tunisie française littéraire*) leur confère un « capital symbolique » incontestable, affermissant leur place dans un monde des lettres en pleine recomposition et compensant souvent par là des moyens matériels plus limités.

Pour conclure, il nous semble que les récents développements de l'histoire dite « transnationale » (Wilfert-Portal, Guérin 2012 ; Sapiro 2014) offrent un cadre idéal à une nouvelle lecture de la traduction littéraire comme arme et vecteur culturel dans l'Histoire européenne du XX^e siècle. En effet, l'histoire transnationale qui traverse les frontières entre Etats embrasse également dans son champ d'intérêt les circulations des idéologies, des langues et des hommes. A ce titre, la traduction littéraire qui met en présence divers acteurs ou actrices venus de langues et d'horizons culturels différents et travaillant avec des objectifs souvent très divers, nous semble relever de plein droit de ce type de questionnement et promettre de nouvelles avancées substantielles dans le champ des études traductologiques en associant histoire globale, histoire de la traduction et approche littéraire comparatiste.

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PART III

Mapping periodical publications

Large-scale analysis of translation, foreign literature
and ideas with digital tools

Novels, translations and reviews

A digital enquiry on eighteenth century literary journalism

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This chapter presents the collaborative research project *The reception of the English novel in the Italian literary press between 1700 and 1830: a transcultural enquiry into the early shaping of the modern Italian literary and cultural identity* (VUB – University of Guelph), aimed at investigating the reception of English novels in the Italian literary press during the Long Eighteenth Century (1700–1830). Its main purpose is to uncover how the English novels were introduced to the Italian readership, censored and translated, through the application of Digital Humanities methodologies of investigation. One of the project goals is in fact to create a methodological paradigm that may be extended to the study of the reception of English novels in the literary journalism of other nations.

Keywords: English novel, Long Eighteenth Century, Italian literary press, Reception Studies, Journalism Studies, Digital Humanities, Reader Response Studies, women studies

From the 18th through the early 19th century a fully-fledged inter-European cultural dialogue developed on the continent, thanks to the wide dissemination of knowledge granted by the so-called “second printing revolution”. The periodical press was instrumental in such dissemination and its popular appeal reflects the perception of “other” European cultures and of European cultural diversity like no other medium. The Italian literary press acted as a vehicle for the propagation of English novels through announcements and reviews, and played a key role in the propagation of new ideas and moral values, together with new stylistic and narrative features. In the Long Eighteenth Century the periodical press represented, in broader terms, the most direct and widespread medium that put eighteenth- and early- nineteenth century European readers in touch with foreign literature.

As I will detail in the section “state of the art”, the reception of the English novel in Europe through the periodical press is a still largely unknown aspect of Enlightenment and early Romantic culture, of particular relevance at a time when the European inter-cultural dialogue was being shaped according to interpretative lines that were to influence the European perception of “the other” for centuries to come. This project explores the processes that enabled the transnational circulation of ideas and texts in the modern age, and promotes awareness of the boundaries of cultural traditions and of their influence on identity formation.

State of the art

As stated above, this research will allow to fill a gap in existing scholarship. In fact, the ancillary scholarly literature on the topic of Italian journalism and its role in the Italian reception of the English novel in the Long Eighteenth Century is considerably old. Very few significant contributions on the topic have been produced in the past two decades. Only recently, Daniela Mangione pointed out that a systematic examination of the reviews of foreign novels in the 18th century Italian literary press is still missing.¹ To this day, critics have focused on specific aspects of the role of the Italian literary press in the Long Eighteenth Century and of the reception of English novels: bibliographical enquiries (Streeter 1970, Balay 2000), studies about England’s cultural influence in Italy (Pfister 2008, Loretelli and O’Gorman 2010), surveys on the reception of English novels in Great Britain and the role of the press in the Long Eighteenth Century (Forster 1997, Siskin 1994, Parker 2000, Moretti 2006, Underwood 2008), studies on the development and function of English readership (Klancher 1987, Rivers 2001, MacMurran 2010) and studies about Italian journalism (Bellocchi 1974, Murialdi 2000, Crotti, Vescovo and Ricorda 2001, Infelise 2002). Even if these works provide an understanding of the cultural and socio-political context in which the press operated during the Enlightenment and early Romantic period, at a time of political and social fragmentation in pre-unified Italy, to this day there is no comprehensive study on the reception of foreign novels in Italy via the periodical press. Very few significant contributions on the topic have been produced in the past two decades.

The project builds on studies that have focused on specific aspects of the reception of English novels in Italy and in Europe, and of the role of the Italian literary press as a vehicle for information in the long 18th century. The primary comparative frames of reference for this research project are the critical literature on

1. Mangione, Daniela. 2012. *Prima di Manzoni: autore e lettore nel romanzo del Settecento*. Rome: Salerno Editrice.

the reception of English novels in England and the role of the press in the long 18th century (Siskin 1998, Reiman 1992, Ward 1977, Forster 1997, Mayo 1962), the studies on the development and function of English readership (Klancher 1987, Rivers 2001) and the bibliographical and critical investigations on the reception of English novels in 18th century France (Streeter 1970, MacMurrin 2010). Studies of Italian journalism provide an understanding of the cultural and socio-political context in which the press operated during the Enlightenment and the early Romantic period, at a time of political and social fragmentation in pre-unified Italy (Infelise 1989, Piccioni 1984, Berengo 1962, Murialdi 2000). In 1962, Maria Rosa Zambon published a *Bibliographie du roman français en Italie au 18e siècle*, which – thanks to a substantial amount of bibliographical information and a selected anthology of text – represents a pioneering study of early translations of French novels in Italian as well as novels that were printed and read in Italy in the original French language. Very little has been done in this direction with regard to the reception of English novels in Italy during the long 18th century. In this sense, the most relevant contributions date back to the beginning of the twentieth century.

First of all, a seminal work by Giambattista Marchesi, entitled *Studi e ricerche intorno ai nostri romanzi e romanzieri del Settecento coll'aggiunta di una bibliografia dei romanzieri editi in Italia in quel secolo* (1903), needs to be mentioned. Marchesi's book presents a substantial amount of data, but the inventory is incomplete and includes only a selected number of Italian translations of foreign novels. It thus ignores a large repertoire of titles made available to Italian readers through French translations (the language used by large portions of the learned community in most states and territories of pre-unified Italy) or through the many announcements of foreign titles in their original languages and their reviews in the literary press. In fact, all this data still needs to be thoroughly collected and analyzed today, from a stylistic, historical, geographical and sociological point of view. The project will indeed give particular importance to the role played by the French mediation (translations, book circulation and advertisements) in the Italian reception of English novels. Maria Rosa Colombo's *Lo Spectator e i giornali veneziani del Settecento* (1966) is the only study of how British journalism influenced the 18th century Italian literary press (for example, how the contents of the British journal were taken and adapted by the Italian according to its target audience, and how the concept of the journal itself was "imported" to Italy), and is still a valuable source of information on the reception of English novels in Italy, even though it focuses on one major periodical publication.

The influence of English culture at large has been addressed in two studies, but they are limited to the Milanese area: Franca Rossi's *La cultura inglese a Milano e in Lombardia nel Seicento e nel Settecento* (Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1970), and *La*

stampa periodica milanese nella prima metà dell'Ottocento. Testi e concordanze (Pisa: Giardini, 1983), by Stefania de Stefanis Ciccone.

Objectives of the project

The question of the Italian reception of the English novel in Europe during the Enlightenment and the early Romantic culture is crucial to understanding the impact of a genre that has been a primary vehicle for social, political, and moral ideas, and outlining the process that has defined modern subjectivity for three centuries. The study will offer insights into the links between social structure endorsement and self-consciousness development through the diffusion and the knowledge of English fiction as presented by the outputs of Italian 18th and 19th century literary journals.

The research will outline specific readers' response to the English novels, related to the revolutionary social ideas and the new narrative features they spread, according to geo-political areas. The study will trace different characteristics (concerning style, language, authors, objectives) of the Italian reviews and articles dedicated to the English novels, and will delineate the particular function they played in the Anglo-Italian intercultural dialogue.

The project has three primary objectives:

- a. To explore the transcultural dimension of the corpus of data relative to the information about the English novels, their translation and their diffusion in the Italian literary press during the long 18th century. The journals have been selected with attention to their diffusion, their prominence in the market, their longevity, and ultimately taking in consideration various geographical areas: the catalogue of journals that are being analyzed includes (but are not limited to) the production of Venice, Milan, Turin for the northern part of the Italian peninsula, Florence and Rome for the central part, Naples and Sicily for the southern. The goal is to cover the whole peninsula as much as possible, in order to understand the differences between the many pre-unitarian states in the reception of the English novel through the press. The corpus of journals where the reviews and announcements were published is extremely heterogeneous, as it ranges from journals specifically targeting people fond of literature (it is the case for example of the *Giornale de' Letterati*, the *Giornale Enciclopedico*, the *Novelle della Repubblica delle lettere*), to journals aimed at treating facts of science, costume and society (for instance the *Magazzino Italiano* or *Il Raccoglitore*), to the gazettes and their cultural sections, which were read by a

very broad public, thanks to their widespread diffusion and to the custom of reading them out loud in the cafeterias and in the cultural circles.

- b. The interpretation of the reviews' content. This critic work will lead: (1) to understand its relevance when compared to reviews of Italian and French novels (which were published in the same journals); (2) to comprehend the extent to which the Italian press was receptive to the innovative nature of English fiction; (3) to outline the debate it sparked and how this played a role in the definition of Italy's discourse about modern cultural identity (i.e. in which sense and by what means the Italian process of cultural and, in the aftermath, political unification was influenced by the reception of the English novel). The study of the readers' response to the contents, spread by the novels via the reviews, is deeply connected to the stylistic analysis of the reviews the research team will achieve with the work related to "Objective a". In fact, the outlining of the reviews' stylistic features is crucial to understanding in which ways the contents were revealed to the public, and how the audience was influenced in the perception of the moral values and the social messages of the novels (see below the details concerning the approach to this aspect of the research).
- c. To create a methodological paradigm to examine the reception of English novels in the literary press of other Western European countries during the long 18th century. Even though the phenomenon of the reception of the English novels presents particular aspects for each country (e.g. morality was different in each nation, the importance of religion varies from country to country etc.), there are well defined functional aspects that can be studied with the same methodology that will be developed with the project: the reviews' stylistic characteristics, their geographical distribution and the sociological impact of the divulgation of the novels are only a few of a series of important aspects that can be considered as constant features of this cultural phenomenon. The digital approach of this project could be the *trait d'union* between the different geopolitical contexts: the text encoding of the reviews, the stylometric analysis of their content and the geographical visualization of both the reviews and the novels' publication places can surely be applied also to corpora belonging to different linguistic and literary traditions.

Theoretical frameworks

In order to explore the complexity of the reception of English novels via the literary journalism in the long 18th century, the study draws a line of continuity between History of the press (with regard to the peculiar history of English and Italian press in the long 18th century, as defined in Bellocchi 1974, Basker 1997,

Farinelli 1997), Comparative Literature (Mayo 1962, Magnani 1974), and Reader Response and Reception Studies (Donoghue 1995, Altick 1998, Mangione 2012). Furthermore, to investigate the interconnectedness of the cultural discourse in 18th century journalism, an exploration of print sources (Forster 1990, Reiman 1972, Sgard 1991, Ward 1977) was needed. Each study mentioned so far provides us with a precise analytical method and an interpretative key that unlocks certain hidden aspects of the role literary journalism had in the dissemination of knowledge and culture in the long 18th century. However, a transcultural approach to literary studies like the one pursued with this project is not yet mainstream in academia, especially in Italian studies, and needs to be developed and fostered. In a new perspective, the project will consider the reviews as a privileged source of information to understand the reception of English novels. The strategies will include a significant implementation of the methodologies for the study of the 18th and early 19th century literature and culture. To translate the research into an organized, meaningful and accessible discourse without compromising its complexity, the research team will use an innovative approach based on computational techniques to bring the data to fruition. The synergy between Digital Humanities and Literary Criticism will allow the research team to develop a new methodological paradigm for 18th century studies, which will guarantee the exploration of the intellectual network connected to journalism in that era. The existence of a link between literature, journalism and sociology in the study of the reception of the English novels is the reason why this research project also includes Sociology of literature as a theoretical and analytical framework, which will constitute one of the principal methodological tools (see, especially, studies conducted on the English readership and audience: Rose 2001, Rivers 2001, Benedict 2004). This choice is motivated by the observation that the English novel's redefinition of social hierarchies, its examination of the feeble boundaries between decorum and virtue, between aristocracy and the nobility of the individual, its frequent empowerment of women, its empathy towards common people, its overt realism and Protestant ethics, had a bigger impact on the Italian cultural scene than, for instance, the deprecated French laxity of morals, as explained above.

The study of the reception of the moral values divulged by the novels' reviews will be conducted following the approach theorized by Jouve and aimed at identifying, in a semiological perspective, the values clearly shown by a text, the so-called "effet-valeur". Jouve's work is based on the studies of Sartre 1948, Barthes 1953, Bourdieu 1979, Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980, Lafarge 1983, Greimas 1983. The study of the relation between literature and social and moral values is based on a double perspective: firstly, it is to investigate how literature influences the social values, i.e. how the diffusion of the texts (and in the case of this project, the diffusion of reviews and discussions), contributes to shaping people's mentality.

According to this theory, every literary work has always been perceived as an active action on the world, being this effective thanks to the style (Sartre) or to the contents (Barthes).

The second approach is complementary and seeks to analyse what social circuits develop the “literary value”, and how, i.e. the process that lead to the rise and popularity of a certain literary genre (the novel, in the case of the project) in precise geopolitical areas and historical moments. By applying this dual approach and the methodology conceived by Jouve to the analysis of the corpus, and thanks to the aforementioned study of the reviews’ style and contents, of the historical context and of the journals’ diffusion and impact, the research will allow deep understanding of the audience’s reception and perception of the values spread by the reviews.

The combination of the aforementioned approaches makes it possible to relocate inside the canon of Italian Literature and History the role of the reception of the English novel, and paves the way to an interdisciplinary methodology (literary, social, historical) that, if applied to the corpus examination, gives us an insight into the communication techniques through which the values of the novels reviewed were spread and perceived. The reception of the English novel in Italy seems particularly suitable for a critical approach of this kind, and could therefore become a landmark case study for broadening the scope of critical analysis. Indeed, as noted above, this study has a comparative flavour, so its methodology could also be applied to the analysis of the reception of foreign literature in other, non-Italian, literary press. Conversely, the research team shall also focus on the re-interpretations of Italian reviewers who drew on the Italian literary tradition but challenged its subjects, genres and linguistic structures. The last approach seeks to establish a crossover between sociological and historical elements by blurring the borders between them: in order to fully understand what impact the reception of the English novels had on the Italian readership, an analysis of the relationship between the literary journals and their target audience will be mandatory. In fact, most of the time, when a journal started to be published, in the first issue a sort of “manifesto” can be found, an introductory article aimed at explaining how it planned to engage with the target audience and where it aspires to be located in the international context. These “prefaces” are precious sources of information, as they allow to trace the communicative strategies of the journals, their engagement in the cultural and political panorama, the impact they had in a sociological perspective. This analysis will lead to describing the involvement of the literary press in the process that led to the building of a national cultural identity, and will therefore be nourished also by Imagology and Imagined communities’ theories tools (Spiering 1999, Beller and Leerssen 2007).

First research results

The research team established a corpus consisting of almost 600 critical review and editorial advertisements published in the most relevant literary journals of the time across the Italian peninsula in the pre-unitarian states, which have been collected in recent years during archival research.²

Particular emphasis was given to the Venetian Republic, which at that time was the most active publishing hub in Italy (1/3 of all books published in Italy were printed in Venice). Among the 66 journals that have been examined, all published within the years 1700–1830, some of the most relevant are *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia* (1710–40); *Giornale de Letterati di Europa* (1727); *Giornale Enciclopédico di Liegi* (translation with additions of the Belgian journal *Journal encyclopédique de Liège*, 1756–60); *Biblioteca antica e moderna di Storia Letteraria* (1766–1768); *La Frusta letteraria* (1763–65), which is an example of the English influence on Italian culture: the model of the English journal *Spectator* (1711–12) is in fact the basis of its structure and concept; *Il corrier letterario* (1766–1768); *L'Europa Letteraria* (1768–1773); *Giornale Enciclopédico* (1774–83) founded by the most important female journalist of the time, Elisabetta Caminer Turra; *Antologia Romana* (1774–1796); *Gazzetta Letteraria* (1774); *Nuovo Giornale enciclopédico d'Italia* (1787–1794); *Nuovo Giornale letterario d'Italia* (1788–1792); *Giornale bibliografico universale* (1807–1810); *Giornale italiano* (1811–1812); *Annali di Scienze e Lettere* (1810–12); and the main issues of *Biblioteca italiana* (1815–1840). Venice's thriving international book trade left in its archives many periodical publications from the Venetian Republic, Italian and international cultural centres.

This material is nearly completely inaccessible in digitized form and it represents an untapped source of intellectual debates, trends in reader reception and popular culture, and in the transcultural dimension of intellectual exchanges in an increasingly cosmopolitan Europe. To make the material available for the research team and, therefore, for the public, archival research has been conducted in the most important Italian libraries, and most of all in the *Marciana* and the *Correr* in Venice, the *Laurenziana* in Florence, the *Labronica* in Livorno. In addition, journals comprehended in digital repositories like 18th Century Collections Online, 18th Century Journals Portal, Hathi Trust Digital Library, Internet Culturale, Nines, Orlando were also analyzed. Each issue of the selected journals undergoes a process of close reading in order to locate the information about the English

2. The research focuses on the analysis of publicly accessible materials, and there will be no problem or costs connected to copyright issues: according to Article 108 of the Italian code for the protection of Cultural Goods, I will be allowed to publish the reproduction of the original reviews, with the sole purpose of the repository being a non-profit scientific divulgation.

novels. Most of the times, there are precise and recurrent sections dedicated to foreign culture: contents about successful spectacles in foreign theatres, latest literary trends or recent publications are endless sources of news. The corpus has initially undergone a process of cataloguing and digitization, a preliminary operation necessary to allow the following steps of the theoretical and critical work. In fact, once the reviews and the articles that concerns the Italian reception of English novels are identified, the text is transcribed in digitized form, and a digital picture is taken.

At this point, with hundreds of reviews, picture and transcriptions, the risk of losing information is concrete. To organise this huge amount of data, and to carry on the research on the corpus effectively, the research team created an open access, annotated and searchable digital repository (in the form of a dedicated website which will include a relational database) on the reception of English novels in Italy during the long 18th century. The digital database consists of a Drupal-based software for corpora, and it represents an immediate way to develop the research. This will be the basis of the subsequent computational, textual and critical analyses. The categorization of the corpus will also allow to understand which novels were the most read and translated, and also which translations were the most widespread in the country. The survey on the Italian journals showed that it is possible to divide the articles about the English novels in three categories.

The first concerns the proper reviews, i. e. articles that contains an opinion or a judgement about a specific novel or a collection of novels. It has been possible to identify this kind of entries in journals printed all over the Italian peninsula: the format may be various (long or short, detailed or summarized, original or copied from foreign journals), but the distribution is homogeneous. The second category consists of general articles: usually longer than the reviews, they contain information about the novels in general, without particular references to one specific book. General articles are a precious source of information with regard to reading trends, perception of the reader response, idea and conception of the English novel and often, more in general, of the English society and cultural milieu. The last kind of entry includes the publishing announcements: they usually consist in a very short sequence of words with bibliographical data concerning the publication of the novels or of their translation, but they prove to be fundamental to map the distribution of the novels and their translation in the peninsula.

An example of how the entries have been classified and catalogued in the repository is shown by the following images, concerning the novel *A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci*, written by Dora Maunsell Tenducci in 1768. The first image (Figure 1) depicts the original review of the novel, through a picture of the journal *L'Europa Letteraria*:

Figure 1.

The following image (Figure 2) represents the data provided for the description of the novel and of the journal where the review was published:

A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci

ViewEditRevisions

Novel

Title: A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci

Author: Dora Maunsell Tenducci

Place of Publication: London

Date of Publication: 1768

Periodical

Title: Europa Letteraria (L')

Volume: I, ottobre 1768

Issue: Tomo I, Parte II

Type: Review

Place of Publication: Venice

Date of Publication: 1768

Figure 2.

The next image (Figure 3) concerns the transcription of the review and its translation, which are provided of some notes to facilitate the comprehension of the content or to integrate the bibliographical information. Each text will be the object of the analysis, as it will be described below:

Text:

A genuine history ec. Storia vera del Signore, e della Signora Tenducci, in 8. A Londra 1768. Il Sig. Tenducci è un Musico Italiano, il quale deve le delizie della sua voce a quella barbara operazione forse troppo comune nel suo paese. Le sue maniere oneste, e civili, la dolcezza del suo canto fecero la conquista d'una giovane Dama colla quale si maritò in Irlanda nel 1766. Ciò che parerà più singolare si è, che la tenerezza della sua Sposa non è diminuita dopo due anni di matrimonio. È ella stessa che scrive la sua Storia ad un suo amico di Bath, partecipandogli le persecuzioni ch'ella, e suo marito soffersero per parte de' suoi Parenti, quali non videro di buon occhio questa unione, e che rentarono ogni sorta di mezzi per romperla, ma la Tenducci si è sempre opposta. Questa Storia indipendentemente dalla singolarità, che la rende curiosa, perché è vera, offre dettagli interessanti. Fanno fremere gli eccessi, a' quali si trasportò la famiglia dell'eroina. Questo straordinario matrimonio cagionò solo degli affanni alla Sposa, la quale non ha nemmeno avuta cosa che la risarcisca. Non è meno straordinario il suo affetto per il Sig. Tenducci, e reca meraviglia la costanza, con cui gli sacrifica il riposo della sua vita. Fu molto scherzato sopra la sua avventura, ma si doveva piuttosto compiangere.

Translation:

A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci, in 8. London 1768. Mr. Tenducci is an Italian Musician, who owes the delights of his voice to that barbarous surgery, probably far too common in his country. His honest and courteous manners and the sweetness of his singing won over the heart of a young Lady with whom he got married in Ireland in 1766. What will appear most curious is that the tenderness of his Wife was not diminished after two years of marriage. She herself is the writer of this Story, addressed to a friend in Bath, with whom she shares the persecutions that she and her husband suffered because of her Parents, who did not view their union highly, and who tried to break it off in every possible way, with Mrs. Tenducci's steady opposition. This Story, independently from the singularity that makes it curious because it is true, offers interesting details. The excesses reached by the heroine's family make one shiver. This extraordinary marriage was but a cause of troubles for the Bride, who has not even received any form of compensation for it. Her affection for Mr. Tenducci is no less extraordinary, and the constancy with which she sacrifices her life's peace to him is a cause of wonder. Her adventure was very much joked about, but it should have been pitied instead.

Notes:

See the 2011 study of Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci and his wife Dorothea Maunsell:

The Castrato and His Wife

Helen Berry

336 pages | 8pp black and white plates | 216x135mm

978-0-19-956981-6 | Hardback | 22 September 2011

<http://ukcatalogue.oup.com/product/978019569816.do>

Figure 3.

Every entry of the database has been provided with an XML transcription, which includes all the details concerning the novel object of the review, all the information concerning its publication (i.e. place, year), and all the data of the journal in which the review (or the announcement or the article) was published (Figure 4).

```
<text>
  <body>
    <div type="original" xml:lang="it">
      /A genuine history ec. Storia vera del Signore, e della Signora Tenducci/, in
      8. A Londra 1768. Il Sig. Tenducci è un Musico Italiano, il quale deve le
      delizie della sua voce a quella barbara operazione forse troppo comune nel
      suo paese. Le sue maniere oneste, e civili, la dolcezza del suo canto fecero
      la conquista d'una giovane Dama colla quale si maritò in Irlanda nel 1766.
      Ciò che parerà più singolare si è, che la tenerezza della sua Sposa non
      è diminuita dopo due anni di matrimonio. È ella stessa che scrive la sua
      Storia ad un suo amico di Bath, partecipandogli le persecuzioni ch'ella,
      e suo marito soffersero per parte de' suoi Parenti, quali non videro di
      buon occhio questa unione, e che rentarono ogni sorta di mezzi per romperla,
      ma la Tenducci si è sempre opposta. Questa Storia indipendentemente dalla
      singolarità, che la rende curiosa, perché è vera, offre dettagli
      interessanti. Fanno fremere gli eccessi, a' quali si trasportò la famiglia
      dell'eroina. Questo straordinario matrimonio cagionò solo degli affanni
      alla Sposa, la quale non ha nemmeno avuta cosa che la risarcisca. Non è meno
      straordinario il suo affetto per il Sig. Tenducci, e reca meraviglia la
      costanza, con cui gli sacrifica il riposo della sua vita. Fu molto scherzato
      sopra la sua avventura, ma si doveva piuttosto compiangere.

    </div>
    <div type="translation" xml:lang="en">
      /A True and Genuine Narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Tenducci/, in 8. London 1768.
      Mr. Tenducci is an Italian Musician, who owes the delights of his voice to
      that barbarous surgery, probably far too common in his country. His honest
      and courteous manners and the sweetness of his singing won over the heart of
      a young Lady with whom he got married in Ireland in 1766. What will appear
      most curious is that the tenderness of his Wife was not diminished after two
      years of marriage. She herself is the writer of this Story, addressed to a
      friend in Bath, with whom she shares the persecutions that she and her
      husband suffered because of her Parents, who did not view their union highly,
      and who tried to break it off in every possible way, with Mrs. Tenducci's
      steady opposition. This Story, independently from the singularity that makes
      it curious because it is true, offers interesting details. The excesses
      reached by the heroine's family make one shiver. This extraordinary
      marriage was but a cause of troubles for the Bride, who has not even received
      any form of compensation for it. Her affection for Mr. Tenducci is no less
      extraordinary, and the constancy with which she sacrifices her life's peace to
      him is a cause of wonder. Her adventure was very much joked about, but it
      should have been pitied instead. @#

    </div>
  </body>
</text>
</TEI>
</teiCorpus>
```

Figure 4.

The text encoding process has been conducted using the software “Oxygen”, and according to the standards set by the TEI (*Text encoding initiative*). Once completed, in fact, the encoding and mark up process will make the texts completely searchable. The preliminarily created digital database and the mark-up of the contents will allow in-depth textual and spatial analysis and visualizations of popular reading trends in 18th and early 19th century Italy, thanks also to a tagging process which will help to categorize not only the thematic aspects but also the lexicon of the corpus, allowing both a stylistic and linguistic analysis. To complement the analysis allowed by the TEI mark-up, the research team will conduct a stylometric study, which will provide understanding of the specific features of Italian literary journalism at the time, unveiling the communication strategies that were adopted to disseminate knowledge and information. This stylistic and linguistic analysis will be pursued equalizing and comparing stylistic and lexical constellations belonging to different discursive practices from various journals and authors. Digital stylometry, word frequency and statistical analyses tools such as R, MiniTab and Intelligent Archive will be used during this phase. The analysis will unveil the peculiar stylistic features and elements of the Italian literary journalism of the time, a neglected aspect of the studies on the History of Italian journalism to date (with repercussions also on the History of foreign culture reception).

One application of the TEI mark-up, for example, concerns the genealogical dimension of the reviews, i.e. the comparative analysis of reviews that were taken from French or English periodicals and made their way into the Italian press. These sources have already been identified, and the research team will be able to understand the extent of the influence French and English journalism had on the Italian press (see also above in “Objectives”), and to outline the specific Italian input. In the examination and marking-up process of each review, the research team shall point out the elements that are original and innovative with respect to the French reviews of the time, which the Italian press copied from, often adapting the contents, rather than from the English reviews. A preliminary reading suggests that the questioning of social hierarchies in the English novel, its examination of moral ambiguity, its interplay of gender roles, and its scrutiny of the ethical, religious, and psychological foundations of social norms, are in fact more shocking to the Italian cultural milieu than, for example, the clichéd “looseness of morals” of French literature, whose dissemination had been structural in the construction of the 18th century social fabric. The controversial nature of English novels started a debate on their moral values, which in Italy was carried on under specific circumstances, i.e. the Catholic groundings of ethics and the predominance of Cartesianism in philosophy of knowledge and psychology.

Let us consider an example to clarify this aspect. In February 1787 the *Journal Encyclopedique* (p. 72–80) published a very long review (eight pages) of the novel

Maria, by Elizabeth Blower, in its French translation *Maria, ou Lettres d'un gentil-homme anglais à une religieuse, traduit de l'anglais*. The judgment is not positive, since from the very first paragraph we can read:

Si ce ouvrage est vraiment une production angloise, l'auteur n'as pas donné a son compatriote, M. Croli, le plus beau rôle à jouer.

[If this work is really an English production, the author did not give to his compatriot, M. Croli, the best role to be played.]

The journalist then explains what the plot of the novel is, giving from time to time some personal remarks on the poor value of the story. Two months later, the *Nuovo giornale enciclopedico* (p. 76) publishes a much shorter review of the same novel, adapting the French content to the Italian readership. The judgment in this case is much sharper than the first one. The novel is defined as a “romanzetto di poco edificante condotta e di men lieto fine” [a novelette of a poorly edifying conduct, and with an even less happy ending], populated by characters with an unworthy behaviour (“indegnamente”), whose brain deserves to be burnt (“cervello ch'era degnissimo d'esser bruciato”). The Italian journalist goes deeper in the moral judgement of the novel: there is no such harshness in the French review, which indulges more on the contents and on their weakness. This is made extremely clear by the conclusion of the review, which is the only part completely absent in the French, being an original section added by the Italian journalist:

Maria ha servito di titolo a varie produzioni Letterarie, e chi sa quanto dovrà servirne ancora; ma codesto romanzo non è degno di portare un così bel nome.

[The name of Maria has served as the title for several Literary productions, and who knows how many more it will serve for; but this novel is not worth of bearing such a beautiful name.]

Such a beautiful name as Maria should not belong to a licentious, negative character. The reference to the holy Mary appears rather clear: giving Her name to a totally unworthy woman almost results in something blasphemous. It is impossible to determine if the Italian reviewer actually read the novel, or if he/she simply adapted the information obtained from the French review. After all, it is probably not necessary for the understanding of how the readership was influenced by the review: what is extremely important in this circumstance is to see how the Catholic moral was playing a big role in the reception of the English novels. In this particular case, the grounding of ethics is conveyed starting from a very simple fact, the name of the character, which gives the opportunity to point out how far from the moral orthodoxy the novel's contents were to be located.

As this first example might suggest, the research has also a gender dimension. For example, many of the novels that were introduced to the Italian readership

were written by women, and a woman, Elisabetta Caminer Turra, was among the most prolific reviewers. To this day, there are no in-depth studies about the role women had in the Italian literary press of the period: the project will deal with all the moral issues connected to the novels, and it will also investigate the topic of women's reading practices, as the novel was considered a "female genre" (see D'Alia 1990, Di Fino 1990, Pearson 1999, Franchini 2004). The following examples concerns general articles strictly connected to this aspect of the research. First of all, the novel was considered as a very dangerous genre for the mental stability of the women who read too much. In an article published on the 28th March 1819 on the *Gazzetta di Milano*, it is possible to read the report of a journalist after a visit in a mental asylum (p. 382):

La pazzia fra le donne rinchiusa in quest'ospizio non mi sembra aver, come altrove e nell'umano consorzio, che due caratteri ben distinti: l'amore e la vanità. La prima donna che abbiamo visitata avea perduto la ragione a forza di legger romanzi.

[Madness among women locked up in this mental hospice has nothing but two well defined features: love and vanity. The first woman we visited lost her mind because she read too many novels.]

According to the article, many of the women that were kept in the asylum became mentally ill after reading too many novels. In many other occasions, reports like this were published in journals and newspapers, stating that the novels were challenging the mental stability of the female readers. From this kind of anecdotes we can infer at least two things. Firstly, the perception that novels were read intensively mostly by women was clear from the beginning: it is in fact impossible to find not only stories in which men lose their mind for too much reading, but, for a long time, even reports stating that the genre was appealing for the male readership. Secondly, it is rather clear how the values conveyed by the novels were having a disruptive impact on the audience, to the point that they were believed to literally drive people, and namely women, mad and ill. To face such a threat, many journals started to publish articles with the aim of discouraging the reading of novels among young ladies. An example could be the following, from the journal *Teatri, arti e letteratura*, published in 1827 (p. 181):

Le signorine non debbon leggere romanzi.

La loro lettura è od inutile, od anco pernicioso. [...] la mia sentenza, troppo pronta e troppa assoluta, non sarebbe passata per buona dal bel sesso, che oltre ogni dire si compiace di leggere romanzi, ed a' tempi nostri un tal genere si è fatto universale; né solamente ingegni leggerissimi se ne occupano siccome dapprima, ma uomini per ogni titolo commendevolissimi non hanno dubitato, e non dubitano di mescersi nell'infinito esercito de' romanzieri.

[Young ladies should not read novels.]

Reading novels is generally either useless, either damaging. [...] My sentence, too absolute, would not be appreciated by the gentle sex, which is too keen on reading novels, a genre that nowadays is universal. Not only light minds are interested in it, like it was before, but also eminent men did not hesitate in joining the infinite army of the novelists.]

The (almost surely male) author of this article is not really pleased by the widespread success of the novels, and calls them useless when not even damaging. By stating that the “bel sesso” (women) would not be very happy hearing this sentence, the journalist is clearly pointing out the audience of that kind of literature. Also, by pinpointing the dangers of the novel for the ladies, he is recognizing the strength of the genre as a vehicle of new, shocking and controversial values for the Italian social fabric. In the first half of the 19th century, the novel as a genre was starting to be legitimated also in Italy: in 1827 Alessandro Manzoni would publish *I promessi sposi*, the first and most famous Italian historical novel, which gave rise to many other publications following its success. In the second part of the small abstract, it is possible to see the journalist’s awareness of the fact that the novel was undergoing an evolution, somehow: written by “poor minds” for the pleasure of young (and maybe silly, according to the journalist) ladies in the past, novels were now attracting more prominent literary figures, who were starting to realize that the popularity of the genre could translate into good publishing contracts.

At this regard, journals from the first half of the 19th century seems to show another significant fact, concerning the social status of the novelists and the gender dimension of the research. In that period, Italian journalism was starting to become more independent from the French or English sources (see above) when it came to the reception and introduction of foreign culture in the peninsula. In fact, the original contributions started to be more and more every year, while the number of articles “copied” or adapted from foreign journals started to decrease sensibly. This means that the contents that started circulating about the novel, and specifically about the English novels, were the product of totally original reflections and meditations over the topic. This is not an irrelevant particular: after having been influenced by the foreign press, a more mature awareness of the particular social, economical, literary context was animating the journalism of the various Italian regions. The most relevant feature of this new trend concerns the involvement and the active role of women in the production of literature. Let us consider an example. The following excerpt, about female authors of novels, is taken from *Giornale Pisano dei Letterati*, 1806 (VI, p. 216):

Dopo gli eleganti romanzi delle *de Tencin*, delle *de Fontaines*, delle *Graffigny*, delle *Riccoboni*, è stato detto con qualche sorta di verità, che questo genere tra tutte le produzioni di spirito è quello di cui le donne sono più capaci. L'amore che ne è sempre il principale soggetto è il sentimento ch'esse meglio conoscono.

