

## Cultural Pluralism through Translation? Imagining the Italian *Other* in the Habsburg Monarchy

### 1. Introduction

As capital of the Habsburg Monarchy, Vienna exported its political, social and economic system, its legislation, education, music and theatre and other cultural forms to the remotest parts of its crown lands. The results of these “exportations“, together with the historical implications involved in this process, are ultimately reflected in the tension between the concepts of multiracial state versus national state in the nineteenth century.

During the formation of a national Italian state in the course of the “Risorgimento“, the mutual historical relationships between “Italy“<sup>1</sup> and the Habsburg Monarchy are also reflected in the reception of the Italian literary production. It is mainly the various fractures at the historical intersections which are characteristic for the reception processes along these relationships. The year 1866 with Königgrätz can be interpreted as a key year in the reorientation of the Monarchy’s foreign policy, in the course of which the loss of the Lombardo-Venetian territories gave definite birth to the institution of the Italian realm, thus contributing to a new orientation in cultural politics.

Against this background, this paper will discuss the question of the formation of the *Other* through the activity of translation of (national) Italian literature into German and the publication of these translations in publishing houses of the Habsburg Monarchy. It will be asked what was accepted on the Habsburg cultural market and what were the criteria for the reception of (translated) Italian literature. Regarding cultural pluralism, it will be argued that its creation through translation was only possible on certain limited levels. Therefore, cultural pluralism at least in the context of texts translated from Italian can be regarded only as a restricted phenomenon in the period in question, that is between 1848 and 1918.

Methodologically, I will proceed along two major lines: firstly, the quantitative analysis will attempt to show that it is hardly possible to identify traces of the formation of an image created through translation. The qualitative analysis, however, which deepens the insight into the agencies and reasons of the (failed or successful) reception of Italian written production, will illustrate that some attempts were made to influence the receiving culture through explicit or implicit translation and reception strategies. A short introduction into the main issues of imagology will be at the basis of our analysis. I will then give a survey of the presence of Italian culture in the Habsburg Monarchy and of the various aspects of the Italian image.

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<sup>1</sup> The term “Italy“ is used here in a generalized sense and comprises the regions where Italian culture was produced during the centuries, regardless whether these regions were - at different times and under varying circumstances - under Habsburg rule or not. It is therefore used as a mere geographical term.

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### 2. Some remarks on imagology

While it may be true that cultural images, mainly when related to specific countries, are particularly persistent and hard to change (Schweiger/Wusst 1988: 32), it should also be borne in mind that the creation of images is always the result of a substantial distance between two cultural realities. Consequently, image can be viewed as representation of a foreign cultural reality:

[L]'image est la représentation d'une réalité culturelle étrangère au travers de laquelle l'individu ou le groupe qui l'ont élaborée [...] révèlent et traduisent l'espace idéologique dans lequel ils se situent (Pageaux 1981: 170f).

Regarding the image created through literature, imagology analyses the forms in which experiences of identity and alterity are reflected in literary texts, and also discusses the influence of literature on the perception of the *Other*. Hetero- as well as auto-images are interdependent and are both products of concrete historical-political situations.<sup>2</sup> Also, the political dimension of literary images should not be underestimated. Texts which transport imago-typical elements are usually firmly grounded in extra-literary social, political and ideological reference systems.

Etudier comment s'écrivent diverses images de l'étranger, c'est étudier la détermination des fondements et des mécanismes idéologiques sur lesquels se construit l'axiomatique de l'altérité (ibid.: 172)

This, of course, implies that literary images can become important factors of the formation of public opinion and can therefore play an even more significant role once they are imported into the other culture through translation.

### 3. Italian culture in the Habsburg Monarchy

Despite the latent political tensions, Vienna was unanimously accepted as centre of cultural exchange. As far as Italian culture is concerned, the multitude of cultural traces and contemporary manifestations had been a tradition since the Renaissance period at the latest and had consequently shaped Vienna's intellectual and cultural life throughout the centuries.<sup>3</sup> The import of Italian culture was not only promoted by confessional endeavours of the Counter Reformation, but also by the Habsburg marriage policy. The intensive presence of Italian culture even gave rise to the creation of the concept of "italianization" of the Habsburg culture, which could also be traced linguistically. As is known, it was already under Maria Theresia that Italian was taught in various schools and academies (Kanduth 1997: 444). In Vienna's theatres and operas works were often performed in the Italian language, thus enabling persons with a command of this language to participate in Vienna's cultural life in a more authentic way. They were obviously part of the thinly distributed high bourgeois cultured class or the nobility; but

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<sup>2</sup> For details on imagology see e.g. Dyserinck 1988 and Dohmen 1994.

<sup>3</sup> The literature on the (historical) cultural contacts between Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy is extensive. See, for instance, Kramer (1954), Landau (1879), Veiter (1965), Kanduth (1990), Jacobs (1988), Gottas (1993).