[After the elegant novels of the *de Tencin*, of *de Fontaines*, of *Graffigny*, of *Riccoboni*, it has been said with some sort of truth, that this kind of productions of the spirit is where women are more capable. Love is always the main subject, and it is the feeling that they know best.]

The journalist, clearly a man, prudently states that the novel *might* be the ideal genre for women writers. It could be said that after all this is just another sexist remark: women should not attempt the road to the poetical glory, and should prove themselves in a less prestigious literary format instead. Journals and pamphlets with this exact idea were circulating all over Europe in the long 18th century. But in this case there seems to be something more: the journalist does not speak depreciatively about the novels like in the previous examples we showed, and actually acknowledges that women are somehow superior when it comes to the topic of love, which was associated to the plots of most novels. Therefore, women should definitely occupy an important place in the literary panorama of the time, and they should do it by writing about what they know best. Also, since some pioneer women opened the path for the others with some excellent results, the public and the audience should expect some significant results from the *gentil sesso*.

What we have been trying to describe so far is made extremely clear by another article published in 1826 in *Biblioteca Italiana* (pp. 55–56), at that time one of the most prominent periodicals of the Milanese area and of the whole country. A (male) journalist wrote an article about the fact that Italy had still produced no significant novels until that moment, even if the Italian language would have been a good instrument and the Italian literary tradition an outstanding support. At one point in his essay, the journalist wrote:

Più che agli uomini convien forse al sesso gentile questo genere di componimenti [...]. E questo bene può ora l'Italia dalle donne aspettarsi, dappoiché la coltura dello spirito e lo studio delle filosofiche discipline qui ancora costituiscono nelle due primarie classi non l'infima parte della femminea educazione. Più soggette le donne al sentimento delle passioni, più sagaci nel seguirne gli andamenti, più studiose nel penetrare fra l'uman cuore e trarne profitto, aver debbono, ove intendano la letteratura, una naturale inclinazione ed attitudine a quel genere di libri, il cui scopo è quello di dipignere i costumi e lo stato della civile società, della quale formano esse la parte più soave e più bella; genere che non esige sempre volo d'immaginazione o vigore di raziocinio, ma piuttosto squisitezza di sentimento e diligenza di osservazione. [...] Quanto non sarà più agevole alla vezzosa metà della specie nostra l'ottener nome trattando in prosa argomenti d'immaginazione

in un secolo assai più che agli studj poetici dedito alla morale ed alla filosofia, e molto più se elleno alla naturale attitudine accoppieranno il corredo delle virtù domestiche? Così i giovani e le donne d'Italia non più sentirebbero il bisogno di pascere il lor cuore coi romanzi delle straniere nazioni; né inesperti volgarizzatori servirebbero in ciò sì facilmente l'avidità de' librai; e fors'anco cesserebbe la guerra che a sì fatti libri venne dai vecchi nostri Aristarchi dichiarata.

[The genre is more suited for the gentle sex rather than for men [...] And Italy can expect this from women, since here the culture of the spirit and the study of the philosophical disciplines still constitute in the first classes an important part of the female education. Women are more subject to the sentiment of passions, wittier in following its paths, more diligent in penetrating the human heart and in taking profit from it. They have, when they understand literature, a natural disposition to that kind of books, whose purpose is to depict the customs and the civil state of society, of which they represent the most suave and beautiful part. It is a genre that does not require flights of imagination or robust reasoning, but rather an exquisite sense of sentiments and a clever spirit of observation. [...] How much easier will it be for the sweeter half of our species to acquire fame treating topics of imagination in prose, in a century keen on moral and philosophy rather than poetry, and even more if they will match to this natural attitude their domestic virtues? This way, the youngsters and the ladies of Italy would not feel the need to feed their hearts with novels coming from abroad; and also, no inexpert translator would easily help the greed of the book sellers; maybe, even the war carried against this genre by the many, old Aristarchus of our literary tradition would end.]

This appears to be a “call for novels”, specifically addressed to Italian women. Surely, the domestic virtues are still perceived like a fundamental component of women personality, even for the artists. After all, women are still the sweetest, most lovely (therefore innocuous?) part of society. But besides this, the journalist clearly acknowledges and recognizes the superiority of women when it comes to the interpretation of passions, to the penetration of the human heart and to the depiction of society's rituals and costumes. After having been for many decades the almost exclusive readers of the genre, it is time for women to capitalise this long training-experience, and to put it at the service of their natural attitude to the interpretation of sentiments and their spirit of observation. Even without pushing the interpretation of this article too far, it seems rather clear that it represents one of the first witnesses of an invocation for women empowerment in Italy, to be pursued through a specific kind of literature, which was not anymore facing the hostility experienced in the past. On the contrary, to quote the journalist, it was about time that a novel worth reading was published in Italy, as this achievement would also allow three important consequences.

Firstly, to stop the everlasting xenophilia, that was historically perceived by many intellectuals like a threat for the Italian literary tradition. Secondly, to influence the book market, by slowing down the bad habits of the book sellers, which used to assign to inexperienced people the translation of foreign books in order to save money and maximize their profits. Lastly, and most importantly, the rise of women novelists in Italy could put an end to the prejudices and the resistance the genre was encountering since the very beginning within the traditional literary *milieu*. Such a difficult challenge is now addressed to women, who are warmly invited to have an important spot in the Italian cultural and literary consortium.

Dissemination of the research results

The gender dimension of the research is also at the very base of the dissemination activities connected to the project. The creation of a blog will allow to reach also non-expert audiences, in order to achieve the full exploitation and diffusion of the research results. Its particular focus on the history of literary journalism and on the rise of female journalism will allow to disseminate knowledge and information about neglected aspects of media and communication history, and to engage with particular gender issues (e.g. the growing importance of women and their role in the diffusion of culture, an activity that they were previously precluded from), which even nowadays are at the centre of many cultural, sociological and political debates. The open access form of dissemination through an institutional repository, and the availability of data will ensure the accessibility of the research material inside and outside the international academic community.

Beyond academia this project will change the understanding of the impact of the English novel as a vehicle for cultural diversity and identity formation in pre-global environments, and as a benchmark of fictional practices in pre-unified Italy. It will allow non-expert audiences to access a network of transcultural debates that they were previously precluded from by linguistic barriers and logistic inaccessibility. This will change the mode of enquiry into a whole historical epoch, opening up fresh and new perspective on the literary, sociological, cultural, and political role of the long eighteenth-century English novel outside of Great Britain. This project will also serve educators who wish to present concrete examples of cosmopolitanism and transnational cultural practices at the dawn of modern Europe through textual and visual tools. The open access form of dissemination will also serve members of the public at large, in and beyond Belgium, who nurture a fascination with the Enlightenment, the age of the novel, the Italian connection to English culture and the Grand Tour, and who seldom have the opportunity to access popular period culture, such as journalism, in English translation. The wide

dissemination of the research results will thus provide an easy access to the role played by cultural differences and expectations within Europe at an early stage of European cosmopolitanism.

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Challenges and strategies for beginners to solve research questions with DH methodologies on a corpus of multilingual Philippine periodicals

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A usually mentioned problem in Digital Humanities (DH) is the difficult fit between Humanities research questions and DH methodologies. This chapter is therefore configured as a *meta-chapter* that explains the problems and strategies when exploring the multilingual repository of Philippine periodicals constructed within the project “Strengthening Digital Research at the UP System” in order to research the evolution of the image of China in these periodicals. The two main challenges found for analysing the periodicals to find an answer have been (1) Problematic OCRs, (2) Research across multi-lingual publications. The chapter lists literature and research projects that have approached similar questions and challenges in comparable corpora. Some suggestions of tools to address them will also be provided.

Keywords: Philippine rare periodicals, multilingual text analysis, representation, low-resource languages, OCR, online repository, challenges in digital humanities

Talking about Digital Humanities in the Philippines involves entering a number of global debates either voluntarily or involuntarily. One of them is the whiteness of the discipline and the inclusion of southern countries (Crompton, Lane and Siemens 2016: 22–24). One of the greatest barriers in this sense is the fact that digital humanities are expensive. We work with digitised texts that need first to be digitised. In order to do that, salaries and machines are needed, but also time and training, often abroad. To analyse the results, more training, programs and computers are needed, and thus more money. Access to journals – by paying a fee – will also be needed to keep abreast of developments; results will have to be

published and servers bought. If that sort of money already poses a problem in northern countries, where competition for obtaining project funding is fierce and frequently involves resorting to free labour from students, people on placements and volunteers for a number of tasks, in southern countries it presents one of the biggest obstacles and is probably one of the least mentioned issues in sessions on “Digital Humanities in the South” at the various Digital Humanities meetings held across the world.

The second debate is multilingualism. On the global stage, this debate has been questioning the hegemony of English in the Humanities for some years and promoting the search for ways to include, raise awareness and work with other languages. In the local sphere where we work the issue is a little different and makes us think about what Digital Humanities is trying to achieve. In this project, we will attempt different approaches to a multilingual set of texts and problem-solving strategies, including translation into a lingua franca. Although this is not an ideal solution, due to the current state of affairs regarding DH tools, it might be useful. Therefore, the problems approached will not be strictly translation-based, however, the translation will be a problem-solving strategy for this corpus.

The Philippines is not easy to locate conceptually speaking, due to its nature as a border country lying between the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. For years it was considered part of Oceania; it was successively a Spanish colony, part of the Viceroyship of New Spain together with Mexico, the military district of Guatemala and of Cuba, a US colony and finally a Japanese colony. It is a country with no territorial continuity, constituted by between 7107 and 7600 islands (*GMA News Online* 2016). These geo-historical circumstances have posed a series of problems in both the study and the epistemological understanding of the country and its visibility abroad. In the first place, the diversity of geographical affiliations it has endured (Europe, America, Asia, Oceania) means that it has been pushed to the periphery of studies on these regions: Hispanist studies do not include it, and North American or Asian studies seldom approach it (Ortuño Casanova 2017: 59–60). Moreover, this situation has prompted constant questions about identity and history, the answers to which Digital Humanities could take great leaps forward in finding.

Therefore, if this is about understanding the cultural heritage and the past of a young country – independent since 1946 – based on its texts and other cultural products, there is no doubt that we should bear in mind that these cultural products will be expressed in one or other of the nation’s 175 indigenous and 8 non-native languages, 41 of which are institutional languages. The official languages across the territory are Filipino and English, although much of the historical documentation is in Spanish (“Philippines” n. d.). This is the case of the historical periodicals that we are digitising and uploading to an online repository as part of

the PhilPeriodicals project¹, developed by the ACDC group ('Antwerp Centre for Digital Humanities and Literary Criticism – ACDC – University of Antwerp' n.d.) and the University of the Philippines (Diliman) funded by VLIRUOS.²

This chapter is structured as a meta-study and a literary review in which different tools -easy to access and to master even if no specific training has been received on the matter- are suggested for their ability to cope with the difficulties surrounding multilingualism and the budgetary constraints of the repository being created with development cooperation funds. It also seeks to answer a specific research question by analysing periodicals in several languages simultaneously, as should be the case when, once the first part of building the repository is complete, the second part comes into action, namely digital humanities training for Filipino academics and implementing projects based over there. Those Filipino scholars are specialised in Humanities, without any prior knowledge of Digital Humanities, and they should be able after two summer schools of one week each, of setting up their own projects using digitised sources and DH methodologies. It needs to be taken into account that the methodologies selected assume that researchers and prospective researchers cannot program yet, and therefore, no programming is contemplated. The reason is that this is a first introduction to be tested after the first summer school of 1 week. After the second summer school and online training between both summer schools, students should be familiarised with Python.

This text also constitutes an assessment of what a researcher may need from a repository of historical periodicals in the Philippines and an initial look at the challenges to be tackled in the second phase of the project, when the platform starts being used for research purposes.

The PhilPeriodicals project

In April 2016 the Faculty of Arts and Letters at the University of the Philippines Diliman Campus was completely burnt down, along with a languages library containing dissertations and rare editions as well as a number of historic collections ('Fire Breaks out at UP Diliman Campus' 2016). In June 2018 another fire broke out in the main building of the historic archive of the Philippines in Manila ('Fire Hits National Archives Building' 2018). Although, according to press reports, the damage in the second fire was limited, it has not yet been possible to reopen the collection to

1. Although it is still a work in progress, a first beta version of the repository can be consulted here: <https://repository.mainlib.upd.edu.ph/>

2. <https://hosting.uantwerpen.be/philperiodicals/>

the public.³ These are by no means isolated cases and they illustrate the precarious situation of documents that have survived adverse weather conditions and a world war that devastated the city of Manila. Moreover, in the case of the periodicals involved in this project, they are housed in a fire prone library (Lagrama 2012).

These materials are the ones we chose as “raw material” when thinking about a Digital Humanities cooperation project in the Philippines. What we call *Rare periodicals* is a set of 478 titles in six languages, some in more than one language simultaneously, and with an uneven number of issues for each title (Figure 1), published between 1862 and 1945 (Figure 2), that is, up to the end of World War II. The majority are incomplete collections, stored on paper and microfilm, and also of variable quality.

Figure 1. Newspapers and magazines housed in the main library at the University of the Philippines by language

This library assessed as being “fire prone” holds other materials apart from periodical publications (books for example). This might prompt the question of why we chose such a mixed set of materials as a basis for the project. The reason is connected with the second phase of the project, which consists of organising a series of courses on Digital Humanities in the Philippines using the pyramid or cascade model. This means that one course is held in Manila and attended by representatives from other University of the Philippines outlying campuses (specifically Baguio, Iloilo and Cebu). Subsequently, those attendees and others from the first course go to each of those outlying campuses to teach courses similar to the first

3. In January 2020 it had not been yet opened.

Figure 2. Number of periodicals housed in the University of the Philippines by year

one. It is hoped that this will enable several Digital Humanities research projects to be set up. As a consequence, one of the premises is to get as many researchers as possible involved. Periodicals can be useful as study material for historians, linguists (both in linguistics and literature and in cultural studies), sociologists, anthropologists and, if we include specialised journals (which we do), for agronomists, architects and a long list of others.

But in studying the periodicals field from the different points of view offered by journals and periodicals published simultaneously in different languages, we can also shed light on what the Philippines were like before 1945, on the ruling political forces and even on the Filipino literary canon, the rise and fall of languages, and international relations. Consequently, this process will highlight the position of the archipelago in the international complex of relations, and lead research to the way towards a “counter-hegemonic” globalisation (Li 2003: 11, 14–18).

What Pierre Bourdieu called the journalistic field is part of the field of cultural production and is seen as part of the field of power. Therefore, it interacts with the political field and with the field of social sciences. As a result, studying it will provide us with a broad view of how forces interact through cultural production in the country (we are thinking here of the writers who are also editors of one or more periodicals, who publish their stories in them, and how this expands knowledge of the literary field) (Benson and Neveu 2005: 5). In terms of literature, most Filipino literature from the first decades of the 20th century was published in printed periodicals. Thus, through the proposed research, it will be studied in the context and in comparison with other literatures. To sum up, by going back to

the newspapers and magazines we will be able to reconstruct a cultural history of the Philippines with no linguistic intermediaries and colonisers, and in context and connection with other disciplines will contribute to understand what appears in the periodicals.

The research question

The objective of the project is, therefore, doing a distant reading analysis of the periodicals included in the repository to better understand how attitudes towards China evolved during the period of the American occupation of the Philippines (1902–1946). From this departing point, the first challenges will be to make the right question(s) so the digital tools are useful in answering it/them. Digitization and the use of digital methodologies allow us to be more ambitious in our research questions. The reflection on the research question and the methodologies that we can use to approach it will provide us with a testing ground for features and tools that we might want to incorporate later to the repository. This can, on the one hand, facilitate the work of researchers in handling both the materials themselves and the metadata. On the other hand, it also enables to set up bridges between librarians and researchers, as well as between Digital Humanities and traditional humanities. According to Huub Wijfjes, this synergy is infrequent, as “advanced digital methods for analysis are not often used to answer concrete research questions in these disciplines”, so its usefulness is regularly questioned by humanists (Wijfjes 2017). However, it is not disputed that DH methodologies can be very useful when working on connections in large-scale corpora.

In the case proposed for this chapter, the research will be based on the epistemic problem that Philippine cultural production in Spanish is rarely considered Asian, but rather related to its Western occupiers: North America or Spain. Philippine texts will be approached from three hypotheses: (1) that these texts will evidence the birth and consolidation of a Pan-Asian sentiment, (2) that they will portray the development of a discourse of resistance to Spain and the United States by the identification with China between 1880 and 1930, and (3) that this change was connected to translation and the conception of China in Western countries.

In fact, Teodoro Kálaw, a Filipino writer and politician admitted in the preface to *Sun Yat Sen: Fundador de la República China* by Mariano Ponce, that during the period of Spanish occupation of the Philippines, the attitude of the Filipinos towards the Chinese was one of ignorance and mockery because of the effects of being subjected to a European power (that is, because of the influence of the Spanish) (Ponce 1912, viii, ix). This attitude was supposed to have changed after 1898. Kálaw blamed Spaniards for the negative image of China widespread in the

Philippines, suggesting that it was mediated. At the same time, according to the findings of ALTER group in its ‘Archivo China España’ Project (‘Archivo China España, 1800–1950’ n.d.) as stated by Carles Prado-Fonts in “Writing China from the Rest of the West” (2018: 178), knowledge on China in late 19th century Spain often came mediated itself by translations of articles from the United Kingdom, France and to some extent from Germany too.

Therefore, sample the questions to be approached (not answered) here are: (1) are there any similarities or other kind of connections (authorial, ideological...) between the image of China in the Spanish language press and that image in the Philippine press in other languages during the last decade of the 19th century?, and (2) are there any changes in the perception of China along the first decades of the 20th century? These are only proposed as an example of a theoretical research. Translation issues will be crucial in the process as we are addressing a question to be answered through a multilingual set of texts. How can we, with no knowledge of Tagalog or Japanese, track and interpret articles on China in newspapers written in those languages? And how can we connect our findings in those newspapers with what is said in newspapers in English and Spanish? Furthermore, how can we prove if the same article had been translated in different languages and published in different newspapers in the country?

Approaches to studying a country’s representation in the periodical press

Amongst the many projects recently set up by historians to profile national identities and their evolution in the periodical press, perhaps one of the most ambitious in methodological terms is the *Trasatlantis* project run by the University of Utrecht (‘Transatlantis Locations’ n.d.). More than a project, it is a full programme, which began in 2013, on the use of Digital Humanities to talk about “Reference cultures”, that is, about “the dominant role of some cultures in the international exchange of ideas, products and practices”. Although it is coordinated by the University of Utrecht, the programme involves several Dutch universities and the country’s Royal Library, from where the basis of the project, the corpus of periodical publications, is being extracted. They work with exclusively Dutch language texts provided through the *Delpher* (‘Delpher – Boeken Kranten Tijdschriften’ n.d.) and they have developed a search tool for periodical archives in the library, *Texcavator*, to obtain statistics, word clouds and timelines, and that allows them to nominalise words and eliminate stopwords (‘Texcavator’ n.d.). From those, the nominalisation of words is not contemplated in other built-in text mining devices in repositories, such as the Hathi Trust Research Center, a text-mining environment based on Hathi Trust virtual library holdings and developed by the University of Indiana

and the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign ('Our Research Center' 2014; Plale et al. 2013). Although the techniques that they offer are not that complicated and are within reach of anyone who has a corpus, Texcavator and HTRC enable this to be done without downloading the corpus, making it a useful addition to the library's own search engine, which is tailor-made for researchers (Eijnatten, Pieters, and Verheul 2014).

In the case proposed in this chapter, similar text-mining techniques will be applied with not built-in applications to inquire about the extent to which China's image is mediated by Spain or by other powers. Our corpus is an incomplete catalogue of periodical publications initially in image format. At the moment, there are no search tools built in the Philippine repository like Texcavator or like Diacollo, which search for diachronic coincidences around certain key words in the Deutsches Textarchiv (1473–1927) ('D*/DTA Search' n.d.). However, there are several tools that can perform a similar analysis after the corpus is transcribed or OCRd and classified by year and journal.

There are two possible approaches to the problem. One would be working only with headlines. In this case, we can launch a search of Named Entities to check how many articles have China as their main topic and what is said about this country. This can be done in the newspapers in different languages by translating just the named entity if necessary. Working with metadata of the articles will also allow detecting articles by the same authors re-used in newspapers in different languages. For doing so, unless researchers perform an exhaustive hand mark-up of metadata within the newspapers in the repository, proper automated segmentation of areas and recognition of headlines, sub-headings and signatures should be implemented. Google already considered a headlines recognition based on font sizes in 2009 (Chaudhury et al. 2009). In 2012 at the University of Rouen, a method for automatic article detection and indexation was developed and included in their digitization workflow (Palfray et al. 2012, Hébert et al. 2014). In 2015 the method was further developed by considering additional features to font features of headlines, such as word feature, punctuation mark feature, keyword feature and abbreviation feature so they would train the automated identification of headlines in English newspapers (Hanumanthappa and Nagalavi 2015). More recently, the National Library of Finland has developed software to automatically identify and index articles of digitised historical journals (Kettunen, Pääkkönen, and Liukkonen 2019). Going down to the more basic level of an initiation course on Digital Humanities, and without any need of being able to program, the HCR tool Transkribus, which can also be used as OCR, allows to train the text layout and exports the results together with the OCR in ALTO/XML, which already recognises the headlines and marks them. Several groups have acknowledged and worked with the headlines of newspapers, namely, at the University of Leeds, a

young group of students has been working with headlines of *The Guardian* for the automatic extraction of six values from the news: prominence, sentiment, superlativeness, proximity, surprise and uniqueness, in order “to facilitate the selection and prioritisation of large volumes of digital content” (Piotrkowicz, Dimitrova, and Markert 2017: 64).

The second option includes considering the whole text for the analysis. In order to do this, periodicals might have to be classified by decades and languages for an observation of the diachronic but also language groups variation in the image of China.

Opinion mining or sentiment analysis can, in semi-absolute terms, help to classify into positive and negative the prevailing attitudes towards China, both inside the country (with reference to the *Sangleys* or Chinese living in the Philippines) and outside it (mentions of “China” as such). The hypothesis put forward by María Dolores Elizalde, who uses traditional methods to analyse various texts by 19th-century travellers and Spanish civil servants, is that for them China has two sides that provoke two different attitudes. On the one hand, China abroad is seen as a great imperial and mysterious nation, which arouses admiration. On the other hand, the Chinese population in the Philippines, according to Elizalde, is connected “with the work they do in the colony” (Elizalde Pérez-Grueso 2008: 101). Therefore, the ideal distant China is the one that prompted idealisations like the ones found in modernist poems of the period, whilst the near China provoked rejection and the terrors of the *yellow peril*. However, Elizalde only considers texts written in Spanish, and we should find out if this differentiation was also present in other languages and in later texts.

Topic modelling can also contribute to ascertaining the motives for this differentiation in attitudes between *Sangleys* and the Chinese outside. It can respond to questions such as (1) what ideas were associated with the *Sangleys*/China, and (2) if they involved the same association of ideas in all languages and in all the regions of the Philippines.

Thus, there are three classic techniques within the wide scope of text-mining that can be suggested for these purposes for beginners in DH: KWIC statistics, sentiment analysis and topic modelling. The two challenges involved are: (1) applying them with no programming involved and (2) using free applications, to ensure sustainability and to cope with the lack of resources that had to be dealt with as the first problem with developing Digital Humanities in the Philippines.

First difficulty: How to prepare a set of plurilingual texts?

Until very recently, Philippine history studies on the Philippines used *The Philippine Islands* collection by Blair and Robertson as primary sources, a series of Filipino archive documents translated from Spanish into English in 55 volumes (Cano 2008: 236). The collection of volumes was part of the North American colonial project, meaning that using only these materials prevented a complete and objective study of the past in the Philippines from being undertaken until 1898 (the date on which the volumes on *The Philippine Islands* arrived). This practice illustrates the need to be able to cover documents in all the languages they are available in, thereby resolving researchers' lack of knowledge of all these languages. Each language represents a political and conceptual view of the world and of Filipino society that is systematically forgotten in studies on the archipelago's monolingual texts, meaning that one of the fundamental aims of Digital Humanities should be directed at settling this situation.

Although major advances in *deep learning* have led to Google, Microsoft and other major automated translation systems to using neuronal networks and substantially improving their translations in what is called Neural Machine Translation (Castelvecchi 2016), applying it to the periodicals corpus we are working on results in three problems:

1. The quality of the texts produced from images (OCR) is not enough, with too many errors in the original language that are multiplied when the texts are translated.
2. The text layout on periodical pages causes confusion in the OCR, which, depending on the layout analysis performed, may read lines in different columns as continuous lines.
3. We are working with low-resource languages, with insufficient digital input and barely any tools developed for them.

Before addressing these problems, we are attending briefly to the platform problem. In order to do the repository that we are to work with sustainable and flexible enough to have the possibility to add new utilities if necessary, the VLIRUOS-TEAM project is using Universal Viewer. This visualiser of documents supports the IIF manifesto and is making great progress in viewing, sharing and searching in periodicals ('IIF Newspapers Community Group – IIF | International Image Interoperability Framework' n.d.). Universal Viewer is the viewer used by organisations like the press collection at the National Library of Wales ('Welsh Newspapers Online – Home' n.d.), which published the code created to facilitate the inclusion of transcribed text by articles alongside the image and the search for text in the complete collection for replication in other repositories ('IIF Newspapers – Devwiki'

n.d.). Progress is being done also to integrate OCRd text together with the IIIF image view, and to allow cross-searches of words across the repository.

The problem with OCR

The OCR problems are normally enumerated as widespread challenges to be taken into account in historical periodical repositories. OCR was the main topic of issue number 13 of *EuropeanaTech* ('OCR' 2019). To overcome OCR issues, they point at the improvements developed thanks to engines that utilise deep neural networks such as Tesseract, OCRopus, Kraken and Calamari (*Tesseract-Ocr/Tesseract* [2014] 2020; Tom [2014] 2020; *Calamari-OCR/Calamari* [2018] 2020; 'Kraken – Kraken 2.0.5-4-Gbb42ba5 Documentation' n.d.). Our situation here is, however, that there is a lack of expertise in programming, necessary for the implementation of this software.

Although document scanners usually have an OCR software integrated, like ABBYY, which includes a layout recogniser and can produce ALTO/XML, the poor quality of some of the materials confirms the already well-known error rate of this OCR. ABBYY is moreover language bond. It means that their predictions are based on a number of languages pre-set. It thereby excludes -or posses a difficulty- to OCR the texts in minority languages present in our corpus, such as Cebuano or Ilokano. Even in texts in majority languages like Spanish, the mix of fonts and of text with image and artistic text produces area and OCR detection errors (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Recognition of text areas with ABBYY FineReader 14 with numerous errors, both in the text and in the recognition of areas of image and text in the 10 May 1912 issue of *Excelsior* magazine, scanned at the recommended resolution of 500pp

The old solution of double-keying, which used to be popular for data entry, has indeed a high accuracy rate (Haaf, Wiegand, and Geyken 2013). This involves two people manually entering text extracted from an image and comparing the two versions. However, due to the high budget required for this operation, efforts have turned to

find more time and money efficient methods to extract text. Another explored solution which has been popular is crowdsourcing (Hedges and Dunn 2017: 351–52). The National Library of Australia, on its historical periodicals site, Trove, combines automated OCR with crowdsourcing for correcting errors, which seems to be an acceptable option, although the volunteer work process is necessarily slow (“Trove – Digitised Newspapers and More” n. d.).⁴ However, in the sphere of cooperation this possibility creates ethical conflict: free work in developing countries, even if it is non-profit, does not seem acceptable. Beyond this, crowdsourcing also calls into question the quality of the result and the possibility of covering the entire corpus.

A possible solution is Transkribus. This is an opensource desktop application for the automated transcription of historical documents which constitutes the basis for the READ project (Recognition and Enrichment of Archival Documents). It was implemented by the European Association for Digital Humanities (EADH) and aspires to “set new standards in Handwritten Text Recognition, Key Word Spotting, Layout Analysis, Automatic Writer Identification and related fields” (‘READ | EADH – The European Association for Digital Humanities’ n.d.). The platform, initially conceived for Handwriting recognition, allows to perform an automated layout analysis and OCR (based on ABBYY for printed texts) and to train a model by correcting and saving some pages. Whilst for HRC the minimum number of pages is around 150, for printed documents it works with a high accuracy rate with fewer pages trained. In fact, the Impresso project run by the Zurich Computational Linguistics Group presented a poster in November 2018 at the DARIAH-CH workshop in which they used Transkribus for character recognition in historical periodicals with positive results: firstly, they manually transcribed 150 random front covers of different newspapers from different centuries (that is, with different fonts) and trained the model in Transkribus. They managed to get the error ratio down to 2%, resulting in Transkribus (‘Transkribus’ n.d.) being accepted as a valid solution for extracting text from historical periodicals on a grand scale (impresso 2018). In 2019, Günter Mühlberg and Günter Hackl published a training dataset of 148 pages of Austrian newspapers and a validation set of 13 pages, which endured even further facilitation for the researcher (Guenter Muehlberger and Guenter Hackl 2019). In Utrecht DH2019, the group from Zurich proved that besides the initial success with the OCR, the HRC was still very useful for newspapers printed with black letter, with a 97% rate of accuracy (Ströbel and Clematide 2019), which is especially useful for extracting text from damaged images such as microfilms.

4. Since June 2008 (when corrections started) through to January 2019, a total of 296,268,735 lines have been corrected thanks to 53,978 registered correctors. As at January 2019, a total of 24,875,005 digitised pages are in the repository (‘About Newspapers’ n.d.; ‘Text Correction Hall of Fame’ n.d.).

Translation

In the hypothetical workflow in which we are working, after digitising and uploading images and text to the visualiser (images to Universal Viewer and text as commentaries), the next step should be to carry out some analysis tasks. At this point is when we need to confront two problems: the multilingualism of our corpus and the fact that some of the languages used in it are low-resourced languages. It means that there are no large-scale parallel corpora available.

Given this situation, we find two options. On the one hand, working with systems that allow multilingual text-mining (and therefore there is no need for translation), and on the other hand, attempting an automated translation of the corpus. Multilingual text-mining will be approached in the next section. Here we are focusing on the possibility of performing an automated translation of the corpus.

Machine Translation (MT) of low-resourced languages is a rapidly developing field in Computer Linguistics and Natural Language Processing. Big companies like Facebook are developing ways to overcome this difficulty and they are implementing a combination of methods for Unsupervised Machine Translation for low-resourced languages. They include word-by-word initialization, iterative back-translation and language modelling ('Unsupervised MT: Fast and Accurate for More Languages' 2018). They are also open-sourcing the tools that they have created ('LASER NLP Toolkit: Zero-Shot Transfer across 93 Languages' 2019). There are at the moment at least two special issues on Machine Translation for Low-Resource Languages being prepared simultaneously in 2020: one for the journal *Machine Translation* and another one for the *American Journal of Artificial Intelligence*. Meanwhile, the topic continues being prominent in NLP conferences (Gu et al. 2018; Pa et al. 2016). All these promising developments are however difficult to implement for a project to be run by beginners in DH with no programming knowledge. However, a painstakingly easy provisional option could be adding a Google Translate plugin to Omeka. Currently, Google Translate allows translations to and from Tagalog and Cebuano, however it does not include translation into other Filipino languages like Ilokano, also present in our corpus. It is true that Google has only been in the Philippines for three years and a number of messages have already appeared in the forums asking it to include Ilonggo/Hiligaynon and Ilokano to its translation tool. Moreover, the possibility of translating Filipino periodicals from Spanish, English, Japanese, Tagalog and Cebuano covers 98% of the corpus.

Making these Filipino languages visible in the DH community is however important to demand online tools and resources for them and to contribute to moderate the prevalence of English in the discipline (Crompton, Lane, and Siemens 2016: 27).

Tools

For working with just one language, there is a wide range of digital tools to process the text. Voyant Tools or Antconc for example can do a fantastic job with word clustering, and with simple statistical analysis such as cooccurrences, keywords and visualizations similar to the ones obtained with more complete statistical packages like ‘R’.

Listed below are some of the possible resources for contributing to finding an answer to the research question and their specific usefulness for this theoretical case study:

Voyant-Tools:⁵ this tool can be used to explore sets of text documents (i.e. corpus of one periodical title or several by year), as well as word frequency, for example, the coincidence of terms grouped together by the researcher. That is, by grouping the collection of a single title into several years, we can see, for example, in which years/months there are more mentions of the Chinese – which can be compared with historic events taking place at that time – or of several titles, in which words like “Chin[a|ese]”, “empir[e|s] / imperial”, “silk”, “pigtail” and “dirty” coincide. Similar collocations and antagonism can be located in periodicals in English. Does Chin[a|ese] appear in the same texts in which “Japan[ese]” and “Asia[n]” and “Filipin[o|os]” appear? These searches will enable us to decode references to the Chinese inside the Philippines, the Chinese as an Asian country and some of the characteristics assigned to them, depending on the language of the periodicals and the moment in history when they were published (for example, around the time of the war between China and Japan). The choice of search terms must be based on an earlier search or on previously formulated suppositions and hypotheses. One important problem that this tool poses, however, is that it supports a very limited corpus in terms of weight.

Antconc:⁶ this popular tool can be used for obtaining results with a lower intuitive percentage of collocations around the idea of China, for example. In Antconc you can work with text versions of periodicals or with linguistically labelled versions (POS), for example with Freeling or with TagAnt, by the same creator of Antconc.

5. <https://voyant-tools.org/>

6. <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>

This means that collocations around a word or keywords can be located (for example, Chin[a]ese)) by searching for concordances (KWIC), eliminating stop words or perhaps, if the text is syntactically labelled, by selecting only nouns and adjectives around the chosen words. Once this has been done, it is not difficult to copy the words around the keyword (China) and view the most frequent ones in the selected corpus in a word cloud, divided by language or perhaps by year. From there you can also look at how terms are scattered to see where some coincide more, as done with Voyant-tools. An example of recent successful use of Antconc combined with Wordcloud for visualization is the paper “The Media Construction of Italian Identity”, which explores newspapers written in Italian in Italy and in the US to examine *la italianità* as an identity discourse between the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century (Viola and Verheul 2019). The idea that the Chinese presence in the Philippines challenges the Hispanicity of the country as well as the Spanish interests in Asia is present in several Spanish books and reports of the end of the 19th century. A similar methodology to the one used in the mentioned article might produce interesting ideas around the questions approached in this paper.

Despite needing some knowledge on its programming language, Matthew Jockers has a very useful and easy to follow guide to *Text Analysis with R for Students of Literature* (Jockers 2014: 47). Jockers explains the steps to perform similar experiments like the ones described for Antconc and Voyant-Tools. He adds the possibility of text modelling with the *Mallet* package for R, which cannot be done for the moment with the former two tools. It has the additional feature of viewing the correlation of words around two key terms, for example, China – Philippines. Topic modelling may contribute to identifying recurring themes and terms related to those themes in the corpus inserted. Therefore, we can see what is being said about the Chinese in general when discussing the Chinese and whether more than one theme is related to them (for example, money, jewellery, furniture, trade or dirt). Table 1 shows the results of performing *topic modelling* with Mallet in R of Spanish books about the Chinese in the Philippines written in 1884, 1886, 1888 and 1892, in which sub-themes can be seen in relation to the Chinese (Jordana y Morera 1888; *La Inmigración China y Japonesa En Filipinas: Documentos* 1892; Comenge 1894; *Los Chinos En Filipinas: Males Que Se Experimentan Actualmente y Peligros de Esa Creciente Inmigración* 1886). Based on this modelling readings can be made in which a combination of words is selected (for example “chino” “sangle”) to see

what words or themes are grouped around these two concepts. Although using Mallet in R may seem to be more complicated than otherwise, Matthew Jockers provides excellent instructions for its use and code that can be reused, making the operation a much easier one (Jockers 2014: 135–52).

Table 1. List of topics of four books written by Spaniards on the Chinese presence in the Philippines. On the left are the groupings performed by Mallet, on the right are the names given to the topic according to words grouped by Mallet

	Most frequent words of the topics	Name of the topic
1	gobernador españoles sangleyes manila chinos ciudad	Situation of the Chinese in Manila
2	china rey nombre mar gente tierra oro	Wealth of the country of China
3	chinos comercio manila chino país china años	Chinese merchants resident in Manila
4	fuerte ejército salcedo sioco campo indios limahon	Armed conflict
5	filipinas archipiélago islas gobierno chino país china	Territories of China and the Philippines
6	isla clase tienda tiendas azúcar abacá efectos	Trade in the Philippines (products)
7	capitana gente juan galera enemigo noche oidor	Night boat danger
8	altar china misioneros cristianos santa padre ritos	Christian missionaries in China
9	sangleyes indios real tierra indias ley gobernador	Legislation related to the Sangleys
10	confucio zu imperio letra emperador cielo libros	Imperial China high culture
11	chino té seda casa papel cantón arroz	Chinese culture
12	fiesta ídolo día sol año luna	Chinese festivals
13	negocios provincias personas banco administración crédito públicos	Economics
14	raza europea isla defender sociedades norte blanca	European defenders of the Philippines
15	inmigración oceania periódico número seguridad medios	La Oceanía newspaper
16	chinos general decreto cédula hacienda sangleyes reglamento	Legislation Chinese in the Philippines
17	noche opio juego ladrón cierta extremo	Vices of the Chinese
18	opio renta pesos fumaderos mil estado	Smoking dens
19	tao pueblo virtud sabio sabe llama	Chinese wisdom
20	chino hijos matrimonio sangley padres familia cristiano	Chinese families

The last technique of the ones considered to be useful for examining this large quantity of periodicals is sentiment analysis. Programming Historian has an excellent introduction to the concept and the use of sentiment analysis using the Natural Language Toolkit with Python (Saldaña 2018). However, the code they provide is for working with texts in English. Something similar happens with other tools: xTas is a wrapper with a range of tools for text work, including one for sentiment analysis, but it works with Dutch and English ('Xtas, the EXtensible Text Analysis Suite – Xtas 3.4 Documentation' n.d.). The "Mining Shifting Concepts through Time" (ShiCo) project is developing "a tool that enables humanities researchers to mine the historical development of concepts" ('Netherlands EScience Center' n.d.). It is based on "vector representations derived by neural network language models". The software they have created works with Word2vec, so corpus preparation may be a little more complex than with other programs. It is not exactly a sentiment analysis program but can track concepts over time and connect them together with graph views of how certain concepts are related to others at a particular time in order to see how they evolve (*Netherlands EScience Center: Shifting Concepts Through Time Project – NLeSC/ShiCo* [2015] 2018).

The problem of trying to apply sentiment analysis in our corpus is precisely that in the majority of cases the vocabularies used on which the analysis is based are in English (or in Dutch). It is not difficult to find vocabularies in Spanish for this purpose; José Cardona Figueroa has published one in Github (Figueroa [2015] 2018), but for languages like Ilokano or even Tagalog, it is a much more difficult matter. In such cases, one solution can be to create your own thesaurus. Another solution might be translating the corpus in order to perform the analysis. Sentiment analysis simplifies the themes explored previously and reveals if most of the comments on one notion (in this case China) are positive or negative, and in what sense (fear, disgust, anxiety, happiness, etc.) in a few categories set by the thesaurus. By using ShiCo it is possible to observe the evolution over time of ideas around the key concept. The concept relation graphs add, moreover, a diachronic component: you can see something that looks similar to what we saw in topic modelling as it moves forward in time.

There is a second option for this operation which is multilingual text analysis. Since the 1990s multiple groups have explored the possibilities of performing distant reading operations and information retrieval on multilingual sets of texts. Most recently, in 2019, a book, *Multilingual Text Analysis, Challenges, Models and Approaches* has been published by Natalia Vanetik and Marina Litvak (2019) that provides a holistic approach to the subject and the previous and current efforts in the field. Noteworthy is the abovementioned Newseye project, which combines some of the previous experiences to apply it to a multilingual corpus of newspapers. It is indeed one of the declared aims of the project: providing solutions for

text recognition problems in multilingual semantic text enrichment and in dynamic text analysis ('Aims' n.d.). Applied to topic modelling, they have created a method to combine Dynamic Topic Modelling (DTM), that takes into account the evolution of topics over time, with Multilingual Topic Modelling (MLTM), which, by contrast with using the most common LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation) for each language, allows alienation of topics across languages ('On Multilingual Dynamic Topic Modeling' n.d.). In this way, by the combination of both in what they have called Multilingual Dynamic Topic Modeling (ML-DTM), they have managed to identify events around a topic aligned in a cross-lingual manner (Zosa and Granroth-Wilding 2019). This is indeed promising in order to run analysis on the perception of China in parallel comparable sets of at least bilingual newspapers along time. In this sense, we could provide partial answers to both of the central questions that are to be addressed in this paper: due to the multilingual topic modelling connections between the image of China in the Spanish language press and in other languages from the Philippines could be compared, in terms of seeing in parallel which topics are connected to China. The diachronic question of the evolution of these perceptions between the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century could be also addressed thanks to the Dynamic Topic Modelling.

A further possibility would be weighing the results with what is happening in other parts of the world by establishing comparisons with sets of newspapers held in other digital repositories to check whether ideas being discussed in the Philippines are related to those published in other countries like Spain, the United States, France and the United Kingdom. The first two played a dominant role in sectors of Filipino society in the first half of the 20th century as former coloniser and new coloniser. Part of society, usually the dominant classes, were in favour of the country following Spain's lead and forming part of the community of Hispanic countries in Latin America in a discourse that became known as *Hispanidad*, which idealised Spain's role in the history of its former colonies and advocated it as a maternal, protective figure for the new republics. Whereas the new generation of Manila argued for the modernisation put forward by the Americans and was in favour of the ideas coming in from the United States, scorning the nostalgia for everything Spanish as outdated. Meanwhile, England and France were influential centres of creativity and intellectualism across the entire world between the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century.

Some various open repositories and aggregators allow work with the periodicals in one or several countries. On its library website, Cornell University provides a list of online repositories of both current and historical periodicals across the world, which can be very useful.⁷ The CLARIN European network also pro-

7. https://guides.library.cornell.edu/news_online

vides users with lists of periodical repositories, some with extra tools like online concordance search engines.⁸ Most of the corpora listed on their website can be downloaded too. One of the most popular aggregators in Europe on Europeana,⁹ which has recently been developing its newspaper branch with excellent advice on how to manage metadata in repositories to make the researcher's job an easier one. Europeana also allows you to search and work with the full text of collections from several countries in different languages (Willems and Atanassova 2015).

The Multilingual Dynamic Text Analysis, however, involves an advance knowledge in programming. Although it is an old discussion the matter of the capability of Digital Humanists to program, with the initial circumstances that we face and the objective of spreading DH among a community of humanists, the challenge would be creating an integrated tool to perform this kind of text analysis within the repository.

What would researchers in the humanities need from a periodicals repository in the 21st century?

In this hypothetical journey through the various steps and tools available for resolving a research problem with a corpus of periodicals, we have had to handle the corpus in different ways. For this handling, the way periodicals are presented in the repository can make an enormous difference in terms of making the researcher's job easier. Nowadays, there are several initiatives in the Philippines for building virtual repositories for books and periodicals,¹⁰ led by the prodigious and pioneering work of the *Digital Library* at the University of Santo Tomás in Manila which, funded by UnionBank, has already digitised 63 titles of *rare periodicals*. The repository, although it fulfils a priceless job of preserving and disseminating the material, is very difficult to use from the digital humanities perspective: the materials cannot be downloaded, they are only available in a non-readable, low-quality format, so there is no possibility of doing text searches across the whole corpus (as the text has not been extracted), it is built on a paying platform that compromises

8. <https://www.clarin.eu/resource-families/newspaper-corpora>

9. <http://www.europeana-newspapers.eu/>

10. Philippine Heritage Library is uploading digitised non-copyrighted books to its own catalogue and the National Library of the Philippines has a plan for doing the same. López Museum and Ortigas Foundation are also digitising their collections. For a landscape on digitisation in the Philippines see Ortuño Casanova and Sarmiento 2020.

its long-term survival, and the metadata used are not standardised nor can they be downloaded, nor has an OLR been done.¹¹

Nowadays, researchers, librarians, programmers and curators are finally holding discussions on how the effort and money invested in creating repositories might be optimised. A widespread desire expressed in multiple venues -and most lately by the Ocean Exchanges panels in DH Utrecht 2019, was the necessity for common standards and methodologies to address common challenges, noting text reuse in newspapers across countries as one of these challenges (Cordell n.d.).

Some organisations have published their advice on metadata standardisation and even their own code for modifying viewers with the open intention that other periodical repositories imitate them. This is the case of the above-mentioned historical newspaper repository in the National Library of Wales, which has a Devwiki with the clear objective that it will “hopefully be replicated by other IIF institutions so that code developed against the Welsh Newspapers will also work with other sites” (“IIF Newspapers – Devwiki” n. d.). For years now, projects have been publishing good practice manuals which should now be gradually updated. As an example, the Neptuno Project manual dates back to 2004 (Castells et al. 2004) and in 2016 the heads of Europeana Newspapers presented a kind of wish list of the implementations they were going to put in place in their aggregator to create a common search engine for several repositories in an article intriguingly entitled “Making Europe’s Historical Newspapers Searchable” (Neudecker and Antonacopoulos 2016). Partnerships between private companies and institutions are also being set to standardise and facilitate the whole digitization flow. This is the case of Kitodo, a partnership between “open source community and service providers” launched by the Hamburg State and University Library, that supports the digitization of cultural products from digitization itself to construction of metadata and online publication (‘Issue 10: Innovation Agenda’ n.d.).

Regarding the connection between librarians, developers and researchers using bibliographic information, at the end of 2019 a new DARIAH working group was set up with these specific aims: Bibliodata (‘Bibliographical Data (BiblioData) | DARIAH’ n.d.). In the Philippine case, a forum connected to the VLIRUOS-TEAM project in which the Universiteit Antwerpen and the University of the Philippines are partners was held in November 2019 to enhance communication between researchers in the humanities and librarians, focused on digitization processes.

However, in order to process the texts, once they have been digitised and OCRd, keeps on being challenging for Humanities Researchers. What we have proposed here are basically operations that are typical of Natural Language Processing and

11. <http://digilib.ust.edu.ph/rare-perio.html>

Computer Linguistics applied to newspapers (including literature and news) in order to respond to a humanities question on representation. Although interdisciplinarity is highly encouraged by institutions, as well as humanists are encouraged to acquire digital skills, the methodologies used are from quite a different area and therefore it is complex to master for scholars from outside that area. In this sense, repositories, librarians and programmers have the very important task of bridging that gap by incorporating tools to repositories that allow work with the corpus that they hold. This may be done either by suggesting self-standing tools that can be used with that corpus or by integrating the text analysis tools in the repository itself in order to produce data out of the corpus. In the proposed case, to resolve the question being discussed of how the image of the Chinese in the Philippines varies from linguistic group to linguistic group from and over time, the following implementations in the repository would be very welcome:

1. Well-transcribed texts (one possibility would be with Transkribus) that can be seen and downloaded in text format, as well as a simplified viewing option in the repository (bearing in mind that the Philippines has one of the slowest internet connections in the world and that the servers will be located there, a simplified version would speed consultations up considerably).
2. Metadata in a standardised format and compatible with formats in other repositories to make aggregating and viewing periodicals easier, as well as downloading the metadata either manually or using programs that allow subsequent work to be done with them (ie. RIS, which works with open bibliography managers as Zotero).
3. Periodicals available for browsing by date, title, languages and places, as well as by searching for keywords in both the text and in the metadata (including titles and authors of articles).
4. Repositories with IIIF implemented and using a compatible viewer.
5. Both the viewer and the platform made free of charge and with a community to maintain them as well as backing to prevent the repository from being discontinued when funding runs out.
6. Standard markup and labelling common across other repositories.
7. A translation tool supplied as part of the repository itself.
8. Downloading high-quality images as one of the options provided.
9. Integration or suggestion of text processing tools and data on the repository to facilitate the humanities researchers' work.

If previous approaches to the image of the Chinese in the Philippines have had no other option than including close reading of a monolingual reduced corpus, the implementation of the abovementioned suggestions may provide credible generalisations. Easy to reproduce, agreeing with standards of deontology in disciplines

working with quantitative methods, and more relevant for the development of knowledge in the sense that the output, a landscape of the opinions and their evolution, can be actually put in context and explain social, artistic, economic and literary processes. This cannot be done with close reading, which imposes a very limited selection of texts.

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The magazine as a medium of cultural translation

First steps towards transnational research

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Our research project seeks to understand periodical publications as a medium of cultural translation. This article explains some of the practical challenges which must be confronted when building a digital corpus which transcends the logic of national archives. Focusing on a specific journal, *La Gaceta Literaria*, the article then proceeds to explore data visualizations in a mixed-method approach which aims at building a bridge between quantitative and qualitative analyses. The project also explores the periodical's ambition to construct a global community from an Ibero-American perspective, an aim not without (neo)imperialistic implications. It does so with a particular focus on the role of translation, and the use of various languages used within the journal in order to reach this goal.

Keywords: Cultural Magazines, Spain, Latin America, Digital Humanities, metadata, visualization, *La Gaceta Literaria*, imagined Iberian-American community, translation, multilingualism

Not only newspapers, but also the different types of journals and magazines are vehicles *par excellence* for the translation of culture across national and linguistic borders. In the following article I will be looking at the cultural artefact of the magazine in this mode,¹ taking my examples from the corpus of the ongoing DFG-

1. For my analysis of *modernista* and avant-garde cultural magazines in the Spanish-speaking world the term “magazine” is not used to describe an exactly defined historical type of periodical publication as analysed, for example, by Haake 1971. In fact, one of the objectives of our research is to analyse the formal differences and their development in the dynamic field of periodical press situated between the daily and weekly newspaper press on one side and the book market on the other. As this intermedial position is, according to Frank, Podewski and Scherer (2010), one of the outstanding structural features of the “little archive” of cultural magazines, our corpus comprehends different types of journals (mostly titled “revista” by the editors themselves, but also “boletín”, “magazine” or remaining without any explicit label), ranging from very

funded research project *Cultural Magazines from “Modernismo” to Avant-Garde: Processes of Modernization and Transnational networks*.² As can be seen in the visualization of our corpus, which consists of some 60 magazines (Figure 1), the field of our research not only encompasses the entire Spanish-speaking cultural area on both sides of the Atlantic, but also includes the cities of New York and Paris as important places of publication outside the Spanish-speaking nations.

Figure 1. The magazines of our research corpus represented on a world map

Although it is well known that the “imagined community”³ founded in Spanish-language magazines does not necessarily coincide with political national borders, the attempt to do justice to this transnational imaginary in practice within the framework of a comparative research project, however, leads to methodologically far-reaching difficulties. This is especially the case if one moves, as with our project, in an archive of (world) literature expanded by digitization. For ease of understanding, I will present my ideas in three stages. Firstly, I will explain some general methodological problems which arise when one moves from printed sources to digital corpora, and from national archives to a transnational corpus. In a second stage, I will focus more specifically on one Spanish literary journal in our corpus, *La Gaceta Literaria*, and present some experimental methods of data visualization

specialist and short living “little magazines” focused only on literature (as, for example *Création/Creación* directed by Vicente Huidobro), to illustrated magazines with mixed content designed for a much broader public (as, for example, *Mundial Magazine* directed by Rubén Darío).

2. A short description of the project is offered at this site: <http://gepris.dfg.de/gepris/projekt/327964298?language=en>

3. For this concept Anderson (2016), and for its critical reception in the Latin-American context Castro-Klarén and Chasteen (2003).

with which we are seeking to explore the intercultural dimension of journals on the basis of the metadata gained in our project, whereby quantitative and qualitative analysis methods closely intersect. And thirdly, I will deal, continuing with the example of *La Gaceta Literaria*, with the problem of multilingualism and linguistic translation, a problem which should be particularly interesting in the overall context of this publication.

Building a transnational corpus of digitized Spanish-language magazines: Some methodological challenges

The design of a corpus always implies a whole series of preliminary methodological decisions. In our case the decision was based on three central criteria. First, the corpus should cover the whole range of typological variations within the landscape of periodical products between the printed mass media and the book, as already explained in footnote 1. Second, it should be representative of the two main aesthetic movements of modernism in the cultural world based on the Spanish language before and after the turn of the twentieth century, the so-called *modernismo*⁴ and the avant-gardes. A corollary of this second criterion was that we had to consider the diversity of the Latin American context with the varying impacts of heterogeneous indigenous cultures, which cannot be reduced to a simple denominator and resists a simple construction of named identity (Rojas Mix 1991). Finally, our choice was driven by the criterion of online accessibility, because our corpus needed to be a corpus of digitized magazines in order to enable the application of digital research methods. Some of our materials we could find in open-access repositories provided by different archives and libraries of Spain⁵ and Latin America,⁶ and part of it had to be digitized specifically for our project. To this end, we worked with the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin (IAI) which is part of

4. The concept of *modernismo* as a label for a specific *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic in the literature of Latin America and Spain has not to be confounded with the broader term of modernism in the tradition of English and North American Literature. See for a brief introduction Aching (2013).

5. For Spain, we took most materials from the BNE's *Hemeroteca Digital* (<http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/HemerotecaDigital/>), but also from the *Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica* of the Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte (<http://prensahistorica.mcu.es>), from the *Portal Revistas de la Edad de Plata* hosted by the Residencia of Estudiantes in Madrid (http://www.edaddeplata.org/revistas_edaddeplata/) and from the *Arxiu de Revistes catalanes antigues* (<http://www.bnc.cat/digital/arca/index.php>) which is offered by the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

6. For Latin America, we used mainly the following repositories: *Hemeroteca nacional digital de México* (<http://www.hndm.unam.mx/index.php/es/>), *Portal Memoria Chilena* (<http://www.me->

the cultural heritage of the former Prussian state, and which has already digitized part of its collection of cultural journals,⁷ so it was a win-win situation to continue digitizing magazines within this research collaboration.

This leads us to the specific problems associated with this particular corpus. Due to our transatlantic and transnational perspective, the various national contexts of our digitized corpus meant there were no common standards of digitization. Some of the digital copies are just image files, others are already processed for optical character recognition but often in very low quality, and never did we have access to editions of the texts in xml format and encoded in TEI-standard which are nowadays the de facto “gold standard” for the application of digital methods of research. Therefore, what we study are not just the texts that come out of the old archive of printed books and are transformed into another medium, but a new “epistemic thing” for literary studies (Trilcke and Fischer 2018). What we have then to construct are, in the first step towards analyzing this new epistemic thing, files of the structured metadata. These metadata are extracted from the digital objects, organized in tables, where each variable forms a column and each observation a row, and saved in csv-files (comma-separated values). The main elements used to categorize our journals are the names of contributors, their sex, the title of each contribution, the number of pages it occupies in the journal and the contribution’s genre, with a differentiation made between exact and abstract genre categorization. Such differentiation was planned in order to enable a later comparison between different magazines using freely available software tools for visualization and statistical exploration, such as *Gephi*⁸ or *R*.⁹

In the case of the objects digitized by the IAI, we can already use the basic metadata of journals provided in the METS/MODS standard,¹⁰ but it is easy to show that this kind of general metadata, which can be provided by libraries, is just the first step for future research and that there is enormous work to be done to build a corpus of structured metadata. To explain this, let’s focus just on one

moriachilena.cl/602/w3-channel.html) and *Publicaciones Periódicas del Uruguay* (<http://www.periodicas.edu.uy/v2/index.htm>).

7. The materials are presented online at: <https://digital.iai.spk-berlin.de/viewer/collections/lateinamerikanische-kulturzeitschriften/>

8. <https://gephi.org/>

9. <https://www.r-project.org/>

10. METS stands for Metadata Encoding and Transmission Standard, MODS for the Metadata Object Description Schema based on this standard. While it is the most common international standard for library metadata at this point, not every archive or library from where we got our digitized materials could provide it.

magazine taken from the avant-garde period, the very “little magazine” *Creación/ Création*, directed by the Chilean avant-garde author Vicente Huidobro. This journal published only three issues and a supplement. The first two numbers appeared in 1921, and the third issue appeared with a supplement in 1924. Nevertheless, it is highly relevant for an understanding of the history of the Spanish-speaking avant-garde, since it was one of the few attempts of an actor linguistically rooted in the Spanish-speaking world to play an active role in the construction of an “international” of artists, which, as we know, shaped the second phase of the avant-garde of the 1920s. While the transnational network of magazines of the Constructivist Internationale, which spread from Berlin as the main hub throughout Central Europe in the 1920s, has already been well researched (Van den Berg 2006; Wenderski 2015; Joyeux-Prunel 2017: 270–296),¹¹ Vicente Huidobro’s parallel early attempt to connect in a similar way an international community of artists and writers has gone virtually unnoticed. This situation was due not least, of course, to the difficulties in accessing this little magazine, which changed its place of publication, travelling with his director from Madrid to Paris. This change of cultural context also changed the linguistic tone of the magazine which began as a *Revista internacional de arte* which demonstrated its claim to be “international” in the first issue presenting texts in five main European languages (Spanish, French, English, Italian and German) without any translation or abstract. Nevertheless, after arriving in France it changed to a French-only *Revue d’art* (issues two and three) to end with a “suplemento castellano”, a personal diatribe in Spanish against Guillermo de Torre, one of Huidobro’s mayor rivals in the field of the Spanish-language circle of the avant-garde. The research produced by Pedro Lastra (1979) on this magazine still remains the only systematic study to date, with the reason for the lack of research being explained by Lastra himself when he laments that “Bibliographical work on magazines connected to Spanish America is often obstructed by the paucity of complete collections and by the lack of adequate analytical cataloguing” (Lastra 1979: 181). The lack of research on the magazine becomes even more obvious when contrasted with the amount of studies dedicated to the quarrel about Huidobro’s *creacionismo* as a new avant-garde label within the Spanish avant-garde circle.¹²

11. Bulson (2016: 51–58), on the other hand, sees in the formal features of what he calls “the Dada grid” “a mode of exchange encoded by design” (51), which does not belong to a particular movement, but which formed a rhizomatic, decentralized abstract network.

12. See, e.g., Admussen/De Costa (1972) or Bary (1980) with respect to the relationship between Huidobro and Reverdy; as for the personal quarrel between Huidobro and Guillermo de Torre it can be best analyzed in Huidobro’s correspondence to de Torre, Diego and Larrea. See on this topic Huidobro (2008, XLIX–LIX) and García (2005).

Despite the increase in digitization in recent decades – also considerable in the institutions of the Spanish-speaking world – little has changed in this particular case. The catalogues of the national libraries which hold the extremely rare original editions contain only incomplete information on *Creación/Création*. The National Library of Spain contains only the first issue, and provides practically no metadata on the magazine, so that the user could easily miss its transnational character.¹³ This is the same situation with the National Library of Chile, whose catalogue provides nevertheless at least the information that the “Spanish” magazine contains texts in various languages.¹⁴ The catalogue of the National Library of France, on the other hand, separates the “French” issues from the first one, which appears to have been treated like an exotic offspring from unknown foreign climes (in the field of the land of publication you can read “inconnu”, unknown).¹⁵ National libraries must, due to their very ontological mission, apply national philological criteria when dealing with literature. This necessarily leads to problems, as our example illustrates perfectly, when they are confronted with a transnationally oriented publication. It is therefore not surprising that such a “strange” object has also not been prioritized in the digitization of the holdings of the mentioned libraries. It is a matter of fact that Huidobro’s little magazine would not have found its way into the new augmented corpus of digitized literature if its digitization had not been demanded by our research project. While for the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* Huidobro’s magazine was too Spanish to enter the new digitized archive, for the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* it may have been too French and for the National Library of Chile too European. To digitize this little cultural vehicle, it needed therefore the initiative (and finances) of our research project and the already mentioned collaboration with the IAI which recently made the facsimile print of the journal available as a digital object. Nevertheless, even the IAI, which clearly has a transnational mission with respect to the Latin American literatures it holds in its archive, as an institution which is part of the cultural heritage of former State of Prussia cannot help but continue to work with the traditional criteria of nationalist archival processes. This becomes obvious when ones see the metadata related to our little magazine in the IAI’s catalogue¹⁶ and on the website on which

13. See <https://tinyurl.com/st6am5z>

14. “Textos en español, alemán, francés, inglés”. See <https://tinyurl.com/y8fsk9rl>

15. See <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32751997t> for the main entry of the French issues which relates to the Spanish issue as a “titre successif” which needs not to be specified, so that the field for the place of publication, for example, rests without data: <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb327519954.public>

16. <https://lhiai.gbv.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=1012316823>

the digital objects are hosted.¹⁷ They can also easily be downloaded, extracted, and read in the following way:

```
<mets:xmlData>
  <mods:mods xmlns:mods="http://www.loc.gov/mods/v3">
    <mods:originInfo>
      <mods:place>
        <mods:placeTerm type="text">Madrid, Paris</mods:placeTerm>
      </mods:place>
      <mods:dateOther>Número 1 (abril 1921)-février 1924</
mods:dateOther>
    </mods:originInfo>
    <mods:classification authority="ivdcc">Varia</mods:classification>
    <mods:recordInfo>
      <mods:recordIdentifier source="gbv-ppn">1012316823</
mods:recordIdentifier>
    </mods:recordInfo>
    <mods:identifier type="purl">http://resolver.iai.spk-berlin.de/
IAI0000695800000000</mods:identifier>
    <mods:identifier type="zdb">2918814-3</mods:identifier>
    <mods:titleInfo>
      <mods:title>Creación</mods:title>
    </mods:titleInfo>
    <mods:titleInfo type="alternative">
      <mods:title>Création &lt;span>&gt;</mods:title>
    </mods:titleInfo>
    <mods:subject authority="gnd">
      <mods:geographic>Spanien</mods:geographic>
    </mods:subject>
    <mods:subject authority="gnd">
      <mods:geographic>Frankreich</mods:geographic>
```

The IAI's metadata is undoubtedly a step forward compared to the catalogue entries previously mentioned – the cultural hybridity of the journal is now clearly recorded – but at the same time the situation remains in need of improvement. There are contradictions between and within the different datasets. One is the solution found for the problem of the periodical having changed its national context – at one side the “place term” is just filled out with a double entry (“Madrid, Paris”), and on the other side there are two different entries for the “geographic subject” (“Spain” and “France”, both written in German). Another one, related with the first, is that the English-language information in the METS/MODS file is still irritatingly mixed with information in German, presenting a stumbling block for international users and a relic of Prussian times when German still had global clout as a scientific language.

17. <http://resolver.iai.spk-berlin.de/IAI0000695800000000>

I have highlighted the case of Huidobro's little magazine because it illustrates well some of the general problems. It demonstrates that while the augmented corpus of digitized literature available on the internet may be of a different order of magnitude to the partial national archives which collected printed books and press in the past, a point that Franco Moretti stresses frequently,¹⁸ it is still the inheritor of the collecting, recording and indexing traditions of the national philologies of the 19th century. Digitization within the logic of traditional international archivism can therefore only be a first step on the way to a truly comparative analysis of world literature. The next step would be for metadata to be collected and exchanged independently of the traditional logics of archive and organized flexibly in collaborative virtual research environments that permit an effective networking of researchers, each of whom may be based in very different locations.

To this aim, we realized, even before starting our own research project, the virtual research environment *Revistas culturales 2.0* constructed as a platform for collaborative international research on magazines. On this platform, magazines such as *Creación* can be annotated by a group of researchers in a deeper and more comprehensive way¹⁹ than is possible for librarians to do within the parameters of 19th-century rules and categorizations.

Once we have the reliable metadata from a set of magazines, we can go on to use them for new, computer-based methods of analyses which Franco Moretti (2013) likes to call "distant reading" and others, in less polemical terms, "micro-analysis" (Jockers 2013). We believe that these new methods should not completely replace old methods of close reading and hermeneutical understanding, but supplement and enrich them.²⁰ To show the direction we are taking with such a

18. See, for example, his statement in the fifteenth Pamphlet of the Stanford *Literary Lab*: "One thing for sure: digitization has completely changed the literary archive. People like me used to work on a few hundred nineteenth-century novels; today, we work on thousands of them; tomorrow, hundreds of thousands. This has had a major effect on literary history, obviously enough, but also on critical methodology; because, when we work on 200,000 novels instead of 200, we are not doing the same thing, 1,000 times bigger; we are doing a different thing. The new scale changes our relationship to our object, and in fact *it changes the object itself*" (Moretti 2017: 1).

19. www.revistas-culturales.de, the possibilities for annotation are explained in a linked video tutorial in Spanish published on *Vimeo*: <https://vimeo.com/119858046>

20. Of course, we are not the only ones to try to integrate a quantitative approach with traditional qualitative methods. After the first polemical division between "close" and "distant" reading there seem to be a trend for searching a new synthesis, as expressed, e.g., by Ganascia (2015: s.p.) "Our claim here is that, despite these debates within the larger Digital Humanities community, for Digital Literary Studies, there is no real antagonism between the logic of the 'sciences of culture', as described by Rickert and Cassirer, and the making of tools that help to interpret

mixed-method approach in our project I will pass now to a second journal of our research-corpus, *La Gaceta Literaria*. much better known (Hernando 1974; Collins 1975; Rojo Martín 1982, etc.) and already well analyzed with traditional methods.

Mixed-method mapping of a imagined transnational literary field: First digital approaches to the *Gaceta Literaria: ibero-americana internacional* (1927–1930)

In contrast to the case discussed so far, *La Gaceta Literaria*, as one of the outstanding cultural journals of Spain of the late 1920s, has already found its way into the internet archives. The National Library of Spain offers a digitization of almost the entire set while the complete text corpus is available via the portal *Revistas de la Edad de Plata* hosted by the *Residencia de Estudiantes*.²¹ Thus, together with the valuable aid of the comprehensive Index established by Hildegard Hille Jeddelloh Collins (1975), in this case it is much easier to apply digital methods to the object based on the systematic collection of metadata. Due to its overtly proclaimed international character, it is quite natural that this magazine would be of interest to scholars of the cross-cultural dynamics of the literary field. The declared internationality of the journal is of course not unusual in itself for the avant-garde phase, whose internationality was one of its outstanding common characteristics and is therefore often found in the titles.²² In the case of *La Gaceta Literaria*, however, there are a few special features: Firstly, the paper's claim²³ not only to represent

huge databases with respect to existing theories. In other words, computer-aided methods can be seen as a continuation of traditional humanistic approaches. As such, they can afford many opportunities to renew humanistic methods and to make them more accurate, by helping to empirically confront working hypotheses with datasets that now approach the entirety of our printed record, taking into consideration not only literary works themselves but also the intellectual landscapes surrounding the authors of these works."

21. http://www.edaddeplata.org/revistas_edaddeplata/

22. Within our corpus, this is the case of *Reflector. Revista internacional de arte, literatura y crítica* (Madrid 1920), *Prisma. Revista Internacional de Poesía* (Barcelona 1922) or *Irradiador. revista de vanguardia, proyector internacional de nueva estética* (Mexico 1922–1923).

23. Of course, it is problematic to reduce the complex interplay of the different roles of authorship in a periodical with as many collaborators as *La Gaceta Literaria*, but one can suppose that the main editor, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, was also primarily responsible for the layout and the editorial decisions. In the final issues, however, the entire periodical shrank to a newspaper reduced to the individual "voice" of Giménez Caballero reflecting ironically on his new solitude, writing as "the literary Robinson". For the question of how to identify the different "voices" of a periodical see also the contribution of Elke Brems and Jack McMartin in this volume.

just another actor within a broad network of avant-garde “little magazines”, but to function as a mayor forum that provides an overview and orientation in this field. On the one hand, this claim is clearly reflected in the format and the publication’s frequency, because as a large-format magazine published at fortnightly intervals, *La Gaceta Literaria* is not another little magazine among many, but a newspaper. This expanded format is ostentatious proof that, from the editors’ point of view, trends in the new arts and literatures are no longer marginal and unpopular, but part of a complex and important subculture that deserves no less attention than the political events which inform the news of the mass press. Secondly, the ambition to be an orienting observer of the new trends is also seen in the equally ostentatious use of methods and procedures of mapping within the journal. This is particularly concisely demonstrated in the two imaginary cartographies hand-made by “Gecé”, the alias of Ernesto Giménez Caballero, the newspaper’s main editor.²⁴ The first one appeared in number 14, July 1927, and maps the “universe of the contemporary Spanish literature” in an astronomical manner as differentiated cosmic spheres (Albert 2013: 16). The second cartography was published in number 32 (15 April 1928) and shows the territory of the “new Spanish literature” as a geometrical “theorem” dividing the Peninsula into various triangles which represent the centers of avant-garde activity (Albert 2013: 23), with Castile, according to Giménez Caballero’s special geometry, being more important than Catalonia, Andalusia, Galicia and Portugal (Asunce Arenas 2012: 18–20).

Due to its history, cartography is necessarily, as Denis Wood in particular has shown, connected with the claim to the exercise of (political) power (Wood and Fels 1992; Wood, Fels and Krygier 2010). For this reason, as imaginary and subjective as the use of this dispositive (in the Foucauldian sense)²⁵ might be in the case of “Gecé”, one should not neglect the claim to power and global influence inherent in those maps. As for the magazine as a whole, this claim finds its emblematic expression in the logo reprinted in the advertising brochure and on the front page of the first issue, clearly demonstrating the Ibero-American intention of *La Gaceta Literaria* as a neo-colonial imperialist project.²⁶ For this reason, studies

24. Giménez Caballero himself called this kind of mappings of the literary field “carteles literarios”, i.e. literary posters, and published various as a monograph in 1927 in the editorial Espasa Calpe. For more information about this special genre of art see the catalogue *Madrid-Barcelona: Carteles literarios de “Gecé”* and the articles of Fernández Serrato (1997) and Rodríguez Amaya (2000).