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apparently also members of the Civil Service could speak Italian<sup>4</sup>. This, however, needs relativization since other languages had explicit priority to Italian due to their political relevance: French, for instance, was the language of diplomacy, and Bohemia and Hungary played not only a politically important role. The quite considerable number of Italians permanently or temporarily resident in Vienna, however, enforced the Italian-shaped cultural scene in the capital<sup>5</sup> - additionally to many other cultures and peoples from the multiracial Austrian-Hungarian Empire.

In addition, beginning from the sixteenth century, the Habsburg courts were keen on engaging Italian architects, sculptors and other artists, a practice which, after the destruction of large parts of Vienna through the Turkish siege (1683) and the subsequent reconstruction through Italian artists and artisans, was even called “artistic colonization“ (see Ricaldone 1986: 14). The Italian predominance in the artistic scene lasted over two centuries and left its marks in many aspects of Viennese life such as architecture, literature, theatre, medicine, military affairs, banking, publishing, coffee houses, chimney sweeps etc. Thus, it is small wonder that in the seventeenth century one out of two foreigners resident in Vienna was Italian (ibid.: 15).

### 4. The Italian image in the Habsburg Monarchy

The presence of Italians in Vienna throughout the centuries, on the one hand, and the writings of intellectuals, merchants, etc. of the German speaking world in general who had travelled through Italy, on the other hand, produced a quite diverse image of the Italian in the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>6</sup> The characteristics of this image vary from the perception of Italy as a sophisticated artistic Mecca to the most bitter “hereditary enmity“ (Berghold 1997a: 1).

Italy has always been seen as the gate to the ancient world, as the centre of christianity and the key to occidental history. For many scholars, Italy equals the symbol of human perfection in spirit and sensuousness unattainable in German-speaking cultures (see Emrich 1965: 259). Italy conveyed to the German poets not only the Roman, but also the Greek heredity of antiquity and was labeled the country of the “renaissance“ in the true sense of the word. Travellers through Italy delivered an idealized picture in their descriptions stressing both man and landscape as bearers of an antique history and art. At a certain historical moment, there was hardly any “Nordic“ architect, painter or musician who would not have passed some time of apprenticeship in Italy, which was soon considered a sought-after “bottega“ of all kinds of artists. Between the seventeenth and the nineteenth century three phases of travelling to Italy can be traced: the gentlemen’s travels or “Grand Tours“ (seventeenth century), the travels of writers and artists (eighteenth century) and the epoque of scientific travels (nineteenth century), all of which of course cannot be treated independently; contemporarily, however, they follow distinct priorities.

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<sup>4</sup> This is also reported in a letter by Grillparzer to Goethe, see Kanduth 1997:444.

<sup>5</sup> See mainly Ricaldone (1986) and Himmel (1972).

<sup>6</sup> An exhaustive study of the Italian image in the Habsburg Monarchy which would deal with various aspects (historical, psychological, philological etc.) is still a desideratum. For the Austrian image in Italy see especially Garms-Cornides 1994.

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The intellectual and social education of noble and high bourgeois families' sons found its completion in the so-called "Grand Tour". Traditionally, this tour included a trip through some major European cities as well as a visit to one or two renowned universities. The aim was the extension of knowledge and experience in history, religion or political philosophy, and the acquisition or sharpening of an adequate social behaviour.<sup>7</sup>

Johann Joachim Winckelmann, archeologist and art historian, established a new era in questions concerning Italian culture. His interpretation of antique art entailed a re-orientation of the artistic perception in German culture. Winckelmann highlighted the importance for men to scent Italy's mild climate and its creative ease, and thought to recognize in the Italian human being the beauty and spirit of a Greek sculpture (Emrich 1965: 271).

In a different way, Wilhelm Heinse oriented his perception of Italian culture along physical beauty and sensual pleasure, seeing the Italian as a person who lives unaffected by conventions and prejudice. According to Heinse, it was only under these premises that the *uomo universale* of the fifteenth and sixteenth century could take shape. In doing so, Heinse created an Italian image which anticipated some features of Romanticism: the interest for the southern life style and thus the general romantic longing for the south. Despite his aesthetic perspective, Heinse also emphasised the sharp contrasts between poor and rich in Italy (Grimm/Breymayer/Erhart 1990: 53).

A most decisive turning point in the creation of the Italian image was Goethe's "Italian Journey". As is known, this book is not the documentation of a fresh and authentic experience, but a text which Goethe wrote down about 30 years after his travel. The "Italian Journey" is therefore a text of the old Goethe who in retrospect tried to turn his stay in Italy into a very specific place of his artistic and personal development. The materials of his journey were reworked, and the travel itself was stylized to the classical epoche and to an educational journey into a "land of the classical age". The objective of Goethe's journey, therefore, was not "real" Italy, but antiquity which in a perfect way combined nature and art. In his book, the traveller Goethe gets endowed with all the virtues adequate for a man of the classical age and which would be highly characteristic for the members of the educational bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century: calmness, poise, firmness of character, moderate behaviour, detachment of all potential irritation caused by nature or art, diligence in the contemplation of aesthetic views, the disposal of a canon of judgement for the multitude of works of art and - above all - the ability to appropriate the *Other* (Tauber 1996: 63-64). At first sight, Goethe's travel experiences seem to have a quite individual character, but his talent to stylize his own subjective experience into a symbol of human experience in general gave his descriptions a model function for subsequent generations of travellers. At the same time, it created a myth which overshadowed reality and made of Italy an idyllic paradise.

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<sup>7</sup> "Man unternimmt eine Reise nicht, um die Moden, sondern um die Staaten zu begutachten, nicht um von Weinen, sondern um von verschiedenen Regierungsformen zu kosten, nicht um Samtstoffe und Spitzen, sondern um Gesetze und politische Systeme zu vergleichen" (Count of Cork and Orrery, in. Brill 1997: 15).

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Two different approaches to Italy are reflected in the images transmitted by Johann Gottfried Herder and Johann Gottfried Seume. While Herder stressed the national idea as a consequence of his sojourn (in his letters he emphasizes that it was only in Italy that he had learnt to appreciate the German national characteristics), Seume tried to focus on the discussion of the social situation in Italy, which displaces the witnesses of Italy's glorious history. Roma aeterna, the artistic Mecca for Goethe and many of his contemporaries, the place of mental renaissance, appears to Seume as "cloaca of humanity" (see Grimm/Breymayer/Erhart 1990: 107), where the temporal and spiritual systems support each other at the expense of the poor.

According to the view widely held in the Romantic period, the "longing" (Sehnsucht) for southern lifestyle, nature and spirit was an indispensable characteristic for people who engaged in literature, arts or music. Many of the artists, writers or musicians who decisively contributed to the formation of a Romantic Italian image such as Eichendorff, E.T.A. Hoffmann and others, had never been to Italy. This might have contributed to the fact that Italy became a land of phantasy and dreams.

In contrast, in the second half of the nineteenth century a shift of emphasis to scientific questions can be detected. The inclusion of economic and political questions in the reflection on Italy became a more common practice. The two dominant trends, historicism and nationalism, were responsible for a quite filtered Italian experience, which occasionally resulted in disdainful remarks on the national character of Italian culture (Grimm/Breymayer/Erhart 1990: 15). Such utterances of political resentment could of course be heard in the Habsburg Monarchy, although most of what has been said above can be applied to both cultural areas.<sup>8</sup> It can be claimed that the idealizing exaltation of antiquity was probably the result of the effort to negate the national reality of Italian territories.<sup>9</sup> In his attempt to analyse the basic attitude of the Habsburg Monarchy towards Italy at the turn of the century, Fritz Fellner proposed four "ideological blocks" (Fellner 1982: 121-127), which - in his opinion - hindered viewing contemporary Italy in a more unbiased way. Firstly, there was the limited view of Italy created through classical education, which resulted in an over-estimation of antique traditions: the supposedly degenerated contemporary Italy was measured against the alleged glamour of antiquity. Another block was caused by clericalism: various Austrian clerical circles with certain influences on political and cultural activities could not forget that the unification of Italy had found its completion in the dissolution of the temporal dominion of the Pope. Thirdly, various patriotic and nationalist groups in the Habsburg Monarchy were not willing to accept that the formation and establishment of the Italian realm was only achieved through the suppression of the Austrian hegemony on the Italian peninsula. Consequently, this nationalist resentment prevented many educated and politically engaged Austrians from doing justice to contemporary Italy and, on a larger scale, it complicated the formation of an adequate policy of alliances between Vienna and Rome. The fourth block was - still according to Fellner - the fixation on historical research in

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<sup>8</sup> "Um die Jahrhundertwende war das Italienbild des in den Alpen- und Donauregionen der Habsburgermonarchie lebenden Bildungsbürgers identisch mit dem Italienbild aller anderen Deutschen, sofern es sich um das 'Erlebnis' des vergangenen Italiens, um die Begeisterung für Antike und Kunst handelt" (Fellner 1982: 120f).

<sup>9</sup> I will come back to this point later, see chapter 6.

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archives which in addition concentrated on the Italian history in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance and ignored “all what had happened after the Sacco di Roma [pillage of Rome]“ (Furlani/Wandruszka 1973: 11, my translation). This view of historiography prevented *a priori* the (traditional and/or “progressive“) consideration of Italy’s recent history.<sup>10</sup>

To sum up, it can be said that due to collective imagination, which generally can be defined as the result of conflicts between uncritical traditions and transmissions of topoi, stereotypes and clichés (Heitmann/Scamardi 1993: 1), the Italian image in the Habsburg Monarchy at the end of the nineteenth century (approximately our period of analysis) can be regarded as a mixture of the images produced in the various historical periods. The image produced by Goethe’s “Italian Journey“ is still present and is gradually - although timidly - interwoven by images which are determined by persistent political and ideological tensions between Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy. In what follows, the impact of these agents on the reception of Italian culture will be reflected in view of the attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes predominant in the mentioned period.