25. For the concept and the problems to translate it into English see Bussolini (2010).

26. These neo-colonial aspects of the project have already been emphasized by Mechthild Albert who has right to point out that “the cultural mission of *La Gaceta Literaria* implies a universal cultural imperative, *urbi et orbi*” (2014: 343).

that chose to focus on the presence of particular cultures in the *Gaceta Literaria* (see Cuadrado Fernández 1988 for the Portuguese culture, Matas Gil 2005 for the Italian, Roberto Mosquera 1996 for the Catalan and Pardo de Neyra 2009 for the Galician) must miss this geopolitical dimension, crucial for the magazine's overall cultural project. Less spectacular, but more systematic and extensive, are the geopolitics of the magazine in the system of "tarjetas postales" ('postcards') that structures the different reviews of particular cultural areas and, in general, in the permanent use of geographical categories present in the entire run of the newspaper. It is precisely this permanence and continuity of geopolitical terms which proves that the famous "batalla" ('battle') about the intellectual meridian, started by the anonymous editorial which opened the eighth issue published on 15th April 1927 and which led to vehement reactions, especially on the part of the Argentinean contributors of *Martín Fierro* (see Alemany Bay 1998, or the documentation in Croce 2006: 55–156), was not a mere coincidence, but a consequence of the cultural-imperialist design of the entire project.

Nevertheless, the magazine as a whole is not identical with Giménez Caballero's intentions. The imaginary maps he presented not only counter-map the reality of the literary field at that time in a distorting, tendentious way, but also ignore the transnational network that the *Gaceta Literaria* effectively came to establish. Giménez Caballero himself looks at the field of literature with an obvious nationalist prejudice, which is why "other" literatures seem to have little or no relevance for his own (the *Teorema de la literatura española* is decidedly territorially limited to the Iberian Peninsula and conceptualizes of other cultural spaces only as alien abstracts, while the *Universo de la literatura contemporánea* in turn hypostasizes this national field of literature into a closed cosmos of its own). It is therefore attractive to oppose Giménez Caballero's personal cartographies with alternative mappings based on the magazine metadata that we collected.²⁷ To this end, we used two different data sets and created visualizations for them. Firstly, we mapped all of the location-related references used in the titles of the contributions to the *Gaceta Literaria* on the basis of a most-frequent word-list, appropriately filtered (e.g. extracting nouns such as "España" or "Pombo", the name of the well-known *tertulia* in Madrid organized by Ramón Gómez de la Serna, as well as adjectives such as "españoles", "americanos", e.g.). That work was done for the individual years of the magazine's publication as well as for its whole run, but only an exemplary visualization of this work can be presented here (see Figure 2).

27. The data collection was realized by all members of the DFG-research-project, but in case of *La Gaceta Literaria* Teresa Herzgsell took main responsibility for the data sheet. All data visualizations used in this article were realized by Dr. Jörg Lehmann.

Figure 2. Location-related terms of the contributions to *La Gaceta Literaria* on a world map (analysis spanning the magazine's whole run)

Secondly, we used the postcard system offered by the *Gaceta Literaria* to visualize it both on a world map (see Figure 3) and more specifically on a map of the autonomous communities of Spain, given that the latter rests, notwithstanding the “universalist” magazine’s vision, as the center of the world and as such is more differentiated than the rest of cultural spaces.

By attempting to transfer in such a way the geospatial concepts of the *Gaceta* to a current map system, the aforementioned neo-colonial worldview of the magazine will immediately reveal itself, because the concept system of postcards is categorically anything but consistent or homogeneous. The cultural-spatial differentiations correspond to a changing code which is nowhere made explicit: national terms are preferred for the rest of Europe eastward of the Iberian Peninsula but can be found alongside supranational categories such as “international” and “cosmopolitan” (“postales internacionales”, “postales cosmopolitas”). Within the limits of the Iberian Peninsula political criteria seem to be valid when Portugal and Galicia are distinguished, but on the other hand geographical criteria are used to separate culturally and linguistically linked spaces such as “Catalonia” and “the Balearic Islands”. Nevertheless, the criterion of language community, obviously not used in the differentiation of the “postales” within the Peninsula, regains primacy when it comes to the American continent, with Latin America, which in the *Gaceta* is simply equated with the generic term “America” (“postales americanas”), being contrasted with English-speaking North America, which is differentiated by the explicitly pejorative qualification “yanki” (“postales yankis”). It is also the case in the practice of geography, where maps are used to distinguish different

Figure 3. The postcard distribution for the whole run of *La Gaceta Literaria* on a world map

spaces of the world, that there are always such inconsistent mixtures of categories at work which alternate between different historical traditions and political orders. *La Gaceta Literaria* is not oriented towards a given model of cartography, however, but rather creates its own ideologically-based view of the world. This is particularly evident in the treatment of “Sepharad”, which appears as a part of Iberia on the same categorical level as historical regions such as Aragón, Asturias, Andalucía and Galicia. The historical forced exodus of the Jews after 1492 is thus simply annulled in the *Gaceta*’s imagination and the Spanish-speaking Jewish culture is re-integrated into the “imagined community” (Anderson 2016) of the Iberian nation, strengthened in cultural diversity and cultural significance by this reintegration.

It is outside the scope of this study to discuss in detail this problematic approach to Sephardic heritage, which has already been analysed in research (Rehrmann 1998). Without the need to go into details, it is evident that such kinds of ideological distortion of “real world” geographical categories constitute a problem if not a dilemma for any attempt to make a digital geo-referential mapping of the cultural-spatial concepts used in *La Gaceta Literaria*. Either the imaginary mapping of the world of the magazine, and thus its ideological implications, is reinforced and implicitly certified by the evidence effect of cartographic visualization (for example, if Sepharad were simply projected onto the map of the Iberian Peninsula), or else one tries to correct these imaginations by a normatively more “correct” (in this case geographically oriented) referencing of the geographical spaces (for example, those which lie behind the construct of “Sepharad”). However, this in turn would

hide precisely the ideological dimension of cultural imagination that is decisive in the world construction of the magazine. As a way of resolving this dilemma we have decided in this case to place in our visualization “Sepharad” as a virtual second “Iberia” next to the geographical map of the autonomous regions of Spain in order to expose and make explicit the constructed character of this cultural space (see Figure 4).

Figure 4. The “Iberian” postcard distribution for the whole run of *La Gaceta Literaria*, including “Sepharad” as part of the imagined “Iberian” community

This example shows quite well that metadata analysis in the humanities does not mean a mechanistic application of “objective” given data, but rather a consistent and continuous reworking of categorizations that contain cultural implications and potential cultural significance.²⁸ Visualizations of these data are less the result of the research process than a heuristic means to be able to control this process in a systematic and controlled manner. In this sense, the maps presented here are only starting points, which allow us to identify the texts that should be analyzed

^{28.} *Data*, in this sense, are *capta*, “taken, not given, constructed as an interpretation of the phenomenal world, not inherent in it” (Drucker 2001: § 3).

via a deep semantic reading. Here, the characteristics of the Sephardic cultures described in the different postcards on “Sepharad”, which are simply denied in the categorical construction of a new Iberian Sepharad, would have to be examined in close readings of those texts. Further research would also be required to explain the interest of *La Gaceta Literaria* in Russian culture, an ostensibly surprising affinity for a magazine whose editor-in-chief openly admitted to admiring the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy, and which disrupts the standard assignment of the avant-gardes to mutually exclusive ideological blocks (an especially typical feature of avant-garde research during the Cold War era).²⁹ Regardless of the further possibilities for deeper and more detailed analyses, the contrast between our digital maps and “Gecé’s” nationally oriented literary maps is still very revealing at first sight. It reveals a fundamentally ideological feature hidden within the magazine, not visible in the subjective maps of Giménez Caballero, namely, a precarious, epistemically unstable neo-imperial construction of world literature from an Ibero-American perspective.

Multilingualism and translation in the construction of an “Iberian” world literature in the *Gaceta Literaria*

In the construction of world literature in *La Gaceta Literaria*, in addition to the already discussed geospatial imaginary, another, more practical aspect is not only of decisive importance in general but also particularly interesting for the question of translation in periodical studies treated in this issue of Benjamins Translation Library: the old question “after Babel” of how to handle the existence of the multitude of natural languages existing in the world (Steiner 1975). On this point, too, the *Gaceta Literaria* takes by no means a consistent position, but rather operates with a strange dual strategy that seems to culminate in the paradoxical tendency towards a positive valuation of the role of translation and its simultaneous devaluation. In order to illustrate the cultural potential of the Iberian Peninsula, the magazine also offers space to the non-Castilian languages of Spain, provided they are Romance languages (the Basque language remains excluded linguistically even

29. Mechthild Albert has already mentioned this particular interest in Russian culture in *La Gaceta Literaria*: “Besides the transatlantic Iberian community, deeply rooted in Spain’s imperial past, *La Gaceta Literaria* is shaping another transnational and transcultural community, as novel as it is, perhaps, surprising. It comes of the affinity between Spain and the Soviet Union in terms of the vanguards and of the periphery” (2014: 343). In view of the quantitative prominence of the Russian cultural area, it is all the more striking that despite the already mentioned research on *La Gaceta Literaria* devoted to individual national cultures there is still no thorough examination of the role of Russian and Soviet Russian culture in the magazine.

if the Basque Country plays a role as a region of Iberia, albeit one of secondary importance in comparison with regions such as Catalonia and Andalusia). A whole series of Portuguese or Catalan texts can be found, while other European national languages are hardly present. Although a quantitative evaluation (see Figure 5) shows that other languages remain the exception to the rule of Castilian monolingualism in the *Gaceta*, the very existence of other languages is remarkable and unusual for the periodicals market in Spain during this period. Few examples of the will not to “impose the Spanish language as the absolute”, as was stressed in the magazine’s prospectus,³⁰ were sufficient to be received as a novelty which was repeatedly emphasized in the contemporaneous press commentaries after the arrival of the new cultural magazine.³¹

This tendency towards multilingualism as a co-presence of different languages in a journal,³² however timid and marginal it may have remained overall, logically implies a devaluation of the role of translation, insofar as it is assumed that the reader must have itself the passive competence to understand all of the presented languages.³³ However – and this is the decisive difference between *La Gaceta*’s

30. “*La Gaceta Literaria* carries the subtitle ‘Ibérica-América-Internacional’, not the exclusive of ‘Hispanic’. With its writing team belonging to the post-war generation, it believes that it has the characteristic sensibility of the times: a taste for universality, a respect for locality. Cosmopolitanism, nationalism: the two currents that 1914–1918 set in motion around the world.” Quote taken from Mosquera (1996: 45). All translations from the Spanish sources were made by Dr. Judith Rideout who also helped to improve the first English draft of this article. My thanks go to her.

31. As an example of one of those enthusiastic reactions, see *La Veu de Catalunya*, 15 January 1927, which welcomed “an unexpected voice that raises a cry from the center of Iberia to all members of the intellectual family scattered over the whole Peninsula and Latin America to raise their arms from the bottom of our bitter isolation” (quoted in Mosquera 1996: 46).

32. Being aware of the amplitude of the theoretical problem of multilingualism and translation (Meylaerts 2010), my understanding of “multilingualism” is here just very basic, signifying the co-presence of different languages in the same print medium. Within our corpus of magazines very interesting types of literary multilingualism have been found, based mainly on the different forms of co-presence of Spanish and indigenous languages such as Quechua. This is especially the case with various texts in the *Boletín Titikaka*. In the case of *La Gaceta Literaria*, however, literary multilingualism within the presented texts is practically absent. The co-presence of the three Iberian Romance languages is, however, a sign of the political ambition of the periodical which I will endeavour to explain in more detail.

33. As the exhaustive monograph analyzing the social backgrounds of the *Gaceta Literaria* demanded by José Carlos Mainer (1988: 40) still remains to be written, we can only repeat his “conjectures” about the effective readership of the periodical: “In the absence of the missing monograph, we have more conjectures than answers. With almost total certainty, we should not estimate at more than two or three thousand the number of copies of *La Gaceta* that circulated

Gaceta Literaria: Relative Percentages of Contributions in Several Languages

Figure 5. Relative percentages of contributions to *La Gaceta Literaria* in different languages

Ibero-American strategy of internationalization and Huidobro's European multilingualism as seen in the first issue of *Creación* – this position is taken only in reference to the family of the Ibero-Romance languages. While Huidobro's presentation of five European languages in one journal issue is proof of an aesthetically interesting yet politically utopian acceptance of linguistic diversity after Babel, the more restricted Iberian multilingualism of *La Gaceta* seems more realistic and reader-friendly for the common Latin ground offers, of course, a good basis for a rather far-reaching passive understanding within the group of Iberian Romanic languages.

The proposition from Madrid to construct an "Iberian" community which is based on the recognition of linguistic diversity, was explicitly praised and actively supported by the non-Castilian speaking Spanish cultural areas represented in the *Gaceta*. For example, a Portuguese article by João de Castro Osorio in the

for each issue. And with absolute certainty we can affirm that its most regular readers would be in their twenties or thirties, would live in cities and would be part of the professional, university or administrative middle class. And if their number were higher in Madrid, nor would it be low in the provinces, as these are years in which we know that the latter awoken from the lethargy of Restorationism to the heat of new communications, greater concerns and vague anxieties that were very well addressed by *La Gaceta's* editorial mission."

first issue reinforces the “Esperança Lusiada e a fraternidade Ibérica” (1927). The linguistic policy of the *Gaceta* is also explicitly praised, to give a second prominent example, by the Catalan magazine *L'Amic de les arts*, whose editorial by Josep Carbonell (1928) is reprinted in excerpts in the 50th issue of the Madrid magazine in January 1929. The attitude of *La Gaceta* towards Catalonia is appreciated there as a “supernationalism” or “superhispanism” in the sense of a new “peninsular” spirit, which had been sown by Catalonia, but which had not yet completely flowered. Carbonell demonstrates this new attitude by pointing out that the proper names of Catalan contributors are not hispanized in the Madrid journal as usual but “have been respected with their vernacular spelling” (1929: 4)³⁴ or, to respect the Catalan original, “resten pulcrament respetats” (Carbonell 1928: 1). Already this small detail, a Catalan note of praise for the recognition of linguistic independence, yet itself translated into Spanish, highlights the paradoxes and unresolved tensions in the project for a “transnational” cultural construction that cannot really leave the national behind, but which tries to integrate different dynamics of the national. That the bridges between the inner-Iberian linguistic regions were in reality not as stable as desired, but quite fragile, becomes apparent in the case of the cooperative agreement between the *La Gaceta* and the Portuguese *Presença*, which started enthusiastically, but which was finally broken off at the end of 1929, accompanied, among other things, by the accusations of excessive Francophilia directed by Giménez Caballero towards the Portuguese group (Cuadrado Fernández 1988: 58s).

This brings us back to the neo-imperialist political level associated with the “Ibero-American” cultural imagination, which is sometimes also reflected in *La Gaceta*’s language and translation policies. If within the Iberian language family (excluding the Basque) multilingualism tends to be used as an alternative to translation, translation is recognized as a decisive means to gain global importance for the Iberian cultural space in the realm of world literature. It is for this reason that the magazine pays great attention to the translations of “Iberian” cultural production into other linguistic regions. Translations into other European languages are

34. “In short, that for the writers of *La Gaceta Literaria*, their attitude, vis-à-vis Catalonia, isn’t the result of a hyperintelligent, understanding, humane, systematic position vis-à-vis the Catalan reality – such as would have been correspondingly adopted by their predecessors, an ‘Azorín,’ an Araquistáin etc. – before any other problem of human liberty. It is an enlightenment in their spirit – devoid of all other effective patriotism – of a supernationalism, of a superhispanism, of which, it must be recognized, Catalonia sowed the seed, but without yet seeing the harvest [...] In the last issue of the Madrid review, beside the Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese articles which lord over the space, one sees the index and summary of Andalusian magazines and books, where the names of the Catalan contributors are found respected with their vernacular spellings, in dedications, reviews and articles.”

meticulously noted as signs of a growing cultural importance of the emerging Pan-Iberian cultural nation, which is why translations from Catalan into other world languages are recorded as well as translations of Castilian authors and texts.³⁵ In general, within *La Gaceta Literaria* there is a great awareness of the importance of translation as a means of transnational dissemination of a culture, which can also be seen in the frequent explicit thematization of translation – relatively frequent in terms of what was usual in cultural magazines at this time. Despite such diversity in these unsystematic reflections (from different authors on different occasions in varying degrees of depth),³⁶ once again we can observe the overall tendency for an inconsistency in categories typical of the cultural imaginary of *La Gaceta*. Translation is particularly praised when it promotes and enhances the status of its “own” transnationally constructed Ibero-American culture in the world. This applies not only to translations from this cultural area, but also into it, for example when in an article on “Descartes en Catalán” the author (very possibly Tomàs Garcés) celebrates translation as a cultural and creative achievement of appropriation, which in principle ranks on the same level as cultural activity in one’s own language. In order to conceptualize this act of appropriation, the author refers to Catalan, from which he takes the concept of “nostrar”, a word he claims is “henchida de significación” (‘bursting with meaning’).³⁷

To discuss translation in a Castilian text with a Catalan expression like “nostrar” shows two things: the attempt to form a Pan-Iberian ingroup feeling, in which individual national ambitions are included and should be overcome to form a new synthesis, but also the cultural separation of one’s own group from the foreign, which continues to be at work even in this new transnational imagined community. Even so, translation from other languages is not always so self-confidently celebrated as a cultural achievement of its own; on the contrary, in the commentaries about translations in *La Gaceta*, time and again we see a fear of “alienation”

35. Ferrán Soldevilla (1929), to give a concrete example, praises in this sense the translation of the Catalan chronicle of Bernat Desclot into English.

36. Although a more detailed and systematic study of the translation problem within *La Gaceta* is still missing, Mosquera (1996: 50–53) dedicates some space to the “Diálogo de las lenguas”.

37. “Descartes en catalán”, *La Gaceta Literaria* III, 67 (October 1929): 2. The author refers explicitly to a prior article in which he had already introduced “nostrar” as the Catalan word for translation as appropriation, claiming Carles Ribas to have introduced this notion. See the “Noticario” of the “Gaceta Catalana” in *La Gaceta Literaria* III, 59 (June 1929): 4. Since this notice is part of a block of information related to Barcelona and it has been Tomas García who was responsible, within the *Gaceta Catalana*, for the Barcelona Area (Juan Chabas, on the other hand, reported on Valencia), one can assume that he was the author of both this information and the article on “Descartes en catalán”.

through an excessive presence of the “Other”, a fear of alienation which leads also to a rejection to translate the Other. Such fear is particularly explicit in the dispute over the “intellectual meridian”, in which Latin American writers were called upon to abandon their supposedly overpowering cultural orientation towards Paris and instead orient themselves towards Madrid, the metropolis of the old motherland, because this motherland was now ready for fraternal cooperation. One of the theses formulated in the context of this dispute, issued by an unnamed author, was that in reality it is not Paris but *translation* which constitutes a false meridian, marking the intellectual hour not only for Latin America but for Spain itself. With regard to the conditions of the book market on both sides of the Atlantic, the weakness of domestic cultural production is criticized, because even in Madrid, as the supposed center of *hispanitas*, the production of its own literature would be far too weak and meaningless in relation to translations of “other” literature.

The Spanish publisher has come to understand that his duty is to serve as a bridge between the central cultures of Europe and the avid and snobbish curiosity of America. Therefore, dear Spaniards, why do you shout so much about the Meridian of Madrid? Sadly, the real Meridian of Hispano-America right now is the servile act of translation.³⁸

As has been already stressed by some critics (e.g. Falcón 2010), although the “battle of the meridian” seems at first to be a conflict motivated by identity politics and national pride, very concrete issues such as the influence in the global book market were at stake. The translation politics of the *Gaceta* was definitely not only driven by the idealistic objective of increasing the world-wide circulation of ideas and installing a new brotherhood of intellectuals, it was also driven by ambitions for very materialistic gains in influence and power.

In every case, the discourse on “misery and splendor of translation” that would be made prominent later by Ortega y Gasset (1947) was, in the case of the debate in *La Gaceta Literaria*, clearly influenced by the specific upheavals of Spanish culture in a phase in which postcolonial cultural dynamics (Spain vis-à-vis America) overlapped with neo-colonial dynamics (Spain vis-à-vis Africa) and led to a complete breakdown in ideological consistency.

Modern Spanish-language cultural magazines in the phases of *modernismo* and the avant-garde, which we examine in our project and of which I could only discuss two examples here, functioned not least as media able to construct competing imaginary communities that were no longer (only) national. In order to study this cultural dynamic successfully in their entire complexity in the future, it

38. “El verdadero meridiano Hispanoamericano: la traducción”. *La Gaceta Literaria* I, no. 17 (September 1927): 1.

will no longer be sufficient to refer to the data collected in the respective national archives, because in culture “data” are not simply given, uncontestable facts and because the archives’ own national logic cannot be methodically transcended for the formation of a world literature as easily as Franco Moretti, for example, seems to imagine. A first step in the right direction would therefore be to combine the new digital methods of research with a real practice of transnational networking in the research community. This practice can only take place through joint work on metadata as a new kind of meta-language for comparative research on digitized materials. Only through the collaborative exchange of data can it be ensured that the expanded archive of digital world literature not only becomes larger in terms of quantity, but also more deeply understood, in a way that questions the traditional categories of evaluating literature we inherit still from the national-oriented philologies.

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Digital methods for revisiting twentieth-century magazines of ideas and culture

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Considering magazines of ideas and culture are fundamental sources for the history of the first half of the twentieth century, we propose a discussion of the use of digital and quantitative methods to broaden knowledge on these historical objects, and bring to light new insights and understanding of the source material, taking into account the aspects that make magazines a particularly complex object of study. After briefly examining the advantages and feasibility of studying magazines using non-traditional historiographical methodologies, we explore how the use of aggregated information can provide visual and comprehensive information not only on the history of specific periodicals but also on their contents. Using various statistical procedures applied to data on the reception of foreign authors and works we try to bring forward aspects of cultural transfer present in these magazines. For this end, we use information gathered by the Seminário Livre de História das Ideias (History of Ideas Free Seminar) research group for the *Revistas de Ideias e Cultura* (Magazines of Ideas and Culture) project, illustrating our argument with data from *A Águia*, a republican magazine published in Portugal from 1910 to 1932.

Keywords: Magazines of Ideas and Culture, digital methods, quantitative analysis of qualitative data, reception of foreign authors

Magazines as a fundamental source for cultural history and history of ideas

During the twentieth century, magazines played a vital role in the circulation of ideas, in the transformation of mentalities, and in the definition of modern tastes and sensibilities, not only in Europe but throughout the world.

In Portugal, as in several other countries, magazines represented the core of cultural life. They were the first and most relevant medium for the dissemination and discussion of ideas and thought. On their pages the reader would find the

latest polemics concerning every aspect of cultural life, discussions about current national and international events, the latest trends in fashion, or critiques of bold avant-garde aesthetic movements. It was in magazines that the most irreverent manifests were published, where noteworthy artistic movements came to light, doctrinarian orientations voiced, currents of thought and opinion were born, and tastes gained shape. It was through magazines that culture spread, in an unprecedented movement, beyond the confines of national languages and boundaries, bringing with them images and words from other cultural realities. In this sense, magazines diluted borders and narrowed geographical and cultural distances.

More than books, magazines were the forum where political indoctrination, literary movements, and philosophical, political, pedagogical, historical, or sociological schools of thought were brought to light. The work of nearly all outstanding intellectuals, writers, philosophers, and poets was first and foremost published in these magazines; in fact, they not only wrote for them but were often also their founders, directors, and editors.¹ The frequency with which the main body of work of renowned authors from this period consists of collections of articles published in periodicals is very significant.²

In general, the most meaningful political, artistic, and civic movements were developed around magazines; they represented their true collective voice, a place for original programmes to be made public, for forging strong bonds with readers, in accordance with the rhythmic tempo of their periodicity.

Magazines were successful as the leading means for communicating their own contemporaneity due to a number of particularly pressing factors, the first of which was the general increase in literacy of populations, especially in urban contexts, which exponentially expanded the number of potential readers. In addition, magazines were at the very front of state-of-the-art printed media, displaying a high capacity for seduction leveraged on the association of image with text; illustration was an important element in these magazines, as was often highlighted in the subtitles. As such, their history is strongly correlated with innovations in the fields of both graphic arts and photography and photojournalism. Technical

1. We find multiple examples of this in Portugal. Eça de Queirós founded and directed the magazine *Revista de Portugal* (1889–1892); Fernando Pessoa founded *Orpheu* (1915) and *Athena* (1924–25) and, despite being the most celebrated twentieth-century Portuguese writer, his only published book appeared in the last year of his life, while all of his other previous writings to see print were published in magazines; the founders and directors of *A Águia*, discussed below, were the foremost poets, novelists, and thinkers of their generation.

2. “Many of the books published in [the first decades of the twentieth century] are simply a collection of texts which the authors occasionally or regularly contributed to newspapers and other periodical publications.” (Ramos 2001: 471) Authors’ translation.

advances in the printing process of images were quickly implemented, and the reproduction of renowned artists' works became a common occurrence in these periodicals, often alongside pictures illustrating new trends in fashion, or other images related to the preferred subject matter of each particular publication (Jeune 1990: 457–58).³ For many readers, magazines were the means through which the world was first revealed to them – their fascination perhaps only comparable and second to the appearance of moving pictures.⁴

In a period when the idea of progress held considerable sway, magazines became the creators and heralds of novelty, with horizons that ranged from the famous personalities of mass culture to the popularization of science and social prophylaxis. The ability to perceive the meaning of contemporaneity – to review it beyond the raw immediacy of newspapers – proved to be one of their main attributes. Since ideas and their capacity to transform the world and people's lives were valued, magazines emerged as the place where new currents of doctrine and artistic sensibility were shaped, as the invaluable mouthpiece of intellectuals for communicating with their audience.

Just as periodical publications varied widely in content, so too did the public they were aimed at. Magazines were able to stimulate many different interests and motivations, which were promoted to capture and retain the loyalty of readers, who eagerly awaited the arrival of every new issue – sometimes with a collector's mind-set.

Diversity was clearly one of the main characteristics of magazines. These periodicals could be dedicated to every aspect of life, from literature to sports, from politics to science, and so on; the public they targeted could range from housewives to poets, from children to factory workers; their periodicity could be monthly, weekly, trimonthly, annual, or even irregular; and their format could extend from the very minimalistic or small format to the very bold, large, or colourful. This variety does not, however, compromise their distinctive character and the clear delimitation of the object. The effort to identify common denominators within this profusion of magazines calls for a precise definition of shared traits, as

3. A description of the most important image and illustration-related printing press advances can be found in Melot (1990) and Renoult (1991).

4. The prospectus for *Life* magazine, an iconic periodical dedicated to photojournalism that was first published in 1936, states that its goal is to provide a way for their readers "to see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things – machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work – his paintings, towers and discoveries; to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerous to come to; the women men love and many children; to see and take pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed".

well as the enunciation of those unique elements that distinguish them from other printed publications, namely newspapers, other periodicals, and books.

Magazines are usually composed of a variable number of articles or other textual pieces (poems, literary pieces, reviews, etc.) authored by a group of writers, editors, and artists. Even though, in this sense, an article can be viewed as the most cohesive unit or part of the publication, a common thread – subject, genre, etc. – usually binds the whole together, not the least for its thematic appeal to specific reader segments.

Although information and opinion can be found in both newspapers and magazines, they each follow different constraints, given that their rhythms and relationships with time are different, as are the ways in which their object is approached. In a magazine article, current events and the news are not used as an end in themselves, but rather as the object of the author's thought, necessarily including an implicit claim to an opinion. The magazine article presents the reader with a view; the newspaper article brings the reader an account of the moment. It is not surprising, then, that their periodicity is also different, and that the latter tend to adopt a more expeditious pace while the former prefer a slower cadence. As George Sorel wrote in 1907, “les journaux font du journalisme; les revues font de la culture; il ne faut pas se laisser aller à confondre les rôles” (George Sorel quoted in Julliard 1987: 3).

Writing a magazine article is also not the same as writing a book; one and the other have distinct usages and respond to different reader expectations. Magazines were not only the fastest way of circulating ideas but also an arena for authors to develop their thought and to express restlessness, in permanent dialogue with their times.⁵ This often resulted in a complex network of discussion and debate, built on a back and forth movement of arguments stretching over extended periods of time. As Jacques Julliard wrote, “l'article de revue au contraire [du livre] est nécessairement la confrontation d'un homme avec d'autres hommes, d'un penseur avec son temps” (Julliard 1987: 3).

Further evidence of the importance of these publications in Portuguese cultural life can be found in the number of literary magazines published since 1900. Considering only literary periodicals (i.e., excluding all newspapers and other types of periodicals), the number of new titles published between 1900 and 1910 was 275, an average of 25 per year; between 1911 and 1926 483 new titles were published, around 30 per year; and due to state censorship that was active during the 48 years of the Estado Novo dictatorship, the number of new titles dropped

5. In 1894, Léon Blum wrote, in *La Revue Blanche*, “les revues ne sont pas des livres. Il ne serait pas juste de reprocher à un article de revue sa facture trop rapide et trop légère. Il n'y a pas de caractère d'éternité. Ce n'est pas la pensée sous sa forme définitive” (Quoted in Leymarie 2002: 9).

significantly between 1926 and 1974, to an overall total of 439, corresponding to an average of 9 new titles per year (Andrade 2009: 32).

In this light, it becomes clear that magazines were – at least until the rise of audio-visual communication technology – the means *par excellence* of cultural production, transmission, and reception, both in its more general and diffuse expression of transformation of mentalities and customs, and also in more elaborate reflective, literary, artistic, or scientific idioms.

The decisive role of magazines in the cultural transformations of the twentieth century was a simultaneously cosmopolitan, national, and local phenomenon; public spaces created by these periodicals resulted from the interception of those three vectors. The high degree of communication between them is irrefutable when we look at the best-selling editorial paradigms that received worldwide distribution and popularity; echoes of these magazines can be found all over national- and local-level publications, who very frequently reference, quote, and copy their authors and articles. In line with this, it is interesting to note that magazines almost always quote other magazines more frequently than any other type of publication. In *A Águia*, for example, we find that the most quoted title is the French magazine *Mercur de France*, a periodical with considerable longevity that was published from 1890 to 1940 (Charle 2004: 179).

The local, national, and international cultural exchange that took place in these magazines brings to light fundamental aspects of cultural transfer (Espagne 2013). The circulation of ideas and concepts is a key element of magazines of ideas and culture, one that is inextricable from the very nature of the source.

Acknowledging the importance of magazines as fundamental sources for cultural history highlights the relevance of finding methods and instruments to approach them as historical objects. Consequently, we argue that the use of aggregated data constitutes a valuable instrument for a better understanding of their content and history.

Comprehensive analysis of discourses using aggregated data

The fact that magazines represent the foremost modality for cultural production and circulation in the twentieth century raises a number of particular problems for any historiographical attempts at examining them, which are only now beginning to be solved.

As with other studies that involve large sets of information, digital methods provide reliable means for addressing numerous, extensive, and complex sources.

The sheer number of different published titles, the length of their successive issues, the amount of corresponding authors, and the variety of genres and tones

are all factors that have made it difficult to fully grasp these magazines' universe. This may be the reason for the near inexistence of Portuguese cultural history and history of ideas studies about the magazine as a crucial editorial modality, and why their study is often consigned to disciplinary fragments or monographic reflections on specific titles that are deemed particularly relevant, for one reason or another.⁶

Digital methods greatly broaden the range of possibilities for the study of magazines, notably in three aspects: first, the digital edition of the full collections of these publications gives readers the opportunity for universal access to primary sources of cultural history, something that is often impossible even for institutions of reference; second, the systematic mapping of each of these collections' contents can result in exhaustive and uniform databases; third, the quantitative analysis of the qualitative data thus obtained unfolds new hermeneutical and heuristic perspectives by eliciting and enabling interpretative problems that are otherwise difficult to formulate.

A general methodology founded on a multidisciplinary approach to sources is therefore necessary. For almost two decades now, the Seminário Livre de História das Ideias (History of Ideas Free Seminar) research group has been working on building a comprehensive and extensive database of the most significant twentieth-century Portuguese magazines of ideas and culture. From its very beginning, their *Revistas de Ideias e Cultura* (Magazines of Ideas and Culture) project has sought to articulate different disciplines, encompassing knowledge from the fields of history of ideas, library science, and information science. The resulting ever-expanding relational database contains exhaustive information on authorship, quoted names and works, subjects, concepts, and geographical names, for all articles contained in these publications.

This information structure describes the magazine, the individual issues, and the respective articles with all appropriate bibliographical elements, in accordance with best practices in library sciences. The articles are, however, the nucleus of all data collected – in the database all of the remaining information describes or in some way refers to the article table.

It's important to note that, for the purpose of the project, any autonomous and circumscribable printed piece, whether it is an essay, a poem, an aphorism, an image, a short story, etc. is considered an article.

Thus, researchers collect all bibliographical information (title, authors, notes, etc.), and all appropriate descriptors – single or collective authors, concepts, subjects, single and collective quoted names, quoted works, and quoted geographical names for each article. All ensuing metadata is gathered in individual tables, which are then linked to one another through the article index.

6. With notable few exceptions, such as *Revistas Literárias do Século XX em Portugal* (Rocha 1985) and *Dicionário da Imprensa Periódica Literária Portuguesa do Século XX* (Pires 1996).

With these tables containing all the descriptors from all the magazines, conducting cross-referencing queries between titles becomes a fairly simple procedure.

The connection between names and articles can take on different forms, as each individual can feature as the author of an article, as a quoted name in an article, or as the author of a quoted work in an article. In any case, the identity of every author is always unique and standardized. This seeks to ensure a high level of coherence, allowing the user to follow a name throughout the entirety of the database, visualizing all connected articles, regardless of the connection's capacity.

The *Revistas de Ideias e Cultura* portal (ric.slihi.pt) contains the project's practical results. It provides access to the complete collections of many different, and in some cases particularly extensive, magazines – seventeen, at the time of writing –, either directly, by browsing their digitized pages, or via the eight descriptor indexes, available in simple and aggregated versions. In addition, each title is supplemented with a curated selection of all invaluable ancillary documents and studies for the publication's historical contextualization. As magazines can, in most cases, be grouped by movements, as a consequence of the doctrinarian and disciplinary claims and tensions of their time, grouping together the main titles of each current of ideas enables the coherent segmentation of their universe – for example, the magazines published within the modernist, republican, or anarchist movements' frameworks, etc. This process is, by definition and choice, a work in progress, under continual growth, both from a quantitative and qualitative perspective.

One of the project's main methodological bulwarks is the partition of the common “key-words” field into “subjects” and “concepts”; a catch-all field was deemed an excessively imprecise instrument for comprehensively understanding the underlying ideas and ideological frameworks of these magazines. Movements – and magazines themselves, as their organs – tend to build discourses based on conceptual constellations that mirror and determine their visions of life and the world. As such, the only possible way to understand them, while carefully avoiding anachronisms, is to examine the conceptual framework that provides structure to these discourses.