### 5. The reception of Italian literature in the nineteenth century

In the context of the reception of Italian literature in the nineteenth century, the conditions of production and reception in general should be discussed first. Many of the factors involved deal with questions like the economic and social role of publishers, authors and cultural patrons, the general situation of the book market, censorship, the characteristics of the reading public or the impact of reviews. In the specific context of translation, questions focus on the selection of texts to be translated, the economic and social role of translators, the strategies adopted, the inclusion of paratexts, the dictionaries in use, the reviews in journals and newspapers, or the compiling of anthologies.

The corpus to be analysed in this paper covers the period between 1848 and 1918. A project which has been going on at the Universities of Freiburg and Kiel, Germany, has compiled a bibliography of German translations from the Italian language (Hausmann/Kapp 1992)<sup>11</sup>. In the period in question 1408 titles are registered, comprising all German speaking countries, out of which 227 titles were published in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the following cities: Abbazia, Breslau, Brixen, Budapest, Feldkirch, Graz, Innsbruck, Kattowitz, Linz, Prague, Salzburg, Triest, Vienna. 146 titles are monographs, whereas 81 titles are included in journals and newspapers. 28 monographs and 20 essays in journals out of these 227 have still not been traced.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Another approach to analyse the conflicting communication between Italy and the Habsburg Monarchy including Austria at a later date can be seen in Berghold 1997b, who discusses the conflict zones (language barriers, differing norms of everyday life in interpersonal communication and the practice of realizing different models of life) by adopting a mixture of psychoanalytical and historical methods (see Berghold 1997b: 49-59).

<sup>11</sup> This first volume only covers the translations published up to 1730. The second volume has not yet been published, but I was able to get copies for our period in question. I would like to thank Dr. Stefani Arnold for her help.

<sup>12</sup> As mentioned, up to now it has not been possible to trace all texts published in the Austro-Hungarian Empire; this is why 48 texts are not registered in the graphic.



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The genres of the translations in question cover a broad range:

novel	33
poetry	24
history of art	16
novella	14
drama	13
comedy	13
biography	10
tragedy	7
short story	6
religious text	6
memoirs	5
historical text	4
military text	4
philosophical text	3
ecclesiastical history	3
criminal psychology	2
opera libretto	2
autobiography	1
epic poetry	1
feuilleton	1
journey description	1
legal text	1
medical text	1
moral text	1
political text	1
report	1
scientific text	1
sociocritical text	1
natural phenomena	1
physics	1
theological text	1

A closer look at the corpus in order to find out more specifically what sorts of texts were translated into German and published on Habsburg territory will show that a distinction can be made between texts originally written before the period in question but translated or re-edited in this period (Boccaccio or Leonardo da Vinci for instance) (about 15 percent of all texts) and texts which originally date from this period. Among the latter a large quantity deal with subjects which - in view of the politically tense situation - appear quite "harmless": comedies, religious and moral texts, descriptions of journeys, etc. (about 70 percent). Politically relevant texts only cover about 15 percent. A third group of texts should be mentioned, which originally were not published between 1848 and 1918, but which had a certain political impact on the Italian Risorgimento, such as Vincenzo Monti, among others. They only cover about 1 percent of all texts. The overwhelming quantity of texts which present a rather "harmless" image of Italian culture in the German language therefore contrasts with texts which reflect the attempt to create a national literature and which, beyond literary texts, include subjects such as history or biography.

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The men and women who translated these texts into German came from the most diverse disciplines and milieus. Most of them were writers, journalists, scholars, priests, librarians or officers. Regarding their social role, most of them, due to the nature of their professions, can be regarded as advocates of the Empire's traditional cultural policy and did not represent a potential of imminent change. The rather heterogeneous composition of the translators gives rise to several questions: Who was responsible for the choice of texts to be translated? What was the role of publishing policy? And which other factors contributed to the distribution and reception of texts originating in Italy? In order to come closer to answering these questions, I will first discuss the translation strategies adopted in the texts. In so doing I will restrict myself to the analysis of paratexts, where many translators (and sometimes editors) point out their translation methods and other details concerning translation.

Contrary to translations in the eighteenth century, nineteenth-century translations (at least from Italian into German) are less accompanied by paratexts. Translations published in journals generally are not preceded by a paratext and thus can be ignored in our analysis. Out of the 118 monographs so far analysed, only 48 contain paratexts (introduction, preface, afterword, footnotes, glosses, dedication). Most paratexts include information on the author, the contents of the book translated, the reasons for publication, and of course the strategies adopted.

It is in the translation strategies where the translators' concerns are most transparent. The traditional dichotomy of *faithful vs free translation*, which does not leave any space for a more detailed discussion on the purpose of translation, still seems to be a standard: 14 translators profess that they want to do justice to the original and humbly apologize for the shortcomings of their translation. The original is still seen as the measure of all things. Others want to satisfy the target audience in order to meet their (presumed) interests; they therefore cut some passages, give additional information in order to clarify some passages which would be understandable only to the Italian reading audience, and add "scientific comments" in order to meet the shortcomings of readers without classical education, namely women [sic]. While criticism (e.g. in the prefaces to historical or biographical texts) regarding the Empire's politics is hardly admitted (see below), there are some translators who overtly advocate the status quo in Italy<sup>13</sup>.

Regarding the creation of image through translation, two prefaces are of particular interest. Both texts were published by Hartleben in Vienna. The different purposes followed by the translators and exposed in their paratexts reflect an image which is quite homogeneous but nonetheless interwoven by some attempts to re-model a traditional view. The first text is Cesare Balbo's<sup>14</sup> *A History of Italy from ancient times up to 1814* (Balbo 1851). After finishing the translation, Richard Moll changes his role from translator to historian and continues the compiling of Italian history up to 1851. If it was

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<sup>13</sup> See Klitsche de la Grange 1865, Margotti 1860a and 1860b.

<sup>14</sup> Cesare Balbo (1789-1853), political writer and politician. He was a liberal but cautious constitutionalist and was Prime Minister of Sardinia-Piedmont in 1848. His most famous book "Delle speranze d'Italia" (1844, "The Hopes of Italy") shows the anti-revolutionary nature of this patriotism and liberalism.



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Balbo's concern to "raise national consciousness" through his book, Moll's concern is to "instruct the German speaking audience on the character and the views of the nation" (Moll 1851: 8-9; my translation). The translator-historian is convinced that in order to understand the Italians in the crucial historic moment when they attempt to unite to become a nation, it is necessary to analyse the Italian (contemporary) history "following the author's purpose", i.e. Moll writes the history "from a national Italian standpoint" (ibid.: 10). In so doing, he not only fully respects Balbo's national concerns, but even stresses national political claims when he refrains from taking a critical position. By emphasizing the importance of the intellectual formation of the Italians, the translator-historian follows Balbo's care for accelerating the unification process. With his translation and re-inscription, Moll contributes to a public opinion in the Habsburg Monarchy which is open to a more differentiated image of the Italian reality.

Edmondo De Amicis'<sup>15</sup> travel report *Marokko* (1883) is another example of how an image can be created or re-inforced through translation. The translator Amand von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld<sup>16</sup> explains in his preface that the book is not a direct translation of the original, but a free adaptation aimed at giving an in-depth view of Moroccan ethnographic and historical details. He also argues that as De Amici's report is full of allusions of national importance - e.g. "allusions to Italian persons and historical circumstances" - (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1883: 1), which are not comprehensible to German speaking readers, he feels it is his duty to "eliminate this patriotic and intimate character and create a new book" (ibid.). On the other hand, he adds a few chapters<sup>17</sup> with the purpose of offering to the readers a more comprehensive view of Morocco. What seems particularly interesting in this paratext is the tendency to promote an orientalist discourse as unmasked by Edward Said in "Orientalism" (1978). In his study, Said shows the collusion between literary texts and Western political domination, which results in the creation of images of the Orient that separate the spheres of the colonizer and the colonized. Schweiger-Lerchenfeld argues, for example, that he scrupulously tried to maintain the passages which described characteristic scenes of Moroccan life. The following examples will show the orientalist character De Amicis gave to his text and which was taken up and stressed by the translator:

These scenes, descriptions, and pictures [...] are so characteristic, *so colourful* and witty that [...] they are uncontestedly the *main decoration* and the main value of the book (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1883: 2; my translation & my emphasis).

For him [the author De Amicis], landscapes are the *colouring pencils of a dazzling mosaic*, and the scenes he describes are the *emanations of an exotic, repeatedly surprising life to which adhere the colours of the Orient* and which *recall the glorious period of past greatness* (ibid.).<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Edmondo De Amicis (1846-1898), novelist and author of popular travel books and children's stories. His most important work is "Cuore" (1886, "The Heart of a Boy"), written in the form of a schoolboy's diary.

<sup>16</sup> Amand Freiherr von Schweiger-Lerchenfeld (1846-1910), author of social and technical texts.

<sup>17</sup> The chapters added are "South Morocco" and "The Spanish-Moroccan War of 1860".

<sup>18</sup> "Diese [...] Szenen, Schilderungen und Einzelbilder sind so charakteristisch, so farbig und geistreich durchgeführt, daß sie [...] unbestritten den Hauptschmuck und Hauptwerth des vorliegenden Buches bilden. [...] Ihm [dem Autor] sind Landschaften und Staffagen die wechselnden Farbstifte eines

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The representation of Morocco is focused on adorning elements which give the impression that there has taken place a shift from subject to object: secondary elements are moved to the centre, and the agents “behind“ these descriptions are never mentioned. If ever they were subjects of their history, this belongs to the (“glorious“) past. This covertly discriminating rendering of Morocco by Western thought reflects a stereotyped view which is “a kind of Western projection onto and will to govern over the Orient“ (Said 1978: 95).