In order to avoid using divergent criteria for defining a concept, a conceptual thesaurus, for use by researchers, was discussed and developed by the team beforehand. The first step in this process was to establish a consensual characterization of the two relevant operative fields. Very succinctly, a concept was taken as an abstraction, whereas a subject was considered the materialization of an idea (Castro 1996: 12–13). For example, in an article that contains the concept “war”, it would be acceptable to also include any subjects that reference specific military conflicts – as long as they match the article's contents, of course – such as “First World War” or “Battle of Ypres”, besides other relevant martial descriptors, such as “trench warfare” or “poison gas”. The intention here is to determine concepts

from a comprehensive, rather than explanatory, perspective; this means that, in any given article, all structural concepts that are mobilized by the author, in accordance with the conceptual economy that supports his or her discourse, are of relevance and should be collected.

While making no claim to absolute denotation or universality, and acknowledging the fundamentally subjective use of concepts, and how they are permeable to historic and situational perspectives, we believe it is possible to arrive at a considerable degree of systematization, akin to what is found in dictionaries of all sorts (philosophical, historical, semantic, etc.). Concepts articulate and are composed of a multiplicity of meanings, containing within themselves the plurality of their historical uses.

A concept (...) should remain polysemic. (...) A word becomes a concept if all the political-social and empirical circumstances under and for which that word is used become aggregated to it. (...) A word contains possibilities of meaning, while a concept holds within itself totalities of meaning.

(Koselleck 2006: 109–10. Authors' translation)

The use of conceptual frameworks also enables registering concepts without *verbatim* textual mentions of specific words (Lisboa 2015: 135). Concurrently, the need for critical interpretation of texts renders the use of text recognition tools (OCR) inadequate; instead, all the input information is collected and validated by researchers.

Taking care to avoid redundancies and repetitions, the guidelines for the definition of the conceptual thesaurus followed principles of parsimony, consistency, and clarity, in addition to favouring common criteria and language comprehensibility for all users. The resulting conceptual network constitutes one of the project's strongpoints, allowing for a clear delimitation of the general and specific terms that structure thought as a representation of the world, a phenomenon which can be found in magazines of the same political, cultural, or artistic movement. The set of reciprocal concepts contained in the conceptual map for each movement provides an unequivocal view of the fundamental ideas and thoughts espoused by their authors.

It should be noted that the project does not aim to classify information, but rather to offer a comprehensive reading of sources. Its output is meant to be the result of a critical analysis of the source and an interpretation of its contents, grounded in the fields of history of ideas and conceptual history, and not a mere automatic or neutral collection of terms and names. The database is not intended to replace the source, but instead to aid navigation through its complexity, providing meaning and structure to the included *corpus* of discourses, and highlighting the underlying programmatic and doctrinarian aspect of these magazines.

Reception of foreign authors and works in the magazine *A Águia*

If we consider references to foreign authors and works as a sign of the cultural transfer that occurs whenever a cultural object or product is transposed from one context to another, we can argue that, by cross-referencing them with concepts used by article authors we can grasp the resignification and the reinterpretation underlying these transfers (Espagne 2013: 1). As such, by considering the circulation of foreign authors and works we foresee the practices that constitute a cultural transfer into the Portuguese language, even though we don't approach translation directly.

In this section we will present information on quoted authors and quoted works in the articles of one of the magazines published by the research group, *A Águia*, a *monthly magazine of literature, art, science, philosophy, and social critique*. The periodical began as a monthly republican magazine, published in Portugal from 1910 to 1932, but its periodicity was compromised during the Great War, never fully recovering, and later became more irregular. It was finally interrupted for two years, from 1930 to 1932, when the first and sole issue of its last series was published. Even considering the inconsistencies and hiatuses, *A Águia* had an unusually long lifespan when compared to the myriad of other magazines published in the same period.

From 1912 until 1932, *A Águia* was the main organ of the republican *Renascença Portuguesa*, one of the most noteworthy intellectual movements of twentieth-century Portuguese history, defined by an exceptional determination for reforming national cultural life, and a singular capacity for uniting the intellectual elite around a common cause. From its foundation in 1912 until 1915 the movement gathered more than 350 active supporters (Samuel 1990: 50–56). Along with the publication of several periodicals, of which *A Águia* stood out as the most important title, the movement developed many other cultural initiatives, including innovative educational projects, centred on “popular universities”, and one of the most significant editorial projects of its time – *Edições da Renascença Portuguesa* offered a considerable amount of both Portuguese and foreign works, organized into ambitious collections dedicated to education, philosophy, history, children, literature, poetry, etc.

A Águia's complete collection was published over five series that featured 205 issues. A total of 1,903 articles were indexed, and the collected data includes unique entries for 403 single authors, 4,299 quoted names, 1,755 quoted works, and 1,033 concepts, among other descriptors, such as geographical names and subjects.

If we look at the distributions of published articles and authors by year, represented in Figure 1, we see the magazine suffered a decline in productivity from 1914 onward, with few exceptions, due to the Great War, which had an enormous

impact on publication dates as well as on contents – in fact, the war quickly became one of the magazine’s predominant subjects. It is also clear, by looking at the gap between the two distributions, that the productivity of collaborators to the magazine peaked in the first few years (with the exception of 1910), with authors contributing with almost three articles per year, on average, from 1911 to 1914.

Figure 1. Distribution of articles published and authors of articles by year, in *A Águia*

It is important to bear in mind that this magazine was produced by an intellectual elite and was read by an educated minority – who itself was part of the wider cultural elite. Among other things, this meant that genres and fields of knowledge such as philosophical essays, literary studies, poetry, ethnography, archaeology, etc. made up the majority of its content.

Throughout the pages of *A Águia* we find a considerable amount of references to foreign authors and works. The numerous quoted foreign authors and works in the pages of Portuguese magazines bring to light their contributors’ cultural frame of reference, palpable in the rich and vast reception network that denotes the transfer of French, Spanish, Russian, and English thinkers, poets, scientists, politicians, artists, and writers into Portuguese intellectual culture.

At a time when literature and thought were conceived as great universal constellations, both classical and contemporary, and cosmopolitanism was a common impulse, translation necessarily played a very significant role. Among the collected data, translations can be fairly easily identified, since the names of foreign authors are recognizable at a glance.

In any case, translation was always a fundamental component of these magazines, both directly, in the Portuguese versions of articles written by foreign

authors, and indirectly, in the quotes and references to foreign authors and works. If we consider, for example, the four most noteworthy magazines of the Portuguese libertarian movement, *A Sementeira* (1908–1919), *Germinal* (1916–1917), *Suplemento Literário e Ilustrado do Jornal A Batalha* (1923–1927), and *Renovação* (1925–1926), all of which are explicitly propagandistic – the concept did not yet have the negative connotation that was later associated with it – we find abundant translations of excerpts by authors considered to be particularly relevant in each historical moment, from Malatesta to Kropotkin.⁷ In a magazine such as *A Águia*, directed and written by the most reputed Portuguese republican intellectuals of its time, the publication of integral translated texts is sporadic and specific, since the presence and influence of foreign authors tends to take place within the discourses of Portuguese-written articles. It is interesting to note that while the magazine had international correspondents, including reputed Spanish and French authors Miguel de Unamuno and Phileas Lebesgue, all of their contributions, whether essays, letters, poems, or other kind of texts, were published in the original languages; the pieces are presented to readers as written, under the assumption of being understood.

We do find a residual number of translated pieces in *A Águia*, including a few translated poems, mostly English poetry translation studies by Luís Cardim, a professor of English language and literature at the Faculdade de Letras do Porto, which was an academic institution that cultivated a strong connection with the Renascença Portuguesa movement and the magazine since 1921. The translated authors include renowned and celebrated poets such as Walt Whitman, Lord Byron, William Blake, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and John Milton. Only two poem translations were not done by Cardim: one by Maurice Maeterlinck and the other by François Villon (in this case the original is published alongside the translation), both from the French language.

Also of interest is a section called “Os novos tempos e a sua literatura” [New times and their literature], published between 1917 and 1921 over 16 different issues, where its author, art critic and pedagogue António Arroio, translated several articles originally published in French magazines during the Great War, with the purpose of illustrating his thesis on the impact of the war on literature. All translated pieces were literary texts (short stories, brief theatre plays, etc.).

A small number of essays about translation, where details of specific translated texts or books are discussed, sometimes by the translator himself, are also to be found. Among these, we could single out three articles on a contemporary translation of the *Book of Job*, by writer and politician Basílio Teles, two of which review

7. For example, in *A Sementeira* 10 out of the 20 most referenced authors are foreign, and all of their articles were translated into Portuguese.

and praise the quality of the work, while the third offers an excerpt of the translation itself, with comments from the author.

Apart from occasional announcements of upcoming translated books to be published by the Renascença Portuguesa, no further significant translated texts or articles with direct references to translation can be found in the magazine. However, as previously argued, we believe this scarcity of translated pieces should not be mistaken as a sign of absence; it merely demonstrates an implicit, rather than explicit, presence of the topic of translation on its pages.

Taking a closer look at the list of quoted works throughout *A Águia*'s thirty years of publication, it is interesting to note how magazines and other periodicals dominate the universe of references. Considering only the 50 most quoted works, 34 are periodical titles, of which a further 27 are magazines. In Figure 2 we see that out of the 15 most quoted works in the magazine, only one title is not a periodical, and out of the other 14, only 2 are not magazines (*O Primeiro de Janeiro* and *Diário de Notícias* were newspapers).

Figure 2. Fifteen most quoted works in *A Águia*

The overwhelming predominance of references to magazines evokes an important feature and function of these periodicals as mediums of dialogue, where exchanges between authors took place from title to title, and from article to article, over a back and forth of arguments built on preceding responses. Even in situations where there wasn't an intellectual communication as direct as in these prolonged idea exchanges, references to the latest articles read by these authors were very common, as they represented the opportunity to acknowledge and confront the fresh work of other public thinkers and scholars. References to foreign magazines

also denote eagerness to be at the forefront of discussions taking place abroad, in venues seen as cosmopolitan centres of culture.

The relationship between references to an author and references to his or her work can unveil different types of influence. With regard to the ten most frequent national and foreign authors (in other words, the authors most often quoted throughout the magazine), Table 1 shows the number of articles where each author is quoted, of articles written by him or her, the number of his or her quoted works (books, articles, etc.), and of articles where these are mentioned. For example, Leonardo Coimbra is quoted in 51 articles, wrote 61 articles, and 11 of his works are referenced over a total of 25 occurrences.

Table 1. Ten most quoted Portuguese and foreign authors, with number of quotes, articles written, quoted works, and quotes of author's works in the magazine *A Águia*

Quoted authors	No. of quotes	No. of articles as author	No. of quoted works	No. of quotes of works
Luís Vaz de Camões	83	–	2	25
Camilo Castelo Branco	71	16	15	18
Leonardo Coimbra	51	61	11	25
Teixeira de Pascoaes	50	66	13	29
Guerra Junqueiro	47	1	5	12
Teófilo Braga	39	12	9	12
Eça de Queirós	35	1	9	12
Jaime Cortesão	32	59	12	19
António Sérgio	29	47	10	18
José Leite de Vasconcelos	25	2	11	12
Immanuel Kant	43	–	0	0
Henri Bergson	43	–	3	3
Victor Hugo	41	–	2	3
Friedrich Nietzsche	40	–	1	3
Plato	33	–	1	1
William Shakespeare	32	–	5	10
Dante Alighieri	30	–	1	4
Arthur Schopenhauer	29	–	0	0
Isaac Newton	26	–	0	0
Aristotle	26	–	0	0

It is clear that quotes of works by Portuguese authors greatly outnumber those of foreign authors. Also interesting, and of significance for the study of the reception

network within the magazine, is that authors whose works are quoted more often are also those who wrote the most articles for the magazine; not only are they some of the most quoted names, but also the most prolific contributors. Conversely, references to specific works of foreign authors are scarce, even when the authors' names are commonly quoted. For example, in the cases of Kant, Schopenhauer, Newton, and Aristotle, all of which are important influences for the magazine's writers, hardly a mention is made to individual works of theirs. Here, we can safely assume that existing quotes refer to their general body of work, or the most notorious ideas for which they were known.

Confronting information on quoted names with concepts found in articles allows us to highlight relationships between discourses and reception. Using this information together, we can better understand the most significant contexts where foreign influences help to structure the ideas postulated by the magazine's authors, and bring to light the most influential names in relation to specific contents.

In Figure 3 the most common concepts and quoted names are projected on a two dimensional map. We used multiple correspondence analysis to visualise concepts and quoted authors in articles, highlighting patterns of simultaneous occurrences (Carvalho 2008: 91–124; Hair et al. 2014: 519–40), using the 50 most frequently quoted names and concepts, which can be found, in different combinations, in 1,521 of the 1,903 articles that make up the whole magazine. In short, the procedure consists of a multivariate method for analysing qualitative data, finding similarities and dissimilarities between individuals (in our case, articles) based on the frequency they are used together, and projecting these relationships as proximities or distances between categories. In the projection, if names and/or concepts are projected closer to one another, it means they are more commonly used together; if, on the contrary, they are very far apart, it is less likely that they appear together in any article.

Concepts are shown in orange and names are shown in red. Since the method aims to find profiles of articles based on the different uses of quoted names and concepts, all categories that were shown not to contribute to differentiate between articles were deleted from the map, in order to provide a clearer output. For example, if a concept is very common and found in a great amount of articles, it will not be useful for understanding the underlying references and conceptual structure that distinguishes any given article from the rest. In other words, if a quoted name or concept is frequently found in articles that include other groups of concepts and names that are used in very specific contexts, and very different from one another, the common descriptors will be deemed irrelevant to distinguish between groups of articles, as their frequency throughout the analysed articles is too high.

We can identify two constellations of authors. The first is composed mainly of Portuguese authors and a few classic literary references – Shakespeare, Dante,

Figure 3. Map of the most quoted names and concepts that differentiate between articles in *A Águia*

Hugo, and Goethe, for example. Close to these authors we find concepts such as “literature”, “nationality”, “poetry”, “race”, and “*saudade*”. The very important literary component of *A Águia* can be seen on display here, under the strong influence of authors who attempted to recover what they perceived to be the truly distinctive features of Portuguese national culture and identity. During the magazine’s most productive years – from 1912 to 1916 – its artistic editor, the poet and leading voice of the *saudosismo* literary current Teixeira de Pascoaes, played a prominent role in the periodical’s direction. In very broad terms, *saudosismo* is a complex conceptual construct, partially analogous to other related concepts such as “race”, “nationality”, or “*saudade*” (see, e.g., Saraiva and Lopes 2010: 964–72). In fact, over time, historians and critics took this as one of the magazine’s most noted and distinctive traits, to a point where one could say *A Águia* became simplistically labelled by it.

The names of five authors who are among the magazine’s most prolific are also projected on the map. Their names are italicized and boxed, so as to clearly differentiate them from other projected names. António Sérgio and Teixeira de Pascoaes were two pivotal figures in the history of the magazine and the Renascença Portuguesa movement. In the projection they appear close to each other and very much aligned with the first identified profile. This proximity mirrors the ongoing

polemic between the two authors, which ran for several issues, developed around Pascoaes' view of Portuguese culture and identity. This was one of the most prolonged and fierce clashes that took place in the magazine, bringing into direct confrontation two of its key figures in a hard-fought intellectual dispute.

On the lower right corner and spreading to the centre of the map we see a significant number of foreign authors, almost all renowned intellectual luminaries. Interjected between these names we find concepts such as "science", "matter", "philosophy", "time", "morals", or "religion". This constellation highlights another important facet of *A Águia*, as a magazine that was also dedicated to philosophy and sciences, as, in fact, was stated in the subtitle. Essays on these subjects were frequent, and discussed contemporary currents of thought and the philosophical heritage of eminent thinkers. Leonardo Coimbra, and later Santana Dionísio (as he was part of the *Renascença* and the magazine's second generation), were the most prolific in this field; as such their names as authors (italicized and boxed) show a strong connection with articles where authors and concepts related to philosophical and scientific discussions are used together.

Another interesting conclusion we can draw from the map is that articles related to visual arts stand apart from the rest, and appear unconnected to other concepts and quoted authors. Interestingly, only Jaime Cortesão, another seminal name in the magazine's history, is projected relatively close to this concept as a contributing author, due to a number of his drawings and caricatures that were published in the magazine. Since, as we mentioned earlier, all independent pieces should be included in the database, these graphic items – along with their respective authors, often a painter or illustrator – are considered as articles.

In conclusion, the presence of translated articles in *A Águia* is for the most part residual, since the magazine was the public instrument of a broad national cultural reform project developed by the *Renascença Portuguesa* movement and, as such, first and foremost dedicated to publishing national authors. Notwithstanding, foreign influences are far from absent from its pages, as the abundant references to foreign authors and works clearly demonstrate. This presence is especially prevalent in philosophical and scientific essays, where authors and founders of the most renowned and acclaimed schools of thought are frequently referred to. This suggests that exploring an underlying, implicit, reference framework could yet yield significant insights into the theory and practices of translation in magazines of ideas and culture and other similar historical sources.

Final considerations

Even though, in a strict sense, translation is almost absent from the pages of *A Águia*, we have tried to demonstrate how cultural transfers can be brought to light by considering the reception of foreign authors and works, particularly by crossing these references with the conceptual frameworks underlying the published discourses.

As we have tried to demonstrate, the statistical procedures that can be used with the aggregated data gathered by the *Revistas de Ideias e Cultura* project, bringing to light original information about the sources, are varied and numerous. Even though only a small number of these methods were shown, the reader will hopefully have been given a glimpse into the possibilities created by applying multivariate quantitative analysis to this type of data, illustrated here by focusing on the reception of foreign authors as a proxy of the presence and importance of translation in the magazine *A Águia*.

The use of other procedures, such as network analysis, also promises to be rewarding for computing conceptual networks, with the possibility to visualize, for example, subjects clustered around conceptual constellations, or to help outline the reception networks of a given magazine or movement, with authors projected as nodes and connected to each other based on existing mutual occurrences in articles.

The sizeable and sundry hurdles to methodically manage unusually extensive contents becomes clear if we consider the complexity of these magazines, as mirrored in the corresponding databases that have been produced; the use of digital means for analysing all collected data and providing visual solutions for representing their most relevant aspects creates a previously inexistent instrument for overcoming them.

It should be unequivocal, however, that regardless of any procedures and methods we apply to analyse aggregated information, the ability to understand the outputs always originates from an intimate knowledge of the source, one that appreciates its history and the historical context in which it existed. We believe that any study about any type of complex source using quantitative data analysis always requires a close familiarity with the original material. The use of aggregated data invariably calls for a simplification of intrinsic complexity and, consequently, implies detail loss. If the analyst's goal is to find meaning in simplified and abridged information, an acute awareness of what is lost and unaccounted for needs to be exercised, so as to make sense of results. In other words, aggregated data has the potential to become truly meaningful when we understand the substance of what is aggregated and have the cognitive means to interpret it.

Finally, the most relevant advantage of using statistical and digital methods on complex data sets is their ability to provide comprehensibility and interpretability. This always requires a trade-off between the data lost in the process and the knowledge gains; the only way to make a grounded decision on the merits and usefulness of this route is to start by ensuring a solid knowledge of the object of study, and, consequently, direct access to sources should be a priority for every researcher. The *Revistas de Ideias e Cultura* project seeks to respond to this need by first providing public access to digitized magazine collections, and second by complementing them with thorough and vast corresponding descriptor databases, whose purpose is to give users the encouragement and means to navigate and discover these intricate contents.

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Quantitative analysis of translations in Spanish-language periodical publications (1900–1945)

A methodological proposal

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This paper addresses the quantification of literary production in Spanish between 1900 and 1945. To obtain quantitative data, we must consider catalogue records both of main libraries and of newspaper and periodicals libraries. The latter preserve literary magazines that feature articles and translations from peripheral authors who were overshadowed or forgotten by historical narrative. Given the absence of proper cataloguing in newspaper and periodicals libraries, it is necessary to develop a workflow that enables massive and accurate searches. The aim of the proposed methodology is to build a meta catalogue that allows to search for authors and works together with translators or illustrators. Only this way will we be able to obtain an overall image of that literary period.

Keywords: periodical publications, literary translation history, Ibero-American literary field, research methodology, digital archives, digital humanities

Introduction

Libraries around the world are digitizing a myriad of archives with historical, periodical publications. This process is of paramount importance to the preservation of these historical documents for posterity and, at the same time, for their accessibility, making them available for researchers' consultation anywhere on the planet. Nevertheless, extracting knowledge from digitalized archives remains difficult, and these resources remain under-exploited, despite their great potential for researchers. One of the difficulties of extracting knowledge from digitized periodicals stems from their unstructured archives. Said archives' catalogues provide

information limited to journal name and number, but lack information on the included texts, such as articles, published in a given issue. Consequently, when trying to adopt a large-scale approach and perspective, it is impossible to fully grasp what the periodical presses of the past have published.

This does not mean, however, that digitized textual corpora are inexorable or unsuitable for cultural studies. Computational linguistics and digital tools have enabled research on cultural trends in corpora based on digitized books (Michel et al. 2011; Gulordava and Baroni 2011; Juola 2013) and historical newspapers (Lansdall-Welfare et al. 2017; Cristianini, Lansdall-Welfare, and Dato 2018). These studies, based on applying statistical methods to the entire corpus (Tahmasebi et al. 2015), quantitatively depict the development of linguistic, cultural, and historical phenomena over time. However, as Koplein (2015) demonstrates, meta-data itself is an important source of information and is needed to contextualize and qualify results.

The quantitative analysis of book translations is already an established approach in Translation Studies, and, although it overlooks book content, it has most notably given rise to a Sociology of Translation, as proposed by Heilbron (1999). Bringing large-scale quantitative analysis to the study of translations in periodical publications, however, is novel. Specifically, in Spanish and Latin-American cultural periodicals, how many translations have been published remains unknown, and there is no conception of which works by which authors have been translated and by whom. Digital approaches like the one proposed in this paper aim to put us in the position not only to answer these questions in general, but also to conduct an in-depth study of the circulation and reception of different authors, movements, and ideas in the cultural periodical presses from particular spaces and periods of time. We believe that this method can contribute to advance book history, literary history, and the history of literary translation in the Hispanic world. On a more general note, the analysis of Spanish-language modernist literary journals from the first half of the twentieth century will provide new vantage points for understanding literary modernity in the Hispanic field and will provide an interesting basis for comparisons with book translations, allowing us to draw parallels, or otherwise, between these two platforms for literary circulation.¹

As a publication platform, periodicals show very specific features as well as their own logic and dynamics. As an object of study, however, they also pose many methodological difficulties. One of the main challenges is the inexistence of a catalogue on their contents and contributors. Even when journals did publish a

1. This paper draws on the experience gained throughout the Trad-Data research project. The project studies book translations in Spain and Latin America between 1900 and 1945 on a large scale, using data from library and online catalogues.

summary of their contents on one of their pages, the data has not been registered in a searchable catalogue. This leads to the above-mentioned challenge when it comes to structuring the contents of a large corpus of digitized periodicals, consequently hindering the large-scale analysis of the literary works and authors they published and helped circulate, while obscuring the role that translators and critics played in mediating new forms of expression in their pages. As a solution, these details could be found in the periodicals' pages, but the automation of this process faces the challenges of inconsistent format and content distribution – journals vary in paper size and page count, and sometimes these features change even within a single publication over time. Often, articles can be distributed in several columns or across the whole width of the page and vary in length and font. The level of detail in terms of the information on the journals, such as authors and translators, also fluctuates, with references to original texts and mediating languages occasionally omitted.

The following paragraphs will describe technological solutions and methodologies as approaches to the analysis of translations in Spanish-language magazines from 1900 to 1945, detailing some of the technologies that facilitate the archive's transformation as well as the quantitative analysis of texts via search strategies. To this end, this paper will examine the procuring of digitized archives from several identified online libraries, said archives' treatment and visual recognition, and their subsequent indexing for consultation.

Measuring literary production

If we attempt to estimate figures that could allow us to compare the quantity of literary production over time, we will find ourselves before a lack of publication registries that could point to editorial activity, such as the International Standard Book Number (ISBN), which was adopted internationally as of 1970 and did not gather information prior to this period. The ISBN includes between 9 and 13 figures that identify all publications in the editorial market. This number provides information such country, editor, and article (the publication's issue), with which one may find the publication date and other information contained in centralized registries.

As an alternative, using a large corpus of digitized texts can provide a quantitative description of cultural trends (Michel et al. 2011). To this end, we may use the Google Ngram Viewer, which allows one to find the frequency of terms over time within the corpus created with the digitized books on the Google Books platform, which spans from 1500 to 2008.² This tool has been employed in other studies in

2. Google Ngram Viewer can be accessed at: <https://books.google.com/ngrams>.

the cultural field (Juola 2013) and has been used to find usage efficacy in different cases (Gulordava and Baroni 2011).

As such, we may carry out three searches as an experiment: first, using the Spanish-language word “*novela*”, which includes all texts that mention said term, thus containing books within the genre as well; second, searching for the term “*quijote*”, which references one of Spanish literature’s most cited texts and would include reeditions as well as any texts referencing the novel; and third, the Spanish-language term “*traductor*”, thus referring to possible citations of the persons in charge of the translation or referring to the role of the translator in the world of essay-writing and literature. Through this experiment, we may observe the high frequency and increasing appearance of these terms (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Distribution frequencies for “*novela*”, “*quijote*” and “*traductor*” in the Google Ngram Viewer from 1800 and 2008

Though this information offers an estimate, it also contains many of the biases stemming from the lack of partiality among the library archives registered on Google as well as from the lack of precision around the search terms and the frequent errors of text digitalization (Pechenick, Danforth, and Dodds 2015; Koplenig 2015) when it comes to either textual content or the registry date of books.

Because of this, conducting the experiment with other sources in order to compare results would prove relevant. This process requires the meta-catalogue WorldCat (Chen 2012), which aggregates information from various library archives and permits the simultaneous consulting of content from each archive. In this case, the search takes place within the contents of the catalogue card, which includes descriptors and metadata rather than the book’s content. The ultimate goal of this process is to count the number of books per year. Since the search tool precludes the possibility of consultation without any descriptive characters in the title field, we conducted the experiment using the letter “a”.³

3. WorldCat is available at <https://www.worldcat.org>. The result of this experimental search can be reproduced via the following url: <https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=kwa&fq=yr:1900+>+>x0:book+>+mt:fic+>+ln:spa&qt=advanced&dblist=638>

Figure 2. Distribution of books published in Spanish between 1800 and 2000 according to the WorldCat catalogue

According to the number of results for each search, Figure 2 clearly depicts an upward curve with different slopes from those observed in the Google Ngram Viewer searches. We can find regular peaks at the beginning of each decade, given the works' imprecise date registries.

To evaluate the quality of these results, we have consulted the National Library of Spain's original catalogue, in its MARC21 format – the protocol through which the library exchanges information with WorldCat.⁴ Here, we can observe that some fields, such as the date, are filled in completely (an indicator of quality), while other fields, such as genre, are only occasionally filled out. As such, any estimate of the number of literary works produced during this period would not prove significant, given the errors in the original catalogues.

In sum, we cannot determine a stable figure when quantifying literary production throughout the period of study, due to the lack of unique identifiers as well as the inconsistency in meta-catalogues such as Google Books and WorldCat. Nonetheless, gathering indicators – assuming there are internal errors in the composition of information sources – can help describe production proportionality.

Limitations in the study of periodical publications

If we hope to quantify literary production in periodical publications, the task becomes far more complicated. While the ISBN is highly useful when quantifying the editorial production of recent decades, periodical publications have only used an International Standard Serial number since 1976, leaving the period of our analysis

4. <http://www.loc.gov/marc/marcspa.html>

uncovered. Further, library catalogues either register periodical publications by time period or year, or generate a unique register for the entire publication. Issues are not registered individually, nor are the articles published within them. In the best of cases, we can determine the existence of a publication and the amount of released issues, but the articles within, its authors, and its language remain unknown.

With the goal of approaching this void in cataloguing and in order to take advantage of new technologies, digital libraries have emerged over the last few years. In Spain, for instance, the Library of Catalonia launched its digitalization program (Lamarca Morell and Serra Aranda 2005) and, in 2007, the National Library of Spain published its digital library. These digital libraries, which allow for the online consultation of archives, digitalize contents in order to facilitate searches either within documents or within the catalogue card or issue descriptors.

In some cases, there are no standards for exchange akin to the MARC21. Rather, our tools can complement the more-than-generic cataloguing efforts described above. While these tools allow for the identification of magazines and their issues, one cannot access a descriptive index of the articles' contents and authors.

Thanks to the optical character recognition (OCR) of publications' content, users and researchers may find possibly relevant texts. Nonetheless, optical character recognition is patchy at best: the publications that were first included due to their relevance were treated with less sophisticated OCR, while more recent publications boast better processes. Furthermore, which OCR processes have been used for different texts remains unknown, implying the presence of potentially undiscovered errors or biases caused by these tools.

Meanwhile, searches only sometimes go through the full text, while other times only a few sections are included in the search. Sometimes, regular expressions (a sequence of characters defining a search pattern) can be used for search terms, while other times this is not the case.

The main tools used for the cataloguing and publication of serial publications in the main libraries we consulted are Pandora, in the case of the Digital Library of the National Library of Spain; and Content dm, in the case of the ARCA archive of the Library of Catalonia.⁵

As such, the main limitations to these systems' availability for data analysis include, on the one hand, the dispersion of libraries, which precludes the possibility of conducting a single, joint search, and on the other, the irregularity among optical character recognition processes and our lack of control over search tools.

5. More information about Pandora and Content dm is available at <https://imastudia.unav.edu/studia/content/manual/manual.html> and <https://www.oclc.org/es/contentdm.html>, respectively. The Digital Library of the National Library of Spain is accessible at <http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/index.vm>. The ARCA archive of the Library of Catalonia is accessible at <https://arca.bnc.cat>.

Thus, our existing tools will not suffice to quantify literary production in periodical publications from the years 1900 to 1945. Instead, for the purpose of this investigation, we would require new tools to efficiently consult the documents we have already digitalized.

Proposed workflow

Currently, an abundance of Spanish-language digital libraries is already widely available. Proceeding from various institutions and public administrations, all of these libraries use similar tools as the two libraries mentioned above: the Library of Catalonia and the National Library of Spain. In order to access content in a unified fashion, we would not only require access to each publication's metadata, which is available in different formats, but also access to the totality of documents in order to conduct optical character recognition via a documented methodology that would allow us to uncover the existing biases in searches and subsequently conduct complex searches.

A provisional list of existing digital libraries that could serve our study of translations in Hispanic magazines is presented in the Appendix. We would gather all of the documents in these libraries as well as each document's catalogue card. These catalogue cards, presented in the form of metadata or gathered through automated web data collection or "web scrapping" from the website, would be stored in high-capacity relational databases, such as PostgreSQL. The documents – often in PDF or PNG format – should be stored in servers, allowing them to be accessed for analysis. The information on each publication should include the source, download URL, and the downloaded content's location.

Subsequently, optical character recognition should be conducted for each of the acquired documents. The optical character recognition must use the same criteria for every document. This step is one of the most complex and critical, as it would significantly contribute to the quality of our existing systems. The goal is not only to homogenize the criteria for optical recognition, but also to take advantage of our most recent technologies. In this sense, one of the most widely used character-recognition programs today is Tesseract. It was first developed by Hewlett Packard in 1985 and has been supported by Google as of 2006, after which it was soon recognized as the best OCR software and has only improved over time. Tesseract can work with text patterns, identifying columns, and using dictionaries in various languages. Using these tools allows the text that has been digitized as an image to be converted into text, making it not only legible by humans, but also by computational tools that can take on subsequent analyses.

In the next phase, we would be interested in conducting searches throughout the entirety of digitized texts. To this end, we would require a search server capable not only of finding texts through exact coincidences but also through a myriad of similarity criteria. Tools such as Elastic Search allow queries according to methods including regular expressions, Levenshtein distance, phonetic similarity, and thesauri.

Searches using regular expressions can define patterns within the text and seek out partial coincidences and words that start in one way and continue in an indefinite form, without taking upper-case letters or accent marks into account, and can require the presence of certain characters.

Searches using the Levenshtein distance can establish similarities between words by considering the number of single-character edits needed to change one word into another. As such, one can measure the similarities between words which may have possible mistakes in the OCR transcription and thus overcome and ignore these errors, as well as plural forms and other declensions.

Searches using phonetic similarities compare factors such as pronunciation, rather than spelling. Meanwhile, searches via dictionaries assign the same value to terms written in different ways, whether they are similar terms, terms in different languages, or abbreviations. For instance, “Nueva York” and “New York” hold the same value, as do “Doctor” and “Dr.”

Our proposed workflow combines these tools with proper documentation on their use, giving way to the massive consultation of all the target digital libraries in this study. Nonetheless, identifying the structures of magazine contents is not yet possible in terms of locating text titles and authors, given that text extractions via OCR do not include said structures.

To address this problem, image analysis would be required in order to distinguish different parts of the articles’ texts. Several experiences have been recorded (Andersen and Zhang 2003; Zhang and Andersen 2003; Paaß and Konya 2011) in which neural networks successfully extract articles’ titles and subtitles. This is an important part of the process, as it distinguishes the article’s different parts, its content, and its paratext in order to recognize information such as the headline, author, translator, notes, illustrations, and, of course, the body of the text.

Metadata on articles in periodical publications can have a twofold purpose. On the one hand, it allows us to study the general trends of literary publications in periodicals, the circulation of texts in journals across Ibero-America, and the networks of authors, translators, and other journal contributors. On the other hand, metadata also helps contextualize and qualify findings within textual corpora. In this sense, as (Koplenig 2015: 183) concludes in his study on the use of large textual data sets for research on cultural and linguistic change using Google’s Ngram

corpora, “the importance of metadata cannot be underestimated: the availability of metadata is not just a nice add-on, but a powerful source of information”.

Finally, after article recognition and indexing, the next step would be to detect translations. The simplest and most effective approach would be to detect the authors, match them against an existing authorities database such as The Virtual International Authority File (viaf.org), and select articles based on the author’s nationality and usual language of expression. This step may also possibly identify articles in foreign languages, in which case further verification of the text language might be required. A text-searching strategy using the most popular words in several languages could resolve this issue.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning that the tools used throughout this process need to use open code and have documented and published functionalities, so that we may understand the tools’ inner workings and reproduce the same analyses with different tools, casting light on any biases in analysis caused by functionality errors or configurations that may skew our findings.

Final considerations

With the workflow described above, we can now launch a new framework that would allow us to fully assess digitalized periodical publications by accessing their contents via search tools that can also recognize content structures. Traditionally, library archives do not register periodical publications’ contents in detail, making the reutilization of these archives complicated when it comes to analyzing the literary production of a given time. However, our process would allow us to take a step forward when it comes to exploiting archives and extracting knowledge from them.

On a more general level, combining a quantitative approach with traditional literary studies can produce new insights for literary and translation history and improve our knowledge of the complex processes that have shaped the literary landscape in Spanish speaking countries.

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Appendix. Digital archives of Spanish-language periodicals

Archivo Municipal de Cartagena – Fondo Hemerográfico Digitalizado

<http://archivo.cartagena.es/pandora/index.html>

Archivo Municipal de Huelva. Hemeroteca histórica

<http://www.huelva.es/portal/es/archivo-municipal>

Archivo Municipal de Murcia

<http://www.archivodemurcia.es/>

Library of Catalonia. Consorci de Biblioteques Universitàries de Catalunya. ARCA: Arxiu de Revistes catalanes antigües

<http://www.bnc.es/digital/arca/index.html>

Biblioteca Digital del Caribe

<http://www.dloc.com>

Biblioteca Municipal de Donostia-San Sebastián. Digital library

<http://liburutegidigitala.donostiakultura.com/Liburutegiak/>

Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia. Hemeroteca digital

<http://catalogoenlinea.bibliotecanacional.gov.co>

Biblioteca Virtual Joan Lluís Vives. Hemeroteca

<http://www.lluisvives.com/psegundonivel.jsp?conten=hemeroteca>

Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes. Hemeroteca

<http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/hemeroteca/>

Catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Argentina

<https://catalogo.bn.gov.ar/>

Centro de Estudios de Castilla-La Mancha. Biblioteca Virtual

<http://ceclmdigital2.uclm.es>

Dipòsit Digital de Documents de la UAB

<http://ddd.uab.cat/>

Directorio y Recolector de Recursos Digitales HISPANA

<http://hispana.mcu.es/es/inicio/inicio.cmd>

El Surrealismo y sus derivas

<http://www.uam.es/proyectosinv/surreal/>

Fondos digitalizados del Archivo Municipal de Castellón

<http://archivo.castello.es/>

Hemeroketa.com – Euskal Prentsaren Lanak

<http://www.hemeroketa.com/>

Hemeroteca Digital, Biblioteca Nacional de España

<http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/HemerotecaDigital>

Hemeroteca Nacional Digital de México

<http://www.hndm.unam.mx>

Hemeroteca Región de Murcia. Proyecto Carmesi

<http://hemeroteca.regmurcia.com/>

Jable. Archivo de prensa digital de Canarias

<http://biblioteca.ulpgc.es/?q=jable>

Junta de Andalucía Biblioteca Virtual de Andalucía. Hemeroteca

http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeandalucia.es/catalogo/publicaciones/listar_numeros.cmd

Koldo Mitxelena Kulturunea. Hemeroteca

<http://www4.gipuzkoa.net/hemerotekakm/>

Memoria de Madrid

<http://www.memoriademadrid.es/>

Ministerio de Cultura. Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica

<http://prensahistorica.mcu.es/es/estaticos/contenido.cmd?pagina=estaticos/presentacion>

Revistas de la Edad de Plata

http://www.edaddeplata.org/revistas_edaddeplata/index.html

Revistas y Periódicos Españoles: Colección Digital de Revistas Femeninas. Universidad de Connecticut.

<https://guides.lib.uconn.edu/SPANMagazines> <https://lib.uconn.edu/location/asc/collections/spanish-periodicals/>

SOMNI: Col·lecció digital de fons històric de la Universitat de València. Hemeroteca

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PART IV

**Situating the agent and his network
in the transnational space**

Qualitative approaches of translation in periodicals

The polyphony of periodicals

James S Holmes and *Delta*

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This chapter introduces the concept of polyphonic voice to investigate the soundscape of a translation-rich periodical. Using the anglophone Dutch periodical *Delta* and one of its principle editors and translators, James S Holmes, as a case, it shows how the “silent voice” of a periodical’s patron can create dissonance among the voices inscribed in its text; how a periodical’s collective voice can be gleaned through paratext such as editors’ notes and manifestos; and how paratext can be analyzed to hearken an individual editorial and translatorial voice within a translation-rich periodical’s collective soundscape.

Keywords: polyphonic voice, translation, *Delta*, James S Holmes, Dutch literature, public diplomacy, periodical

Introduction

A smaller linguistic area is at a disadvantage compared to a country whose language is widely known. [...] That is why most major countries do not need a voice like *Delta*’s in order to be heard. [...] (T)hey are also far less dependent on the services and devotion of translators. Hence further thanks are due not only to the many authors who have written for *Delta*, [...] but also scores of translators [...] and the handful of copy editors who have served the review. It is their combined efforts that have made it possible for the editors to carry on through the years. (Van Marle 1974: 4)

This quote is taken from the farewell essay of the anglophone Dutch journal *Delta*, *a Review of Arts, Life and Thought in the Netherlands*, which published its first issue in 1958 and its last in 1974. It emphasizes the importance of authors, translators, copy editors and editors for the functioning of a translation-rich review like *Delta*. The quote also explicitly uses the term “voice”: it says *Delta* has a voice, that this voice is given shape through the services of translators, and that its purpose is to

share a perspective with the world that would otherwise be inaudible given its source in a smaller language. In this chapter, we pick up on the concept of voice and work it out using *Delta* and one of its more notorious editors and translators, James S Holmes, as a case study. How useful can voice be for studying translation in periodicals?

A periodical's polyphonic voice

Voice has been instrumentalized in Translation Studies by Cecilia Alvstad, Jeremy Munday and Theo Hermans among others (Alvstad 2013; Hermans 1996, 2014; Munday 2007). We take a 2014 article by Hermans, "Positioning translators: Voices, views and values in translation", as our starting point here. With regards to voice and translation, Hermans writes:

(W)hen we are dealing with translations, the overarching communication that takes place consists in a translator addressing an audience by promising the performance of translation and then, as part of this discourse and therefore embedded in it, proceeding to quote the original across the relevant languages. The translator lets the author speak in a tongue the audience can understand. On this view, at least two simultaneous utterances reach the audience. One is the translator's statement offering a translation. The other is the quoted discourse. Since the latter is an inset in the former, it is bound to be affected by the frame surrounding it, even if that frame consists of no more than the label "translation" on the title page of a book.
(Hermans 2014: 293)

Hermans isolates two specific and interrelated aspects involved in the "overarching communication" that takes place in translation. One is "the quoted discourse" which is the result of a double-voiced and dialogical interaction between the original and its translation, mediated by the translator, who does the work of rendering the source text in a language the reader can understand. The other is "the frame surrounding it", the paratext, which is the text that functions to present the translation *as* a translation, however that may be. In this chapter, we aim to show how paratext can be marshaled to investigate voice in a translation-rich periodical.

We agree with Hermans that translation is double-voiced discourse and that there are two main discursive elements – the translation itself and the paratextual framing of it – affecting the message. Translators often play a central role in determining how a translation is presented as such, either through explanatory footnotes or prefaces in the text itself, or through statements made about the translation outside the text. However, we argue that when a translation is published in a periodical, its paratextual framing becomes more complex and a

new collective voice becomes audible: that of the periodical itself. Furthermore, it quickly becomes clear that a periodical, particularly one that relies heavily on translations, is polyphonic: echoes of many individual voices can be traced within it, some of which may be discordant with others. Voices include that of the translator, as Hermans points out, but also the editor, the proofreader, the copy editor, the layout designer, etc. All of these voices are inscribed in the final product in various ways and can play an important role in the “overarching communication” between source and target, for which a translation-rich periodical is the vehicle. There are also voices that are *not* inscribed in the text but that are nonetheless impactful in a periodical’s coming-into-being. These voices are audible only insofar as we are able to reconstruct how they amplified some voices and stifled others. Often, the inaudible voices that speak the loudest are those holding the purse strings.

How does one “detect” voice in a translation-rich periodical? We will focus here on ways to glean voice through the analysis of paratext, or what Hermans calls the frame. In defining paratext, we follow Genette (1997), who sees paratext as the sum of the peritext and the epitext, where the peritext consists of framing elements internal to the journal’s text itself (titles, section headings, by-lines, prefaces, notes), and the epitext consists of framing elements outside the journal’s text (interviews, speeches, correspondence and other documents detailing authorial and editorial matters related to the periodical). Of course, we are aware that our approach is metaphorical and interpretive in mode: we personify a periodical when we assume it has a voice and we choose to activate certain voices over others when we set that collective voice against its constituent individual voices. When we speak of the voice of a periodical, we are actually trying to say something about the combined voices of the people behind it *as well as* (and in contrast to) the way they present themselves as a collective. Leaving aside many others, we will

Figure 1. A selection of *Delta* covers designed by the graphic artist Dick Elffers. Source: Delta International Publication Foundation (now defunct)

focus on three voices in *Delta*: the inaudible voice of its government backer and funding source, the Dutch Institute for International Cultural Relations; the collective voice of its editorial board; and the individual voice of James Holmes, its co-founder, a longtime principal editor and a prolific contributor of poetry translations. How can we glean echoes of these three voices? How did they interact to give polyphonic resonance to *Delta*?

Giving voice to *Delta*

Delta sought to make the culture of the Netherlands known to the world by publishing highlights from the Dutch-language creative scene in English. It ran from 1958 to 1974, produced four issues a year (63 issues in total) and had a reported circulation of 6,500 copies.¹ The periodical was an initiative of the Dutch Institute for International Cultural Relations, part of the foreign affairs division of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. It was published exclusively in English in order to break “through the language barrier” separating the Netherlands with the rest of the world (Sluizer 1958a: 5). The vast majority of *Delta*’s content consisted of translations out of Dutch and scores of translators collaborated over the journal’s lifetime.

The decision to publish in English also reflected the strategic importance the Dutch government ascribed to fostering its cultural relations with English-speaking countries amid the tensions of the Cold War. This extended to the periodical’s manifold purpose: from its conception, *Delta* was part public diplomacy tool meant to showcase aspects of Dutch industry, society and culture, and part literary magazine meant to circulate Dutch literature and art internationally. The periodical’s dual purpose is reflected in the variety of texts brought together under its cover: it included essays on architecture, landscape, science, engineering, economics, and politics alongside poetry, prose and dispatches from the Dutch art world.

The work of creating a readership abroad and defending *Delta* to its government minders at home fell to *Delta*’s backer, the Dutch Institute for International Cultural Relations, and particularly to its secretary-general, the former *Vrij Nederland* radio presenter George Sluizer. His correspondence with Dutch business leaders announcing the new periodical and soliciting subscribers sheds light on the readership his Institute had in mind for *Delta*. It also shows the inherent

1. Published figures on *Delta*’s distribution vary. The Dutch Institute claimed a print run of 6,500 (Sluizer 1958a, 1958b). A government report has it at 6,000 (Schmid and van Dongen 1987: 73). An internal list of subscribers dated 8 December 1958 lists the total number of subscribers at 958. A 1958 article in *Neerlandia* estimates the readership at 2,000, 900 in the United States.

tension that existed from the start between the periodical's dual diplomatic and aesthetic *raison d'être*. In one letter addressed to the board of directors of the Amsterdam Ballast Association, dated 1 December 1958, Sluizer describes the periodical as being "intended for a relatively limited audience of influential and leading figures abroad, as well as intellectuals and artists" (Sluizer 1958b). In a similar letter to the director of the Veendammer Cardboard Company, dated 30 December 1958, Sluizer omits intellectuals and artists, mentioning only "influential and leading figures abroad" (Sluizer 1958c). Meanwhile, in a bulletin published around the same time in *Neerlandia*, a Dutch-language periodical geared toward Dutch-speakers abroad, *Delta* is announced as "a quarterly journal that aims to acquaint intellectuals and artists outside of the Netherlands with Dutch culture" (Anon. 1959),² omitting mention of any influencers and leading figures beyond the world of art. Evidently, the Dutch Institute presented *Delta* as a public diplomacy tool in some cases and an internationally-minded arts periodical in others, depending on who was listening.

When *Delta*'s dual purpose was presented as such, it was in modest and even somewhat sarcastic terms. In the opening essay of *Delta*'s inaugural issue, Sluizer writes that the periodical's creators were not so presumptuous as to imagine an untapped readership of "persons abroad [...] anxiously looking forward to the opportunity of growing better acquainted with intellectual and artistic achievements in the Netherlands". Rather, *Delta* sought to give Dutch art and thought a "rôle (*sic*) of significance in the world constellation of valuable things" (Sluizer 1958a: 5). It was to be a shiny store window presenting the best creative work the Netherlands had to offer the English-speaking world.

Even so, not all Dutch officials were convinced that a government-sponsored periodical, no matter how shiny, would catch and hold the attention of its intended readers abroad. In a 7 July 1958 letter to Sluizer preserved in the Dutch National Archives, the cultural attaché at the Dutch embassy in New Delhi, J. E. Schaap, pronounced *Delta* dead on arrival:

I have no qualms with the content or the presentation, but that is of no consequence. What matters is not my opinion but that of the foreign reader, the people receiving this periodical. I must admit, when I look at the amount of similar publications that pile up on my desk in the course of a month – some of which are as nice [as *Delta*], others less nice, some nicer – I doubt its chances of success. [...] I myself have seen how these publications disappear unopened in the rubbish bins of newsrooms. And why would a Dutch publication be treated any differently?

2. All Dutch quotations have been translated into English by Jack McMartin. Dutch original: "een driemaandelijks tijdschrift [...] dat intellectuelen en kunstenaars buiten Nederland wil voorlichten over de Nederlandse cultuur".

Not even I am able to get through them all [...] and it's my job. I simply don't have the time. And that is bound to be the case for many others in my position, exactly the people you intend your publication to reach.³ (Schaap 1958)

For Schaap, *Delta* is clearly an instrument of public diplomacy meant to shape anglophone elites' opinion of the Netherlands. He identifies two types of (non)readers – newspaper editors and cultural diplomats – and concludes that neither would be well-served by a quarterly like *Delta*: they're a dime a dozen and no one reads them anyway. "Instead of a periodical, I require monographs I can send to those who have a professional interest in the subject addressed", he writes to Sluizer. "I must further insist that I be the one to decide the subjects treated in these monographs" (Schaap 1958).⁴ The cultural attaché's criticisms suggest that *Delta* was not immediately embraced by members of the Dutch foreign service, and furthermore that some officials were uneasy ceding autonomy to its editors.

In response, Sluizer assures his compatriot that he would be happy to supply monographs *in addition to* the quarterly and that he had already received several positive responses from Indian readers. Exactly how sincere and qualitative these responses were is open to discussion. Several letters from Indian cultural organizations were perfunctory and no doubt prompted by protocolary courtesy. Another letter kept in the Museum of Literature in The Hague suggests *Delta* also dealt with its share of well-meaning amateurs trying to get themselves published. A certain G. P. Vimal from New Delhi writes he "consider(s) *Delta* a magazine of total culture" and says he has "a liking for Delta countries". He attached a short

3. Dutch original: "Ik heb noch op de inhoud, noch op de uitvoering kritiek. Dat wil overigens niets zeggen, want niet mijn mening is belangrijk, doch die van de buitenlander, die het blad toegezonden krijgt. Toch moet ik aan het succes ervan twifelen, als ik de hoeveelheid soortgelijke publicaties – waarvan sommige even fraai, sommige minder fraai en enkele fraaier zijn – zie, die zich in de loop van één maand op mijn schrijftafel vergaren en die iedereen die daartoe een verzoek tot de betreffende Ambassade of instelling richt, gratis krijgt toegezonden. Ik heb hier zelf gezien, hoe op de redactie van dagbladen alle enveloppen die dusdanige publicaties bevatten, ongeopend in de prullenmand verdwenen. En waarom zou er, in het algemeen, ten aanzien van een Nederlands blad anders worden gehandeld dan met uitgaven van andere landen? Ik zelf, die toch wel uit hoofde van mijn functie als uit persoonlijke belangstelling kennis van al die geschriften zou moeten nemen, ik zie er geen kans toe. Daartoe ontbreekt mij eenvoudig de tijd. Ik kom er zelfs niet toe, om alle kunstperiodieken, die mij kosteloos worden toegezonden, te lezen. En zoals mij zal het ongetwijfeld heel velen gaan, juist diegenen, die men voor toezending van Uw blad in aanmerking meende te moeten brengen."

4. Dutch original: "In plaats van een tijdschrift heb ik voor mijn werk monografieën nodig, die ik kan zenden aan diegenen, van wie ik weet dat zij uit hoofde van hun beroep of functie voor het in de monografie behandelde onderwerp belangstelling hebben. [...] En ik moet daarbij nog voorstellen, dat ik zelf de onderwerpen voor die monografieën wens te bepalen."

story and a poem “about the land and country which I have never visited” for the editors’ consideration (Vimal 1971).

However, Sluizer’s emphasis on the positive responses from Indian readers was really only a secondary part of his defense of *Delta* (and a flimsy one at that, as he must have realized). Rather, *Delta*’s ideal readers were elsewhere in the Anglosphere. In his response to Schaap he downplays the importance of India:

Whereas interest among Indian readers may be limited, I would ask you to see the matter, at least as far as *Delta* is concerned, thus: this periodical is intended for the various countries (the United States, Canada, Australia, etc.) where a certain latent demand for this kind of publication is in fact present. We hope to meet this with *Delta*, today and in the future.⁵ (Sluizer 1958c)

Sluizer is also eager to emphasize that *Delta* is not meant (solely) as an instrument of information sharing or propaganda, as Schaap sees it, but rather as a serious artistic publication serving a genuinely interested readership willing to pay for a subscription. (Half of *Delta*’s first print run went to paying customers, he claims.) It is clear from his response that Sluizer and his Institute stood firmly behind *Delta*, even in the face of skepticism from diplomats asked to distribute it in the field. He acknowledges that the interest of many readers “won’t go beyond a quick browse, or a spot on the bookshelf, or even the rubbish bin” but that “a general-interest periodical like *Delta* can only find an audience if it is truly of superb quality” (Sluizer 1958c).⁶

Delta’s collective voice

On this point, *Delta*’s co-founders and principle editors Ed Hoornik, Hans Van Marle and James Holmes surely agreed. However, that did not preclude a certain dissonance between what the Dutch government wanted *Delta* to publish and what its editors actually did.

5. Dutch original: “Is in India die belangstelling geringer, dan zou ik U willen vragen de zaak – althans wat DELTA betreft – zo te zien, dat wij dit tijdschrift in de eerste plaats bestemmen voor diverse landen (de Verenigde Staten, Canada, Australië, enz.) waar een zekere belangstelling voor zulk een uitgave wèl latent aanwezig is en naar wij hopen in voldoende mate om de uitgave van DELTA ook in de toekomst te rechtvaardigen.”

6. Dutch original: “Wij zijn er in de eerste plaats van overtuigd, dat voor een tijdschrift van algemene aard – zoals DELTA – slechts belangstelling gevonden kan worden als het werkelijk van voortreffelijke kwaliteit is. [...] Maar ook dan zal de belangstelling bij velen niet verder gaan dan doorbladeren, of een plaatsje in de boekenkast, of soms zelfs de prullemand.”

Hoornik, Van Marle and Holmes were firmly embedded in the Dutch literary world and were principally interested in serving the periodical's aesthetic (rather than diplomatic) mission. All three men came to *Delta* as well-respected literary figures. Hoornik, who was forty-eight at the time of the first issue, was an established poet. Holmes was a young transplant from Iowa who had become the first non-Dutchman to win the prestigious Martinus Nijhoff Translation Prize two years previous. Van Marle was Holmes' co-translator and close collaborator. Furthermore, all three were known for their outspoken opinions and willingness to criticize the powers that be. Their strongly held artistic and social sensibilities, coupled with their insistence on editorial autonomy for *Delta*, which they believed essential to guaranteeing the periodical's quality and credibility, would occasionally cause "difficulties" with the Dutch government (see Schmid and van Dongen 1987: 72–74).

Importantly, all three also had strong personal connections with a generation of young Dutch and Flemish creatives (Gerard van het Reve, Lucebert, Hugo Claus, Hans Lodeizen and others) who later came to be known as the *De Vijftigers* "Generation of the Fifties", or the Experimentals. Over the years, the Experimentals' poetry would find a strong voice in *Delta*, mediated especially through the editorial support and translations of James Holmes. Holmes' proximity to the group made for a situation unusual in the history of literary transfer from Dutch to English: much of the work of the Experimentals was published in English translation in *Delta* only shortly after it appeared in Dutch. This made the periodical an important international dissemination channel for the innovative work being done by the Experimentals – work that was seriously disrupting the Dutch and Flemish post-war literary scene.

However, as we will see, there is reason to believe that Holmes' embrace of the Experimentals did not always square well with *Delta*'s government stakeholders. This has to do with the group's aesthetic identity, which surely struck many in the Dutch political establishment as controversial. The group advocated a sensory perception of life: body first, then mind. They wanted to do away with classical standards and experiment with poetry that embodied the senses and a physical experience of the world through an abundant use of images, neologisms, metaphors and free verse. Not exactly the monographs the honourable attaché in New Delhi had in mind.

We have listened in on the dissonant voices that surrounded *Delta*'s launch. How about within *Delta*'s own pages? Where to glean echoes of the periodical's collective voice? The most straightforward peritextual elements to scrutinize for collective voice are manifestoes and editors' forewords. It is here that editors publicly state editorial policy and put forward justifications for why they have chosen to collect and combine certain articles, illustrations, literary works, contributors,

etc. together in a single periodical and in a given way. In the case of *Delta*, manifestoes and forewords were rare. We can interpret this as an indication of relatively strong (albeit inaudible) voices in the Dutch government, many of which were implicitly resistant to a strong editorial identity for the periodical. Sluizer's introductory essay in the first issue of *Delta* (mentioned above) is a mission statement of sorts but it cannot be taken as a manifesto because it does not take a clear ideological or aesthetic position. Furthermore, Sluizer was *Delta*'s government backer, not a member of the editorial staff; his intervention originated outside and above the periodical's editorial core.

It is not until year seven, with the launch of a new column called the *Editorial View*, that *Delta* starts to speak as "we". The text maintains authorial anonymity, hence creating the illusion that the periodical itself is speaking. In describing the rationale for the new column, *Delta* says it is "conceived as a means of introducing each issue and of establishing closer contact between the editors of *Delta* and its readers" (The Editors 1964a: 4). However, instead of offering a window into editorial decisions or engaging readers' critiques, the column proves to be no more than a summing up of the articles in each issue, and it soon disappears again.

There are other authorless peritextual elements from which to glean *Delta*'s collective voice: the table of contents, the acknowledgments, etc. In our case, the disclaimer published on the front end of each issue also contributes to the voice of the periodical: "Inclusion of an article in this magazine must not be taken to imply that opinions expressed therein are necessarily those of the editors, the translator or the publisher". This quote functions to explicitly name and distinguish between the credible voices that can be heard in this periodical (namely, "the editors", "the translator", "the publisher"). It also claims that *Delta* is merely a hatch, a disinterested mediator passing the message along but not affecting it. This of course is not the case. Rather, the disclaimer must be seen as itself a Janus-faced framing device: it asserts impartiality and artistic autonomy on the one hand and creates distance from potentially controversial standpoints on the other. In this sense, the disclaimer reveals once again the tensions inherent in *Delta*'s dual purpose as an arts periodical and a public diplomacy tool.

The particular *composition* of peritextual elements – their graphic design – can be an important distinguishing characteristic of a periodical's voice as well. In our case, *Delta*'s distinct typography and cover design clearly indicate that the periodical sought to represent and present a modern view of the Netherlands to the world and avoid perpetuating a stereotypical image based on the Netherlands' Golden (seventeenth) Century. Throughout *Delta*'s existence its covers were designed by the graphic artist Dick Elffers, who received wide acclaim for his sixteen years of typographic and cover work in *Delta*. In an article dedicated to Elffers in the periodical's last issue, he is called "one of the most important modern designers

in the Netherlands" (Ovink, 1974: 22). His designs are labeled "very much of today" (*ibid.*) and clearly support the artistic mission of the review: accentuating the modern and contemporary over the traditional and conventional.

James Holmes' voice in *Delta*

James Holmes is probably best known to us today as one of the founding fathers of Translation Studies, but he was also one of *Delta*'s co-founders, a longtime principle editor, poetry editor and one of *Delta*'s most productive translators. He would pen some 220 translations for *Delta* over the periodical's sixteen-year existence.

How to define the contours of Holmes' individual voice in *Delta*? We draw a distinction between what we call Holmes' *editorial voice*, which can be studied by examining paratext related to his role as an editor, and his *translatorial voice*, which emerges from a personal and creative context that includes but also transcends *Delta* and can be studied by examining how certain paratextual elements relate to Holmes' wider translation praxis. Elsewhere, we look at how paratextual and textual aspects interact to reveal Holmes' translatorial voice in his translations of the Experimentals (Brems and McMartin, unpublished).

To what extent is Holmes' editorial voice inscribed in the pages of *Delta*? From the start, Holmes and his partner Hans Van Marle were intimately involved in the day-to-day editorial operations of *Delta*. Holmes was a principle editor for the periodical's first seven volumes, from 1958 through 1964, when he stepped back to focus on teaching translation at the University of Amsterdam. He remained on staff as *Delta*'s poetry editor and contributed translations until the final issue in 1974. Holmes and Van Marle were also *Delta*'s main copyeditors. The proofs preserved in Holmes' papers in The Hague's Museum of Literature attest to the two men's meticulousness: any given page bares countless minor adjustments, cues for the typesetter, spelling corrections and (characteristically pithy) marginalia in red and green ballpoint ink. Evidently, nothing went to press without first passing through Holmes and Van Marle. In this sense, Holmes' editorial voice resonates in every word of *Delta*'s first twenty-eight issues.

As a poetry editor, Holmes had a relatively free hand in selecting which poems would be translated for *Delta*. From the outset, he was drawn to the Experimentals and was among the first to recognise (and champion) their literary significance. In the very first issue of *Delta*, Holmes penned an overview of contemporary Dutch poetry emphasising their work, and he continued to select and translate poetry by the Experimentals all the way up to the journal's final issue.

However, a discerning ear can hear discord between the voice of the journal (present here in terms of its editorial formula) and the editorial voice of Holmes.

In an editors' note announcing Holmes' departure from the regular editorial staff in the winter of 1964, we read: "Throughout the seven years of *Delta*'s existence, Mr Holmes has been the pivot round which the entire production of the review has turned (The Editors 1964b: 4)". Holmes is then commended for his expertise in Dutch poetry *and* his willingness to accommodate the periodical's other genres:

Though his own specific interest is in Dutch writing and Dutch art, [Holmes] has always adhered ungrudgingly to the *Delta* editorial formula, devoting unstintingly of his time and energy to make each number a balanced sampler of arts, life and thought alike. (The Editors 1964b: 4)

The allusion being that adhering to *Delta*'s broad editorial formula and ensuring a "balanced sampler" of texts from the three main categories treated in the journal (arts, life, thought) required extra effort from a principle editor whose real interests lay mainly in the arts, and particularly in poetry. Here, too, *Delta*'s dual character finds voice in its farewell to a major editor. In Holmes' archive at the Museum of Literature in The Hague we find a small piece of paper on which Holmes has listed the percentages of the three categories for the first years of *Delta* (1958–1960). He counts 41.5 percent for literature and 27.54 percent for the other arts, which gives a total of 68.95 percent for art. That leaves 18.1 percent for science and thought and 12.95 percent for life. The fact that he was counting proves that thematic balance was an important concern for Holmes and for *Delta*.

Figure 2. James Holmes. Image credit: *Humo*, issue 2413, 4 December 1986

What about Holmes' *translatorial* voice? Outside of his editorial role, Holmes was a poet himself, a Translation Studies scholar, an Iowa farm boy cum Amsterdamer, the partner of Hans Van Marle, a native speaker of English, a gay man. All of these aspects come through in his translatorial voice. For Holmes, poetry was intricately intertwined with his own sexual and creative awakening. In an interview with Raymond van den Broeck published in the Dutch-language literary journal *Diogenes* in 1984, two years before his death, Holmes says he turned to translating poetry as a way to overcome the creative block he experienced when trying to write his own poetry. He associates this block with an inner struggle to put words to his sexuality at time when doing so was taboo:

When I started writing my own poems, in the 1940s, I quickly reached an impasse because I became more and more aware of my own sexuality, which was (and is) strongly homoerotic in orientation. In those days, that was a subject that was so taboo for most people that it wasn't acceptable to clarify in poetry. Insofar as I was able to process [my sexuality] as poetry, it led to really dark poems that could only be understood by a few insiders.⁷ (Van den Broeck and Holmes 1984: 288–289)

It is not inconceivable, given how he used poetry, that Holmes the translator was in some ways a surrogate for Holmes the poet. We might even go so far as to say that translating the poems of the Experimentals, which tapped into a poetics of formal innovation, (male) sensuousness and physicality that resonated deeply with Holmes, helped him to express his sexuality in ways his own poetry could not. He goes on:

In the course of the 1950s, I had the feeling that translating had provided me with a way out of this impasse. As long as I could use my poetic and technical knowledge in the service of bringing across the poems of others, I didn't have to solve that problem.⁸ (Van den Broek and Holmes 1984: 289)

Of course, Holmes the editor and Holmes the translator are intertwined. Many of Holmes' poetry translations were published in *Delta* before they were collected elsewhere. A large part of his output for the periodical was of the Experimentals.

7. Dutch original: "Toen ik in de jaren '40 zelf gedichten begon te schrijven, kwam ik vrij gauw in een impasse terecht, omdat ik me hoe langer hoe duidelijker bewust werd van mijn eigen seksualiteit, die sterk homo-erotic gericht was (en is). Dat was een onderwerp dat in die tijd voor de meesten zo taboe was dat je dat niet in poëzie duidelijk hoorde te maken. Voorzover ik het tot poëzie heb kunnen verwerken, leidde dat tot heel duistere gedichten die alleen voor de enkele insider te begrijpen waren."

8. Dutch original: "In de loop van de jaren '50 meende ik in het vertalen een weg uit deze impasse te hebben gevonden. Zolang ik mijn poëtisch-technische kennis in dienst kon stellen van het overbrengen van gedichten van anderen hoefde ik dat probleem namelijk niet op te lossen."

Had *Delta* been shaped by another individual's editorial and translatorial voice, its poetry offerings would have undoubtedly been vastly different – less frequent, less controversial and certainly less interesting.

A retrospective manifesto

It is only in *Delta*'s last issues that the collective “we” turns up very explicitly again, each time announcing the journal's financial troubles and, eventually, its demise. Let us return now to where we started: Hans Van Marle's farewell essay in the final issue of *Delta*. In what amounts to a retrospective manifesto, Van Marle claims a clear voice for *Delta* and roundly rejects the idea that *Delta* was ever a mouthpiece of the government (he does thank Dutch taxpayers for footing the bill):

(T)he editors have never owed allegiance to any official point of view. Themselves of quite different cultural and geographical backgrounds, and equally diverse social and political convictions, the editors have felt bound not to promote any national or factional interests, but to recount in frankness and honesty what they considered by common consent to be of lasting importance and what some, if not all, believed to be genuine attempts at experimentation and renewal in the rapidly changing Dutch society. [...] If the account of several of the experiments may have caused misgivings, now among the Dutch establishment, now among sections of *Delta*'s readership, it is better to shock some of the people some of the time than please all the people all of the time. A society committed to openness and pluriformity, as that of the Netherlands is increasingly discovering itself to be, cannot be constricted by conformity. No society that is alive is one big, happy, industrious, well-behaved and what-you-have family. For is not Man born to be free? It is the Dutch version of the quest for a more perfect freedom that *Delta* has attempted, however inadequately, to impart to its readers. (Van Marle 1974: 5)

In contrast to the inaugural essay in its first issue of *Delta*, this statement takes a clear stand and even strikes a rebellious chord. It also betrays the need for us, the interpreters of its voice, to take readers' voices into account, as *Delta*'s editors clearly acknowledged that some readers were offended by some contributions. (We were unable to find any such reactions in the archives we visited, however.)

Some Dutch officials were offended, too, even decades after *Delta*'s demise. When the idea of relaunching an English-language periodical was floated by government officials in the 1980s, *Delta* was held up as a model. But the suggestion appears to have awakened old criticisms not only of the effectiveness of a periodical as a tool for shaping public opinion abroad, but more pressingly of the desirability of an autonomous editorial staff. *Delta*'s controversial content and strong-willed editors had not been forgotten. A 1987 report by the Netherlands

Scientific Council for Government Policy states that *Delta*'s editors had "regularly occurring disagreements with the government, which often found the content of the articles to be unrepresentative of Dutch society" (Schmid and van Dongen 1987: 73) and specifically calls out the editors' critical attitude towards the Dutch government and Dutch society.⁹ However, the report stops short of advocating a more hands-on editorial role for the government in any future *Delta*-like publication, referring to an earlier 1970 report by another body, the Commission for Public Information Reorientation, that advised *against* censoring *Delta*, in spite of its provocative character:

Within the department itself, as well as among its representatives abroad, some are of the opinion that certain issues [of *Delta*] or certain articles in them run counter, rightly or not, to the cultural trends existing abroad and that they therefore should not be distributed there. Even in cases where that evaluation was correct, not distributing an issue in a volume would give the impression of censorship. Additionally, the danger remains that some are using [the argument that *Delta* runs counter to] foreign cultural trends as a way to give their own preferences and dislikes a veneer of general validity. The committee therefore recommends that the government not deceive those abroad into thinking that, in the Netherlands, the waves of culture lose their whitecaps. That which is truly new is seldom orthodox and still deserves a place in the overall image of a culture.¹⁰

(Commissie 1970: 192)

The insinuation here is that cultural diplomats in the field had refused to distribute one or more issues of *Delta*, thereby prompting a response by dissenting voices in the government who saw that refusal as censorship.

9. Dutch original: "regelmatige aanvaringen met de overheid, die de inhoud van de artikelen vaak niet representatief achtte voor de Nederlandse samenleving."

10. Dutch original: "Bij het departement zelf dan wel bij de vertegenwoordigingen in het buitenland kan, terecht of ten onrechte, de mening postvatten, dat bepaalde afleveringen of bepaalde artikelen daarin, strijdig zijn met de culturele patronen, die in het buitenland bestaan, en dat zij daar derhalve niet door de overheid zouden moeten worden verspreid. Ook in de gevallen waarin de evaluatie juist is geweest, zal het niet verspreiden van één aflevering uit een reeks de indruk wekken van censuur. Daarnaast bestaat er nog het gevaar, dat men het buitenlandse cultuurpatroon misbruikt om haar eigen voorkeur en afkeer een schijn van algemene geldigheid mee te geven. De commissie meent daarom de overheid de raad te moeten geven het buitenland niet in de waan te brengen, dat in Nederland de culturele golven een schuimende top zouden ontberen. Wat waarlijk nieuw is, is zelden orthodox; toch verdient het wel degelijk een plaats in het totale beeld van een cultuur."

Conclusion

By examining a periodical's paratext within the framework of polyphonic voice, a soundscape begins to take shape that resounds the tensions surrounding its stated aims, identity and editorial policy. Using *Delta* and James Holmes as our case, we have tried to show, first, how the "silent voice" of a periodical's patron can create dissonance among the voices inscribed in its text; second, how a periodical's collective voice can be gleaned through editors' notes, manifestoes and covers; and third, how one can go about isolating an individual editorial and translatorial voice within a translation-rich periodical's collective soundscape. *Delta* spanned two languages and served two interconnected purposes. It was part public diplomacy tool meant to showcase aspects of Dutch industry, society and culture to anglophone elites, and part literary magazine meant to circulate Dutch literature and art to the dominant anglophone cultural centers. The tension between these two objectives resonated in many of the paratextual elements we discussed: correspondence between *Delta*'s government backer and skeptical diplomats in the field; the disclaimer it ran in front of each issue; the loaded goodbye it bade one of its more controversial editors; the retroactive manifesto it issued asserting autonomy from government censorship in its final issue.