The focus on aesthetic elements in the translator’s paratext - which fades out social or political realities if they are a topic of the translation in question or other elements which would better correspond to the translation’s content - converges with the distinctive features of the Italian image in German speaking countries as already discussed. In such a context, a few other examples illustrate the persistence of an idyllic and paradisiacal land “where the lemons flourish“. Karl Erdmann Edler, for instance, poet and professor of literary studies, translated Constantin Nigra’s most important poems into German (Nigra 1899). At the end of his preface, Edler complains of the impossibility of rendering the Italian text adequately into German and draws a picture of the Italian original which reflects the stereotyped idyllic myth:

Blaze of colours, sweet scent and melodiousness of the original can be rendered only insufficiently into German. The translation cannot be more than the mere reflection of glowing Mediterranean celestial lights on nordic forests [...] (Edler 1899: 7; my translation).

Similarly, the translator of Giovanni Prati’s *Torquato Tasso’s last hours* (1860), J.E. Waldfreund<sup>19</sup>, included the Italian version in his German edition “for those who know the sweet Italian language“. In his dedication to the president of the Tirolean Radetzky Association he stresses the dichotomy of the president’s wandering through the Alps and his own sojourn in the “bright sunny south where I reposed under dark cypresses“ (Waldfreund 1860: dedication).<sup>20</sup>

The image of Italian culture in the Habsburg Monarchy in the late phase of its existence rather seems to perpetuate the much-cited Romantic image. Our first example is not really an exception to the rule, but if seen as an attempt to reflect a fairly multi-faced image of Italian contemporary reality, Moll’s preface certainly cannot be regarded as characteristic for the recurrent image represented in the prefaces. At this point the question arises as to what the agents behind the creation or perpetuation of this image were. What instruments existed to channel the publication of Italian texts? Or, in other words, which authors and which texts were admitted after the abolition of censorship in 1848?

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blendenden Mosaiks, Scenen und Vorfällenheiten die Emanationen eines fremdartigen, in Allem und Jedem überraschenden Lebens, dem die Farben des Orients anhaften, und das die Erinnerungen an das glänzende Zeitalter vergangener Größen wachruft“ (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1883: 2).

<sup>19</sup> Waldfreund is a pseudonym of Peter Moser (1829-?), writer, folklorist and teacher in Rovereto.

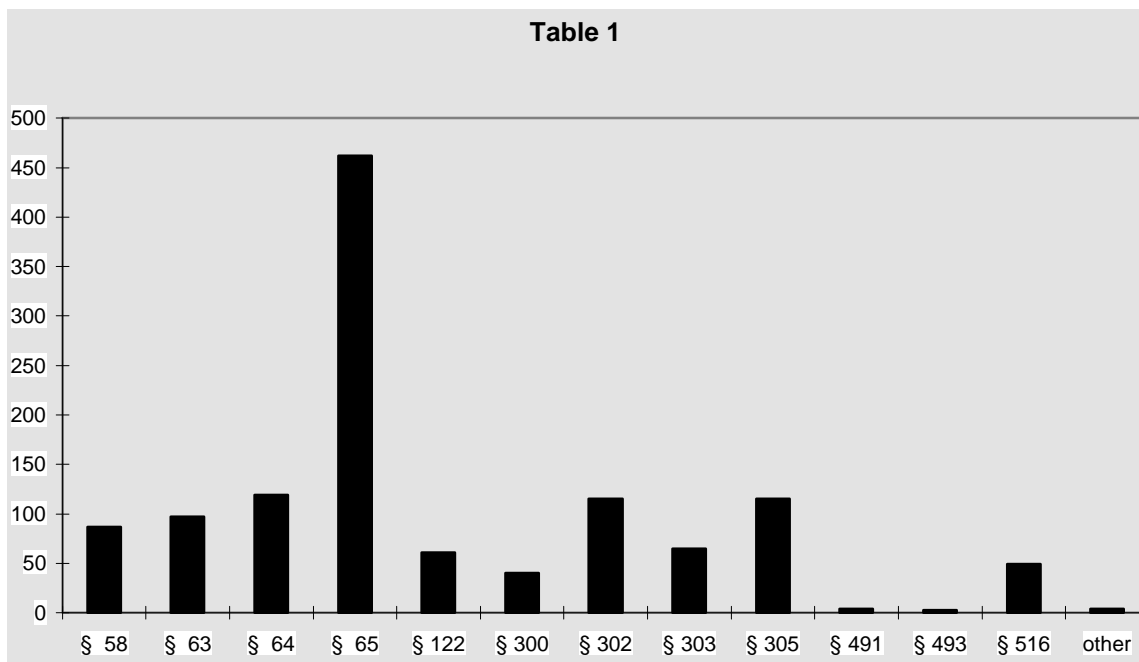
<sup>20</sup> Another example is Giovanni Galli’s dedication to Giovanni Battista Ughetti’s “Among doctors and patients“ where he alludes to the stereotyped “love towards the Mediterranean sun“ (Galli 1907: [dedication]).

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### 6. “Nihil obstat“ after 1848?

It should be mentioned first that after the abolition of censorship in 1848, the criteria for banning of publications apparently did not really change. One difference, of course, was that after 1848 books and journals etc. could be published without being subject to the complicated procedure of censorship. Only *post festum* was it possible to try the author and/or publisher and/or the translator if the publication violated the penal legislation of the time. Interestingly, a detailed research on the differences between the norms underlying censorship before 1848 and the different articles of penal legislation after 1848 has never been done. In general it seems that Metternich’s attempt to “keep away from the bourgeoisie ideas hostile to the system“ (Marx 1959: 5, my translation) is reflected in the legislation after 1848 and perpetuated until the disintegration of the Empire. The period in question is deserving of a closer look at the relevant legislation.

In 1896 the *Catalogus Librorum in Austria Prohibitorum* (Einsle 1896) was published, followed by a *Supplementum* in 1902 (Junker 1902), which listed the publications banned between 1863 and 1901. The first edition is preceded by the relevant articles of the penal legislation and the press law of 1863. The major issues of the legislation deal with high treason (§ 58), lese-majesty (§ 63, 64), incitement to hatred of the Emperor (§ 65), disturbance of worship (§ 122), and violation of public morals and modesty (§ 516).



### Italian texts banned between 1863 and 1901

§ 58	High treason
§ 63	Lese-majesty
§ 64	Lese of majesty and Court members
§ 65	Disturbance of the peace

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§ 65a	Incitement to hatred of the Emperor
§ 65b	Incitement to the opposition to administration
§ 122	Disturbance of worship
§ 300	Incitement to rebellion against Authorities
§ 302	Provocation of hostilities towards nationalities
§ 303	Offending a legally recognized religion
§ 305	Official degradation of marriage, family etc.
§ 491	Insult
§ 516	Violation of public morals and modesty

About one fifth of the publications banned between 1863 and 1901 are in the Italian language (once a publication is banned, the same applies to its translation). Out of all publications, 16 authors are also included in our corpus (with a total of 42 titles in Italian); 4 titles in German of 2 authors (Boccaccio and Casanova) also correspond to our corpus. The titles banned perfectly reflect the *Other* which is not admitted: political ideas which (to their major extent, i.e. after 1866) mirror the developments in the new Italian realm, other more radical political ideas closely related to upcoming socialist and anarchic ideology, publications which generally tend to aim at the empowering of the working class or the most underprivileged people, texts which recall the process of the Italian independence from Austria, any sort of writing against the Catholic Church or texts with patriotic character. The authors most banned are - even at the end of the century - Carducci, Garibaldi and Mazzini.

In some cases, however, it was not penal legislation that determined the reception of Italian literature, but what can be called *bon goût*. In the Burgtheater in Vienna, for example, Heinrich Laube as director from 1849 to 1867, gave priority to the French comedy and did not include any Italian piece in his program. This is not necessarily due to his political ideas.<sup>21</sup> Also, it is interesting that at a later stage the Burgtheater did not open itself to new tendencies in the Italian theatre like Giovanni Verga or Luigi Capuana from so-called verism, the Italian version of the German naturalism, but to a more bourgeois drama like that of the “Milanese group of poets“, a lighter version of contemporary theatre than the realistic performance of Southern Italian social problems.

### 7. Other exclusion procedures

What does this situation of admittance mean to the creation of the *Other* in Habsburg Vienna? First, the complexity of the reception circumstances must be considered. As mentioned before, there are several agents involved in the reception of literature. Out of the variety of agents, I have so far focused on the translators’ strategies exposed in their paratexts and the question of banned literature. Regarding our corpus, that means the German translations of Italian literature between 1848 and 1918 collected out of catalogs, bibliographies and anthologies; another criterion for reception is the presence of the German translations in Austrian libraries. The result of our research in five major libraries (National Library in Vienna, University Library in Vienna, Graz and Innsbruck,

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<sup>21</sup> For details see Detken (1998).

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Regional Library in Graz) has shown that the majority of politically relevant literature<sup>22</sup> is not included in the library catalogs. This, of course, does not mean that this kind of literature could not be found in the private libraries of some bourgeois families during the period in question, but it certainly means that it was not open to a greater public.<sup>23</sup>

Selective mechanisms are obviously key agents in the reception process. Selection, in our case, is relevant on two levels: the admittance of (imported) literature through translation, and (once translated) the admittance of literature on the reading market. Although it cannot be stated that in the Habsburg Monarchy there was a systematic resistance to translation (think alone of the massive translation of French comedy), there was of course a certain resistance to particular kinds of translation. It is obvious - and this applies to any kind of communication between cultures - that the stronger the target system's tradition, the stronger the resistance to the importation of values (Lambert 1995: 164). Censorship, seen as a metaphor, is a defender and guardian of tradition and not only delimits the *Other*, but also acts as an immunization against the phenomenon of change. It is a stabilizer of tradition and supports, regulates and strengthens what naturally has a particularly variable character (Assmann/Assmann 1987: 11). Bourdieu points to the mechanisms which help to internalize the factors underlying censorship and portrays the phenomenon of censorship as follows:

Censorship is only perfect and invisible when nobody will have anything to say except what he is objectively authorised to say (Bourdieu 1982: 169, my translation).