Against this dissonance, we sought to hearken the voice of James Holmes, "the pivot round which the entire production of the review has turned" (The Editors 1964b: 4). As one of *Delta*'s principle editors for its first seven years, Holmes' editorial voice came through in his meticulous attention to every aspect of *Delta*'s copy. Together with co-founders Ed Hoornik and Hans van Marle, he gave shape to *Delta*'s overall content and underwrote its bid for editorial autonomy. The extent to which his voice carried in this effort is evident in the robust presence in *Delta*'s pages of Holmes' preferred subject: poetry, and particularly the rebellious and sensuous poetry of the Experimentals. His affinity for this group can be traced back to his translatorial voice, which Holmes used to articulate his own inner creative and sexual awakening.

The voices we have resounded in this chapter have been limited to *Delta* and its principle makers. However, as a concept, polyphonic voice is also capable of capturing the complex way readers' voices interact with(in) *Delta*. We close with an anecdote, which doubles as a possible future direction for voice-based research: in the winter of 1960–1961, Holmes translated the Middle-Dutch verse "In mei had ik een bloemken" as a New Year's greeting for *Delta*'s readers. "I chose a flower" eventually found its way to the Australian town of Waroongha and the desk of University of Sydney carillonist John Gordon. Gordon was so pleased with the poem that he composed a four-part choral setting for his Lindfield A Capella Choir using some of its verses. On 30 May 1961, he wrote a letter to "The Editors" of *Delta* in which

he called his creation “an answering antipodean voice” to Holmes’ translation. Not only did this reader perceive the review and a translation within it as voices speaking to him, but he also felt called upon to echo them with his own. By adding Holmes’ and *Delta*’s voice to his choir’s repertoire and “sounding back” to them as he did, Gordon added his own voice to the periodical’s polyphony in more ways than one.

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Eternal problems

The study of Stendhal in translation in British late-romantic periodicals

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This chapter contends that literatures cannot solely be considered within national frameworks. This is illustrated by a case study of the transnational dimensions of Stendhal's work in British Late-Romantic literary magazines. The Late-Romantic period is often seen as an insular, self-reflexive period within British Romanticism. Evidence shows, however, that it was a truly international period with literature continually crossing the channel in different forms. Three of the major literary magazines of the period played an important role in this transnational literary exchange: *The New Monthly Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. This article focuses on the polemical, competitive, and ideological struggles between the three magazines, exemplified in the way they treated the French author Stendhal, through translation and reception.

Keywords: transnationalism, Stendhal, British Romanticism, Late Romanticism, translation, periodicals, literary magazines, reception, periodicals

In studies on British Romanticism the influence and movement of foreign literatures has long been overlooked. Despite an intense dialogue between local and “foreign” literatures, academia has tended to envisage the period as “intensely local, indeed insular” (Saglia 2019:front flap). However, this article contends that literature cannot be confined to the nation. That, as Wai Chee Dimock writes, “we need to stop assuming a one-to-one correspondence between the geographic origins of a text and its evolving radius of literary action” (2001: 175). This idea is not new. It informs the works of many great scholars such as Damrosch (2003), Apter (2002), Cohen and Dever (2002), and, more recently, Meylaerts and Roig-Sanz (2018), and many more. Yet in the field of Romantic periodicals, the study of translation and reception has mostly failed to be more than a footnote.

To begin with, the study of such popular media as literary magazines was never a big subject within romanticism. In the late eighties Jon Klancher was the first to engage with these periodicals, this “wide range of writings for diverse audiences, many of them unread since the early nineteenth century” (Klancher 1987: ix). He found that they “range much further, in every conceivable cultural direction, than the limited canon of ‘Romantic’ prose would lead one to expect” (Klancher 1987: ix). It is only after Klancher’s seminal study that romanticists started to turn to “the neglected question of the role of literary magazines in literary history” (Parker 2000: 52) and, indeed, acknowledged literary magazines as “the preeminent literary form of the 1820s and 1830s in Britain” (Parker 2000: 1). However, none of the studies on Romantic literary magazines actively engaged with the national border-crossing dynamics of the medium.

Already in 1990, J. H. Alexander noted in an article entitled “Learning from Europe: Continental Literature in the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood’s Magazine* 1802–1825” that this field should be redeemed “from the aura of mildewed sterility which, however wrongly, it exudes” (Alexander 1990: 118). But to no avail at first. When Peter France published his article “Looking Abroad: Two Edinburgh Journals in the Early Nineteenth Century” in 2009 he still referred to the field as “yet to be fully explored” (France 2009: 2). He described “British culture, although increasingly insular in many ways, [as] also increasingly aware of a wide spread of world literature” (France 2009: 2). Of major importance in this process were the literary magazines, for “this was the great age of the periodical, and the new periodicals played an essential role in opening British eyes to foreign culture” (France 2009: 3).

However, the new millennium saw more and more scholars of British Romanticism turn their gaze beyond Britain’s borders to the world around it. Nanora Sweet (2002), Diego Saglia (2002; 2019), and Joselyn Almeida (2006) paved the way for articles like the present one to be able to look at translation and reception in Romantic literary magazines. France, Alexander, Sweet, Saglia, and Almeida have shown that a history of British Romantic literature that does not pay attention to the dynamics of transnational exchange is simply not worth the title. Because, as Saglia states, “national literatures are indebted to other traditions for their very subsistence” (Saglia 2019: 1).

Thanks to these scholars the British Romantic corpus that is the material basis for this article can be explicitly transnational. Transnational, here, “refers to cultural processes and products transcending national borders”, namely products that can no longer be seen as national products alone (Saglia 2019: viii). This article looks at bits and pieces in literary magazines that do not make much sense in a nationalistic conception of literature. It looks for texts that are “foreign” to “British” literary history; or that are at least considered foreign by the receiving end after having permeated the boundaries of national literature through reception and

translation. This article contends that literature is not simply the property of a nation. On the contrary, it problematizes the idea of the nation at the same time that it is an accessory to the creation of a nation's identity. In a sense, this article contends that literature is always a trans-national affair.

The transnational dimension, then, is construed, as Emily Apter has it, as "preserv[ing] the nation" (Apter 2002: 287). However, the notion of transnationalism complicates nationality, nationalism, and national identity. The transnationalist approach tries to open up traditional literary history to account for what it has ignored and cast away for want of fitting the national(ist) agenda of history's authors.

Andringa and Levie write that, so far, "[f]oreign literatures are principally not considered to be part of national literatures, even if there is a long history of translation or reading in foreign languages, or if foreign works have clearly set the standard for national works" (Andringa and Levie 2009: 232). This paper argues with, among others, Mus, Meylaerts, Vandemeulebroucke and D'hulst, that "the interaction with other literary systems is constitutive for the workings of one's own literary system" (Mus et al. 2010: 32. My translation). It argues that it can be fruitful to consider transnational texts as being part of the national literary system. As is to be expected, however, this approach complicates a few matters methodologically, and that will be developed in the third part of the paper.

The specific corpus for this article is limited to the *New Monthly Magazine*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, and the *London Magazine* spanning the period from 1814, when the *New Monthly Magazine* was founded, to 1829, when Henry Colburn, owner of the *New Monthly Magazine*, purchased the *London* and merged it with the former. At the time, these three were the most important literary magazines in the British field and ferociously competitive towards each other, to the point of fighting a duel at gunpoint.¹ By the early 1820s *Blackwood's Magazine* was the most popular of the three, printing "between three and eight thousand" copies per month (Jones 1970: 18). The *New Monthly* followed with five thousand copies, leaving behind the *London Magazine* with its monthly print run of two thousand (St Clair 2004: 574).

The immediate historical context is post-Waterloo Britain. Napoleon was finally beaten and, after two decades of war between the British and the French and nearly a decade of the Continental System, the British were gasping for some foreign culture. As Suddaby and Yarrow observe in a book on Lady Morgan in France, "[t]he continent of Europe, which had been closed to the British since

1. John Scott, editor of the *London* between 1820 and 1821 died following a duel with a defender of *Blackwood's*. For more information on the tragic demise of John Scott I refer to Jones, Leonidas M. 1971. "The Scott-Christie Duel". *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 12, no. 4 (Winter): 605–629.

1803, was again open to travellers” (Suddaby and Yarrow 1971: 11). This is reflected in the literature. First there were travel books, for example John Scott’s *A Visit to Paris in 1814*, or Lady Morgan’s *France* (1817). But this interest in the continent (and specifically in France) would evolve into a real transnational exchange. And that can be witnessed specifically in the literary magazines. It is therefore significant that John Scott would later become editor of the *London Magazine* while Lady Morgan would become a popular contributor to the *New Monthly*. As Mus et al. have pointedly observed, “the periodical is the pre-eminent medium in and through which literary (ex)change occurs” (Mus et al. 2010: 32. My translation). That change, in Late-Romantic Britain, is an exchange of literatures across borders that confirm as well as complicate the notion of the nation.

Stendhal straddled

To illustrate how these transnational dynamics work in periodicals, more specifically in Late-Romantic literary magazines, let us turn to a particular case, namely that of Stendhal, or Marie-Henri Beyle, or Grimm’s Grandson, Y.I, or Monsieur Bombet, in English.² The writer of *Le Rouge et le Noir* and *La Chartreuse de Parme* was, before he became an accomplished French novelist, a correspondent for British literary magazines. Between 1822 and 1829 he wrote around 300 articles for British journals, mainly for the *New Monthly Magazine* and the *London Magazine*. Apart from reviews and articles on Italian art, he would write recurring series like “Sketches from Parisian Society”, “Letters from Rome” (in the *New Monthly*) and “Letters from Paris” (in the *London*).

Some scholars have asked questions as to why, and how and how many, when and what Stendhal published in the British magazines. Yet so far, all the research on this corpus has been one-sided: It takes the perspective of the Frenchman sending his texts to Britain. It only looks at the budding writer who was popular abroad before becoming one of France’s greatest novelists, not at why the texts were asked for in the first place by the English magazines. Nor at what function these texts performed in the magazines. Nor has it been asked how and in what way these texts were translated and what this says about Late-Romantic British society. Indeed, so far, the research mostly speaks of Stendhal, not of what he wrote.

It may sound bold, but one might even say that the texts written by Stendhal for the British magazines were appropriated by French literary history. These texts were originally written in French at the request of the editors in London.

2. This is still an incomplete list of the pseudonyms Marie-Henri Beyle used to sign his contributions to the British periodical press with.

They were translated and published every month in English. Afterwards, many of the original French texts were lost. In the 1930s Robert Vigneron and Henri Martineau were among the first French scholars to turn to this particular part of Stendhal's work. Surfing the wave of comparative literature they located their author in *l'Outre-Manche* and brought him back home. Martineau retranslated all the texts that were certainly Stendhal's into French, compiled them and labelled the result *Courrier Anglais*. Filed under "S" for Stendhal in his bookshop Le Divan.

To leave it at that would have been a satisfying and easy solution for French literary history but looking back from a current perspective one must admit that the story has to be complicated. These texts are obviously not simply, as part of Stendhal's oeuvre, French literature. They were written at the request of British editors, were specifically addressed to a British audience, and had never been published in France until long after having been written. Are they then part of British literature rather than of French? This article contends that they are both and neither at the same time. Stendhal's texts are border-crossing entities, impossible to confine to either the one or the other end of the spectrum. They balance in between. They are transnational in nature. They are a product of the literary channel Cohen and Dever have traced in their co-edited *The Literary Channel* and as such they have a great deal to tell us. In what follows, we shall trace some of the possible lines of enquiry these texts offer us.

An transnational affair

The literary magazines of the early nineteenth century were competitive by nature. It is impossible to think of the genesis of one magazine without the existence of the other. When the *New Monthly Magazine* was launched in 1814 it was called "new" because its reason of existence was, next to economic motives, to counter the revolutionary spirit of the *Monthly Magazine*. Three years later, in 1817, *Blackwood's* saw the light of day for two similar reasons. On the one hand, owner William Blackwood "sought the means of putting himself on a competitive footing with his [*Edinburgh Review*] rival Archibald Constable", and on the other hand he wanted to counter the review's whiggish influence (Parker 2000: 107). That, in turn, provoked "the founding of the *London Magazine*" ("History of Publishing," 2017:n.p.).

As the actions and reactions of the magazines (their publishers and editors) were driven by a mix of polemics and economic and ideological competition, it is not surprising that the attitude of the respective magazines towards Stendhal's texts tells us a great deal about each magazine's position in the field. He was a regu-

lar contributor to the more liberal magazines like the *New Monthly Magazine* and the *London* but the conservative *Blackwood's* was repulsed by him.³

Stendhal's influence in the magazines grew steadily. His task was to "report on French and foreign literature in the English periodicals" (Martineau 1951: 251. My translation). In the beginning, this mainly consisted of writing small reviews of French literature in the less important section of the "Historical register" of the *New Monthly Magazine*. Slowly he came more to the fore. A turning point is the beginning of the "Letters from Paris" in the *London Magazine* in January 1825. That first letter begins as such: "Yes, my friend, I will give you an account every month of the state of French literature" (Stendhal [1825] 1988: 32). What follows is an idiosyncratic account of the state of French literature that could easily be believed to have come straight out of the salons of Paris. In his first report Stendhal criticizes a French journal called *Le Globe*, organized around philosopher Victor Cousin. He compares the "disciples of M. Cousin [...] to the Roundheads of Charles I. and II." (Stendhal [1825] 1988: 34). They "are grave, haters of mirth, pedantic a little; often obscure in their reasonings" (Ibid.: 34).

Interestingly, within a couple of days *Le Globe*, from Paris, reacts. In an article signed by a certain "W." *Le Globe* presents a letter that fulfills exactly the same function as Stendhal's letter, but the other way around. It reports on British literature for a French audience. The author is a competitor of Stendhal's, the Irishman Eyre Evans Crowe. He was an ambitious young journalist who used to write for *Blackwood's* and had already found himself overtaken by Stendhal once or twice.⁴ Crowe's report on what Stendhal wrote on *Le Globe* reads as the account of a child telling on someone. Moreover, it is followed by a note from the editor of the journal, in which Stendhal's judgements are made fun of and called "légers" and nothing but a careless mistake ("Note du Rédacteur" 1825: 294).

The altercation might seem unimportant at first, but there is a side to the story that easily escapes scrutiny. The authors, and the translators, act as spokesperson between cultures. For example, if we look at the "literal" translation of Stendhal's argument by Crowe we cannot but notice the many changes and reductions he allows. The original English version (which is the one Crowe would have read) reads as follows:

3. Although they did publish, unknowingly, an article by him on Rossini that was first published in the *Paris Monthly Review* (Stendhal 1980: 9). Reverend Crowley offered it to the magazine on behalf of his "foreign friend" (Strout 1959: 101).

4. Crowe had also sent articles on Rossini to *Blackwood's* but had found the spot already taken by Stendhal's piece (Stendhal 1980: 9). Cyrus Redding, editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* had also asked him to write on French literature, another job Stendhal ended up getting (9). I am not saying this explains Crowe's attack on Stendhal, but it is interesting to consider these facts next to the literary altercation at hand.

They are, in general, young men who are sincere in search of the truth, but unfortunately have got weak heads and warm hearts; or, in other words, have no great powers of reasoning and very excitable imaginations. They are fanatic adherents of the spiritual philosophy of Plato, and every year change their creed. The people of the *Globe* are, as has been said, grave and deliberate; you would suppose that gaiety would insult them – there is something puritanical in their look; which forms a striking contrast to the impertinent liveliness of the party of Jouy and Etienne.⁵ (Stendhal [1825] 1988: 34)

What is more, is that the English version is already a translation from French. However, since the original French version was lost, we can only base ourselves on second-hand accounts of Stendhal's dissatisfaction with the translations of his letters.⁶ If one looks closely at Crowe's retranslation of the English text into French, it is not hard to imagine translation can lead to frustration:

Les bonnes gens du *Globe*, dit-il, ont une gravité qu'on pourrait appeler *puritaine*. Ce sont des sectateurs fanatiques de la philosophie spiritualiste de Platon, etc., tandis que les autres sont *voltairiens* et n'ont d'autre dieu que le sarcasme. (W. 1825: 293)

Crowe's translation is more like an abbreviation of the argument in French. In the article, the entire sentence is given as a quote from the piece in the *London* and appropriately wears quotation marks. Note, however, the "dit-il" which clearly indicates the presence of the narrator of W's letter in what is presented as a direct quotation from Stendhal.

The same translation dynamics can be witnessed, later in 1825, in another transnational altercation between a British magazine and *Le Globe*. Yet again, Stendhal is a central figure. As stated earlier, for those readers who favoured either the *New Monthly* or the *London*, in mid-1820s Britain, Stendhal's periodical writings were an important source of French culture. Not so in *Blackwood's*. There, as Peter France has noted, France "is notable by its very discreet presence" (France 2009: 8). Nevertheless, *Blackwood's* employed William Maginn for an article in December 1825 on "French Literature of the Day". At the time, Maginn was the Paris correspondent for *The Representative*, an English daily (Latané 2004: n.p.). He reports on what the "gay, sprightly, tasteful, light-minded French have been

5. Judging from a letter by Crowe he was able to write (and translate) in (and to) French (see Stendhal 1980: 24 n. 25). Should it not have been Crowe who translated this particular letter it would be of no consequence for it is not about who translated but about how the text was translated.

6. For more on Stendhal and his frustrations concerning the translation of his letters into English cf. Jones 1970: 151–154.

talking of for the last six months" (Maginn 1825: 715). The article is more a description of everything around literature than of what the French have actually been writing, and in that way, it is very much like Stendhal's "Letters from Paris".

Maginn also refers to the French journal *Le Globe*. In contrast to Stendhal, he speaks in positive terms. It "deserves our gratitude and admiration", he writes (Maginn 1825: 716). He qualifies the journal as "proof of the serious character, in which the proverbial gaiety, the ancient mercuriality and lightness of the French people, is merging fast" (Maginn 1825: 717). Strangely, *Le Globe* publishes an article in answer to that on December 20 entitled "Sur un article du Blackwood-Magazine". In it they complain of mainly one thing:

la légèreté des correspondances entretenues avec la France [...]. C'est un véritable commerce de scandale: un trafic de noms et d'anecdotes. Jamais les ouvrages ne sont analysés ni jugés: ce sont toujours les hommes que l'on produit.

("Sur un article" 1825: 1040)

The article refers derisively to "correspondence" with France. This seems to point rather at Stendhal's work for the *London* than at this one article in *Blackwood's*. Moreover, it seems strange that *Le Globe* should be so vicious towards *Blackwood's* while Maginn's text is only laudatory about the journal.

Not surprisingly, in the next issue, two days later, *Le Globe* nuances its remarks, and writes that "[a]ujourd'hui que nous avons lu l'article avec attention" they see that they were wrong and assume they will be easily forgiven. In fact, they add, "nos expressions attaquent seulement en général les jugements des écrivains de la Grande-Bretagne sur notre littérature et ne jettent qu'une insinuation vague sur le *Blackwood Magazine*" ("France" 1825: 1042). Considering the title of the earlier piece this is, obviously, a lie. *Le Globe* now claims that *Blackwood's* is a good journal albeit that their judgements of literary works are "sommaire et un peu personnelles, selon la manière de nos voisins" (Ibid.: 1042).

But to no avail, at first. "Punished shall the Globe be! It is decided upon", reads a piece in the next issue of *Blackwood's* ("The French Globe" 1826: 206). The article is entitled "The French Globe and Blackwood's Magazine" and both McWatters and the Wellesley Index attribute it to that same William Maginn (McWatters 1980: 10; Houghton n.d.:n.p.). *Le Globe's* article is discussed in detail and almost entirely translated into English and incorporated in the article.

why should we bother our readers with French? Here, therefore, we overset it in English for the benefit of the Cockneys, who write under the signature of French Viscounts, and discuss the literature of France.⁷

("The French Globe" 1826: 206–207)

7. Note that by this time Stendhal already used the pseudonym "Count Stendhal". Cf. the article "Lord Byron and Count Stendhal" in *Kaleidoscope* from 1824: "It is from the pen of M. Beyle,

When we look at that translation of the *Globe*'s article by Maginn we notice that "la légèreté des correspondences entretenues avec la France" becomes "the trifling nature of their correspondence with France" and Maginn adds between brackets that "[This refers of course to the correspondence of Beyle, and other such raff, with the Magazines of Cocagne]" (Ibid.: 206). And that is where Stendhal enters explicitly, and with him the *New Monthly* and the *London, Blackwood's* immediate rivals. Taking into account that *Le Globe* apologized for its first article, a short notice by *Blackwood's* might have sufficed. They could also have ignored the overseas journal. Yet the editors devote six pages of their magazine to it, including two entire pages in French from an article in *Le Globe* which they add as a sample of the quality of the latter journal's work. What then, could be the reason for so much fuss?

The answer lies within the competitive nature of the British literary magazines. Ultimately this entire polemic is but a way for *Blackwood's* to criticize its competitors and position itself in the periodical field. And that depends on how it treats foreign literatures, here exemplified by the figure of Stendhal. To *Blackwood's* Beyle's writing is the best example of how a literary magazine should not engage with foreign literature. The correspondent for the *London* and the *New Monthly* delivers only literary salon-like sketches of society through familiar letters. The "trifling nature" of his correspondence does not leave room for any real criticism of foreign literature. All you get is "the stinking Swiss of the press – the vomit of Cockneyland" ("The French Globe" 1826: 207).⁸

Blackwood's finally concludes its article with an explicit sneer at its rivals and their foreign politics: "we beg leave to ask, what foreign periodical has ever mentioned the New Monthly Magazine, written, as many of its articles are, by folks who have their own reasons for living abroad, and who, of course, fish for foreign panegyric? Or who has ever mentioned the London, except to say that it was fallen into the hands of the Cockneys?" ("The French Globe" 1826: 207–208).

better known by his pseudonym Count Stendhal" (Beyle 1824: 182). What is interesting is that "Count", according to the *OED*, stands "[i]n certain countries of continental Europe [for] a high-ranking nobleman, corresponding to the English earl" ("count, n.2." 2018. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 10, 2018.). In a British context it foregrounds foreignness because it is a title that does not exist in Britain, but merely corresponds to the rank of Earl. Viscount, however, is an active word in British English that denominates the person "acting as the deputy or representative of a count or earl in the administration of a district; in English use spec. a sheriff or high sheriff" ("viscount, n." 2018. *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December 10, 2018).

8. The "Cockney School of Poetry" was a derisive term coined in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* to insult a certain group of poets, including Keats, Hazlitt and Hunt. "Cockneyland" referred to London, where both the *London* and the *New Monthly Magazine* were based.

While the *New Monthly* and the *London* publish articles by Stendhal every month, *Blackwood's* only refers to him as “raff”, “cockney”, and one “fish[ing] for foreign panegyric”. So, not only do the British magazines react to each other nationally in their attitudes towards French literature, but the polemic spreads to the continent and activates a French magazine, which in turn extracts a reaction from *Blackwood's*. This shows that these Late-Romantic British magazines not only operate in a national space, but also in a transnational space.

Yet this transnational space is of a particular nature. Though the countries engage with each other culturally, and in this particular case on the basis of literature, most of the literary criticism is never more than a comparison between French and British morals and manners. Indeed, when Maginn speaks of the French drama it is only to say that it has “not much spirit, and with us would perhaps be insipid; but for France, they are audaciously original” (Maginn 1825: 718). Similarly, when he discusses the work of French historians he finds that “[w]ith us, who have been now a long time wearied with the middle ages, and all that relates to them, such a work would not have the smallest chance of being read” (Maginn 1825: 718). To these statements Stendhal would merely reply that “[m]any Englishmen fancy they understand the French language and French manners, who have not the slightest idea of either” (Stendhal [1825] 1988: 78). If the literary magazines reported on French literature it was more often than not a way to say something about British literature. A strange mirror performance, where the projection of the other merely serves to enhance one's self-image.

Literary production and identity are inseparable in the Late-Romantic literary magazines. When *Le Globe* accuses the British of being “personelles”, namely writing criticism that is “aimed at a particular person, and usually disparaging or offensive in nature”, it is saying more about how it (and with it its projection of France) wants to be perceived than about Britain and British literature (Mole 2013: 89). Likewise, when the British describe the French (including French literature) as gay and light-minded, the same is here again. Compare the sarcastic opening lines of Stendhal's third letter to the *London*: “I am very much afraid, my dear friend, that you grave Englishmen may have thought my last letter too light and frivolous. To expiate my offence I am going to give you the history of the progress of good sense in France” (Stendhal [1825] 1988: 88). Apter has described the “fluid space of the Channel [as] a metaphor for a zone of mutual refraction where Britain defines itself through its incongruent reflection of Frenchness, and vice versa” (Apter 2002: 286).

It is important to realize that the readers of these magazines bought them because “people buy journals that reflect their interests or articulate beliefs they already have” (Gaull 1988: 17). This new readership, the middle class, made possible by the industrial revolution, was willing “to pay handsomely for books and

periodicals” (Jones 1970: 17). Henry Colburn, owner of the *New Monthly* was quick in understanding that and “established the policy of ‘humoring the public taste’” (Ibid.: 17). By selecting and framing what the audiences read the editors had great power. It is not surprising, therefore, that the middle-class audience’s literary “taste was formed by reviewers, not poets” (Gaul 1988: 315).

Classics versus Romantics

Literature and identity creation are difficult to separate, then. And when, at times, the literary magazines, in writing about the culture of other nations, actually functioned as a tool for the creation of British identity, that same process of reciprocal refraction is at work. It is as Thiesse writes in *La Création des identités nationales*: “Rien de plus international que la formation des identités nationales” (Thiesse 2001: 11). One may take a look at *la querelle des classiques et romantiques*, for example, in which Stendhal also plays a part. In early nineteenth-century France the “Ancients vs. Moderns” debate held within the seventeenth century *Académie Française* resurfaced in the form of a “war of words” between the “classic and romantic” schools (Redding 1823: 522). British literary magazines reported on it to their readers. To Cyrus Redding, editor of the *New Monthly Magazine* and author of an article entitled “The Classics and Romantics”, this debate would, “in the end, produce an important change for the better in the literature of the [French] nation” (Ibid.: 522). The Academy, in Redding’s eyes, had now “nearly become inert [...] by the rising of a regenerated school of literature, more in harmony with modern civilization and congenial to national feeling, as is the case in England” (Ibid.: 522).

What is striking, however, is that this new school is considered to be one with nationalism. The romantic school, Redding writes, “has every where been the child [...] of patriotism and liberty. The French are beginning now to feel this, as the English and the Germans have long felt before them” (Ibid.: 523). Moreover, there is a constant emphasis on the fact that “England” is France’s precursor in this matter. These romantics have formed what might be called a “republic of letters, amenable only to the general opinion of the nation” (Ibid.: 524). This republic is paving the way towards “literary emancipation” (Ibid.: 524). On what does Cyrus Redding base his judgements? On the belief that the “translation and rapid sale of translations of the German and English dramatists clearly prove[s]” this (Ibid.: 524). In Redding’s understanding, the classics adhere only to imitation of the ancients, while the romantics portray “national truth” (Ibid.: 526). Strangely, this national truth is “penned with a fidelity adapted to the *universal feeling of truth in every age and nation*” (Ibid.: 527. Italics mine). What the French wish, he writes, is

to have a tragedy which shall be neither Greek nor Roman, but French; in short they desire pictures of nature on the model of Shakespeare, and not of something neither ancient nor modern, a gallico-latin medley, to preserve the servility of which originality and nature must be sacrificed". (Ibid.: 527)

According to Redding it is a universal truth that every age and nation has a national truth. To begin with, in his view the existence of the nation is an absolute given. Moreover, the model for an original, romantic literature is English drama, Shakespeare, namely. One of the exemplary authors Redding mentions is Stendhal, who was in the early stages of contributing articles to the *New Monthly Magazine* (Ibid.: 528).

In an article called "The Concept of 'Romanticism'" René Wellek writes that Stendhal "seems to have been the first Frenchman who called himself a romantic" (Wellek 1949: 10). Moreover, that same Stendhal became an important voice in the debate of the classics against the romantics. His *Racine et Shakespeare* from 1823 was a fiery pamphlet in favour of romanticism that stirred quite some anger, inciting Louis-Simon Auger, *de l'Académie Française*, to write a reply entitled "Discours sur le Romantisme". Lady Morgan, in her travel account *France*, from 1817, had compared Racine to Shakespeare, which may have lead Stendhal, who had read the book, to use the two in disjunction six years later.⁹

It should be clear that one cannot refer to national literatures as clear-cut, separate entities. The few transnational arguments between literary magazines show as much. The British Late-Romantic magazines use French (and other foreign)¹⁰ literatures as a way to gain readers and position themselves in the competitive field of periodicals. While doing so they performatively contribute to the construction of the identity of their nation. These magazines claim to criticize each other's literatures but in fact merely define their own national (literary) identities through the differences they discern in the other. French literary criticism in Britain was mostly British identity-creation.

Methods straddled

Within the context of this book it is pertinent to include a part on methodology. During the research for what became this text some methodological problems occurred. One is what Franco Moretti, in *Graphs, Maps, Trees* calls the "eternal

9. Cf. Alciatoire, Jules C. 1959. "Lady Morgan et De l'Amour". *Modern Language Notes* 74, no. 4 (Spring): 326–327. DOI: 10.2307/3040073.

10. Among which Spanish, German, and Italian. For more information I refer to Saglia (2019).

problematic” of the literary historian (Moretti 2007: 2). Eternal and therefore unsolvable. Namely, there is too much material to analyze. To take everything into account is impossible. Yet, the other option, studying only a small part, is also problematic. Moretti writes that he “no longer believe[s] that a single explanatory framework may account for the many levels of literary production and their multiple links with the larger social system” (Moretti 2007: 92). While he might be referring strictly to his three “artificial constructs”, I do think that our effort, as scholars, cannot be anything but collaborative (Moretti 2007: 1). And even then, the eternal problematic will still be eternal, and problematic.

For instance, my own project started out as ranging from 1814 to 1829. The plan was to chart the ideological dynamics of the translation and reception policies of the three magazines during those fifteen years. By reception policies I mean the different ways in which foreign literatures are discussed, translated, and presented to the British reading audiences. Typical questions would be: what foreign books are published in Britain and included in the lists of “foreign works imported” that would figure in the magazines? How are these books reviewed? How are they presented in the magazines? Do the reviews and essays on foreign literary works contain excerpts and are they translated? How are they translated? Why are certain works discussed and others not? What are the ideological dynamics governing these editorial practices? The method would be close-reading three magazines that published 120 pages every month, or 64,800 double-columned pages in total. Not surprisingly, a lot of the first year of my PhD was spent finding out that I would have to limit my corpus. Moretti writes that “a field this large cannot be understood by stitching together separate bits of knowledge about individual cases, because it *isn't* a sum of individual cases: it's a collective system, that should be grasped as such, as a whole” (Moretti 2007: 4).

In the field of Late-Romantic literary periodicals many scholars have done just the opposite, understandably so. Mark Parker, for instance, in his seminal *Literary Magazines and British Romanticism*, chopped up the time span of the period under investigation into *runs* of five series from one to four years.

Similarly, Linda Bunnell Jones, in the introduction to her dissertation, states that “[a] review of the entire run of the *New Monthly* would have been valuable, but this dissertation has been limited to an examination of the magazine from 1821 to 1830” (Jones 1970: 1).¹¹ While the “most important source for this study is, of course, the *New Monthly* itself”, she confesses to have read “only” “completely one number of every six” (Jones 1970: 5). That is two per year of publication. Whether this is sufficient, I leave up to the reader, what is true without a doubt is that Jones’

11. The entire run of the *New Monthly* ranges from 1814 to 1884.

dissertation is a valuable source of information on the *New Monthly Magazine*, and still one of the only sources out there.

It will be clear that sheer amount of material is one limitation. Another limitation is language. Since we don't want our work to "suffer" from translation, it is only proper to have at least an apt knowledge of both the source language and the target language.¹² Which makes the only in-depth translation analysis that I will be able to carry out in this corpus that of French and Dutch into English, *if* the source language texts were preserved.

Moreover, the stuff our dissertations are made on has changed radically over the years. Where it used to be fragile paper (in my case 200 years old), it is now a binary file in a digital database, hosted by *British Periodicals Online*. I no longer have to travel to the United Kingdom to read the magazines. Yet the process of digitizing the magazines article by article has made them lose their unity. Mark Parker speaks of the "subtle editorial practices" John Scott of the *London* employed to encourage the "conversational aspects" of the essays sent to him by his contributors (Parker 2000: 65). Yet, recognizing the echoes between different contributions becomes difficult in a chopped-up, compartmentalized, digital environment. Pages no longer follow each other (an order that was scrupulously decided upon by editors), front pages are missing, and page numbers of different volumes differ from the original issues, making it sometimes impossible to locate the original articles referred to in older scholarly publications.

Now, optical character recognition (OCR) might be of help here, and yes, *British Periodicals Online* gives you the possibility to search for specific words in the database, but once you download the file, the OCR is gone. Moreover, the half-effaced, double-columned pages that were digitized makes OCR difficult and we must assume many transcription errors. For every hit on a search string, we must assume, at least, some unrecognized or faulty ones.

These two problems, on the one hand the division of the magazines into articles, and on the other hand, the badly-functioning OCR, are a poor influence on our research. They fragment one's attention until the literary magazines are no longer "an object of study in their own right" (Parker 2000: 1). And that is tragic. These texts were, before Klancher and Parker, as said before, "unread since the early nineteenth century" and if we want to read them now, we should do so with respect for the material conditions of their original publication (Klancher 1987:x). This does not mean that the texts should not be digitized, on the contrary, but that they should be digitized in such a way that the unity of the magazine is undisturbed while reliable in-text searches are possible.

12. Taken from Paine's introduction to the English edition of the *Rights of Man*: "everything suffers from translation" (Paine [1791] 2017: 11).

Lastly, I would like to nuance this idea of grasping, in Moretti's words, "the whole". When we look at the object of study from a distance we see other things than from up close. To incorporate everything is not possible. We need to acknowledge the impossibility of adding everything to the equation and all the while never give up trying to be as exhaustive as possible. We must be informed by a healthy skepticism of completeness. Because no corpus is ever complete. At best, and this is what we should strive for, I think, distant and close reading should cooperate. Quite similar to how David Damrosch describes the study of world literature:

[it] is not an immense body of material that must somehow, impossibly, be mastered; it is a mode of reading that can be experienced *intensively* with a few works just as effectively as it can be explored *extensively* with a large number. (Damrosch 2003: 299)

Perhaps we must work in projects and divide the labour. It is not a question of either/or, but a conjunction. Here I would like to refer to a chapter on close reading in Barbara Herrnstein Smith's recent book *Practicing Relativism in the Anthropocene*. "Where big data is pertinent and computational processing would be useful", she writes, "literary scholars should take advantage of both" (Smith 2018: 77). "But", she adds, "there is no research imperative built into the size of some potential data set" (Smith 2018: 77). Distant reading does not render close reading meaningless. The way forward is a balanced methodology that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods. This was beautifully demonstrated in the project described by Mus et al. I referred to earlier, or in Cohen's and Dever's *The Literary Channel*. Perhaps it will also work out in a similar way in the projects Melanie Hacke and I are working on. In the meantime, I will continue to complement my basic distant and statistical readings with "this exemplary method [...] out of respect for both literary history and mathematics" (Todd 1976: 7).

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The politics of translation

Textual-visual strategies towards transnational network building in the periodicals of the Czech interwar avant-garde

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Founded in 1920, Devětsil – a Czech group of young leftist artists and poets – set out to create a distinctly modern avant-garde movement with broad international ties. This was a goal that Devětsil managed to achieve with remarkable success through a variety of strategies; the scope of its project is perhaps most visible in the case of its periodicals, which were circulated widely across Europe.

This essay looks at several specific examples of the use of translation and multilingualism, as well as a “universal” visual language, in the magazines published by the Czech avant-garde in the 1920s, towards a better understanding how transnational and non-hierarchical modes of network formation were enacted via the periodical publications of the historical avant-garde.

Keywords: Devětsil, New Typography, historical avant-garde, magazines, periodical studies, translation

In December of 1920, two years after the foundation of Czechoslovakia, a group of young, leftist artists and poets came together to form the Czech group Devětsil, which announced itself in the weekly paper *Pražské pondělí* (Prague Monday). “The times are changing”, the manifesto opened, “Behind us remains the old era, sentenced to decay in the libraries, and before us shines a new day” (Teige et al. 1970[1920]: 81).¹ The group’s vision for the future was an international one, situated as it was geographically and temporally in a newly configured Europe, and it was an early goal of the young signatories to align themselves with artists and

1. The original signees were Artuš Černík, Josef Frič, Josef Havlíček, Adolf Hoffmeister, Karel Prox, Jaroslav Seifert, Ivan Suk, Ladislav Süß, Vladimír Štulc, Karel Teige, Vladislav Vančura, Karel Vaněk, Karel Veselík, and Alois Wachsmann.

thinkers from beyond Czechoslovak borders engaged in a similar struggle for an art that was fully integrated into everyday life. Even before Devětsil was officially founded, Karel Teige,² arguably the most visible member of the group today, wrote to fellow member Artuš Černík³ with the comment, “It would be good if our commune (*komuna*), as soon as it is founded, established international ties”.⁴

It is significant that Devětsil would announce itself in a periodical publication, and such a choice in platform for its founding manifesto situated the movement within a growing tradition. Perhaps most famously and influentially, F. T. Marinetti’s 1909 Futurist Manifesto was first printed in the French daily paper *Le Figaro*. While Devětsil would not always publish in such mainstream, popular (and inherently local) venues as a weekly newspaper, the site of the periodical publishing platform would remain an important medium of dissemination for the group’s radical ideas throughout its short but illustrious life,⁵ especially as it came to produce its own publications in a few years’ time. Devětsil would publish several books, anthologies, and periodicals in its short tenure, such as the two anthologies, *Život* (Life) and the *Revoluční sborník Devětsil* (Revolutionary Anthology of Devětsil) and the magazines *Disk*, *Pásmo*, and *ReD*. These included poetry, fiction, and theoretical texts, photographs and art reproductions and it was through its publications that the group signaled its place at the forefront of Czech avant-garde production, and forged alliances with concurrent movements across the European continent.

2. Karel Teige, born at the dawn of the new century, was a polyglot and his interests were multidisciplinary. He studied in the Philosophical Faculty at Charles University and went on to edit a wide range of magazines, from the Devětsil publications *Disk* (1923–1925) and *ReD* (1927–1931), to the architectural magazine *Stavba* (1922–1938), and published many books. He wrote copious essays on literature, art, and architecture, created many surrealist collages, and also worked as a typographer.

3. Artuš Černík, born in the same year as Teige, was his collaborator on several Devětsil publications and the main editor of *Pásmo*, the publishing arm of Devětsil in Brno, where Černík was living at the time. In Brno, he also served as the literary editor for the Communist daily *Rovnost* while pursuing a law degree. Before obtaining his degree, he also did a brief stint as a clerk for Czech Railways in 1923. Černík’s best known Devětsil contributions are his editorial role at *Pásmo* and his writings on film (See Forst 1985).

Hundreds of pages of letters from Teige to Černík exist in the archive of the Památník Národního Pisemnictví (Museum of Czech Literature). I have written in great detail on the collaborative relationship of Teige and Černík in my dissertation (See Forbes, “In the Middle of It All”, 2016).

4. Karel Teige to Artuš Černík, Apr. 1, 1920, Památník Národního Pisemnictví, Prague (hereafter cited as PNP), Artuš Černík Archive (hereafter cited as AČ Archive).

5. Devětsil was no longer by the early 1930s. Many of its members went on to join the Czech Surrealist group, founded by Vítězslav Nezval in 1934.

This chapter takes up the Devětsil print periodical, considered here as a strategic mode of exchange, to show how networks were generated from Prague and Brno, and maintained across the European avant-gardes. Underscoring the strategic use of translation in these platforms, it looks both at the magazines' written content and modes of distribution (what Matthew Philpotts might call their "social" codes, considering "the wide network of actors involved in the creation, circulation and reception of the journal"), and at how the serial publications of the Czech interwar avant-garde functioned *visually* to signal the editors' place within an international dialogue (their "compositional codes", that is their "textual, visual, and design" elements. See Philpotts 2013). I thus consider translation not only in its most fundamental sense, as the "substitution of one language for another" (Grutman 2009: 182), but rather engage a more broadly constitutive use of the word to suggest a transfer of knowledge and exchange of ideas between different cultural contexts, that incorporates as well multilingualism and internationally legible visual tropes.

The equally important textual and visual elements of the magazines are utilized by the Devětsil editors towards a dual purpose, which can be described as their micro and macro functions.⁶ On the micro level, the magazines were intended to educate the Czech reader at home on interwar trends in the avant-garde, being forged both locally and abroad, and to engage a popular audience in these developments. They were also a forum by which the young Czech avant-garde conducted publicly debates with an older generation of artists and competing contemporaries at home (Forbes 2016a; Ort 2013). The Devětsil affiliated magazines portrayed a specific sociopolitical stance, through which their editors engaged in debates locally on the place of art in post-war society. On the macro level, the magazines were intended to be shared with artistic peers abroad, and all aspects of their curation – from the languages used to the individual page layout – were carefully curated to achieve that goal and thus sustain an active dialogue with members of an international avant-garde. It is this aspect of the magazines that will be the focus here, as I will show how serial publications kept the Czech avant-garde in conversation with peers abroad – in some cases already underway thanks to travel, exhibitions, or correspondence, but in other instances, initiated entirely via the publications themselves.

The use of the magazine as a platform for exchange and conversation in the interwar period is in no way particular to the Czech context, and it is in fact

6. As Ann Ardis noted in her opening remarks to the Modern Languages Association [MLA] Special Session "What is a Journal? Towards a Theory of Periodical Studies", the study of serial publications is especially well suited to "attending simultaneously to both macro- and micro-level analysis: for addressing the dialogics of an increasingly complexly mediated, post-bourgeois public sphere *through* analysis of the 'politics of the page' (George Bornstein's phrasing), that is, through the study of literary artifacts in their original sites of publication" (Ardis 2013).

contingent on this fact that the magazine could be utilized to form transnational networks at all (Ades 1978; Brooker et al. 2013; Mertins and Jennings 2010). Across Europe, it was common practice for magazines to cross advertise other publications within a broad linguistic and geographic zone and signal an international group of peers. To take but one example, on the inside back cover of the first issue of *Disk*, the French *L'Esprit nouveau*, Italian *Noi*, Yugoslav *Zenit*, and German *Merz* and *G* are all listed with their publishing addresses, along with other Czech magazines *Stavba*, *Host*, and *Veraikon*. The Devětsil publications functioned to solidify and disseminate the values of the Czech avant-garde through these widely understood uses of the magazine as tools for conducting conversation, bringing artists and thinkers of different geographical locations and languages into close contact, and ideally disseminating ideas discussed within a relatively small circle to a larger public, through both textual and visual production. In short, the avant-garde journal served as an efficient, affordable vehicle for the theoretical position of the artists and intellectuals it represented.

This article considers specifically the role of translation in the success of the Devětsil magazines to build transnational networks, by offering several close readings and case studies across various publications to present illustrative instances in which the magazines employed a range of textual and visual languages to convey information multi-linguistically and/or a-textually – what Johanna Drucker sees as the indelible “relation between the literary conception and visual production” (Drucker 1994: 2). It considers how the magazines accomplished this both through the translation of certain texts out of Czech and into another, more dominant language (such as German or French), the translation of foreign text *into* Czech, the publication of the same text side by side in different languages, and also the employment of visual strategies that helped to circumvent the limitations of Czech language literacy in the wider European sphere.

Text: Multilingualism in Devětsil publications

While the Devětsil anthologies and periodicals featured a significant amount of translation *into* Czech from a broad swath of languages, including German, French, Italian, and Russian, indicating a desire to bring visibility of an international avant-garde to a local, Czech audience, Devětsil simultaneously aimed to reach outwards to that international avant-garde by featuring at least some text in foreign languages, most often in German and French, in their publications.⁷

7. While the question of local perception is an important one, there is little evidence of how these magazines were received by a broader Czech public. Based on the archival evidence of

This could take the form of publishing foreign language texts directly in their source languages, or translating Czech language texts into French or German, and sometimes publishing the same text in two different languages, such as Czech *and* German, or Czech *and* French, translating in both directions.

Already in 1922 with the preparation of a special Devětsil issue of *Život*, and the group's first real publication under its own editorial control – alongside another anthology published the same year, the *Revoluční sborník Devětsil* – a page dedicated to the names and locations of “collaborators” reveals the wide and international scope of the publication, and the broad network in which it operated. The list includes: “Archipenko – Berlin”; “Delluc – (Cinéa) Paris”; “Erenburg – Vesc, Berlin”; “Man Ray – Paris”; “Jeanneret (Le Corbusier Saugnier) – ‘L'Esprit nouveau,’ Paris”; and even “Charlie Chaplin – U.S.A. Los Angeles [*sic*]”.⁸ Le Corbusier (Charles-Édouard Jeanneret) and Saugnier (Amédée Ozenfant) have an especially significant presence in *Život*, contributing, for instance, an article titled “Architecture and Purism”. This article is reproduced with images of Le Corbusier's architectural work, and includes a subtitle that affirms it was “written especially for ‘Život’” (Le Corbusier and Saugnier 1922: 74). They also contributed a separate article entitled simply “Le Purisme”. Both essays were printed in French, and subsequently on the following pages in Czech translation. In a letter to Teige from March 1923, Le Corbusier thanks him (in French) for the issue: “I have received *Život* and thank you emphatically; I offer you all my compliments for the beautiful edition that you have put together”.⁹ Le Corbusier's note (and many others like it, that are addressed to Teige and held in his archive at the Museum of Czech Literature) evidences the success of Devětsil in using local publishing platforms towards achieving international visibility and exchange.

correspondence, it is clear that major figures of the European avant-garde were looking at these magazines with great interest, but there is almost nothing to suggest that they reached a wider local audience beyond the small circle of the Czech avant-garde itself. One example of an attempt by Devětsil to engage with its local readership can be found however in a paragraph in volume 1, issue 5 of the magazine *ReD* from 1927, in which opinions are solicited with regard to the avant-garde theater group Osvobozené divadlo (Liberated Theater). Reader responses are subsequently published in issue 7, offering some limited sense of the magazine's readership. (For more on this incident, see Witkovsky 2002: 257–259). Devětsil activities did also receive attention in more popular, illustrated magazines, to which its members also occasionally contributed.

8. While this list is particularly Western-centric, Teige also looked seriously at magazines produced by his Eastern neighbors in Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the USSR, and actively worked in collaboration with other such editors. A notable example is the case of the Yugoslav *Zenit*. For more on this exchange, please see Forbes 2016b.

9. Le Corbusier to Teige, March 3, 1923, PNP, Karel Teige (hereafter KT) Archive.

Devětsil would also adopt the convention of including certain important identifying information in multiple languages. The platform of *Život* was essentially loaned to Devětsil by the Umělecká beseda group; it was in 1923 that the first issue of the first magazine that was a solely Devětsil undertaking, *Disk*, appears. Already in *Život*, the title of the magazine runs along the spine in Czech and French (*La Vie*) and the information of the title page is provided once in French and in Czech. A similar – and admittedly somewhat superficial – gesture of multilingualism, can be found on the cover of *Disk* (and corresponding stationary), in which the letterhead includes the title of the journal in Russian (only on the stationary), French, German, English, and Italian (see Figure 1). This practice is maintained with the second Devětsil magazine, *Pásmo* (the “*Mezinárodní moderní leták*”), first published in 1924 in Brno. Again, the title of the magazine and its description were translated into English (“*The Zone international pamphlet*”), French (“*La zone pamphlet international*”), German (“*Die Zone internationale Flugblatt*”), and Italian (“*La zone rivista internazionale*”).¹⁰ This convention of providing basic editorial information in a multitude of languages is maintained in later Devětsil publications, and was also a custom commonly employed in other international avant-garde magazines, such as: Theo van Doesburg’s *Mécabo*; the Berlin based *Veshch/Objekt/Gegenstand* of Ilja Ehrenburg and El Lissitzky; the single issue of the Soviet *Izvestia ASNOVA* co-edited by Lissitzky and Nikolai Ladovsky; the Yugoslav publication *Zenit*, edited by Ljubomir Micić, along with Yvan Goll for issues eight through thirteen; and in 1931, another Czechoslovak publication related tangentially to Devětsil, *nová bratislava*, designed by Zdeněk Rossmann.¹¹

10. The title of the magazine *Pásmo* in and of itself signals the centrality of translation to the ways in which the Czech publications were aligned with an international milieu. “*Pásmo*” can mean ‘band’ or ‘belt’, and on the cover of the magazine the descender of a lower-case “p” for “*pásmo*” is a filmstrip (the letter is created as a photomontage, that also includes a gramophone record to create the bowl of the “p”). Looking ahead to an example of a visual translation, concurrent examples of a very similar “P” crop up elsewhere, evidencing an international adoption of tropes in popular imagery. For instance, in Jan Tschichold’s important book, *The New Typography*, he includes typographic work from Kurt Schwitters’ advertisements for the firm Pelikan, which features a “P” quite like that used on the front page of *Pásmo*.

Additionally, the word “*pásmo*” can also mean ‘zone’ – as it is translated in English, French, German, and Italian on the cover of the magazine. *Pásmo* is in fact the same word used by the Czech author Karel Čapek as the title of his wildly popular translation of Guillaume Apollinaire’s “*Zone*.” This translation had been enthusiastically welcomed by the young avant-garde, for it served, as Deborah Garfinkle writes, “the aims of cultural development” at home (See Garfinkle 2003: 356).

11. Many comparable strategies were employed in the Bratislava-based magazine to its counterparts in Prague and Brno (See de Puineuf 2010).

Figure 1. Cover of *Disk* no. 1 (1923). Private collection

Such a form of multilingualism can be understood as a largely symbolic gesture towards internationalism, as the reader would need to be able to read Czech (in the instances of *Disk* or *Pásmo*) to have access to the real content of the published texts. But there are several important instances in which full poems or articles were reproduced in a foreign language, a convention also adopted by *Veshch* and *Zenit*, for instance. On the very first page of the fourth issue of *Pásmo* from 1924 there are articles in Czech (as the original language of a poem by František Halas, but also in translation, in a statement by *Ma* editor Lajos Kassák), Polish (by the Constructivist and *Blok* editor Mieczysław Szczuka), and German (by Kurt Schwitters and Willi Baumeister). There is even a quotation from the German architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe running vertically up the page, in French (see Figure 2). And also in *Pásmo*, a year later in 1925, László Moholy-Nagy's important example of "typo-photo" called "Dynamik der Großstadt" ('Dynamic of a Metropolis') is printed in German (in a rather stripped down version in comparison to its far better-known

Figure 2. Cover of *Pásmo* 1, no. 4 (1924). Private collection

Figure 3. Cover of *ReD* 1, no. 1 (October 1927). Private collection

In the first issue of *ReD* from October 1927 – which was perhaps the most important, and certainly the longest running Devětsil publication, ceasing only in 1931, and edited solely by Teige – a simultaneous employment of all of the different modes of translation and multilingualism described above come together in a succession of just a few pages (see Figure 3). The magazine would prove to cover a broad range of themes, with issues over the years dedicated to Italian Futurism, the Bauhaus in Dessau, and the Liberated Theater in Prague, to name just a few examples, and often explicitly highlighted connections between Devětsil members and their colleagues abroad. The first issue is emblematic of this, in as much as it showcases a recent visit of the erstwhile surrealist Philippe Soupault,¹² opening with a poem by him titled “Do Prahy” (‘To Prague’), a reminiscence on the

12. With some embellishment, Derek Sayer writes: “Breton forced Philippe Soupault out of the Paris surrealist group at the end of 1926 for wasting his talent in journalism, publishing in an Italian fascist journal, and smoking English cigarettes” (Sayer 2013).

author's time in Prague earlier that same year.¹³ With the exception of the title and a line about the unforgettable taste of "*bílá káva*" ('white coffee'), the poem is in French (Soupault 1927: 4). It is followed by a note (in Czech) that had initially appeared just the month before (in French) in the Paris-based daily *L'Intransigeant*, with the heading "The Young Czechs and Us" and reports on a poem by Nezval: "Mr. Vítězslav Nezval has written a poem dedicated to Philippe Soupault, a poem of beautiful, modern form and happy invention. – Apollinaire and Soupault, formerly in Prague, 20 years apart in age, have both born the seed that has grown into a friendship".¹⁴ The poem by Soupault is then followed by this poem for him, written by Nezval, which is here also published in French (translated from Czech by the comedian and actor Jiří Voskovec, and it appeared again in *La Revue française de Prague*). Nezval's poem includes the names of a string of French visitors to Prague, including Guillaume Apollinaire, asserting the city's central status.¹⁵ Finally, a short poem by Apollinaire ("June 14th, 1915" from *Calligrammes*) appears on the same page as Nezval's poem starts, running horizontally and wedged between thick black lines, in this case printed in Czech and translated from French by Teige. This succession of pages, which move fluidly between French and Czech, and encapsulates the level of exchange between poets working in both contexts – which is observed and reported upon even in the French press – underscores not only the successful and mutual exchange between (distinct) literary cultures, but also the way in which Teige aimed to showcase and instrumentalize this fact through his magazines.

Teige also made certain that his efforts to bring international representation into the Devětsil magazines would not be lost on that more international target audience. As the letter from Le Corbusier cited previously suggests, international contributors did receive copies of the magazines. Teige conscientiously cultivated mailing lists of notable international figures to whom to send out exemplars of

13. Soupault had visited Prague once in 1926 and again in 1927. Evidence of Soupault's later visit to Prague appears also in magazines not under Devětsil editorship, but with which the group collaborated and in which Devětsil members published, such as *Kmen* and *Rozpravy Aventina*. The "Do Prahy" poem was also reproduced in another magazine, *Kmen*, with a note that it had originally been published in *ReD*.

14. "Novinářská zpráva", *ReD* 1, no. 1 (Oct. 1927):4. Originally published in "Les jeunes Tchèques et nous", *L'Intransigeant* (Sept. 19, 1927): 2. Interestingly, the word "femme" ('female') in the French original was migrated to "forma" ('form') in the Czech translation, apparently as a correction.

15. Apollinaire, writes Sayer, "made a brief visit" to Prague "during the first week of March 1902." (Sayer 2013) His recollection of the city would make its way into the poem "Zone", from *Alcools* of 1913, a major point of reference for later Czech literature and scholarship.

Devětsil publications. He clearly saw this as a key component to furthering the reach of Devětsil in a European context. Teige's letters from Prague to Černík in Brno (the main editor of *Pásmo*) at times feature a laundry list of foreign names and addresses to whom to send various periodicals. As early as 1921, before Devětsil had any real publications of its own, Teige writes to Černík with one such list of addresses to which he suggests Černík send the political journal *Červen*, and to which Teige contributed. Several years later, when it came time to distribute *Pásmo*, Teige's list has expanded. Sent in a letter from April 1924, it is a who's who of the major figures of the day, including Ehrenburg (living in Berlin at the time), Walter Gropius (at the Bauhaus in Weimar), Ossip Zadkine (in Paris), and the journals *G* (published in Berlin by El Lissitzky, who was also working with Ehrenburg on *Veshch*) as well as *Zenit* (here associated with Goll).¹⁶ Teige writes again in July 1924 with the addresses of the same figures, and new personalities added, such as Baumeister and van Doesburg.¹⁷ Below the appended list of addresses, Teige scrawls the exclamation "definitely!! these are important addresses! Send me as well some copies for propaganda on my travels. I'm stopping in Vienna, Trieste, Venice, Milan, Genoa, Nice, Marseille, Lyon, Paris, Strasbourg, Stuttgart."¹⁸

Indicative of Devětsil's success in making the group's work known beyond Czech borders, notable figures abroad also took it upon themselves to request exemplars, when they did not automatically receive them. The father of New Typography, Jan Tschichold, sent Černík a postcard in late 1925 requesting in German a copy of the art review *Veraikon*,¹⁹ and a year later asks simply, "where is 'tam-tam' published?" indicating such close attention to Czech publishing culture that he would have heard of this rather obscure and short-lived publication dedicated to avant-garde music and theater.²⁰ And the Italian scholar of Slavonic stud-

16. Karel Teige to Artuš Černík, April 17, 1924, PNP, AČ Archive.

Again, though the magazines were generally directed westward, ties to the Soviet Union and South Slavic avant-gardes can be ascertained throughout this list, which includes several émigrés living in Berlin and Paris. Ehrenburg, born in Kiev, lived in various centers of Europe, such as Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, where he was residing when Teige suggested they send him a copy of *Pásmo*. Zadkine was a sculptor, born in Vitebsk and living in Paris.

17. Teige to Černík, July 23, 1924, PNP, AČ Archive.

18. Ibid.

This same list is more or less reiterated in a letter to Seifert from summer 1924, with whom Teige was planning to travel, and which also includes van Doesburg's address. [Teige to Jaroslav Seifert, 1924, PNP, Jaroslav Seifert Archive.]

19. Tschichold to Černík, Dec. (possibly Nov.) 21, 1925, PNP, AČ Archive.

20. Tschichold to Černík, Aug. 3, 1926, PNP, AČ Archive.

ies, Wolfgang Giusti, sent Teige a postcard from within Prague in 1928 – notably, writing in Czech – requesting three to four copies of the most recent issue of *ReD*, and offering to pick them up directly from the publisher.²¹

The subsequent section will consider how these exemplars could be understood and appreciated by a pan-European set of editors and artists. It continues the conversation about a strategic use of textual translation, particularly with regards to articles about innovations in typography, to also better understand how an excellent use of the visual language of New Typography was intended to further aid in the international reception of the magazines.

Image: Typography as universal language

The efforts of editors such as Teige and Černík to make sure that the *Devětsil* magazines were sent out to like-minded colleagues abroad was a successful campaign that led to further collaboration and solicitation of Czech materials for publication elsewhere. This final section will consider how Teige in particular, as an editor and typographer, theorized a universal visual language that could reach beyond a Czech audience, and in practice, how he utilized graphic design alongside a strategic selection of images to translate the *Devětsil* magazine's transnational alignment a-textually.

Visually, the *Devětsil* periodicals under consideration evidence an affiliation with “New Typography”, which championed an unadorned, “international” graphic style, now widely recognizable by its employment of sans serif fonts and uncluttered page layouts, and governed by principles of standardization. A German engineer Walter Porstmann published the manual *Sprache und Schrift* (Language and Type) in 1920, which came to be highly influential to the Bauhaus typographers in Germany, and ultimately paved the road to New Typography. It is Jan Tschichold, though, who best deserves to be described as the main ambassador for New Typography, publishing a handbook of the same name in 1928, which was already at that point an articulation of a well-known and firmly developed style. Tschichold actually lectured in Prague and Brno in January 1931, on the topic of photomontage. In a glowing review that Teige writes of the lectures, he highlights the significance of Tschichold's travel within the context of what impact he hopes it might have on aesthetic developments at home, concluding: “One would hope that the Prague and Brno lectures of Tschichold will mark the beginning of a working relationship of our professional circles with this master graphic artist of contemporary Germany” (Teige 1931). In fact, this professed aspiration

21. Giusti to Teige, March 21, 1928, PNP, KT Archive.

was already a reality by the time that Tschichold arrived in Czechoslovakia, for he had already included examples of Czech design, such as the photomontage cover of *Život*, in *The New Typography*, evidencing Devětsil's conversant and innovative use of graphic design, and its strong reception abroad. In the introduction to *The New Typography*, Tschichold writes of just how omnipresent its principles had become: "Its manifestations confront modern man at every step" (Tschichold 1995[1928]: 7). The pervasiveness of New Typography, and its quickly recognizable anti-ornamentalism, in favor of sans serif fonts and straight lines, made it an especially convenient way for Devětsil to be a part of a much wider conversation.

The theory and aesthetics of the New Typography, and its adoption by a wide swath of Central European magazines, is key to a discussion of how graphic design functioned to engage a modern public, in magazines, books, and advertisement. As suggested above, despite a variety of ambitious linguistic strategies, the Devětsil publications were primarily legible to an international audience visually, as most editors and other peers from beyond Czechoslovak borders could not read Czech. But even text can convey a message without a reading knowledge of its language. Johanna Drucker describes the visual component of printed words well in her 1984 essay, "Letterpress Language": "Writing produces a visual image: the shapes, sizes, and placement of letters on a page contribute to the message produced, creating statements which cannot always be rendered in spoken language" (Drucker 2008[1984]: 66). Such a conception of the use of text to also generate information via visual cues is very close to the way in which the Czech avant-garde conceived of their magazines. The magazines were simultaneously (and not separately) a visual and textual platform, speaking in different ways to the reader at home and the one abroad.

In the essay, "Words, Words, Words", printed serially in the architectural magazine *Horizont*, Teige imagined a "speech without words. A speech without an alphabet. The possibility of a non-verbal typographic communication" (Teige 1927b: 3). Again, such an a-textual form of communication would well suit the international ambitions of an avant-garde group operating in a small language. Already in 1923, for instance, we can see an emphasis on graphic "communication" in one of Moholy-Nagy's first projects at the Bauhaus, in which he published a manifesto of typography, aptly titled, "The New Typography," in a volume propagating the activities of the school, published in house by the Bauhausverlag. It opens declaratively: "Typography is an instrument of communication. It must present a clear message in the most powerful form" (Moholy-Nagy 1995[1923]: 15). "Clarity" ("Klarheit") and "communication" ("Mitteilung") were of utmost importance to the so-called New Typographers, and they aimed to adhere to these tenets via a textual-visual presentation of information that could be grasped quickly, keeping pace with the "tempo" of modern urbanity. Similarly, in

1925, Tschichold included as one point in his own manifesto on typography, titled “elementare typographie” (‘elementary typography,’ also the title of this special issue of the magazine *Typographische Mitteilungen*, which he edited): “The purpose of all typography is communication” (Tschichold 1995[1925]: 333).²² While it is not within the scope of this chapter to discuss in depth how Devětsil innovated in relation to these concepts – specifically through the development of the textual-visual project of Poetism, and the related “obrazová báseň” (‘picture poem’) – a look at the three covers of *Disk*, *Pásmo*, and *ReD* pictured above provide a cursory illustration of how these principles were employed in the Czech magazines. They make rational use, for instance, of the popular iconography of the disk, bold, black lines, and in the case of *ReD*, a grid-like page layout that intends to synthetically incorporate text and image (see Figures 1–3). Rather than pursuing a close reading of the graphic design of the Devětsil publications here, in relation to the topic of textual translation it is relevant to consider how these Czech and German texts on typography made their way into print in Prague.

In 1927, Tschichold’s essay “Die neue Gestaltung” (‘New Design’) which was also included in the special issue of *Typographische Mitteilungen*, now appeared in Czech translation (as “Nová tvorba”) in a comparable Czech trade journal *Typografia*, which had given significant real estate on its pages to reflecting new trends in modern typography under the editorial direction of Oldřich Poskočil. In a previous issue that same year, *Typografia* had also published an essay by Teige with the apt if unoriginal title, “Modern Typography.” His essay was printed in both Czech and German, indicating that it was intended to be read by German-language practitioners of New Typography, such as Tschichold. In “Modern Typography,” Teige likewise writes, “Typography is optical communication”, highlighting the potential of typography to aid in communicating information by reaching beyond considerations of textual content alone, to also consider elements of graphic design (Teige 1999 [1927a]: 100). Also in 1927, *Typografia* had included in a single issue essays and samples of work by two Bauhaus new typographers: in issue three, Moholy-Nagy’s “Contemporary Typography” (“Zeitgemäße Typographie”, appearing in Czech as “Časová typografie”) is directly followed by Herbert Bayer’s “Attempt at a New Script” (originally published in a special Bauhaus issue of the typographic trade magazine *Offset* in 1926 as “Versuch einer neuen Schrift”, and here appearing in Czech as “Pokus o nové písmo”).

In “Attempt at a New Typeface”, Bayer makes a familiar call for a lettering that matches the speed and technology of modern life. And Bayer does not only

22. When Tschichold published the book *The New Typography* a few years later, he writes similarly, “the essence of the New Typography is clarity”, and that there is a “need for clarity in communication” (Tschichold 1928/1995).

theorize a new, universal, and international font, he also publishes alongside his article a rendering of the proposed “neue Schrift”, an all lowercase sans-serif typeface (which has become immensely popular in the decades since, but was never actually “cut as type” during Bayer’s tenure at the Bauhaus [Kinross 2002]). In a subsequent issue of *Typografia*, once Bayer’s treatise, “Attempt at a New Typeface”, had already been reproduced in Czech, Teige takes the opportunity with his own essay, “Modern Typography”, to respond to Bayer’s proposed typeface and gives it a mixed, though on the whole positive, review:

Bayer’s type, used by the author of this essay several times for book cover design, will have to be further refined, but it is already a *justified new form* aiming to perfect type in the sense of desirable simplification. Progressive simplification is the meaning of long-term development. Discarding ornaments. Simplifying the range of characters. (Teige 1927a: 103; Emphasis is the author’s)

Again, this essay was printed not only in Czech but also German, suggesting that Teige was not just hiding his critique in a language that Bayer could not understand, but rather might have hoped Bayer himself would read the statement in German and engage with Teige. And Teige does not only describe what he finds lacking in Bayer’s new font. He too offers concrete modifications and publishes his own proposal for a universal script that is a revision of Bayer’s with nuanced changes to certain letters. The proposed adjustments appear alongside Bayer’s original typeface in the April 1929 issue of *ReD*, which was dedicated to “foto film typo,” and which adopted Bayer’s convention of all lowercase print (see Figure 4).

Bayer and Teige’s proposals, side by side, are illustrated in the middle of Poskočil’s essay, “new typographic tendencies”.²³ In his essay, Poskočil reiterates the rejection of ornament in New Typography, and the use of photography as a fundamental means by which to convey information in printed matter. He also asserts the position of Czech typography within a field “that knows no borders” and “accepts the thoughts of colleagues from other countries” (Poskočil 256). Poskočil simultaneously addresses the capacity for Czech typographers to innovate technically, and their interest in looking to international examples for inspiration. It was within the context of this idea of a borderless culture that Teige sought to engage in just such an international conversation, and was able to have the impact abroad that he did. Poskočil’s essay is followed by a brief list of six points by Teige,

23. Poskočil was a professional typographer, of which little has been written, though he regularly contributed to Czech typographic trade publications, and was even the editor of *Typografia* in this period. As his inclusion of Teige’s “Modern Typography” essay would suggest, he supported the avant-garde typographic work of Devětsil, for which he also expressed admiration in correspondence with Černík, and was in touch with Teige about publication even after World War Two.

Figure 4. Interior of *ReD* 2, no. 8 (April 1928): 257. Private collection

written in German with the simple title “new typography”, which echoes demands that a “functional and Constructivist typography” break from decorative and academic traditions, employing instead “clearly legible and geometric” typefaces and fully utilizing the possibilities of new technologies (Teige 1929: 258–259). This text again appears in German (and this time, only in German), once more signaling explicitly that he intended for his participation in discussions around New Typography to be observed and understood by those with whom he was engaging beyond the Czech linguistic sphere, such as Bayer.

Significantly, wedged between Poskočil’s essay and Teige’s list of points is Stéphane Mallarmé’s “Un coup de dés”, the poem that Drucker situates as “the single most striking precedent for avant-garde experiment with the visual form of poetic language” and “a touchstone of both historical and aesthetic reference for all subsequent twentieth-century typographical experimental poetry” (Drucker 1994) (see Figure 5). In his own time, Teige reviews the poem similarly; an editorial note

Figure 5. Interior of *ReD* 2, no. 8 (April 1928): 258. Private collection

(presumably penned by him) that runs alongside the poem's reproduction in *ReD* claims it as “the first implementation of optical poetry, a reform of book typography” (258). Returning to Drucker's claim that the textual must also be read for its visual integrity, and the argument put forth here that a holistic consideration of the page layout offers salient evidence of how the Czech magazines conveyed their place within an international network, this page from *ReD* is an especially illustrative instance. It evinces both a notable example of the kind of visual poetry that was one influence in Devětsil's own artistic and poetic innovation, as well as the significant multilingualism of the magazine – in as much as we start at the top with Poskočil in Czech, then can read Mallarmé in the middle in the original French, and Teige in German below.

A synthetic reading of the full-page layout of the Czech magazines and a consideration of the ways in which translation was employed helps us to understand how editors might have intended for them to be legible to a wider linguistic audience. These examples together show several ways in which Devětsil developed an international language that was multilingual and strived for universality, through a form of synthetic typography.

Conclusion

It is ironic that the impressive periodical production of the Czech interwar avant-garde has so often been left out of literary and art historical narratives of the period in Europe – which tend to privilege Western models originating in hegemonic languages, such as English, French, or German – when Czech editors took the proactive stance with their magazines of making the work of Devětsil legible beyond the linguistic confines of one small Slavic language. A careful look at the magazines produced by the group reveals their integral place within artistic and poetic discussions occurring at the time, and welcomes a better historical understanding of their inextricable contribution to those networks. Indeed, thanks to the employment of translation and an international graphic style, this should be apparent to the scholar today even without a reading knowledge of Czech – precisely as Teige and his colleagues intended it.

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While translation history, literary translation, and periodical publications have been extensively analyzed within the fields of Translation Studies, Comparative Literature, and Communication Sciences, the relationship between these three topics remains underexplored. *Literary Translation in Periodicals* argues that there is a pressing need for an analytical focus on translation in periodicals, a collaborative network of researchers, and a transnational and interdisciplinary approach. The book pursues two goals: (1) to highlight the innovative theoretical and methodological issues intrinsic to analyzing literary translation in periodical publications on a small and large scale, and (2) to contribute to a developing field by providing several case studies on translation in periodicals over a wide range of areas and periods (Europe, Latin America, and Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries) that go beyond the more traditional focus on national and European periodicals and translations. Combining qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis, as well as hermeneutical and sociological approaches, this book reviews conceptual and methodological tools and proposes innovative techniques, such as social network analysis, big data, and large-scale analysis, for tracing the history and evolution of literary translation in periodical publications.

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