The degree to which this is true for selective mechanisms in the context of literature imported to the Habsburg Monarchy has not yet been analysed.

Regarding translation, selective mechanisms also reflect the conservation of power against any sort of subversiveness, and the decision whether to translate and what to translate is crucial for the creation of the *Other's* image<sup>24</sup>. Finally, the question how a text is translated entails the definition of the relationship to the *Other*: what the relationship is between the importing culture and the *Other* is inscribed in the translation strategy.

### 8. A margin for the cultural *Other*?

Regarding the reception of Italian literature, exclusion or appropriation of the *Other* seems to prevail in the nineteenth-century field of translation. The margin for the Italian cultural *Other* was very narrow and mostly reduced to stereotypical views of Italian culture. In the context of Italian literature, the immediate consequences of censorship, a quite severe penal legislation and the rules of admittance tend to re-confirm Fellner's

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<sup>22</sup> Examples are Pietro Gori (1910: Die Legende des Ersten Mai), a large part of the works by Giuseppe Mazzini and Silvio Pellico, and others.

<sup>23</sup> A thorough analysis of the behaviour of nineteenth-century readers would be very helpful in shedding some light on this question.

<sup>24</sup> Also, the decision not to translate the literature of the *Other* can be construed as a means of protecting or promoting an emergent literature, as can be seen in the case of Quebec literature. See Woodsworth 1994: 61.

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already mentioned “blocks“. The Italian image in the Habsburg Monarchy still seems to be dominated by features of Romanticism and the souvenirs in Goethe’s baggage. A deeper insight into the agencies of the reception of Italian literature showed a tendency towards cautious transparency in terms of the creation of a more differentiated image of Italian reality (see e.g. Moll 1851). Some translations and their paratexts even reflect a double-bind image when they stress aesthetic elements and simultaneously emphasise the original’s patriotic elements (Schweiger-Lerchenfeld 1883).<sup>25</sup> But these tentative examples do not reflect the mainstream and remain the exception in terms of quantity and quality.

If in a wider context, the concept of image is viewed as representation of a foreign cultural reality (Pageaux 1981: 170f), the image created through the translation of Italian literature certainly reflects a reality which is not particularly representative for the period in question. This is due to two factors: firstly, the selection level, where obviously texts relevant to the demonstration of social and political reality, reflected in both literary and technical texts, were hardly admitted to translation and/or publication. Secondly, on the text level, the political dimension of literary images as an important feature of imagology (Dohmen 1994: 15) seems to be neglected. In the paratexts so far analysed, there are continual attempts to overshadow the reference systems of the original texts. On both levels, literary images contributed only in a limited way to a main feature of imagology: the formation of public opinion. The image created through translation only supplied additional elements to cultural pluralism on the cultural scene of Habsburg Monarchy in a restricted way, with a prevailing image of rather stereotyped cultural components.

This paper can only give a first survey of a long-term study on the reception of Italian literature in the Habsburg Monarchy. As such, however, it is intended as a first attempt at the formation of a theory to integrate translation studies and various dimensions of imagology in a historical context and to transcend the traditional dichotomy of domesticating versus foreignizing translation. A further-reaching research on the reception of Italian literature could include the analysis of reviews, the book market, theatre-programs, etc. Regarding the creation of images through the reception of literature, in a first step I tried to identify the images current in nineteenth-century paratexts of German translations and attempted to distinguish the selective mechanisms in the field of translation. In a further step the tendencies of the images’s developments and in which broader (e.g. ideological or social) context they can be seen could be examined. Finally, the discussion of the question whether literary discourse created through translation had an impact on cultural politics in the Habsburg Monarchy is still a desideratum and would require detailed studies in historical discourse analysis. It should be borne in mind, however, that whatever the nature of literary images, they inevitably question contemporary value systems. This is also the potential for a persistent continuation of questioning cultural hegemonies.

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<sup>25</sup> For other examples see Ferrari 1885 and Giuliano 1914.



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(Weibel:)

But it is not only exclusion through censorship, a quite severe legislation or the rules of admittance what is characteristic for the reception of literature already translated or to be translated; also inclusion can play an important role.

As was shown, some translation strategies follow the paradigm of *faithful translation* which traditionally has been understood „as one which bears a strong resemblance to its source text, usually in terms of either its literal adherence to source meaning or its successful communication of the ‘spirit’ of the original“ (Shuttleworth/Cowie 1997: 57). Some translators are anxious to render the „holy“ original following fidelity rules, and in case they feel they would break their normative assumption, they find numerous reasons to justify their „treason“.

--- domesticating the original text in the target culture.

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